Seán Lester Diary - PDF

August 1939 - April 1940
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 peaceful 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 re-affirms 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."
MARCH 15. Germany denies Bolshevik and Turkish threats. Prussian Workers' Party leaders visit Berlin. Germany's reply to the Allied ultimatum of March 11 is awaited.

MARCH 16. Germany issues ultimatum to Great Britain and France demanding the withdrawal of their armies from the Rhineland by April 1.

MARCH 17. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, British Ambassador to Berlin, reported to London that the German ultimatum is an attempt to prevent Britain and France from signing a peace treaty.

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MARCH 21. France declares war on Germany.

MARCH 22. France, Great Britain, and Turkey sign an alliance.

MARCH 24. Italy declares war on Germany.

MARCH 26. Germany signs the Atlantic Charter.

APRIL 1. Germany signs the Treaty of Versailles.


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MAY 16. The British and French forces occupy the Rhineland.

MAY 20. The British and French forces occupy the Ruhr.

JUNE 2. The British and French forces occupy the Saar.

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THE MOUNTING CRISIS

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Trouble with parents in spring -
M. & I. prepared for war; recommendations for about 2 months, and told this. Not for long, felt very patient, but not yielding to resignation, feeling cumulative.

June 1939. The sudden release out of "dog-house" again.

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

The march of the tides was left one's reason & judgment no alternative but to accept it, menabilty but from this 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 wave had swallowed the remains of Czechoslovakia, the peace changed from urgent to last-minute effort was made to construct a peace front. Blood was guaranteed, also Greece & Rumania, Holland.
Belgium & Switzerland: Turkey made an alliance. Tentative approaches were made to France & Russia. My tentative, we thought, at a luncheon here. In May, I joined Walter & Mr. Strong in conversation. I said I thought now the situation demanded urging.

"What do you want us to do?" I asked 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 controller & charge in Mexico.

So it was not unnatural as chief of the Central Section of the city that he ask he be sent to Moscow a few weeks later to tell the Ambassador. He stays about 6 weeks, I think. He negotiates dropped on—and ended up with the sudden announcement of a Franco-German non-aggression pact of a peculiar kind!
Monday 28/8/39

Saw Asmides 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 neutralization 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 Eastern 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 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 how 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..
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 has 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 other chance. I could not let it be known 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 mobilier to set up house for them. The Blythes were just vacating Fairfield House. We got our stuff off in July. It cost us £200 pounds for transport, which was a big insurance rate or £600 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 Connamara. 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, an 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 mortishts 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 ARP.

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. Valera informed by German Minister that Germany would 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 Fenêtre 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.

"A double 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.


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 Czestochowa 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 Philan and Gorgé who is going soon to Tokio as Swiss Minister and is at present liaison officer between the international organs and the Federal govt. He was 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 3/8 to Dev and Joe Walshe.

Hergenrother in neutrality, beating 6/13 VFA. Smuts Prime Minister again, will declare war.
"L'Europe nouvelle" 19/8/1939
"Le mystère Borchhardt"... (censored)

"La paix, en Belgique est toujours, ayez

"du quête le poids du ta lent communs

"pour avoir dépendu avec courage les

"de la population... de la population

"Dent, c'est, guerrier par le S d'N

"et réalisé par le Sinat national-secrétat,

"M. Borchhardt avait été choisie

"prochainement à cause de ses opinions

"réalisée" et les bonnes relations

"avant les Nazis, notamment le Führer

"le même... le même... le même

"Ce règne du Professeor Balder

"qu'avec la maîtrise... de la Ville

"Kubler, la guerre... de la Ville

"Opposition et des Juifs, a été achevée

"radicalement."
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 would 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 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 fmx 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
I am advocating everybody 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 9/1/39

Letter from Elgin (he is fun Ann) arrived
dated 9/1/39 - the day before I was declared
Dorothy Morgan had declared she would not go
to Trinity if I was declared but take up
some kind of work. All much concerned
that Bully should be handsome killed if I have
to leave France.

The men in the army to arrive. Times if
4 15th today. This will help to check
propaganda. "Irish Times" of Saturday
1st said "neutrality is Ireland's only
possible policy" - by mistake.

De Valera in the Times on 1st announced
that we will remain neutral as long as
possible - reiterating his February declaration
"as long as a part of Ireland is subject to force
of a strange nation it is only natural that the
people should look to their own country first"

That sounds like an invitation to London.
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 come 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, it's 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 XXXXXXXXXXX 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.
Anthony Eden, Dominions Secretary, in a broadcast 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 Nazism 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...

