



**IE DCUA C1/10**

**Seán Lester Diary - PDF**

**April - December 1941**

April-10  
DECEMBER  
1941.

*pour mémoire -*

*porto chez -*

M<sup>re</sup> ET M<sup>re</sup> BRANKO LUKAČ

*Samedi le 13 décembre  
à 6 h.*

PALMA GUILLEN

*chargé d'Affaires de la Délégation du Mexique  
auprès de la Société des Nations*

DAVID M. NICHOL

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

NOEL H. FIELD

DIRECTEUR POUR LA FRANCE  
DU COMITÉ UNITARIEN DE SECOURS DES ETATS-UNIS

"KE

15, RUE FORTIA

MARSEILLE

NO. IN  
151 1 x 1  
152 1 x 1  
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MADE IN

*Hiram A. Boucher,*  
*Consul of the United States of America*

DJAVAD FOROUGH  
*acting P.D. of IRAN.*  
*son of Prime Minister*

*Paul Chapin Squire*  
*Consul of the United States of America*



*Mr. V. C. Farrell,*  
*Pamphlet Editor, Office,*  
*general*  
*United Service Club.*

PI/10

PI/10(1-4)

Recd. in bag 12/8/41  
 with minute from Dy.

D/EA. asking me  
 to forward to Mr.

Letter to attached  
 letter from Mr.

A. C. Hillier

Mr.

12/8/41

Eir-Deicagra ar an litir seo ba chóir é  
stiachtadh chun an:-

(Any reply to this communication should  
be addressed to the :-)

Rúnaidhe  
(Secretary).

fé'n uimhir seo:-  
(and the following number quoted :-)



ROINN AIRGEADAIS

(Department of Finance),

SRÁID MHUIRBHTHEANN UACHT.,  
(Upper Merrion Street),

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH,  
(Dublin).

5 Meitheamh, 1941.

Dear Lester,

I received this morning your letter of April, 3rd. It was an unexpected pleasure to hear from you and also to learn that Per Jacobsson was well. I was much interested in what you had to say about the future of the European economy, and it is consoling to know that vigorous minds such as Jacobsson's and McKittrick's are at work on the multiple problems that European nations will then have to face. We will have only a very small part to play in these cosmic changes. I hope the statesmen that have the remodelling of Europe in their hands will be intelligent enough to accept the guidance of trained economists and financiers in ~~modelling~~ <sup>fining</sup> the shape of things to come.

With kindest regards to yourself and Jacobsson and both your families.

Very sincerely yours,

*Murphy*

Seán Lester, Esq.,  
La Pelouse,  
Chemin de l'Impératrice,  
Geneva.

P1/10 (1)

Éire.

Seán Lester, Esq.,

La Pelouse,

Chemin de l'Impératrice,

GENEVA.

for return 8/8  
 LÉGATION D'IRLANDE  
 BEAUSSTRASSE 24  
 BERNE

7/8/41

Dear Sean,

Yrs. of the 5<sup>th</sup>. I think you  
 ought to send the enclosed in the ordinary way.

I will not have a bag for some weeks  
 + then it takes about 3 mos. to reach. By  
 air the time varies for letters from about 3  
 weeks to 7. One letter I received  
 recently took 7 + another posted in Dublin  
 on the 17<sup>th</sup> July reached me on the 27<sup>th</sup>. That  
 was the quickest yet.

I have no information about the  
 estimates except what you have seen. I  
 heard part of the debate on the E.A. vote  
 but the atmosphere was so bad that I missed  
 most of it. It was quite impossible to get  
 the news most nights owing to the noise. It  
 has been a little better these last few nights  
 but

but the voice is very distant + great crossling.

I hoped to have seen you ~~soon~~ before  
this as I was anxious to see "William Tell".  
I saw two of those representations recently +  
they were excellently done.

If you are coming back this way  
from your hols. give me a ring. I'd like  
to get away for a few days, but it's  
impossible. I was speaking to Kerney  
on the 'phone the other day + he told me  
that he is off to Ireland for his holidays.

Ever

Frank

42 Newark Street

P1/10(3)

Princeton NJ

October 14, 1941

My dear Sam,

The formidable journey is over and we are not much the worse for it. Really we have been immensely lucky. The crossing was not altogether uneventful (vide the New York Times of yesterday), but it was swift and not too rough to curb our appetites.

My cable of Sept. 18<sup>th</sup> was inspired by a desire (C) to get a passport for a piece of luggage which got lost en route (but turned up, luckily, on the day we sailed) and (D) to secure a "permit" entitling us to disembark our legs at Bermuda. In our cable, the sponsorship mentioned in my cable was a condition sine qua non. I don't know if Harry acted or not - nothing had come of the following evening - but it was of no consequence. The boat only arrived at Bermuda the inside of a day.

From today I've had since arriving, it is clear that the ideas we have both had on certain matters were based on misconceptions. I shall try to develop this point later, after I've had further discussions. One thing, however, must be said now - with reference to your message about a certain doubtful customer, confidence is withheld because of a long story of duplicity of which I was quite unaware, as I'm sure you are. This story, I should add, goes back prior to the date you had a meeting. It is felt that you should take the greatest possible care yourself.



P1/10(3)



VIA AIR MAIL



Lester Egg  
La Pelonse

~~Progn~~

for Geneva

Switzerland

Wm. Hill

42 Mason Street

Princeton N.J.

## SOCIETE DES NATIONS

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton, N.J.

No. 78

October 30th, 1941.

My dear Jack,

I think I had better reply to your letter of the 8th, No. 41 both officially and unofficially and to your letter of the 10th, No. 42 unofficially. I will begin with the latter.

2- I was a little worried when I heard you had switched Lukac on to the work you mentioned in a recent letter - I am writing from the Labour Conference and have not all the correspondence with me - as I had had other work for him in mind which was not quite the same and it is rather difficult for me to organise my work if I do not know which members of my staff are going to be available. However, I did not mention it at the moment as I did not think it would really make much practical difference; but I see now, from your letter of the 8th, that you are putting Charron on to a certain work which I suppose will take all his time and prevent him doing anything for me.

3- As regards Lukac, it does not matter because he just cannot draft at all. You ask me, in the last paragraph of your No. 42, what I propose to do with his study. At this stage nothing. He did a first draft which was Hamlet without the ghost and I have now received the ghost. But the two did not make a whole and I shall have to have them completely reshaped. I say this with some regret as I have a very high opinion of Lukac. He is an excellent contact man, a good administrator, very keen on his work, completely loyal and, for the future, an absolutely indispensable servant, ~~but~~ it just so happens that he is not much good for the sort of work which arises to be done now.

4- My point in having these drafts prepared is to use them as and when occasion arises. Occasion is not likely to arise on this particular subject for a long time. There is no hurry; but one must be prepared to throw them in when the occasion does arise. I had one, for instance, fortunately, ready on the Relief question a copy of which I sent to the Wheat Conference which has now invited me to come and expound my views. This is the real object of such work.

5- Perhaps it does not matter about the other man <sup>Wheat</sup> ~~also~~. You mention his eight-page study. This, so far as I am concerned, is his total output of work since July 1940. It seems to me wholly contemptible. The eight pages are themselves worthless and, as a result of over a year's work, or even work over the four or five months since I wrote to him, it is, I think, a scandalous performance. I had had it in mind, however, to write and ask him to make a first draft of certain sections of next year's edition of the Survey and was only waiting for the plan of the Survey to be completed before doing this. I suppose that this

Sean Lester, Esq.,  
La Pelouse,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

-2-

will now be impossible in view of the study you are proposing.

6- I do not think this study is particularly opportune. You know, of course, that a vast study on the subject was undertaken in connection with the Danubian studies and that Prof. Wagner of Basel is getting the final document together. This should be completed shortly and will cover about the same ground as the note you sent me. *I had of course not overlooked this subject; but it seemed to me wise not to start on it until this other work was completed.*

7- As I said, it does not very much matter, as one can scarcely expect, in the light of experience, that anything else of value would have been produced. But it is rather difficult for me to plan my work if these decisions are taken without prior reference to me as Director of the Section.

8- I was a little worried too, as you had raised the question of economy - and incidentally sacrifice - in a previous letter. I am assuming, therefore, that the extra expenditure incurred on this account will not fall upon my budget, nor, of course, on the Rockefeller grant. There is, incidentally, a particular history which would make the latter solution peculiarly inappropriate, quite apart from the question of waste.

9- It so happens that I had asked this <sup>other</sup> person, before leaving Geneva, to prepare a note for me on which he might have done something quite useful as it fell within his competence and experience. The subject was reconstruction schemes - to consider whether there were any defects in these schemes which might be avoided in the future. This note, as I explained at the time, was to be concerned only with technical financial issues and not with the economic implications of the schemes which constitute the subject of a separate note. I asked him about this when he was here and learnt that he had never put pen to paper. I cannot discover what, if anything, he did during the period between the time I left and the time his salary ceased. Certainly he did absolutely nothing which would justify restoring him to my budget, and this particular question, to which I attach a good deal of importance, has not been dealt with. I suppose in the end I shall have to deal with it myself and am not suggesting that he should be switched from whatever you want him to do to this or any other subject.

10- I am afraid this is rather an ungracious letter and suspect that the difficulties must have arisen from the fact that you are not fully informed of what I am doing. I shall meet this difficulty.

Yours ever,

*A.L.*

*P.S. Just had long & helpful talks with Comman proper  
fr. various centers. My next note also & very full.  
Sir John Orr is going to spend his week end here. I  
dined with him <sup>last</sup> week. Han at last got mail  
but for too, which shall go at once. Tied a run*

*Ac.*

P1/10 (4)

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton, N.J.

No. 79

October 30th, 1941.

My Dear Jack,

There is one question which you put to me some time ago which I have never answered as I did not think that you would take any notice of my answer if I gave it. I accordingly discussed the whole question with M.H. and asked him to write. I believe he did.

2- But I think in view of subsequent letters from you that I should really warn you that you are, in my opinion, walking straight into a trap. I cannot say more than this excepting that I now realise what I did not know before, namely that I know the facts and you do not. I had imagined that you did. I have not the slightest shadow of doubt in my mind that, if you did, you would wholly share my views.

Yours ever,

*A.L.*

Sean Lester, Esq.,  
La Pelouse,  
Geneva,  
Switzerland.

18<sup>th</sup> April 1941

Yugo-Slavia has been conquered by the Germans in 10 days. Terrific. Greece, on the other hand, continues to resist, aided by some British Divisions. The "Journal de Genève" today puts the case:

La Yougoslavie n'a pu, en quelques jours, passer utilement d'une politique de paix (qui empêchait toute mesure militaire préalable de crainte qu'elle ne fût considérée comme une « provocation ») à une politique de résistance armée. Le général Metaxas, lui, avait toujours prévu, sans doute, qu'il faudrait un jour en découdre, et c'est pourquoi l'armée hellénique était prête tandis que l'armée yougoslave ne l'était pas.

The Y-S. & especially the Serbs are reputed to be the best soldiers in the Balkans (after bombing) 10,000 said to be dead in Belgrade, which has been declared an open, un-defended town.

The British forces & Greeks are in grave danger, while Germans have swept back the covering troops left in Cyrenaica to the Egyptian frontier. Abyssinia nearly finished.

Hellish bombing of London - re-appears in Berlin. Quelle jolie monde,

MELAS informs me to-day that he is being appointed by his Government to a post in the Legation at Berne. He will however remain Permanent Delegate and no change in his position vis-à-vis the League is being made.

March 10th 1941

Note: This decision will, I am afraid, further weaken the general position of the Permanent Delegates as Berne will (as they suggested) be able to continue the carte de légitimation and facilities to Mr. Mélas without necessarily doing so on the basis of his post as Permanent Delegate.-

## Une visite au palais désert de la S. D. N.

Voici la salle des Pas Perdus, où se déroula la fastueuse réception offerte par l'Agha-Khan. La salle des assemblées avec ses 2.000 places, nous donne l'impression d'être encore plus vaste dans sa solitude. Les peintures murales des artistes peintres français Vuillard, Roussel, Maurice Denis et Roger Chastel, éclatent de fraîcheur et

Un dernier regard à la somptueuse cour d'honneur, à laquelle les jardiniers travaillent avec amour, et nous quittons le palais de la Société des Nations, maintenant inondé des rayons d'un beau soleil déclinant vers le Jura.

# Telegramm – Télégramme – Telegramma

von - da		N <sup>o</sup>		Wörter Parole		Aufgelesen (an den Consignato il		Stunde Hore Ora	
51		+8151 BANGORDOWN 4743 9 19/4 1655 RS =							
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FERN		0740		nach - a - a		Name - Nom - Noma		Stunde/Hour/Ora	
29549		29549		Par Poste		N <sup>o</sup> 2215		SEAN LESTER LAVELOUSE GENEVA	
NOMEX		NOMEX		SWITZ -		Telephone			

BOTH WELL = GRETTA LESTER +

500 Killed  
1500 injured

ROTH WELL = GRETTA LESTER +  
Recd. - of the heart of the Lord's  
Gambardine of

Extract from Radio Bulletin of State Department  
Washington, dated April 16, 1941.

At Press Conference, Secretary Hull replied to a correspondent inquiring if the Department had yet given any reply to the Irish Defense Minister in connection with what he termed the latter's request for ships, that this was a matter which the correspondent primarily would take up with the purchasing agencies. A correspondent remarked that there was a report that this government was planning to raise the question of Ireland's loaning bases. The Secretary referred the inquirer to other departments, and added that he had not discussed the matter with them. Asked if he meant by his reply that the question of American bases or British bases in Ireland had not entered into the negotiations, the Secretary replied that he had not had any discussion, much less negotiations, on that question.

#### NEUTRALITE DE L'IRE

NEW-YORK, 19 avril (Telepress) - Dans une interview qu'il a accordée au "New-York Sun", M. Brennan, ministre de l'Irlande aux Etats-Unis, a déclaré une fois de plus que son pays entendait rester neutre et qu'il s'opposerait de toutes ses forces aux manœuvres qui tendraient à l'entraîner dans la guerre. Il n'est pas question, a-t-il ajouté, d'envisager la cession de bases navales à l'Angleterre. D'ailleurs, l'entrée en guerre de l'Irlande aux côtés des démocraties ne servirait en rien la cause de l'Angleterre. Bien au contraire, les conséquences d'une telle décision seraient catastrophiques pour les deux pays. L'Irlande est d'autant moins disposée à faire la guerre que ses villes seraient exposées aux attaques aériennes contre lesquelles le pays ne pourrait se défendre.

19/4/41

Received telegram from  
Admiral Darlan France gives  
notice (1230) to leave League, reserving  
till later decision continue cooperation  
with 160 League technical organs.

It will react badly on us  
with Swiss Government, & add to  
difficulties of HQ in Europe.

Viple says Darlan arrived from  
Paris, asked for L/N file, gave instructions for  
letter to be written; when told that even some

is Powers (Bulgaria e.g.) had not yet left  
me, would not listen; shaved passionate  
to sign that particular letter.

Barra says German pressure &  
agreed while resisting a more  
important demands

I think the military reverses in Yugoslavia, & North Africa plus pathetic  
desperate efforts to get something out  
of Germany in return for one-sided  
collaboration.

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#### NEUTRALITE DE L'IRE

----- NEW-YORK, 19 avril (Telepress) - Dans au "New-York Sun", M. Brennan, ministre de l' une fois de plus que son pays entendait rest de toutes ses forces aux manoeuvres qui tend guerre. Il n'est pas question, a-t-il ajouté, navales à l'Angleterre. D'ailleurs, l'entrée démocraties ne servirait en rien la cause d les conséquences d'une telle décision seraient pays. L'Irlande est d'autant moins disposée à se défendre.

19/4/41

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Admiral Darlan France gives  
notice (230) to leave League, reserving  
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League, would not listen; showed passionate  
wish to sign that particular letter.

Charra says German pressure &  
Vibie agreed while resisting a more  
important demands

I think the military reverses in Yugoslavia, & North Africa plus pathetic  
desperate efforts to get something out  
of Germany in return for one-sided  
collaboration.

a journalist in the "tribune de Genève"

## Liquidation

Le gouvernement de Vichy a décidé de retirer de la Société des Nations. Dans ces circonstances actuelles, ce geste n'a qu'une signification symbolique. C'est un gage nouveau donné à l'Allemagne, une réaffirmation platonique de la politique de « collaboration ». A la suite des derniers événements, la France a tenu à marquer qu'elle n'a plus rien de commun avec l'Angleterre qui, elle, veut demeurer fidèle à l'esprit du Pacte et qu'elle se considère comme définitivement déchargée des obligations qu'elle avait contractées, à Genève, envers les petits pays du continent aujourd'hui englobés dans « l'espace vital » du Reich. En faisant ainsi table rase du passé, elle tire la conclusion logique de sa défaite et montre qu'elle entend repartir sur des bases entièrement neuves.

Pourtant, la Société des Nations fut une création essentiellement française. Sans parler du rôle prépondérant joué lors de l'élaboration du Covenant par un homme comme Léon Bourgeois, toutes les initiatives prises depuis par la Ligue portaient la marque de Paris. La conception de la sécurité collective et des pactes régionaux d'assistance mutuelle, fait d'inspiration française. Française aussi la théorie du « désarmement contrôlé » à l'établissement de laquelle les généraux Gamelin et Weygand et l'amiral Darlan lui-même furent personnellement associés. Française également, cette doctrine de « l'action économique concertée » que les théoriciens de l'Axe ont ensuite transposée sur le plan autoritaire.

Dans l'application de ce programme de collaboration pacifique, la France s'est heurtée à la résistance de l'Angleterre, à l'opposition systématique de l'Allemagne, à l'esprit d'indépendance des petits pays qui expient si cruellement aujourd'hui leur manque d'union, à l'indifférence des Etats-Unis, au mépris et à la démagogie des Soviétiques. Elle fut elle-même cruellement tiraillée entre ses espérances et ses craintes et elle ne fit ainsi ni la politique du traité de Versailles ni celle du Pacte. Et ce fut la plus tragique des faillites...

La réaction du gouvernement de Vichy est donc tout à fait naturelle et compréhensible. Et cependant sa conception de la reconstruction européenne procède du même esprit que les solutions préconisées naguère à Genève par les représentants de la Troisième République. La politique de « collaboration », telle que le maréchal Pétain l'a lui-même définie, aboutit logiquement à cette « égalité de droits » qui fut solennellement reconnue à l'Allemagne à Locarno et que la France s'apprête, à son tour, à revendiquer. Le projet de Brandt visant la création de l'Union européenne contenait également en germe toute la doctrine d'un « ordre nouveau » fondé, non plus sur la force des armes, mais sur l'acceptation spontanée d'une solidarité nécessaire, car les formes politiques changent, les empires s'édifient et s'écroulent, les nations passent par des crises d'abaissement et d'exaltation, mais l'idéal demeure. Et, à tous les âges de l'histoire, les hommes ont fait le même rêve : la paix dans la liberté.

P. D. B.

The pro-french cor.  
of "La Suisse"

## Courrier de Vichy

(De notre correspondant : Eugène Fabre, (Par téléphone).)

VICHY, 20. — L'abandon de la Société des Nations n'a été jusqu'à présent que peu commenté. En effet, la nouvelle a presque échappé à la presse. Si les milieux officiels ont insisté sur le fait que la décision n'a guère de conséquences, la Société des Nations ayant, en réalité, cessé d'exister, il faut bien voir qu'il y a là un acte diplomatique significatif. C'est un nouveau décrochage d'avec le passé franco-britannique. A la veille de la semaine où M. Abetz rentre de Berlin, porteur, sans doute, de réponses importantes et où l'amiral Darlan va le rencontrer, le fait souligne la volonté de rompre avec d'anciennes habitudes. Il est, au reste, l'occasion pour M. Pierre Bernus de faire dans « Les Débats », où le collaborateur du « Journal de Genève » tient la rubrique de politique étrangère, le procès de l'institution wilsonienne, dont les responsabilités dans le déclassement de la guerre actuelle sont considérables.

## Les bombardements de Bordeaux et de Brost

La décision, en tout cas, n'éveille aucun regret, ni aucune protestation en France. Il n'en va pas de même des deux bombardements de la N. A. E. vient de faire subir à Bordeaux.

Cutting from  
"Le Temps"

## Le retrait de la France de la Société des Nations

Du Journal (Editorial) : La France vient de quitter la Société des Nations. C'est un chapitre de notre vie nationale qui se ferme. Un chapitre surtout de po-

litique extérieure. Vaincue, coincée entre les deux formidables machines de guerre allemande et anglaise, la France n'avait plus rien à faire à Genève.

