



**IE DCUA C1/7**

**Seán Lester Diary - PDF**

**August 1939 - April 1940**

10 SEPTEMBER, 1939.

7

MAY 3.—M. Litvinoff resigns.

MAY 5.—Colonel Beck replies to Hitler—Poland willing to join in conversations with Germany if she were prepared to proceed by peaceable methods.

MAY 7.—Political and military pact signed by Ciano and Ribbentrop at Rome.

MAY 12.—Speeches by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France; the two countries' resolve.

British defensive agreement with Turkey.

MAY 15.—Hitler tours the western fortifications.

MAY 16.—Von Papen recalled from Turkey.

MAY 18.—Northern States reply to Germany; Denmark alone accepts.

#### ITALO-GERMAN PACT

MAY 22.—Italo-German pact signed in Berlin.

MAY 26.—Final draft of British proposals sent to Moscow.

MAY 31.—M. Molotoff addresses the Soviet Parliament; an ambiguous speech.

JUNE 2.—Prince Paul in Berlin; Hitler gives an assurance to Yugoslavia.

JUNE 7.—German non-aggression pacts with Latvia and Estonia signed.

JUNE 13.—Mr. Strang arrives in Moscow to assist the Anglo-Russian negotiations.

JUNE 23.—France and Turkey sign defence pact.

JUNE 28.—First serious news of military preparations in Danzig, British memorandum to Germany on the denunciation of the Naval Treaty.

#### THE DUAL POLICY

JUNE 29.—Lord Halifax's speech at Chatham House—the dual policy.

Polish festival at Gdynia; President on the importance of the Corridor.

JULY 1.—British Labour appeal to German people.

President Roosevelt defeated on Neutrality legislation.

JULY 6.—Increased British credits for guaranteed Powers.

JULY 10.—Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament reaffirms British pledge to Poland.

JULY 21.—Official statement in Germany: "We reject 100 per cent. the idea of a war-like solution to the Danzig problem."

AUGUST 24.—Herr Forster proclaims himself Head of the State of Danzig; Parliament meets to pass Emergency Act. President Roosevelt appeals to Germany and Poland to submit their dispute to peaceful negotiation. Bishop of service people the do others shelter the

P1/7

June  
4/9/39  
9

## FROM MARCH TO SEPTEMBER

### A MOUNTING CRISIS

#### THE WAY OF THE AGGRESSOR

**MARCH 15.**—Germany annexes Bohemia and Moravia. President Hacha, invited to Berlin, has spent the whole night conferring with von Ribbentrop and Hitler, and at last has signed under threats the agreement under which the two provinces accept German "protection."

**MARCH 16.**—Germany takes Slovakia under her "protection." Hungary establishes a common frontier with Poland by incorporating Ruthenia.

**MARCH 17.**—Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador in Berlin, recalled to report. The Prime Minister speaks at Birmingham, announcing the end of the Munich policy and warning the German Chancellor that any attempt to dominate the world by force will be resisted by Great Britain to the utmost of her power.

Sweeping German economic demands on Rumania are reported.

**MARCH 18.**—Russia proposes a conference among interested Powers.

**MARCH 19.**—Protests to Germany from Great Britain, France, and Russia. French Prime Minister given plenary powers.

**MARCH 21.**—French President's visit to London. Joint French-Soviet-Polish-British statement suggested.

Lithuania cedes Memel to Germany.

**MARCH 22.**—Fascist Grand Council affirms Italy's adhesion to the Axis.

**MARCH 23.**—British Trade Mission to Moscow; Mr. Hudson sees M. Litvinoff.

**MARCH 26.**—The Duce speaks: "A long period of peace is necessary for the development of European civilization." He makes certain vague claims on France.

#### THE FIRST SIGN

**MARCH 28.**—German Foreign Office Gazette warns Poland of the consequences of "anti-German agitation." German anti-Polish Press campaign begins.

At about this time Hitler is known to have made his "generous offer" to Poland—a new guarantee of her frontiers in return for Danzig and a route over the Corridor.

**MARCH 29.**—M. Daladier, the French Prime Minister, replies to Mussolini. France, he says, is ready for all reasonable negotiations, but will yield none of her rights.

**MARCH 31.**—Mr. Chamberlain announces in Parliament that "in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence, and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, his Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish Government all support in their power."

Slovak-Hungarian border disputes settled.

**APRIL 2.**—Hitler makes an angry speech at Wilhelmshaven.

**APRIL 3.**—Colonel Beck in London.

#### ITALY TAKES ALBANIA

**APRIL 7.**—Italy seizes Albania. Britain and Poland exchange mutual pledges.

**APRIL 9.**—The Pope's Easter homily on the lost value of pledges.

**APRIL 10.**—British Cabinet meets on Easter Monday; Parliament recalled.

**APRIL 13.**—British guarantees to Greece and Rumania announced in Parliament.

**APRIL 14.**—First British exchanges with Russia.

**APRIL 16.**—President Roosevelt asks Hitler and Mussolini for a 10-years assurance that they will not attack independent nations.

**APRIL 17.**—U.S. Fleet concentrated in the Pacific.

**APRIL 21.**—Polish Ambassador in Berlin returns to Warsaw.

**APRIL 24.**—Sir Neville Henderson returns to Berlin.

#### THE BRITISH MILITIA

**APRIL 27.**—Conscription introduced in Great Britain.

**APRIL 28.**—Hitler in the Reichstag denounces the Anglo-German Naval Agreement and the Treaty of Non-Aggression with Poland.

**MAY 2.**—German non-aggression offer to Northern States.

**MAY 3.**—M. Litvinoff resigns.

**MAY 5.**—Colonel Beck replies to Hitler—Poland willing to join in conversations with Germany if she were prepared to proceed by peaceable methods.

**MAY 7.**—Political and military pact signed by Ciano and Ribbentrop at Rome.

**MAY 12.**—Speeches by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France; the two countries' resolve.

British defensive agreement with Turkey.

**MAY 15.**—Hitler tours the western fortifications.

**MAY 16.**—Von Papen recalled from Turkey.

**MAY 18.**—Northern States reply to Germany; Denmark alone accepts.

#### ITALO-GERMAN PACT

**MAY 22.**—Italo-German pact signed in Berlin.

**MAY 26.**—Final draft of British proposals sent to Moscow.

**MAY 31.**—M. Molotoff addresses the Soviet Parliament; an ambiguous speech.

**JUNE 2.**—Prince Paul in Berlin; Hitler gives an assurance to Yugoslavia.

**JUNE 7.**—German non-aggression pacts with Latvia and Estonia signed.

**JUNE 13.**—Mr. Strang arrives in Moscow to assist the Anglo-Russian negotiations.

**JUNE 23.**—France and Turkey sign defence pact.

**JUNE 28.**—First serious news of military preparations in Danzig, British memorandum to Germany on the denunciation of the Naval Treaty.

#### THE DUAL POLICY

**JUNE 29.**—Lord Halifax's speech at Chatham House—the dual policy.

Polish festival at Gdynia; President on the importance of the Corridor.

**JULY 1.**—British Labour appeal to German people.

President Roosevelt defeated on Neutrality legislation.

**JULY 6.**—Increased British credits for guaranteed Powers.

**JULY 10.**—Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament reaffirms British pledge to Poland.

**JULY 21.**—Official statement in Germany: "We reject 100 per cent. the idea of a war-like solution to the Danzig problem."

Trouble with Poland in Spring -

Re. ? preparation for war; 800,000,000  
for about 2 months and told this I was  
not stand it long. Felt very patient.

in not yielding to resignation <sup>feeling</sup> impulse.  
Then suddenly allowed out  
of "dog-house" again.

Not a line written in a notebook  
for months; the cynical occupation of  
Bohemia & Moravia; the conquest of  
Albania in March & April began a  
period of intolerable tension,  
relieved occasionally by a few  
weeks of lull.

The march of Hitler towards  
war left one's reason & judgement  
no alternative but to accept its  
inevitability but for this <sup>all</sup> one's  
instincts revolted and cried out  
that it could not be for the  
second time in a generation.  
Futility, madness, criminal folly

In March, after the Nazi mass had  
swallowed the remains of Czechoslovakia  
British policy changed & an urgent &  
last-minute effort was made to  
construct a Peace Front. Poland was  
guaranteed, also Greece & Rumania, Holland

Belgium & Switzerland. Turkey  
made an alliance. Tentative  
approaches were made to Serbia  
Russia. Very tentative, we thought.

At a luncheon here in May  
I joined Walter & Wm. Strong in  
conversation. I said I thought  
~~was~~ the situation demanded urgency.  
"What do you want us to do?" Wm.  
said with a half-smile. I replied  
"Make an arrangement with Russia  
at the earliest moment." "That is  
just what Walter has been  
saying" he replied. He was once  
Counsellor & chargé in Moscow.  
So it was not unnatural as  
chief of the Central Section in  
the F.O. that he sh<sup>d</sup> be sent to  
Moscow a few weeks later to  
help the ambassador. He stayed  
about 6 weeks, I think. The negotiations  
dragged on — and ended only with  
the sudden announcement of a German-  
Russian non-aggression pact of a  
peculiar kind!

This volte face precipitated the  
crisis, already boiling up, & at  
daybreak on 1st Sept<sup>r</sup> the Germans  
invaded Poland.

Monday 28/8/39

90  
*on my return to the office from Poland*  
Saw Agnides and Avenol this morning. Both trying to count up the favourable factors of the Russo-German agreement:- Spain Japan and the consolidation of opinion in the decent countries where the German propaganda had many adherents or dupes on the idea of Nazi-ism being a bulwark against Communism. And to discount the other factors. To me the Germans seem to have changed their policy towards Russia at a price but that that fact suggests that they count more on immediate advantages in Europe than on long-distance losses. That is that the neutralisation of Russia, the consequent weakening of Poland's position, the opening of a new source of supplies against a possible blockade will count substantially in a war or threat of war.

Avenol says if they had meant war they have lost ten invaluable days when the western preparations have been made quietly

and efficiently. After talking with him I heard on the T; S; F. that Hitler had told Deladier he wanted not only Danzig but the Corridor, and the "protection" of two millions Germans in Western Poland which means in fact other large territorial concessions in northern and western Poland. If he sticks to that we shall have war. England and France are so far standing firm. To give way would make them second-class Powers overnight. Turkey Rumania and Greece would promptly tumble into Germany's pocket as Poland would be again partitioned leaving a free(!) rump to act as a helpless buffer territory. And when Europe was consolidated in Nazi hands they would be stretched out for whatever they coveted of French and British. I think the Western Powers have virtually their backs to the wall. And it dates very specifically from the Hoare-Laval agreement.

28/8/39

Without quite knowing why everybody is feeling easier about Switzerland's position. Perhaps it is Italy. She is in a quandary now. If she remained neutral ~~she~~ for a time she would ~~demobilise~~ *I mean* immobilise a large Anglo-French fleet and forces and perhaps strike when Germany had cleaned up in the East. So it is not unlikely she will get an ultimatum if War comes and she tries that game- for or against-.

*1st September.*

*The news comes in that German troops have entered Polish territory at three points and that Polish towns are being bombed from the air. So it begins.*

3rd September 1939 Sunday.

Great Britain and France declared war on Germany, in fulfilment of their Treaty obligations with Poland, at 11 a.m. after an ultimatum demanding the cessation of the attack on Poland and the withdrawal of German troops. The two or three days since the German attack began without notice or declaration have, we suppose, been used to make preparations, evacuate the danger zones of children, and no doubt in active diplomatic moves especially in regard to Italy.

Thank God Elsie and the children are in Dublin with two-thirds of their belongings. There is not the fear and panic in Switzerland there was during the last two crises in September and April, but no one knows. And it leaves my mind free from a good deal of personal anxieties.

The Nazis must be beaten if there is to be any decency in such life and civilisation as may survive. In the war of 20 years ago if we did not want England to be beaten we were certainly not anxious for her unqualified victory. We were not pro-German but pro-Irish and the land was in captivity. Now all our national interests lie with Britain and her allies. The freeing of most of Ireland- even if Develera declares as he does that we will be neutral "as long as possible"- puts Britain in a better position than in '14. No divisions to be kept in Ireland, a friendly government, a better moral position especially with a eye on America, food supplies and a safe back door. To be honest I should like to see the Government declare war but it is difficult for Dev. especially with the northern question unsettled. After all it is not so long ago since Britain represented in the eyes of our people nearly all that Nazi domination is to them; and if they are at last standing up to the Hun it is, making full allowance for the British disgust of Nazi abomination, in their national interests. A failure this time would have made Britain and France second class Powers overnight. Their turn would have come just as it came in the end for the too-clever Beck and in even worse conditions.

Now we wait for Italy.

Last April Elsie and I made up our minds to move the furniture and wains. We were in Ireland and when I came back before them and in view of what I saw and heard asked her if I should send a case of silver home- to have something for her- she said she was willing to move all and take the risks and inconveniences if we got another chance. I could not let it be known in view of my position but I knew no one else would have the responsibility and pay the cost. So we announced that the children would go to school in the autumn ( I expected the crisis in this month) and later that we would send some of our mobiliar to set up house for them. The Blythes were just vacating Fairfield House. We got our stuff off in July. It cost me 300 pounds for transport, which was a big insurance rate or gamble if you like, now fully justified. I kept enough here for Elsie and self, as if no war came she would divide her time between Dublin and Geneva. We would not be able to do big dinners etc here and would have to use restaurants. Even including my clothes I have now less than a thousand pds worth of stuff in Geneva.

The family had spent the first part of August in south of France and I was in Connemara. They got home about the 17th and were not in the house one day when the Bolsheviks dropped the bombshell of the treaty with the Nazis. I saw what it would mean and wired Avenol that I would go up at once to Dublin to be ready for a quick return. He answered that there was no occasion to change plans! But I got the telegram from a policeman as I reached Galway. One day in Dublin and then set off, not being sure of getting through London before it was bombed and being very uncertain if I would pass Paris. There were mobilisations all round. Germany had been preparing for months and others too. The threats to Poland increased as I reached Geneva after an uncomfortable journey via Dieppe. London and Paris sent warnings to Berlin that they would carry out their pledges to Poland; negotiations began. The story is known.

I employed the day or two of grace in trying to get the food stocks recommended by the Swiss govt; wrote various directions to Elsie; sent off some more papers, and except for a low stock of Irish cigarettes and a weak cellar, unexpected reduction of income, and the uncertainties of war on a fantastic scale, am as ready as possible for eventualities. It is now the time to live from day to day, and we are fortunate to have made so much provision.

The great Powers failed in leadership, failed no doubt in giving a better deal to Germany, failed to take low risks for the League and its conceptions, failed to realize what the Nazi really was. But it is not the time for all that. There is no reason to think that the war will not last perhaps for years, destroy the world's wealth again, involve the death of millions of boys and men and women and children. It is so appalling that it is not really conceivable that the arch criminal launched it. We are all at the moment in a kind of vacuum of thought. The tension has lasted for years, easing off now and then before being worked up to white-hot intensity. The suspense has at times been intolerable. And when it passed we knew it would recur in a few months in a worse form. I can't even write. These two pages are worthy of nothing but the fire.

The Admiralty has announced a few minutes ago the closing of the English Channel. The Bremen and Columbus, detained for special examination by the U S authorities, are on the Atlantic. A British cruiser is keeping close company with the Bremen.

The mortisheds came to tea. Ron is I think pretty sick that he has allowed the children to be caught. It should be possible however to get Peter through later on and in time for opening of Trinity. Una has been evacuated from Paris with her refugee office. Swiss radio warns us to be ready with full A R P.

4th Sept 1939

6000 000

British aeroplanes dropped anti-Hitler leaflets over German towns and a British liner was torpedoed with 1400 U.S. and Canadian passengers aboard. <sup>25 arriving</sup> Devalera informed by German Minister that Germany wd respect Irish neutrality if - South Africa also seems to have declared neutrality.

I never saw Avenol laugh so heartily as this afternoon. We all love Winant but he is curiously unfit for his present job. And is lost in face of the crisis. Phelan one morning last week in his office was worrying about some of the major problems when Winant came in and declared he had not been able to sleep. He walked up and down and then propounded his problem. He had leased La Fenetre from Butler with furniture. "Now" said he, "if a bomb drops on the house and destroys some of Butler's furniture who will be responsible? Butler or me?" Phelan stuttered a moment and then was speechless. I told A. the story and he doubled up. A group of people were consulting Ph. and Win. about the situation and Ph was trying to suggest to them that there wd be a great deal of personal responsibility and that they must not look to the administration too much. For instance each shd have a reasonable supply of food, he pointed out. "And a good pair of boots", interjected Winant. He was fortunately able to join in the laughter.

Elizabeth as she served me supper tonight confided that a bottle of champagne had been in the refrigerator for several days to celebrate peace! She had never taken our precautions seriously. Je dit que peut-être il sera mieux de la faire sortir pour le moment. She was astonished when having asked in a shop for 7 kilos of potatoes she was told she could have only one.

"Adouble dealing racketeer and gangster" is an American paper's description of Hitler. British propaganda policy is, and rightly, to distinguish between the Gang and the people. If things began to go badly the Partei might have trouble: it is not imminent.

Saw Finnish, Lithuanian, Chinese and Norwegian Ministers today. Just talk.

The Swiss mobilisation involves minor inconveniences such as the non-delivery of ice, milk etc.

Wednesday 6/9/39 The Germans are beginning to move more rapidly in Poland. Bromberg in the north and ~~Crac~~ Krakow are taken. They are 40 miles from Warsaw and the government has moved to Lublin. They hope no doubt to smash Poland before the winter and then perhaps announce their readiness for peace.

Lunched with Phelan and Gorgé who is going soon to Tokio as Swiss Minister and is at present liaison officer between the intl orgns and the Federal govt. He ~~as~~ asked for information as to the amount of support of the Irish bombers who killed so many people a few days ago in Coventry. The general effect abroad of this stupid campaign has been deplorable, as it has been also disastrous for Dev's policy and hopes of Irish union.

Sent a personal letter to Sean MacEntee telling him that I had placed my services at the disposal of Dev and of Joe Walshe.

The French-Swiss frontier is closed to all traffic as from this morning, says an announcement. I had seen no sign of even postal traffic for several days. The pound sterling is quoted 18.50 today as against about 21.50 ten days ago.

The news about Krakow saddens me somewhat as I have pleasant recollections of the visit Elsie and I paid there when we were en route for Zakopane. As the ancient capital it has a high place in Polish sentiment. Pilsudski the Liberator is buried there.

Many people are puzzled by the absence of conflict on the Western front. When it begins it will be bloody.

*Letter to Sean MacEntee, confirming  
letter of 31/8 to Dev. & Joe Walshe.*

*Herzog, on neutrality, beaten by 13 votes. Smuts  
Prime Minister again, will declare war.*

"L'Europe nouvelle" 17/8/1939

"Le mystère Burckhardt" - Leade.

"H. Leste, un Irlandais distingué, ayant  
"du quitter le poste de ~~haut~~ haut commissaire  
"pour avoir défendu avec courage les  
"droits constitutionnels de la population  
"dantzigaise, garanti par le S & N  
"et validés par le Sénat national-socialiste,  
"M. Burckhardt avait été choisi  
"précisément à cause de ses opinions  
"réalistes et de ses bonnes relations  
"avec les nazis, notamment le Führer  
"lui-même. Le fait est que sous  
"le règne du professeur Balow  
"général la nazification de la ville  
"libre, la cruelle extermination de la  
"Opposition et des juifs, a été achevée  
"radicalement."

An article of which an extract is made  
has just reached me in circulation. It  
is of course unfair to Burckhardt  
("CK-DT" the elite family). But as it is making  
a demand for an explanation of his  
activities this summer, & especially of  
his visit to Hitler on Aug 11, I also  
record the uneasiness I felt & expressed  
since June. He has left us very  
much in the dark & I have been  
somewhat alarmed at times as  
to <sup>political</sup> risks he was taking. Rather  
cool but not far wrong the writer  
refers to him as vain & ambitious.

He has taken risks on this a/c, I think.  
Gargi, yesterday, asked about him &  
seemed to be aware that B. wanted  
& advised he sh<sup>d</sup>. remain when in  
January some of us tried to get him  
withdrawn from Danzig.

He was given 3 hours to be out of Dg, & left  
amid insulting cries of a Nazi gang. On the  
previous evening Foster had assured him that  
according to his talk with Hitler there w<sup>d</sup> be no  
changes in Danzig!!! The war began next  
morning.

Friday 8th Sept 1939

German propaganda swept Geneva today with the theory that for the British and French this was not a real war but une guerre semblable; that the French attack on the Siegfried Line was a pretence; that they and the British were dropping tracts but not bombing the bridges of the Rhine; that when Poland was crushed and Germany offered another fait accompli and offered peace they would accept it. I consider it fantastic but it is part of the price paid for "Munich". that it should receive so much credence. Little things like the announcement tonight of the killing off of the animals in the London Zoo shd be significant to anyone not knowing something of the feeling in Britain. And Churchill is now in the War Cabinet with Eden as Dominions Secretary. Lessing, corr of the Berne "Bund", was one of those who presented me with this story. In addition he put forward the strategical reasons for forcing Italy immediately to take sides, for or against. With these I confess I am in full agreement, and have been from the first news of her intended neutrality, with some reserve owing to the complete absence of special information. But I took good care to say not a word that could be quoted. There can be little confidence in talking to people not absolutely sure in Geneva these days. Espionage is widespread.

Called young Celinski to my office today to warn him not to talk too much. He had said to a Rumanian friend and it had quickly passed round that they had been promised 1000 aeroplanes by Britain and generally being depressed and defeatist (almost). He is highly strung and naturally very much affected but is intelligent and seemed grateful. How much would they not give today ~~for~~ to have the sturdy Czech army at their flank! And to recall that unctuous wretch Komarnicki mouthing Nazi propaganda about the artificial state, and Benes' errors in depending on France and blatant exultation when their neighbour was torn to pieces and loud-mouthed certainty when one mildly inquired when Poland's turn would come. All this is in many people's minds and on some tongues. But Beck and his satellites were not the Polish people. And it all matters little today in face of consequences.

Query: to find out if Lessing is only in Swiss  
S.S. !! *haha! He is said to be OK.*

I am advocating <sup>that</sup> everybody <sup>should</sup> try to find distraction, in cards or games or hobby and to avoid too many talking parties. Cannot help noting that even in unexpected quarters I am a little helpful and reassuring. Probably due in great measure that I have no burden of anxiety about the family.

Saturday 9/9/39

Letter from Elsie (+ one from Ann) arrived dated 1/9/39 - the day before war was declared Dorothy May had declared she would not go to Trinity if war was declared but take up some kind of work. All much concerned that Bully should be handsomely killed if I have to leave Geneva.

The newspapers begin to arrive. "Times" of 4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> today. This will help to check propaganda. "Irish Times" of Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> said "neutrality is Ireland's only possible policy" - by interest. Devalera in the Dail on 1<sup>st</sup> announced Eire w<sup>d</sup> remain neutral as long as possible - <sup>thus</sup> echoing his February declaration. "as long as a part of Ireland is subject to force by a stronger nation it is only natural that the people should look to their own country first" That sounds like an invitation to London.

Sunday 10th Sept 39

Had Walters, Sweetser, and Wrong to dinner bridge last night. A friend of W's. called having come from Berlin (he is Argentinian) in a car marked "D" for Deutschland and the Swiss authorities asked him to leave it in Zurich to avoid incidents. He had seen German cars some from Italy with their windows smashed. As the Swiss broadcaster said last night Swiss opinion is unanimous as to the responsibility for the war. Last time there was much division.

Further petrol restrictions. No Sunday driving allowed except for military, doctors, and Dip. corps. No more dejeuners de dimanche dans le campagne for the Genevese. Streets were remarkably quiet without cars and hosts of cyclists, sometimes eight abreast, had it all their own way.

Went to Avenol's for lunch and felt like one of Bateman's cartoons (as I wrote to Elsie) so selfconscious prominent. We wont use our cars for ordinary jaunts, of course. With Avenol on the lake, in his luxurious motorboat- he thought the restriction did not apply in any case to motorboats. Called at Phelan's for tea. They talked yachtman's "shop".

Podesta Costa took leave of us yesterday.