At any rate he struck the right note for 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 entrée 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"


It still seems like a bad dream. One closes one's mind to it in self-protection. 'Escape?' Well, better than the jitters.
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 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

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 the 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 honest persons among the two peoples and countries possess this firm will and determination to improve relations.

The Poles have never abandoned...
India but was defeated in a few months. Better relations followed a treaty which recognized its independence and some Amur was his wife. The young Amur tried to modernize his country. A campaign by the British led him to show his orthodoxy, hence, by having a member of a Reformist church 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 decree to save the woman was fatal to them. A bandit water carrier, one Baccha-I-Saggar, led a successful rebellion. In 1939, incidentally, the RAF had to rescue 20 British women from a Amur who had to Italy where he still lives. Shortly afterward the water carrier was beheaded and executed by Italian forces.

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

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

The object of this picture's highminded cameos was to show the difference between 1914-18 and 1939-45. Better relations with the British, no religious issue etc. There is a forest front for, but Iraq has declared war on Germany and Iran is friend.
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.

Morning Birds.

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! O'er there, a cloud so small
That it could hardly predict a squall.
A murmuring voice is heared 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 feel 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'ning.
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.

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So up on 10th A
Eastbourne

My dear sister,
I'll be starting soon to join my regiment to-morrow.
What a hell of a life!
After you left I got a note of
I'll be with Tom-h.
They're a big lot in 70 or more,
Another took half my case.
We came back a week early
And you'll be glad we did.
Well, let's hope this summer's war
Will be over by now.
May see you in France again.
All the best to you.

Jeanne
Jack T.
13/9/39

Geneva, back from Paris, says the evacuation has caused certain temporary organization difficulties, e.g., the French affairs people are in three different châteaux.

He says the French casualties during the first four days of the decisive World War were far too wounded. But denies as wild exaggeration the Geneva report of 75,000 wounded during the recent advance.

The Orient Express, Paris.
Vallière haussanne Simplex — is running again but carries no mails.

Peter has had got a place in a refugee train, arranged by English Council today.

Advised to carry 36 to 48 hours' provisions for journey acrossrones. Sent a letter to him.
A letter from Patty, sent on 6th, full of spirit—gently poking fun at her mother. Full of bad spelling!

So, she is going with C. in a hired car to Ankara to collect the war programs tonight. Last April. One funny letter, still possibly in France, had advised against touching them till more urgent need arose.

179/39 Friday.

There is general satisfaction that Daladier has renewed Bonnet’s name. D’Annunzio, making him his “prince de justice” “creux vis-à-vis de la justice,” remarked Charron last night at Avenel’s dinner. Bonnet is not a peace-suckling army-jolter man, was said to be; alleges to have played an important part in the Munich decision to Czecho-Slovakia. Some one asked Avenel last night where was Laval (this had been a false report of his visit to Italy). “Il n’est pas encore fait fusille,” to 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 isn’t there, F.A. The test will come within a month.
I da say, with a "generous" offer from Berlin of an independent Poland, much reduced in size, economically or militarily dependent on Germany.

Russian news is talking of Poland's minorities, White Russian + Ukrainian in a way which precisely recalls the Polish arguments when C.S.S. was on the rack. What does it precise?

Madame Jurgis Sarickis, wife of Lithuanian minister, kept a large panier of grapes, multum from their Rinders house from which they had just returned. She is Catholic + we like them both. May think of their little house Tommorg at just as we think of Airas Hugh.

The following letter from Warsaw, ten years ago, has just turned up in house cleaning.

(The Daily Telegraph)
Unter den Linden 34,
Berlin N.W. 7.

Danzig, June 16 1937

Dear Mr. Lester.

I felt impelled to tell you that somehow Danzig doesn't seem quite the same when you are away.

Also I had a visit from Boettger today. He that you had insisted to make a man who is very of Germany and who in another country would be held for high reason. I interject that that might easily happen to anyone in...
I can say, with a "generous"
offer to Berlin of an independent
Poland, much reduced in size,
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arguments when C.S.R. was on
the rack. What does it presage?

Madame Jurgis Sarickis, wife of
Lithuanian Minister, le Sureau, de née Jurgis
principal of great fame & respect.
They had just returned.

we like them both.

of their little house for
just as we think of Airdale Hedge.

The following letter from Warring, 2 years
ago, has just turned up in house clearing.

(The Daily Telegraph)

Unter den Linden 34.
Berlin N.W. 7.

Danzig, June 10th 1937

Dear Mr. Lester,

I felt impelled
to tell you this. I'm at
Danzig and I want you to
write me the night when you are away.