Depuis longtemps d'ailleurs, depuis le jour où le Japon qui Genève interdisait de saisir le Mandchoukouo, se retira de la Société, la Société avait fait faillite. Cette faillite éclata de tous les yeux durant l'hiver de 1935-36 quand les sanctions s'avèrent parfaitement inapplicables et, d'ailleurs, n'empêchèrent nullement l'Italie de conquérir l'Ethiopie.

Il est vrai que la France avait fait tout son possible pour les retarder, pour les atténuer, et que, notamment, elle était parvenue à empêcher l'application de la principale d'entre elles, de la seule qui eût emporté la décision : la sanction sur le pétrole.

De bons juges ont cependant remarqué que toutes les initiatives prises par la France depuis 1919 portaient la marque de Paris. Conception de la sécurité collective, pactes régionaux d'assistance mutuelle, idée du désarmement contrôlé, doctrine de l'action économique concertée, tout était de chez nous.

Hé oui, c'est vrai, et tout cela n'était pas mauvais : c'était même fort bon en soi ; seulement, ce ne fut guère que matière à discours. La France, profondément européenne dès ce moment-là et qui le devenait chaque jour davantage, ne sut ou ne put rien imposer.

Inutile de revenir sur les obstacles auxquels elle se heurta. Le bon vouloir n'y pouvait rien. Il aurait fallu une France plus peuplée, moins craintive parce que plus forte, pourvue d'un gouvernement ou, pour mieux dire, d'un Etat. Et cette France, nous l'avions pas, par la faute d'institutions détestables et de songes creux.

whatever else may be  
said France's action lacks  
all dignity.

Darlan's day are  
from told, numbered. Known  
as "Laval day" or  
"Amiral Courbette"

("yes-man") as against  
the famous fighting Courbet.

The people believe  
the marshal is only  
waiting a chance. His  
principal advice told R.C.

or R.T. that 99% of France  
was anti-collaborationist.

Another French crisis  
shortly expected.

Little Arnal gloated  
over the decision to leave

L.N. Wants to be Ambassador at  
Bayne. Was the chief off. for L.N.

got at Quai d'Orsay for years. A little  
rat.

24/4/41

meeting of Supervisory Ctee in  
USA proposed for 2<sup>nd</sup> June. Hambro  
wrote "your presence essential". Have  
agreed but pointed out danger of being  
cut off from post.

Neither F.O. nor Sir C.K. want this  
to happen. Policy holds H.A. as long  
as possible. Get visas, if possible,  
actual decision to leave being postponed.

Telegram from President of Princeton University,  
President of Institute for Advanced Studies,  
& Rockefeller Research Institute at Princeton:

PRINCETON

22/4/1941

P1/10 (6)

LESTER NATIONS

GENEVA

GROUP NEARLY HUNDRED AMERICANS WHO PAST TWENTY YEARS  
PARTICIPATED TECHNICAL NONPOLITICAL WORK ASSOCIATED WITH  
LEAGUE LABOR COURT MEETING ON INVITATION THREE INSTITUTIONS  
PRINCETON EXPRESSED WARM SATISFACTION THAT ORIGINAL  
INVITATIONS LAST SUMMER ACCEPTED THEIR HOPE IT MIGHT BE  
STILL FURTHER IMPLEMENTED THEIR FAITH THAT WHATEVER FUTURE  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THESE TECHNICAL NONPOLITICAL  
ACTIVITIES MUST BE CONTINUED AS INTEGRAL PART WORLD ORGANI-  
SATION STOP WE ARE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS EXTEND BEST WARMEST  
WISHES TO YOU AND COLLEAGUES WHO CARRYING ON SO VALIANTLY ON  
FRONTLINE - DODDS AYDELOTTE TENBROEK.-

Aghmed, at Rome, receives  
confirmation of official character of  
the policy of non-collaboration.

Have expressed view that the pinpricks  
and undermining of the *modus vivendi*  
will be accelerated after France's  
demission.

An invitation to attend the inaugural  
reception of the Academie Diplomatique  
Internationale at the Villa Ma Repas  
put at their disposal by the authorities.

M. Trougulis is the Sec. Gen. Perpetuel

I had always refused to join  
this dubious thing when it was  
in Paris.

F. has a "funny" history.

~~There is a story~~ He is a Greek, &  
Minister for Haiti.

There is a story of docs. which  
disappeared years ago from the Greek  
F.O. since when he has not  
visited Greece.

Once it was said French secret  
funds kept his show alive.

Then Italian.

Now German.

But he gets facilities here while difficulties  
are made for the League. Also.

28/4

Applied for visas with some <sup>doublets</sup> ~~doublets~~.  
It will be known & much  
connected in. But I might see the family!!!

working has a 9<sup>th</sup> of  
Health transfer. No official  
release in USA, as far as I can  
learn.

Pedigree of rug bought in Geneva, May 1st 1941

Auction of the collection of Professor Dr. Hector CRISTIANI  
(Collection Colonna - No. 78)

"Shiraz-Kashgai. Origine: Sud de la Perse. Beau  
tapis très intéressant de par la composition de  
son dessin et la richesse des coloris employés.  
Bien conservé. (dimensions 187 x 122 cm.)"

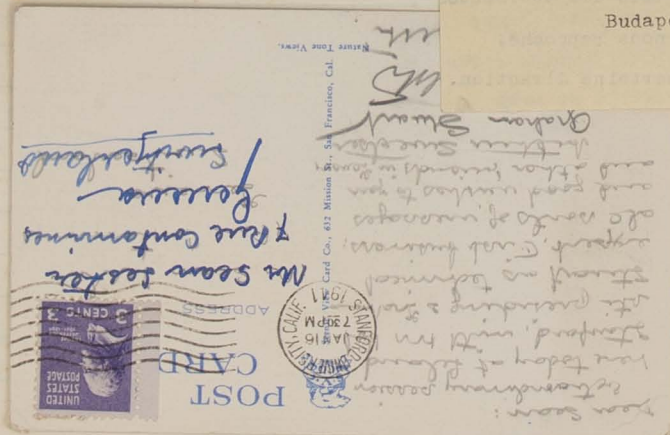
The official valuer, Monsieur Pierre Chavan, estimated  
the value at 1.500 Swiss Francs (current official rate  
of exchange 18 Francs to the Pound).

maties et les agents multiples de ces pays, s'il ne font que conduire leur pays vers des impasses. Nous déplorons tous sans exception et le coeur meurtri la mort si tragique du Comte Teleki, homme en qui nous voyons l'incarnation du type parfait hongrois. Je ne sais si on a bien compris à l'étranger le sens profond de son geste sublime.

Dans l'espoir de pouvoir entendre de vos nouvelles et en vous priant de vouloir bien transmettre mes hommages les plus respectueux à Madame Lester, veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur Lester, l'expression de ma considération parfaite.

Budapest, le 21 avril 1941.

*E Radinich*



Cher Monsieur Lester,

En lisant que la France aussi a quitté la Société des Nations et espérant que l'ouragan s'éloigne de plus en plus de nos frontières, mes pensées se tournent denouveau vers Genève et je me demande combien de mes anciens collègues se trouvent-ils bien encore sous votre commandement. Nous avons passé des jours bien angoissés. A Budapest aussi on a introduit l'obscurcissement, mais depuis hier les rues sont redevenues plus claires et la Hongrie <sup>pourrait</sup> espérer rester aussi loin que possible des tourmentes violentes, qui font trembler le monde entier. Souvent on nous reproche, pourquoi notre politique est-elle si passive dans une certaine direction. A ces reproches nous ne faisons que sourire, car si par exemple un pays tel que la Yougoslavie a succombé en quelques jours, pays qui depuis vingt ans a pu se préparer à cette guerre et dont l'armée bien équipée avait une valeur réelle, toute autre politique du Gouvernement Hongrois n'aurait-elle pas mené le pays vers la ruine certaine? Le traité de Trianon nous a pris toutes nos frontières stratégiques naturelles - une partie nous est revenue ces mois derniers - et ceux qui ont dépécé l'ancienne Monarchie ont bien préparé - certes sans le vouloir - le chemin pour les événements actuels. Une chose nous étonne toujours: comment se fait-il, que dans certains milieux on soit si peu orientés de ce qui se passe dans les pays de l'Europe centrale et dans les Balkans et que font les diplo-



maties et les agents multiples de ces pays, s'il ne font que conduire leur pays vers des impasses. Nous déplorons tous sans exception et le coeur meurtri la mort si tragique du Comte Teleki, homme en qui nous voyons l'incarnation du type parfait hongrois. Je ne sais si on a bien compris à l'étranger le sens profond de son geste sublime.

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Budapest, le 21 avril 1941.

*E. Radinini*

Si vous voulez bien me répondre, voudriez vous envoyer votre lettre au Consulat de Hongrie avec la prière que l'on me fasse la transmettre par courrier diplomatique.

43806

Dear Sirs:  
 I am writing you today - I have just returned from a trip to London, with me are the following: a few of my technical reports, a few business cards, and a few letters to you and other friends in London.

Yours sincerely,  
 Graham Stuart  
 11, rue de la Paix  
 Paris 1<sup>er</sup>

Mr. Sean Lester  
 7 Rue Cantanier  
 Geneva  
 Switzerland

POST CARD  
 ADDRESS  
 UNITED STATES 30000  
 3 CENTS

PAID 10  
 APR 10 1941  
 NEW YORK, N.Y.

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Budapest, le 21 avril 1941.

*E. Radinini*

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au Consulat de Hongrie avec la prière <sup>que</sup> qu'on me fasse la transmettre  
courrier diplomatique.

Dear Sean:

Extraordinary session  
here today ateland  
Stanford, with Mr  
Sti presiding & Dr  
Stewart as technical  
expert. First business:  
all sorts of messages  
and good wishes to you  
and other friends in Davis.

With love  
Graham Stuart

Lisa Holm

Rudolph



Card Co., 612 Mission St., San Francisco, Cal.

POST  
CARD

ADDRESS



Mr Sean Lester  
7 Rue Contamines  
Geneva  
Switzerland

Saturday, April 19, 1941. 10.30 a.m.

The question of France leaving the League was first hinted last August and my information was that although the question was discussed, it was felt in the Council of Ministers at Vichy that as no request to this effect had been received from Germany, it would be a gesture without usefulness or value. The withdrawal of the French Secretary-General was regarded at the time as adequate and was represented as showing that in the present circumstances France was making no pretension to a commensurate role in international affairs.

There were rumours from time to time in the following months (and while they seem reasonably reliable, one must remark on them in reserve) regarding the Vichy attitude which was that no quid pro quo seemed to be offered. About the beginning of December however, serious reports arrived that M. Laval's cabinet had taken a decision in principle to leave the League, but that its application was postponed. There were even rumours from ILO quarters that the intention would be to leave the League and stay in the ILO. In view of the constitutional character of the ILO it seemed to me extremely unlikely as it is and has been regarded by the Axis Powers as equally objectionable in their eyes. Indeed Germany has already set up in Berlin an embryo equivalent of the ILO, has assembled substantial staff and has begun a publication dealing from a totalitarian point of view with the problems interesting labour.

About six weeks ago, I took the opportunity offered by a visit of a French colleague to Vichy to have a sounding made as to rumours of France leaving the League. These rumours had been revived on the occasion of the decision to pay from American reserves the balance of last year's contribution. M. Arnal, Minister Plenipotentiary who has been for years in charge of

League affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, gave the most categorical denial to the rumours. He said that France had no such intention and that furthermore it would be contrary to the general policy being followed by France which was to await developments, to take no initiative whatever in the field of international affairs. This denial was confirmed by a message sent a few days later through the French Consul in Geneva.

Notification from the Vichy Government has not yet reached me, but French newspapers are reported as containing a reserve to decide later on the question of maintaining relations with the ILO and the technical institutions attached to the League.

I shall have more detailed information before this letter is despatched from French officials who have been at Vichy this week. The general conviction in circles in touch with French opinion is unanimously that the announcement is related first to the development of Admiral Darlan's policy of collaboration and more immediately with the military events in the Balkans and North Africa.

On the assumption that France will fulfill her obligations financially during the two years, it could be held that from the point of view of collaboration the situation will not be much changed. The most serious effect is obviously in the political field and more particularly in the repercussions on certain other States. This will be especially the case with regard to Switzerland. We may well see a recurrence of the policy noted during last Autumn. Indeed, I have very good grounds for regarding the coldness, the refusal to maintain close contacts, the pin-pricking and even under-mining of the *modus vivendi*, as a deliberate policy on the part of the Dépar-

tement Politique. In saying so I am not overlooking the difficult position of Switzerland in view of the change in the balance of power in Europe. The reversal of French policy will I feel sure lead to a weakening of the position of the League in Switzerland and open a new chapter in many respects.

26 May. Later events & information do not point to a direct German request. Darlan merely prefaced the execution of his pro-German programme, including a visit to the Führer, use of Syrian aerodromes, etc with this bear-gest of cutting with ~~France~~ has past!

An article by John Elliott from Vichy, 'New York Times' confirms this point of view.

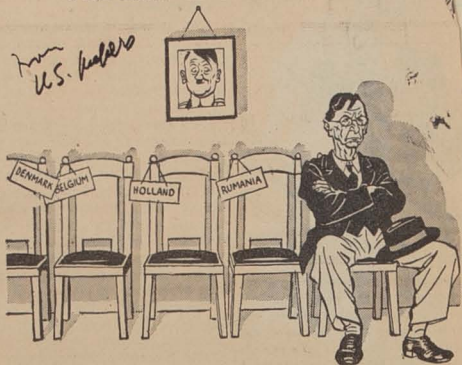
BLEDU

# BARRIERS BURNED AWAY

To save Belfast, capital of the "black North," where so many bitter battles have been fought between Irishmen, Southern Ireland rushed to her neighbor her own fire-fighting brigades and ambulance corps during Sunday night's terrific air raid. Eire forgot her "neutrality" in speeding instant aid to the victims of the Nazi holocaust, which did less damage to Britain's biggest shipyards than to office buildings, churches and thousands of workers' homes. She defied the threat received after a previous raid, when German planes dropped warnings that Dublin might be given fires of her own to put out if she persisted in helping her northern neighbors. And Irishmen on both sides of the dividing line forgot their ancient feud as they worked together in the smoking ruins of an Irish city.

A mingled wave of sympathy and gratitude has drawn Belfast and Dublin closer than they have been in a generation. Against the forces of destruction battering down their common world, they have discovered that they are more united by the ties of humanity and civilization than they are divided by political antagonisms and religious differences. Chalk up this achievement to the credit of Mr. Hitler. He did not boast of it in his Reichstag speech, but here is something to high-light the latest self-portrait of the frustrated peacemaker. His bombers have done more to burn away the barriers between the two Irelands than any Irish or English statesman has been able to do. Perhaps it is vain to hope that the governments of Eire and Ulster will follow up this initiative; but the ill wind that blasts Belfast would blow incalculable good if it cleared the air of some of the stubborn angers and uncompromising views that stand in the way of a reconciled if not united Ireland.

## "THE LAST OF THE NEUTRALS"



Zec in The London Daily Mirror  
How the British view Eire's position.



## Telegram — Télégramme — Telegramma

DUBLIN 2269 9 30 1930

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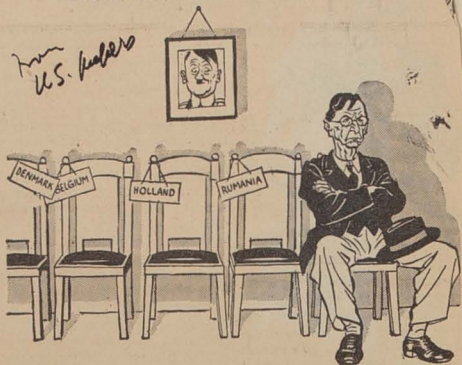
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U.S.A. 22-10-41

## "THE LAST OF THE NEUTRALS"



Zec in The London Daily Mirror  
How the British view Eire's position.

No. 2. - VIII. 36.

A 5 1148 x 2101. - Qu. 070.



## Telegramm - Télégramme - Telegramma

DUBLIN 2269 9 30 1930

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Geneva, 9 Contamines,  
February 25th, 1941.

My dear Kiernan,

I have for a couple of months had the intention of sending you a word to say "Thank you" to you and your Colleagues for the Irish programmes. Apart from the fact that I think they have greatly improved, it is a particular pleasure in these days to be able to get an atmosphere of home through the ether. The series of talks on Irish Art and Science is so far, particularly good and it cheers one to hear clear-sighted and independent views. And then there are the ballads, but I wish I were lucky enough some day to hear "Miss Murphy" sing "A Galway spinning song"; I think that is the name of one of the most exquisite little Irish songs I ever heard sung by your wife on a record. Question Time, of course is amusing and interesting; and there are times when one waits with interest and some anxiety the news. I do hope our preparations for defence are seriously being pushed ahead; just as we may not yet abandon hope that they will not be needed, there have been signs that the people are awakened to the very real danger. Our people have been very fortunate so far and though difficult times undoubtedly lie ahead, vigilance should be unrelenting and preparations most intensely pursued.

James Joyce passed through Geneva a couple of weeks before he died. It was the first time I met him and you would have been interested in the conversation. I asked him if he did not think of going home and he replied that he was attached daily to Ireland by "an umbilical cord", which turned out to refer to Radio Eireann. He was an assiduous listener-in and we discussed the programmes like two fans. I suppose you have met him, but I found him very gentle and quite unspoiled and not at all "precious" as some of his lesser literary followers. I was probably the last Irishman with whom he talked.

*min. at Berlin*

-2-

When I was last home, I was told of your new appointment which has not so far materialized. Personally, I think you are lucky, although it would have been a strength to have had you in that particular post. People from the American and other Embassies in that city tell me the young man is doing extremely well. *Wanda at home*

At last I have found a moment to express my appreciation of the Irish programmes.<sup>(x)</sup> In doing so I am sure I am echoing many others, exiled by duty. At any rate, I hope to come across you next time I can walk the streets of Dublin's fair City.

Sincerely,

(x) The American folk songs were delightful and their presentation a brain wave.

Tell Durnin his old colleagues are always glad to hear his pleasant voice and that Erim (Turkish) listens to him nightly. It's a pity the short wave seems to be a wash-out, especially now that winter hours are passing.

OFTEN in Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as in the other nerve-wracked regions, the Irish broadcast programmes are now a sedative and a tonic in turns for many new listeners.

People to whom anything Irish was double-dutch one time, find a sort of alterant quality now in listening-in. Reception is often, too, reported as very good from un-

By WATCHMAN

expected places, especially in Switzerland, from which good reports come.

The Irishman overseas develops a tolerance for any and every kind of programme from his ancient country, and the mere sound of the old-time songs and voices is enough for him, without comment.

Only a couple of weeks before his death, somebody asked James Joyce, the author, domiciled in Switzerland, if his homesickness was not the more acute by reason of the troubles of the times and his failing sight. "I am in Ireland every day," said Joyce, "for I listen constantly to the broadcasts from Radio Eireann." This must be counted a singular tribute, for there was little in any of the programmes in what has come to be regarded as the Joycean mode.

Joyce, like Ibsen, died amid the discord of the world as well as his critics. Er war ein Dichter — or war ein Vernichter. The debate continues.

P1/10 (7)

SEOL AON FÉADHNA SO DÚÍ —  
AN STIÚNTÓIN FÓINLEATA.

(Address any reply to the Director  
of Broadcasting).

telefón 72911

(Telephone)



EIRE

STÁISIÚN FÓINLEATA,  
(BROADCASTING STATION),

AND OFFICE AN PHOIST,  
(General Post Office),

BAILE ÁTA CLIAË.  
(Dublin).

31st March 1941

My dear Lester,

I am delighted to hear from you. I ran into Mr. Kelleher and showed him your letter — grousing a bit about the lack of appreciation by our people here of the Irish broadcasts! He wrote a paragraph in his weekly column in the Irish (Sunday) Independent. I am enclosing it.

I met James Joyce a few times and we had frequent correspondence. A few years ago I did a programme in his honour. He was proud of it. His death has evoked a snarl here. We become narrower and narrower. There seems to me an amazing change towards regimentation. The flesh is strong but

the spirit is weak. War ~~and~~ threats &  
war lead that way.

I am likely to be here for the duration  
and if you come to Durkin before I  
leave, make sure to "contact" me as  
the Americans say.

