September 1938

till

March 1939

6
September 1938

An "échange des vues" will take place
between the member of the Council in
the Secretariat-General, "even at 7 o'clock."
This is the formula for a "secret"
discussion to prepare for a later public
discussion of the same question. E.g.
the Chinese demand for the application
of Art. 17 in their conflict with the
Japanese, etc. Each member of
the Council can have one adviser
in the High Direction of the Secretariat
also attend.

In the chair was Garcia Calderon,
Presiding Director at Paris, fresh and
vibrant. He seems to have a note (possibly for a
job for a colleague) saying: Catholic
patriot, and a true lover of Spanish liberties;
a man of culture. The old
friend since I met him...
the Lower Columbia Club about 6 years ago.
Paul Breasch, small of stature, smooth faced with a white roll of hair. Advocate at Bar, & high on the deleile of States in general — an
Outstanding & President of Council. He does not show high in his esteem — a bit too fluent, a suspicion of the uncanny — I don't quite know. A poor successor to the
shauby - looking (those cigarette ashes!)
but brilliant Brian.
R. A. Butler, Crawford's successor as Under-Secretary of State for F.A., represents
G.B. a young man, new to the job, he seemed slightly "lost" when I first met him at Council luncheon. Walter Gray. He is "a small edition of Pinero", but I reserve judgment.

Their table looks trim, after sitting to gather through a long dinner which is not a memorable one. He has been first delegate, as, for the past time in 15 years, the Territorial Assembly has not been at Council. Behind him sits Ralp B. Clayson, now going to Barcelona as chargé d'affaires, assistant legal adviser, & making tall, painted, and a young man with them.

London, fat face, heavy lips, but a good look in his eyes, speaks his own brand of English. He puts up with a lot, for the repres. of a great task, as well as giving plenty of trouble. Sometimes refers to him the 8th day as "the last legal member of the Council", & as "the hard yard of to-day".
The foreign minister of Iran, many
dark hair, square face, professorial;
behind him Safakhoda, ambulance bearer.
And Politis, who looks old
compared with a couple of years ago.
the most brilliant draftsman in
Greece; drafter, incisive and
clear, a very useful delegate.

Boulanger, one of the professors
of literature here, represents
Belgium, and Blücher, who
measures confidence as a man
depends on the service of
the "Men about Paris" Coste du Belli.
Wellington, too, is Christ's best
diplomat, fighting for something
to half after 18 months, Japanese
aggression. Reasonable & gets
the maximum possible today.

Walter Sokolow, Misinski (1858)
Baravont (Fr.), Feldman (Lit.),
Weissen, Sipper, R. Holzer, follow with
somewhat disillusioned ears, the
discussion at the table.

For a time it looks like
mind of the drames of Europe,
moving rapidly outside, to listen
to China's voice and watch the
turning out of phrases.
France and Britain have retired behind their Chinese wall in Europe - the Maginot Line - and abandoned the rest of the Continent to Germany. I do not think this is an exaggerated view of what has happened during the past month: even a few weeks ago France still had allies in Europe and an actual and potential strength: to-day she has none.

De Valera as President of the Assembly, on the 30th of September said that Europe had come to the brink of the abyss and had shrunk back appalled by what they saw.

Since May, when the Anglo-French intervention checked the German threat to Czechoslovakia, Hitler has been preparing; towards the end of August, 1 million and 1/2 men were under arms in Germany and for months a violent blast of propaganda was emitted daily by Goebbels' magnificent propaganda machine: Britain and France, uneasy, looked on. Heinlein claimed complete autonomy within the Czech State and even the right to decide on foreign policy in respect of the Franco-Russian alliances. The Czechs had negotiated and drawn up various schemes to meet Sudeten claims, but early in September, it was apparent that the Sudeten's case - and of course they had one, though not as much as the Germans in Poland and the Germans in Italy - was being used as a pretext. Czechoslovakia must be destroyed. Britain and France began to stiffen. I came back from my holidays saying there would be no war because I believed that France and England had at last reached the point where they would have to stand. The Czechs on the whole remained cool and remarkably restrained.
The Sudeten's claims advanced week by week and we had in Europe a period of such tense emotion and fear under the threat of a world war as people have rarely experienced. Germany concentrated mechanized troops on the Czech frontier. The Czechs had one of the best armies in the world and was probably the best equipped. Nuremberg came and the speech of hysterical violence from Hitler. The French called half a million men to the colours. One night at the dinner for the British Commonwealth of Nations Delegates - at which by the way de Valera attended for the first time and drank the toast to His Majesty - it was announced that Chamberlain would the following day fly to Germany to see Hitler. Tremendous enthusiasm. I sat by Andrews, the South-African Delegate and remarked that I supposed he would sell Czechoslovakia; I, no more than others, doubted the man's sincerity, but I doubted his judgement, his knowledge of the nazi. Hitler received Chamberlain in Berchtesgaden and agreed to the cession of all Sudeten land where there was

*The British F.O. issued a belated announcement indicating that France, Britain & even Russia would stand side by side
more than 50% of Germans, etc. He returned home jubilant and obtaining the consent of the French, forced the acquiescence from Czechoslovakia. A meeting had been arranged a week later, but in the meantime the German press and radio were increasing their demands; the British Prime Minister flew back a week later to Germany; it was no great surprise to those who knew the Nazi method to find that during the week the price had gone up. Fresh demands were made upon Chamberlain and even he as he later said - "bitterly reproached the Chancellor". The armies were mobilized in nearly every country in Europe. In Switzerland we had a blackout; the bridges to all frontiers were mined and the tank troops prepared and the British fleet was mobilized. Clinging to the hope of peace by negotiation, Chamberlain asked Mussolini to intervene and a few hours before the German general mobilization was to take place, it was agreed that Mussolini, Hitler, Chamberlain and Daladier would meet in Munich. The 1st of October had been fixed for the German advance in Czechoslovakia. On the night of the 29th, the four Powers came to an agreement. The Czechs withdrew to the line agreed upon; Chamberlain on his return to London waved a paper into the air and announced that he had, like "Beaconfield" come back from Germany "carrying peace with honour". There is something indecent in this. "Peace for our time" he said, but that remains to be seen. The peoples of the world have accepted the peace with a great sigh of relief and Chamberlain's reception in London, as Daladier's in Paris and Mussolini's in Rome were those for a great hero; here and there a voice of warning was raised: Duff Cooper, who was First Lord of the Admiralty resigned; no Minister resigned in Paris.
It has changed the face of Europe. Poland has snatched her bit from the Czechoslovakian carcass and Hungary is to get her share. The Czechs are offered an Anglo-French guarantee which seems a shameful kind of farce and worth nothing. The way to the South-East of Europe is opened to the Germans. The Polish Inspector General of the Army celebrating the transfer of Teschen has announced that the age of brute force in Europe now begins and spoke of the illusions of the Western democracies. Of course, there is the fact that the German people themselves were psychologically even less prepared for war than the French and British. There is the possibility still that something can be built on the new contacts between the four Leaders; there is a talk of a Four Power Pact. It may be, as Chamberlain hopes, the time of negotiation has come back again. Hitler has declared he has no more territorial pretentions in Europe. Some people believe it. In fact I think he does not need to move a soldier for some years; the way is open to him for economic and political progress through Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia. There is no counterpoise to his weight now; I think Poland will probably be left alone for some time; the small countries have lost any vestige of confidence they had in France and Britain. Komarnicki, the Polish Delegate met me during the crisis and with his swarthy smile asked me: Was not Beck right? I sought an elucidation: "Who would believe in the word of France now?"
It is too soon really to form very definite opinions, but the first words in this note represent mine.