Also I had a
merry visit 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 tried for high treason.
I insist that that might
easily happen to anyone in

Jurgis Sarickis
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 Observatore Romano re fresh attacks on Cath. press in Germany says it is part of the determined campaign to suppress Christia

SUNDAY 17th Sept. Elizabeth, on returning from Mass:="Est-ce que Monsieur a entendu des nouvelles à 10 heures?" "Non, Elizabeth." "Les Soviets sont entrevés 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 is 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 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; in asked how she was, she said, "Oh, about whether Germany is in the right and she replied "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 Olay, 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 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 was not 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. Elsie 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. Thedear 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 a 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 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 should be attacked in the rear by Russia just as Poland had attacked Czecho-Slovakia. He had been so eloquent about 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 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. 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 the 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.
Wednesday 21/9/39

Delays from neutral papers continue. "Le Temps" of Brussels (Tintin-Twee) arrives today. "The Times" of London also comes today. "The Irish Times" of London are a week old. "The Irish Gazette" is 10 days late.

A catalogue of underwear sent from London to Beiers at Danzig was examined seems to have been inspected by many "Von der Wehrmacht zugelassen." "Auslandsnachrichtenprüfstelle Königsberg (B)."

"Geöffnet im Staatsinteresse Auslandsüberwachungsstellen."

And finally a sign that poor old Beiers is not removed he signs the envelope "Ei, ein altes German Secretariat du Kant Commissaire."

Burchhardt has arrived in Switzerland.

His name was mentioned at the Department of the Interior. Von Hambos was really scathing about an interview he gave at Stockholm re


which he said that when he saw Hitler in 13/18 Hitler's mind was already made up he had gone to make a supreme effort "pour éclaircir les voies à une solution pacifique. Mais, c'est trop tard et je n'ai pas réussi... Le Führer avait déjà pris sa décision..." (the moment plus tôt j'aurais peut-être en une chance, mais je dois dire seulement... peut-être?)

"We didn't realize what a master-chalfer we had among us whose influence was so great that he might have persuaded Hitler when all else failed," remarked Hambos with bitter irony.

Thursday 22/9

Walter. I spent two hours this afternoon listening to Burchardt's account of what happened this summer in Danzig. Very interesting and indeed startling as August advanced.
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 had replaced 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: "It is not for me to say 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 that 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 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 "nos sommes perdus, la guerre mondiale va tous nous engloutir" (a vignette in the best Burckhardt 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 wristwatch) the croix gammée will be holstered 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 Burckhardt 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 compatriotes: Secretary, typist and valet and at 10 o'clock went to the door. - Old Borchardt, who had been butler in our time, had since retired and 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 newspapers reports I asked
Burokhardt 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 "slachten die Hunnemote" but was immediately pushed back by the police, several of the people in the crowd actually saluted Burokhardt 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 Hunte, 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 Burokhardt remarked, he did not even say "I told you so in January!". While he was in Stockholm, Burokhardt was called on by the German Counsellor sent by Weizacker 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 Weizacker 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 Weizacker's eldest son had just been killed in the Polish fighting and that Weizacker was resigning his post as permanent Head of the Wilhelmsstrasse. 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, a propos of young Weizacker that "they" were putting people of that class into the front line.

Burokhardt did pass through Germany. He described the night of which he saw a huge pictorial poster representing various horrors of war such as cramped women, children, etc. along the top of the poster, in great red letters, was the word "Chamberlain" and from the immense huge gushes of blood were represented as falling.

He says the date 25th August was an all German War Order and that he spent a whole 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 Burokhardt that some time an Officer was compelled to do a thing which he would never dream of doing as an honest private individual. Burokhardt thought he was referring to his orders to attack without warning the small garrison of 200 men in the Westerplatte.

I asked Burokhardt 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 Burokhardt; no one called on him, but he got a telephone message to be out of Danzig in two hours.

Burokhardt'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 outbursts: 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. Burokhardt says his eyes were glaring and his face
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 Borchhardt that he could not let anybody or anything touch his personal prestige, partly because he had come up from the mass of the proletariat. I recalled 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 Borchhardt. 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 block at any cost. Borchhardt says that on one point he said to Hitler something about his tremendous responsibilities and the fate of millions of people depending on his decision. Hitler replied, previously turning his back on him "that decision on no longer depends on me". Borchhardt's impression was that he was referring to the gang which surrounds Hitler including von Ribbentrop, Dietrich and Lawrene.

I get the impression Borchhardt has a feeling of sympathy with Hitler; I regards him to some extent as he would regard an unbalanced woman, or perhaps, as Stoppa 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 tranquillizing effect on him."

Borchhardt says that the old Kerringer's house near Amberg, which has probably assumed its name of Neustadt now, had been burnt down after the war started, but he had no news of the old people...
Postal delays still of much concern. This one is my "best" postcard from "London" on 27th October.