Your message to Durkin I have given. He  
and Kelleher asked me to remember them  
to you.

A great friend of mine, one of our best poets,  
J.R. Higgins, died recently. You must know  
of him. Another friend, George Atkinson,  
Director of the School of Art, passed himself  
off as a dirty-tongued solicitor had badgrassed  
him in court. There isn't much pleasant  
news I can send you - especially as the  
Short Wave should be working well now  
if - if Broadcasting was not a  
section of a branch of a civil  
service department. So - write to me  
some time again. Sincerely,  
William A.

On 30<sup>th</sup> May Dublin bombarded  
40 killed & 80 wounded.



# Telegramm - Télégramme - Telegrama

von - de - da	No	Wörter Mots Parole	Außen Cote Conte
DUBLIN	291 10 2 2150 RS		
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= LEWTER  
PELOUSE PREGNY GENEV

= ALL HAPPY AND SERENE LOVE = LESTER +

Royal Norwegian Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs

KINGSTON HOUSE,  
PRINCE'S GATE,  
LONDON, S. W. 7.

May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941.

Dear Lerner,

I hope you have received my cable from Lisbon and also the one announcing my safe arrival here. That was nearly a fortnight ago, so I must apologise for not having written before. The fact is that I have been rather busy all the time seeing a great number of people and attending to urgent matters. Besides I have been looking for a

flat, and having been all over the place I finally found a very nice one in the very building where the Ministry is. I had quite a nice journey through France and Spain in spite of certain local difficulties, and stayed about a week at Estoril before getting a seat in the plane, by special favour. The crossing was very good and I arrived here the same evening. I found conditions here much better than I expected. Of course, considerable damage has been done,

especially by fire. But it would certainly take ten years or more to destroy London by bombing, and in the meantime it would have been rebuilt again, so that won't end the war!

I have been asked to take charge of the organisation and administration of the Ministry, which has only recently been set up here, and I look forward to a very interesting job. We have found a fine, modern building on the South Side of the Park, but it is composed of flats, so it is not very convenient

for offices. Anyhow, I  
hope it will be all right.

And how are things going  
in Geneva? I saw that France  
had retired from the League  
except from technical  
activities. I wonder whether  
that will make much  
difference. Hambro has  
proposed that we should  
pay for ~~for~~ 1941 too, and  
I hope to pull that through.  
I tell everybody about the  
work that is still going  
on in Geneva and they  
all seem surprised. I

wonder whether it would  
not be a good thing to send  
out a report about the work.

I have just written to Mrs. Lott  
and told her that I left you in  
fine form. With all my best  
regards, Ever yours  
Eugene B. Sargent

a letter from Elsie, understamped  
for the air mail was posted on  
29<sup>th</sup> January & delivered 11<sup>th</sup> June  
— 133 days.

MR. DANIEL T. BRIGHAM

The New York Times

BAHNHOFPLATZ 5  
TEL. 26533  
BERNE

Arthur Sweetser  
7 Newlin Road  
Princeton, New Jersey

13<sup>12</sup> May 1941

Oakland Cottage

Belfast Road

Bangor

Co. Down

N. Ireland

Dear Jack,

I have been wanting to write you for some time. But it's hard  
to get down to it these days. I hope you received my wire  
last week. Don't worry about us, remember 'all is well'. <sup>our</sup> trust  
is in God. We have had some very bad nights lately. But we've  
been brought through. With the first streak of dawn, quietness  
again. & the song of our little thrush in the garden reminding us  
of the things that will endure.

Ella McNeill came all the way over if we were safe on the Sunday  
after. We're all kind of her. McNeill was in bed with a touch  
of flu. & was cheered over her. Ella sent us some 'wonder'  
premises & we got them in. Harry also came over one day.  
for an hour or so. They are all well. Things quiet in Belfast  
we got the silver set for Baby here as we couldn't fit down Ben.

After the first heavy raid I was anxious about more papers of  
ours. & we went up to see Wilson. He gave them to us to keep with  
the others here. as he said they would be safe. And he  
said he'd make a note of them all. The building in which  
his office is was badly shattered. But his office at the back still  
carry on. That old library where Lewis & you spent so  
many hours in your youth. has been destroyed practically.

a letter from Elsie, understamped  
for the air mail was posted on  
29<sup>th</sup> January & delivered 11<sup>th</sup> June  
- 133 days.

MR. DANIEL T. BRIGHAM

The New York Times

BAHNHOFPLATZ 5  
TEL 26533  
BERNE

Arthur Sweetser  
7 Newlin Road  
Princeton, New Jersey

our property is still safe. No other side got the word.  
we noticed Charles' bank standing alone. as we saw  
it on April last week. So I wrote to him. He. 9 days  
and one or two years. I also told him I had been asked  
about his son. He says he has been posted  
"away" in 5th May. Since then he has been no  
more. They had a little episode a Sunday week but  
his wife and son are away since then. He  
feels more content. He wished to remember you.  
I hope you are doing some lovely things in the garden.  
We know you know it is in your own hands. I am  
many problems you are up against. I am  
think we are in the same line now. He day will  
I hope about some of the things.  
Had a letter from him 21st April. He & Ann were playing  
in at Andover while he then went back April.  
with Ann in May.  
P.S. I would like to see a book. He says will get  
strong to order.

our property is still safe. The other side got the worst.  
We visited Charlie's Bank standing alone. as we were  
to our eyes last week. So I wrote to him Mo. I had  
not done so for years. & also told him Jim had been asked  
about his son. He says the boy was posted  
"missing" on 6th May, & since then there has been no  
news. They had a terrible experience on Sunday week but  
his wife & maid have gone away since then. & he  
feels more content. He wished to be remembered to you.  
I hope you are seeing some lovely things in that old garden.  
We know how lovely it is for you without the family. How  
many problems you are up against. I somehow  
think we're in the worst time now. The day will come  
& light & peace come to this tortured world.  
Had a letter from Elsie 21st April. She & Ann were playing  
on at Asdaps while the others were back first.

With love from us both.  
Gretta.

P.S.  
Muriel has been a brick. He says will get  
strength to endure.

15 Barbury Rd

Oxford

20.3.41

My dear John

I take the chance of a day at home, owing to a cold, to write & thank you - rather belatedly I fear, for your last letter. It is at the office so I can't give the date. The usual 'no time' excuse is really rather true for me these days. My office hours are fairly long, I generally have some work to bring home in the evening, & every other Sunday: I go straight from office to Home Guard duties 2 nights a week, & every Sunday morning - & what with digging up the hif of the small gardens at back & front of this house, & undertaking also a small allotment on one of the College grounds, I have lots of digging & sowing which must be done before breakfast whenever it is fine. Add that I have given 2 or 3 lectures on league affairs, which mean much preparatory work for me, & you will see that my time is really very fully occupied. Of course one is much happier so.

Well my dear John you can imagine that the American decisions have been tremendously cheering news for us here - not that the country's morale particularly needed a tonic, but we believe that once all Europe realises that the United States, like us, are resolved on Hitler's ultimate defeat, it cannot fail to have a great effect. Even in Germany & Italy they won't be able to keep it hidden from the people.

We are always keen on news from friends at Geneva & am  
sorry that my most frequent correspondent is Mr. Henebeger! However  
by passing round letters amongst the Wilson, Janet, Smith, Emily  
Johnston or occasionally others we manage to get along. No-one  
I have spoken to here has ever seen any sign of letters from Geneva being  
opened except by the Portish censorship so you can speak freely -  
certainly some of our Swiss friends do so!

I sympathise very much with the hard struggle you are having to keep going; I am sure it is right to hold to Geneva, & to keep things up there as much as you can. I see in the Times that £25,000 is provided in the budget estimates for the League contribution (the I.L.O. contrib<sup>n</sup> being a separate vote apparently - I suppose because it comes on the Ministry of Labour vote) - they add that the U.K. share is just over 20% of the total - is this right? I gave a public lecture the other day in which I said that in the revised League after the war (as to which I am very confident) the budget ought to be a lot bigger than it was & that I personally could make out a very good case for believing that if the budget had been doubled on an average from 1920 to 1940 the League might have succeeded & war been avoided.

I believe this is true though such things cannot be proved. I shall

sent you a copy when it is printed.

Well my dear John I will stop now - the Secretariat is  
never far from my thoughts - & if I can do anything to help it  
you know you have only to tell me. P.S. Thanks Miss Harris for her  
note & tell her we have seen the Bonetons - who was much better again -  
we've seen the Balals too on leave from Glasgow, in very good form -  
Remember me to all friends - I will write to Martin, Agnieszka, & Miquel  
in due course. I hope - The very best of luck to you  
yours ever Frank

American Embassy.  
Vichy, France.  
June 8, 1941.

Radio Bulletin No. 135.  
Washington, D. C.  
June 7, 1941.

New York Times. The following is the text of the New York Times editorial which the President, at yesterday's White House press conference, said merited reprinting in newspapers throughout the entire U.S.A. (see Radio Bulletin No. 134 of June 6)

"At the end of his interview with Mr. Cudahy, in this morning's Times, Adolf Hitler complains that he is always being misunderstood in the U.S. 'Time after time he has tried to emphasize that the position of Germany and his plans are not inimical to the U.S. but his efforts have always proved futile.'

"They will always remain futile unless we become a nation of dupes; for the utter worthlessness of Hitler's explanations and assurances and promises is written in his record. This is the man who solemnly declared that 'Germany has neither the wish nor the intention to mix in internal Austrian affairs or to annex or unite with Austria' - and who then annexed it. This is the man who promised that once the Sudeten question was solved 'there will be no further territorial problems in Europe for Germany' - and who then marched his army into Prague. This is the man who declared that an agreement of his own making with Poland would 'bring about lasting and continuous pacification' - and who then fell upon and butchered and dismembered Poland. This is the man who gave the most explicit possible assurances that his plans were 'not inimical' to Norway, to Denmark, to Holland and to Belgium - and who then robbed them of their freedom.

*a type of U.S.A. Press comment.  
Dr Strode and all the Ruskafella agents  
in France have received orders to go home at once*

TELEPHONE: TEMPLE BAR 1567.



AUSTRALIA HOUSE

STRAND

LONDON W C 2

5th June, 1940.

My dear Loveday,

A couple of days ago I received a letter from Willits, of which I enclose a copy. I rang up Miss Janet Smith to find out what was the position and whether you were all still at Geneva and she told me about the S.G.'s plan and has let me see a copy of the list of the way in which the S.G. proposes to deal with the Secretariat.

I cannot understand what conception the S.G. has of the functions of the League of Nations. I assume that Hambro is still in Sweden and I understand that Colijn is in enemy hands. Under all the circumstances I am a little surprised that you did not either write to Bruce or to myself telling us about the S.G.'s proposals. It is clear that a considerable further cut in the Secretariat was required but having regard to the attitude of the last Assembly to the Bruce Report, the clear evidence of the interest of the United States Administration,

A. Loveday, Esq.,  
League of Nations,  
GENEVA.

2.

<sup>and</sup> the willingness of the Rockefeller Institute to contemplate financial co-operation, it seems to me entirely wrong to disrupt the Economic and Financial Organization.

You ought to get back all the people <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ list B. who are really valuable and any of those on list C. who would really be valuable to you. With this nucleus you should do everything possible not only to maintain your existing work but also to start on the task of ~~preparation~~ of the economic side of the peace settlement.

It certainly requires some faith to think in terms of a constructive peace settlement under the conditions of the last few weeks. Nevertheless, provided we are of good courage, we must realise that the enemy is risking everything in an attempt to achieve victory in the next three months and that if he can be held, no matter on what line, his economic circumstances will not permit him to stage another great bid for victory in the spring of next year.

My idea of your tactics vis-a-vis the Rockefeller would be:

1. Secure the agreement of the S.G. to the Economic and Financial Sections and as much of the Health Section as necessary to be carried on on a working basis (not just care and maintenance).
2. To inform the Rockefeller people that it was

3.

inappropriate to discuss the scope of the work and the question of their financial co-operation until it was possible to form a clear impression of the outcome of hostilities during June, July and August, but that, on the assumption of a certain stabilization of the military situation in the autumn, you believed that the task of preparing plans for post-war reconstruction would then be seen to be relatively urgent and that you therefore hoped that the Rockefeller Foundation would be prepared to give the most sympathetic consideration to proposals for financial co-operation in, say, the months of September or October.

I am proposing to discuss this whole situation with Mr. Bruce and shall make certain suggestions to him with which I am quite sure you would be in full accord.

Do let me know your own point of view.

Yours sincerely,

*Frank Douglass*

*P.S. I have just seen Mr. Bruce who shares my concern and who is considering what action should be taken. He will I fancy commit the Government here.*

*Frank.*

P1/10(10)

COPY.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION,

49 West 49th Street, NEW YORK.

May 22, 1940.

Dear Mr. McDougall:

Your letters of April 23rd and 24th were both welcome and interesting. I find myself in complete agreement with practically every point you mention.

But your letters have arrived when the most colossal of tragedies is apparently breaking over the world. There isn't much that I can say now, except that I agree thoroughly with your principles and ways of approach.

My trip to Europe is postponed for the present, certainly until we can see some clarification of the situation. With the war spreading so far and so fast in France, and Italy likely to come in, one stands appalled at the prospects ahead and uncertain as to plans.

Concerning the League, I notice that it has moved to Vichy and that Avenol has suggested resignation to everyone save 69 (?) people. If this be the situation I take it that any definite action along the lines of which you heard rumors is out of the question. I would be interested in any reactions if the chaos of events affords any time or inclination for you to write.

Surely force cannot rule in this world. How I would welcome a chance to sit with you for an evening as we did last June.

Sincerely Yours,

(Sgd) JOSEPH H. WILLITS.

Mr. F.L.McDougall,  
Australia House,  
London, W.C.2.

Geneva, June 16, 1941.

Dear Harry,

I have just received a letter by airmail from Loveday, Princeton. It did not appear to have been opened by censorship in the usual way, but attached to it was a most interesting note written in pencil on a slip of paper which was cut from a printed form.

The printed form is marked is-marked "Airmail form No. 191" and the hand written note which has come through so unexpectedly on the slip is as follows:

"THIS MAY BE SEAN LESTER LA PELOUSE  
GENEVA ON WATCH LIST."

The part of the water mark on the slip contains the letters:

HOW:

LUXO:

~~191 is marked as English?~~

Is it ~~not~~ funny!

To Livingston  
# to M. Carmel

~~191 is marked as English?~~

H.L. telephoned at  
once. Very indegnat.  
I said I was writing to  
Eden, & that British Consul  
Bernes notes about me  
shd be at least be in envelopes.  
He asked me to  
wait a few days  
while he consulted  
Kelly at Bernes.

Geneva, June 16, 1941.

Dear Harry,

You may like to see the draft of my letter to Eden. I shall hold it for a few days. A feeling of indignation has unfortunately succeeded to my sense of the comic with which I first greeted the disclosure.

Some of the folk who cleared out are, I suppose, marked for an appropriate Honours List; what is the standing of the "Watch" List and may one write "W.L." after one's name?

All this apart, perhaps I need not much longer hold my meagre spirit up to scratch to face a doubtful and uncomfortable future, and be able to go away with a clear conscience.

The fact that somewhere there was injustice and stupidity and a trifle of insult would be little in the balance of that outcome.

Cheerio

Sincerely,

our property is still safe. The other side got it wrong.  
We indeed Charles' Bank should be closed.

GENEVA,

June 16, 1941.

*Draft*  
*Not sent*  
Right Honourable  
Anthony EDEN, M.C., P.C.,  
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,  
LONDON

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a note which seems to originate from a British Government Department. This was attached to the outside of an envelope (also enclosed) addressed to me at the headquarters of the League of Nations by Mr. Alexander Loveday, Director of the League of Nations secretariat at present at Princeton, New Jersey.

The note in question states that I am on the "Watch List" and was attached, I venture to think, in Bermuda. If I am wrong and the language, the handwriting, the water-mark and other indications are misleading, I apologise in advance. The matter can be easily investigated.

It is of primary importance in carrying heavy and unsought-for responsibilities in most disagreeable and perhaps unpromising circumstances, that I should have at least the complete and unquestionable confidence of the Governments of States Members. This is especially the case with the principal State remaining in the League. On this point I shall not go further except to say that if I have misunderstood and if in spite of past events, however they may have been reported, there is not complete confidence, I shall be singularly happy, quietly and as soon as possible, to place my resignation in the hands of the Supervisory Commission. In such circumstances I shall do all I can to avoid public comment and fuss. Once the crisis of the days of demoralisation last Summer had passed, there was no particular need for my services.

May I add a personal note? I had felt that I was making personal sacrifices in doing what seemed to me to be right and decent, and for that one looks for thanks from no man, still less from any Government. Being, in consequence, placed on the "watch" list of one of His Majesty's Government's services is however an honour I thought I had scarcely earned.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Acting Secretary-General.

It may be ordinary Secret Service business with all its inevitable stupidity and pettiness. Ah, ha! He's an Irish Nationalist. He was an "anti-British Sinn Féin" during "the last war" etc.

*YES*  
But I wonder about K. He is personally anti-League & anti-Irish, & doesn't try very hard to hide either.

On one hand I got a message of confidence & support from Lord Halifax & on the other I am put on the list of suspects! That's a "bit thick" — especially when it is found out, but that I will care a damn if I read every letter I write. I'm sure men who know me (Ralph, Roger, Tony etc.) would <sup>not</sup> doubt my personal integrity, and loyalty to my post. It is first of all a question of straight dealing.

20/6/41

Dear Harry,

I said I'd wait for a few days. I would have done so in any case. Further reflection only confirms my view. The adventitious character of the evidence is the more convincing. It may be subordinate stupidity or it may be malice, but the question is posed and I can see only one answer.

I am somewhat distressed but after all it is not an important matter these days and as the Americans say when faced with a proposition: "O.K., it suits me". As of course it does, literally.

Please send enclosed two telegrams by to day's courier.

Best to you.

H. G. G.

Telegram

LESTER to HAMBRO by courtesy of FOREIGN OFFICE  
-----

CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO QUESTION  
OF CONFIDENCE LEAVE ME NO ALTERNATIVE BUT  
REQUEST BE RELIEVED AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE  
FROM MY DUTIES AS ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL STOP  
AGHNIDES STILL AT GENEVA./.

Telegram

20/6/41

LESTER GENEVA

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, LONDON.

SOME DAYS AGO I RECEIVED ACCIDENTALLY ~~some~~  
DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE THAT MY NAME IS ON A  
RECENT BRITISH LIST OF SUSPECTS STOP THIS  
ATTITUDE OF PRINCIPAL LEAGUE GOVERNMENT OBVIOUSLY  
RENDERS MY PRESENT POSITION IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE TO  
DO WORK AND CARRY RESPONSIBILITIES PRESENT TIME  
QUITE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT UNQUESTIONABLE AND COMPLETE  
CONFIDENCE IN MY PERSONAL AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY  
AS LEAGUE SERVANT STOP AS THIS SEEMS NOT TO  
EXIST AM ASKING CHAIRMAN SUPERVISORY COMMISSION  
ACCEPT RESIGNATION STOP HAVE MAINTAINED POST HERE  
BECAUSE IT SEEMED TO ME TO BE SERVICE AND  
SIMPLE DUTY AND BECAUSE I BELIEVED THAT POSITION  
FULLY UNDERSTOOD STOP YOU WILL APPRECIATE THAT  
DISCLOSURE GIVES ME NO ALTERNATIVE IN PRESENT  
GENERAL SITUATION WHERE LEAGUE IS PART OF  
POLITICAL FRONT STOP MY PRESENCE UNIMPORTANT  
SINCE DAYS OF DEMORALISATION LAST SUMMER AND  
SUBSTITUTE STILL AVAILABLE STOP I SHALL  
NATURALLY HELP IN EVERYWAY FACILITATE TRANSFER  
POWERS WITH LEAST PUBLICITY STOP HAVE FULLY  
INFORMED CONSUL LIVINGSTON OF FACTS MESSAGE ENDS./

P1/10 (11-12)

P.1/10 (11)

Letter from Sweetser

posted N. York 9<sup>th</sup> July 1941

addressed See letter  
of Carlsburg

by air.

Received 21/7 unopened.  
with slip - "Watch list"

markings in pencil - code letters -  
on back of slip

Sent to Livingston

"To H B.M.G.  
with the compliments  
of the recipient"

P1/10(12)

17. 6. 41.

Pres. Mr. L.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for  
allowing me to see the air-  
mail envelope with attached  
note and the draft of your  
letter to the S. of S., which  
I return herewith. I have  
sent the exhibits to Beane  
for our printer to see & will  
let you have them back on  
Saturday morning.