What Chamberlain has done is a logical sequence of the policy pursued by Britain and France during the past two years; they paralysed the League of Nations; they gave no help to the weak attacked by the strong; they ran away every time a threat was uttered; now they have given Germany, for nothing but temporary peace, the fruits of a great campaign.

I believe they could, even a few weeks ago, have convinced Hitler they were ready to act in defence of their undertakings; they certainly could have prevented these developments even 2 or 3 months ago. The Nazi and Fascist systems have made so great a victory that one wonders seriously now how long it may be before even France and even England are forced to adopt something of their system and methods. Democracy in a way does not matter, but the other makes decent life for civilized men entirely different: there is still the garden and the river.
Dear

I deeply wish I could give you an adequate picture of this past amazing month in Geneva. We have never had anything in any degree comparable.

The Nineteenth Assembly was the most extraordinary in the League's existence. It opened the day of the Nuremburg speech; continued throughout the negotiations; and concluded the day after the Münich Agreement.

The scene was extraordinary. War was on the threshold; mobilisation orders were following one on the other; report and rumour flew wild; even the usually stoic Swiss had soldiers mounted on many bridges and plunged Geneva into an ominous blackout at the most critical moment.

Several hundred delegates and experts from over fifty countries, plus a couple of hundred journalists from even more, paced anxiously back and forth in the Assembly lobbies, trying to do their daily work but in reality afflicted to the latest rumour, telephone, or broadcast. It was almost impossible for them to keep their minds on their normal activities; indeed there was a tragic air of unreality about them which made it remarkable that they accomplished as much as they did.

Geneva was practically completely outside the negotiations except for the startling speech of Litvinov defining Soviet policy for the first time and throwing a beam of light on previous private discussions. Unexpectedly enough, the Czechs did not even present their case; they took the view that they were too hurt and wounded and their position too clear to justify explanation. For the first time since Locarno, neither the British nor the French Foreign Minister was present. Despite this, nearly a score of other Foreign Ministers were on hand, particularly from the smaller States, and Geneva again proved to be the clearest and most impartial observation post in Europe. It would be rash to attempt to estimate what the long-term effect will be of the ceaseless discussions which took place at this international centre at the moment of Europe's greatest crisis.

Geneva circles, as a rough generalisation, viewed the release from war with a relief as great as any others, perhaps even greater in the sense that war would have destroyed everything that the League for eighteen years has been trying to build. Equally, however, they perhaps viewed the method with more alarm than others because they saw it as a startling triumph of violence in opposition to all the methods of peaceful negotiation and discussion which the League has tried, however unsuccessfully, to establish.

Opinion as to the eventual consequences is divided. Some feel that the League has had a terrible blow, which weakens it greatly; others that there will inevitably be a comeback at a not too distant date. Perhaps the truth is between the two. The present débâcle has certainly vividly illustrated the necessity of international cooperation. Its
biggest lesson, perhaps, is that the world is now unmistakably and irresistibly in the international era; that a conflict in Central Europe has brought in everyone, including the Presidents of the United States and many Latin-American countries; that the days of isolationism, particularism, and provincialism are gone; that even the most obdurate foes of the consultative method, such as Hitler and Mussolini, have had to come to it; and that the very rawness of a settlement under ultimatum show the necessity of a better and cleaner method. Already, within the first few days, a reaction is setting in; many elements in the big countries are becoming critical; and practically all elements in the smaller countries are frightened.

It is a tribute to the soundness and toughness of the League that even in these circumstances the regular work of the Assembly was carried through. The Committees kept up their various agendas; a large section of the world life of today was submitted to review and given what further stimulus was possible. This showed more dramatically than anything else possibly could that much of the League at least is grounded deep into the international life of today and is sure to build up even stronger in the future.

The most general and long-term question was, perhaps, how best organise international relations. The League took the opportunity, after recent shocks and experiences, to tidy up a bit as it were and to concentrate its organisation. On the much discussed question of sanctions many important declarations were made which, while not formally amending the Covenant, tend nevertheless to make Article 16 voluntary rather than automatic. As regards mediation and peaceful settlement, a preponderance of opinion was in favour of a freer application of Article 11 by not including the votes of the disputants in the assessment of unanimity. On the psychological question of the separation of the Covenant from the peace treaties, a protocol was opened for signature giving the former a wholly independent status. As regards the cooperation of non-Member States in the League's technical and non-political work a wide resolution was adopted welcoming such cooperation in these world services and offering non-Members the opportunity of making any suggestions they may desire to make for its extension. The budget was tightened up once again, despite the good news of a surplus of over 4,500,000 Swiss francs. Detailed plans for making better known both the ideals and work of the League were also approved, including a generous appropriation of 1,200,000 Swiss francs for participation in the New York World's Fair.

Specific political questions bulked large in the Assembly. Armed conflict in China and Spain provided an unhappy accompaniment to the major crisis in Europe. In the former, Japan having refused the invitation to the Council under Article 17, the Assembly reaffirmed that her military actions could be justified neither by law nor self-defence, stressed the obligation of all States to help China "in her heroic struggle against invasion", and, while deciding that all elements necessary for coordinated action "are not yet assured", held, nevertheless, that League Members are entitled "to adopt individually the measures provided for in Article 16". As regards Spain, the Assembly received an unexpected proposal from the Spanish Government to carry out the immediate and
complete withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants on its side, accompanied by a request for an international commission to see that the offer was fully executed. While certain elements opposed this on the grounds that Spain was a matter for the London non-Intervention Committee and not for the League, the proposal was eventually accepted and the Commission is now in formation. Similarly the League authorised an enquiry on the spot in connection with Spain’s request for technical assistance in providing foodstuffs for refugees. A question common to both Spain and China was as to the protection of civilian populations against bombing from the air. The Assembly decided as regards Spain to arrange with Great Britain that the reports of its committee of investigation already operative be sent to the League for publication and circulation and that, as regards other countries, the Council should consider any appropriate action through an international commission.

And now the pity of it all - - - - to think that the big and constructive work which the League is so well equipped to do for the betterment of mankind has to be held up or crippled by war and violence in three major parts of the world! Never did the contrast between what is and what might be stand out more clearly than when one came out of one of the Committee rooms with all its hopes and promises of something better for the human race and found oneself in a group of anxious and strained individuals trying to see if the latest bit of news meant the irrevocable decision of war. At times tempers were thin and emotions were expressed with violence against this indescribable folly. It must regretfully be recorded, however, that there was rather more a tendency to run away from the disaster of war than to concentrate with redoubled energy on the organisation of peace.

Probably the most substantial and constructive work was in the broad field of economics and finance. Two reports of a dozen or so special Committees, the general memorandum of the Secretary-General on the present world economic situation, the speech of Mr. Bruce as Chairman of the Coordination Committee, and the debates at the Assembly indicated that the League has built up a kind of economic international General Staff of the utmost importance. That General Staff is approaching its vast problem from three angles: the gathering of facts, information and statistics, the coordination of inter-governmental cooperation, and the development of a new international social-economic policy in fields such as nutrition and housing. Nothing comparable has ever before existed in international life; there can be no question but that today it is only at its beginning. Impulses will emanate from Geneva which are certain to have a profound effect on world life.

The Assembly went in detail into all these questions, having all the greater confidence in the States associated in its work accounted in 1937 for over 86% of world trade. As regards increasing such trade by governmental arrangements, it spoke of Mr. Bull’s work “as one of the most powerful forces on the side of economic unity in the world today”. As regards more specific problems, it decided on special studies for such questions as demographic problems, agricultural credits, specifically in the Argentine and Uruguay, the provision of medium-term credits to industry, measures to combat deforestation and soil erosion, the fluctuation in the balance of payments, principles of fiscal legislation, standards of living, etc.
The nutrition and housing work of the League, which have opened up wholly new fields of the greatest promise, were also gone into with care, particularly in connection with the meetings of the representatives of nineteen National Nutrition Committees in October and of the European Conference on Rural Life in July.