This, alas, is my birthday!!

Poland's partition cases 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 outside the German path, perhaps? The avenue nach Ostsee, where is it with Russia's new position?

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

Reported Russian ultimatum to Rumania whose foreign minister is running between the two capitals. "A naval base & control of commerce" say the papers. Certainly true, I should say.
30th Sept 1938

Yesterdays two important events. Soviet makes Estonia a vassal by a "mutual assistance pact", yet naval bases remain there at mouth of Gulf of Finland - a great strategic change in the Baltic - a kind of guarantee treaty our nation. The latter seems to be a warning for some "hands off nature".

New demarcation of frontiers in Poland. Russians return to what seems more a less ethnological line. Demand for Peace jointly made by Stalin, Ribbentrop, and agreement in principle on extensive trade exchanges. Nothing announced about the Baltic.

The Russian undertaking, are vague and their value depends entirely on subsequent interpretation. But the Russian gains are real & substantial.
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

10th October, Sunday.
Four weeks war. We still feel
that it began in the west. Poland wiped
out - really in the first two weeks - by
incorruptible fame, strategy and
overwhelming force. Warsaw surrendered
a few days ago. Today Hele
put up the white flag.

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

The coming week will see
the great Peace Offensive. Though
Churchill said not that it 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 Britain was
entirely self interested, that its
interests in many respects coincided with
those of its allies.
Monday 9/10/39

Munster term. He for St. Louis.

Shatner is en route to Marseus.

Their term will be easier than

Serbia's were. I guess Law of Ports

for commerce?

This card from Fabela, who is

returning to Mexico, accompanied

a fine handkerchief, 7 multicoloured

Trik "mahtcitl." It seems to be old.

A pleasant and unexpected little gesture:

Your nephew came in to say

goodby. Young Clara is not yet open.

to him for "internal" political

reasons. Politically intelligent,

I hope. He soon finds some occupation.

Saw him recently with Capt. Martin

Moretti in "the Bavaria." She is, perhaps

wrongly, regarded in some quarters as

an Italian agent.

Rage letzte uns Gott!


Rage letzte uns Gott!"
Thursday 5/10/39

Lunched with Savitch, Lithuanian minister, who is anxiously awaiting news of the Moscow-Kennas "conversations." He remarked on the wisdom of his Govt. having advised its extremists to seize Vilna again before the Russians arrive. "Vilna may be feared, little chance that Russia will land if she does not seize it also."

Deprived of its only port by the former evacuation of Memel, Lithuania has not so much interest in Kovno as Katura and Resovia.

Other guests were Adrian Lachman, Bendorf, Jean Martin, Ph. Feldman, Stykstad.

Sokoline today came back to the conversation of impending peace. Do Thins would be a German victory. I don't agree. Also again emerged the fear of a possible Anglo-French alliance against Russia. That might be a possibility.
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 substanced 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.

Looking at Stalin’s cold. Gloried imperialism I feel a little less sure that the failure of Anglo-Russian talks was altogether Britain’s fault.

GB would not offer such material baits to an allied Russia.
How rapidly the map changes:

Manchuria
Abyssinia
China
Austria
Czechoslovakia
Albania
Munich
Poland
Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania

The colourless - almost scoured - look of the "mob press" led me to suggest to Groming 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 munition bullets and our inexperience - not lack of courage or conviction - leads to a false understanding of what neutrality demands.

Pierre Stoppiani

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

25, Rue St. Louis
Versailles

"The passing gift" has been a bit of a weekly affair this year. Some we are definitely sorry to see leave us including brave Stoppani, Salix, von Forex, for many years Director of Economic Relations.

Hume Wrong, Canadian delegate, has left for London where he will be attached to the R.C. of Irish descent, & intelligent, grandfather was? Blake Dublin,
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 Pref. Comm. for Decarnat Cupes. Attracted, 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 was with us we noticed a distraction & a vagueness.

They lived in the Artichauts, where Wagner stayed one summer. The Agarates lived there. Fissie had actually arranged to take it in 1937 when some legal difficulty arose from the bankruptcy of the current. 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 battleships. I remember once standing off in one of her launchers, while nineteen guns were fired in salute. The Captain, at a function in the General Kommando, presented the 3 girls with the usual compliments — caps ribbon.
Sawdust, 21st Oct. 1924.

Broadcast to New York tonight on occasion of L.U. Day there. Participants at the New York and included Grand Henry Grady, Frank Donahue and others.