As I wrote you in the 'phone,  
I was as much bothered about  
a fee by this gross piece  
of bureaucratic stupidity.  
And I am sure that our  
mutual friends in London  
will be equally impatient.

Kindest regards,

Yours

Harry L. G.

---

Geneva.

20. 6. 41

Personal.

Dear Max,

Your note with enclosure  
reached me this morning,  
two minutes before our  
message left for Bern.

I am more sorry than  
I can say that this cross  
example of bureaucratic  
fotheadedness should induce  
you to take such a drastic

step. I had hoped you  
would put it aside with  
a disdainful shrug of the  
shoulders, especially as you  
must know how we all  
feel about you and your  
sentiments. On the other  
hand, I understand your  
feelings perfectly and so  
one can blame you for re-  
acting in this manner.

Here is the offending  
'exhibit' which was returned

from Beane this evening.

The Minister, who is so  
upset as I am that this should  
have happened, telegraphed  
Rush to C. day so that the  
latter will not be wholly  
unprepared to receive your  
bombshell!

Too bad.

Yours  
Henry L.

---

Copy of telegram received at the British Legation, Berne,  
from the Foreign Office, ~~London~~.

---

Please convey following personal message as soon as  
possible from Mr. Makins to Mr. Lester.

There must be a misunderstanding. I beg you will  
take no action pending full enquiry which I am instituting  
at once. Meanwhile, I should like you to know that  
some telegrams confirming the immediate future of League  
activities are on their way to you.

Geneva.  
23.6.41.

*to Makins*

"Suspend both telegrams"  
"Am not shirking."

*23/6/41*

Geneva, June 23rd 1941.

Dear Harry,

Here I am corresponding as though fifty miles away from you. But what I would say is that neither Eden, nor Makins, nor yourself would do otherwise. It's not a question of pique or prestige. I don't think I'm personally petty when there is a question of something to be done in which I think there is service.

Don't forget my background: I was Sinn Fein and pro-~~Irish~~ when my country was fighting Britain for its independence. That I spent only a few weeks in prison was largely a question of luck. There are still elements in London who suspect anything Irish. It may well be a precaution some people in high places share. Like you I don't think those who know me would suspect double-dealing, *although I have no allegiance except to my sense of decency & right.*

And don't forget I was not chosen for this post but fell into it by default of another.

Again, it would be normal and unremarkable if local agents included me in the course of their surveillance duty; but "the List" covering correspondence with America (exclusively by the way, with Hambro, Loveday, Felkin and Phelan) gives it another significance.

Also, I should not have dreamt of searching for any information, but it came to me; accidentally and openly and conclusively. Perhaps in time of such grave crisis one should suspect all the world - but it should not always be made evident.

Finally, please don't think that I feel any one is in my debt. I took my line of action at a moment when it seemed more than possible we were facing final

-2-

catastrophe. I couldn't do otherwise. It was quite without calculation of any kind. I owed it to myself. You will understand that.

I have been fortunate in two things - first a wife who without knowing everything is a constant source of courage and support in the psychological hardships of nearly two years separation; and, secondly, in having had you (and may I add Betty) as real friends and comrades.

So, cheerio, one is not poor whatever comes.

Yours ever.

27/6/41 Recd 28/6

Following for Lester from Mahins.

Begin. Many thanks for your message. Full investigation shows

that your name is not on any suspect list. Some mistakes has evidently been made by censorship authorities at Bermuda and it may be some time before full enquiry which has been ordered can be completed. Ends.

BRITISH LEGATION,  
BERNE  
28th June, 1941

Dear Mr. Lester,

Mr. Livingston has kept me informed of the mistake made by our censorship authorities at Bermuda and I have seen the telegraphic correspondence which has passed on this subject. It is therefore with very great pleasure that I now send you the following personal message from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

" I have heard of mistake made by censorship authorities at Bermuda which I fear must have caused you unnecessary distress which I much regret. You have of course the fullest confidence of His Majesty's Government and I much admire manner in which you are carrying on in your exposed and difficult position. You can rely on my full support in your endeavours to maintain activities of League and thereby to serve ideas for which the League stands."

yours very sincerely,  
David V. Kelly

Dated 23/6 Recd 25. Probably written before message reported.

Please convey the following personal message from

A. Cadogan to Mr. Lester :

"We have been in touch with HAMERO and JACKLIN and are willing to agree to a preliminary meeting of Supervisory Commission in Montreal at the end of next month to consider draft budget before moving) to States Jacklin will attend.

Constitutionally you should also attend this meeting and we will naturally wish to do so. We are however strongly impressed by serious risk that if you leave Geneva now for United States or Canada you may have difficulty in returning and that it would not be easy to provide satisfactorily for administration of Secretariat in your absence.

As MAKINS told you in his message of April last we continue to attach importance on grounds of policy to preserve League structure and maintenance of Geneva headquarters has much significance in this respect. Moreover all being done at Geneva particularly Health work is of considerable value. We feel therefore that risk inherent in your departure from Geneva at present is too great and we hope you will be willing to persevere in this thankless task you have so successfully performed in difficult circumstances last 12 months.

If preliminary meeting of Commission is held suggest you delegate your authority to one of League's officials present. Commission will of course remain in closest possible communication with you. "

GENEVA,

June 30th, 1941.

Dear Mr. Kelly,

Thank you for your letter of 28th June.

Will you kindly have the following  
personal message sent to Mr. Eden:

"It was good of you in the midst of your  
"heavy work to send me a message about that  
"unfortunate affair which in the abnormal  
"circumstances had caused me some distress.  
"Although our service here ~~is~~ indirect I and  
"my colleagues like to regard our isolation,  
"expatriation and uncertain future as a minor  
"share in the struggle for justice and freedom  
"in which others sacrifice so much."

LESTER to MAKINS

Personal. Thanks for your telegram of 27th  
Stop I leave it to you to prevent mischief  
making if it exists Stop Was temporarily upset  
but so far as I am concerned affair is now  
closed Stop Best to you./.

June 30, 1941

30/6/41

From Mr. LESTER to Sir Alexander CADOGAN

Thank you for your personal message of 23rd  
June.

I had been hoping it would be possible for me to  
attend Supervisory meeting for various reasons including  
necessity for sharing in discussion on decisions for  
execution of which I shall have the difficulties and  
responsibility Stop Also for much needed contact with  
Commission on general situation prospects and objectives  
Stop I am afraid therefore no one can replace me  
satisfactorily ~~Stop~~ But ~~quite prepared~~ accept your  
estimate as to doubt of return and will ask Jacklin  
act for me in consultation Stop Impossible divorce  
financial proposals from political results and venture  
to suggest much may depend on interpretation given at  
meeting to ~~your~~ policy of preserving League structure  
and Geneva headquarters Stop Hope Chairman Supervisory  
Committee understands position especially as most  
doubtful if we can count later on any facilities for  
transfer of headquarters or staff such as given  
diplomatic missions Stop Without minimising value  
maintaining technical work in Europe I regard decision  
to hold on ~~has~~ <sup>having</sup> essentially moral and political basis  
Stop If prospects for my return improve please let me  
know as a short visit to London would be invaluable  
to me. Kindest regards./.



# Telegramm — Télégramme — Telegramma

viii — de — da		N°	Adressé (don Contingente de Paiement)	Statut Hôte Ora
viii — de — da		Befindert — Transmis — Transmis		Statut Hôte Ora
viii — de — da		Name — Nom — Name		Statut Hôte Ora
viii — de — da		Name — Nom — Name		Statut Hôte Ora

IMPERIAL RS

1430

49

= NLT = LESTER NATIONS GENEVA

= ON THE OCCASION OF ITS FIRST 1941 SESSION SUPERVISORY  
COMMISSION SENDS YOU ITS WARM GREETINGS AND ITS KEEN APPRECIATION  
OF YOUR EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN SECRETARIAT IN PRESENT DIFFICULT  
CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE UNHAPPILY PREVENTED YOUR ATTENDANCE STOP  
WHATEVER DECISION IT MAY HAVE TO TAKE ON FINANCIAL QUESTIONS +  
BEFORE IT YOU MAY BE ASSURED OF COMMISSIONS UNFAILING SUPPORT  
IN YOUR DIFFICULT TASK AND OF ITS STRONGEST PERSONAL SYMPATHY =

HAMBRO +

On 476

No 2 - X. 37.

1013. Geneva 29 May 1941

Dear Alec,

A bunch of letters has come from you this morning which will be acknowledged separately.

2 - On the question of covering Demik, I am very glad you have gone to the trouble of seeing B. I have not yet heard from him. Roger who at first inclined to agree, has, as you know, some weeks ago, reached a different conclusion. *Since writing have received a telegram expressing conviction as to transfer. The S. D. question is not touched upon.*

3 - I did have some hope that Keys having got out would both find a personal balance and be more helpful on general questions. I could not on this particular thing look to him for much and indeed I am afraid I am beginning to take a negative view of most of his activities. It has been rather disturbing to find how easily he forgets important questions and how easily and unnecessarily and annoyingly upset he becomes. For example, that question of your first grant: your telegram came here (speaking without the papers) some time in December, the question went to him and he himself drafted the reply as to the conditions of acceptance; yet, two months later when he saw the R. people near you, he wrote that he had learned of this for the first time and had never been consulted by anybody. Then on the wireless business he started Northerner on an entirely wrong footing by denying the information we had sent to him, information which had been in his hands a year ago (concerning denouncement). There has been another small imbroglio since his arrival at London again due simply to muddle-headedness on matters which are hundred per cent within his own province. There have been other things and they have, I am afraid, been speaking in terms of "crass stupidity". On the top of all this I get a copy of a note he sent to Cecil and Carl which made me so furiously angry that I began to think the nerve strain was telling too much on myself. He has a sensitiveness also and an "orgueil" which I have always done my best to meet, but it is somewhat hard that I should have to tolerate a great deal, especially in view of his constantly unfortunate share in the difficult times of last Summer. When it had reached the stage of the 1st of September, on the top of other things, I found he had committed himself, quite illegally, to a gratuity of 90,000, plus, quite indefinitely, sixty francs a day, plus two private secretaries, free residence and offices from which the campaign against the Institution could be more effectively and confidently directed. I got a little bit of cooperation some time in August, but not as a result of his perspicacity but because

Stunde / Frage / Ort	Name - Vorname	name - a - a
14.00	ad	

ON THE OCCASION OF ITS FIRST 1941 SESSION SUPERVISORY

No. 27.

no 13. Geneva 29 May 1941

2 - On the question of covering Demik, I am very glad you have gone to the trouble of seeing B. I have not yet heard from him. Roger who at first inclined to agree, <sup>has</sup> as you know, some weeks ago, reached a different conclusion. <sup>Since writing, have received a P.O. telegram expressing</sup> conviction as to transfer. <sup>The S.D. question is not touched upon.</sup>

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I have reason to believe, he got an order. This is old history and was completely overlooked and infinite patience exercised; yet, now again I am unwillingly uncomfortable and uncertain about his general influence in his present place. It does me good to get this off my chest; so please put up with it and be sure I shall do everything I can and be most gratified if it can succeed in keeping things going smoothly.

4 - I am going to take the precaution of sending you in the next day or two in a separate envelope, a copy of the conditions drawn up by himself as to his departure. Please just hold them for reference.

P.S. Did J. get on as well as usual with H. while he was there? One or two signs which reached me from him made me a little bit uneasy, although there was absolutely no direct reference.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
Institute for Advanced Study,  
Princeton, N.J.

No. 41.

PERSONAL

June 19th, 1941.

My dear Jack,

Yours No. 13. I am full of sympathy for you and have seen enough at first hand to realise how unfortunately true what you say is. It was this first-hand experience at close quarters which I had never really had before that made me understand that the trouble was very largely physical and, I fear, quite incurable. But there is also a certain pathological history resulting from the last war which he himself has explained to me.

These phenomena are, of course, likely to become more dangerous when he is not working in a big administrative machine with a whole hierarchy of officials to present or substantiate the facts. I wonder if you have thought about this. He lost some time ago the secretary who had acquired a long historical knowledge of these facts and you can scarcely expect any junior person coming in to act as an adequate brake either on fact or emotion, though I must say I was much impressed on occasion by the common-sense brake which was applied by the girl he now has.

My inclination would be to consider whether you could not reinforce his equipment by putting some old stager at his disposal. I do not, of course, know if anyone is available nor how far Mlle. Rohde could fill this bill. What about Miss MacDonald of Personnel? She has a good Scottish mind and personality.

In reply to your postscript, I thought things went off surprisingly well. Of course both went through the ceiling on occasions, but they were separate occasions and the other seemed most sympathetic in rubbing the victim's head.

GENEVA,

August 8th 1941

Dear Frank,

Of course I knew how long your diplomatic bag is en route; and you knew I knew. So I presume it is some doubt as to the propriety.

Will you therefore please ask for permission for me to send an occasional letter addressed to (1) a Cabinet Minister or official; or (2) a Member of the Dail or Senate?

Without any difficulty I am allowed to send letters with the diplomatic correspondence of half a dozen Governments (and some very important neutral Governments) and that not only to official people.

I shall be surprised if it is forbidden for me to send a letter to one of the leading members of the Dail. If you have already instructions on the matter please say so.

Yours sincerely,

His Excellency  
F. T. CREMINS,  
Irish Legation,  
24, Beatusstrasse,  
BERNE

Dear Mr. Dillon,

I do not remember of having had the pleasure of meeting you as I have been more or less absent from Ireland for about twelve years, but I always read your major speeches with interest. I had by the way an opportunity once to meet your father. I was an ardent Sinn Féiner and a Member of the I.R.B. which did not predispose me to his political views, but I still retain very strongly the impression of a great gentleman of forceful personality and of a distinction which would have made him a worthy Statesman in any European country.

I am following a sudden impulse to send you a personal note. For twelve years I have been an observer and a minor participant in European affairs and my anxieties for the future of Ireland have in recent years been very great. The war and the course it has followed have not reduced or minimised that fear. So far we have been amazingly fortunate due without the slightest doubt to nothing but our geographical position. I hesitate to have any strong opinion on the policy which has been pursued, although when called upon I have defended that policy in my personal relations with foreigners. I think that we may still have a fifty-per-cent chance of avoiding some of the horrors of invasion, but I have been uneasy and anxious as to whether even with the events of the past twelve months that possibility was sufficiently realized. If our people do not face all the consequences, take all the responsibilities of nationhood, then the dreams and work for independence of generation after generation will have proved to be a waste and a deception.

I do know however how difficult it is for many of our people to see the World or Europe otherwise than as a vague and distant thing of which the only reality is our neighbour. That however is not realistic. The point in my mind, which no doubt has occurred to you, is not the question of the sufficiently imminent and great danger during the period of the war, but the possible consequences to us even on the assumption that we have not been directly involved.

If I were German and if my country had won this war and if I wanted to assure myself that Great Britain would remain a third class Power held with a stranglehold, I would advocate the occupation or control of the thinly populated island laying on the Atlantic side of Britain, as Britain lies across the sea route of Europe. This is the lesson I learned from Sir Roger Casement, who no doubt had learned it

from Admiral Mahan. If Britain and America win the war, a similar necessity or temptation does not exist. I am convinced that this danger would be a real one. It would be all the more probable if one had to envisage the possibility of an intercontinental war following more or less quickly the conclusion of the present war.

I am not, as you will notice, in anyway discussing our present national policy of neutrality. I feel it would not be right for me to do so. The question which keeps coming to my mind and which I have presented to you is not a question dependent upon whether we have been as neutral as our colourless press and the peaceful pronouncements of the Government indicate or whether popular sentiment has even tended to be influenced by our bitter experiences with the British in the past. It is not an idea of which I would speak freely with any but one of ourselves and you will understand that I have to write to you entirely personally and confidentially.

I felt it my duty and my right at two critical moments in the last two years to offer my services to the Government for any purpose which would be useful. Circumstances have now placed upon me other unexpected responsibilities and duties, but in carrying them out I am, believe me, not only moved by a personal desire not to desert an unpleasant post, but also because to follow one's inclinations on the easier road would not be worthy of my country.

Will you please excuse a stranger writing to you and accept my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*FD. had just made a speech in favour of Ireland  
joining Anglo-American side in the war.  
asked Clemens to send this in parcel but he  
"refused" diplomatically.  
therefore not sent.*

5th August 1941

To James Dillon F.D.

P1/10 (14)

P1/10 (14)

"La Pelouse"

Geneva, August 5th, 1941.

Dear Mr. Dillon,

I do not remember of having had the pleasure of meeting you as I have been more or less absent from Ireland for about twelve years, but I always read your major speeches with interest. I had by the way an opportunity once to meet your father. I was an ardent Sinn Féiner and a Member of the I.R.B. which did not predispose me to his political views, but I still retain very strongly the impression of a great gentleman of forceful personality and of a distinction which would have made him a worthy Statesman in any European country.

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Mr. James DILLON, T.D.,  
Leinster House,  
DUBLIN

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Will you please excuse a stranger writing to you and accept my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Sean Lester*

P1/10(14)

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Leinster House,

DUBLIN

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Geneva, August 5th, 1941.

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Will you please excuse a stranger writing to you and accept my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

# **FIRE URGED TO CEDE PORTS** 18/7/41 "FATE BOUND UP WITH BRITAIN"

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT  
DUBLIN Thursday

The Daily heard Mr. James Dillon, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, urge that Britain and America should be given the use of the Irish ports and air bases. Mr. de Valera, Prime Minister, replied that 90 per cent. of the people believed in neutrality.

Mr. Dillon said that they should ascertain from the British people and the Americans what assistance they required to resist the Nazis and then co-operate to the limit of the Irish resources.

He believed that the policy of neutrality was the policy of the majority of the people, yet he believed it was not the correct course of conduct.

"Naval and aerial bases," Mr. Dillon continued, "are required by the United States and Great Britain to prevent the Nazis cutting the lifeline between Britain and America. At present, we are playing the part of Pontius Pilate, washing our hands and asking 'What is truth?'"

"I say that on the side of the Anglo-American alliance is right and justice."

## **FEAR OF "BLITZ"**

Mr. Dillon said that the reason they did not offer facilities to Britain was fear of the "blitz." It was a terrible danger, but they should face up to the realities of the situation and choose the lesser evil.

If Germany were to win, the future for Ireland would be certain. The Germans would come as conquerors, and would set out to Nazify the people or exterminate them.

The Irishmen who might die in that fight would be a monument to the statesmen who refused to face the danger of war while they still had friends to fight beside them.

If Great Britain could not be guaranteed supplies from the United States she might be defeated, and if Great Britain fell, Ireland would fall too.

In reply, Mr. de Valera said: "If anybody attacks us, then every one of us can die, if necessary, fighting for what we are certain is a just cause. And I say that no matter from which side we are attacked, that is the position we are taking up, and it is not a cowardly position."

"If we are attacked at all we will be attacked by one of the big nations of the world. We have to face that, and we are prepared to face it. We are determined to live our own life."

"We have been asked to throw ourselves into the flames. That is what it amounts to. Prudence is not cowardice."

"I have never been in slightest bit impressed or affected, or even hurt, by suggestions that Ireland in this war is not playing its part. Ireland is doing its duty to its people."

Mr. Cosgrave, Leader of the Opposition, said that Mr. Dillon's speech surprised him.

from 4.30. 18/7

posted on 11 June 1941

Oakland College  
Belfast Road  
Bangor  
Co. Down.  
N. Ireland

Dear Jack,

Your letter dated May 15th came about two weeks ago. I've been wanting to write you ever since. But eyes strain - due to badness has been a bother. We had several things & a brownie letter to write. You - your reply letters arrived that time. Also lately the money order, very many thanks. (I did send you a wire) How we would love to be able to follow your suggestion about W. Povich. But it's just not possible you see we are responsible for our house. & it could not be left unoccupied even for that short time. But we are glad to have this for an emergency. One never knows what may turn up. The houses are all let. But the reply, will feel the effect of the evacuation. Still we are all right for the time being. We are planning carefully. & will manage all right. We are saving up for the War Insurance Tax on the property due in July. There was only slight damage done to the house in the last raid. A sky light & some slates blown off. We've had no damage to this house although at first the house & shed several times when bombs fell a short distance away. The whole town was lit up with flames & they could see we were a residential park.

from G. G. Leslie

posted on 11th June 1941

Oakland Cottage

Belfast Road

Bangor

Co. Down.