Now describe all the other social and humanitarian work, the kind of thing that civilisation really exists for, the approval, for instance, of the world-wide health work of the League, the consolidation of the League's refugee work in a single organisation which will cooperate with that initiated by President which, in the Committee stage, the United States has effectively cooperated, the discussions on social questions such as child welfare, traffic in women, and assistance to indigent foreigners, the development of penal and penitentiary questions, and last, but by no means least, the work of intellectual cooperation and the organisation of cultural relations among nations? One who goes through this long record cannot but burn with indignation at the double fact, first, that it is not more actively and courageously supported by those people who believe that this type of thing is the ideal for which civilisation should be built, and second that it is so completely thrown off balance by others who feel they seek to achieve their ends by violence.

The United States, while absent from all these deliberations except for an unimportant attendance at the Council in connection with Opium, was definitely a part of the situation. American policy both affected it vitally and was vitally affected by it. Her non-Membership in the League has been perhaps the greatest single element in the League's history. President Roosevelt's two interventions in the Czechoslovak crisis were profoundly important. Many actions by the Assembly will have pleasurable effects upon the United States. It cannot be a matter of indifference to any Government how international life is organised; the policies of the League in China and Spain will have their effect everywhere; endorsement of Mr. Hull's commercial treaty policy is not without importance; the organisation of world services in economics, finance, transit, health, opium, nutrition, housing, intellectual cooperation, and the like, on which, incidentally, the United States will have opportunity to express its views, is of importance to everybody. Some day this will become clear and an eager constructive policy will be adopted.

And the future? Few would be categorical at this moment. Some feel that the world has merely postponed its crisis for an even greater one; others that we are at the beginning of a slow readjustment towards a calmer Europe. Both would agree, however, that we face a period of Big Power domination where for the time being force will be more powerful than law, where the small nations will feel uncomfortable and ill at ease, and where the technical humanising and civilising activities of the League will have to struggle more bitterly than before for recognition. It is that concentration of power in a few hands without organisation or control, plus the apathy of others who should be aggressively active for another system, which constitute the greatest danger to the movement for a central world agency of international cooperation based on law and justice. Little fear is felt of the ultimate outcome over generations; the question is: What price chaos? In other words, the question in many minds is not whether the League method is right; it is rather as to how long it will be before the better, more positive, more constructive elements in human society wake up from their lethargy and demand that the rich opportunities which life has to offer be given full freedom of expression unhindered by relics of barbarism.

5.10.38.
October 10th 1938.

My dear Smyllie,

I have been reading the leading articles in the Irish Times during recent months with the greatest interest; they are a great consolation to me as I am convinced that our people must for their own sake take a greater and more intelligent interest in international affairs. I am precluded myself from expressing any views, but I read few articles in any newspaper so well informed on the present elements in the dangerous international situation of to-day.

De Valera was a very good President of the Assembly and holds a very solid position now in the international community. Has it ever occurred to you how much any small State in our circumstances would feel justified in expending in order to secure such a recognized position as the League has given to our new State, with all the consequent imponderable returns? Or has it occurred to you to reflect on the vital Anglo-Irish relationship? In spite of the League's temporary "obscurcissement" in the field of high politics, Geneva remains the most remarkable and valuable place for statesmen and diplomats and especially for those of the small countries which would have no other window opened on the world.

I read the other day a copy of a letter sent by an American to another, and although it is marked by the conditions under which it was hurriedly written, I thought it would interest you. I enclose a copy but think it would be better if you did not feel tempted to publish anything about it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

[signature]

the "Irish Times"
Dear Sean,

I note, to my shame and confusion, that your welcome letter is exactly a month old today, so it is doubtful if I can save any shred of decency even by replying in hot haste this morning! You were quite right in thinking that I would be extremely interested in the American impressions of the dean during the crisis. I found the letter extremely vivid and stimulating. What a time you must have had! I saw your photograph several times in our press here during Assembly time: 'It's the long fellow'—I'm sure he made an excellent chairman and president. As the years pass,

As the crisis developed, it was

seemed to be approaching— we saw plans in operation for the evacuation by combat of the frontier zone, the mining of all Swiss frontier bridges, and the opening of the "sink holes" etc., we considered what could be done for the family.

Owing to my position, any humanitarian action was out of the question. But under高压, Elsie agreed that it was time she would start with them on trains for Ireland. She was out of question. Even if it not be seized being a venture chivalrous there might be great difficulty in getting their travel. She had already been placed under the military in force, and the roads would be crowded with refugee and
I grow more and more mellow towards him, although this change led me in for an occasional awkward moment with mutual friends of ours!

I hope you are all flourishing. Tell Mr. Lester that I forgot to ask her sufficient questions about the French cookery book which I had foolishly volunteered to bring home, or received a severe ‘dressing down’ for my negligence! But a more reliable messenger has been dispatched since then & returned with five different books, for safety!

Do you remember how fussy I was about the saddle? Quite unnecessarily as it turned out, for the Customs officials here—whether through amnesia, special relaxations (it was horse show time), or just general benevolence—held me there was no duty to pay.

When are you likely to be in Ireland next? I don’t say you will be hardly be tempted here during the winter. But whatever time you come I hope you will let me know.

Please give my best wishes to Mr. Lester & the girls. Believe me your sincerely

[Signature]
military transport. And at the
front the car seemed probably have
had to be abandoned, so we
decided they would try to get by train
it might have been a difficult
journey, dangerous. But I secretly
felt grave fears that subjegation might
be used as an approach by former
or even possibly French.

We got the four coats out of
the summer case storage — bought a
new homestretch to carry food — 7 days
blanks of chocolate as "after rations".
I changed money to give them
adequate French & English currency.

Then we waited.

I was to stay at my host, if ever,
unless Syria was invaded. I had
told when I arrived, while alone, here.

a 100% better chance of getting through
the if I had others to think of if flight
became eventually necessary. She
had agreed to go for the understanding
that once the children were
safety in Ireland she would come
back. I said "yes", knowing
that such a return under an
impossible basis during the
girls' goodwill, was with as
a visit from home, and
we agreed that as she couldn't
go back though sure it was
she would go with them to
the Cornubia house to take charge
of their schooling again for a time.
I tried not to think of the
bomb that would be falling
on Paris and London during that
journey!
We said nothing to the children from the International school they reported the daily discussion between the pupils - the heart wrenching of some English children, their return when the school temporarily halted, their new departure when Godesberg led to the fleet mobilization.

We feared for the house hold treasures in case war came into England. I asked E. to get a lot of labels so that when I packed some things late for storage I could label the contents of boxes. The labels were seen by the Nazis and they jumped immediately to correct conclusions.

They must have been discovering the situation pretty thorny if because they at once presented a united front and declared they would do a stay - in strike if any attempt were made to check them off. (They had not discovered the knowledge that as the Sweater Head sent his youngest to the U.S.A.) Next day they entered the house jubilant. Some English children had arrived from London "to chase the air raids!"

"Daddy, how could you send us through London at such a time!", with a triumphant air.

One heard, confidentially, that Mr. K.W. (or A) had decided to leave promptly for USA with his...
American who if you were declared necessary, 17 years, German rights. Also, he had told me that while he would have held on he would have committed suicide rather than fall into German or Italian hands. I said I would at the last moment have set out for front if necessary and escape but that suicide never entered my head. He asked he supposed we would have tried to escape, too.

An interesting thing was David's support of Chamberlain expressed in several public messages. Good politics, no doubt.

The British problem is the air.