Granville Whalen, president of the Fair, was in presence of the audience and called for three cheers from the audience. Irish descent, like Waldo Collins in appearance and energy, hit the same cord. In each American camp (Albin, Jack) Johnston was with him as a special guest. Heartiness prevailed, one and all, at the Keg's Villa.
Dear Sirs,

It may interest you to hear that
of
our London Office
had to make
copies of your Word
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 B.

now at which one
of her copies was
sent. Yrs. more,
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.

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. 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

1 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.
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 Federation 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 been 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, 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 Feder-

1 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 Duca and his agents are above the law and conse-
sequently 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 or Anarchy or Freedom v. Despotism. The two real essentials
are Law and Freedom.

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of the 'evil we are fighting, Nations' principles and a complete discrediting stands out at once as the possible nucleus of a great confederacy. America, Turkey, would form the necessary centre for a similar alliance, would evince the slightest desire to join it. But German neutrals and Scandinavians would probably see that an allied victory would alter that. True, as things now are, it does not even remotely approach the closeness of a Federation; nor clothe lesser European states, what- ever their sympathies, in a 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 main- tenance 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.
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 cooperation 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 it, 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 was 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 con­

Union for purpose.s of consulta­

‘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 Secretariat 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 flaw
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:1

'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

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.'
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 ploughshares and war will be banished from this earth.
"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 worldwide, 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.
29/10/39

Have just heard from Dr. Keene in New York. Have been in Ireland, and am writing this letter after all the festivities. I am very pleased.

I missed my last letter. I have had terrible spelling mistakes, but I write with a purpose.

Greiner has been promoted to Gauleiter at Poznan. Borchardt talking with me today, says he has requested to take part in the Kriegs-und-Feier conference. B. wrote to him from Kansas. At a formal protest, I commanded to the Gauleiter, "No." B. responded, "I have bought back to Poznan my friend, a nice little girl." Shot to death.

Greiner had some heart of the talk at the last conference. He said, "I have read you."
29/1/39

Von Hestruck, in a speech in
Danzig this week referred to Burgundy
"dersen Tätigkeit eine rühmliche
"Aussamhle im Vergleich zu manchen
"seine Vorgängen darstellte"
"in eine Secessie lóvaible
"hr rapport à celle de
"beaucoup de ses prédécesseurs"

Not very comfortable for B.
outside Germany

The manuscript copy of Adamnan's
"Vita Columbae" written by Dohume,
abbot of Iona, in or about the year 747,
is the oldest known manuscript written
by an Irishman that is now in existence.
It is now in the Stadtbibliothek of
Schaaffhausen (Ms. Genealogia 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.

Edward Kelly
Professor
National University of
Ireland
10 October 1939.

An interesting gesture from Ed Kelly
10th January.

Gone a large luncheon today to twenty people at the Park in Park Avenue. Mrs. Rea, Trechardt, Mr. Rea, Bosberg, Arvids, Skylostat, the Lovedays, Della, Alex, and Wyoks.

Tetmans (less US to go Gen.) Jacklin

Kool, Sokoline, etc. Tissos (12 rationalites)

Bartholdt said he thought the Munich republic came handy across without the prominence of the Sowards.

(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 least 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 other 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 his 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 shall 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.
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"INTERNATIONAL HOUSE"
Adresse Télégraphique "STUDENTHOUSE"
TELÉPHONE 4.82.26

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

"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 Mr. 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 Bolshevism 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 in the fighting; I would be willing to bet a hundred to one that we won't."

[Signature]
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, seems to be fighting only England. They will not occupy Netherlands, nor undertake any offence; 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 instead of Czechoslovakia and there would have been no war. It was Goering he said who wished Czechoslovakia to be occupied. Regarding Italy, Germany preferred a strong friendly neutral rather than a weak ally.

But arranged with Jean Beery that her 17-year-old daughter, studying in Holland, should give in an honorary post of attached to the Canadian Legation at the Hague to help her escape if invasion comes.
In my note on 4/10 Hunkelwirth called last night and eventually said he wanted formal advice. It seems to me that the great mimicked (name) is a cunning old hound. Late yesterday morning I ran into Hunkelwirth charged him at a dinner party with being a soman agent. He says he was "right" and that the hosts reported the affair to V.

Then it appeared she was painted more.
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'invasion 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."
Nothing written for 2 months £5

As a result of the Finnish affair to the League we came suddenly out of our political apathy. Two weeks after the invasion began the Secretaries of the League kicked out of the League and all members were recommended to give such help as they could. 

Up to now we have made 10,000,-0000 in various countries. The funds were made in Switzerland, France, Italy, Sweden, Germany, etc. The public enthusiasm is far greater than it has been in some cases - France, Switzerland, etc.