Have just been listening to a talk on Poland's its struggle for freedom, from London ("As far away as Poland is"). It is so like our own. No Irishman can have other than sympathy and admiration for the Poles. But it must be confessed that post-war Poland developed, especially in recent years, a Chauvinism far from attractive. I have already mentioned their disgusting attitude when CzechoSlovakia was on the torture rack. They had not been cleverly treated by France but their claim to play the role of a Great Power their exercise of a raw type of Power Politics, their stupid support of Germany when the latter was destroying the League and getting ready for the attempt to dominate Europe, the crude boasting of representatives like Komarnicki ~~xxxThexxxx~~ lost them much sympathy and friendship. They went along so confidently. When they denounced the Minorities Treaty arrgts a few years ago, Imagining freedom from League restrictions and from French pressure and relying on their pact with Germany and the latter's need of them, they struck one of the first blows at their own future. I am not sure that most of the blame does not fall on Beck personally.

*Times 4/9/39*  
**Psalms for the Day**

The words of Holy Scripture speak not for one day but for all days; yet at times well-known verses touch with particular meaning a present occasion or need. Yesterday at Morning Prayer the Psalms for the day were in the minds of the congregations at the very hour when our country entered upon the war. The first was Psalm 15:—

Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?  
 Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life and doeth the thing which is right and speaketh the truth from his heart;  
 He that hath used no deceit in his tongue nor done evil to his neighbour and hath not slandered his neighbour;  
 He that sweareth unto his neighbour and dis-appointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance . . . .  
 Whoso doeth these things shall never fall.

And in the following Psalm was the petition  
 "Preserve me, O God, for in thee have I put  
 my trust."

Tuesday 12/9/39

Anthony Eden, Dominions Secretary, in a broad cast last night had an inspiring peroration; After this war he said there must be no mistake. A new civilisation must be built with peace, justice, and freedom as its foundations. When Naziism has been destroyed. He did not mention the League of Nations but by whatever it is called it will have the same aims. I like him and have a great deal of confidence in him. I remember with embarrassment that shortly after meeting him first—about six or seven years ago—remarking to him that people believed in his sincerity or something like that. I suppose there was some kind of suggestion that it could have been in doubt. He did not say much but I felt rebuked. But I had had a big dose of Simon. "Tony", as the F.O. called him, had four years of the last war and lost two brothers. Neither embittered nor cynical.

At any rate he struck the right note for the Dominions, the Americans, and the home front. And meant it, I have no doubt. Two years ago when he was chased from the Foreign Office the term "idealist" was labelled on him as an Opprobrium; he has been proved, as I wrote to him at the time he would be, to have been the best realist of them all. I am glad he has the entré into the War Cabinet.

This question of war aims becomes of immediate and great importance and it will be found that it is not enough to have the negative cry of "destroy Hitlerism"

The News bulletin tonight: Big Battle expected in the West: Defence of Warsaw: Liner sunk: French 'planes shot down: Electrically controlled machine guns. Seventeen air raids on Warsaw. It still seems like a bad dream. One closes one's mind to it in self-protection. "Escape?" Well, better than the jitters.

*Isn't it magnificent?*

Manchester Guardian 2/9/39, delayed, in a  
leading article says:-

This is a war we have striven desperately to avoid; we have made sacrifices of principle and prestige in order to conciliate the aggressor; we have come to the end. No efforts of our diplomacy or of that of France or Italy, no appeal to the highest principles of human morality, whether from the Pope or from the heads of States, great and small, have prevailed to turn Herr Hitler aside. He has rejected all and, brushing aside any pretence at negotiation, has invaded a neighbour State without declaration of war. Even in his own shameless record of insincerity and mendacity there has been nothing to compare with the process by which, within the space of a few short months, Poland was transformed from being a friend to be flattered into an enemy to be bullied and eaten up as were Austria and Czecho-Slovakia before her. Britain and France have their guarantees to Poland, but even if they had not we could not stand aside. The fate of Poland to-day would be that of Holland, of Switzerland, of Belgium to-morrow, and of ourselves and France the day after. It cannot go on. At all costs we must make

----- Hitler  
amorality stands out nakedly. Who, reading the German Notes, could believe that it is less than twelve months ago since Hitler described how he had won "lasting pacification" with Poland?

We do not expect anything from one another. We are two nations, and these nations will live and neither of them will be able to do away with the other. I recognise all this, and we all must recognise that a people of 33,000,000 will always strive for an outlet to the sea. A way for an understanding in this respect had to be found, and has been found. And this way will be farther and farther extended.

Certainly things become hard in this area. The nationalities and small national groups frequently quarrel among themselves, but the main fact is the two State leaderships, and all reasonable and astute persons among the two peoples and countries possess this firm will and determination to improve relations.

The Poles have never seen

12/9/39

A memo. passing through my hands on the position of Afghanistan, compares its present declaration of neutrality & that in 1914-18. In 1915 a German mission arrived & soon afterwards a pro-German party was set up, influenced by the fact that the Khalifa, as Sultan of Turkey, was on the German side. Habibullah, the Amir, had a difficult time but eventually he agreed to a mission proceeding to Berlin to discuss the terms on which Afghanistan would join the Central Powers. Of this Afghan mission, <sup>of Afghan</sup> writes our Indian colleague, four were actually British Secret Service men with the result that in various ways its departure was again & again delayed. Von Hentig, the German agent, eventually returned to Berlin in disgust.

In Feb. 1919 Habibullah was murdered & one of his successors engaged in war with

India, but was defeated in a few months. Better relations followed a treaty which recognized Af's independence & the young Amir & his wife tried to modernise & reform their country. A campaign by the priesthood led him to show his orthodoxy, however, by having a member of a Reformist sect executed. The latter was buried up to the waist & then stoned to death "in accordance with Afghan law." This did not save Amanulla, however. A decision to unveil the women was fatal to him. A bandit water carrier, one Baccha-i-Saggar led a successful rebellion <sup>in 1929</sup> & incidentally the R A F had to rescue 20 British & Indian women by air. Amanulla fled to Italy where he still lives but shortly afterwards the Water carrier was deposed & executed by Nadir

than, a general, who resigned for four years till he in turn, was assassinated at a football match. His eldest son, King Zahir, continues his father's policy which has given 4 years peace to the Asiatic Switzerland.

"But", adds friend Waheed, "no attempt has been made to proceed as rapidly in the direction of social reform as Amanulla did."

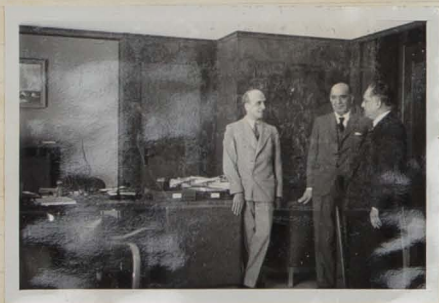
The object of this picturesque historical cameo was to show the difference between 1914-18 & 1939-?. Better relations with G.B.: no religious issue etc. There is a Soviet frontier but Iraq has declared war on Germany & Iran is friendly.

Podesta Costa  
Walter  
Lester  
Fabela (Mexico)

at luncheon to Roguiera.



Urquiza Minister,  
+ Roguiera - in my office.



13/9/39

In our semi-evacuated house I found today  
these verses which may some day interest  
our Patricia:

Morning Birds.

ONE morning awakened I to hear,  
The chirping songs of birds so near,  
That I imagined them to be  
In some wonderful garden tree.  
There was the black-bird, the sparrow and the tit,  
All singing; and when their soul of song is lit  
By the rising sun; for me they change:  
In marvelous plumage, they do range  
The brown branches of blooming trees,  
Gently swayed by the morning breeze. . . .  
.... Thus do I think of the cheery tit,  
When the morning sky of dawn is lit.

-----  
P. E. Lester.  
24, March, 1939.  
Geneva.

THE air is heavy, a stifling day;  
 Our ship is now in a gentle sway,  
 Apart from which the sea is a glass.  
 There is silence, but the lull will pass——  
 For see! Ov-er there, a cloud so small  
 That it could hardly predict a squall. A /  
 A murmuring voice is heard in the west,  
 As though fearing to shout aloud lest  
 It should waken a child in its dreams...  
 All of a sudden a sea-gull screams,  
 As though it knew of the brooding storm,  
 And fast as lightning, great fear is born  
 To him who dwells on the ocean wide,  
 And his beak is not erect with pride.  
 ... ..  
 Dost reel it on thy cheek? The rain?  
 None could look at that storm in disdain.  
 For the gale is on, and the lightning;  
 And the speed of the wind is height'n'ing.  
 But we're a'drinking in the hold  
 And we're a'thinking of the gold,  
 Which very soon we are to hold.

-P.E. Lester.

II, July, 1939.

9, Rue de Contamines.

~~I got that we are still to hold~~  
~~when our tale is told~~

The gold (?) that we are still to hold, above ~~recount~~ today is from an English

Sept. 5<sup>th</sup>

50 Upperston Rd  
Eastbourne

My dear Lester,  
 Well, it's started & I am off to  
 join my regiment tomorrow.  
 What a hell of a life!  
 After you left, I got a brace of  
 trout  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb each from Tanny.  
 Tany lost a big fish in Doover,  
 & another took half my cast.  
 We came back a week early  
 from Ireland & am glad we did.  
 Well, let's hope this ruddy war  
 will be over by next April, & then  
 may see you in Eire again.  
 All the best to you

Yours wa  
 Jack T. Mayo.

fishing companion in fulfilment of a promise to let me know if sport improved after my hurried departure.

A schoolmaster, who was in British army in Ireland until the Truce (1921) & had charge of an internment camp.

<sup>of the</sup>  
<sup>internment</sup>  
Recalled his friendship with John Joyce, one (friend of Desmond Ryan, student at St. Enda's, & now a major in our own army). Joyce asked him to come & stay with him some day. Quite like a Welsh novel. Mayo is an Ireland-lover.

My fishing holiday was the worst I ever had, owing to drought. Got a salmon 6 lbs in Spiddal river, first day, then went to Ardagh but waters fell lower & lower. Got 3 or 4 seatrout. Saw plenty of salmon. Generally reported the worst season for many years.

Later. Even of 3<sup>rd</sup> Oct. Edmund wrote "not a drop of rain for last 5 weeks" He had got another (3<sup>rd</sup>) salmon of 9 lbs. and there were salmon & seatrout in Ballinbegh burn.

No sign of eels running: I had got him a licence. Had sent 4 ten (pint) jars to Elsie. Shooting not very good. Some ducks shot but geese not yet arrived.

13/9/39

Genem, back from Paris, says the evacuation has caused certain temporary organisational difficulties. e.g. the French affairs people are in three different chateaux.

He says the French casualties during the first four days of the Second World War were ~~for~~ two wounded. But denies as wild exaggeration the Geneva report of 75,000 wounded during the recent advance.

The Orient Express, Paris Vallarbe Lausanne Simplon - is running again but carries no mails.

Peter Munkshof got a place in a refugee train arranged by English Consul today. Ordered to carry 36 to 48 hours' provisions ~~for~~ for journey across France. Sent a letter to Elsie by him.

A letter from Betty, sent on 6<sup>th</sup>, full of  
spirit - gently poking fun at her mother  
& me. Full of bad spelling!  
Soz, she is going with E. in a hired car  
to Ardagh to collect the war programs  
bought last April. One of my  
letters, still probably in France, had  
advised against touching them  
till more urgent need arose.

15/9/39 Friday.

There is general satisfaction that  
Deladier has removed Bonnet from  
Quai D'Orsay, making him min. for justice  
"He is now vis-à-vis de la justice",  
remarked Charron last night at  
Arend's dinner. Bonnet, if not a  
peace-with-fame-at-any-price man  
was said to be; alleged to have played  
an important part in the  
Munich decisions re Czechoslovakia.

Some one asked Arend last  
night where was Laval (there had been  
a false report of his visit to Italy).  
"Il n'est pas encore ~~par~~ fusillé!"  
the S.G. said.

All the same I have the  
impression, about which I am  
most discreet, that France is  
not so determined in her attitude  
as Britain. All the better that  
Bonnet sh<sup>d</sup> not be in F.A. The  
test will come within a month,

I sh<sup>d</sup> say, with a "generous"  
offer from Berlin of an independent  
Poland, much reduced in size  
economically & militarily dependant  
on Germany.

Russian Press is talking of  
Poland's minorities, White Russian  
& Ukrainian, in a way which  
precisely recalls the Polish  
arguments when C-Sl. was on  
the rack. What does it presage?

Madame Jurgis Savickis, wife of  
Lithuanian Minister, left a large  
panier of grapes & melons from  
their Rindera house from which  
they had just returned. She is Danish.  
& we like them both. May think  
of their little house & meager there  
just as we think of Ardagh Lodge.

The following letter from Wareing, two years  
ago, has just turned up in house-clearing.

(The Daily Telegraph)

UNTER DEN LINDEN 34,  
BERLIN N.W. 7.

TEL. 11-29-77

Danzig, June 16<sup>th</sup> 1937

Dear Mr. Lester,

I feel impelled  
to tell you that somewhere  
Danzig doesn't seem quite  
when you are away.

Also I had a  
talk with Boettger today. He  
said that you had invited to  
house a man who is  
very of Germany and  
who in another country would  
be hied for high treason.  
I intimated that that might  
easily happen to anyone in

I sh<sup>d</sup> say, with a "generous"  
offer from Berlin of an independent  
Poland, much reduced in size  
economically & militarily dependent  
on Germany.

Russian Press is talking of  
Poland's minorities, White Russian  
& Ukrainian, in a way which  
precisely recalls the Polish  
arguments when C-Sl. was on  
the rack. What does it presage?

Madame Jurgis Savickis, wife of  
Lithuanian Minister, Le Souverain de notre jardin  
panier of grapes & melon & Newton  
their Riviera house for  
they had just returned.  
we like them both.  
of their little house &  
just as we think of Ardagh Lodge.

Jurgis Savickis

The following letter from Wareing, two years  
ago, has just turned up in house-clearing.

(The Daily Telegraph.)

UNTER DEN LINDEN 34,  
BERLIN N.W. 7.

TEL. 11-29-77

Danzig, June 16<sup>th</sup> 1937

Dear Mr. Lecker,

I feel impelled  
to tell you that somehow  
Danzig doesn't seem quite  
right when you are away.

Also I had a  
row with Boettger today. He  
said that you had invited to  
your house "a man who is  
an enemy of Germany and  
who in another country would  
be hanged for high treason".  
I injected that that might  
easily happen to anyone in

Le Temps 8/9/39

Toutes les dispositions étaient prises à Berlin en vue de déclencher la guerre contre la Pologne le samedi 26 août. Les communications téléphoniques furent interrompues dans tout le Reich et les dernières mesures économiques concernant l'état de guerre furent appliquées. Or, la veille du jour fixé pour l'entrée en campagne, le 25 août, pour des raisons encore obscures, l'ordre de marcher de l'avant fut brusquement rapporté. On annonça que les discours du général von Brauchitsch et du chancelier Hitler prévus pour les 26 et 27 août ne seraient pas prononcés. Du 26 au 29 août, il y eut une période d'incertitude qui fit renaître l'espoir que la catastrophe pouvait encore être évitée. Le Führer — de caractère beaucoup moins résolu que ne voudrait le faire croire sa légende — paraissait hésiter. Le 29 août, un homme de confiance du chancelier Hitler révéla à un représentant des puissances démocratiques que le Führer se trouvait fort embarrassé et qu'il s'était trop engagé en méconnaissant la résolution de la France et de l'Angleterre. Ces dispositions singulièrement nouvelles se trouvèrent confirmées le même jour de différentes sources dans les milieux diplomatiques, et un haut fonctionnaire de la Wilhelmstrasse déclara même à une personnalité diplomatique régulièrement accréditée auprès du gouvernement allemand que la menace de guerre était écartée et que la paix était assurée. D'autre part, on eut connaissance d'une déclaration analogue d'un aide de camp du Führer. Le lendemain 30 août, tout était brusquement changé. Le renversement de la situation était total sous la pression des influences hostiles à tout règlement pacifique. La version qui circula dans les milieux les mieux informés de Berlin tendait à faire admettre que M. von Ribbentrop, notamment, avait réussi à persuader de nouveau le chancelier Hitler qu'il pouvait prendre des gages sans s'exposer à des risques graves, et qu'ensuite la France et l'Angleterre seraient disposées à traiter.

Telle est la vérité sur les circonstances dans lesquelles le crime contre la paix a été commis. Lorsque le peuple allemand connaîtra cette vérité, il n'aura aucune peine à établir lui-même les responsabilités encourues par ses maîtres et à découvrir les grands coupables de la politique qui l'a jeté dans la guerre par un unique souci d'un effort désespéré pour sauver un régime de tyrannie définitivement condamné.

*This story rather  
confirms my fears  
during my ~~last~~  
journey to Geneva.  
I was in Paris on  
Saturday 26/8.*

Saturday 16th September 1939

During the past two days there has been an interesting development in the Soviet Press. It has been charging Poland with having had too many minorities, including White Russian and Ukrainians and with ill-treating them. Both are probably true but there is something significant in the attacks. Reminiscent of Polish attacks on CzechoSlovakia- artificial state etc.

Dined with Phelans last night and played bridge with them and Weaver of the I L O. The Osservatore Romano re fresh attacks on Cath. Press in Germany says it is part of the determined campaign to suppress Christianity;

SUNDAY 17th Sept Elizabeth, on returning from Mass:="Est-ce que Monsieur a entendu des nouvelles à 10 heures?" "Non, Elizabeth" "Les Soviets sont entrés en Pologne." Her eyes were very sad.

Spoke to Vigier and Walters over the garden hedge and they came in to listen to the news. All along the front from Lithuania to Rumania the Red forces have moved-"to establish order and protect minorities" according to the well-worn announcement. No desire to enter into the general conflict.

During the past week the German advance has been slowed down by the rains, long hoped-for, but the military situation was bad in spite of Polish gallantry (which I never doubted). Warsaw was holding out but half-encircled and the advance along the Carpathian foothills was near Lvov (Lemberg), designed to cut off the retreat towards the Rumanian frontier.

At 3-10 p.m. today a German ultimatum for the surrender of Warsaw expires and they announce they will completely destroy the town

The poor devils are now taken between two great Powers and their collapse is only a question of days. "The Polish state has ceased to exist", said the Moscow Note.

Holland will, I fear, be in the front line before long. Rumania is mobilised, of course, but-

Elizabeth, while serving at the table, said she had been in town and had met some other German people. They were, she said, even more wretched than she; I asked how and she replied "Oh, about whether Germany is in the right They were crying". I did not know what to say.

Tuesday 19th Sept. Lunched with Avenol and the Supervisory Committee yesterday. There are many problems, financial, personal, and political. Hambro is very good. He is realist but confident in the future and decent relations between nations. He flew from Oslo to Amsterdam over the North Sea and found the train service very disorganised in Holland. Got a car to The Hague where he picked up *Olivan*, the Intl. Court Registrar and both motored to Paris. They did that journey in record time owing to the roads being almost clear of traffic, and caught the train-Orient Express, to Lausanne.

He played bridge with Sweetser, Wrong, and me last night at Miremont. Very strongly anti-German whose history and character he knows. Asked me if Devalera would remain neutral for long; said he was afraid of Ireland being made a base for espionage and even U-boats. I tried to reassure him on these two points and said that most of the Germans had actually left Ireland, even forsaking lucrative businesses and posts. I feel somewhat reassured that Tommy Coyne is Assistant Censor, (Joe Connolly being his chief).

Sending a letter to Elsie tomorrow by Sir Cecil Kisch who is returning to London. It is quicker and safer.

Yesterday morning got letters from Elsie and Dorothy Mary, the first since the war began. Posted on 11th. which wasn't bad. Elsie had picked up at Ardagh Lodge, in a hired car, the war stores she had bought last Easter. Gen. Sir Chas McMourrough-Kavanagh the September tenant had not apparently arrived. She is trying to let the house. Elsie was lyrical about the place, its peace and comfort and simplicity, and awoke all our dreams of settling down there if and when we can. Alas, the resources are so very slender. This changing life has given us much but no pension prospects.

Hitler is just speaking over the wireless from Danzig, where he is celebrating. The dear Forster led off. The speeches were interspersed with natural applause but that is not enough, they must introduce sandpaper effects. Julius Streicher is reported under arrest in Germany; embezzlement- and indiscreet remarks about Goring's income. Hope it is true. He is a stinking brute. Goebbels has not been heard from since the war began and there are rumours about him too.

Asked Sokoline to see me last night. Wanted to get his idea as to whether the Russian move was in concert with the German. I myself had no doubt but Walters was anxious to hear reaction. He said No but put up feeble defence when I put considerations to him. But it might not have been detailed as to exact spheres of control. He pointed out the importance of the Russian advance along the Polish-Rumanian frontier. (Indeed today it appears that they have reached the Hungarian frontier, created or recreated last autumn in the S.E. corner of Slovakia). He spoke with more bitterness than before of the Russian offers refused disdainfully in the Spring and said ~~army would have collapsed - the cardboard Polish~~ it was perhaps as well for Russia. If they had been accepted the cardboard Polish army would have collapsed and the Russians would have had to bear the brunt of the fight while it was being announced that all was calm on the western front. Not very convincing He gave a start when I remarked that it had a touch of poetical justice that Poland shd be attacked in the rear by Russia just as Poland had attacked Czechoslovakia. He had been so eloquent abt the former. To the question as to whether R wd remain neutral in the general conflict as she had said he replied why not, seeing that she has now the fruits of a war without difficulty. "France and Britain smashed collective security and ~~now it is~~ released all kinds of national claims and ambitions and now it is everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost"

The Duke of Windsor has gone back to England after three years ~~ago~~. I met him and Her last July when they unexpectedly visited the Palais des Nations. I was Acting S.G and on a Sunday afternoon was digging in garden when the official on duty called me up. Was tempted to let it pass but put on a suit and went over. Liked him; very natural and with his training asked lots of questions mostly personal. Told him I was Irish and he wanted to place me. Spoke of the cost of the buildings and I said it was less than the Parliament of Belfast, a subordinate institution as compared with a Parliament for 50 nations. "Ah, yes, I opened that place and I remember there was some talk about the cost. I said there were many slums in Belfast". Typical. She was pleasant and reserved. I had that rare feeling that I was prejudiced against her

The "lately" Mr Simpson was quiet, apparently cultivated, & not undistinguished looking. I had almost the unfortunate impression of "lady-like" or genteel. A great courtesan, no doubt. I liked him as I say, & reflected (as a compliment) that I should enjoy an evening's talk with him. He is of course extremely well-informed. I had always thought of him as likely to be the best monarch England had had; in fact he nearly wrecked the monarchy. I suspect he is still in touch with bad counsellors - witness that broadcast to USA on the eve of poor George's vital visit last Spring.

Monday 21/9/39

Delivery of newspapers is improving.  
"Le Temps" of Wednes. (Printed Tues) arrives  
today. "The Times" of Monday also comes.  
"The Irish Times" etc from Dublin are  
a week old. "The Irish Gazette"  
is 10 days late.

A catalogue of underclothing, sent from  
London to Elze at Danzig & forwarded  
seems to have been inspected by many.  
"Von der Wehrmacht zugelassen"  
"Auslandsnachrichtenprüfstelle Königsberg (bn)"  
"Geöffnet im Staatsinteresse  
Auslandsbriefüberwachungsstelle."  
And finally, a sign that poor old Beier  
is not "removed" he signs the envelope  
"E. Beier, ehemaliger (formerly) Sekretariat des  
Haut Commissars"

Burchhardt has arrived in Switzerland.  
His name was mentioned at the Supervisory Ctee  
& Hambro was rather scathing about  
an interview he gave at Stockholm in

which he said that when he saw Hitler on  
13/8 Hitler's mind was already made up.  
He had gone to make a supreme effort  
"pour aplanir les voies à une solution  
pacifique. Mais, il était trop tard et je  
n'ai pas réussi.... Le Führer avait déjà  
pris sa ~~de~~ décision.... Un moment  
plus tôt j'aurais peut-être eu une  
chance, mais, je dois dire seulement - peut-être?"

"We didn't realise what a master-  
statesman we had amongst us whose  
influence was so great that he might  
have persuaded Hitler when all else  
failed," remarked Hambro with brutal irony.