"What do you mean, 'can you do if you meet an armed madman who demands you watch?'"
Mother died on November 7th, just over 86 years of age. I had been with her a week before, but had returned to Geneva.

She was the sweetest, the most self-sacrificing, most Christian soul I have known. Her kindness and charity, unswerving faith, devotion, and love made her shine like a lamp in darkness.
16th Nov. '38

Following the assassination of a
secretary at the German Embassy in
Paris by a francized Polish-Jewish
youth of 17, whose parents had been
malnourished, the Nazis launched a
program turning synagogues into
houses, shops, or imprisoning thousands
of poor wretches. Then a fine of
1,000,000,000 marks as a levy on
what is left of Jewish property,
converting restriction of present
resources prior to turning it over to Argents,
replacing from all retail traders, etc etc.

The world has been aghast—
hurried once more by the maelstrom. And
one learns to see Chamberlain's
difficulties in a policy of appeasement
still further increased; attacks on Cardinal Faulhaber's palace...
Munich, trouble & destruction of
between the two and the Jews and
the Catholics again into line with
the persecuted Jews & Evangelicals.

It is only a few weeks since
the Cardinal Archbishop's home in Vienna
was practically sacked. He, who had
asked the people to vote for the
Anschluss a few months ago.

Walter, back from London, indicates
that the F.O. does not want any sign of
League life about Dancyg. It's naturally,
in the present situation. But do they
care if the League gets another check?
I don't know.

6-12-38

At least a letter from Dancyg where
anti-Jewish attacks and the same of the
laws & burning were going
breakfast trouble. See the
3rd rev. to S.F. anticipating further difficulties, & suspecting mistakes near
that our commitments thus far can
be reduced.

Poland is nearing again. The
destruction of Czechoslovakia the same
in the sphere - & particularly the
failure through German pressure to
hand over Russian Carpathia (Ruthenia)
to Hungary & thus give Poland
& Hungary a common frontier
her back to make a pro-Soviet
democracy - as he had thought
if in Jul 1936. It doesn't go
very far but is a hint to
Germany. Poland's policy
definite played a considerable
part in producing the situation.
There have been some
tentatives to vague approaches by
Germans already in the donors
question.

Dr. Hobson O'Shea, a charming
mild old gentleman, of New Zealand
called on me to-day. He is going
Europe. & says Cardinal Faulhaber
in Munich is most passionate
as to the future of religion in some
Austrian Catholics were pulling
up no right.

Avenel on Economics (ie)
is reducing the League budget
- mainly salaries - by 25%. Closing
the decks & making shipshape for
a difficult time when we may
or may not as an institution weather
the gale.
Mr. Walters has shown to me his Memorandum of the 24th of October regarding Danzig. As you know, I share his and your anxiety as to what our position may be there in the near future. For some years now, there has been no formal appeal of any kind to the High Commissioner regarding disputes between the two Governments, and while the High Commissioner may have been able occasionally to oil the machinery, his duties in this connection are in abeyance. But his position generally has been much weakened by a series of events. His duty in the matter of protecting Danzig from Poland has been taken over by the Reich; his value to Poland in this connection seems to be little more than a "point d'appui" for bringing in the Western Powers in case a situation should arise. But even on this point this value to Poland has been decreasing and there is no evidence (except for Colonel Beck's attitude at the time of Mr. Burckhardt's appointment) that they regard the post as still of great importance to them. Nevertheless, in the absence of any indication of a change, I suppose we must assume that Poland would resent a proposal to abolish the post. The question here is would the Council be faced with the resignation of Poland from the League? I am not at all sure, although Colonel Beck threatened it in January 1937.

Nevertheless I agree that we should take the earliest possibility of reducing to a minimum the commitments of the League in respect to Danzig. In view of the policy of various Members of the League, including Poland and the principal Powers, I foresee little but the danger of a further humiliation for us.

Alternative B in Mr. Walters' Memorandum certainly appeals to me.

As to the opportunity, this could be made at any time by a report by the High Commissioner, but it
might seem more natural if a specific occasion arose in connection with Danzig affairs. For example, the High Commissioner has made the formal application in Danzig of the Aryan Law a touchstone of his influence and prestige; several times he has skilfully succeeded in having action postponed (although in fact a great deal of the Aryan Law is in practice applied in the Free City). If the Authorities in Danzig again show themselves to be dissatisfied with the virtual application of anti-semitic principles and wish formally to enact the equivalent of the Reich law, Burokhardt could make this the opportunity for a general report on the lines suggested (and which represent his personal conviction) that the functions of the High Commissioner cannot be properly carried out and that the responsibility of the League ought to be reduced.

I do not regard the presence of the High Commissioner in Danzig as a serious element in maintaining the status quo. I do not believe the transfer to the Reich would now be a casus belli. The ultimate future of Danzig was settled in the Autumn of 1936, and subsequent events have confirmed it. The present arrangement may last one year or two years, but I do not expect either the League or its High Commissioner to be allowed to play a part in the final discussion. I should like to think that we should then be able to retire with dignity but nothing in recent history encourages such hope. It is a pity Colonel Beek has not been in Geneva for the past ten months, but he has himself publicly deplored the undertaking by the League of tasks which it cannot fulfil and has pointed to Danzig as a case in point.

S. LESTER

November 3rd 1938.
13/12/38

Dr. Christian Lange, Nobel laureate, passed away some years ago, died in Oslo yesterday. A fine old man.

I remember in a lecture at an evening lecture a few years ago, Lange had been blamed in the "Jüdische" for some action friendly to the Germans.
January 1939

A terrible year - historical upheavals - no one can be
optimistic about the next. Munich
was clearly a ghastly failure.
(See letter from John M. Sheehan, which
accompanied your reflection).
Chamberlain & Halifax, that
disappointing man, on the way to Rome
after the Italian preparations with
opera of "Lucie, Nicie, Cansica", & then
Liberta & Lady Ch. has undertaken
V.s. v. the touch (Daladier's arm
was "not an acne") - not to be
mediated. The visit is more
bizarre & another blunder - I'm afraid I see
Ch. as a weak obstinate & rather
stupid person - lending the tiger.
Sokolov says Stein USSR ambassador in Rome is certain that if he cannot get at Berlin the French will invade Eritrean territory in February. I can hardly think it possible. They will have to move Bistrita (near Rumania) now on a France giving way rather than fighting. He says military preparations are now in full progress.

Ananias, like myself, is sceptical as to this form of war, although we all expect war in some form. France under Allied rules for years. etc.
Aberfoyle, Orwell Road, Rathgar.

19 Dec. 1938

My dear Scan,

This is to wish you, Deirdre and the 'children' on Agnes' behalf and on my own a very happy Christmas and a bright New Year. To wish any one the latter, being a sudden access of optimism on my part. But still I do join with Agnes in wishing it to you both and to your family. After all, some mental and emotional release is due to the fate of Zed! As a remembrance of Christmas - which at the present time is necessary, and of Ireland, which in their case is quite unwise, Sany - Agnes asked me to send Constantinius Maxwell's book on 'Dublin Writers' to the...
have it already, Cambridge will negotiate the change—"within reasonable time."

Now it remains to thank you very warmly for your kind thought in letting me have this volume—it deserves to be called a volume. On Nigeria I look forward, quite genuinely, to reading it, for my interest in International politics, especially certain phases of it and of European politics engage. I feel more of my time and thought than to our home politics, which for the moment have grown so dull that I shall not further refer to them.