To-day we have received a few letters from people who have sent subscriptions of £100.

Exceedingly few returns from foreign countries, which is regrettable. It is far easier to be sure than it is to be sure. 

We shall clearly see the importance of our cause when we hear more from them.

See also note on origin of League.

决策 to send secret about

28/11/1941
A new man in the British delegation was the Duke of Bermingham. An unexpected, modest-looking little man. I rather liked him.

He told me angrily that relations were quite good. I asked about Sir John Galway, late appointed British “eminence” at Dublin. He said that his candidate had been Lord Robert Cecil. I said it was not true, and he smiled. It turned out Cecil liked the Irish well enough to tolerate the eccentricities of such a post. But he said he had a good opinion of him, and indeed that Watkinson had come from the Colonial Office (he had been there with the U.S. government report) was announced as a sensation, and that Watkinson took it up, explaining that there was no significance to the “police,” he informed me, and made a point of it.
7/11-29

Cher Monsieur Lester,

J'ai appris que vous allez mieux.

Je vous souhaite un prompt rétablissement.

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

Pour le moment, le monde va comme il peut, sauf quelques peurs. Peu d'espoir d'arriver plus tôt ou plus tard qu'à l'heure normale.

Telegram from Palestine asked "Kora" asking for intervention to secure immigration of two persons, "you don't apply for two persons" (1) 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 song of H. Wessel liked to anti-Semites & anti-Fascists & a neighbor had his ear at the key hole.

Elizabeth Liekman, author of "Undeclared War", she turned up & haven't seen her since. I went to see me there she was "grilled" for six hours by the Gestapo on her return through Berlin. She was the time 1936 when the Nazis were not in power. I gave her a luncheon, she said I certainly meant to be as she had gone to prison for me.

(2) Man Rauschenberg has had a real success with his book "Hitler Speaks" in such, English, German, & several other languages. He is in high confidence of his conversation with him while in his confidence. Didn't know R. for a solid, reliable man I'd suspect rauschenberg propaganda. He has not been found in Switzerland but nearly everyone has already read it & the Censor has admitted that thousand more to hear before the book becomes effective. I happened to a German officer, he said keep buying all available copies & the book sellers had a good time.
I went home for Christmas and the journey was a very trying one, especially as I had been laid up with tonsilitis. 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 Faisan 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 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 would see them. A taxi could 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 dosed until the boat got its Admiralty order and left at 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 bucket 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 windscreen open in an hour and three-quarters. It was nerve 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.
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 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 shortsighted 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, unlike 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.
Dear Mr. Smith,

I am pleased to hear from you and I hope this letter finds you well. I have not heard from you in a while, but I am glad to receive your note.

I was recently in Paris, and it was a wonderful opportunity to visit many of the museums and art galleries. I am particularly interested in the works of Monet, and I was able to see many of his paintings in person. It was a truly remarkable experience.

I am planning to return to Paris next year, and I hope to spend more time exploring the city and its culture. I am also looking forward to seeing some of the local festivals and events.

Please let me know if you would like to visit New York sometime soon. I would be happy to show you around the city and tell you more about the art and culture here.

I look forward to hearing from you again soon.

Best regards,

[Signature]
How I hate to think of a friend’s garden. I can’t explain it. I think it is a place of rest and repose. I can’t explain it. I can’t explain it. I can’t explain it.

Now at 11 am special circumstances. Now it is good to know that I know what I am doing. It is good to know that I know what I am doing. It is good to know what I am doing.

Good morning. Good morning. Good morning. Good morning. I am writing this letter to you. I am writing this letter to you. I am writing this letter to you.

This is a good time. This is a good time. This is a good time.

Yours sincerely,
[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten note at the bottom]

With every good wish and kind regards,

[Handwritten note at the bottom]
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 Enoch 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 Brolie at Lucern - more than fifty years ago - and drank many ordinaries that were not bad.

With renewed thanks,

Yours sincerely,

(rgd) 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.
OBITUARY

Major General A. C. Temperley

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 Wine list – very illuminating as to prices.

Heavily copies of poems

W. P. 25/1.
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 Arne'side and Rombald's Moor.

V.G.G.
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.
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 triomphent, 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.

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

S. Psychoundes

Monsieur S. Lester
Sécrétaire Général Adjoint
de la Société des Nations
Genève
Telephone
Booking Office 44505
Secretary’s Office 43412

ABBREY THEATRE
DUBLIN C.8.

Date, 20th December, 1939.

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 Geneva!!!!!

Best wishes, and thanks indeed for your extreme kindness,

Yours sincerely,

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

FRH/JD.