Friday 22/9.  
Walter & I spent two hours  
this afternoon listening to Burchhardt's  
account of what happened this  
summer in Danzig. Very interesting  
& indeed exciting as August  
advanced.

September 23rd 1939

BURCKHARDT arrived in the Secretariat yesterday and for an hour and a half Walters and I listened to his fascinating and exciting story. The last days in Danzig must have brought a heavy nervous strain; he had sent his wife and children to Switzerland a short time before and he seemed to have found as his most reliable friend and confident, the British Consul General (an interesting coincidence as I was in much the same position with Consul General Robinson when I was there). The Consul General now was Shepherd and he was replacing another Consul General, also named Shepherd, who had been there for the past two years and who had left not long ago suffering from a nervous break down.

Once the Russian Pact was signed they too seemed to have come to the conclusion that events were marching swiftly and inevitably. The two men had all their meals together and on the 31st of August, in a state of a certain amount of nervous excitement, they were joking with the Swiss footman whom they made serve the coffee wearing a gas-mask. During the afternoon, Forster had called on Burckhardt and talked to him about the Fuhrer's determination that everything should go quietly in Danzig. According to Burckhardt, he replied asking why he should make these "blagues" with him when he knew they were about to begin the war.

Shepherd had gone home when there came a violent ringing at the door and three men of the Gestapo appeared. They instructed the High Commissioner not to go to bed as the Gauleiter would call to see him at night. Burckhardt replied that he would see the Gauleiter the following morning. The Gestapo cut the telephones and occupied the ground-floor while Burckhardt went to his room. He was sleeping in the corner room on the first floor with the bow-windows overlooking the garden, which we used as one of the guest-rooms. At 4.30 a.m. the

glass of the windows fell into the room with the first explosions. The Schleswig-Holstein had suddenly opened ~~the~~ fire on the Westerplatte; the Polish Post-Office was simultaneously attacked and also the Railway Station 150 yards from the house; in the latter apparently large bombs were being used.- The Swiss valet came into Burckhardt's room explaining "nous sommes perdus, la guerre mondiale va tous nous engloutir" (a vignette in the best Burckhardt ~~in~~ style!).- At 8 o'clock the Gauleiter arrived armed to the teeth and with two uniformed aides-de-camps; standing in front of Burckhardt, he announced: "You represent the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Versailles no longer exists, in two hours (looking at his wrist-watch) the croix gammée will be hoisted above this house. You will be escorted to the frontier, or, if you wish to stay, you will stay as a private individual." Burckhardt immediately replied that he would leave at once. He was turning away when Forster added in a slightly less official tone: "I hope this will not interfere with our private relations" and in the best ~~Johnnie~~ *Johnnie* style Burckhardt replied: "Sir, I never had any private relations with you and never wish to have." With a Gestapo man in every room, he got some clothes packed and assembled his three compatriots: Secretary, typist and valet and at 10 o'clock went to the door.- Old Borchard, who had been butler in our time, had since retired and ~~was~~ retaining some obscure function still occupied rooms at the top of the house. He had appeared and was fussing about bullying the other servants as usual, when Burckhardt passed out accompanied by his two little dogs, he saw the old swine kick at the dogs as they passed him. Outside, his own car and the official car were drawn up together with a Gestapo escort; there was a considerable crowd kept back by the police. In view of the newspaper reports I asked

Burckhardt as to the demeanour of the crowd and he replied on the whole it was quiet and well behaved, almost indifferent. One man had stepped forward shouting "slayten die Hundvöte" but was immediately pushed back by the police; several of the people in the crowd actually saluted Burckhardt as he drove off.

He passed through East Prussia and went to Kaunas, the Lithuanian capital, that night and after a day or two, went on to Riga where he met Munters the Foreign Minister and received every kindness. A small ship brought him over to Stockholm after a shocking voyage during which the motor cars on the deck were filled with water. At Stockholm Sandler was extremely kind to him; as Burckhardt remarked, he did not even say "I told you so in January!". While he was in Stockholm, Burckhardt was called on by the German Counsellor sent by Weizsacker to apologize for the way he had been so summarily ejected and offer him every facility if he cared to pass through Germany on his way to Switzerland. (He had received the most solemn promises from Weizsacker and others that if he should ever have to leave Danzig, he would be given decent notice and not treated ignominiously.) The Counsellor told him that Weizsacker's eldest son had just been killed in the Polish fighting and that Weizsacker was resigning his post as permanent Head of the Wilhelmstrasse. He had only stayed there because he still hoped to check the wild men and keep peace. The Counsellor was somewhat outspoken and said also, à propos of young Weizsacker that "they" were putting people of that class into the front line.

Burckhardt did pass through Germany. He described the night spent in a way-side auberge in the common room of which he saw a huge pictorial poster representing various horrors of war such as bayoneted women, children, etc. along the top of the poster, in great red letters, was the word "Chamberlain" and from the name huge gushes of blood were represented as falling.

*He says the date 26th August was on all German War Orders & it was postponed for a week.*

I forgot his account of the visit of the "Schleswig-Holstein", the battleship which was sent to Danzig for a formal visit towards the end of August. The Officers made all the official calls and received all the usual entertainments, including a party in the General Kommando. This was on the Sunday before the attack on Poland. In the course of the evening the Captain of the ship remarked to Burckhardt that some times an Officer was compelled to do a thing which he would never dream of doing as an honest private individual. Burckhardt thought he was referring to his orders to attack without warning the small garrison of 200 men in the Westerplatte.

I asked Burckhardt about Nederbragt, the Dutch President of the Harbour Board. He told me that Nederbragt had, as the crisis approached, completely severed all relations with the High Commissioner and dissociated himself in every possible way. He had done the same thing with me when the Nazis suddenly turned on me in my last months in Danzig. I think his motives were exclusively based on the hope that he could still protect his job. He is a contemptible little creature and I confess I was highly amused on learning that he was treated with even less courtesy than Burckhardt; no one called on him, but he got a telephone message to be out of Danzig in two hours.

Burckhardt's account of his visit to Hitler on the 13th of August was extremely interesting. He says that Hitler asked for him and eventually sent his private aeroplane to fetch him. He found Hitler remarkably quiet and normal and over a tea-table with Forster present, he made ordinary table talk. Then they began to talk about the Danzig affairs and the general situation. In the course of the conversation Hitler had just two of his maniacal outbreaks: one was about the Poles, when he said that if they went a millimeter further, he would crush them from the face of the earth and the face of the History. Burckhardt says his eyes were glaring and his face

*I had told him not to count on it.*

working and his voice rose to a shriek. The second time was over an article in the "Figaro" which apparently had some kind of personal references. He told Burckhardt that he could not let anybody or anything touch his personal prestige, partly because he had come up from the masses, from the proletariat. I reflected that this was perhaps less a sign of political policy than of an inferiority complex. He sent Forster away and talked for a time alone with Burckhardt. He told him that they had found the Czech plans of war and that they had been the admiration of all his generals; that they had bought the Polish war plans and that they were childish and hopeless. He talked of Germany's need for food growing space and said that his scientists had told him they could make German soil produce very heavily by intensive application of chemicals, but that this would lead to the soil becoming sterile; he therefore needed Poland's acres. I remarked that this indicated his mind was still running on war as such ideas were intended to defeat a war blockade. Burckhardt says that on one point he said to Hitler something about his tremendous responsibilities and the fate of millions of people depending on his decisions. Hitler replied, previously turning his back on him "that decision no longer depends on me". Burckhardt's impression was that he was referring to the gang which surrounds Hitler including von Ribbentrop, Dietrich and Lawrens.

(One of the 1934 executives)

I get the impression Burckhardt has a feeling of sympathy with Hitler; he regards him to some extent as he would regard an unbalanced woman, or perhaps, as Stoppani has it "the slave of his previous actions". He said that in his last interview, Hitler in addressing him never looked straight at him. He had periods of depression and even sadness; as he left Hitler said to him that he would like to meet him again privately "whatever happens". Forster as they drove away remarked "You seem to have a tranquilizing effect on him."

Burckhardt says that the old Keyserling's house near Wilrow, which has probably resumed its name of Neustadt now, had been burnt down after the war started, but he had no news of the old people.

Some little time before the war began Forster, speaking of the Russo-German pact, said the agreement, he thought, included Russian access to the open sea. "Baltic State"? asked B. # Forster thought not - "we have interest there" - he was uncertain about Geography but mentioned the idea of a port in the Persian Gulf!

"TIMES" The Nazi Mind 23/9/39

The documents published in a Blue-book yesterday are primarily material for the historian's patient study, although their main tenor is already well known. But readers interested in psychological oddities will find that they throw a curious light on the personality and behaviour of the Nazi leaders. There is, for instance, the picture of FIELD-MARSHAL GÖRING, after delivering himself of a tirade of ferocious threats against the Poles if they should dare to resist the Nazi designs, proceeding to show SIR NEVILLE HENDERSON over the new splendours of his marble halls, to be adorned with tapestries representing "naked ladies" "labelled with the names of various virtues," including Mercy and Goodness, but not Patience. There is the already familiar nocturnal scene in which HERR VON RIBBENTROP gabbed through the sixteen points of Germany's so-called peace terms, and then not only refused to let SIR NEVILLE see them in writing, but "in the most violent terms" declined to invite the POLISH AMBASSADOR to visit him in order to communicate them to his Government.

But both the barbaric vanity of the FIELD-MARSHAL and the boorish discourtesy of the FOREIGN MINISTER seem to be reflections of an exalted model. SIR NEVILLE HENDERSON indeed describes HERR VON RIBBENTROP as "aping Herr Hitler at his worst." The motives admitted by the FÜHRER in the course of these strange diplomatic interviews seem sometimes to have no relevance to any consideration that moves civilized Governments when they handle matters

on which the lives of millions hang. He is found reproaching England with "fighting for lesser races," by which it is presumably to be understood as his serious doctrine that only his "Nordics" possess the right to life. He prefers war now, when he is fifty, to fighting it when he is fifty-five or sixty, apparently thinking it self-evidently right that the destiny of nations should be subordinated to the progress of one man's career. When reminded that MARSHAL BLÜCHER thought it imperative to be true to his pledged word, he retorts that "things were different 125 years ago." And in the very last sentence of his last communication to the AMBASSADOR, after the British ultimatum had expired, he describes a document published by a private journalist as "a communication by order of the British Government," conveying their intention of "carrying the destruction of the German people even farther than was done through the Versailles Treaty."

The virtues of the German people, as we have learnt to know them in the years when they were permitted to be our friends and to respect them even when they were our stubborn foes, are pre-eminently those of solidity and sobriety. That they should come to be officially represented by this clique of febrile and hysterical rhetoricians is a bewildering paradox, which in less tragic times would be cause for mirth. But when HERR HITLER describes himself to SIR NEVILLE HENDERSON as "by nature an artist not a politician," laughter is damped by the reflection that the same boast was made by NERO.

At this time he did.

27<sup>th</sup> September 1939.

Postal delays  
still of much  
concern. This  
one is my "best";  
posted in London  
on 2<sup>nd</sup> + delivered  
27<sup>th</sup>.

This, alas,  
is my birth day!!

Posted  
2/9  
received  
9/11

OPENED BY  
CENSOR  
337

P.C. 66



ROAD  
TAKE  
AVOID



His Excellency Jean Lester  
9 Rue de Contamines  
Geneva  
Switzerland

Poland's partition leaves more than half with Russia.  
von Ribbentrop has flown to Moscow  
where the Turkish Foreign Minister is on  
a visit - concerned no doubt with  
the Balkans. Russia with her  
Hungarian frontier now has a "say"  
with a geographical position.  
across the German path, perhaps?  
The Drang nach Osten - where is it  
with Russia's new position?

"Germany has already lost  
the war - her way to the East is  
closed," said Cavenol this  
morning. I felt inclined to  
agree but added "But we  
have not yet won it".

Reported Russian ultimatum  
to Estonia whose Foreign Minister  
is running between the two  
capitals. "A naval base &  
control of commerce"; say the papers.  
Certainly true, I should say.

Have just telegraphed Dorothy May  
that she has passed the Cambridge  
School Certificate Examination. We were  
all doubtful. She failed <sup>only</sup> in  
Latin which is needed for her <sup>Dublin</sup> University  
entrance & in that subject she  
tried to do two years' work in six  
months. Very satisfactory.

She got "credits" in English Literature  
Mathematics - "Very Good" in  
French, written & oral, & German  
written & oral. "Pass" only in  
English Language & British European  
History.

I think she can do the  
Latin & enter Trinity in January.

30<sup>th</sup> Sept 1935

Yesterday two important events. Soviet makes  
Estonia a vassal by a "mutual assistance" pact,  
gets naval bases near Riga at mouth of  
Gulf of Finland - a great strategical  
change in the Baltic - & a kind of guarantee  
- <sup>the</sup> threat - to Latvia. The latter seems to be a warning  
to Germany "Hands off Latvia".

new demarcation of frontiers in  
Poland. Russians return to what seems  
more or less ethnological line. Demand  
for Peace <sup>in the west</sup> jointly made by Stalin & Ribbentrop.  
And agreement in principle on extensive  
trade exchanges. Nothing announced  
about the Balkans.

The Russian undertakings are vague  
and their value <sup>to Germany</sup> depends entirely on subsequent  
interpretation but the Russian gains  
are real & substantial.

From our "Press Summary" !!

"When thou hearest the fool rejoicing,  
"And he said: "It is over and past,  
"And the wrong was better than right,  
"And love turns to hate at the last,  
"And we strove for nothing at all,  
"And the gods are fallen asleep ...."  
"Then loosen thy sword in the scabbard  
"And settle thy helm on thy head;  
"For men betrayed are mighty  
"And great are the wrongfully dead."

Wm Morris

1<sup>st</sup> October. Sunday.

Four weeks' war. We all feel it hasn't begun in the west. Poland wiped out - really in the first two weeks - by incomparable German strategy and overwhelming force. Warsaw surrendered a few days ago & today Hela put up the white flag.

The defence of Warsaw a week after the debacle was more than useless bravery; it was politically necessary to give the Polish nation courage & pride for the future resurrection.

The coming week will see the great Peace Offensive. Trenchard Churchill said Hitler began the war but it will not be for him to say at what point it will stop. I have no doubt of the Franco-British answer.

Churchill soft-pedalled about Italy and pointed out that Russia was entirely self-interested & that her interests in many respects coincided with those of the allies.

Monday 2/10/39  
munters' turn. Re Fur Min.  
of Latvia is en route to Moscow.  
Their terms will be easier than  
Estorica's were, I guess. Use of ports  
for commerce!

From M. et Mme.  
Lester de S. p. et a

MT & M<sup>re</sup> ISIDRO FABELA

Souvenir de visite  
sejour - Lorient.  
Sep. 30/39

4/10/39.

This card from Fabela, who is  
returning to Mexico, accompanied  
a fine <sup>table</sup> handwoven, & multi-coloured  
(?) tablecloth. It seems to be old.  
A pleasant and unexpected little gesture;

Vouketchavitch came in to say  
goodbye. Yugo-Slavia is not yet open  
to him for internal political  
reasons. Politically intelligent  
I hope he soon finds some occupation.  
Saw him recently with Count & Countess  
Moretti in "the Bavaria". She is, perhaps  
wrongly, regarded in some quarters as  
an Italian agent.

Have just seen a copy of a  
privately printed pamphlet by  
Herman Rauschning -

"Herr Hitler, Ihre Zeit ist um -  
offenes Wort und Letzter appell"

no date or printer or publisher,  
but apparently written after  
the Russo-German Pact and  
before the war began.

a powerful indictment.

It ends:-

"Wir aber wenden uns von Ihnen, dem das Los  
jedes Tyrannen gewiss ist. Wir sagen uns von  
Ihnen los, um nicht mitschuldig zu werden an dem  
Verderben unserer Kinder und dem Untergang unseres  
Volkes. Wir scheiden uns von Ihnen und wollen  
nichts gemein haben mit dem, was Sie für deutsch  
und deutsche Zukunft halten. Was in der Nation  
gesund ist, hat sich freigemacht von Ihren Ideen.  
Der andere Teil mag mit Ihnen untergehen. Ein  
einziges Raunen geht heute durch unser Volk. Noch  
ist es Raunen. Aber es wird zum Schrei. Und der  
Schrei wird zur Tat. Ihre Zeit ist um. Ihre Zeit  
und die Ihrer Eldesthelfer.

Dazu helfe uns Gott!"

Wrote to Walter a few days ago (he is  
in London) asking if he could trace  
a copy of Rauschning's letter to  
Brecht, written about the end of 1936,  
and recording a conversation with  
Hitler while he was President in  
Danzig. It came to my mind  
in connection with the fixing of the  
German frontier on the River Bug in  
Poland. In that conversation H. said  
his territorial aims were limited and  
in reply to one of his lieutenants (they  
were in intimate talk) he said he  
would take - (1) a slice of Denmark;  
(2) ditto Holland, (3) ditto Belgium (4) Alsace  
(I forget about Lorraine); (5) all German  
Switzerland (6) the Sudetenland; (7) Poland  
up to the river Bug. I thought it  
might be a useful document to  
publish now, of course with Rauschning's  
consent. He is a refugee in Paris,  
and <sup>might</sup> well play a great part in  
a democratised, post-war Germany.

Thursday 5/10/39

Lunched with Savickis, Lithuanian minister, who is anxiously awaiting news of the Moscow-Kaunas "conversations". He remarked on the wisdom of his Govt. having resisted advice from extremists to seize Vilna again before the Russians arrived. There was, he feared, little chance that Russia would hand it over.

Deprived of its only port by the German seizure of Memel, Lithuania has not so much interest for Russia as Latvia & Estonia.

Other guests were Adrian Lachanal, Borberg, Jean Martin, M<sup>rs</sup> Feldmans, Skylestad.

Sokoline today came back to his conviction of impending peace. As that would be a German victory, I didn't agree.

Also again emerged his fear of a possible Anglo-German alliance against Russia. That might be a possibility.

in coming years if & when the former  
menace of domination had disappeared  
& a Russian menace emerged.

I used to estimate the latter moment  
as 15 or more years hence. But  
things have moved quickly. It might  
come if Russia began to show too  
much interest in Asia minor or  
Afghanistan & Persia. But it is  
remote and the immediate  
danger is - the Nazi.

Looking <sup>today</sup> at Stalin's cold-blooded  
imperialism I feel a little less sure  
that the failure of the Anglo-Russian  
talks was altogether Britain's fault.  
G.B. could not offer such material  
bait to an allied Russia.

Friday 6th October 39

If Hitler's speech today was the high point of the  
Peace Offensive he has much disappointed me. I put his  
intelligence too high. I expected something which would  
have the appearance of generosity, something which  
might deceive the unwary, tempt a war-hating world to  
begin talking and thus inevitably leave him with the <sup>substantiated</sup>  
fruits of his latest aggression, make people forget the  
corpses still smoking on the plains of Poland and  
seek again a fatal and deceptive peace. There was a chance  
that he might have won if he could have made his  
proposals look well enough to divide opinion and  
shake morale. I see no or very little danger of  
that now. He talked about his Good Neighbour policy  
with amazing effrontery - and demanded colonies.

It was the same speech as we have heard  
several times after a conquest. Am almost inclined  
to think that something went wrong: was it Italy?  
References to disarmament and a conference are  
not enough. I can hardly believe they in Berlin  
think it is.

How rapidly the map changes:-

Manchuria  
Abyssinia  
China  
Austria  
Czechoslovakia  
Albania  
Memel  
Poland  
Estonia  
Latvia  
Lithuania

The colourless - almost scared - look of the "Irish Press" led me to suggest to Cremins to send home a detailed report of the Swiss Press, the press of a small neutral country directly under the menace of German force while we are quite sheltered. - no doubt the German minister bullies and our inexperience - not lack of courage or conviction - leads to a false understanding of what neutrality demands.

7/10/39.

Pierre Stoppani

très touché de votre témoignage d'amitié, vous exprime  
ses plus sincères remerciements.

25, Rue St-Louis

Versailles

"The parting gift" has been a tri-weekly affair this year. Some we are definitely sorry to see leave us including Pierre Stoppani, Italian, non-Fascist, for many years Director of Economic Relations.

Hume Wrong, Canadian Delegate, has left for London where he will be attached to the H.C. of Irish descent, & intelligent. grandfather was ? Blake-Willen,

Old Count von Bernstorff's death is announced. For the past year he has been in a mental hospital.

German Ambassador in USA.  
until 1917, I first met him 10 years ago in the Prep. Comm. for Disarmt. Confes. Attractive, gentlemanly fellow, he settled in Geneva when Nazis came into power. The Nazi policy weighed too heavily on his mind and the last time he & his wife lunched with us we noticed a distraction & a vagueness.

They lived in Les Arthchaux, where Wagner stayed one summer. The Ascarates lived there & Elsie had actually arranged to take it in 1937 when some legal difficulty arose from the bankruptcy of the curser.

For the past year he had been in a "home".

A German raider is reported in the South Atlantic & it is said to be the "Admiral Scheer", one of the famous pocket battle ships. I remember once standing off in one of her launches, while nineteen guns were fired in salute. The Captain, at a function in the General Kommando, presented the 3 girls with the usual souvenir, - cap ribbons.

Napoleon is reported to have once  
said: - "Give me English  
soldiers, Irish officers, and  
French generals and I will  
conquer the world."

Garnier is the C. in C.  
Gort, Dill, & Brooks (all  
Irish) are the leading officers of  
the British expeditionary force.

!!

PI/7 (1)

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> Oct.

Broadcast to New York <sup>Fair</sup> tonight  
on occasion of L/N Day there. Participants  
at the New York end included friend  
Henry Grady, of the Federal Govt., & <sup>Dr</sup> Boudreau  
Graver Whalen, president of the Fair,  
was in Suisse & also said a  
few words from an studio. Irish  
descent, like Buck Collins in appearance,  
& energy, but 100% American too. In such  
American company (Albin (Jack) Johnston was  
with him as European Comm.) heartiness  
prevails & one tires of it. We  
dined together with Sweetser & Salt  
at the Regent Villa

Dear Sean

It may interest  
you to hear that  
the Miss Smith of  
our London Office  
had to make  
copies of your World  
Fair Speech on 11  
separate occasions.  
She told me there  
was a quite  
unprecedented demand  
for it.

You will see  
from p. 25 of  
the attached that  
one to which one  
of her copies was  
sent. Yrs. Mark

P1/7 (1)

FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY

# WORLD ORDER PAPERS

No. 2

BY

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS

*The Royal Institute of International Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions.*

*The Institute, as such, is precluded by its rules from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. Any opinions expressed in WORLD ORDER PAPERS are, therefore, purely individual.*

FIRST PRINTED JANUARY 1940  
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

## PREFACE

ONE of the groups established by the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs has for some time been studying the question of Nationalism. The results of its work, finished in the summer, were published in December.<sup>1</sup> On the completion of its task, the Council established another group to study the concept of 'World Order'. This second group had held one meeting when the outbreak of war removed some of its members to war work, and made it impossible for others to attend meetings. So the members of the group decided to continue their work by exchanging memoranda by post. Several such memoranda have already been written and circulated to members of the group.

The task of this group was to apply greater precision of thought to the dangerously vague conception of 'World Order' which is now in everyone's mouth. The Council therefore adopted the following procedure.

Arrangements were made to open a new series of pamphlets entitled 'World Order Papers'. The first in the new series was one produced for the World Order Group by a member, Sir John Fischer Williams, who does not accept the view that persistence of national sovereignty is a condition which may have to be regarded as permanent. This second Paper is written by Professor Gilbert Murray, Joint President of the League of Nations Union. The third will be by the eminent economist Sir William Beveridge, Master of University College, Oxford. The author of the fourth is to be Mr. Percy Horsfall, who will state the difficulties in the way of a federal solution. The series will thus conform to the established practice of the Institute that in the discussion of a subject the different points of view that are in the field shall all be adequately represented.

It is further proposed to have these Papers translated as soon as possible into the principal European languages, with the idea that French, Swiss, Belgian, Dutch, Scandinavian, and other

<sup>1</sup> *Nationalism. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.* Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. (to members of the Institute, 10s.).

thinkers may be found to produce Papers to continue the series, for which purpose they will be translated into English. It is also hoped that writers in the British Dominions, in India, and in the United States will be found to produce Papers. By this method it is hoped to induce international thought on this important conception of 'World Order'.