N. Ireland

Dear Jack,

Your letter dated May 1<sup>st</sup> came about two weeks ago  
& I've been wanting to write you ever since. but eye strain - due to  
boredom has been a bother. We had several things to do to,  
& business letters to write. ~~Yes~~ Your reply telegram arrived that  
time. also lately the money order, very many thanks. (I did send  
you a wire) how we would love to be able to follow your suggestion  
about W. Pouch. but it's just not possible you see we are  
responsible for our house. & it could not be left unoccupied  
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The house rocked several times when bombs fell a  
short distance away. The whole town was lit up with flames  
& they could see we were a residential patch.

of. the other side got the wind.  
bank standing alone. as we the

several times got down to the sea for an hour. He  
was a brick during the raids. but felt his heart for  
several days after. altho not able to do much  
gardening I have plenty of soup vegetables. & the  
old granter have come up with out much  
attention. Mother's pears are always a fig. & we  
have several clumps of cerise pears. violas  
& of course the Laburnums which are a pride at  
present. We met John Peritt lately. his people  
live down here. He said his wife had just  
come to share their house as they were alone. His  
sister is married. He said Maude M. A. had  
got out of Belgium last summer. after waiting some days  
on the coast. She is now working in B. York.  
I wrote to Elsie when we heard on the wireless about the raid  
here. (it was not in their district) & got a letter from her  
since they are all well. They were looking forward to their vacation  
we were interested in your news of D.M. I'm sure she has  
good taste. she is very young. I read a book lately  
about Christian Science. Two Eddies was one (but  
not the only one in these late times) who got a vision of a  
great truth. (she helped many.) a part of the gospel  
message which had for long been forgotten & neglected by  
the Church. I began this letter a week ago. excuse the rambling  
muddle is my try to do. she says tell J. we wish we could go  
down to the peace of commore. as he asked us to. but will be thankful  
if we can still keep our little home until the war is over. & the world set  
free from fear. I wonder if you will have to take that journey. we always think of  
you with love. Love.

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you and love. Truly

7th July 1941

What a time to live in! Countries attacked and conquered and fresh phases of the ever-spreading war. One is kept so busy with things on perhaps a secondary plane, that the effect and shock of these things is lessened.

Yugoslavia has been carved into half-a-dozen pieces. Crete was taken by parachutists. Greece after being conquered by the Germans, has been handed over to the Italians to administer. A pro-German plot in Iraq fell to pieces, although German aeroplanes with connivance of Vichy, passed through Syria to help them. This led to a British plus Gaullist attack on Syria ~~where~~ fighting ~~is~~ proceeding. Turkey has made a kind of non-aggression pact with Germany. The Abyssinian war now practically ended. A fortnight ago the reason for the Turkish Treaty, the German withdrawal from Greece and the failure to push against Syria and the Middle-East, became apparent in a sudden German attack on Russia. In the end this took most of us by surprise, although the British had been warning the Russians through their press and official channels that it was imminent. The attack took place on a Sunday morning and in the same morning's local newspapers we read an official Russian statement denouncing the rumours of possible German attack as merely British propaganda trying to upset the excellent relations.

Adolf promptly got back into an anti-bolchevis~~t~~ fighter and Winston tried immediately to counter him by saying that every one who opposed or fought against Germany would get their help to the utmost. The Americans followed suit and so far the great crusade against bolchevism has to some extent fallen flat, even in Europe where it is largely recognized for what it is. Hungary and Roumania of course joined in the anti-Russian war immediately. Finland, who had been for some time accumulating German divisions on her territory, was soon in the same position. Sweden which had refused to allow British or French divisions to cross her territory to help the Finns against the Russians eighteen months ago, allowed a fully armed German division to pass from northern Norway to attack Mourmansk. Spain is organizing a voluntary Corps. Italy is sending some symbolical contingents. "Denmark" which could not fire a shot for its own freedom, is actually finding a few volunteers also. Vichy has broken off relations with Moscow. Probably, however,

the only place where the crusade is taken seriously is Spain. A pronouncement by the Pope since the attack began had no reference to bolshevism and correspondents seem struck with a pessimistic note. By the way one remarks a contrast on the wireless of two or three Christian services per day from London, but of course such a thing would not be tolerated from the German side. The Catholic and other religious parties in Holland have just been suppressed. The Swiss Government have let me know semi-officially that they have changed their policy about the League wireless, stating it cannot tolerate on Swiss territory the station, even though fully controlled by Swiss

officials; the agreement will therefore lapse in a few months. They have even suppressed certain stamps which bore pictures of the ILO and Palais des Nations at the German request. Furthermore, although in spite of great reduction of staff, we are still paying direct into Swiss national pockets three times their contribution, they say they will not fulfill their financial obligation to the League.

The Americans have slowly but I believe surely towards ~~an~~ open war. Iceland has just been occupied by US troops. Japan begins the fifth year of her Chinese <sup>"the affair"</sup> war & is looking round at the situation caused by the Russo-German conflict. I doubt if their Berlin ally forewarned them.

Dramatic meeting between Roosevelt & Churchill - "The Eight Points" or Atlantic Charter - represent some very substantial progress in tying the two countries for war or peace.

The Points don't go very far but perhaps far enough - view of the state of public opinion in both lands.

Non-imperialist, promise of restoration of "sovereign rights" - in this point the "New Statesman" (23/8) says "The refusal to develop the system of law between nations represented by the Covenant, & the failure of the League Powers to prevent aggressors from exercising their sovereign rights to go to war, are among the chief factors which have brought us to <sup>our</sup> present pass."

Germany is to be disarmed but given equal economic prosperity with the rest.

Ernst Grinwald  
Dufourstrasse 74  
Zürich 8.

Zürich, 21. August. 1944.

Hochverehrter Herr Generalsekretär!

Es ist mir die grosse Ehre zuteil geworden, durch Ihre gütige Intervention das kolonialistische Immigrationsvisum zu erhalten, was ich Ihnen Hochverehrter Herr Generalsekretär heute mit grosser Freude und vielen Dank, mir zu berichten erlaube.

Sie haben mir Hochverehrter Herr Generalsekretär mit diesem Visum durch Ihre Güte, soviel Lebensmit und neue Kraft für die Zukunft gegeben, dass ich Ihnen meine Dankbarkeit in Worten gar nicht ausdrücken kann.

Ich versichere Ihnen, Hochverehrter Herr Generalsekretär, dass ich bestrebt sein werde, sobald ich in meine neue Heimat mit Gottes Hilfe ankomme, alles daran setzen will, um mich dieser Gnade, die mir und meiner Frau zuteil würde würdig zu zeigen.

Gebenwigen Sie Hochverehrter Herr Generalsekretär nochmals, nebst meinen allerinnigsten Dank, den Ausdruck meiner ganz besonderen Wertschätzung, Ihr ergebener

Ernst Grinwald

-2-

4 - You do certainly seem to lead a busy life and as usual you seem to enjoy life all the better so, like a stout old campaigner.

5 - I have also received Rockefeller's letter which I have sent on to the Library.

6 - I shall write separately about Miss Lenroot if and when I have anything to say.

7 - I don't know yet what the Supervisory Commission is going to do; they made it damned hard for the Secretariat last year, and I hope their decisions this year will not be so disembowelling.

Sincerely

Geneva, August 1st, 1941.

P1/10 (15)

Dear Arthur,

I have had three heavy envelopes from you and as usual am circulating the press clippings to Agnides, Charron, Vigier. The letters received are of July 3rd, 18th and 21st; it is interesting to get a letter from Colorado dated July 21st on the 1st August! I wish Ireland were as near.

2 - I note what you say in your letter of the 3rd about the S.G.'s report. I am afraid you will be bitterly disappointed when you see the report, which has probably reached you by this time. It is simply impossible for me at the present time, especially while holding headquarters here in Europe, to write it on the basis of broad lines and free spirit which you can conceive to be desirable; it could not be aimed at stirring the imagination or at moving popular interest. I had noticed Winant's valedictory report with its touches of eloquence and vision; that sort of thing was out of the question in our case; it would, I imagine, have been a question to be considered seriously even if we had abandoned headquarters and were living in your free atmosphere. It had to be more or less in that of establishing in the Governments minds that the organization functioned in spite of all its difficulties and that it wanted only a reviving touch of power to make it what they would. Ninety-nine percent of it therefore will seem humdrum matter-of-fact foot-pace stuff. If it gives the impression that the organization is alive, is working and holds all its potentialities, we shall have reached something. I imagine you are thinking about a sort of clarion call. It would be gratifying and pleasing for me to try to draft that, but perhaps it is better, even should it be possible, that it is not done in the annual report at the present moment. Perhaps I shall have no other opportunity, but we shall see. At the moment, there seems to be an extremely interesting turn in the tide; it is beginning to flow again "far off in distant creeks". My hesitation is not from timidity, but from judgement.

3 - That reminds me there was a note struck in one of your encyclopaedic articles which you sent to me to which I intended to draw your attention: not so much of "the deserted Palace" touch in any future writing. I know that mental picture is a very great temptation; I doubt if it is entirely sound. I would see no objection to quote "the deserted Council Chamber", but it should be offset by a picture of quiet, steady work, actual services maintained and being rendered, readiness (?) for the future, fate not yet decided - and also for the United States not so much emphasis on the reductions and economies enforced, as on what is still maintained. Reflect upon this angle and I think you may agree with me that we should avoid anything smacking of sentiment over the sepulchre.

Monday, September 1st 1941

The Russo-German war is in its tenth week and it certainly has surprised most of the World and I should say the Germans too. They have gained substantial territory and claim fantastic captures, but Russian resistance is unbroken and there is no sign so far of a collapse. The Germans have invested Odessa and are making slight progress towards Moscow and Leningrad. The campaign will cease at the end of this month. There seems reasonable prospect to assume that the potential of Russian resistance will remain. This is a new phase of the war and quite likely to be of great importance.

Iran has been occupied by Russian-British forces as providing a line of communications other than Vladivostok.

Massigli, French ex-Ambassador, said to me the other day, he thought the armistice would be signed in November 1942. *Too optimistic*

No one has been much surprised that a young Frenchman has shot Laval, whose condition is serious. The boy had joined a small volunteer force which was to go to fight the Russians and they were being inspected in Paris by Laval. - The Germans are said to have taken 25% at least of their occupying troops from France for the Eastern front.

I met Politis at luncheon on Saturday. He is more talkative than ever because he has become more deaf and does not like anything but a monologue. Very interesting however, especially on his impressions in France. He is not pro-German now. He was talking a lot about the reforms being carried out in France by the Vichy Government when Rappard managed to intervene and said that it seemed a pity Vichy should make decrees now perhaps for reforms which were in themselves good but which would be discredited in the eyes of the French people simply because they had been made by a régime in which the people had no confidence. I had myself been trying to say, not so well, that anything Vichy did in this way at the moment was completely unimportant. Rappard went a little further.

Darlan, presumably replying to Sumner Welles and the American press, which begins to have favourable articles on the League, and perhaps to the "Democratic Charter" - the eight points drawn up by Roosevelt-Churchill, gave an interview to the Gazette de Lausanne.

Having repudiated the suggestion that he and Hitler were planning that France would take over the Suisse Romande, he added that there was one thing in Switzerland he disliked very much and that was the League and then proceeded with an attack. This is a change from non-interventionist policy in international politics and is virtually an invitation to the Swiss to get rid of us.

Loveday, who saw Jacklin in Montreal, says he has improved beyond recognition. This rather confirmed the better impression I have had lately. The cure is the result of getting amongst his own people again. Even the English Bank Manager here remarked to me the other day a propos of some trouble about the control

of the banking accounts, that before he left Jacklin had been in the jitters with stories of the Gestapo following him. Roger Makins was also sent to be in attendance at the Supervisory meeting at Montreal. I think this was a gesture in view of my expressed opinion as to Jacklin's political competence. On the whole, the thing went off well, the ILO being of course much better treated than the Secretariat. At any rate we have a budget adopted for 1942 and can probably find the money to cover that year. Nevertheless, I have been asked to save 20% of a budget which was already based upon what seemed to be the minimum actual expenditure.

I have just taken ten days at Mülhen in the Grisons, 1460 metres, and spent a few days fishing the Julier river up to 1660 metres. Marvellous country and fishing unusual and interesting; trout seem to average about 3/4 of a pound; I got ten in six days up to a pound; dry fly fishing difficult owing to broken water. Also visited Zurich and Rheinfelden and passed through Bâle. A Zurich manufacturer at the hotel at Mühlen whom I asked as to how opinion on the war was divided in Zurich answered simply: "there is no division" - a contrast to Geneva.

The Chief Censor at Bermuda has sent apologies to me and has explained that the so-called "watch list" contains people from the whitest white to the blackest black, etc.

Tuesday, September 2nd 1941

Luncheon with Feldmans and also the Latvian Minister at Vichy, as well as Jean Martin of the Journal de Genève.

Feldmans, like most Baltic people, had for months been awaiting with anticipation the German attack on Russia, which was to give them freedom again. The enthusiasm with which they greeted the beginning of this war at the end of June has disappeared. When the German troops entered Latvia, the occupation of which was facilitated by the opposition of the people to the Russian régime, they did a thing which he said had scarcely been done for hundred years: they threw flowers under the feet of the advancing troops. Disillusion however followed rather quickly. One of the principal streets in Riga had been named "Rue de la liberté" after the independence of the country was established; it had been unchanged under the Russian occupation. The Germans however have changed it to "Rue Adolf Hitler". Another street named after a famous Latvian patriot has similarly been called after Goering and so on with about fifty of the principal streets. The Latvians take this as an indication of the future fate of their country. Feldmans looks for some consolation in it; if the Germans had been intelligent, he says, they might have had their people ready to join in the war in Russia. That was no longer the case.

*A letter from Roger Wanklyn.*

5th September, 1941.

Personal

Dear Sean,

I have been dilatory in writing to you about the meeting of the Supervisory Commission in Montreal, as well as to thank you for the letter which recently arrived from you.

I think the Montreal meeting was a success.

apart from the vast gap created by your absence, the meeting was properly constituted and fully representative. It was thought here that it would be useful for me to go, not least because we fancied we had discerned some rather transatlantic tendencies developing in some of the League agencies overseas, and we were anxious to keep the structure together and make sure that your position and authority was fully upheld. What the meeting in fact did was to ensure as far as possible the existence of the League on its present reduced basis for a period of at least three years.

I hope the budget will be agreeable to you. It is becoming rather a tight squeeze, and I hope you will take any chance you see of an economy, though I know you are getting near the bone. You will observe that there is only a very slight reduction in the nominal budget of the International Labour Office. There is, however, a very strong case for maintaining this budget at its existing level, as any reductions in fact entail a cash loss due to the reduction in contributions payable by non-member states. Phelan showed every willingness to make in practice reductions in his budget. There is also the consideration that the United States Government made it clear that they were not in favour of further reductions in the budget of the International Labour Office.

As I was sent for by the Embassy in Washington I took the opportunity of discussing the position of the League with the State Department. I found their attitude extremely sympathetic, and they endorsed the decision to maintain intact as long as possible the structure of the League during the war. While I do not think that they want any more League activities on American soil, I do not suppose that they would refuse, in case of need, to accept more officials from Geneva. They also spoke approvingly of Alec's work at Princeton. I was not able to go there, but had an

You have certainly found a tough and rather thankless job, and it must seem a bit discouraging at times. But as we see it here, you are performing an essential task, and we want to give you all the support we can. Incidentally I think we have now finally squashed the Bermuda censors, I can assure you that your case was far from being their worst gaffe!

Please give my regards to Mrs. Lester.

Yours ever,

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There is one point which has arisen since my return. It is the desire of Hambro to set up a Committee on the lines of the Bruce Committee to consider post-war reconstruction. For various reasons we do not think that this is an opportune suggestion. In any case it must be very doubtful whether Hambro, even if he has the concurrence of yourself and the Supervisory Commission, has authority to make such an appointment. I hope therefore that you will gently discourage the proposal when it is referred to you.

25/9/41

A letter from Dorothy Mary has given me special pleasure and consolation. She says:- "Mammy rushes about on her bicycle as usual and looks younger and younger. I do wish I'll look a tenth as lovely when I'm her age... I think she's really beautiful. I can't imagine a better mother and we are a very happy four- as happy as we can be away from our Daddy. I think you will find us as changed as we don't squabble so often now. I feel equal to Ann now- I mean she no longer seems younger than me.

We shall be going round with the same friends in College and all my friends like her very much. It's still a bit different with Patsy and it's funny but tonight I just decided that I should start talking more to her than I have done up to now. She's at that stage I remember so well going through myself.

"There isn't another family like ours and how happy we'll be when we are together again."

I have sent Elsie a copy of that and have said it is all due to her. It is a great compliment for the parents and especially for Elsie who has had so much responsibility these last two years.

It helps me very much in carrying on here in my loneliness

Learned (on 13 November '41) that at a Supervisory it was announced that at a "meeting of State Members" held in London, all agreed

- (1) Desirable to maintain intact the League structure
- (2) Such activities as could be carried on be continued
- (3) That they should be carried out practically, usefully, & economically.

I was urged not to go to any last certain points presented my return to A.D. holding of which was regarded as very important

A rush of reports from Vichy - that collaborationism is dead; that even Darlan at a private dinner said "Germany cannot win". M. (Hyam) writing to Bob & Patsy a note to V. said "No atmosphere is such that you & I will be soon regarded as former trouble!!"

Caused by the Russian resistance & growth of USA help; & Japanese renewed caution after her Indo-China conf.

V. will swing with the military situation, of course.

The almost daily execution of hostages - up to 24 a day - is occupied these as reprisals; the executions in Norway; the fear & reprisals in Czechoslovakia; the steady Dutch resistance; the guerrilla war in Yugoslavia are helping to create a lovely dish.

27<sup>th</sup> September.

I am still 50, having stopped  
accumulating years in September 1938.

I don't feel as old as the calendar  
says. Simply surprised & shocked  
if I begin to count years to come. At 7  
years 60 - absolute bally nonsense!

Telegramm - Télégramme - Telegramma

54

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= BEST LOVE HOPEFUL HAPPY DAYS TO COME = LESTER ++

Dear Frank,

30/9/41  
I have taken to reading parliamentary reports for the first time in my life and for the first time in eighteen months I am beginning to get some glimpse behind the curtain drawn over Ireland. As you know, I have found the newspapers from home almost completely without news or views, not merely on the general war situation but on all sorts of things; there seems to be a complete absence of mental pabulum. I have read all the papers we have got, but mainly for a personal snippets.

The various debates on the censorship, for example, and the discussion on the Emergency Power Act on the 8th-9th July explain. I believe naturally and completely in the necessity of censorship; it has to relate not only to matters of military importance regarding our own country or which might be of military importance to belligerents; similarly it has to apply to some degree to internal affairs, but the impression made upon me by the way it has been operated is that it is mad and bad, timid and unwise, undignified and unworthy of a people with any degree of political responsibility, dangerous for the present and dangerous for the future. You will understand how much therefore I have agreed with all the criticism I have read of it.

One hears criticisms of the operation of censorship in Switzerland, but in comparison the newspapers of all kinds in Switzerland make reading for men and not for ill-developed infants in an elementary school. Goodness knows the duties of censorship are at the best full of terrific difficulties and is a thankless work, but I believe ours is worked to some extent on very unsound principles and I am afraid we shall pay for it.

All this is to come to the point of suggesting that you follow my example reading the Dail and Senate reports even though you may be in a happier position of having some further sources of information as to affairs at home. My reading has covered many things, from the turf situation to the position of the cooperative creameries and the incident of taxation on house property and I must say my impression of the standard of discussion is on the whole very good, indeed in some respect it is a high standard.

to F.T.C.

P1/10 (16)

The debates also confirmed my anticipations of Frank Aiken's visit to USA. Roosevelt had after his talks with A. said he had got no assurance that the arms asked for would be used *freely* to resist German aggression.

Also read Text of Dill's Dail speech on 7 July 17. A courageous full-blooded denunciation of Naziism. Undoubtedly I found he had preballed my point of post-war fears - in certain circles.

League of Nations  
Carries On (4)  
Mr. Sean Lester's Report for  
1940-41

GENEVA, July 17.

A reminder that the League of Nations is still carrying on is given by Mr. Sean Lester, Secretary General, in the report for 1940-41, in which he states that both the personnel of the League and the budget are considerably reduced, but the International Labour Office, of which a part has been transferred to Canada, is still working at Geneva on a reduced scale.