[Handwritten note: Had sent H. a card congratulating him on a fine study poem in the "O.T.".]
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.

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,
not until after the invasion of Czechoslovakia that the German attitude to Poland became truly alarming. The Polish strain. 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 an anxiety that demonstrated the trouble started in earnest.

The White-book throws very little light on German relations during the five months before the outbreak of war, partly, it is explained in the preface, because Germany was a card up actively preparing for war against Poland and diplomatic contacts between Warsaw and Berlin were 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, 1939, and an angry outburst by Mr. Kreinstein, Ribbentrop'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 Moscow, and 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 reserve." But what happened afterwards is not quite clear. Talks between Russia and France then continued, but the Poles would not take part in them.

"Mr. Potemkin," M. Grzybowski notes, "seemed to understand the reserve 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 regarding with sympathy the Russo-British-French talks." But a few days later he informed Molotoff 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 Russians again were discussing the three-Power talks.

It was at this time that the Soviet Union's policy towards Poland was marked by "a commercial matter and not in contradiction to the German-Russian pact," which had been signed March 17. It is one of Russian duplicity, but at the same time the policy of Poland remains somewhat obscure.
Crossword No. 67

ACROSS
1. The wheat-man's angle? (6).
4. Flourishes that keep the passengers cool, perhaps (6).
8. He has gone astray, but it would be quite a good shot to head him (6).
11. Must fish for the pan be so crumbly? (7).
14. Vesuvius and Popocatepitl have them (7). (12)
17. A husband's allowance to his wife (8).
18. King-ziller (8).
19. May 12 to 18 this year (two words) (7).
22. To tell a story about the Manx cat's deficiency? (6).
23. A place wherein one may see stars (6).
24. The centre of Portugal's wine trade (6).
27. The Peruvian animal carries fifty more than this monk (4).

CLUES
1. One could make a nice meal out of this fabric (6).
2. Patiently acquiescent (8).
3. "Dire combustion and confused — New hatch'd to the woeful time" (Shakespeare) (6).
5. This is a manner of saying "Be off!" (4).
6. Polecats (5).
7. After the painter I occupied the first-place (6).

SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD No. 66

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."
In case of a general mobilisation in France, we would lose immediately a considerable number of officials. In some cases it might seriously affect work which needs haste to be done on. Is it desirable to have some previous arrangement with France regarding certain officials whom we might regard as indispensable.

Sincerely yours,

Preparation for meeting
Dear Mr. Leith,

I have spent much time during the past year trying to avoid your last morning at home (I hope you must be feeling better). I wanted to say how much I am. There is a little trouble with our country and how one chance I can develop. Were you able to get back to Canada this summer? If so, how long will it be before you come? I hope you will have a long winter and enjoy the company of someone.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Hamming
Dear Mr. Dallas,

Many thanks for your letter of 1st April. I am very interested in your report of the condition in February last summer. I am glad to see the St. John's Club in good health. I am afraid we cannot help you this year.

On the outbreak I was
My own part was and
the secretary was called
up, and I have just
rejoined the R.N.V.R. to
be have closed down the
agency for the duration.
In any case their work
will have been much
burdens to do, and the
news today at 7.9 makes
one wonder what the end
will be and when?

Yours sincerely

[Signature]
Sean
Luci, J.
9, Rue de Costamese
Geneva
Switzerland
From G.C. GREENE
DIGSWELL VALLE
WILLOW
HERTS.
La mort de Cassandre

Avec le comte Bernstorff a disparu, ces jours-ci, un des rares diplomates perspicaces qu’ai pu, au temps lointain de l’Allemagne impériale, impénétrable, parfois même impitoyable, dans sa retraite hélvétique, qu’à l’occasion de la paix de nuit et des incroyables erreurs de jugement qui ont précédé le Reich national-socialiste dans une guerre d’ot en il ne peut se réjouir de voir.

C’était un esprit fin, pénétré, ennemi de toute mégalomanie. « C’était un brave homme, trop vite », avait-il, en contant de dire... « La construction de la flotte de haute mer a, depuis le début du siècle, gâché nos efforts avec l’Angleterre. L’idée téméraire d’une « flotte de risque » cédé été peut-être réalisable si notre diplomatie avait été assez adroite pour éviter la guerre. »


Celui-ci multiplia vainement les conseils de prudence: « Il est de toute urgence, mandait-il à Berlin, le 12 novembre 1918, de ne pas susciter les hostilités contre les navires de commerce américains. » 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 États-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.