'World Order Papers' are printed for private circulation among members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of its sister Institutes in the Dominions and India, of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, and of the Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère, Paris.

The issue of 'World Order Papers' is part of the Institute's normal work, and has no connection with the special services which it has undertaken to render the Government during the War.

ASTOR,  
*Chairman of the Council*

CHATHAM HOUSE,  
ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,  
LONDON, S.W. 1.

## WORLD ORDER PAPER NO. 2

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY

### I. FEDERATION

I WRITE these lines with the advantage of having before me the expert statement of Sir John Fischer Williams, my old friend and fellow-worker in international causes, expressed with his usual lucidity and moderation. I fully concur with his main conclusion: 'For the establishment of a world order to take the place of the present absence of order, this result would be best obtained (1) by the creation of a strong Federal Union of certain civilized communities, and (2) by the maintenance of the League of Nations as a looser organization of the world as a whole.' I provisionally accept his statement of the minimum requirements of any effective Federation which may prove to be possible at the end of the present war. My remarks will be devoted to the conception of the League of Nations expressed in the second part of his paper, and to those problems of practical possibility which he deliberately leaves out of account in constructing his Federal constitution in the first part.

Let us assume Sir John's three minimum requirements. (1) There must be a Federal Council, elected by direct popular suffrage, not merely appointed by national governments; (2) This Council will decide all matters of Foreign Policy, of Military Policy and organization, of the Finance necessary for those purposes, and possibly questions of currency, tariffs, migration and the like. (3) A necessary consequence is a Federal Defence force, and the abolition of all national forces, except for purposes of local police.

To take these three points separately. The Federal Council is to be a sort of international Parliament, counting votes and deciding by a majority.

At the outset, I greatly doubt whether popular election by a constituency of several millions, accompanied by all the demagogic machinery usual in such large-scale contests, is really the best way of selecting wise directors of international policy. Such direction is a task requiring special knowledge, skill, experience, and character, of a kind not necessarily, or often, combined with the power of winning the votes of multitudes. The present system, by which

governments popularly elected and therefore roughly representing the preferences of the people, select by their own judgment the most suitable individuals to represent the country on the international body, seems likely to produce a better result. The methods of the governments have varied. To the League Council, of course, they send the Foreign Secretary or some representative chosen by him. To the Assembly the British Governments since 1925 have sent strictly party delegations, which is perhaps a mistake. The Belgian Government and some others made a point of sending to the Assembly a really national delegation, with members of all three parties; the French often selected permanent delegates with special knowledge. Experience would probably show what method was best, but a certain elasticity is useful.

The election of this Council by direct popular voting is regarded as essential by most Federalists, on the ground that the Council then represents the will of real human beings and not the artificial units called Governments. This, it is argued, is an immense safeguard. At the League of Nations, the State-Members speak as independent units. If any great difference arises on the Council of the League, it is a difference between armed States, and constitutes inevitably a danger of war. For example, when Mussolini and his friends decided to make war on Abyssinia, the effect at the League was that 'Italy' decided to make war, and 'Great Britain' and other nations, as wholes, objected. The truth of the matter was that some Italians thought one way and some another, and so did various Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen and the rest. It was the fact that the Government spoke for the whole nation and had an army to do its bidding that enabled Mussolini to defy the League. Under a Federal system the question would have lain quite outside the province of the Italian Government. It would have been vetoed at once by the Federal Government, and there would have been no national Italian army to defy the Federal Government and make war. The war would not have taken place.

There is much force in this. On the other hand, a Federal Constitution is not an infallible remedy. A strong difference of opinion and interest between the inhabitants of the Southern and Northern States of the American Union led to a long and bloody civil war. The recent civil war in Spain, again, which violently divided the sympathies, not of States but of individuals, in many parts of Europe, might well have been just as intractable under a Federal system.

There remains, moreover, the fundamental and overwhelming difficulty of devising any system of counting the votes of nations on the Federal Council which will be either acceptable or effective,

To go boldly by population and the principle of 'one man one vote' would give us, on Mr. Streit's figures, some 47 votes for Britain, 41 for France, 43 for Italy, 72 (at least) for Germany, 120 for the United States, 300 for India, 8 for Holland, and not quite 3 for Norway. Can one imagine Holland and Norway, can one even imagine Britain and France, accepting such a plan? The obvious alternative is representation by States, each State to count as one. But that is equally unreasonable: one cannot see the people of England and France submitting to be outvoted and compelled to adopt a policy which they did not approve by a concourse of Danes, Finns, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians. I agree with Sir John, that some other method will have to be found, if voting is to be maintained at all. The trouble is that any plan which demands that the people of a free country shall agree to a constitution under which their whole foreign policy shall be subject to an international body, and they may be at any time compelled by a bare majority of foreigners to pursue a policy which they hate, is almost sure to be generally rejected, and quite sure, if accepted, to break down. One can devise other systems based on votes, such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority, or of a majority in two Houses, one elected on the basis of one man one vote, the other on that of one State one vote; or again on a majority of both the great nations and the small nations, like that now obtaining in the election of Judges of the International Court; but all involve a surrender of the original claim made by the Federal idea, and all make for delays and deadlocks. It might be possible to ask the small States to form special groups which should count as equal to the large single States—a proposal which made them wild with indignation in 1918. It was only after long study and discussion at that time that eventually the whole idea of decision by majority vote was given up, and the so-called 'unanimity rule' adopted. This means that the States-Members of the League come together definitely bound by specific agreements on particular points, viz. renouncing war and accepting third-party judgment, but otherwise each member preserves his freedom. The 'unanimity rule' does not, of course, amount to a '*Liberalum veto*'. If a proposal came to the Council of the League for a joint enterprise, let us say, to reclaim the Sahara, and some members did not agree, there is nothing to prevent the others going on with the scheme by themselves. There are also certain necessary exceptions to the unanimity rule. Questions of procedure, which of course must be settled one way or another, are determined by majority vote. In international disputes, again, the supposed votes of the disputants themselves are not counted, and so do not disturb the unanimity of the

Council. As a matter of practice, moreover, most current questions are referred to committees, and the committee's report when it arrives before Council is, by a customary rule, almost always accepted. Awkward as it sounds, the unanimity rule has very seldom caused any practical inconvenience, and has certainly some very great merits. The principle 'If I must, I won't, but if I needn't I don't mind' is far from unimportant in dealing with individuals, but has much greater power with such sensitive and irrational animals as nations. They may agree, as they did in the Covenant, to being compelled to fulfil definite pledges which they have voluntarily given; but they will hardly agree to accept beforehand the decision of a majority of foreigners on all questions that may arise in their future external policy.

This brings us to the second point, the actual powers of the Federal Council. The Federation being a unit, and an armed unit, it alone has a Foreign Policy. Its constituent parts have only their local police. Thus Foreign Policy, Military Policy and organization, and the Financial measures necessary for these purposes must be the business of the Council. Later on it may well deal with questions of currency, tariffs, migration, economic policy and the like.

This seems logical, yet I see some difficulties. In a geographical and cultural *continuum*, whether large like the United States or small like Switzerland, the individual States or cantons may not feel the need of special foreign policies. But with a large mixed Federation it is different. The Government of India makes treaties with Pathan chiefs beyond its borders. Australia has special relations with China and Japan. Norway and Sweden have points to settle about their arctic frontiers. I suspect that in any Federal body great caution would have to be shown in two respects: the central authority must allow a good deal of freedom to the constituent nations in respect to their local or special foreign relations, and even where it had to assert its will it would be wise to use persuasion and pressure rather than absolute compulsion. The makers of the Covenant, in considering what was to be done if a Member State failed to carry out an award or decision of the League, were content to say that 'the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto'. The less absolute compulsion there is the wider will be the sphere of action surrendered to the central body.

At this point we are inevitably confronted with the most vital and most difficult of all international peace problems, the substitution of a central defence force for the competitive national forces of the Member States. The United States and the Swiss Federa-

tion have solved this problem: it was made possible in the one case by a common language and history, a common law and a great unmilitary tradition; in the other by the pressure on all sides of common dangers. The case for such unification is very strong. The States Members of the Federation have renounced any idea of going to war with each other; what possible reason can they have for separate — and competitive — armaments? Disarmament is an obvious corollary to the perpetual peace-treaty implied in any Federation or even in the Covenant as modified by the Kellogg Pact. The members of the Federation must clearly disarm; but what of the Federation itself? It will presumably be confronted by outside Powers, and very strong ones, which have not disarmed, and must therefore have its own forces for collective defence. A Federal army, navy and air force seem inevitably to follow.

Yet here again tact and psychology must almost certainly be allowed to count for more than logic. In 1910 the American Senate unanimously recommended the formation of a great international fleet for the preservation of world peace; but the discussions contemplated a composite fleet made up of the British, German, French and American contingents, not a unified mass of international ships with international commanders. There is a great difference between abolishing the British navy so as to make an international navy instead, and obtaining an agreement that Great Britain shall contribute such-and-such a naval force to the common defence. The first seems to me quite impossible; the second possible, though difficult and of course less satisfactory. I must leave to those better qualified the task of working out arrangements for the possible location and command of the Federal force. The organization of the Roman legions might give some hints. A beginning might be made, for instance, by maintaining a number of national professional armies and moving them round for training from one country to another. The Air Force might similarly consist of national contingents with all aerodromes strictly internationalized. It is important to notice that the problem of a Federal Force is much more difficult than that which baffled the world Disarmament Conference of 1931. In that case the problem was manageable: all the nations were present, and they could all disarm together. The object was so to reduce armaments that no nation should have the weapons which would enable it to invade a neighbour's frontiers. This involved among other things the abolition of all national air forces and the internationalization of all civil aviation; next, as a safeguard, lest the civil machines should be transformed suddenly into bombers, the maintenance of an international fleet of fighting planes. There

were certain difficulties in detail here, which were made the most of by unregenerate governments, but there was not the enormous difficulty which would now confront any Federation, of building up at the same time an effective army, navy, and air force, to meet attack from without.

This difficulty is not, of course, due to the Federal idea in itself; it is the result of the general deterioration of the international relations since 1931. At that time all the nations were acting together. The plans for Reduction and Limitation of Armaments affected the whole world, and, though the good faith of certain nations was suspect, it was not thought likely that any nation would deliberately stand out from an agreement accepted by the rest and thus proclaim itself *hostis humani generis*. Now the reverse may be taken as practically certain. There will be powerful armed enemies outside the Federation — if not secret enemies inside as well.

Let us next consider the probable or possible extent of the Federation, how many nations and what nations are likely to be induced to join. The size of the structure vitally affects its whole character. A World Federation or World Government, such as William Archer conceived in his *Great Analysis* (1911) and Mr. Wells has often commended, would be an almost divine assurance for Peace and many other good things. But we are thinking of practical matters. A wide Federation of what Mr. Streit calls 'democratic' nations,<sup>1</sup> based on the British Empire and the United States together with France and the five Scandinavians — and, as he then thought, perhaps Russia — would constitute an extremely wide and strong peace block, though it would be almost certain to give rise to a rival anti-democratic block of equal or approximately equal strength. The result would be a Balance of Power, not a united world. Still more would this danger apply to the formation of any smaller Federation on similar ideological lines. Here indeed we strike the essential difference between a Federa-

tion and a League of Nations. Both are attempts at Security: both are cemented by fear of some common danger. But for a Federation to be successful, or to maintain itself at all, its members must have some basis in common interests, traditions, habits of thought, language, geographical continuity or the like. It must consist of like-minded States which have no differences likely to lead to war. The essence of the League of Nations is that it brings together at a common table the nations that have grave differences, whether of interests or habits of thought, and are therefore possible enemies. There is danger of them going to war, unless they sit and work together in order to avoid war. The League aims at peace between possible enemies; the limited Federation only at self-defence against possible enemies.

What Federation or Federations can we reasonably hope to see formed after the war? If Mr. Streit were, by a happy contingency, President of the United States, with a firm majority in both houses, we might hope for a complete reversal of American policy; it is also, of course, conceivable that the disasters wrought by the present war may be so terrible as to convince the American people that they must throw in their lot with the like-minded nations in Europe; but for the present, the less we count on any possibility of American partnership the better. Russia, which Mr. Streit counted as doubtful, must now, for obvious reasons, be omitted. That reduces the Federation by about two-thirds; but we still have left Great Britain, the Dominions, France and the other 'democratic' — or law-abiding — States of Western Europe. That would be a very powerful unit, and, we must recognize, an essentially peaceful and non-aggressive unit. Its ideological opponents, such as Russia, Japan, Germany, Italy, would be more than likely to quarrel with one another if they tried permanently to unite against it. But how far is such a federation practicable? Can we, in the first place, count on the British Dominions?

We must remember that they have steadily refused all plans of Imperial Federation. They will make no treaty which might, as they conceive, give Great Britain a power of involving them in war or interfering with their perfect freedom in the matter of tariffs and immigration laws. Much less would they, as things are, think of giving such power to a Federation of foreign nations. Without the Dominions, Great Britain would find it almost impossible to join the Federation; she would probably have to be content with some close liaison with it, not amounting to membership. And in that case not much would remain of the Federation. The Western democracies left alone could hardly defend themselves. Again, if we put ourselves in the position of Holland or Belgium

<sup>1</sup> I would sooner myself call them 'constitutional' nations. By a constitutional state I mean a state in which every citizen must obey the law, as contrasted with one in which the Führer or Duce and his agents are above the law and consequently the ordinary man is not free. Cf. the decision of the German High Court after the 'purge' of June 30th. I prefer the term to 'democratic' on two grounds: (1) the Dictatorships also are 'democratic'; that is, they claim to be based on the will of the whole people and always win their plebiscites; a result obtained partly by terrorism and partly by mass advertisement, such as the ubiquitous portraits of Stalin and Mussolini; (2) the term 'democratic' is associated with party politics and has many implications which are irrelevant to the issue of Law v. Anarchy or Freedom v. Despotism. The two real essentials are Law and Freedom.

or Norway, nations which have always set great store on their independence and their neutrality in the conflicts that seem chronic between the Great Powers, can we imagine them putting their whole future in the hands of a Federal Council in which their voice would count for extremely little compared with the diplomatic weight of the British Empire and France? Would they not hear the seventy-two millions of Germany thundering at their doors, and find it safer to insist on their neutrality?

Starting from a quite different nucleus, we may take as our basis not ideology, but geographical contiguity, put America out of our minds and work for a purely European Federation. Certain regions of Europe have already strong motives urging them, and almost driving them, towards Federation. The Danubian and Balkan nations, if they are to survive at all under the eyes of Germany, Italy and Russia, must of necessity get over their mutual antipathies and form a strong united force. The five Scandinavian nations form already a loose society, united by common aims and ideals as well as constant consultation and co-operation; but hitherto they have deduced from the facts of their own history that it is only by mutual independence that they have attained their present concord and good feeling. I speak of things as they now are. Of course if the present war proves very destructive, and if every nation feels itself in mortal danger, a movement for Federation may spread through the whole of Europe, and many nations together may be willing to face a step from which each one, left to itself, would shrink. It is perhaps idle to pursue mere possibilities. If we concentrate on existing facts the present military and economic co-operation between France and Britain stands out at once as the possible nucleus of a great confederacy. True, as things now are, it does not even remotely approach the closeness of a Federation; nor do the lesser European states, whatever their sympathies, evince the slightest desire to join it. But an allied victory would alter that. If Germany were once defeated the western neutrals and Scandinavians would probably see that their best road to lasting security lay in joining some west European confederacy led by France and Britain, while the third party to the alliance, Turkey, would form the necessary centre for a similar confederacy in the south-east. If we carry our hopes further and imagine a complete victory for what we may call League of Nations principles and a complete discrediting even in Germany of the 'evil things' against which, as the Prime Minister truly says, we are fighting, we might hope for a co-operative and constitutional Germany, and for a real Federation of Europe. A highly aggressive Russia might take the place of Nazi Germany as 'Public Enemy

No. 1' and drive all its western and southern neighbours into union for mutual defence. European Federation, as urged by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and approved by such leaders as Briand, Herriot and Stresemann, if it were still possible, would remove a huge burden of anxiety from the whole continent. If it could begin, not by risky political undertakings but by co-operation in economic matters, it would do incalculable good. Free Trade throughout the continent would hardly be attainable; but an economic council, sitting at Geneva and studying the economic policies of all nations from the standpoint of the general interest, would, even without compulsory powers, be of enormous benefit.

Still, even Federation would not solve all problems. If Germany remained outside, it would be a mere Balance of Power, and a very dangerous one. With Germany inside, but not whole-heartedly converted to a policy of co-operation, the Federation would be exposed to some of the same dangers from which the League has suffered. It might easily find Germany and Italy plotting together and taking with them various small eastern and south-eastern States; and Great Britain might well hesitate to commit her vital interests to a Council on which she was liable to be outvoted by a combination of States whose aims were antipathetic and sometimes directly hostile to her own. (I omit the obvious constitutional difficulties of Great Britain acting both as a central figure of a world-wide British Commonwealth, generally indifferent to European entanglements, and as a very important figure in Europe also. Such constitutional problems may need good will and ingenuity, but can always be overcome.)

This has brought us to a consideration which must be in the mind of everyone. Will the Germany that emerges from this war be ready — in spite of her old military traditions, her recent Nazi education, and her bitter resentment at another defeat — to join sincerely in a co-operation with France and Britain for the maintenance of peace and world order? Or will she utterly refuse any such apostasy from her ideals of *Weltmacht*? Or, more likely than either, will she accept with resignation and distaste a position of friendship and equality which is forced upon her, and intrigue, as she did at Geneva, to wreck the body of which she was an unwilling member and paralyse by mutinies the effectiveness of the Federal Force? On the answer to that question depends the form to be eventually taken by our aspirations towards a Federation of Europe. The prospects were much brighter in Briand's day, when the League was strong and unchallenged, and Germany was guided by Stresemann. But who knows what compelling conditions may be left at the end of the war, or what unexpected

success might be attained by a consistent and determined policy of constructive peace and co-operation in France and England? Such a policy would have saved the League, and it may, if steadily pursued, save European Federation.

I do not think it in the least true that 'Europe must federate or perish'. Europe must co-operate or perish; must prevent war or perish; but it would be a delusion, and a most unfortunate delusion, supposing the various obstacles on which we have touched should make actual Federation at the end of the war unattainable, to give way to despair and imagine that no other steps were worth taking for preserving the general peace.

We must not underrate the intensity of the passion for independence, especially in those nations in which it has been lost or imperilled. I received on November 20th a letter from a friend in Finland: 'If war comes, we just know that this generation, men and women, must lay down their lives for the future, for freedom. In my young years we fought for our independence; now everybody knows what a priceless, unique, possession that is.' We must not be surprised or disappointed if nations, especially small nations, are suspicious of all federal treaties which seem to put their vital interests under the control of foreign powers. We start from the basic fact that the nations of Europe have many divergent interests, habits of thought, national customs, social standards, and historical traditions; but all have one supreme common interest, the suppression of war. If they will unite for that, and then by regular co-operation for good and mutually beneficial purposes learn to trust each other, it may be best to leave them the fullest national freedom in other respects. After all, the suppression of war by itself implies a considerable surrender of what is called 'sovereignty': the abandonment of force as an instrument of national policy, the acceptance of third-party judgment in disputes, and — hardest of all — the protection of each member of the society by the united strength of the whole. Co-operation in the faithful discharge of those duties, as prescribed by the Covenant, leads inevitably towards Federation: I think it would be most unwise to insist that Federation must be a preliminary condition to their discharge.

## II. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In considering the function of a world-wide, or approximately world-wide, Society of Nations in a world in which one or more close Federations have been successfully established, the first question that arises is the fundamental one of Security.

Mutual protection is the prime object, and often the sole object, of any 'Society of Nations', whether Federal or Confederate. The Federation will, presumably, act as a united whole to defend its members; but will that be enough to secure the general Peace, and can we therefore relieve the general body of the most arduous of its present obligations? Sir John holds very emphatically that we can and must. If once relieved of the duty of maintaining 'peace indivisible' by united action against the peace-breaker, the League would lose the one quality which now makes it objectionable to many countries, such as Germany, Italy and Japan, and might well become a really universal body; moreover, it is argued, the loss would not be a serious one, because the duty in question is one which the League has seldom been able or willing to perform.

(Sir John somewhat darkens counsel by putting prevention of aggression in the same category as punishment of the aggressor, and implying that the supporters of the League demand the 'punishment of the wicked'. I should make it clear at the outset that the supporters of sanctions are not in any way concerned with punishment. We are concerned with the prevention of war beforehand or with the stopping of war if it has already broken out. This principle applies equally to Federation and to League.)

Now if a Federation could be formed as extensive as the whole of Europe or as Mr. Streit's collection of fifteen democracies; and if, further, it could be absolutely relied upon to protect its own members against aggression, the general cause of Peace would no doubt be greatly advanced, and the nations protected by the Federation might well be content to leave the rest of the world to its fate.

With any federation short of those indicated the question would hardly arise. A Danubian Federation, a Scandinavian Federation, even a Federation of England, France, and parts of Western Europe, would be fairly strong for self-defence but could not be an authoritative guardian of the general Peace. For example, if at the end of this war Europe is left with those three federations, a dissatisfied Germany, an aggressive Russia, an Italy on the lookout for pickings, and the rest of the world as it is now, it would be idle to pretend that there was not crying need for a strong League of Nations, if it were at all obtainable.

That is to say, if there were a Federation fully resolved to defend its weakest member and so extensive as to affect, if not to comprise, most of the world, it might be reasonable, and even desirable, to aim at getting the general League as nearly universal as possible

by relieving it of all the obligations which might be inconvenient to an ambitious power, intent on schemes of conquest. Such a power might find it conducive to its prestige to display itself at international conferences, and useful to have easy access to the League's abundant sources of information; while the rest of the world might hope that the habit of regular consultation and co-operation with civilized nations might make such a power gradually more humane. It might for instance be made to realize the economic and military strength of the peaceful Federation more than it would if left in isolation. The argument has some force; but I confess I should be very reluctant to make so great a surrender. It would mean leaving all the world outside the Federation a prey to every ambitious aggressor. It would leave Japan free to ravage China, Italy free to drop poison gas on Abyssinian peasants, Russia to destroy Finland, Paraguay and Bolivia to fight their fill over the Chaco. 'But, after all,' it will be argued, 'if in spite of the Covenant which definitely forbade them, they have done so now; what is the good of forbidding them again?'

The argument may be strengthened by another consideration. It may be said: 'At present the members of the League are pledged to defend one another, but they break or evade that pledge with increasing shamelessness. Would it not be better to drop all pretence; let them meet at the League for purposes of diplomacy and business co-operation, but provide for their safety quite separately by means of competitive armaments and such military alliances as may suit their special interests. These will, in most cases, be the various Federations.'

The objections to this view are twofold. First, the said Federations are not strong enough to ensure peace for themselves, much less for any nation not included in their circle. Secondly, by making war a mere matter of interest and removing from it the stigma of moral condemnation, we should be throwing away the greatest moral advance made by the civilized world for centuries. The League system has definitely established for the first time in public law the principle that aggressive war is a crime against the international community. That principle is, as a matter of fact, true. One need not go to the churches or the philosophic societies to ascertain the fact. It accords with the conscience of the ordinary decent man throughout the world. It is shown by the ordinary newspaper comments in every nation on the aggressive wars which have been common of late. It is shown by the wild mendacity with which aggressors always try to conceal their aggression. It will be a terrible surrender of a moral advance already gained if we let that principle go, and admit 'wholesale murder

for the sake of gain', in John Morley's phrase, as a normal and legitimate mode of behaviour, though doubtless objectionable to the victim.

Rather than make that surrender I consider that we must maintain the rules of the Covenant. If through bad fortune or bad statesmanship they have been allowed to lapse, with the result not of 'keeping this country out of trouble' while others suffered, but of plunging England and France themselves into a peculiarly disastrous war, they must be re-established. The policy of connivance at anarchy has proved a dead failure. We must try once more, in the words of a great nineteenth-century statesman, 'to establish public right as the common law of Europe'.