As far on the subject of 'Valentine', perhaps sometime or other you might be able to find... for me, the list nos. 21 686 (exclusive) of a propagandist publication called "Volkerbund"
give art in Geneva as available in
other English, French, German.
They sent it regularly by the editors
but these numbers are missing and
with a finicky mind I should like
to have my set complete. I know I
could write direct - but some considerable
time ago I got a hint that they
would appreciate a subscription,
but notwithstanding my failure to
'bite' the numbers (current) have
come regularly ever since. Now I have
objected to paying for what I can
get for nothing and I have strong
objectives to doing so for Nazi
propaganda! As I am on the
subject now of cabling are there any
league publications to be had for
subscription?

We were sorry that we saw so
little of this during her last visit. On the one occasion indeed I met her she proved a most delightful ally, or shall I say leader in a wavy and strenuous defence of blackest pessimism. I fear that I am still unrepentant. I admit that although it was very unlikely that Hitler would have given any trouble if England and France had made up their minds in July or even August that they would stand by C. S. and made that stand clear well, yet with the publication of the Times article it was either fight or surrender. Personally and selfishly I am very glad war was avoided intellectually —! As a very selfish, individual fellow a time may come when England
May make up her mind that much more is involved than before, and that she cannot yield any further. It is difficult to believe — and this is a disturbing thought — that those who control her destinies will be in a position worst of the three. A very disturbing thought for us, how for whatever lack of ideas Chamberlain may have, I fear that other statesmen whose action or inaction will prove decisive for us, have fewer clear views. As regards England, how can one believe in its policy, when men who behaved as those at present in power have behaved in the last three years, two years, twelve months, six months, still enjoy the confidence of the people!
And who is to replace them? Eden?!
Labour?!!

However, it seems absurd for me who is nearly on the periphery—
for the first time I appreciate the advantage of being on the periphery—of European affairs to open up like this to one who is in the periphery, if not central.

By the way, I listened to Chamberlin speaking to the International Journalists.
I say nothing of the speech—
the body season prevents me—but the almost
stony silence of its reception (I pass
a few preparatory ‘hear hear!’) was
not devoid of interest. They gave
prolonged applause when they could.
and that was strictly limited to
form their balance (c) good relation
with U.S.A. (w) reference to German
attack on Baldwin. (c) We are ready
(brief on obligations -- (??) --
(c) We are bound to France, by her
stronger than legal obligations
-- master be avoided saying that
an attack on France could not
find them indifferent!

However enough of this. F. has is
in bed with a cold - not very
dense Josh glad by day. All others
of our friends are in good health
and in good form - some, the
legal members of group, writing
too hard. But otherwise, they don't
complain. Cool was open to
cast upon us by James Mackenzie.
health. One can wish that he had been appreciated as he deserved! But
this is perhaps too much to expect. Certain she and Joe fitted "Nell"
just as that will, I fear, not be squandered for a considerable time.

Now prepare his long and
war-ride and - if you will be
as good, return in kind!

Again, the very best wishes
from us both to you all

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

PS. The bookcase sent by you C/O S. H.
Assist 2nd lane Pl. Seneca, as I
hoped you already knew when in Cambridge, and that was the essence.
We are losing an internal exam of a minor order, having to reduce our expenditure by 2 million francs - most of our salaries. Officially, I have been drawn into the annual budget.

I tried to make his departure as little troublesome as possible. Some time ago after a year's effort to secure confidence & certification between them, I threw in my hand & came to the conclusion the same house cannot hold both. Halfpenny is coming to the Council this week & end 18/19. I will stay one day!! I went home to Elles after punting over this - and said I must again feel myself free to consider my position here. I have kept my courage well enough, country.
12/11/39. Walter, back from London, has written a confidential note to Cadogan (Skelley) saying all indications point to "imminent danger of a fresh & this time probably fatal crisis within a few weeks". We must come to a ready-to-furnace crisis & Germany intends a move in the east in Feb. or March. Hungary friend. Preparing to enter anti-Comintern pact (Comm. 1/6/29) although popular opinion in Hungary is substantially anti-Ju." This is explained by a Greek diplomat as due to Ju's. information as to Germany's imminent move & seems to get Ju's friendship as the "first means of satisfying Hungarian ambitions in Rumania."

Frank concludes, "no normal diplomatic action can prevent why & that a (bad)
crash in Italy would be the real chance. "Truman seems to be invincible otherwise but that not give her something to think about both in its external and internal effects." "It may be," he concludes probably with an eye on Chamberlain in Rome, "that such a crash is not a remote contingency if nothing intervenes to avert it."

Backnell, US Causal, who has just left me, also reports many of his colleagues are convinced that war is now coming; indeed, making due allowance for the factors, war by any means negligible. Against war it is hard to see any other end to the present chaos and crisis. Smothered war. . . .
I saw to Bucknell that I was come U.S. to be in it & pretty soon. He agreed.

But Munich, he said, the Americans people had begun to feel they were in the front trenches.

Prevention, of course, is better than that - & who cares the old idea
Trivandrum,
South India,
July 30, 1939

My dear Dean Lester,

I learn from a friend that your career goes "on and on, and up and up." I learn also that you have an item in your file of friendly remembrances labelled "Cousins." I am happy over both items of news. Our contact in Geneva was short, but it gave me a touch that I have never lost, though the outside of my mind...
has been engaged elsewhere. I remember your interest in literature, and am sending you separately my latest contribution. I hope you will find it something of the spiritual romance that lit up my youth still glowing in the evening sky. I am trying to get art into education here. I have created half a dozen museums and galleries in South India, and hope to do the same in North India before the curtain falls. I am also working out an Irish myth - a cocoon drawn which I hope to finish soon.

I send you my congratulations and good wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

J. H. Cousins
Dear Sean

Many thanks for your kind remembrance. Please remember me to Mrs Lester and my three "niece" who must now be grown up — but I hope not now be grown up — but I hope not

Please also give my kind regards to EJ Phelan.

I am afraid I am now quite cut off from Geneva. Not being a good "party man" I am not acceptable to the powers that be.

I am not acceptable to the powers that be. It is hard not to despair just at present.

So I am afraid I haven’t much influence. So I have

in political & social matters. So I have retired, except for an occasional growl.

As things are I don’t envy you your job.

I published this year an enormous book on physics which — being quite unorthodox — has nearly bankrupted me. So I am anxious to have it sold; for otherwise I see no hope of getting two other volumes published, though they are practically ready

published, though they are practically ready

in manuscript. In this book I give a great backing to a Swiss writer
called Ritz (+1909) as against Einstein. So I might have a chance of selling a few copies in Switzerland. If therefore you come across any physicist in Geneva, he might be able to supply the name and address of the best Swiss scientific periodical which publishes reviews, so that I could have a review copy sent to it.

But don't go to any trouble.

Again all good wishes to yourself and family, of whose kindness I retain a very pleasant memory.

Even yours sincerely

Alfred O'Rahilly

If you see Mortished, please thank him for his postcard.

"Electromagnetics" by

very t. Einstein!
Dear Seán,

Very many thanks for your letter & enclosure. Excuse my delay. I have a dreadful list of lectures to this year. I now lecture on Sociology also!

I met Rappard — we didn't gel on too well. "Ah! j'aime les Irlandais," m'entendit. Il me répondit: "Comme vous aimez les chiens, Monsieur, n'est-ce pas?"

Apparently they don't review scientific books in Switzerland. Which is peculiar. I met someone in Geneva who gave me the address of Ritz's brother who is still alive. Unfortunately I lost it.

I shall be bankrupt if the infernal book doesn't sell. That is why I was hoping the Swiss universities would buy a few copies.

I see you haven't changed into tophattes and aloofness & remain your simple self. Which is a consolation to me, as my friends have become dreadfully
important while I remain in obscurity.

I don't envy you your job, and I am glad you have Connemara to fall back on.

Kindest regards to Mrs. Lester and to mes chères nièces!