The Secretariat of the League continues to furnish Governments with "useful information on hygiene, nutrition, housing, social assistance, protection of youth, help to refugees and the fight against abuse of drugs."

Mr. Lester expresses the view that after the war responsible statesmen will have to restore the mechanism of international life in order to avoid a return to the tragedy of wars.—Reuter.

P1/10 (16)

Geneva, September 30th, 1941.

Personal

Dear Frank,

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His Excellency  
Mr. F. T. CREMINS,  
24, Beatusstrasse,  
BERNE

From Vichy Embassy (Basle) Press review

Presse allemande du 21 septembre 1941

L'hebdomadaire suisse DIE NATION, sous le titre "Révolution biologique", publie des extraits de la presse allemande: déclarations officielles et annonces, qui ont trait à la politique démographique telle que la conçoit le national-socialisme.

C'est ainsi que l'on peut lire dans le SCHWARZE KORPS, organe des S.S.: "Le nombre des naissances ne doit pas baisser, au cours de cette guerre, au-dessous du niveau de la période de paix. Une jeune fille qui faillit à son plus haut devoir trahit, de même que trahit le soldat qui déserte son drapeau. SS., montrez que vous êtes prêts, non seulement à donner votre vie pour votre pays, mais aussi à lui faire don d'une nouvelle vie avant d'aller à la mort."

Un appel de M. Himmler, chef de la Gestapo, est conçu dans le même sens. "Pour les jeunes filles allemandes de sang pur il existe un devoir de guerre qui est en dehors du mariage et n'a rien à voir avec lui. Ce devoir consiste à être rendue mère par les soldats qui vont au front."

L'hebdomadaire suisse cite, en outre, deux annonces extraites de la SÜDDEUTSCHE SONNTAGPOST:

"Je suis soldat, âgé de 22 ans, grand, blond, aux yeux bleus. Avant de sacrifier ma vie pour le Führer et la patrie, je voudrais entrer en rapport avec une femme allemande et lui laisser un enfant qui serait l'héritier de la gloire allemande."

"Une jeune fille allemande désire devenir la mère d'un enfant dont le père serait un soldat allemand combattant pour le national-socialisme." ./.

Elizabeth had been recounting, almost tearfully, reports of this kind brought back by her compatriots who had visited Germany. I thought it possible

but also reflected on general loyety which accompanies war. Here it is

officially confirmed. As E. says: young girls are told they must have "babies for Hitler"; are sent to a military barracks or can receive in their own place, or use hotels set apart for the purpose.

One ~~rehab~~ says, boy children are to be taken over by the State?

One learned to be suspicious of "atrocities" stories in the lost war. But the Catholic Bishops of Germany have by pastoral letter recently denounced the official & regular use of the new German lethal chambers (one at Litz) for very old, insane, & otherwise useless human creatures.

3/10/41

Harrison, U.S.A. minister called.

A long talk. When he first came a few years ago I thought him "rather a stick" but he definitely improves on acquaintance. A lot of straight talking about opinion & other payments did not prevent him asking me to stay at the Legation. It is actually noticeable that some one is not afraid of being associated so much with the L/N!!

? Inevitable Portuguese him to the L/N who has been for 9 months at his other post in Bukharest comes back full of stories of heartlessness & inhumanity in Rumania. Especially against the Jews. Choice specimen: Carcasses of murdered Jew hung up in a Butcher's shop.

RADIO-SCHWEIZ A.G. **RADIOGRAMM-RADIOGRAMME**

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LESTER PELOUSE GENEVA =

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WIRE CONSIDERED OPINION PROBABLE JOURNEY NEED HELP VISAS

AIR LOVE = LESTER +

## Eire Faces a Difficult Winter Short of Bread, Coal and Employment

By HELEN KIRKPATRICK  
Special Cable

Copyright, 1941, New York Post and Chicago Daily News, Inc.  
LONDON, Aug. 28.—Unless Eire is able to import at least 60,000 tons of wheat and obtain coal and other fuel, this winter is going to be one of the hardest since the great famines of 1846 and 1847.

**EXCLUSIVE**

There will be no shortage of meat, milk or

potatoes, but the great bulk of the poorer Irish people face a considerable reduction in their normal staple food, bread. They also face cold and rising unemployment.

Eire's wheat harvest is the biggest since 1846, but will have to be augmented by the importation of at least 60,000 tons even to approach the normal bread supply. Already white bread has been banned and the standard compulsory flour is 95

There is no coal to be had and per what little remains is being carefully stored for emergency purposes. With Britain facing serious coal shortages this winter, \$8, there is little prospect that Eire will be able to get any from this

Te source.

Trains are running late by as much as 14 hours because of the lack of coal, and peat is a poor substitute. Soon there will be virtually no electric power, because of the lack of coal, although the government hopes to use peat to generate power. Kerosene is unobtainable, candles are at a premium.

Much of Eire will be blacked out by economic necessity this winter.

17

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There will be no shortage of meat, milk or

potatoes, but the great bulk of the poorer Irish people face a considerable reduction in their normal staple food, bread. They also face cold and rising unemployment.

Eire's wheat harvest is the biggest since 1846, but will have to be augmented by the importation of at least 60,000 tons even to approach the normal bread supply. Already white bread has been banned and the standard compulsory flour is 95

per cent whole wheat—healthier but certainly not as popular. The Dublin Government also has been forced to grant an \$8,000,000 subsidy to keep the bread price down.

### Tea and Sugar Rationed

Tea and sugar are the only items of diet which have been actually rationed. Tea rations struck the Irish hard. They are probably the greatest tea drinkers in the world, and to have their allotment cut down to half an ounce of tea weekly per person was a severe blow. Coffee is becoming almost impossible to get.

Sugar is plentiful, but to insure steady supplies it is rationed at the rate of a pound a week per person. The British get half a pound a week—but they get two ounces of tea.

Canned foods are running very low, and the housewife must search the smallest shops to pick up any canned fruits or vegetables. Once the remaining stocks have run out there will be no more, unless the U. S. provides new supplies.

### Pony Travel Returns

Automobiles are a rare sight and gasoline is available—and then in minute quantities—only for essential work. Sidecars and ponies have returned to the countryside and to the streets of Dublin.

During my visit, which has just ended, the whole 100-mile stretch of road between Limerick and Bantry Bay was virtually a solid line of donkey carts piled high with peat turf. Freshly cut turf from the bogs of Killarney lined the road for miles. Irish trains will run and factory wheels will turn on turf fuel this winter, and such heat as Irish homes can get will come from peat.

There is no coal to be had and what little remains is being carefully stored for emergency purposes. With Britain facing serious coal shortages this winter, there is little prospect that Eire will be able to get any from this source.

Trains are running late by as much as 14 hours because of the lack of coal, and peat is a poor substitute. Soon there will be virtually no electric power, because of the lack of coal, although the government hopes to use peat to generate power. Kerosene is unobtainable, and candles are at a premium.

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EXCLUSIVE

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P1/10(17)

7 - As regards information for Governments, it is not easy to know what more to do; a study of the Supervisory report and the S.G.'s report would of course give a background. The ~~great~~ decline in activity and importance of the League is naturally more striking, especially to the superficial, than what has been kept and what is being done; I would like however if we could begin to show the upgrade now and the first thing would be to have a little relaxation in the persistent and inequitable pressure for further reduction. I would give a lot if Northerner could come over and spend a week here or if I could leave the post to go both to your country and another country.

8 - If the S.C. meant only information for Governments I fully agree that everything possible should be done. Our diplomatic corps has disappeared and I am tied here. I would like members of the S.C. to visit Geneva. But as even the meeting in M. had to be limited to two days, we can hardly count on their time to the extent needed.

9 - You will understand that in the circumstances I am more urgently concerned for the moment with getting studies made which can be useful now or later, and with maintaining services.

In any case, Arthur, you will see from the above that your letter has been stimulating and useful. And I have not finished with it yet.

With kindest regards, best wishes.

20/10/41 Elizabeth Wakenham returned after 5 months in London, as "Press attaché" to Brit. Legation

I get rather tired of Elizabeth. "Cadger," says Henry Langton of her. Gave her an outburst in Ireland: in the good old style. She's not at all anti-Irish but was quoting some folk at London. I said no Englishman should open his mouth about Ireland. What we had fought against - England's Lebensraum & security regardless of other rights - was ~~exactly~~ partly why I was against ~~the~~ ...  
The parallel was not exact but it eased my mind. Dev. & Co. may be wrong - but no coercion!

She's very intelligent, kind, & her books are sound.

Geneva, October 4th, 1941.

P1/10(17)

Dear Arthur,

*Personal*  
*(Sweetser)*

I have this morning received two letters of yours dated September 20th and as always I was glad to get them.

2 - I am leaving aside for the moment the document presented by you to some "conservative inside group", although I intend to read it and may comment as you ask. On this point I understand perfectly the need for adjustment in your method of approach according to the particular body concerned, especially if it is not a public declaration which commits the Secretariat.

3 - What I wanted to say a word about immediately was your letter on publicity. This has come in a very timely manner. Incidentally I was glad to get again the summary of your own activities which have been widecast and particularly valuable. As to the general question of publicity I agree with a lot you say but could discuss one or two other points. It is amazing how soon one forgets or puts into the background a situation which was most critical and dangerous and look back on it in the light of easier times. You have many advantages over there which make your opinion always of interest to me, but when I think of the twelve months from April 1940 (about the toughest in my experience) I cannot help thinking how much has been saved in comparison with anticipations and how much has been spent (I don't mean money) in bringing through the kernel of the organization that remained. The S.C. you say talked about publicity. If so it seems extraordinary considering the difficulty I have to get enough money to carry on, in the most conservative economic way, vital technical activities. The more efforts have been made for economies (and they have been tremendous) the more they demand. Two entirely different standards have been applied to the ILO and the Secretariat; they are comparatively comfortable and well off, the Secretariat is chivvied; and the more reductions made the more are demanded; then a moment will come when I shall be calmly asked to provide staff and studies which may be impossible. I think a tremendous amount of difficulty has arisen from the separation between the S.C. and myself.

4 - You are quite right when you say that two things are needed for publicity: one is work or results and the other is an adequate press service. The second is absolutely useless without the former and it would be entirely out of keeping with the resources left at my disposal to dream of anything more than the most scrappy press service when I am fighting for the life of more vital things. Naturally everything that can be done is all to the good. You know how much

citizens.

I have appreciated your own activities in this respect. In this connection we had for a period here to lie very low indeed expecting momentarily developments from one of several directions which might have closed us down. During that period we had to be careful that any action taken against us could not be said to have resulted from our lack of consideration of local difficulties. Then there has been in some quarters an attitude quite obvious to me here that nothing mattered that was not on the American continent. This attitude on the part of Ned and his friends, e.g., was intelligible as a justification for the wholesale transfer; the tone of some of their more popular publications has, quite understandingly, been to justify their principal decision. Sometimes I have thought this view was unconsciously followed too easily by others and instead of making the best of our position which has good journalistic angles, headquarters in the middle of Europe is offered a little sympathy and the activities maintained here referred to in a kindly but almost disparaging manner. Especially for the American public I would have thought another note could have been struck even while taking the fullest advantage from the fact that two important parts of our work were given hospitality in the USA. I do not think the playing up of both ends is contradictory, on the contrary one is support and background for the other; for this our colleagues in the U.S. and our friends require first of all a conviction that that is so.

5 - Another remark: for a certain period, as I said before, we had to lie low, especially as far as publicity from here is concerned. In recent months I felt there has been a change and have encouraged a certain amount of positive action. This was indicated by the decision early in June to get out my report, though it had to be drafted with some caution. Perhaps one or two reports from U.S. journalists lately which you have remarked may also be an echo of this. By the way, I gave some facilities to a man writing for "Life", or rather photographing, so as to get out some pictorial evidence that while statesmen and committees could not come to Geneva, the machine was being kept going. The work does not lend itself to photography very much, but I should be glad if you would keep a look out and send me the results. I hope the man in question has not let us down; the temptation of "the deserted palace" is always obvious for the journalistic mind; it is quite true as far as are concerned the gatherings of statesmen <sup>which</sup> provided the picturesque side of the Geneva life.

6 - I agree with your remark about Welles' speech. It is almost the only public declaration by any statesman, except General Smuts; it is perhaps better that such declarations should come from either neutral or non-member or non-British citizens.

October 17, 1941

I have just been glancing over André Maurois' "Tragedy in France". After discussing with an English friend on the boat between England and Canada as to the causes of the collapse, he wrote the following notes on the back of a book:

"REMEDIES: To be strong. A nation that is not ready to die for its liberties will lose them.

To act quickly. Ten thousand airplanes built in time are better than fifty thousand after the battle.

To direct opinion. A leader shows the way; he does not follow.

To preserve a united country. Political parties are passengers aboard the same ship; if they wreck it, all will perish.

To protect public opinion against the influences of foreign governments. To defend ideas is legitimate; to accept money from abroad for defending them is a crime.

To punish immediately and severely any illegal violence. Incitement to illegal violence is a crime.

To protect youth against teaching calculated to weaken the unity of the country. A state that does not try to preserve itself commits suicide.

To demand that those who govern lead up-right lives. Vice of any kind gives a foothold to the enemy.

To believe passionately in the ideas and in the way of life for which you are fighting. It is faith that creates armies and even arms. Liberty deserves to be served with more passion than tyranny."

extract from letter received from

C.J. Hambro,  
65 Stockton Street  
Princeton, New Jersey  
dated October 22nd, 1941  
received November 5th, 1941.

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I am not trying to write you very much, because letters might disappear or go astray, but you, yourself, and your work and your difficulties are constantly in my thoughts. You wrote to one of our friends in Princeton the other day, asking for the minutes of some discussions we recently had at a meeting when Seymour was on this side. We have not sent you these documents, because these are evil days for mailing anything that should be considered strictly confidential; but I have no doubt Seymour has an extra copy and will try to get it sent to you in one way or another.

With the heartiest greetings and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

November 4th, 1941.

Rvd. Dr. Karl Barth, Professor of Theology at Bâle University delivered a lecture on the 13th July 1941, of which copies have been privately circulated.

Dr. Barth, although a Swiss, was one of those who led the battle of the Protestant Church in Germany for its freedom of belief in the early days of national-socialism. The title of his lecture was "Au Nom de Dieu Tout-Puissant" which words enter into the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation.

"Le conflit entre l'Angleterre et l'Axe ne signifie nullement la simple opposition de deux impérialismes. Quoi qu'on puisse alléguer contre la politique anglaise du passé et du présent, on ne pourra lui reprocher d'avoir voulu détruire à son avantage l'équilibre européen, condition de l'ordre véritable en Europe. L'Angleterre a toujours essayé au contraire de rétablir cet équilibre. Certes, ce n'était point contre son intérêt. Mais il n'y a pas de politique sans intérêt! C'est pour rétablir cet équilibre que l'Angleterre s'est mise en guerre contre l'Allemagne nationale-socialiste, après que l'intention de cette dernière de l'abolir complètement fut devenue irréfutablement visible lors des envahissements successifs, du printemps 1938 à l'automne 1939. La Suisse étant, de par sa neutralité, un élément stable au milieu des remous des impérialismes et son existence dépendant de la fonction qu'elle exerce en favorisant l'équilibre européen à sa manière propre qui est celle de la neutralité, il est clair que sa neutralité n'est menacée aujourd'hui que d'un seul côté. Elle doit savoir que l'autre côté, à sa manière, combat et souffre pour la cause même qui est celle de la Confédération. Peu importe que la Suisse, à cause même de sa neutralité, ait une autre position que l'Angleterre. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'elle ne saurait se désintéresser du conflit actuel qui a pour enjeu, pour la Suisse comme pour l'Angleterre, quoique d'une autre manière, l'équilibre européen et, en conséquence, la possibilité d'une neutralité. Au contraire, les buts allemands ne sauraient nous intéresser. Bien plus: ils menacent directement notre existence même."

He goes on to speak of the unilateral pressure, attacking first the external existence of Switzerland, material and economic and then their independence, their neutrality and their liberty. This pressure is intended, he says, to prevent Switzerland being an "island" and to integrate Switzerland into the war machine of the Axis against England, an organism of which it is pretended, will later be turned into the "New Order".

He goes on to say that the Swiss find themselves in effect before the following alternative:

"Ou bien résister à la pression économique, encourir le danger qu'elle implique, envisager les années très maigres qu'on ne manquera pas de nous préparer, avec, en plus, l'éventualité d'une attaque d'ordre militaire et les conséquences qu'une telle attaque a de nos jours, mais avec cela garder notre liberté, au pire, sous la forme d'une ruine honorable, mais alors certainement temporaire.

"Ou bien céder, par amour de la sécurité, à la pression faite à nos corps et à nos vies, garder notre travail, nos gains, nos importations et nos exportations, notre pain et notre charbon comme nous les avons maintenant, mais abandonner en échange notre liberté, trahir l'esprit et la lettre de notre neutralité, devenir de par notre volonté, soudainement ou progressivement, sous forme de territoire "occupé" ou "non-occupé" un rouage de plus dans la machine guerrière et finalement dans la nouvelle organisation de l'Europe qui en naîtra; cesser par conséquent d'être la confédération suisse et de pouvoir dire quoi que ce soit "Au nom de Dieu Tout-Puissant."

"Nous avons à choisir entre ces deux possibilités, maintenant que les conditions de notre existence se sont fondamentalement modifiées comme nous l'avons vu plus haut. Toute loi et tout décret discuté, adopté et appliqué aujourd'hui en Suisse, toute convention passée avec l'étranger, tout discours et toute prédication, tout article de journal, toute approbation ou toute réprobation que ces diverses manifestations soulèvent parmi nous, toutes les mesures prises par nos autorités, mais aussi toutes les réactions particulières de chaque Suisse et de chaque Suisse, visibles dans attitude, leurs conversations et leurs actes, tout cela contient secrètement ou ouvertement le choix d'une de ces deux possibilités.

\* \* \*

" Ou bien faire passer notre subsistance avant notre honneur, ou bien faire passer notre honneur avant notre subsistance."

Going on to speak of some of their problems, including the refusal to admit a representative of the Socialist Party - the greatest in the country - into the Federal Council partly on the grounds that it would not be "bien vu" by Germany, he says:

"Il est inquiétant de constater que la Suisse romande, c'est-à-dire la partie du pays dans laquelle la représentation socialiste au gouvernement a rencontré la plus forte opposition, est aussi celle qui reconnaît le moins la nécessité d'une résistance suisse et celle sur laquelle les mots d'ordre défaitistes ont fait le plus d'impression depuis l'été 1940."

In reading this I could not help but reflect on the policy of Berne vis-à-vis the League of Nations, including their cowardly refusal to pay their contribution because Germany would not like it, although their citizens even in the current year draw three times as much money directly from our Treasury.

*In Albany dated Sept 1, 1941*

P.S. You asked rather forlornly in one fairly recent letter why S.J. did not himself act on the outstanding claim while he was here. I ~~have~~ refrained from replying to this at the time, but do not think there is any reason why I should not let you know now, especially as he is alright again, that there was a considerable rumpus about a press interview and that any attempt by him to have opened demarches at that moment would have been completely disastrous, even if there had not been any history to the case.

This explains also why, in the kindness of my heart, I was prepared to take in somebody else's dirty washing without grouching!

*This refers to Jacklin's rather well  
anti-Axis statement the day that he  
reached safety!*

"You have heard me speak of Mrs. Barnett. I like her very much and find her an agreeable neighbour. She is over-60 and has been (and indeed still is) a ravine beauty with great personality. She is having a succession of hard knocks. The latest being that her brother, in the Guards, has just been killed on active service. Well, the wife of this brother was lost in France and they were beginning to think she was dead. They had and have a passage by air reserved and paid from Lisbon for over a year in case she would arrive there. Now Mrs. Barnett has heard she is near Dijon and asks me could you help her in any way and if she could give her your name. She has not had a sou, is starving and has no clothes. She gives an odd English lesson for food and painted two portraits, payment being eggs. I believe she is charming and beautiful but has no brains at all. About fortyish.

Could you possibly write her and offer help. No money (they have tried both from England and America) can reach her. Any money you lent would be very well guaranteed. Would you see if you could do something.

Let me know so that I can give a little hope anyway to her relatives. I am not sure if she yet knows her husband has been killed."

26, FITZWILLIAM SQUARE,  
DUBLIN.  
TELEPHONE: 62491.

Dear Mr. Lister.

Thank you so much for letter to write to me about the solar flares.

much difference occasionally gets better like this and I am very glad it gives you pleasure. I never went into your slaughter though I did not realize it was the other day, when next you are in Dublin let me know. I would so like to meet you about all.