'But that is just what the League has failed to do. Will it not simply fail again?' I do not think the failure was due in the main to diplomatic flaws in the drafting of the Covenant; it was due in part to many political misfortunes and errors of diplomacy on which I need not dwell, but in the main to a fundamental lack of will and understanding in our Western Civilization as a whole. The words of M. Ryti's broadcast to the U.S.A., as reported in the *Times* of December 4th, 1939, are incontrovertible: 'If Finland should perish, it would be only "because there is not between the civilized nations the necessary solidarity which would protect the weak from violence". If the neutral nations were indifferent to the fate of other neutrals, they would be "digging the grave of those nations which desire to build up their existence on justice and on respect for the laws, but whose means are inadequate if they are compelled to fight a superior invader".'

It may be that, through laziness and lack of thought, through reliance on old habits, through the power of reactionary or sinister interests, together with various other causes, our present-day Western Civilization is unable to make the necessary effort to defend itself; if so, it is for certain doomed, and we are moving towards another Dark Age. But I do not think the evidence at present points to any such disastrous conclusion. The experience of the last twenty years has taught Europe much, and the outbreak of the present war has caused a new awakening both of reason and of conscience. In this country at least there has been a great process of Education, and where in 1918 a hundred persons understood the principles of the Covenant a million understand them now. The fundamental source of failure has largely been removed; and it is well worth while to consider what improvements in the Covenant may make the carrying out of its obligations easier and more effective.

To begin with the most difficult point of all, and the one on

which I am most definitely at issue with Sir John Fischer Williams, Article XVI lays down that

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants . . . it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League:

This in my opinion is absolutely right. It does not mean that the aggressor is actually at war with the other members, but that they are free to take against the aggressor any measures that are legitimate in war. The article goes on to specify the measures that may or must be taken.

First, all members *must* immediately subject the aggressor to 'a severance of all trade or financial relations'. Morally, this is an excommunication of a member of the Society who has broken the most fundamental rule of the Society, as a Christian Church might excommunicate a member who had proclaimed himself 'anti-God'. Practically, it is boycott. It means that the aggressor is deprived of all the supplies necessary for carrying on war; unless he has already accumulated sufficient material to win the war with, he must stop and confess himself powerless. (The common notion that this is an attempt to starve the population is a complete error, based on memories of the effect of the blockade on Germany at the end of the World War at a time when the food supplies of Europe had been destroyed by four years of continuous devastation.) Secondly, provision is made for possible military action in case the aggressor resists. The Council is to recommend what contributions different members are to make to the necessary forces. Thirdly, the members will 'support one another in financial and economic measures' and 'in resisting special measures aimed at one of their number' by the aggressor; fourthly, they may — and certainly should — expel the Covenant-breaker from the League.

Now I believe these principles to be right. All that was needed was that, in the words of the Geneva Protocol, the Governments should 'co-operate loyally and effectively' in carrying them out. Still, I do not think the measures for their execution have been sufficiently prepared or defined.

As to the one universal obligation, it is essential to any Society of Nations whatever. There can be no Society in which the members are free to help a Covenant-breaking aggressor by supplying him with means of war. The Society was formed for mutual protection; it would be absurd if members were free to take part in the destruction of one another. The obligation *not to assist the aggressor* must be unconditional and universal.

The excommunication, however, cannot entirely make unnecessary the use of military measures. For one thing, the aggressor may resist, and seek to take by force the mines or oilwells that he needs. For another, the excommunication will not be an effective sanction of the law unless it is universal, or nearly so; if one or two weaker brethren yield to the temptation of making high profits by selling goods to the Covenant-breaker, military measures will have to be taken to reinforce the boycott. Here comes a new difficulty.

What nations are capable of effective military action — I use the word military to cover war of all kinds — and in what circumstances would they, or some of them, be willing to fight? This surely needs previous agreement.

Some nations might wish — and possibly be allowed — to contract out of military obligations altogether. Some would wish to limit their obligations to certain circumstances or certain regions. There is force in the claim of the self-styled 'realists' that a nation can only be expected to fight where its own interests are involved; the mischief is that the 'realists' generally take too narrow a view of a nation's interests.

Strictly speaking 'Peace is indivisible'; that is, an outbreak of war anywhere is likely to affect both the economy and security of every member of the League. Nor should we underrate the enormous influence for general peace and justice which would result from one definite prevention of a major war, or defeat of a major aggression, by League action. But we may recall that in the early days of the League the Canadians explained that they could not undertake to send troops to defend Bulgaria and were told that of course they would not be expected to do so; the neighbours of Bulgaria would do the police work. All are interested in the preservation of peace; but all are not interested equally in peace everywhere, nor yet equally able to act everywhere. As a matter of fact, the two fatal inroads on the peace system were made in regions very remote from the interests of the majority of League members, Manchuria and Abyssinia. The proper solution of such difficulties seems to be to have an agreement beforehand what members of the League will specifically undertake police duties in particular regions. Abyssinia for instance would have been in a much stronger position if there had been a special sub-treaty binding certain powers with interests in Africa to act as the League's police force for African affairs. Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, South Africa would have been directly responsible; the obligation would have been specific, and would not have been blurred by being equally incumbent on a great number of nations to whom Abyssinia meant nothing at all. Had there

been such a specific agreement, it is probable that Italy would have been checked, or, knowing beforehand that she would be checked, would never have committed her offence.

Manchuria in the existing conditions could not have been saved by the League, any more than it could be saved by a European Federation; but the problem and the reasons for failure could have been stated frankly and without false excuses. Peace in the Far East is the immediate concern of China, Japan, Britain, France, Holland, Russia, and the U.S.A. Under the political conditions of the time Japan could only be held back by the co-operation of Britain, Russia and the U.S.A. The two last, being not members of the League and not willing to act, Britain was left alone, and would have been justified in frankly reporting to the League that she was unable without effective assistance from other nations to carry out her international task. This would have been a failure but not a disgrace. The League cannot be omnipotent, any more than a Federation could. Neither, for instance, could protect Thibet against an attack from the north. No League from which the United States were absent could possibly stop a war in South America. But a series of special sub-treaties by which certain nations specifically undertook to protect certain regions would make the obligations more precise and limited and consequently much harder to evade.

Similarly the general obligations incumbent on all members of the League not to help the aggressor should be made more specific. The object is to deprive the aggressor of the power of aggression, and since the publication of Sir Thomas Holland's book on *The Mineral Sanction* and the long studies which followed it both at Geneva and in England, the way to achieve this object has been made easier and clearer. The cutting off of all trade whatsoever with a large and strong country — for the poor and weak seldom aggress — makes a huge disturbance in the economy of the boycotting nations, and a disturbance of which a large part serves no particular purpose. To deprive the offender of those imports which he lacks and which are necessary for effective war, particularly petroleum products and certain metals, is almost as effective as the complete boycott and much easier to organize and carry out. The League has already full lists showing what metals are specially needed, which of them each country possesses, and which it has to import. We should thus know beforehand in case of an attack on some member of the League (1) what powers had undertaken to protect that member by armed force, and (2) by what particular checks on trade the other members of the League could gradually make the aggressor impotent.

Of course, the unforeseen often occurs, and cannot be provided against. It might therefore be necessary to have a special list of those members who were prepared to give armed help to the Council wherever required. By these measures taken together we should relieve Article XVI from its chief weakness: viz. that it imposes one general obligation of a terribly severe kind on all members of the League alike, however little they may be interested in the particular outbreak of war, however much they may be exposed to the vengeance of the aggressor, and however little they may be able to contribute towards checking it.

The above suggestions are put forward merely *exempli causa*, as possible ways of making the obligations of Article XVI — the most onerous and most fatally unfulfilled of all the Covenant — more specific, limited and binding.

Let us now consider the group of Articles concerned with the prevention of war, particularly Article XI:

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any members of the League or not, is hereby declared to be a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

This Article seems to me to be the very core and centre of the League system. The group from X to XVII form a whole, of which XI summarizes the essential purpose. Article X lays down the principle that no change in the 'territorial integrity or existing degree of independence' of any nation is to be made *by war*, and that no change so made is to be recognized; objections have been made to this Article, but except for those who wish to maintain war as an institution it seems obviously necessary. XII to XV arrange for the settlement of all disputes otherwise intractable by arbitration, judicial settlement, or 'inquiry and report', the small loophole left here by the original Covenant being now closed in accordance with the Kellogg Pact. XVI describes the steps to be taken if war in breach of the Covenant has broken out: XVII wisely and generously extends to any non-member who applies for it and complies with the requirements of the Covenant, the privilege of League protection; but Article XI provides for the most important necessity of all, the safeguarding of the general Peace while war is only a threat, and the prevention of war by measures taken beforehand. As to these measures, no indication of their nature is given. The Council shall do 'whatever is deemed wise and effectual'.

One point should be cleared away at the outset. It has been held that the rule of unanimity applies to this Article; that is, any steps

to be taken must be taken in agreement with the nation that is threatening war. Now, of course, it is well to begin any discussion for the prevention of a breach by friendly and peaceful conversations with the power thought likely to make the breach. That is a necessary first step, and might naturally be taken at the ordinary meetings of the Council. But when once the League settles down to the consideration of the measures which will be most 'wise and effectual' for safeguarding the peace, it is absurd to have to submit all such proposals to the approval of the power which wishes to break the peace. However, the British Government and others have announced their intention to get this Article excepted from the rule of unanimity, so this point need not detain us further.

A much greater effort must be made to think out practically the steps which in various different cases will be most 'wise and effectual'. Some cases are clear. For example, if once there were an agreement in force for the Limitation of Armaments, and some nation were found to be either exceeding its quota or importing an excessive amount of war materials, the Council would put a stop to such imports. In cases where there was no definite breach of a treaty action would be more difficult; but in general terms there are two things which should be done. The Secretariate should study the strong and weak points of the war-power of the suspected aggressor, and the Council should make ready, as early as possible, the steps likely to discourage the peace-breaker from his attempt, or defeat it if it is made. There is a great deal of material already in the possession of the Secretariate on these subjects. The problem here would be much the same whether the body concerned in preventing the war were the League or a Federation.

As to the Articles XII to XV, providing for the settlement of disputes by Inquiry and Report, Arbitration or Judicial Settlement, one large amendment must be made in order to carry out the requirements of the Kellogg Pact and rule out war altogether. This involves, in the last resort, when all conciliation and mediation has failed, the acceptance of compulsory arbitration, either by the majority of some arbitral body (such as, for instance the Equity Tribunal proposed by the New Commonwealth), or by a decision of the International Court delivered not on a technical point of law but *ex aequo et bono* on the whole situation. (For example, when the legality of the proposed German-Austrian *Zollverein* came before the Court, certain judges decided that, on the point of law, the proposal was contrary to the Treaty of St. Germain, and that was the only point they had to decide, but that if they had been required to consider the merits of the proposal *ex aequo et bono* their decision might be different.)

Sir John would sweep away all these provisions, thereby avoiding the greatest difficulties which lie in the path of either League or Federation, but at the same time, I fear, evading the central and vital purpose of any such international society, which is the protection of its members and the general prevention of war.

A further difficulty which Sir John considers too impracticable to deal with is that of Disarmament. And yet, whatever the issue of the present war, surely absolute ruin stares us all in the face if we either continue to compete in armaments on the present intolerable scale, or if some nations, Britain and France for example, proceed to reduce their armaments while others (such as Germany, Italy and Russia) continue to increase theirs. The only alternative is some general agreement for limitation; and, difficult as that undoubtedly is, it seems to me inevitable. A sweeping victory for the 'democratic' powers followed by a collapse of the aggressive spirit throughout Europe, might lead to a treaty such as was almost achieved in 1931: the abolition of all the weapons necessary for irresistible invasion. No doubt that is too much to hope for, and we may have to be content with a mere system of armed alliances. We might hope, inside each Federation, for a Federal force based on agreed contributions from all its members, which should be strong enough to discourage any outside attack; or, in the League, for some tighter agreement, based on Anglo-French co-operation, than has hitherto been possible. Much will depend on the question who is left, at the end of the war, as the most obvious and prominent danger to peace. It is conceivable that an aggressive Russia may take the place of Germany, and that, in her fear of Russia, Italy may become a law-abiding power.

On the Problem of Peaceful Change Sir John makes a valuable suggestion which is quite consistent with the procedure at present contemplated for the League. If some power desires a change in its present legal position, it must, according to League procedure, first persuade a majority of the Assembly that it has a *prima facie* case worth referring to a special committee. The committee might well be constituted on the principles of Sir John's 'Equity Tribunal'. But I think there is a certain advantage in having a combination of democratic and expert procedures. The Assembly as a whole would be competent to decide: 'Here is a state of things that seems unsatisfactory and perhaps ought to be changed'; though it would be quite unfitted to draw up the exact proposals for change. There is no doubt that the continual nervousness and fear of war which has persisted throughout this 'Twenty Years' Crisis' has reduced Article XIX to a dead letter; but here, as usual, the law

lay not in the Covenant but in the feelings of peoples and Governments.

So far we have been considering the subjects directly affecting war and the prevention of war. When that malignant spectre is once out of the way, other problems become much easier. The Court of International Justice has been an almost unqualified and in many ways an unexpected success. I can remember great authorities explaining that an international Court was impossible; a British Lord Chief Justice doubting whether any judge would ever pronounce an opinion contrary to the wishes of his national government; a Professor of International Law arguing, with much logical force, that a Court could only apply its own legal system, and that since there was no legal system common to the various nations represented on the Court, the Court could not function. Yet it does function, and judges do pronounce against their own country's contention. Also, a fact of most enlightening importance, the Court's decision is always obeyed. Of course great weight must be attached to Sir John's suggestion that every candidate for the International Court should be required to have held high judicial rank in his own country.

Of the Labour Office I need not speak. Its praise is in all the churches; and important governments which refuse to join the League have been drawn by the sheer magnetism of its practical usefulness to take part in the Labour Organization. Only this year it has succeeded in obtaining general agreement to a convention about coloured labour which has been described by Sir John Harris as the greatest advance since the abolition of slavery.

Of the League's constructive non-political work in general I am bound to say that it has suffered greatly from the fact that the Council and Assembly consist, for the most influential part, of politicians, and politicians are apt to have a rooted belief that nothing except politics is of really first-rate importance. It is not too much to say, in M. Madariaga's words, that the League's constructive work as a whole has received from the governments a treatment which amounts to 'deliberate and hypocritical starvation'. The condemnation is harsh, but the excuse is obvious. How could the unhappy politicians spare thought or money to such things as health or education or reasonable economics while the terror of war was always hanging over their heads and demanding the whole of their energy?

To speak of one particular activity in which I have been personally engaged for twenty years, the C.I.C., or Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, was definitely charged in the year 1924 by a

unanimous Assembly, on the motion of the British Delegation, with the task of seeing that children and young people in the territories of all States Members of the League, were made acquainted with the 'work and aims of the League of Nations', and taught 'to regard international co-operation as the normal method of world government'. Several times since 1924 that charge has been renewed; but never has the Committee been given any means whatever of performing it. In this country the work has been largely done by the Board of Education, by the various Churches, and by the continual educational work of the League of Nations Union. Had the C.I.C. been vigorously helped, so as to initiate and facilitate in the other countries of Europe similar educational campaigns, who can doubt that the whole atmosphere of Europe would be different and more akin to that of the pacific western democracies? A vast opportunity for good was lost here; let us hope it is not lost irreparably.

The fear of war paralyses helpful co-operation between nations. The actual presence of war largely destroys it. It substitutes among the belligerents the pursuit of public evil for that of good, among neutrals a mere anxiety to keep out of danger for any generous effort for the common welfare. Above all the League itself stands publicly discredited as an instrument: it was intended to prevent war and it has not done so. Yet a very large part of the League's ordinary constructive work still remains. The League is still alive and working, and the need for its work is greater than ever. I will conclude by quoting a statement on the present situation by Mr. Lester, the Assistant Secretary General:<sup>1</sup>

'The League will still, despite the war, find a large field of usefulness. Public health matters will bulk very large, perhaps even larger than before the war. The League's worldwide service of epidemiological intelligence will be more and more necessary as national services become overburdened by the new emergencies, and as new epidemics, perhaps, develop out of the war in both Europe and Asia.

'Problems of nutrition, for which the League has built up a far-reaching system of study and co-operation, are likely to take on greater importance as food supplies diminish and poverty increases throughout the world.

'The League's anti-drug work represents the most highly developed co-operation yet attained amongst the nations; it will be increasingly essential, not only because Government control may

<sup>1</sup> Address broadcast from Geneva, on October 21st, 1939, to the New York World's Fair. Reprinted in the *Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*, October 1939.

relax under the strain of war, but also because there is always far greater addiction to drugs in such times.

'The same grim necessity exists for the continuation of the League's efforts against traffic in women and children, in face of the dislocations and poverty of war.

'Then there is the field of economics and finance. The League's work of centralizing and co-ordinating information from all parts of the world, which has been of immense value to Governments, business men and students alike, will also take on added importance as conditions change from month to month, from day to day. It will be more important than ever, indeed, to know, not only of the activity of the world's economic machinery, but of the way in which Governments are changing, improving, impeding or breaking that machinery through war measures.

'These are but a few samples of present possibilities; they are far from exhaustive. The conclusion would seem to be that while much regular League work, including some of its most desirable, will have to be sacrificed, much will be even more necessary than before. . . .

'Not by any means the least contribution that the League can make at this present moment is of a definitely moral and spiritual nature. It can, in fact, keep alive at least one centre of international collaboration and sanity where men's efforts are co-operative and where whatever is possible in the way of international collaboration will still find welcome and assistance. That alone would more than justify its efforts.

'The second responsibility which the League must foresee is in relation to the settlement which will eventually come out of the present conflict. Whether or not the League as such has a distinct role to play at that time, the experience it has acquired during the past twenty years will be essential. Before the last war, there had been little experience with general organized international co-operation; there was, indeed, no machinery for the purpose as there is to-day. Conference, discussion and study have since then created a great reservoir of experience and knowledge regarding such problems as disarmament, trading relations, transport, currency and finance, control of backward areas and the like. Twenty years of experience has been had in all these fields; men have begun to know what is practicable and what is not; they have begun to see at least the possible direction of international action. The experience acquired so laboriously at Geneva these past two decades will be invaluable when the world comes to its next resettlement.

'A third responsibility for the League will be the almost overwhelming problems of reconstruction which will have to follow the

devastation of war. It is essential to the interests of all that there be planning for post-war economic conditions, which will closely and vitally affect every nation in the world, belligerent and neutral alike. These problems will demand an effort, greater and more world-wide, than mankind has ever attempted. The nations will have need of every source of strength and co-operation possible. They will have to go far afield in old domains and enter entirely new and unexplored ones. . . .

'The League has had an experience in effecting international co-operation and meeting emergencies such as no other agency. It is only necessary to recall Dr. Nansen's superb work in repatriating some 400,000 prisoners of war, the safeguarding of Europe against the westward march of a devastating post-war typhus epidemic, the interchange of a million and a half Greeks and Turks in history's greatest transfer of populations, the financial assistance given some half-dozen dangerously-strained States in Eastern Europe: all steps to clear away the debris of the last war and prevent the outbreak of new disasters. Many similar problems, alas, and perhaps on an even greater scale, will present themselves after the conflict of to-day when the League machinery will certainly have its contribution to make. . . .

'The League, though going through difficult times to-day, may face its greatest possibilities to-morrow. Co-operation amongst nations is essential, unless the world is going to resign itself to perpetual conflict and war. Forms and organizations may change, but the principles and needs remain. The world's hopes have been cast down, but in one form or another humanity must find some method to avoid war and to enable peoples to give and to get the co-operation which progress demands. To that end, the present international organs must be preserved during this time of crisis for the even greater crisis which may come when the armies are unlocked.'

- 6 -

The League Pavilion, I am sure, will be even more popular in 1940 than it has been in the past year. It will be a shrine to be visited by all those who look forward to the day when civilised people will hammer their swords into plough shares and war will be banished from this earth.

-----

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
INFORMATION SECTION.

October 23rd, 1939.

"League of Nations Day" was celebrated at the New York World's Fair on Saturday, October 21st, in accordance with the practice of the Fair to devote a special day to each official participant. The ceremony took place in the Court of Peace, with speakers representing not only the League and the Fair but also the United States Federal authorities.

Mr. Edwin F. Roosevelt, Director of Foreign Participation, presided and Mr. Julius Holmes, Assistant to the President of the Fair, welcomed the guests on behalf of the Fair. Mr. Benjamin Gerig, Deputy Commissioner-General, spoke in New York on behalf of the League and Mr. Adrian Pelt, Commissioner-General detained at Geneva, sent greetings by radio.

Hon. Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State and member of the League's Economic Committee, came from Washington to participate in the ceremony and made a statement in regard to American collaboration with the League. Mr. Charles M. Spoffard, Deputy Commissioner of the United States New York World's Fair Commission, spoke on the future of the League. Dr. Frank Boudreau, former Acting Director of the League's Health Section, and other representative Americans also stressed their faith in the League.

An interesting feature of the ceremony was the presence in Geneva of Mr. Grover Whalen, President of the Fair, who is now visiting Europe with his European Commissioner, Mr. Albin Johnson, in connection with the continuation of the Fair next year. Mr. Whalen also spoke from Geneva by radio.

Finally, Mr. Sean Lester, Deputy Secretary-General of the League, delivered a special radio address on the present and future work of the League.

Reports from New York indicate a large attendance at the ceremony, with perfect weather and excellent radio reception from Geneva.

The speeches follow:-

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY MR. GRADY.

Peace is not solely a political matter. If it is to be enduring it must be based upon the prosperity and well-being of the peoples of the world. For this reason we have welcomed the opportunity to participate in the League's efforts to organise cooperation in the fields of economics, finance and health, and in dealing with a multitude of other social and technical problems, and we have received many benefits from our participation in the League's work in these fields. The recent outbreak of war serves to indicate that efforts which have been made to establish unity and harmony in the world have not been adequate. They must be strengthened in the years ahead. To be effective, such efforts require coordination and direction. In view of the high degree of complexity and far-reaching interdependence in modern economy, it cannot be expected that world unity will come about without careful planning and international organisation.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH BY MR. SPOFFORD.

Recent events have proven in a grim way the need of more rather than less machinery for peace, a need which will become increasingly apparent when the present conflict ceases. .... It is certain, I believe, that in the constructions of the next postwar order the League which for twenty years has been an experimental laboratory in the organisation of international society will have an important place.

SPEECH BY MR. LESTER.

You who have gathered to show your interest in the League may ask what it is doing and planning in these tragic days. That question I shall attempt to answer briefly and concisely, leaving aside the larger political issues. Of them, you can judge as well as we; perhaps, with your perspective, even better.

A great disaster has come upon the world.

History must assess its causes.

This catastrophe marks a collective failure for mankind; a failure in which all of us have some share and on account of which we must all feel a deep humility.

What in this torn world can the League do today? There are I think three fields of activity: first during the present crisis; second, at the settlement; and third, during the reconstruction afterwards. Let me analyse each briefly and try to cast some light into the uncertain future and give perhaps some encouragement in this present dark moment.

First, what can the League do in the crisis? Obviously it will have to re-adapt its work considerably. Some activities which were very desirable in a state of peace will become impossible in a state of war. Others not needed in time of peace will probably develop. Disarmament, for instance, on which such efforts have been and will again be exerted, is not for today; cultural efforts are difficult under present circumstances; other activities representing some of the highest ideals of civilisation may have to be suspended.

Methods of work must change, also. The many meetings which, in recent years, have brought people together from all over the world and for all sorts of interests will have to be reduced. Not only is travel very difficult in war conditions here, but men tend to withdraw within their own frontiers. Work requiring the presence of people from many countries at a common centre will be difficult both materially and psychologically. This will inevitably tend towards more concentrated and expert activities and studies.

Great opportunities remain open, however. The twentieth Assembly which meets next month for questions such as the third general election of judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, will outline future League work, particularly in economic, social and health matters.

The League will still, despite the war, find a large field of usefulness. Public health matters will bulk very large, perhaps even larger than before the war. The League's worldwide service of epidemiological intelligence will be more and more necessary as national services become over-burdened by the new emergencies, and as new epidemics, perhaps, develop out of the war in both Europe and Asia.

Problems of nutrition, for which the League has built up a far-reaching system of study and co-operation, are likely to take on greater importance as food supplies diminish and poverty increases throughout the world.