Sincerely yours,
A. O' Rahilly
February

Elsie has been helping stuff the camps of Spanish refugees established in tents near the frontier. House cleared of all spare clothes. The refugees were in a wretched condition.

We get regular callers, flying from Germany, or seeking help on route a 19-year-old girl today, without passport able to reach any farms.

It is not easy to distinguish the possible "fakes."

I have been chairman of the "Axe" club — reorganizing it recently, this big institution with its 40 odd nationalities and multifarious activities.

The budget had to be reduced, I suppose, on account of defections. We have still 50 members or more.
It has been a hard task—unpleasant to.

The marvellous Spanish art treasures from the Prado and other museums, of note, and collections past in Spain—stored in Catalonia—were evacuated when the war came on towards the frontier. They have been lodged in an building—an anxious care and an unceasing is to be made. All sorts of personal and political complications.

Rubio—"the gentle Red curator," who struck by his treasures was like a skeleton when the came into France. Sent the man who painted on canvas some (an Burgos side) with colleague Eugenio D'Oss. The latter has not each the even more than their opposite number. D'Oss especially has been making all kinds of trouble. He has to be handled like a temperamentally prima donna.

Behind the scene, conflicting efforts to have an expedition (1) a January (2) in April (3) to halve before they are burned back. General being absent on holiday. I have been kept occupied with the affairs.
France & Britain have recognized Franco (and of late) and the end of the Madrid sector's resistance is now taken for granted as a matter of days or weeks.

Big diplomatic game in full swing. Will France play neutral to get U.S. & British money & good will? Or line up more openly with his German & Italian friends? Some chagrin in Rome.

Berlin is a good sign. But it is too soon to see clear.

March

Ist. Maurice Gilbert, for years US. Consul in Geneva & first American to sit at the League Council table (I am there to on that occasion died) a few days ago in Berlin while Charge d'Affaire at the U.S. Embassy. We were much together in the Marcelina crisis days. Being worse in Geneva.
6 March 39

R.S. (Patrick Sarsfield)

6th Army (Irish Dept. Posts & Tele) at a conference in Moate on the 21st week-end with us. It's nearly 30 years since we first met. R.S. was in British Postal Service a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.A. when I joined in 1909 or 1910. Wrote historical & political articles in "Irish Freedom" & "Fan Tin" under name of "Lucan". A man of brave manner, R.S. is known from the rocks of pure honesty. His moral courage & physical trait was one of the characteristics of the best of that smallish group.

Of what he calls "the years of the Captivity" as we talked of old days he remarked on the "fairness" of the English, "recalled how, at his last 10 notes in the Irish Book Shop (this war time occupation on leaving the C.S.) he received a cheque for £40 odd - due as salary or some retroactive decision.

Of Germany (we not both have been classified as "pro-Jama" during the war) he said that if Hitler launched him against us he would be beaten & every old tiny German State reconstructed with a garrison to see to it!
Bulmer Hobson + Claire came sadly into our talk. Claire had been for years living with Fred Johnston (Tom's son) & Bulmer is "running about" with "a Chinese-faced young woman. C. also detective. We concurred in B's name, Claire for the debate - unfilled, filled out. I thought B. was Prime Minister, Bulmer is 'mad on Social Credit' - which is 90% socialism. Asked by B.S. a year ago if she wou07l not put the 1914-16 period in print. She said it didn't interest him any more. I can understand it - but it's a pity. No &

One has to write knowledge of that time.

B.S. says that in agreeing to admit Redmondite to the Volunteer Council in 1914 B. acted against direct order from the Supreme Council which he was a member. I recall B. was sent to W.S.A. in spring of 1914. Tom Clarke + Seakin (a Dublin Protestant chemist away out of politics) asked me to act as a member of the S.C. of the I.R.B. in his absence. I agreed but no meeting was held. Tom had a great deal of confidence in me, I
Uncle, but I hope 1916 was not a disillusionment for him.

P.S. has a short type of face - almost Punchish. Above all, a short type of face - almost Punchish. He is almost short 15,000 forres; intolerant of any kind of moral laxity.

J.J. Walsh, on the collapse of those days (he was a P.O. constable), is now one of the wealthiest men in Dublin. Fought hard to get P.J. He was... Joe Faith, a rapturous Dublin Jackson. In a year or two, just minutes of Sommers, is almost amenable to the Sweetest.

But not a scrap spoiled the many he always willing to help in old-time.

Dear Mr. McIlraith - re J.R. So sad that the C.I.D. is having anything like it.

C.K. as an agent of the "Queen" (it was the who in 1922 gave me the bottle of terrible poison which I tried on James F. Reid! Now James died six or eight weeks ago).

Dear Nat. the he, who (who) in 1918, at 2 in J.R. A. after 1718, a charming fellow, is trying his hand at all kinds of things to add to his income. He taught some years ago, a nice pretty near-famous girl. But is trying to teach J.R. P.S. says he has all the spirit of an early 1945 cent. statue.
PS. Like myself, is my critic of the Congregate of Thornton - "they are doing all they can," and looking for no common ground. Is it a stupid policy. Has mankind much about them. But Thomas has still for the loss of a great opportunity (me. the leader) in 1772. Justin, partisan will last 100 years. I say at least 100. The ministry unless 1.5. much alone. Rather afraid of him!

More Fortis, expanding on arms in Britain. Two hundreds warships in the stocks. Hundreds of millions of pounds per year. It's very impressive. We grow more compact. But what a pity. They are making no sacrifices in peace for peace.

Cardinal Pacelli elected Pope. Not very pleasing to fascists. Hapsly great Church diplomat. It was said that Ciarno (F.M. at 52) had spoken against such a possible choice.
You have probably observed the sharp change of tone which has taken place in England with regard to foreign affairs. Such indication of it as appears in the public press is a true reflection of a firmer attitude and greater confidence which run through the whole country. This is no doubt due in the first place to the big progress made in national armaments, which enables leaders of the country to speak with greater assurance, both at home and abroad, and removes from the ordinary individual the feeling of frustration which had depressed him for some time. Another thing has been the recovery in France, and a third is the attitude of America. There is a further matter also to be taken count of. Despite the continued attacks on the Government's Spanish policy, there has been a turn in the tide. The controversy about intervention or non-intervention, in its familiar form, is now rather out of date and attention is directed to immediate problems on which the Government is pursuing a stronger and more active policy. The Prime Minister, in his quiet way, has made one or two laconic references to his expectation that Italy will carry out promises made, and has several times referred to Germany's failure to make any contribution to appeasement. But the outstanding event has been his emphatic assurance to France. This has won universal approval and brought considerable relief. Many feared that his previous assurances, which were well understood at home, had not made a sufficient impression in other countries, and that he might fatally delay making the unconditional announcement to which he has now given utterance. The danger was that he might make it too late to give others a chance of reconsidering their policy and so let the country in for war, which by an undelayed engagement to France might otherwise have been avoided. He was reluctant to do so at first because he felt he had been sufficiently explicit on the subject in Rome, and because he thought it might complicate and harden the situation. But the Italian press campaign on the lines that England would not stand by France if she were menaced or attacked, convinced him that it was no longer possible to refrain from publicly and definitely putting all doubts on the matter to rest. The statement was everywhere welcomed, not only because it is felt to be inevitable that England and France must stand together, but also because a sure
knowledge of this beforehand gives an additional hope that it may be a deterrent to any actively aggressive steps. It is partly a reflection of the belief held for years in many directions, that if England had acted similarly in 1914 the last war might have been averted.