Yours and

Extract from a letter from  
Sine, made for inquiry purposes.

"You have heard me speak of Mrs. Barnett. I like her very much and find her an agreeable neighbour. She is over 60 and has been (and indeed still is) a raving beauty with great personality. She is having a succession of hard knocks. The latest being that her brother, in the Guards, has just been killed on active service. Well, the wife of this brother was lost in France and they were beginning to think she was dead. They had and have a passage by air reserved and paid from Lisbon for over a year in case she would arrive there. Now Mrs. Barnett has heard she is near Dijon and asks me could you help her in any way and if she could give her your name. She has not had a sou, is starving and has no clothes. She gives an odd English lesson for food and painted two portraits, payment being eggs. I believe she is charming and beautiful but has no brains at all. About fortyish.

Her name is Mrs. Francis Jefferson (commonly called  
"Bobbie"  
chez Deschodt  
Mirmande (Drôme)  
France (unoccupied)

Could you possibly write her and offer help. No money (they have tried both from England and America) can reach her. Any money you lent would be very well guaranteed. Would you see if you could do something.

Let me know so that I can give a little hope anyway to her relatives. I am not sure if she yet knows her husband has been killed."

26, FITZWILLIAM SQUARE,  
DUBLIN.  
TELEPHONE: 62491.

18. 8. 41

Dear Mr. & Mrs. ...  
Thank you so much for nothing to write  
to me about the Silver Place. It makes no  
much difference occasionally get letters like that and I  
am very glad it goes you please. I never  
into your daughter out much at Pelama Homes (my niece)  
the other day, though I did not realize it was  
her till afterwards. When next you are in Dublin  
do let me know. I would so like to meet you  
yourself about all this.

Sent off long letter to  
Lord ~~David~~ on the future  
Also one to Roger Wakens  
- mainly re I.H.O. & Secretariat

P1/10 (18)

19<sup>th</sup> November

Spent two days in Bâle  
seeing Mr. Kitchin, American Pres. of  
the Bank of Int'l Settlements, returning  
country call but really for contact  
& general information. Geneva is  
not what it was!

His people came from Co. Down.

Three Irish at the head of the  
three principal int'l organs. He can't  
lose Salvador Spain - but in their  
god father.

Also talked with Jacobson, whose  
wife is from Cork. He is Swedish  
& is Economic Adviser to the Bank.

(Blackmore, secy. to Belfast Government,  
is a friend of Mr. Kitchin.)

Inquired then, I think, to consideration  
of future organisation & general reconstruction measures.

Brief Minutes & Records of Subcomm. Comm. held 31/7/41  
Reach me on 13<sup>th</sup> November. ???  
after many telegrams.

P1/10 (18)

M. Agnès

le D. Zaitsev et  
moi-même avons eu  
cette lettre avec intérêt.  
L'assassinat des ~~polo~~des  
personnes contagieuses, et  
même de classes graves  
n'a été confirmé par un  
confère de la Croix  
Rouge.

Je ne vois malheureusement  
aucune possibilité  
d'intervention utile aux  
populations civiles  
intéressées. - Toute action  
couvrant le risque d'être  
nouvellement en sa faveur  
par l'armée d'invasion.

S. Bixaud

38X/41

le 4 octobre 1941

P1P1/10 (18)

P1/10 (18)

le 3 Novembre 1941

recevoir cette lettre, que je ne puis  
lire d'habitude.presque la moitié de la guerre avec la  
l'absence de tout contact avec les  
s'occupent des questions d'hygiène et de

l'honneur de vous remettre, ci-joint, une  
lettre confidentielle reçue d'un ami qui  
tuellement en territoire russe occupé par les  
bandes.

personne, dont, pour des raisons que vous  
comprendre, je ne voudrais pas citer le nom,  
d'un certain âge, originaire de pays balte, il  
aussi avant la révolution bolchéviste. Je le  
longtemps, c'est un homme très sérieux et de  
e.

que les informations qu'il donne dans sa  
vous être utiles dans la grande tâche que  
ain d'accomplir et vous prie, Monsieur,  
considération bien empressée.

pour les enfants, les vieillards, les femmes et  
entre la population civile restée en ter-  
re. La majorité de cette population  
est composée de femmes, d'enfants et de  
jeunes gens. Dans l'armée rouge ou dépor-  
tée, la situation de la population littérale-  
ment dépourvue d'existence, les autorités  
et ne considèrent pas ce que ces  
personnes. De qui est d'ailleurs bien  
des civils bolchévistes. L'état  
est en général mauvais. Les enfants  
sont mal nourris et sous-alimentés. Les femmes ont  
souvent des enfants, par suite du régime bolchéviste.

Les gens sont vêtus, avec une hygiène insuffisante, sans linge de  
ménage, sans vêtements, sans ustensiles de cuisine, parfois même  
sans chaussures. Dans les conditions de préparation des  
habitations qu'ils tâchent  
de remplir avec les moyens de fortune. Les médicaments et  
les services médicaux sont rares. La dépression morale est très grande.  
De cette situation d'être qui se trouvent dans cette situation,  
et si on a essayé d'y remédier, il faut s'attendre au  
travail de la nuit avec l'arrivée de l'hiver, la nourriture des  
gens de plus en plus rare.

En tout cas, la commission où je me trouve est chargée de sur-  
veiller que les maladies contagieuses ne surviennent pas dans cette  
population et de prendre les mesures nécessaires dans le cas où  
de telles maladies se déclareraient, afin que les troupes allemandes  
n'en soient pas contaminées. Les ordres qui nous ont été donnés à

P1/10 (18)

Copie.

J'ai l'honneur de vous remettre, ci-joint, une traduction d'une lettre confidentielle reçue d'un ami qui se trouve actuellement en territoire russe occupé par les troupes allemandes.

Cette personne, dont, pour des raisons que vous voudrez bien comprendre, je ne voudrais pas citer le nom, est médecin, d'un certain âge, originaire de pays balte, il a habité en Russie avant la révolution bolchéviste. Je le connais depuis longtemps, c'est un homme très sérieux et de toute confiance.

J'espère que les informations qu'il donne dans sa lettre pourront vous être utiles dans la grande tâche que vous êtes en train d'accomplir et vous prie, Monsieur, de croire à ma considération bien empressée.

Copie.

le 4 octobre 1941

Ces effets sont affreux, car il est prévu que si les malades  
cher ami, ont été soignés ou isolés, leur destruction est ordon-

Tu seras surpris de recevoir cette lettre, que je te fais  
parvenir par l'intermédiaire d'amis.

Je me trouve depuis presque le début de la guerre avec la  
Russie, dans les territoires occupés, comme membre d'une des  
commissions chargées de s'occuper des questions d'hygiène tou-  
chant la population rurale.

Comme tu pourras le juger toi-même, la situation de millions  
de personnes en Russie est tellement grave, que je me suis vu  
obligé avec un très grand risque pour moi-même de tâcher d'en  
aviser ceux, qui peut-être tiennent à alléger et à sauver la  
vie de leurs semblables.

Je m'adresse à toi sachant que tu es en relations avec des  
institutions internationales humanitaires et je suis persuadé déjà  
que tu feras tout ton possible, afin que ce cri d'alarme d'une  
des plus grandes détresses que l'humanité ait jamais connue  
soit entendu là où il le faut.

Pour te faire une idée de cette situation, je te dirai qu'elle  
est infiniment plus effreuse que celle que tu as vue en Pologne où  
j'ai d'ailleurs travaillé durant toute l'année 1940 à soigner la  
population indigène.

Comme tu le sais évidemment d'après les journaux, les troupes  
rouges détruisent, dans leur retraite, absolument tout, sans se  
préoccuper de ce que deviendra la population civile restée en ter-  
ritoire occupé par les Allemands. La majorité de cette population  
est composée pour plus des trois-quarts de femmes, d'enfants et de  
vieillards. Les hommes ont été enrôlés dans l'armée rouge ou dépor-  
tés à l'intérieur du pays. En abandonnant la population littérale-  
ment sans demeures, sans aucune ressource d'existence, les autorités  
rouges ne se sont évidemment absolument pas soucies de ce que ces  
millions de malheureux vont devenir. Ce qui est d'ailleurs bien  
dans la mentalité diabolique des dirigeants bolchévistes. L'état  
physique de cette population est en général mauvais. Les enfants  
sont presque tous rachitiques et sous-alimentés. Les femmes ont  
l'air vieux avant l'âge, par suite du régime bolchéviste.

Les gens sans foyer, avec nourriture insuffisante, sans linge de  
rechange, sans vêtements, sans ustensils de cuisine, parfois même  
sans allumettes pour faire le feu indispensable à la préparation des  
repas, couchent dans les décombres des habitations qu'ils tâchent  
de remettre debout, avec des moyens de fortune. Les médicaments et  
le savon manquent aussi. La dépression morale est très grande.  
Ce sont des millions d'êtres qui se trouvent dans cette situation,  
et il n'y a aucun espoir de l'améliorer, il faut s'attendre au con-  
traire qu'elle empire avec l'arrivée de l'hiver, la nourriture de-  
vient de plus en plus rare.

D'autre part, la commission où je me trouve est chargée de sur-  
veiller que des maladies contagieuses ne surviennent pas parmi cette  
population et de prendre les mesures nécessaires dans le cas où  
de telles maladies se déclareraient, afin que les troupes allemandes  
n'en soient pas contaminées. Les ordres qui nous ont été donnés à

cet effet sont affreux, car il est prévu que si les malades ne peuvent être soignés ou isolés, leur destruction est ordonnée. Ceci veut dire, que n'ayant en réalité ni les moyens médicaux suffisants ni la possibilité d'intervenir à temps là où il le faudrait, des dizaines de milliers d'être seront détruits.

Les autorités allemandes font leur possible afin de prévenir des épidémies et d'être prêtes à les localiser, ayant évidemment son armée en vue en premier lieu. La population rurale vient en second plan, d'autant plus que, dans les conditions existantes, les autorités ne peuvent pratiquement pas intervenir dans le but d'enrayer l'étendue des nécessités grandioses qui s'accroissent de jour en jour. Le territoire étant immense et le nombre des malheureux énorme.

Ainsi, étant donné l'état d'hygiène des plus defectueux où se trouve cette masse humaine des épidémies peuvent éclater déjà dans le courant de cet hiver, sinon, au printemps ce danger deviendra certitude avec ses effroyables conséquences.

Je n'ai pas besoin de préciser de quoi ces gens dans leur situation critique ont besoin pour être sauvés de la mort. Les institutions qui s'occupent de ces questions ont certainement suffisamment d'expérience pour savoir quelle aide est nécessaire dans des circonstances pareilles.

Je sais que c'est en général très compliqué de porter un si grand secours et tout particulièrement dans les conditions actuelles, je sais aussi que le secours éventuel n'arriverait pas de sitôt. Néanmoins, il est évident que le désir d'aider ne suffit pas et qu'il faut commencer par agir. Les pourparlers et les préparatifs nécessaires prendront beaucoup de temps et c'est pour cette raison que je t'écis déjà maintenant, afin que le temps le plus précieux ne soit pas perdu et que l'aide arrive le plus promptement possible.

Tu me connais assez pour admettre que ce que je t'écis est sans aucune exagération et que, participant comme médecin, pour la troisième fois, dans des guerres, je suis en mesure de juger de l'état réel de situations semblables.

J'espère que cette lettre ne sera pas expédiée en vain et que ceux à qui la Providence a épargné les misères les plus affreuses, feront leur devoir humanitaire pour secourir les plus éprouvés de notre terre sans se préoccuper de questions idéologiques et sans s'effrayer des difficultés à surmonter.

Ne cherche pas à m'écrire car ça pourrait me nuire. J'espère pouvoir te fournir dans quelque temps de nouveaux renseignements.

Dear Roger,

Personal

3<sup>rd</sup> November 1941

The enclosed letter to Lord Davies has been lying on my desk for a considerable time as I did not like to send it through ordinary channels. It has occurred to me however that it might be an opportunity of making known to you in this way a few of my reflections on one aspect of the future problem. Will you therefore be good enough to forward the letter after you have read it?

2 - I have so many things I should like to discuss with you, and with others, that it seems very inadequate to write to Davies (whom I do not know) on one point of this kind.

3 - I wonder what impressions you will have brought from the ILO Conference. Jacklin seems to think that that branch of our Institution has such powerful political backing they can get anything and do anything. I have been trying not to write a letter to Hambro which has been simmering in my mind for the past two months as a result of one from him which made a comparison between the financial position of the Secretariat and the ILO. The fact is they are living under very different conditions; the same principles of administration and pure finance are not and have not been applied by them or to them; our budgets are drawn upon different bases; the Supervisory seems still to have a vague and foolish notion that the present Secretariat organization is substantially political. The fact is that the ILO particularly in its staff and some of their activities can be described as much more political and definitely non-technical than our present organization here. Although we of course still represent the political idea that is not reflected in our present organization and expenditure in the same way as it is with the other institution. Furthermore, the ILO people are, I suggest, following the ambitious programme begun under Winant's régime, which is simply to take over the best and most useful of the work of the Secretariat which was - (and perhaps is?) - regarded as a decayed and disintegrating organization. You may see signs of it in Phelan's report, although skilfully worded. He wants the barriers on limits of competence removed; they are trying to get more and more in on the economic side on the ground that things like economics, finance, housing, nutrition, health, etc., all bear on the interests of the organized workers. No doubt this is perfectly true and if

Governments should subsequently wish to have either no political organization or to have that separated from all other activities, it is quite possible to imagine in the new post-war conditions that the tri-partite ILO should take all these matters under their wing. If limits of competence are not defined, subject to the essential cooperation, there is no reason why the ILO should stop anywhere. War in itself is the final and greatest question affecting the lives of the workers and employers! The development of the classical idea of "lebensraum" can only have the classical result.

4 - The Secretariat and the League still suffer from the moral bankruptcy of the Unspeakable Joseph. Not only did he fail us completely in all that is looked for in a chief, but he plunged us at a critical time into an internal struggle for decency and (forgive me!) honour. For some months there was not one action or influence of his that was not undignified, unmoral and destructive. That is an old story but effects of it unfortunately still keep coming up again and again. The ILO had no parallel trouble in the crisis; Winant's leadership was at any rate honest and straight and they were at least free to face the external events, while the brilliant Phelan was as always calm, resourceful and forceful. Next to Albert Thomas he has been the most positive influence in the making of the ILO. But I think he is occasionally wrong!

5 - You will not misunderstand these remarks. I am firmly convinced of the great value and importance of the ILO and of its form of organization; great service can be obtained from it, I hope, particularly in the disturbed times after war. But I am not yet sure that there will be such a revolution in both internal and international affairs that will make the ILO the best form of organization for dealing with all kinds of international questions. It would mean two governments in every country, or rather in every democratically organized country. At the same time this very form of organization, rooted in the practical everyday interests of great organized national groups, has been and will be a source of tremendous strength to the ILO.

6 - The Bruce Committee played with the idea of extending this. I have no very clear strong convictions as to the Bruce plan of organization. At any rate one must remember that it developed during the period of rapid decline and that two principles inspired much of the support for it: one was the question of salvaging from the dissolving political organization valuable elements of technical cooperation, the other - allied - was to obtain the support of other

other, of non-member States. On the latter point the USA. was especially en vue, but to some extent other departing Members who professed a desire to continue "technical collaboration" for which there was not an adequate arrangement for financial obligations. Loveday I think might go further than I as to the desirability of the scheme on the grounds of efficiency for the so-called technical work eliminating the unqualified diplomat from the controlling council.

7 - I cannot see myself in the role of a professional defender of vested interests, even of the Secretariat as a post-war organization. But I still need to be convinced of either the desirability or usefulness of any plan for the ILO to annex other technical work. If there is to be a "security" organization, I do not think it should be detached and kept in the air of what might be called pure politics. What a great role will be assigned even for security purposes to action in the economic and financial fields! If we are to have an international organization, I don't like to think, for example, of the circumstances which, when times are normal, would attend regular meetings of any such purely political body that had no other ostensible reason for meeting than a storm-cloud in the remote distance. Even if the old "publicity" policy be vastly modified. I am not developing reflections on these points, but if there is to be rebuilding, one will have persistently to keep in mind the period after the first few post-war years.

8 - Please excuse the sketchiness and inadequacy of these dictated remarks. They are inspired by your visit to the ILO Conference. I am told, and I feel, there is little concern, little immediate interest, little confidence in Britain regarding plans for future international organizations, whereas one gets the impression of a different situation in the United States, not only in the non-official but in official quarters. If this is so the Lord knows there are obvious explanations. You personally I suppose have merely such questions as a part of other duties. I wonder if the time is not approaching however when a lead might be given to the British public? Sumner Welles could publicly cry peccavi on behalf of the United States (was that a "ballon d'essai" and what happened to it?). Leadership is I think strong enough in Britain if the conviction were there to do the same, at any rate to the same degree. Of course there are grades of responsibility for the failure and perhaps we would not differ very much in our views there, but the failure was not I think in any very great degree due to the machinery. The public can be brought to

see that if high policy really wants a revived League. In any case I would be appalled to see the end of this war

coming in sight and the future left to improvisation, haphazard and the emotions of the time. Am I underestimating the insignificance which the public would attach to such general questions if raised now; the persistence of the disillusion, disappointment and ridicule; or are the problems of the day so great and dark that no one can plan ahead?

9 - When I agreed with your view as to Hambro's proposal for a kind of new Bruce Committee, it was mainly because any such Committee would have to go very far in the direction of political proposals that I felt that in Britain itself the situation was far from being sufficiently mature to enable a directive to be given to a British representative; that in some considerable degree the same would apply to other countries; and that American participation in such a Committee would be desirable but still difficult. If and when there was more development, which might come even in six months, I confess I would like to see it, if possible under the aegis of the League.

10 - Loveday tells me he keeps sufficiently in touch with useful visitors from London. I had asked him to consider the idea of sending some one like Hill as a liaison man for economic and financial questions. This was partly as an offset to what you called "transatlantic tendencies" which however are more in evidence in Montreal. If I had any available staff or money I should myself like to have some one in London for my more general needs. I had thought Hill might have done both as I think he is sufficiently "well seen" by the F.O., but for the time I have bowed to Loveday's view. Hill, of course, is rather young.

I am not expecting any comments on this letter; I am merely taking the opportunity for a monologue.

Sincerely,

P.S. In case Loveday did not show them to you, I enclose copies of two recent letters to him and Sweetser. Of course these only give information in snippets.

Dear Lord Davies, *Personal* dated 25/9/41

With considerable delay your book and your letter of the 25th March duly arrived in Geneva. I should have acknowledged them long ago had it not been that I was hoping to write at greater length and with more reflection. Indeed on the first day when I read the last two chapters, I dictated a commentary but left it again for reflection and now I am not inclined to send it.

There is much in your book and in its extraordinarily fine analysis with which I agree. Your reactions to events were similar to those which many of us here felt, but it is naturally when with such persistent courage you expound your plans for the future that one finds both inspiration and stimulus as well as some divergence of judgement or (is it?) weakness of faith. There is very much to attract one in the idea of a British-American Commonwealth, but I really am afraid that, even if British opinion could be counted upon in the post-war period to take the consequences of this merging of power and rights, the vast continental people governed from Washington are not yet, and will not be, far enough advanced to envisage that advanced union. I doubt, even on the assumption that the United States participates in the war, and even if the idea could be in the heat and emotion of wartime put over on the American people, whether the attempt would not rapidly end in a still wider divergence than another less ambitious measure of Anglo-American cooperation. The parallel with the Dominions is not good enough.

I agree, of course, as every one must, that the future of the world for the next century will depend upon the extent to which Britain and America can cooperate. I am however being driven to the conclusion that our best hope lies in these two peoples working together within a framework which will give them, not only the joint power necessary to equal their joint responsibilities, but which will also give them elbow-room and elasticity in regard to the matters on which their interests will diverge or seem to be in conflict because of the different sentiment, experience, situation and outlook of their populations. At best I would take your views as a goal to aim at and not as a post-war starting point. After all the cardinal point of world security is that Britain and America should be prepared to assume joint responsibility followed, if need be, by joint action for the maintenance of peace. A looser association than union would be sufficient for this. I am afraid if we try to put too much into the bottle it will burst. Perhaps I am lacking in vision and in confidence.