The League's anti-drug work represents the most highly developed cooperation yet attained amongst the nations; it will be increasingly essential, not only because government control may relax under the strain of war but also because there is always far greater addiction to drugs in such times.

The same grim necessity exists for the continuation of the League's efforts against traffic in women and children, in face of the dislocations and poverty of war.

Then there is the field of economics and finance. The League's work of centralising and coordinating information from all parts of the world, which has been of immense value to governments, businessmen and students alike, will also take on added importance as conditions change from month to month, from day to day. It will be more important than ever, indeed, to know not only of the activity of the world's

economic machinery, but of the way in which governments are changing, improving, impeding or breaking that machinery through war measures.

These are but a few samples of present possibilities; they are far from exhaustive. The conclusion would seem to be that while much regular League work, including some of its most desirable, will have to be sacrificed, much will be even more necessary than before. Still more of a wholly new type will develop out of the disease, ill-health, poverty, malnutrition and other offspring of war.

Not by any means the least contribution that the League can make at this present moment is of a definitely moral and spiritual nature. It can, in fact, keep alive at least one centre of international collaboration and sanity where men's efforts are cooperative and where whatever is possible in the way of international collaboration will still find welcome and assistance. That alone would more than justify its efforts.

The second responsibility which the League must foresee is in relation to the settlement which will eventually come out of the present conflict. Whether or not the League as such has a distinct role to play at that time, the experience it has acquired during the past twenty years will be essential. Before the last war there had been little experience with general organised international co-operation; there was, indeed, no machinery for the purpose as there is today. Conference, discussion and study have since then created a great reservoir of experience and knowledge regarding such problems as disarmament, trading relations, transport, currency and finance, control of backward areas and the like. Twenty years' experience has been had in all these fields; men have begun to know what is practicable and what is not; they have begun to see at least the possible direction of international action. The experience acquired so laboriously at Geneva these past two decades will be invaluable when the world comes to its next resettlement.

A third responsibility for the League will be the almost overwhelming problems of reconstruction which will have to follow the devastation of war. It is essential to the interests of all that there be planning for post-war economic conditions, which will closely and vitally affect every nation in the world, belligerent and neutral alike. These problems will demand an effort, greater and more world-wide, than mankind has ever attempted. The Nations will have need of every source of strength and cooperation possible. They will have to go far afield in old domains and enter entirely new and unexplored ones. As the Secretary-General said at the opening of the League's Pavilion last May:

"Think of the problems that will arise when the armaments race is closed, whether by war or by ruin! What problems will be raised through the closing down or the adaptation of war factories, labour, material! What risks of chaos! "

The League has had an experience in effecting international cooperation and meeting emergencies such as no other agency. It is only necessary to recall Dr. Nansen's superb work in repatriating some 400,000 prisoners of war, the safeguarding of Europe against the westward march of a devastating post-war typhus epidemic, the interchange of a million and a half Greeks and Turks in history's greatest transfer of populations, the financial assistance given some half dozen dangerously-strained States in eastern Europe: all steps to clear away the debris of the last war and prevent the outbreak of new disasters. Many similar problems, alas, and perhaps on an even greater scale, will present themselves after the conflict of today when the League machinery will certainly have its contribution to make.

We must also remember that the pre-war year of 1939 was far from normal. The world has been living in a state of quasi-permanent emergency. War has found many problems still unsolved and no patch-work reconstruction will do.

The League, though going through difficult times today, may face its greatest possibilities tomorrow. Cooperation amongst nations is essential unless the world is going to resign itself to perpetual conflict and war. Forms may change but the principles and needs remain. The world's hopes have been cast down, but in one form or another humanity must find some method to avoid war and to enable peoples to give and to get the cooperation which progress demands. To that end, the present international organs must be preserved during this time of crisis for the even greater crisis which may come when the armies are unlocked.

The League represents a groping of mankind for a better way of settling disputes than slaughter and the ruthless use of military force; unless it, or something like it, is given the necessary support, the world will never rise above a state of recurrent war and crisis. There will be, as Mr. de Valera once said, a return to the law of the jungle. Let us not, therefore, indulge in pessimism or harsh judgment; let us, on the contrary, look into the future with determination and faith, particularly on this day of reconsecration devoted to the League of Nations by the New York World's Fair.

Permit me, in that connection, to say a word regarding the League's participation in the Fair. The League had never attempted anything like this before; it entered upon it with a certain hesitation. We have been profoundly gratified by the results. We have appreciated the friendly relations which have existed with the authorities as well as the interest manifested by over a million American citizens who have passed through our building in the past six months.

A striking proof of this interest is the spontaneous offer of some American friends to make possible the keeping open of the pavilion next year. We welcome this generous gesture; let us, with courage, confidence and faith in mankind, give

each other rendezvous in your building next year in the hope of circumstances more akin to the spirit of the League and the ideals of humanity.

I cannot do better, in closing, than to repeat the words of the Secretary-General in opening the League's Pavilion six months ago. The world was even then beset with dread lest methods of violence should bring on a disastrous war. But Mr. Avenol asked you to look upon the League Pavilion as a mark of faith in the ultimate establishment of peaceful collaboration among the nations:

"Without such collaboration, civilisation today cannot go on; and that being so, let us not permit the League to perish, even though it stand amid ruin. The graver the world situation, the greater will be the need for it. It will be upheld by our faith and our work."

SPEECH BY Mr. WHALEN.

It is a rare privilege and opportunity that has been offered to me to speak to America from Geneva, Switzerland, on this day dedicated, at the New York World's Fair, to the League of Nations, and to you who are gathered at the Court of Peace, on the Fair Grounds.

From over here, in the heart of Europe, America seems a long way off! With the guns thundering along many frontiers, with even neutral countries like Switzerland having 10% of their entire population bearing arms, peace takes on a new significance.

It is because we have experienced what war - at least to a civil population - is like, that we welcome this opportunity to impress upon you, at home, how fortunate you are not to be faced with the terrible consequences that today confront Europe. The people of the United States should thank God that we are still at peace and we should pray fervently that we may not be drawn into the conflict. In a few moments you will hear the voice of Mr. Sean Lester, Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations. He will speak to you for the international organisation which, despite the reverses it has suffered, still stands as a beacon light in an otherwise darkening world.

Created largely through the efforts of the distinguished American, Woodrow Wilson, the League today represents the only serious effort of civilised nations to organise a peaceful world.

Today, I want to join with you who are gathered at the World's Fair in paying homage to a great institution.

I am happy to be able to announce that the League of Nations expects to be with us in 1940. I am advised that the competent authorities will recommend to the Assembly which meets early in December that it authorise continued participation.

25/10/39

Have just heard from Martin  
in return from Ireland, that Dorothy may  
after all have her formal entrance in  
Latin & has begun College.

Am very pleased.

a letter from Patsy has twelve  
terrible spelling mistakes. But she  
writes with a impish vivacity.

Greiser has been promoted as  
Gauleiter, at Poznan. Berckhardt  
talking with me today, says he had  
refused to take part in the kicking-out  
ceremony. B. wrote to him from Kaunas  
1<sup>st</sup> a formal protest, 2<sup>nd</sup> commending to his  
care Beier & Kaunas. Had heard he  
had brought Beier to Poznan & given  
him a nice little job. Glad to hear  
of it. But Greiser had some heart, after  
all. B. says he broke down in tears  
at their last private talk - over Jimmy's  
position. But certainly gave him  
hell.

Sheel a hoguein 1979

facilité, sérénité;  
manifeste amitié breuvellane

d'âge 100, nouveau venu - respect  
d'âge - sagesse.

D. éclat, socrisme; usage  
d'usage, idéal, zèle

Devriers 1. 11 1/2, freq. 100.  
coll. H. - et toujours N. travail  
travaillant - 1/2 à 1/2, 1/2 à 1/2, 1/2 à 1/2.  
pour une des deux pays  
de sa culture, en essayant  
modeste, les idées, l'œuvre  
breuvellanes d'un Del. en œuvre,  
toujours l'impartialité, l'usage.  
seul but.

Mais ce ne guère le moment  
de se soucier de moi. mais  
et les étroites que le dire  
vraiment je connais N.  
Résultat frappant de coll. de me  
convaincre, si ne. avant tout  
des qual. Loyauté, dévouement  
g. N. a offert à tâche  
et maintes colls. Je connais particulièrement  
N. dans respect, gratitude, affecter

GAULEITER IN POLAND

MAN WHO DID NOT LIKE

IRISH COMMISSIONER

FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.

BERLIN, Monday.

Ferr Hitler has appointed forty-two years  
Herr Arthur Greiser, former President of  
Danzig Senate, to be Gauleiter (Regional  
Leader) of the Warta district of German-  
occupied Poland.

At a League Council meeting at Geneva  
1936, Herr Greiser, after a speech demand-  
ing the withdrawal of Mr. Sean Lester, then  
Irish High Commissioner in Danzig, left  
the hall deliberately after a gesture of dis-  
dain at the Press gallery.

28/X/39

Von Ribbentrop, in a speech in  
Danzig this week, referred to Burckhardt  
"dessen Tätigkeit eine rühmliche  
"Ausnahme im Vergleich zu manchen  
"seiner Vorgänger darstellte".  
i.e. une exception notable  
par rapport à celle de  
beaucoup de ses prédécesseurs"

!!  
Not very comfortable for B.  
outside Germany.

TELEPHONE 9185.

13, HATCH STREET,  
DUBLIN.

The manuscript copy of Adamnan's  
"Vita Columbae" written by Durbene,  
abbot of Iona, in or about the year 717,  
is the oldest known manuscript written  
by an Irishman that is now in existence.  
It is now in the Stadtbibliothek of  
Schaffhausen (Msc. Generalia 1).

I wish to know if a photographic  
copy of the manuscript, preferably  
in the negatives, can be obtained  
through the good offices of the Swiss  
governmental authorities.

Edmund Neill

Professor

National University of  
Ireland

10 October 1939.

An interesting report from Edm. Neill

10<sup>th</sup> November.

Gave a large lunch today  
to twenty people at the Perle du lac  
Avenue, Miss Herz, Burkhardt Dufre,  
Barberg, Aghnides, Skylstad, the  
Levedays, Hells, Van Asch van Wyk,  
Tittmans (new US ~~Cong~~ Gen.) Jacklin  
Mad. Sokaline, & the Trisots (12 nationalities)

Barkhardt said he thought the  
Mumuk rebellion could hardly succeed  
without the connivance of the Sestafos.  
(I am not quite so sure)

10th November 1939

The eve of Armistice Day. It looks more likely at the moment that the real war will break out. There is alarm and fear in Holland and Belgium. A couple of days ago the Belgian King went suddenly to the Hague and had a conference with Wilhelmina; I guessed a defensive proposal. The only announcement was another appeal to belligerents and an offer of their good offices. This was interpreted as a sign of danger, of a menace to their neutrality by the Press of the world. It has been followed by fresh mobilisation, the commandeering of motor 'buses in Brussels, fresh inundations in Holland, and tonight it is notified that the main defensive water line in Holland is being flooded at of course terrible sacrifice. If Hitler does not face a winter campaign he will have to face another half million British troops in France in the Spring,

and now that the Neutrality Act has been revised arms will be flowing from the U S A. But he has waited until there was at last partial mobilisation in Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland and until their troops have had two months special training and time to work on fortifications. The Swiss second line has been well developed. Tonight it was announced that two or three regiments demobilised have been recalled to the colours. Their supplies are good. And a big French army lies close alongside them.

I think myself that the German will not try the attack on both wings, but will, if he goes, concentrate on a rush through Holland for the ports and then probably a southward turn through Belgium. Some suggest that he might try to keep Belgium out of it for a time as a protection and so prevent British and French from going to the support of the Dutch. The Dutch have always refused even a defensive arrangement with the Belgians, feeling that they were less exposed and could keep out as in the last war.

I suppose it is likely that an attack by land would be accompanied by mass air attacks especially on England and the fleet. It will be a desperate throw.

The Dutch and the small Powers have been fiercely attacked in the German press for some days for allowing the British to stop their ships and thus enforce the blockade. Not a word about Italy which is in the same position.

A curious affair in Munich where Hitler was celebrating the birthday of Nazi-ism. He spoke for only half the usual time and then with all his chiefs left. Half an hour later there was a great explosion in the Burgerbraukeller killing half a dozen and wounding 60. Berlin says it was the British S S. I was much more inclined to put it to the credit of the underground opposition; but it is being so promptly used to whip up anti-English sentiment that I begin to doubt. Burckhardt today said to me it was the Gestapo and it would be used to prepare opinion for ruthless war- and the reprisals. Avenol thinks in a similar way.

If the air war begins in earnest nearly every mile of the way between Geneva and Dublin will be exposed to attack. Nice outlook for Irish travellers. I have been saying to the host of folks wanting to know if and when Elsie was coming out that I did not want her to be cut off here from the children, as she assuredly would be in such a case. I have been promising myself and Her also that I would go home for Christmas; so I shal if things have not moved; I wouldn't mind much myself running the gauntlet but what would happen to them all if I got "mine"? They are far from being provided for.

MAISON INTERNATIONALE DES  
2, RUE DANIEL COLLADON, GENÈVE  
"INTERNATIONAL HOUSE"

Adresse Télégraphique "STUDENTHOUSE"  
TÉLÉPHONE 4.82.25

COMITÉ D'HONNEUR

Mme HAROLD BUTLER, Oxford, Angleterre  
M. HARRY EDMONDS, Ancien Directeur  
"International House", New-York  
M. JOHN HOLT  
M. MANLEY O. HUDSON, Juge à la Cour perm.  
de Justice Internationale, La Haye  
M. PAUL LACHENAL, Pres. du Gd-Conseil  
M. SEAN LESTER, Société des Nations  
M. VICTOR MARTIN, Recteur de l'Université  
M. W. E. RAPPARD, Dir. de l'Institut de Hautes  
Etudes Internationales  
M. ALBERT RICHARD, Prof. à l'Université  
M. ARTHUR SWEETSER, Société des Nations  
Mlle PHEBE VAIL

COMITÉ EXÉCUTIF

M. GUILLAUME FATIO, Président  
M. ARCHIBALD EVANS, Vice-Président  
M. ROGER WEBER, Trésorier  
Mlle VIOLETTE BALMER, Secrétaire  
Mme S. ASKANAZY  
M. HENRI FIEHR, Professeur à l'Université  
M. BENJAMIN GEHRG, Société des Nations  
M. MAX HABGITT, Société des Nations  
M. GERHARDT JENTSCH  
M. GUSTAVE KULMANN, Société des Nations  
M. RUDOLF LANZ  
Mlle CRAIG Mc GEACHY, Société des Nations  
Mme WILLIAM MARTIN  
M. TURGUT MENEMENCIÖGLÜ, Pres. Comité  
des Etudiants  
Mme PITMAN POTTER  
M. et Mme ARTAHL IAN TULLIS

Extract from a letter from the United States  
dated October 26, 1939 to Arthur Sweetser

*Re: Robert F. Osborn, New York, U.S.A. from League.*

"We are further away from participation now than we have been at any time since the war started, and I think the trend will be continued definitely in this direction. While sympathizing with France and with the announced objectives of England, and while hating Hitlerism and totalitarianism with a bitter hatred, there is no disposition here in the United States to repeat the experience of 1917. I talked with ~~Ben~~ Stannard-Baker last night at the Century Club, and he agreed with me on this point one hundred per cent. I think I should say there is a profound distrust here of the Chamberlain government, and the recently announced policy of that government in relation to India has done a lot of harm as far as public sentiment in this country is concerned. If that is what Great Britain really thinks about democracy, there would be little temptation over here to join in the defense of such a rotten system. As a matter of fact, there is, I think, more sympathy for France than there is for Great Britain in this crisis. Part of this is traditional; part of it is based on ignorance of what the French position really is. The feeling against Nazism and Bolchevism grows daily, and the danger is that as anger rises we shall become as intolerant as we were following the last war, and seriously jeopardize our own civil liberties. But don't let anybody tell you we are going to join up in the fighting; I would be willing to bet a hundred to one that we won't."

20/XI/1939

Sokolins back from Paris and Belt  
back from Brussels, The Hague & Stockholm,  
say the generally accepted story is that  
Germany had intended to invade  
Holland on 12<sup>th</sup> November.

If so, why didn't she? Was it  
internal doubts, aided by the  
Munich bomb of 9<sup>th</sup> Nov.? Was  
it only a case of bringing  
pressure with threats on neutrals to  
secure more economic aid?

Belt arranged with  
Jean Deasy that her 17-year old  
daughter, studying in Holland,  
sh'd be given an honorary  
post of attaché to the Canadian  
legation at the Hague to  
help her escape if invasion  
comes.

24/XI/39

Krauel who has just returned from Berlin is  
talking in the following way to Permanent Delegates  
and others: Germany does not object to a League of  
Nations, but it must be reformed and become a true  
instrument of collaboration. She has no intention  
of attacking either Belgium or Holland and from his  
talk, seem to be fighting only England. They will  
not occupy Netherlands, nor undertake any offensive;  
the former would risk bringing the United States in.  
For the future he could not see anything but a  
stalemate and only Russia would benefit from a  
long war. Germany's agreement with Russia was  
a sad necessity and if Ribbentrop had been listened  
to last year, Poland would have been occupied inst-  
ead of Czechoslovakia and there would have been no  
war. It was Goering he said who wished Czechoslova-  
kia to be occupied. Regarding Italy, Germany  
preferred a strong friendly neutral rather than a  
weak ally.

Long note on 4/10: Vorkatchevitch called  
last night and eventually said he wanted  
personal advice. It seems Palychomachos  
Greek minister, (married to a cousin of Sobbotich  
Catef Yugo-Slav minister & "enemy" of Vorkatchevitch)  
chopped him<sup>(V)</sup> at a dinner party with being  
a <sup>part</sup> female agent. V. says he was "light"  
& that the hostess reported the affair to V.

Then it appeared she was Countess  
Maretti.

I was talking with Sokolov  
when this came from Belt at 11:45 AM  
30. XI. 39

L'Agence Télégraphique Suisse communique :  
"Téléphone de Londres.- L'Agence Reuter  
annonce que, selon des informations de presse  
d'Helsinki, les troupes russes ont franchi la  
frontière finlandaise jeudi matin à 9 h.15. L'inva-  
sion s'opère par différents endroits de la frontière  
de Carélie.

"A 9 h.25, l'alarme aérienne a été donnée à  
Helsinki. Peu après, des avions russes ont survolé  
la capitale, sans toutefois jeter des bombes. La  
D.C.A. finlandaise a ouvert sur eux un feu violent."

I allowed S. to finish a report he was  
making in a conversation with Krauel, Roman  
C.G. before passing on the information. I remarked  
"apart from all other considerations it is  
a first-class political mistake".

nothing written for 2 months  $\frac{31}{140}$

As a result of the Finnish appeal to the League we came suddenly out of our political hibernation. Two weeks (14/12/39) after the Invasion began the Soviets were ignominiously kicked out of the League and all members recommended to give such help to Finland as they could. Care had to be taken to preserve "neutrality" - especially in regard to the German war - and no word was said as to collective action.

It may lead far.

(I got tonsillitis - missed part of Spec. Assembly; & was barely recovered when I left for Ireland)

Sobolev the only Russian member of the Secretariat, left at Kinos. An unhappy, if philosophical, man, I think.

Large public subscriptions have been made in various countries - 1,000,000 Swiss francs in Switzerland, e.g.

Food, & supplies, & military material has gone from others. Public opinion has pulled Soviet faster than they like in some cases - Holland, Sweden, e.g.

The Irish Govt gave nothing but encouraged the new Irish Red X Society to give £1000.

Excels for tiny remnants of Jonathical & Bright Communists world opinion is fiercely anti-Russian. It is even said to be divided in Germany but what does p. o. in Germany amount to?

See also note on origin of League decision to rebel Soviets about

28/XI/1941

Was much overworked in November  
& December with the "Axe" Ctes,  
cutting down staff, mobilised new  
problems, etc. We have  
reduced, comparing 1/1/39 with 1/1/40  
by over 50% in staff. Over 900  
have gone. A dreadful  
business. Got sick early in  
Dec. & attended the  
Special Assembly which  
sat from 11<sup>th</sup> till 14<sup>th</sup> with  
a fever.

Then left on 17<sup>th</sup> for  
Ireland, home, & beauty.

Devalera was urged to  
come out & act as  
President of Assembly. What a  
colossal publicity! And with a  
full public opinion behind him.  
And without affecting neutrality in  
the other war! But there was  
a S. F. O. Tail Part annual meeting.

A new man in the British Delegation  
was the Duke of Devonshire. An  
unpretentious, & modest-looking little  
man. I rather liked him.

He told me anglo. Irish relations  
were quite good. I asked about  
Sir John Maffey, lately appointed  
British "Minister" at Dublin, & he  
said that his candidate had been  
Lord Robert Cecil. I said it  
was not home done; I doubted if  
Cecil liked the Irish well enough  
to tolerate the vicissitudes of such  
a post. (I like Cecil & have  
a good opinion of him otherwise)

I chanced to remark that  
Maffey had come from the Colonial  
Office (he had been here with the  
Abyssinian report) & was amused  
how Devonshire took it up  
explaining that there was no significance.  
The "Poblaict", he informed me, had  
made a point of it!

I was Arenolt's intermediary in arranging for Sokoline's departure.

S. wanted to stay on - not as U.S.G. - but in a small capacity for liaison. I was surprised. It was impossible.

Swiss Police suspicious. Stated, probably unfounded that he had sheltered a French Communist leader.

He is clever, intellectual, cultivated & agreeable - not bad testimonial for a "Bolshevik".

Left for Moscow (& what?) towards end of Feb.

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

7/xii-39

Cher Monsieur Lester,

J'ai appris que vous  
alliez mieux.

Je vous souhaite un  
prompt rétablissement.

J'espère qu'après votre  
maladie, vous pourrez  
vous reposer un peu.

Pour le moment, le monde  
va comme il peut, s'ailleurs  
sans beaucoup d'espoir d'arriver  
plus tôt ou plus tard qu'à  
l'heure normale.

Sokoline devra  
quitter Genève  
R. S. S. de la S.  
aire général de la  
sollicité du gou-  
vernement de prolon-  
ger. Il avait mo-  
ment représenté des  
membres du comité in-  
ternational.  
a refusé - et il  
a cette demande  
l'autorité fédérale,  
l'ensemble de notre  
des territoires

Telegram from Palestine signed "Loria"  
asking my intervention to secure emigration  
of Loria, senior, "your darling's only  
partner" (!) from Warsaw. I remember  
meeting him & didn't know he was  
Jewish. He got into some trouble  
at a birthday party where they  
sang the air of Horst Wessel tied to  
anti-Hitler words and a neighbor  
had his ear at the keyhole!

Elizabeth Wiskenmann, author  
of "Undeclared War" etc. turned up.  
Haven't seen her since Danyig  
After seeing me there she was  
"guzzled" for six hours by the Gestapo  
on her return through Berlin.  
It was the time 1936 when the  
Nazis were out for my blood.  
I gave her a luncheon, she said  
I certainly owed it to her as she  
had gone to prison for me!

Herman Rauchning has had a great  
success with his book "Hitler Speaks"  
in Czech, English, & German.

A record of his conversation  
with A.H. while in his confidence.  
Shocking. If I didn't know  
R. for a solid, reliable man  
I'd suspect exaggeration &  
propaganda.

It has now been banned in  
Switzerland but nearly everyone has  
already read it and the  
Custians admitted thousands  
more to have before the ban became  
effective.

In Bucharest the German Legation  
kept buying all available copies  
and the booksellers had a good  
time.

1934

I went home for Christmas and the journey was a very trying one, especially as I had been laid up with tonsillitis. I left on a Sunday night in company with the Hills and, trying to reach Dublin in the quickest way, got there on Thursday morning. Arriving in Paris about 7 a.m I found that no boat could be caught that day but as there was uncertainty about the times of sailing I went to Calais. The train took two hours longer than usual but otherwise quite uneventful. Signs of war were not outstanding. Porters were scarce and half a dozen Red Cross trains were noticed in the sidings of small stations near the coast. We had to stay in the rather grubby hotel on the pier at Calais. The black-out was too complete. Went in a taxi to the restaurant Au Faïsan Gris where an excellent dinner cost 30 francs.