These three things—the increasing strength of the country, a revival in France, and the American trend of policy—are mainly responsible for the new spirit which is to be noted not only in ministerial speeches but in daily conversations everywhere. This has led to the suggestion that influence, deliberately engineered as a psychological deterrent, has been doing so when the leaders of the country refrained from doing so. Incidentally, the charge of preparedness was less, or that they deliberately allowed the war to have the people behind an already determined policy to sacrifice Czechoslovakia, is nonsense. It is not a charge often heard now, but it appears from time to time in extremist quarters and occasionally, I am told, in America.

Hitler's speech to the Reichstag, muddled and menacing as in several respects it was, fell short of what had been anticipated and to that extent brought relief, but it had had no expeditious effect. Everything is going forward, much of it with obvious urgency. Indeed, one of the deductions from Hitler's speech and recent diplomatic movements in Europe, is that the next crisis will be in the West and not in the East, and any comforting expectation that Hitler was looking the other way has, for the present, been dissipated. Speculation, of course, is rife regarding Hitler's real intentions in connection with Italy's "natural aspirations", and also regarding the effect upon his actions of the serious internal conditions of Germany. It may lead him to a desperate throw. This is not lost sight of, but it is a tremendous proposition now, for the prolonged attempt to divide England and France has conclusively failed, both Powers have grown in strength and material and moral support from America has increased.

The Party political situation has also undergone a notable change recently. The Prime Minister's stiffening has responded to the instincts of the mass of people, including his own supporters, and his position has accordingly strengthened. It has become clear, too, that whatever criticism may be levelled at him, he has won the confidence of the people of Germany and Italy. This is a point of great significance, and Harold Nicolson, for example, who is one of the most independent critics among Government supporters in Parliament, told me...
yesterday that he thought it was a fact, important enough in itself, to retain the Prime Minister in office. He also said that he and others, including Eden, had influenced the Prime Minister from within ministerial ranks in a way that would have been almost impossible if they were in open opposition, and that I believe to be true, although to what degree it is hard to say.

While the Prime Minister and the Government have gained ground recently, the Opposition has certainly lost ground. There is a great deal of division in the rank and file of the Party over the question of unity of Government opposition on one platform. Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the more advanced but also one of the ablest leaders of the Labour Party, has been expelled for advocating unity, and although his expulsion was voted by all but two members of the Labour Party Executive, this by no means represents the state of things in the Party generally, and it has weakened its reputation as well as its position. It is probably this fact that has persuaded some members of the Government, like Sir Kingsley Wood, that it would be a good moment for a general election, but the Prime Minister is so far against it.

The uncertainty in international developments is still hampering trade, though conditions have improved somewhat since the Reichstag speech, and there seems to be general agreement that there would be a rapid improvement with any real lessening of tension. They now await Mussolini's next word, but here again there is a rising feeling that it is time to assume the initiative wherever possible and not to allow the ups and downs to be governed by speeches in Berlin or Rome.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
8/3/39

Karnamk Hamschiny, feared this
Darwinite at present, after publication
of "Revolucion del Nihilismus", writing
to Speakers in England lately.

declares Nazi objective to be world
domination to be realised by revolutionary
upheavals against existing regimes.

Tom Casement found drowned in
Dublin Canal aged 73. Amazing
career. Went to sea at 13, rode everything,
including a couple of wars, before he
came back to Ireland. Shortly in the
First World War (1916) says Tom was fighting under
British in "Somersetshire" when he heard
of Roger's execution.
luncheon S.G. Wednesday March 8th 12.30

M. David Weill, Président des Musées Nationaux, Membre de l'Institut

M. Jaujard, Sous-Directeur du Musée du Louvre

M. Carl Dreyfus (Experts du Louvre

M. Vergnet Ruiz (Experts du Louvre

Mr. McLaran Expert Britannique

M. Deonna Directeur du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève

M. Gielly Conservateur d'o

M. Paul Lachenal

M. Sert (BURGOS)

M. Giner Pentoja (MADRID)

M. Perez Rubio

M. Aghnides

M. Ganem

M. Valléry-Radot
15th March 39

The consequences of the "Munich" appeasement come steadily on. Word of 
partition of Czechoslovakia is complete. It came out of a nearly tranquil sky.

A German plot in Slovakia, a 
ground between Bratislava - Prague. 
President Hacha goes to Berlin.

Within 2 or 3 days, "G-36" is placed in the hands of the Fuehrer.

A German team are in Prague.

No resistance, but the occupying 
regiments were hussled & bussed.

The arms of 40 divisions, 
Sklada & its 50,000 workers, & 
25 armaments factories pass 
into German hands. Ruthenia 
is occupied by Hungary.

The Czechs are to have a regime 
less than a "protection"
Love Heathcote says this action is not in accordance with the spirit of Munich. He is right! But I don't agree with him.

Chamberlain ("Journeys"), as D. M. says, says we must it be reflected from our objects of peace & achievement. It sounds rather oblique, and his credulity is "astronomical".

His reactions are peculiar but slowness may be the most charitable description. Of them.

Even he cannot go on.

The moral reaction is the cost will be certain.

An American Trapeze says: "The twilight of liberty in Europe."

The kea's objective of at least continental domination cannot now be hidden behind "unity of peace" or "self determination" first.

Holst's thought was a strengthening of the rear to enable him to face west. Poland & Hungary - were they accomplishes before the fact? Berlin has raised no force, the object is apparently a Polish-Hungarian front. Some people look on it as a check to Hitler's fortunes in south eastward march. Nonsense!

I seek for some serious consequences to this Mediterranean area. We had been anxiety mass lines more after Balkan jumped again.
I think the British were taken by surprise, less than a week ago, Sir Samuel Hoare was talking of a conference between the three dictators of Iran (Turkey) as a means of introducing an era of peace, prosperity, and paradise. A British under-secretary was to go to Berlin this week to discuss trade development.

And the League member has gone.

Our position there is sufficiently discouraging. Chamberlain a fortnight ago again spoke to us in an unfair and unfriendly way of the League.
17/3/39. Dr. Sarcin's day. 
We are on the whole a fortunate and happy country in spite of our Partition problem.

Alexandre Garaudaco, new Romanian Minister, who has served in Bulgaria, Belgrade, Vienna, Sarajevo, etc., made his "call" this morning. He summarised the situation by saying that the events of this week would end in a British occupation of Berlin, and perhaps, in a year, or two years, but a logical result.

The German plan of domination was now in the open, and the step outside some racial...
Else & I are again wishing
we had our goods & chattels
stayed in Ireland.

Chamberlain spoke last night and
reversed British policy.
Five minutes apology for his
cold warm, & inadequate remarks
in Parliament on Wednesday night; 20
minutes defense of "inuch," &
half an hour's attack on Hitler. Political
he called him a liar, without
using bluff Cooper's "a traitor though
perjured." He quoted Hitler's
promises & undertakings, private
& public, & asked who could trust
him. Again, is it the beginning
of his attempt to dominate the
world? If so shall we resist him.
The "manchesters" is he, & it is
the greatest warning speech made since
Suez crisis in August, 1914.
G.B. since USA, Russia seem to refuse to recognize the new
administration - as "colonial protectorate" in S. Asia.
G.B. taking a vigorous lead; Russia at least approached
for what seems to be an alliance.
Smaller states, oroland, more or less invited to come in.

Burkhard's, who was allowed
to go back to Donyes (I opposed
strongly) was there 3 days. On
Sunday, 12th March, he reached
Berlin, had a talk with
Weizacker (Prenant Head of Go)
who had been (though Trauel)
angry, Burkhart to return
a check before. W. doing,
frankly said he was most anxious
and wished, in B's sake, the
leaders, he was not going to
Donyes. "These people are
going mad!" B. learned of the
plan to occupy Prague. I believe
British & French did not know at
the time. Donyes Channel was
not safe.
He called in Cape, which he outlined for me in a letter, had an appointment with von Krattinger, but was told he could not be found.
So went on to Doniz, Snape discussed several problems, few, etc. in Brettle's presence. Forty was in hospital for a minor operation (I am very sceptical). Later, he said he had recently seen Hille who was annoyed with the Bateses and that if they behaved he would still leave Doniz but if not "he did show them who was master." So he stayed 3 days in Doniz.