Son activité diplomatique à Washington fut une suite d’amères déceptions. Il avait vainement essayé de remonter le courant de l’hostilité américaine, causée par le crime du Lusitania. Il prévint, très tôt, le dénommé fatal : « Si nous avions gagné la première bataille de la Marine, si nous avions rétabli l’autorité de la Belgique, nous aurions pu nous entendre avec l’Angleterre sur une espèce de paix d’Amiens... » Après la Marine, une guerre allemande était impossible... »

« Je crois, disait-il un autre jour, que le gouvernement de Washington arriverait à tout autrement que nous. Nous aurions par là l’occasion de la violation de la neutralité belge de la guerre sous-marine... »

La faute majeure qu’il avait tant redouté, ses compatriotes ne lui fut pas épargnée. Il était alié à New-York, avec son ami Warburg et un autre banquier américain, associé à une représentation de la Chase de J. Sarnos, donné au bénéfice de la Rouge allemande. Quand il arriva à New York, les vendeurs de journaux éclataient la nouvelle de la perte du Lusitania. Il reprit le train prussien de rage des reportages.

Il avait, pourtant, tenté, presque par hasard, par la suite à apaiser l’âme de Wilson, de l’écrire d’une solution garantissant l’héritage des nations, et qui, dans son ferment, sorta à l’hôtel des États-Unis, le 22 janvier 1918, ne pouvant plus, sans quim ? à un moment de l’impression qui favorise des droits des États neutres ».

La nouvelle de la déclaration provoqua le grand embarras de l’ambassadeur allemand dans un corbillad, roi. « La guerre est inévitable, répliqua-t-il. »

La nouvelle de la catastrophe cabossée de Béthléem, l’ambassadeur allemand dans un corbillad, roi. « La guerre est inévitable, répliqua-t-il... »

Le 21 janvier 1916, le malheur les laissait plus d’illusions, révéra, sacré à l’hostel House, le général de l’armée, le général de l’armée, le général de l’armée, le général de l’armée...
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 extérieures ont répondu négativement à la proposition du gouvernement soviétique de mobiliser 500,000 hommes pour une campagne militaire contre l'Allemagne, démontre que l'Union soviétique ne veut pas de guerre. »

Le Financement de l'U.R.S.S., les pays baltes et la Finlande

La Finlande a mobilisé 250,000 hommes

Le conseil des ministres

Les ministres se sont réunis en conseil ce matin, à 10 heures, à l'Elysée, 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 Barraut, ministre de l'Intérieur.

L'exposé de M. Daladier

Le conseil a été consacré à trois thèmes:
- L'exposé d'ensemble fait par M. Edward 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 renouvelé l'Edward 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 Perrot à Londres

M. Georges Perrot, 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 Pierre, ministre de l'Agriculture, ont entamé 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 d'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 à été, au double profit des deux ministères, extrêmement pertinente et d'une clarté remarquable. Tous les aspects des problèmes qui se posent à l'attention du gouvernement dans ces deux domaines ont été abordés à fond par le président du conseil. Les ministres ont étudié d'autre part très spécialement la question de la main-d'œuvre qui est indépendante de fournir aux usines de guerre et également à l'agriculture en raison des demandes proches. Suivant le vœu expris d'ailleurs par présidents des groupes de la Chambre, il est semblable que certains mobilisés appartenant des classes les plus anciennes devront être mis sur les listes pour répondre aux besoins actuels.

Les poursuites contre les députés ex-communistes

Capitaine de Moissac, du troisième tribunal civil de Paris, a prononcé aujourd'hui les jugements au fond des députés communistes.

Il a été interrogé, ce matin, M. Raynouard Capron, de la Seine, maire d'Alfortville, président commission d'administration générale de la Seine, qui était assisté de M. Théophile Bertrand, député communiste de M. André Barthou, député a déclaré qu'il se désolidariserait complètement des dirigeants du parti communiste.

Il a dit qu'il avait pris l'initiative à la veille de l'audition comme témoin. Il a déclaré qu'il avait fait connaissances de la lettre au président du conseil, qu'il y avait tenu compte de son argument en vue de formuler des demandes de mise en liberté provisoire. Il a été entendu, sans être entendu de la demande du secrétaire générale de la Chambre des députés, comme d'intéressé, le capitaine de Moissac interrogea les autres députés ex-communistes arrêtés dernièrement.
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’émíient homme d’État 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’État 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.

BRASSERIES DE LA COMETE. — Les comptes de l'exercice au 30 septembre ont ressorti 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 FEKALA. — Le 1er 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-OGOOU. — La 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 1/6; Emprunt Young 6:
U. S. Steel 73 1/4; Canadian Pacific 6 7/8; Courtaulds 30 9/3; 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 9; De Beers 6; Rio-Tinto 16 1/4; Tharsis 40 5; 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