A gun woke me in the morning; the hotel porter had remarked that they had had frequent alarms for German airplanes but that no bombs had been dropped. I looked out over the grey dunes and searched the misty sea without seeing any reason for the occasional gunfire. Perhaps it was a signal. The French money control was rather ~~xx~~ strict but occasioned no real trouble. The ship was a tiny thing usually on the Southampton service to some of the islands and half the passengers were officers and men going on leave. All had to wear lifebelts. There was no escort and the journey took from 1-30 p.m till 4-45 when we arrived at Folkestone. As we neared the harbour we apparently passed a bottle neck where there was a naval control; half a dozen ships of all sizes drew slowly up to two small lightships marking the passage between minefields.

London where we arrived at 7-30 was like a nightmare cavern, pitch-black with plenty of noise of cars and buses and scintillating with sparks of light. People crossed the roads with an electric torch spotting the pavement and hoping that taxi drivers wd see them. A taxi cd not be got for 20 minutes and I went to a small hotel near the Marble Arch too late for the night mail and too late for the Passport Office which issues permits for travel to Ireland. The black-out was exceedingly depressing but I was told that it was quite interesting when there was moonlight.

The following morning the Passport people were helpful and gave permits at once, also for the return to France. I put in the day by shopping and calling on Dulanty who lunched me at the Athenaeum.

There were no sleepers on the train to Holyhead and I got an earlier one which arrived soon after midnight. I was lucky to get a berth where I dozed until the boat got its Admiralty order and left abt 4 a.m. Dunlaoghaire about 9 a.m. and Elsie and the girls waiting for me with their new car. We decided to go straight to Ardagh Lodge and left at 8 a.m. next morning. Luck was against us and a deep fog covered the island from coast to coast together with frost. Onions, lemons, brandy (intended for the plum pudding) and a packet of salt failed to keep the windscreen clean. We did about 15 miles an hour. At Galway we took tea and when we left it was dark. That was worse than ever for the fog increased and we crawled the 17 miles to Oughterard with the wind screen open in an hour and threequarters. It was nervy going and we stopped at Swiney's hotel- 30 m from home. Lemon punch and smoky bedrooms. The next day the frost and fog cleared 10 m from Clifden, but we were glad we had not attempted that run over the bog road.

A good week's rest at Ardagh, the weather so-so. Christmas morning we walked over the bog to Lough Fadda. A skim of ice covered it but the sun shone and we sat for a couple of hours on a turf bank by the shore. Our return journey was done in 7 or 8 hours and I settled down to three days' hard work in Dublin.

Visit to Eden, Dominion Office, in  
January on return journey. <sup>1/2 hours at school</sup>  
(make note later) <sup>and see</sup>  
Discussion in Ireland.

London - recent Birmingham  
Dewey's attitude x

Neutrality - negative - no complaint  
Irish union.

January of future - "We must  
find a way of living together in  
Europe".

I was so depressed this past week that I thought of

trying to join some army. Sometimes it is an easy way

of giving up cares. But I feel a bit better this morning  
so have postponed the military life. I was sick for ten days  
after my return but am taking care and have refused a  
suggestion that I shd go to the mountains. Much improved now.

7 W.  
NOTE GIVEN TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE  
on FEBRUARY 27TH, 1940  
-----

It is not to be expected that H.M.G. could enter at present on any study of the details or even of the general framework of post-war organisation in the political field. The unknown factors are too many and too important for this.

On the other hand, it is not possible for H.M.G. to refuse any declaration on the subject - a fact which seems to be becoming better recognised as time goes on. The Prime Minister's last speech was undoubtedly more explicit about war and peace aims than were earlier ones. I conclude from this that H.M.G. now attaches importance to this question from the point of view of the efficient prosecution of the war. I think they are right, and that what they say about it may affect favourable or otherwise the will to win in this country, in the Empire, and in France, and, conversely, in Germany also. It may also increase or reduce the desire of non-belligerent nations to see Germany defeated.

Seeing the matter in this light we may perhaps discount the observation occasionally heard, that our leaders are too busy getting on with the war to be able to spend time thinking about post-war problems. But there still remains the difficulty referred to above, namely the impossibility of calculating the probable facts of the world situation when the war ends and new decisions have to be faced. There is no need to try here to recapitulate the various unknown factors which prevent, or should prevent, people in responsible positions from attempting to define the organisation which we should seek to establish. It is better, in these circumstances, not even to speak of the re-building of the League; but it is still less possible to commit ourselves to the support of "alternative" systems, even under ambiguous names or in shadowy forms - Federal Union, Federation of Europe, some new system grown by a process of accretion round our present unity with France. (I have put the word "alternative"

in inverted commas because I believe that if the Governments ever begin to try to put these ideas to the practical test, i.e. to formulate them in a Treaty in which a large number of States would willingly participate, they will inevitably find themselves working on lines which are substantially the same as those of the Covenant of the League).

On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent us from declaring the principles which we intend, so far as may be in our power, to see established and maintained after the war. And remembering the purpose we have in mind in discussing this matter, i.e. a war purpose, I suggest that the two main principles on which emphasis should be laid are:

1. The peaceful settlement of disputes and prevention of aggression;
2. The improvement of the individual standard of living.

It must be recognised that for each of these purposes organised international action is a necessary condition. Indeed, if anything said on the subject by representatives of H.M.G. is to be convincing, more especially to the neutral countries, it is necessary to admit and declare that in both cases there must be <sup>much</sup> more effective international co-operation than existed before the war, and that the British Empire in particular will be prepared, if others will play their part, to make much greater "sacrifices" (in fact they will be no sacrifices at all to the nation as a whole) than we were willing to do before the war.

Though we are bound to make our declarations conditional on the participation of others, I think it would be highly desirable to make plain that we do not expect exactly the same engagements to be taken by weak nations as by strong ones. In their present mood the smaller European powers would see no attraction in the promise of a system in which they would be expected to take immediate risks. In 1919 they were ready and willing to do so, but the withdrawal of the United States and subsequently the conduct of the more powerful members of the League changed all that; only a fresh growth of confidence can restore it and this will not be achieved by words. It is here that Anglo-French leadership may truly be the nucleus of a new order, if it means leadership in willingness to take risks in the common interest.

We are certainly also entitled to remember that the possibilities of effective work under both heads will be vitally affected by the attitude of the United States. It would be obviously unwise to say this in public, and there is, I suppose, no danger of any responsible Minister doing so. But in confidential talks the point ought to be put in the forefront; and if this is to be possible it means that we must be reasonably clear in our minds what we are ourselves prepared, if possible, to work for. There seems to be some risk that the United States will satisfy their conscience by offering to take a large share in the material side of reconstruction. I believe it would be a very short-sighted policy indeed on the part of the Allies to give the slightest encouragement to this "escapist" plan. The material restoration of Europe will be of little use if the countries concerned are to be still in the mood of 1936-1939 - each hoping to keep out of trouble and looking the other way when trouble occurs that does not directly threaten it.

(The fact that these problems must be already included in the forthcoming conversations with Mr. Sumner Welles is a further commentary on the idea that Ministers are too busy with the war to think of the post-war organisation).

It is not, of course, suggested that we should invite the United States to do what both the great Parties were fully resolved to do in 1918 - what the Senate itself was ready by a great majority to do in 1920 when the Republican reservations to the Covenant were rejected by President Wilson. But opinion in war time can move fast; we should surely be most foolish if we now take it for granted that Anglo-Franco-American agreement to keep with others the world's peace is necessarily and for ever unattainable; and we have surely the right and duty to point out that, when the time comes, the American attitude will deeply affect our own possibilities.

As regards the method, we could utilise very effectively (1) the declaration made by Mr. Butler in the Council on December 16th, and (2) the very important passage in the Pope's Christmas message about international organisations for the maintenance of peace - in which he speaks of the building anew, or restoration, of such organisations; of the heavy responsibilities they have carried and the grave difficulties they have met; and the need to learn from the lessons of the past.

I venture to think that a presentation of our "peace aims" on these lines - not forgetting those which have already been declared, including "disarmament", which can never come without an effective organisation for peace - would be a considerable advance on anything which has yet been stated; that this advance would involve no risk, nor raise difficulties with the French, since it does not commit us to any one form of organisation to the exclusion of others; and that it would be a useful step from the point of view of neutral opinion, and a sound basis for conversation with the United States.

And, of course, we must never allow the "non-belligerents" to forget that any international organisation for the common benefit depends first on one condition, namely the victory of the Allies.

-----

As regards the League of Nations, I would only say this. We cannot tell how much of the Covenant system we may then want, or be able, to maintain, alter or scrap. It may even be possible, unlikely as that may seem at the moment, to find again the creative energy of 1918-1919, when General Smuts could say: "I believe the world is now ripe for the greatest advance in human government in the history of mankind". In any case, it is greatly to be hoped that neither in its declarations, its negotiations, or even its internal convictions, will H.M.G. prematurely decide to abandon either the Covenant itself or the various forms of machinery which have grown up for its execution. They have at least the merit of existing, and experience knows how great would be the difficulties in drawing up a new agreement to take their place. That difficulty will certainly be much increased if it is decided to start by settling the peace terms in the narrower sense, and only after that begin to seek agreement in international organisation. To maintain them for the time being should, I think, be no embarrassment; they no longer involve political implications, save in so far as they represent - and are regarded by Germany as representing - a certain degree of common interest between ourselves and some two-score neutral States. In talking to the United States I am convinced that it is a mistake to treat our membership of

the League as a matter that has lost all interest to us. At the worst, it is a bargaining card; at the best, it may be something immensely more.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to one minor point of practical importance. If it is agreed, as I believe it is, that the existing League machinery ought, for the present, to be preserved so far as possible, this implies for H.M.G. not merely that they should do nothing to destroy it but that they should do what they can in a positive sense to keep it working; in particular that they should encourage the holding of meetings of League Committees, and take part in them as fully as possible and with the best possible representatives.

Paradise Cottage Brickbury  
Berks  
8 Apr.

Dear Mr. Carter

It was pleasant to get that  
proof of the fact a man I have met much  
before the time I came to the university.

It was all very nice to me, especially your  
kindness in presenting me to Mr. Chas. (with  
his poem brought to me) - and your gift  
for me as a laborer's dinner - the French  
Minister, Blondel, read a paper in the English  
French academic style - two days solid work  
with it, I held my hand - known to me  
and his work in the book in the Province of  
France - long before the English of Talley, or  
said to the book - as I do.

If you ever reach to Belleg, do say this  
to Mr. Penckel of the hotel de la Poste.  
They tried to get me to the hotel. In  
fact, the academy never held a dinner  
day after a full - and I shall see it  
later. The same day another man in the same  
hall got to the end - he felt the advance  
of time - he I should say, after hard work  
lecturing others well.

How I wish I were in a friend's garden. I can  
feel the hot bit of the Test against my back.  
The young too much trouble. But I can't explain  
at 76, with the Antares full of my fingers  
and the presence. Not that I have any special  
wish to keep going: it is good to have  
the use of one's limbs while one is here, &  
more can still split wood on -

Blazing the Bois Maudin, Sam me good  
win de diez lui, not far from Geneva.  
Wonder if I got 1921 since is still  
to be had in the town de laud - a bucket.  
I spent six months in the valley of the  
Brave at Lucerne - now the fifty years  
ago - a little more advisable that can  
let back.

With much love

Yours sincerely

Arthur Symonds

What a world. You find the Poles  
cutting into a sad mess of their affairs.  
Hoping the & the Czechs etc have washed  
by the stream of military grubbing -

P1/7(4)

Paradise Cottage      Bucklebury (?)  
Berks, 8th April 1940.

Dear Mr. Lester,

It was pleasant to get that friendly note from a man I have met much less often than I could wish.

They were all very nice to me at the University, especially Eoén Mac Neill presenting me to the Chancellor (with his gown wrong side out). And my own craft gave me an honorific dinner when the French Minister, Blondel, read a paper in the thorough French academic style - two days solid work in it, I should say. However he said some one had sent him my book "In Praise of France" long before he thought of Dublin and had liked it - as I do.

If you ever reach to Belley, do say things to M. Pemollet of the hotel, de ma part.

They lied to you about me at Spiddal. I've fished that enchanting river half a dozen times and only once got a fish - and a small one at that. The same day another man on the same bank got 4 which made me feel the advance of years - for I chucked it, getting tired with climbing stone walls.

Now I live and work in a friend's garden: could get and fish the best bit of the Test any time - and think the going too much trouble. But I can't complain at 76, with the obituaries full of my younger contemporaries. Not that I have any special wish to keep going on: but it is good to have the use of one's limbs while one is here and mine can still split wood, etc.

Benziger, the Swiss Minister, gave me good wine de chez lui, not far from Geneva. I wonder if any of the 1921 wine is still to be had in the Canton de Vaud and Neuchâtel. I spent six months in the Valley of the Broie at Lucern - more than fifty years ago - and drank many ordinaries that were not bad.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) *Stephen Gwynn*

What a world. Your friends the Poles certainly made a sad mess of their affairs. If only they and the Czechs could have worked together instead of mutually grabbing.

---

---

mg OBITUARY 8/4/40

Major General A. C.  
Temperley P1/7(3)

Major General Arthur Cecil Temperley, who had a distinguished war record and for several years wrote on military subjects, died at his home near Beaconsfield yesterday. He was born at Cambridge in 1877 and educated at Sherborne School and Queens' College, Cambridge. His father, Ernest Temperley, was a Fellow and tutor of Queens', and his younger brother Harold also became a Cambridge don, and wrote among other books a history of the Peace Conference, in which he took part. Leaving Cambridge in 1900, Temperley took a commission in the Northumberland Fusiliers, with which he served throughout the South African War. He was next on active service in 1908, when as an officer of the Norfolk Regiment he fought through the Mohmand campaign on the Indian Frontier.

Appointed to staff duties, he had been a general staff officer in New Zealand for a year when the world war began. He was at once recalled to London and served in France, Gallipoli, and Palestine, where he was chief of staff to the 60th (London) Division. He was mentioned in dispatches eight times, awarded the D.S.O. and C.M.G., and promoted lieutenant colonel. For ten years from 1925 Temperley was the British military representative at the League of Nations, and he also held at the War Office the post of Deputy Director of Military Operations and Intelligence. He served as head of the military section of the British delegation to the Disarmament Conference. Retiring in 1935 with the rank of major general, he became military correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph," a post he held until last year.

---

---

Dear Sean

Thanks for the  
Waive list - very  
illuminating as to prices.

Here with copies of  
proofs

MP<sub>25/1</sub>

## HAIL and FAREWELL

January 5, 1940

I think I shall always remember  
 you. Humbert,  
 With your head turned sideways  
 a little and your eyes  
 Amazed and dazzled by some vision  
 of unguessed beauty,  
 - Like a boy looking out of a  
 window at astonishing skies.

You were always looking out of the  
 window, Humbert,  
 Following your dream, seeking  
 remoter stars,  
 Pondering on pity, gentleness and  
 courage,  
 On high romance, on wounds, on  
 love's old scars:

Lilac in rain, the swallows' small  
 cry at sunset,  
 Paris in May, - the tall Alps in June.  
 Leaves like green flames, old beech  
 trees tugging and straining  
 In autumn storms - a lonely fiddler's  
 tune:

The lover lost in the harlot, the knight  
 in the clown,  
 Even God in the devil, and in every  
 woman's face  
 The sweet proud curve of the cheek  
 that Helen wore,  
 And Psyche and Daphne and the old  
 queens of grace.

Out of your window, you saw a man,  
 not ageing,  
 Not dulled and slow, but an eager  
 tip-toe boy  
 Filled like a white yacht's sail with  
 the winds of the morning  
 Course set for Paradise, for the  
 tall towers of Troy.

Your eyes were eyes to see, and they  
 saw beauty,  
 Your ears heard music silvering  
 the air,  
 Your heart knew what man may know of  
 love or friendship,  
 Of talk, of laughter, of patience  
 in despair.

They will speak of you as the brilliant  
 civil servant,  
 Wise, cool and witty, steady in  
 brain and power.  
 But I shall remember the dreaming  
 boy at Bradford  
 Looking out of his window to  
 Arnside and Rombald's Moor.

V.G.G.

H.W.

The mind of steel, the wit that gave a  
wing  
To every syllable, the generous care ,  
The swift unrested servant of his  
king,  
The mocking colleague whom we none  
could spare,

Undisconcerted by that lightning end,  
Raises an eyebrow at the Golden  
Street,  
Abandons Gabriel to greet a friend,  
And banters angels round the  
Mercy Seat.

L.A.G.S.

In Memoriam

H.W.

(International Labour Office, Geneva)

The fugitive spirit of man, that seeks insurance  
against the sickness that assails his pride,  
mounts up and finds, beyond the last endurance  
that dark Convention God has ratified.

Our minimum wage upon that shining pay-day  
shall be to know that cool, inviolate,  
in the high meadows under the Dents du Midi  
the flowers have freedom to associate.

And we will watch the sun, the argent charity  
of his bright substitute, the moon, withdrawn,  
when to the night's immeasurable obscurity  
he brings the gold amendment of the dawn.

M.M.C.

A Last Poem

I will say this to you, Ireland. The  
 High King Cuchullain  
 fought with his son, and slew him,  
 and the waves of the sea,  
 drawing from the Western Islands,  
 swept over him,  
 and the sorrow is in the cry of the  
 curlews unceasingly.

And Deirdre that was as fair as Helen  
 and as broken,  
 where is she now save in the songs  
 they go trying  
 when they drive the sheep home, and  
 may be a boy remembers  
 how death himself for love of her  
 was dying.

And the old saints, Ireland, that  
 brought the Holy Water,  
 and anointed the kings till it  
 seemed that the only sword  
 in the whole green land was high  
 and bright and uplifted  
 in the shape of a Cross in the hand  
 of the riven Lord.

It is long since the kings and the far  
 pale forehead of Deirdre  
 it is long since the Saints and the  
 two fingers consecrating  
 the land of the mists and the curlews  
 with love transcending  
 the love of women. Ireland, why  
 are you hating?

Why are you hating? Not all the  
 wrongs of the world  
 are enough to redeem the sword in  
 its inexorable loss.  
 Look to the Islands. Look to the  
 seas beyond them,  
 and let the hilt of your sword again  
 be the hilt of the Cross.

HUMBERT WOLFE.

DÉLÉGATION HELLÉNIQUE  
AUPRÈS DE LA  
SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS

Genève, le 20 décembre 1939.

*Cher Monsieur Lester,*

Au moment de quitter définitivement, je tiens à vous dire combien j'ai apprécié en vous toutes les qualités qui vous rendent dans l'accomplissement de vos hautes fonctions à la Société des Nations, un ami si estimé et si sûr de tous ceux qui viennent en contact officiel avec cette dernière.

Vous connaissez bien mes convictions et je suis heureux parce que nous avons la même foi et les mêmes amis.

Vous verrez que nos idéaux triompheront, j'en suis fermement convaincu.

Je n'ai qu'un regret - mais très vif - celui de ne pas voir avant mon départ Madame Lester pour prendre congé d'elle.

Je vous prierai de lui présenter mes hommages et mes vœux sincères pour le bonheur de toute votre famille.

Veillez croire, cher Monsieur Lester, à mes sentiments très dévoués et agréer l'assurance de ma haute considération.

*S. Tzitzouridis*

Monsieur S. Lester  
Secrétaire Général Adjoint  
de la Société des Nations  
Genève



FRH/JD.

P1/7(7)  
Telephone  
Booking Office 44505  
Secretary's Office 43412

## ABBAY THEATRE

DUBLIN C.8.

Date, 20th December, 1939.

Directors LENNOX ROBINSON, WALTER STARKIE,  
DR. RICHARD HAYES, ERNEST BLYTHE,  
F. R. HIGGINS.

Managing Director F. R. HIGGINS.  
Secretary ERIC GORMAN.

My dear Sean,

I was indeed very pleased with your appreciative card. It is undoubtedly more pleasant to learn that one's efforts do create favourable reactions - and particularly ~~from~~ <sup>in</sup> Geneva!!!!  
Best wishes, and thanks indeed for your extreme kindness,

Yours sincerely,

*F. R. Higgins*

Sean Lester Esq.,  
Deputy General Secretary,  
League of Nations,  
GENEVA.

*Had sent H. a card  
congratulating him on  
a fine study from the  
the "D.T."*

Melville House,  
Middle Street,  
Taunton,  
Somerset.

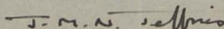
11-vi-39

Dear Lester,

I was most grateful for your kind letter, which stirred memories all over again. I can understand the complexities of your situation, and when I spoke of my old book had no thought that you should turn yourself into an advocate any more than any other Civil Servant of the League, or of any country for that matter, can take up the advocate's role. My only feeling was that it ought to be read in Geneva, and that you 1) would know where it should go, 2) might care to dip into it between sessions, if you had any spare time then. But I suspect you only have a thin time ~~now~~.

If Fortune is in a mood of lavish benignity I may turn up some day in Switzerland and startle you with a card. En attendant, salutissimi, as they say in your corridors,

Yours sincerely,



# POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY BEFORE THE WAR

## The Last Exchanges with Soviet Russia

From our own Correspondent

PARIS, MARCH 17.

M. Paderewski, speaking before the Polish National Council in Paris last month, made no secret of his low opinion of the foreign policy pursued by M. Beck and clearly emphasised his belief that this foreign policy was largely responsible for the tragedy that overtook Poland last September. This opinion is also shared by the members of the present Polish Government, whose leaders, such as General Sikorski and M. Zaleski, had always followed with anxiety Colonel Beck's diplomatic conduct. In publishing the Polish White-book, which has already been briefly discussed in this correspondence, they were therefore in a rather awkward position, one imagines all the more so as the book covers the entire period of German-Polish relations since the advent of Hitler, or, rather, since the first steps were taken towards a Polish-German rapprochement.

The purpose of the White-book is not to justify M. Beck's policy but simply to show the perfidiousness of Germany in her dealings with Poland. It contains no documents relating to the more doubtful episodes of M. Beck's career, such as the Polish veto against M. Louis Barthou's vast collective security plan of 1934. Poland's rôle in the partition of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938, or the persistent opposition of the Polish Government to any mutual-assistance arrangement with the Soviet while Mr. Litvinoff was still in office and while there was at least a likelihood of Russia's entry into a system of collective security.

### NAZI BLANDISHMENTS

But when this has been said the value of the book as a further demonstration of Germany's complete unscrupulousness is considerable, though it scarcely makes entertaining reading. All the documents relating to the period before October, 1938, are monotonous in the extreme. They are an unending repetition by the German leaders of the same statements—their regard for Poland, their respect for Polish national sovereignty, their recognition of Poland as a bulwark against Bolshevism, their recognition of Poland's right to an outlet to the sea, their lack of interest in annexing territories not inhabited by people of German race, and their general satisfaction with German-Polish relations.

Even in their statements on Danzig the Nazis were extremely cautious, treating it merely as an administrative problem which could be easily settled between Warsaw and Berlin. It was only after Munich that Ribbentrop became more outspoken in his views on Danzig, and it was

not until after the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia that the German attitude to Poland became truly menacing. Until then Hitler and Ribbentrop had been repeating to the Polish Ambassador that the Nazis had completely reversed the policy of General Schleicher, which they claimed had consisted in an agreement between Germany, France, and Russia at Poland's expense. But on March 26, 1939, Ribbentrop received M. Lipski, the Polish Ambassador, for the first time "with marked coolness," and the trouble started in earnest.

The White-book throws very little new light on Polish-German relations during the five months before the outbreak of war—partly, it is explained in the preface, because Germany was already actively preparing war against Poland and diplomatic contacts between Warsaw and Berlin were few and far between. Most of the diplomatic work was done by the British and French Ambassadors in Berlin.

### NEW LIGHT ON RUSSIA

Much more interesting than the part of the White-book relating to Germany is the much shorter section on Polish-Russian relations, and particularly the final report by M. Grzybowski, the Polish Ambassador in Moscow. He covers ground not touched upon by either the British Blue-book or the French Yellow-book. It begins with an account of his arrival in Moscow in July, 1936, and an angry outburst by Mr. Krestinski, Litvinoff's assistant, against the Polish "sabotage of the League of Nations and collective security."