I hope the Bates won't begin a war over Doniz. It seems to be the worst ground.
Such is the mentality of the day.

Prepared a note for Walter (11.10) suggesting the use of Japan as a rallying point in spite of its crunch—alongside the alliance system they seem to be working on. Note shows "no". The league's time is not yet.
I wonder if, in any case, Chamberlain would have the courage to eat some of his head with about the people. Are we still to lie on the shelf?
Arnold says he at one time simply contemplated closing
down the Secretariat of War

Skelton says its £1 or £2

There are signs that

Walford is showing independence and favour a strong policy—

including conscription. It appears

the E.O. was checked by the

semi-official optimism of ten
days ago & that it emanated

from Chamberlain's entourage.

What news Horace's speech? He

must be feeling rather small.

There is fear in Switzerland

and in Holland, too. The Swiss

grade has been going down in the

London Exchange market. Dutch

& Swiss capital is going into

France—"behind the imagined

line." Most of the big Swiss

gold reserves is in New York;

the remainder is hidden in

the high Alps—near

Zurich.

War loan, which was 98\% a

week ago, fell to 95 yesterday.
India 24/3/1939

For a week GB has been trying to establish a front against aggression. France, Russia, Ireland at any rate have been invited to agree to a common declaration. Contacts not yet certain. Concentration in case of threat anywhere in Europe. Russia, France seem agreed but Poland asks for more definite military commitments. Others will be asked later to join.

It's an effort, related to set up a kind of limited, collective security. Germany, Poland, which holds the key. It will be difficult to decide, of course.

Memel has been annexed in agreement with the Kallinera Garnet and under the usual threat. It's not a case any body felt to be in the same plane as Cy-Sl. in a state of a 5 power guarantee (including itself & Japan). German planes flew over Memel while Seabees sacked it. Roosevelt. The US declared it a non-belligerent state. Roosevelt.

There is still speculation about Italy. Mussolini will speak next Sunday.

Birchard called to see me yesterday. Very anxious about his belongings in Daming. Wellington advised him to bring his car with him (he had prepared to leave it in Japan) it might be very useful.?
The entrance of Hitler says he has not yet read Chancellor's speech.

I wish the danger question were out of the way. As I wrote last October, it is being kept by France as a means for begun grains. Later, the last December, had the French want to talk.

Peter, back from 3 months in Paris, says the spirit is very different to that of September. Very calm and more confident in themselves.

Howard Bucknell called with an idea (partial fleet mobilisation without any explanation) based on the assumption that G.B. will want to back out if the bluff were called in a more open undertaking. Albion.

A new angle French general to intervene if Holland or Belgium were attacked by German forces, as President between visits London to state.

Joe Wilson thinks a special Intl. of the Assembly will be summoned to in Dublin.

To Water told Jacklin a few days ago that London would be assured that U.S.A. we declare war if they become minded.

I hope it is true. But I wonder.

In sight of course I explain the change of front. Bucknell thinks the administration is foreign to that these will be great difficulties a delay.
Rumania has signed a trade treaty with Germany, giving very substantial concessions. Compared with the reputed ultimatums sent we cap it to be Godaheig & Munich.

But they did not get all they wanted; it is clear. "The Journal" says Hungary that in 3 weeks at the latest Germany will have her hands on the heart of the nation.

Hungary is in German hands. 90% Hungary claims 2,000,000 of a minority. The Rumania a more could be initiated without the slightest difficulty & on most plausible grounds.

Wilno, duty & insignificant as an Irish provincial town, does not seem much of a prize. But it brings Germany another step up the Baltic, & gives her control of the mouth of Poland's second river, the Vistula at Garkisz. Lithuania loses her only port & economically falls into German hands. The port was neglected by the Germans before 1918; used only for wood &发布, the Lithuanians had done much to develop it.

Wedding's job comes to an end. He is not a League official. The Princess close in Poland.
Ashton Gwatkin, one of the principal British Economic Experts talking to Charron in Paris two days after the Prague coup, said that the reason the Czech frontiers were not guaranteed after Munich was that they did not believe it was the end of the movement. What they had expected was another Munich and that this would have given Germany the same results; the shock came because of the slightly different method. He said he was astonished at the pessimism in Paris, pessimism as to the outlook for peace. He went on to indicate that his outlook was that Hungary and Roumania would be incorporated as servants of the five years plan without any territorial changes and when this was done Germany would turn to open her discussions with the West. There would be no danger of conflict, he thought, during this preparatory period, but the colonial question which would then be raised, could very easily produce a conflict.

I don't mind the cold-bloodedness, but it does seem extraordinary that the whole preparations for a test with Britain and France should be looked on with such equanimity and in completely certain anticipation that they would have to fight the reinforced Germany in the end.

Charron reports conditions in France as excellent from a financial point of view and as to the unity and morale of the people. The air force is still lacking, good plans are in progress, but there is a lag. He is sending me a letter from Grady, the United States Member of the Financial Economic Committee which meets next week and which puts up proposals more or less for an economic defence and which he regards as very revealing as to the attitude of Washington.
Ashton Gwatkin, one of the principal British Economic Experts talking to Charron in Paris two days after the Prague coup, said that the reason the Czech frontiers were not guaranteed after Munich was that they did not believe it was the end of the movement. What they had expected was another Munich and that this would have given Germany the same results, the shock came because of the slightly different method. He said he was not sure to whom this speech was addressed or by whom, but it had been heard and later repeated at a meeting on a submarine. He also said it had been written in shorthand, though it was not clear. He further said that the journalist who had written it down had not seen it until later, and that the original had now been destroyed. He ended by saying that he had no further knowledge of the situation.
Britain proposes to double the territorial army, not easy. 

Keith went with when I made a couple of nights ago, says one of the principal of the non-political difficulties about conscription is absence of equipment. Still close military relations between France and England are showing.

Our personal plans for a holiday have swung to No. I decided not to go to Le Havre. Could leave writer office now fairly. Then all to Reutte. But that's not good enough. So again decided for Ireland this time all together.

I can leave then there is no need to come back if the crisis doesn't. It may go on for weeks to face after till the autumn again. Or —

A couple of days ago received a call on to discuss an urgent position in case of emergency. Jack will send duplicates of a very important paper to a place in western France as soon as I can. — Preparing — it will be chaotic at the best but one preliminary step will be invaluable. Helen pushed him. I think with his plans for L.O. evacuation.
I don't think the mobilisations are yet so great as to be felt, but it is uncertain.

Polish-Penn relations continue to attract most interest & concern at the moment; after assisting Germany during recent years attacking Russia on the flanks while in the destruction of C.S.; she finds the diplomatic guns of Berlin beginning to swing towards her own frontiers.

Her people's spirit of readiness & fight will delay or prevent any offensive plans towards her.

Fleming today recalled the story of Karschmann's letter as to Hitler's plans in the East.

Sat 1/4

Last night Chamberlain announced a Franco-British guarantee for Poland!!! To ease the week-end or the plans for morn definite steps made. Since demands have been made on Poland but not yet a ultimatum from the circle of British policy now complete.
General List

Consort. Albert Adam
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Blyth
List of Senators

Dr. Rauchburg
Vice President Greiser
Senator Batscher (propaganda & Winter, dep)
Senator Bobich
Dr. Hoppenrath senator finance
Senator Kurt
Senator Fluch
Senator Wercinski Heiser
Senator von Knobg