After Munich, however, the Poles, feeling rather isolated from the West, attempted to improve relations with the Soviets, but this rapprochement was of short duration, and M. Grzybowski notes as highly significant that at the New Year reception in Berlin Hitler talked much longer to the Soviet Ambassador than to any of the other diplomats. Nevertheless a Russo-Polish trade agreement was signed in February, 1939.

The departure of Litvinoff marked something of a turning-point in Soviet policy, and it was clear in May, said M. Grzybowski, "that the Russians were keeping an alliance with Hitler as a card up their sleeve." But what happened afterwards is not quite clear. Talks between Russia and France and Britain continued, but the Poles would not take part in them.

"Mr. Potemkin," M. Grzybowski notes, "seemed to understand the reasons which prevented our joining directly in the talks. He assured M. Beck in the name of his Government

that Russia had decided to adopt a benevolent attitude towards Poland in case of a German aggression." The most the Polish Ambassador was able to tell Potemkin was that "Poland was negotiating with sympathy the Russo-British-French talks." But a few days later he informed Molotov that "Poland regarded as premature any bilateral negotiations with the Soviets before the conclusion of the three-Power negotiations." This reluctance to accept direct Soviet aid is one of the strangest aspects of Polish diplomacy during the month preceding the war.

A little later, in June, M. Grzybowski notes that the Poles had "no great illusions about the three-Power talks." It was at that time that the Soviet offered to supply Poland with war material, but "these offers were accompanied by unacceptable conditions." At the same time "Soviet propaganda never ceased to urge us to resist German demands." Marshal Voroshiloff, in discussing later in the summer the supply of Russian war material to Poland, said that it was "a commercial matter and not in contradiction to the German-Russian pact," which had just been signed. The story is one of Russian duplicity, but at the same time the rôle of Poland remains somewhat obscure.

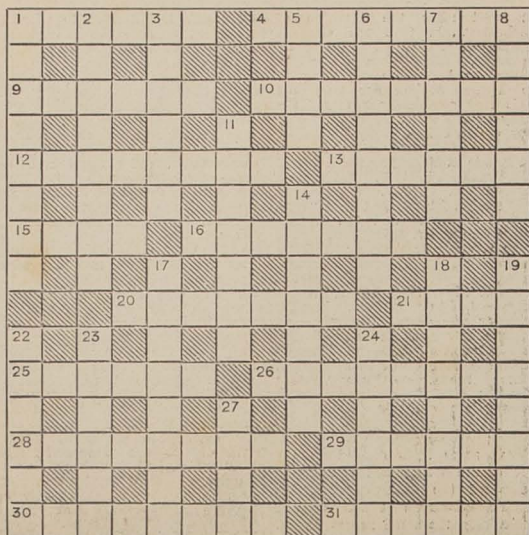
### MOLOTOFF'S DOUBT

Perhaps the most significant passages in the whole White-book is towards its end. It is an account of M. Grzybowski's meeting with Molotov on September 3, two days after the outbreak of the war.

"He agreed that Germany was guilty of aggression, and asked if we were counting on the intervention of Britain and France, and, if so, when. I said I had no direct information, but that I was anticipating an Allied declaration of war on Germany on the following day, September 4. Molotov smiled sceptically and said, 'Well, we shall see.' It seems clear from this that Molotov was sharing Ribbentrop's illusion that the Allies would back out at the last moment.

The entry of the Allies into the war produced a singular reaction in Moscow. When, a few days later, the Polish Ambassador asked Molotov for war material for Poland and referred him to the promises made during the previous month by Marshal Voroshiloff Molotov replied, "These promises were made in entirely different conditions. The Marshal did not know and could not know that France and England would intervene. Poland to-day is the same to us as England." He added that the Soviet Union's first concern was her own interest and her anxiety to remain outside the conflict. Ten days later the Russians invaded Poland. It makes an ugly story.

# Crossword No. 67



## CLUES

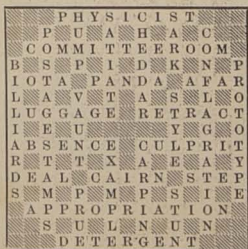
- ACROSS**
- The wheat man's angle? (6).
  - Flourishes that keep the passengers cool, perhaps (8).
  - Rum set of people (6).
  - This sort of camel has more than one hump (8).
  - Match-saving barges (8).
  - That of the moon is green, it has been said (6).
  - "I had most — of blessing, and 'Amen' Stuck in my throat" (Shakespeare) (4).
  - The stretchers wanted for shindies in the drinking-place? (7).
  - A measure of length comes back in pieces? Yes, in quarters (7).
  - One thing the fisherman is sure of finding in his net (4).
  - A dark saying (6).
  - An engraving of a thirsty cricketer? (3-5).
  - A raven in infernal guise (8).
  - This plant keeps a pointed piece of metal in metal (6).
  - 1940, e.g. (two words) (4, 4).
  - Russian copper coin (6).

## DOWN

- One could make a nice meal out of this fabric (8).
- Patiently acquiescent (8).
- "Dire combustion and confused — New hatch'd to the woeful time" (Shakespeare) (6).
- This is a manner of saying "Be off!" (4).
- Polecats (8).
- After the painter I occupied the first place (6).

- He has gone astray, but it would be quite a good shot to behold him (6).
- Must fish for the pan be so crumbly? (7).
- Vesuvius and Popocatepetl have them (7).
- A husband's allowance to his wife (3-5).
- King-killer (8).
- May 12 to 18 this year (two words) (4, 4).
- To tell a story about the Manx cat's deficiency? (6).
- A place wherein one may see stars (6).
- The centre of Portugal's wine trade (6).
- The Peruvian animal carries fifty more than this monk (4).

## SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD No. 66



Sir Archibald Sinclair speaking to Cheshire, and North-western L.



Members of the Army Blood T

The solution will be published to-morrow.

Extract from a Note by Mr. Beck on his conversation  
with Mr. de Moltke, Warsaw, November 18th 1936

---

"L'Ambassadeur de Moltke déclara, en réponse, que, dans la journée d'hier, il avait eu l'occasion d'être reçu par le Chancelier et par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. Le Chancelier l'avait autorisé à donner la ferme assurance que les principes et les raisons qui avaient fait aboutir l'accord polono-allemand conservent pleinement leur esprit et leur valeur. De l'avis du Chancelier, l'accord polono-allemand devrait être automatiquement prolongé afin de constituer un fondement durable des relations entre la Pologne et le Reich. De même les droits polonais à Dantzig devraient être respectés. "Vous connaissez le Chancelier. Avec la vivacité qui le caractérise, il s'est plaint toutefois des procédés employés par M. Lester, en tant que Haut-Commissaire. Il s'est plaint de même de la situation impossible provoquée par son ingérence dans les moindres détails de l'administration de Dantzig, qui a dû nécessairement aboutir à des frottements." Le Chancelier était néanmoins d'avis que les principes du statut de la Ville Libre devraient être maintenus. Si le Haut-Commissaire remplissait sa mission avec plus de discernement, un modus vivendi, tout-à-fait supportable et durable pourrait s'établir."

---

Extract from "Instructions de M. Beck pour  
M. Lipski", Warsaw, March 25th 1939.

"Il est juste de rappeler, à cette occasion, l'attitude bienveillante du Gouvernement polonais à l'égard du premier sénat national-socialiste de Dantzig.

Au cours de toute son activité politique sur le terrain international pendant les cinq dernières années, le Gouvernement polonais avait toujours refusé de prendre part à des actions dirigées contre les intérêts du Reich allemand."

---

note for  
talk with  
SG.

Sept 38

P1/7 (10)

In case of, e.g., general  
mobilisation in France, we would  
lose immediately a considerable  
number of officials. In some  
cases it might seriously affect  
work which would have to be  
carried on. ~~at~~ Is it desirable  
to have some previous arrangement  
with Govts regarding certain  
officials whom we might regard  
as indispensable.  
Same for Switzerland.

Preparation for passive Air Raids  
Precautions.

P1/7 (11)

Excerpted from HND  
Exptd.

14. 10. 39.

Dear Mr. Lark,

I have often thought of you during the  
past year - (you talked to me on the last morning  
at Kenyale). I hope that you must be feeling, I  
wonder today how really I am. I hope it

comforts you a little to know that our country  
still has some chance of peace & development.

When will you get back to Comenara  
this summer? If I live through it - I'll  
come & call on you here after the war - I shall  
need a strong injection of courage then  
somehow!

Yours sincerely

Phyllis Manning.

---

BRITISH SPORTING AGENCY LTD.

DIGSWELL VALE,

WELWYN,

HERTS.

WELWYN 219.

P1/7(12)

April 10  
1940

Dear Mr. Lentin.

Many thanks for your  
letter of April 4<sup>th</sup>.

I am very interested in  
your report of the conditions  
in falconry last summer.

I am glad Mr. Stokes  
visited Andagh Lodge.

I am afraid we cannot  
help you this year.

On the outbreak of war

My two partners and  
the secretary were called  
up, and I have just  
rejoined the R. N. V. R. so  
we have closed down the  
agency for the denatation.  
In any case there would  
not have been much  
business to do. and the  
news today at 9<sup>00</sup> makes  
one wonder what the end  
will be and when?

Yours sincerely  
J. Weynfham Bevan

CENSOR

1308



Sean Luter. J.

9. Rue de Contamines

Geneva

Switzerland.

From. G.C. GREENE

DIGSWELL VALL

WILLOW

HERTS.

P.C. 66

**OPENED BY**

# Le temps 14/10/39 AU JOUR LE JOUR

## La mort de Cassandre

Avec le comte Bernstorff a disparu, ces jours-ci, un des rares diplomates perspicaces qu'ait possédés l'Allemagne impériale. Impénétrable, paraît-il, dans sa retraite helvétique, qu'a-t-il pu penser des incroyables erreurs de jugement qui ont précipité le Reich national-socialiste dans une guerre d'où il ne peut sortir que vaincu ?

C'était un esprit fin, pondéré, ennemi de toute mégalomanie. « Nous avons grandi trop vite », avait-il coutume de dire... « La construction de la flotte de haute mer a, depuis le début du siècle, gâché nos rapports avec l'Angleterre. L'idée tirpitzienne d'une « flotte de risque » eût été peut-être réalisable si notre diplomatie avait été assez adroite pour éviter la guerre. »

Envoyé comme ambassadeur à Washington, il avait, avec une adresse peu commune aux Allemands, su, peu à peu, se concilier les bonnes grâces du président Wilson, de son secrétaire d'Etat Lansing, et même de son tout-puissant confident, le colonel House.

Il était persuadé que l'Allemagne perdrait la guerre si l'Amérique se déclarait contre elle. Il voulait obtenir, par Wilson, une paix d'entente « qui correspondit aux intérêts réels des Etats-Unis ». Cette conception, pleine de prudence, fut constamment contrecarrée par le gouvernement de Berlin, harcelé par l'état-major et l'amirauté, qui finirent par arracher au Kaiser l'autorisation de mener la guerre sous-marine sans merci, et déclenchèrent la catastrophe — au grand désespoir de Bernstorff.

Celui-ci multiplia vainement les conseils de sagesse. « Il est de toute urgence, mandait-il à Berlin le 17 novembre 1916, de ne pas rouvrir les hostilités contre les navires de commerce armés. » Il ajoutait, quelques jours après : « Toute controverse sous-marine rendrait plus défavorable l'opinion publique à notre égard. Si l'on peut éliminer cette question, la tension entre l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis s'apaisera. » Bernstorff mettait tout son espoir dans le principe de la liberté des mers, cher au président, qui prétendait fonder sur lui la paix du monde.

Mais son activité diplomatique à Washington fut une suite d'amères déceptions. Il avait vainement essayé de remonter le courant de l'hostilité antigermanique causée par le crime du *Lusitania*. Il prévit, très tôt, le dénouement fatal : « Si nous avions gagné la première bataille de la Marne, si nous avions rétabli la Belgique, nous aurions pu nous entendre avec l'Angleterre sur une espèce de paix d'Amiens... Après la Marne, une paix allemande était impossible... »

« Je crois, disait-il un autre jour, que le gouvernement de Washington aurait agi tout autrement envers nous si nous n'avions pas assumé l'odieuse de la violation de la neutralité belge de la guerre sous-marine... »

La faute majeure qu'il avait tant redouté pour ses compatriotes ne lui fut pas épargnée. Le 7 mai, il était allé à New-York, avec son ami Warburg et un autre banquier américain, assister à une représentation de la *Chauve-de J. Strauss*, donnée au bénéfice de la Rouge allemande. Quand il arriva à New-York, les vendeurs de journaux étalaient la nouvelle de la perte du *Lusitania*. Il reprit le train arrêté par la rage des reporters.

Il avait, pourtant, lentement, presque depuis par la suite à apaiser l'âme de Wilson de la prise d'une solution garantissant l'équilibre de toutes les nations, et qui, dans son fatidique discours au Sénat du 22 janvier 1917, n'eut d'autre tendu parler qu'« au nom de l'humanité, en faveur des droits des Etats neutres ».

La nouvelle de la déclaration provoquant la guerre sous-marine câblée de Berlin à l'ambassadeur allemand dans un coarcté, ajouta à son désespoir. « La guerre est inévitable, répliqua-t-il. Si des motifs militaires ne s'opposent pas, l'Allemagne sera vaincue. Si des motifs politiques ne s'opposent pas, l'Allemagne sera vaincue. Si des motifs économiques ne s'opposent pas, l'Allemagne sera vaincue. Si des motifs militaires, politiques et économiques ne s'opposent pas, l'Allemagne sera vaincue. »

Le 31 janvier 1916, le malheureux législateur faisait plus d'illusions, révélait secrètement à son conseil House les conditions de paix qu'il envisageait, et son intention de déclencher la guerre sous-marine sans restrictions. Il se convainquit, de persuader son

que l'Allemagne « s'efforcera de sauvegarder les intérêts de l'Amérique ».

Les jeux étaient faits. La décision fatale, qui allait entraîner les Etats-Unis en guerre aux côtés de l'Entente, fut prise à Pless, le 9 janvier 1917, au cours d'une conférence tenue entre le chancelier Bethmann-Hollweg, le maréchal von Hindenburg, le général Ludendorff.

Le 31 janvier, quelques jours après que le président Wilson eut lu au Sénat le message où il lui rendait compte de ses démarches auprès des deux groupes de belligérants, Bernstorff fut chargé par son gouvernement de rejeter, devant Lansing, la responsabilité de l'échec de la tentative de paix sur les alliés. Ce fut son dernier entretien politique en Amérique. « Nous sentions tous deux que c'était la fin... » Bernstorff quitta les Etats-Unis le 15 février : malgré ses efforts tenaces, la partie était perdue.

Les bêtises et les crimes des apprentis sorciers qui ont jeté l'Allemagne dans une seconde crise, plus catastrophique encore que celle de 1914, n'ont-ils pas hanté l'esprit du vieux diplomate au moment de sa mort ?

EDMOND DELAGE.

# NOUVELLES

es et enquêtes

**Le Temps**

8, rue des Italiens, Paris

ABONNEMENTS D'UN AN :

FRANCE ET COLONIES : 185 FR.

ÉTRANGER :

PAYS A TARIFS POSTAUX RÉDUITS : 340 FR.

AUTRES PAYS : 500 FR.

## L'U. R. S. S., les pays baltes et la Finlande

La Finlande a mobilisé 250,000 hommes

Amsterdam, 13 octobre.

Selon le correspondant à Helsinki du journal hollandais *Telegraaf*, on ne connaît pas encore le contenu des propositions reçues par l'envoyé extraordinaire finlandais de la part du gouvernement de Moscou.

« Le fait que Staline et les plus hauts fonctionnaires du commissariat du peuple aux affaires étrangères ont pris part à la discussion »

## A PARIS

### Conseil des ministres

Les ministres se sont réunis en conseil ce matin, à 10 heures, à l'Élysée, sous la présidence de M. Albert Lebrun. La délibération s'est poursuivie jusqu'à 12 h. 30. Voici le compte rendu des travaux tel que l'a fait connaître M. Albert Sarraut, ministre de l'intérieur.

#### L'exposé de M. Daladier

Le conseil a été consacré en majeure partie à l'exposé d'ensemble fait par M. Edouard Daladier, président du conseil, de la situation diplomatique et militaire. En associant le conseil tout entier aux conclusions de cet exposé, M. Albert Lebrun, président de la République, a remercié M. Edouard Daladier d'avoir, dans son récent discours, exposé avec tant de clarté, de mesure et de fermeté, les sentiments et les volontés unanimes de la nation française.

#### La mission de M. Georges Pernot à Londres

M. Georges Pernot, ministre du blocus, a rendu compte de son voyage à Londres et des mesures prises pour assurer la coopération franco-britannique dans la conduite de la guerre économique.

#### La main-d'œuvre pour l'armement et l'agriculture

MM. Raoul Dautry, ministre de l'armement, et Queuille, ministre de l'agriculture, ont entretenu le conseil des mesures prises et à prendre en vue de la mise à la disposition d'une part, des fabrications de guerre, d'autre part, des besoins de l'agriculture, de la main-d'œuvre nécessaire.

Il y a lieu de signaler que l'exposé de M. Daladier qui a duré une heure un quart a été, au double point de vue militaire et diplomatique, extrêmement complet et d'une lumineuse clarté. Tous les aspects des problèmes qui se posent à l'attention du gouvernement dans ces deux domaines ont été examinés à fond par le président du conseil. Les ministres ont étudié d'autre part très spécialement la question de la main-d'œuvre qu'il est indispensable de fournir aux usines de guerre et également à l'agriculture en raison des semailles prochaines. Suivant le vœu exprimé d'ailleurs par les présidents des groupes de la Chambre, il est semblable que certains mobilisés appartenant aux classes les plus anciennes devront être mis à l'œuvre pour répondre aux besoins actuels.

#### Les poursuites

#### contre les députés ex-communistes

Le capitaine de Moissac, du troisième tribunal pénal de Paris, a commencé aujourd'hui les interrogatoires au fond des députés communistes.

Interrogé, ce matin, M. Hyacinthe Capron, député de la Seine, maire d'Alfortville, président de la commission d'administration générale de la Chambre, qui était assisté de M<sup>lle</sup> Thérèse Bernadotte, collaboratrice de M<sup>lle</sup> André Berthon.

Le député a déclaré qu'il se désolidarisait complètement des dirigeants du parti communiste, attitude qu'il avait prise d'ailleurs dès sa première audition comme témoin. Il a déclaré qu'il avait eu connaissance de la lettre au président Herriot qu'après son envoi et qu'il en avait eu connaissance, formellement désavoué les termes. Il a déclaré qu'il avait, dès avant son arrestation, déposé sa démission du « groupe ouvrier et paysan ». Cette démission fut, le 11 octobre, par le président Herriot, envoyée de la prison de la Santé à la demande du secrétaire général du parti communiste, M. Marcel Cachon, président de la Chambre des députés.

Après l'interrogatoire, M. Capron a déposé sa demande de mise en liberté provisoire. Vers midi, le capitaine de Moissac interrogeait les autres députés ex-communistes arrêtés les derniers.

P2/7 (14)

## Les condoléances de la Société des nations

Genève, 23 janvier.

En l'absence de M. Avenol, secrétaire général de la Société des nations, actuellement en voyage, M. Lester, secrétaire général par intérim, a adressé au département politique fédéral le télégramme suivant :

Le secrétariat de la Société des nations s'associe de tout cœur au gouvernement et au peuple suisse en déplorant la perte du grand citoyen et de l'éminent homme d'Etat que fut le conseiller fédéral Giuseppe Motta.

Dans les conseils de la Société, où il a représenté pendant près de vingt ans le pays dont elle reçoit l'hospitalité, le conseiller fédéral disparu a fait bénéficier la cause de la collaboration internationale de sa vaste expérience, de sa sagesse et des dons de son esprit si élevé et si humain.

## Les affectations spéciales

Le sous-secrétariat d'Etat à la guerre communique :

L'attention des employeurs et des affectés spéciaux a été attirée sur les sanctions pénales très sévères (emprisonnement de un à trois ans et amende de 1,000 à 5,000 francs, ou une de ces deux peines seulement) que pourraient encourir tous ceux qui auront favorisé ou facilité une affectation spéciale ou bénéficié d'une affectation spéciale irrégulière.

Pour se mettre en règle, les intéressés (employeurs et affectés spéciaux) devront, même en cas de doute, faire connaître leur situation, par lettre recommandée, au général commandant la région militaire de leur résidence, « bureau des affectations spéciales ».

Par mesure de bienveillance, les rectifications des fausses déclarations seront reçues jusqu'au 31 janvier 1940, mais, passé ce délai, leurs auteurs seront poursuivis avec la plus grande rigueur.

SAINDOU  
lb : janv. 6  
CAFES. —  
disp. 5 1/2;  
mal 4 39. Sa  
juillet 6 37;  
SUCRES. —  
400 lbs : Cu  
153 1/2; mal  
METAUX. —  
22; à terme 22  
à terme 231 17

## SOCIÉTÉ

Sur

VOS

S'adr. 2

## LA VILLE

Espèces	Amend
Bœufs...	1.5
Vaches...	1.0
Taureaux...	1.0
Veaux...	1.0
Moutons...	75
Porcs...	1.0

Prix au kilo  
3\* qual. 6 80  
8 10. Hausse  
viands nettes  
les vaches,  
à 70 centim  
moutons e

IMPR. du

de 3 070  
0 40), le  
0/0 1932  
à 83 90

accentué  
1937 qui

s françai-  
que peu en  
que à 79 50  
(8), le Cré-  
de Paris

l'électricité,  
s et de mé-  
as plus ou

nt revenus  
nkin à 2,395  
496 (-14),  
2,390 (-50)

ré de l'hé-

né à 2,871  
1 à 17,150

ances envi-  
inchangée.  
l'Unifié  
runt exté-  
oupon de

ment des  
s'en est  
on n'en-

emi les  
groupe

de vin  
Société des  
spiritueux » à cette... tion serait de la moi-  
tié. L'accord est subordonné à un règlement d'or-  
dre plus général, qui serait en bonne voie.

**HOULLERES DE SAINT-ETIENNE.** — Les comptes de l'exercice au 30 juin 1939, d'une durée exceptionnelle de dix-huit mois, font ressortir un bénéfice de 771,896 francs, contre une perte de 3,280,057 francs pour l'exercice 1937. Ce bénéfice vient en déduction des pertes antérieures.

**BRASSERIES DE LA COMETE.** — Les comptes de l'exercice au 30 septembre font ressortir un bénéfice de 2,867,789 francs contre 2,668,261 francs pour l'exercice précédent. Le dividende sera maintenu à 125 francs par action ancienne et à 100 francs par action nouvelle.

**PORT DE FEDALA.** — Le 1<sup>er</sup> février sera payé un acompte de 25 francs brut. L'an dernier le dividende de 30 francs avait été payé en une seule fois.

**SOCIETE COMMERCIALE, INDUSTRIELLE ET AGRICOLE DU HAUT-OGOOUE.** — Le bénéfice net de l'exercice 1938-1939 est de 427,489 francs contre 489,013 francs. Le dividende sera maintenu à 12 fr. 50.

### LONDRES, 23 janvier

**BOURSE DE LONDRES.** — Marché réservé. Les fonds d'Etat restent bien traités.

War Loan 3 1/2 0/0 98 1/8; Emprunt Young 6; U. S. Steel 73 1/4; Canadian Pacific 6 7/8; Courtaulds 36/3; British A. Tobacco 98/9; Mexican Eagle 6/7 1/2; Canadian Eagle 8/4 1/2; Royal Dutch 33; Shell 3 29/32; Central Mining 14 3/4; Rand Mines 15 2/6; Goldfields 49/4 1/2; Crown Mines 14 5/8; Chartered 20/6; De Beers 6; Rio-Tinto 10 1/4; Tharsis 40/6; Tanganyika 4/3.

### NEW-YORK, 23 janvier

**BOURSE DE NEW-YORK.** — Lundi, le marché est resté inactif — il a été traité 440,000 titres seulement sur le marché officiel — et la tendance

320  
400  
240  
35  
30  
30  
80  
50  
40  
185  
15  
100  
40  
33  
20 54  
899  
811  
914  
324  
40  
70  
50