There is no real parallel between the history and facts of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the proposed British-American Commonwealth. If the union between the British Commonwealth and the United States is, as I fear, impracticable, I wonder if we shall not see Anglo-American cooperation best served by the re-creation of a machine not unlike the League. Beyond doubt I have been conscious of the decay and failure of the League and of the public disrepute into which it fell in recent years, but I venture to believe that its revival with some important changes, but with many things unchanged, will be found to give us the best promise of fifty years' peace. It will depend largely on America, on a people who will not have really suffered in the war. One thing has long been clear to me however - that the international community needs the policeman behind the law and the court of justice, as much as he was and is needed in the national community.

There was a statement in your book which I questioned. It is at the top of page 172 where you say it is unlikely either Britain nor America would agree to participate in any League or Confederation with the States of Europe until the latter put their own house in order. What I said earlier in this note will show you that I think there would be less difficulty in persuading the British and American peoples to join a League than to make a still greater sacrifice of sovereignty as between themselves. For the other aspect of it, I think you must agree that the responsibility of reorganizing Europe cannot be left to the goodwill of about thirty states, nearly all of which have been overrun and conquered or will be. This war has surely been a very clear lesson that what happens in Europe is of absolutely vital concern even to non-continental states. The United States spent twenty years washing their hands of European affairs and the direct consequence is that they may now be said to be well on the way to full war. With modifications, the same is true of Great Britain; a British businessman could talk of Czechoslovakia as a far off country of which his people knew nothing.

Looking to the future there is another angle which has been put to me - that of the non-German European states. A simple British-American Commonwealth, it is suggested, might cause eventually a gradual reaction of the densely populated continent to the London-Washington supremacy, a supremacy institutionally diverse and geographically too excentric to be accepted by Europe, in the long run as a spontaneous offspring of its own labours and, so to speak, as an inevitable historic necessity. Such a reaction might be the prelude to inter-continental wars.

To sum up, I think in spite of their common fear and dislike of commitments in Europe, the British and American peoples would really be asked for more sacrifice and more comprehension and toleration and wisdom in creating a

<sup>Necessary</sup>  
British-American Commonwealth than ~~they~~ would be ~~asked~~ to make successful an organization like the League. The Commonwealth hurdles are higher and more frequent than those of an effective League. Such an organization would, I am beginning to be convinced, give more promise of stability and be more likely to achieve real results than the great dream of an Anglo-American Union. Anglo-American collaboration in a new Society of Nations, even with the direction and control and sacrifice which responsibility would involve, would contain less dangers of reaction and dissension than a direct London-Washington attempt to unify foreign policy, the common control of naval, military power, the pooling of economic resources and territorial government.

It may interest you to see, perhaps more coherent than mine, a short note which I enclose by one of my colleagues after he had read your book.

I have written freely and as a private individual. We are far from the end yet and I may well be proved to have been short-sighted on this general issue. In any case we here are trying, with many difficulties, to hold on. I long for the lakes and rivers of Connemara where I have a little house not far from your Loughlough and where my "deserted" wife and children are living.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

November 1st 1941

Some little time ago I appear to have been able, through my friendship with President Santos of Colombia, in obtaining precious visas for an Austrian named Ernst Grünwald and his wife who are in a civilian camp in Switzerland; he is a man of 43 apparently tainted with some semitic blood and thereby a victim of the new civilization promised to Europe. He is a tall good-looking fellow and I should say of excellent character and qualifications in his trade as a textile expert. Now he comes back to me asking if I could not do the same thing for his father and mother and his father and mother-in-law living in wretchedness material and spiritual misery in Vienna. He says he gets the most imploring letters full of bitter tears from them and he has a most pathetic confidence that a word from me will obtain freedom for them. When I eventually consented to support his appeal to Colombia (necessarily in a completely personal way) the poor devil broke down with tears and sobs of gratitude and perhaps vain hopes,  *kissing my hand unsolicited.*

Personal contact of this kind with some of the misery spread through Europe by nazi persecution, promise of that new civilization under the master race, inclines one to lose the balance of judgement and perspective on the problem of the future.

Vansittart "Black Record" recently came into my hands. It is a fierce pamphlet in which Germany is indited in the role of the butcher bird of Europe. It is so single-mindedly, so violently crusading against the majority of the German people of whom he regards nazism merely as the latest manifestation of a long history - that it seems a strange product for the former diplomatic Chief in Great Britain.

There were many things in it with which I agreed, but it seemed nearly too much. The future of Europe, alas, cannot be considered without taking a great deal of it into account. His view on the German "Mädchenbund" and the quotation of one of their marching songs which begins "Christ was but a Jewish swine, etc. etc." and his remarks on the feminine prussian ferocity (? feminine ferocity), reminded me of that charming little blonde who became Greiser's second wife when he had discarded the wife and family belonging to his earlier social station. He was a great chasseur and invited me to accompany him shooting buck in the Danzig forest. Boettcher, that timber-headed lout came also and our three wives. It was a pleasant excursion in the autumn woods and eventually a buck crossing a glade

to be finished by hand.  
please.

*the little Nomin ended at my  
sawself To type the rest -  
the living dismembered animal  
the vomiting Böttcher, the gleaming  
blonde*

November 17, 1941.

Michael Mac White, Minister to the Quirinal, has been in Geneva for a few days with his wife.

The food situation is getting really bad in Rome and Michael says you can see hunger in the faces in the streets. They had not minded much for a few months the scarcity (they live in the best hotel), but it was beginning to affect them and I think they really came, not only for a breath of free air, but in order to absorb some calories and vitamins.

Michael was full of gossip and good stories, as usual. His political outlook coincides with mine. The same applies to O'Donovan who has been appointed as Chargé at Lisbon. T.G. Kiernan has just arrived as Minister to the Holy See, with his wife and four children aged up to 17; they had 20 lbs of luggage each, having come by air from the Shannon where the British aeroplane apparently refuels and can pick up a few official passengers. Kiernan expected to buy all that was needed for the family in the way of clothes, etc. on arrival. It seems almost as though he had been grossly misled by Headquarters, or that they themselves are grossly ignorant of the situation. Mac also says that they sold their furniture before leaving Dublin; another foolish thing. He added that Joe Walshe had suggested that Kiernan should not have any interviews with O'Donovan just returned to Dublin from being Chargé at the Vatican! It seems incredible, but it could quite well be so. Mac of course, like a great many people abroad, has rather an edge against Joe; he says he does not really want reports and anything he receives which is contrary to his pet theories is promptly turned down. Mac White telegraphed about a year ago a report concerning alleged danger to the Vatican. He had learned that similar messages were going from half a dozen at least neutral Ministers in Rome. He got back a short reply just saying that that was quite ridiculous and since then has sent no more reports.

I asked him if he had talked very openly with Frank Cremins when he met him in Berne and he said he had not as Cremins did not seem to invite it. I remarked on Frank's excess of prudence; he seemed to carry his instructions in certain matters into the inner recesses of his mind and Mac remarked that that was exactly the kind of representative Joe liked abroad.

Mac says that Bewley, formerly Irish Minister in Rome and Berlin visits Rome occasionally but he believes his spiritual home is North; he says bluntly that Italian circles suspect he is there to spy on them in German interest. ~~Obviously~~ he represents a Swedish news agency and when an inquiry was made of a Swedish woman, she said that there was an agency of this name but that the pay-master had a club-foot; all of which may be very libellous.

Mac says that the Italian authorities had been counting on receiving wheat from the Ukraine this autumn; their share of the supplies taken from Denmark and Holland and France had long ago been exhausted; an occasional pound of tea or coffee might still be found on the black market costing anything from 5 to 8 Pounds per lb. The two most unpopular men in Italy were Mussolini and Ciano. The former had now created a special body guard apparently distrusting the regular fascisti. Corruption was rife in high circles and in the Party. The Germans were disliked by the vast majority of the people but they were powerless; the Foreign Ministry alone did not have its strong infiltration of German officials. Germany had ceased to send raw materials partly because she could no longer obtain return cargoes and the goods train service with Germany was vastly reduced. People were universally sick of the war and might easily collapse if not sustained by the German strength. There was no element that could create a revolution, except perhaps in the industrial north, and even there no leadership dared show its head.

As to the Vatican, Mac says the Vatican circles are almost without exception anti-nazi; he thinks the Pope is infinitely more timid than his predecessor would have been in the circumstances. They are now acting with the greatest prudence and caution, but there is no question as to their general sentiment.

I asked about the Irish priests in Rome and was told that there were six Irish ~~and~~ Heads of different orders; of these five were definitely anti-German. The sixth, from Derry was more influenced by anti-English feeling and it was added that this same gentleman was hardly an ornament for the high post he held, in the cultural way at any rate.

I suggested to Mac White that he should produce a book of memoirs and that it need be nothing but the good stories he remembered. He is extremely shrewd and in his various posts had had more sources of information than many an Ambassador of a Great Power. His good humour is always there, and he is extremely doubtful if his fluent French and certain English pronunciations from his West Cork are ~~not~~ necessarily the worst defects that he could have. I remarked that he still says "a litter of wine", which is one of the earliest things I had heard about him. He fought in the French Foreign Legion during the last war and that was the source of a great deal of his French; his school education was a country national school West Cork, but it did not prevent half a dozen American Universities from giving him honorary degrees.

The inside story of Kiernan's appointment is that at first it was intended that Kiernan should go to Berlin as Minister, Warnock of Secretary rank being Chargé there since Bewley left. Some difficulty naturally arose when the question of preparing letters of credence came up. Under our new Constitution - as under the old - these letters of credence are issued by King George on the advice of the Irish Government.

Perhaps in pure theory the King could have addressed "his beloved cousin" Adolf begging him to extend all his favours to his Irish Minister; there must have been some natural difficulties. When however Kiernan was proposed for the Vatican, it seems that Joe proposed to appoint him without the proper letter of credence from the King. The Vatican refused; they said that if Ireland was neutral, so was the Vatican and there was no reason why the proper correct constitutional procedure should not be carried out. The fact is at any rate that although it is publicly announced that Kiernan is there as Minister, his diplomatic position in the Vatican is that of Chargé d'Affaires; it is in that character and position he will be treated taking his place at the end of the list of Chargés d'Affaires. I must say this story made a bad impression on me.

Incidentally Mac told me also something of the background of the appointments of American Ministers to Dublin. I forget the name, but it seems that in one year Dublin had turned down three proposals of American nominations, more than all the rest of the States in the world put together in their relations with the American Government. This was on the basis that one or other of these proposed Ministers ~~was~~ had been divorced; it appears we made a good many enemies in the State Department and that some one pointed out the President could not in these circumstances appoint even his son-in-law to represent him at Dublin. But Dublin had its way. The last two people there have incidentally been regarded as of little or no account in the Service. The post is rather an envied one because of the sporting facilities, the absence of work, an extremely pleasant Legation in Phoenix Park, its proximity to Dublin and "next door to the USA".

#### II/II/41

I have been brooding tonight. Dull, bored, miserable. And wishing I had Elsie beside me, I am worried, too, and not so sure as I was that she and the girls are reasonably happy. I am worried about the raising of the question of her coming. It is easier simply to carry on, straight ahead, and not to have contemplated first the possibility of seeing her dear face beside me and then with tortured mind have to decide No, and then to wonder if it is the best. If I am to have any doubts as to her comparative happiness in this waiting period I shall not be able to stand it. Perhaps I should just not worry or be concerned with the risks and responsibilities and uncertainties and say Yes. And let the future take care of itself. And let them all take risks they might escape.

My mind keeps turning round and round and I would give a lot to know if she is well and happy and not too discontented with my telegram and letters.

I am lonely and tired and I do need her. Why not just be selfish and think of myself? But I am being selfish. I want to keep her safe and fairly comfortable and the girls too and that is being selfish- wanting it for myself more than I want her beside me in my weak and lonely times. I am not being unselfish; I only want to keep my precious one safe and well for my own selfish sake

18th November 1941

Twenty-one years ago  
Elsie married me in that little  
Rathmines Church. Years of  
happiness. God, how lucky  
I have been.

A HAPPY 21 YEARS PAST AND TO COME

LOVE HUGS AND KISSES = LESTER

New York Times.

OCTOBER 29, 1941.

## Europe

### A Branch of the League of Nations Appears in New York

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The new Palace of the League of Nations stands forlorn and empty on the shaded shores of Lake Leman. All that made the sober city of Geneva an international capital during the rain-bow period of the late armistice has departed. Gone are the days when the hotels along the Rhône were crowded with Foreign Ministers and their buzzing entourages. The biggest intergovernmental club in the world is deserted; the most familiar figures seen year after year around its green baize tables, proud plenipotentiaries of sovereign States, are now prisoners or exiles.

But the League, or what's left of it, is here. The only place where it continues to function is the place that rejected it. This is the highly ironic and extraordinary significance of the conference of the International Labor Organization being held in New York this week. This body is a branch of the League of Nations—since the war started, the only active branch.

It is true that it is the one part of the League's work in which the United States officially participated, and that Mr. John G. Winant was director of the organization until he was named Ambassador to Great Britain last February. But our interest in the I. L. O. does not diminish the dramatic fact that all that is left of the League is now operating in and from America. Meeting here under League auspices are delegates from thirty-three countries and from all the continents, of whom no less than fifteen are members of Cabinets and Ministries. Among the latter is the Greek Minister of Labor, whose arrival yesterday after an arduous journey serves to emphasize in a vivid manner how the occupied nations cling to the lifeboat of international organization.

s called on me as, he said, his only of Latvia's national holiday. Still sioned about the Germans and full of hat is going on. It appears now that l public speakers in Germany are pro- States may be not independent, but e" a kind of local government without ything important such as foreign omics, army, etc. The Germans have property of the German State all Latvia which had been nationalized time of the Latvian-Soviet Republic. ts out that these properties recently did not even belong to the Russians er Russian law, to the local Soviet. time in the history of Latvia, a

created at Riga. It would seem other people in Europe, the Latvians find rescue from the Germans, now ly hope in the defeat of the Germans. Looking forward to the revival of the r future and hopes to see the signing he Assembly Hall.

Recently read Sir James Jeans' "The Mysterious Universe" - sign of the return of science from its old mechanistic materialism.

also Sir J.B.S Haldane's "The Inequality of Man" - an agnostic's brilliant essays including - the usual coincidence - a criticism of Jeans' book. I'd like to have this book.

also Evelyn Waugh's "A Handful of Dust" - story of a charming little society bitch with the morals of a cat!

Chelwood Gate,  
Haywards Heath,  
Sussex.

9th October, 1941.

Rec<sup>d</sup> 21/11

(Purchase of ~~Leeds~~  
Strand Bank  
guarantee.)

My dear Lester,

Thank you very much for your letter of September 24th. It is most kind of you to interest yourself in the matter. I hope that my poor sister-in-law has found a settlement of her troubles at Lugano, where I believe she has now gone, but if any further difficulties should arise I shall venture to write to you again.

Thank you very much for the kind way in which you write about my book.. I am so glad you think it is on the right lines.

Yours ever,

Cecil

A wicked but amusing parody from the "New Statesman"  
The last line suggests a partisan of the policy of  
launching an offensive in Western Europe while Hitler

ONWARD COMPARATIVELY CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS:  
-----

Onward Christian soldiers,  
Armed for total war,  
Crescent moon and sickle  
Going on before.  
Strengthening defences,  
Girding for the fight,  
Westward, help comes slowly,  
Eastward, it is bright!

Onward, Marxist armies,  
Mainly infidel,  
Smite the hordes of Wotan,  
Ram the gates of Hell!  
Onward, hosts of Allah  
On the desert sand,  
Paladin of Giva  
From India's coral strand!

Onward, Africa's warriors,  
Marching in the van,  
Polytheists fighting  
As polytheists can!  
Moslem, Sikh and Hindu  
Bringing victory near,  
Onward Christian soldiers  
Bringing up the rear!

Gather, piebald legions  
Of every faith or none,  
For the powers of darkness  
Conquer one by one.  
Satan's ranks will scatter,  
Wotan's swarm depart,  
Chased by Christian soldiers,  
Once they make a start.

Sagittarius.  
September 6, 1941.

is surprised in  
Russia.

I doubt if they  
have the material  
or force yet.

21<sup>st</sup> Nov. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham  
has launched an offensive from Egypt  
into Cyrenaica - towards Libya - after  
5 months preparation. This seems to  
me much better strategy than risking  
another Dunkirk in France.

Weygand has at last been kicked  
out by Vichy on former orders. Britain  
saved him before. A bad sign as  
he was supposed to be ready to  
resist a former as well as a English  
attack on North Africa ports.

? Related to the new British offensive.

Dear Jackson, 11-11-41

Your letter T.233 No.19 of October 20th has arrived (much quicker than those immediately preceeding it). As regards Ned's report and what I saw in the newspaper summaries of the ILO Conference, it seems that we share a common opinion. On the 3rd November I wrote a personal letter to Roger which dealt with one or two more general aspects.

2 - I enclose for your information the substance of two letters to Loveday. I had been intending to write to you in the same sense, but with more detail. These two enclosures however will show you some of my reactions both to the report and to the Chairman's suggestion that the attenuated Secretariat budget should find the same amount of economies as asked from Ned. I have not written to the Chairman at all on the subject, but I wanted Loveday to have a general background in case he should be asked for an opinion. The absence of any real financial control of the ILO, the lack of knowledge of the Supervisory Commission of its position, the old practice of concentrating nine-tenth of the Commission's time to detailed examination of the Secretariat budget, the laudable application in one organization of treasury principles and other similar factors have now led us into the present situation.

3 - Ned's generalship has from his point of view been perfect. Lagging a year or two behind the Secretariat in making substantial reductions, he has been able to do practically what he likes with the S.C. I maintain he has practically established the right to separate collection. For two years, even with reductions, he has been able to get through a budget which did not represent proportionate sacrifices and which could only be presented to States through the efforts made by the Secretariat to keep the total demands down to the required figures. He has acted on the policy that funds will be found for him; that if he keeps up a good show of activity it represents the best claim to life and support. With the headquarters transferred outside (though against his personal judgement at that time) they have made popular, perhaps demagogic propaganda, very often implicitly if not explicitly at the expense of the organization that stuck to its headquarters. He says that by this transfer the ILO has escaped death by creeping paralysis and one can draw an inference. He is fighting and building to preserve his own organization irrespective of any link. I have not a word to say against that but when having been able to get his way through the complacency or, if you like, the policy of the S.C. and at the expense of the other organization, he proceeds to claim to take over work which has been outside his competence, I have to ask myself seriously what are the intentions of the S.C. and how do they affect my share of responsibility and how it is going to affect the future.

4 - It would be of course easier for me simply to wash my hands of responsibility for the future, especially as I have not the personal contacts which I should have, and merely refuse to be a party to any destruction of this organization. Perhaps the future reorganization is not, as I very much fear, being already prejudiced without the examination and consideration which it should have. It makes me think again about Northerner's proposal for a Committee and whether it was as wise as I thought it was to postpone action which might seem to be in advance of the desires of Governments or in advance of the present state of public and political opinion. No such inhibitions affect my forceful compatriot with his backing of organized labour in free countries.

5 - There is one thing on which I must insist and I would like you to be equally convinced: from the composition and occupation of a large proportion of its staff, the ILO's activities are ~~more~~ more non technical than the Secretariat. This is an opinion formed exclusively on such information as I have regarding that staff and what they are doing and the full knowledge I have of the Secretariat equivalent. On the other hand the Secretariat in the public mind (perhaps including the S.C.!) carries over from past times the reputation (I nearly said odium) of being political. It certainly does in one way remain the flag or symbol of international political collaboration and organization. That indeed is one of the reasons why I have thought it worth my while to give some devotion and some obstinacy to its maintenance. But the staff and the expenditure are directed in more technical channels than that of the sister organization.

6 - These reflections, necessarily incomplete, are not the result of the Conference which merely seems to have put the cap upon my anticipations and premonitions. It now seems to be assumed that the still generous treatment of the ILO by the S.C. was not enough. The half-million asked from them could have been made without the slightest inconvenience, further raids ~~are~~ to be made into husbanded resources? As you say, however, we need not cross those bridges until we come to them. Perhaps special grants in your letter will mean voluntary grants by certain Governments after they have paid their contributions. The framing of any such request would have to be very carefully considered as there are Governments which might well take it as a moral and even legal acquittance of their normal contributions to the League as a whole.

7 - I shall send you soon a rather interesting table which is being prepared here and from which you will see that in spite of tremendous reductions in budget and the percentage of income which has been available, the Secretariat proper has lived within its income during all these trying years. But, as I said to Loveday, I begin to wonder whether this is a matter for congratulation or reproach. From this remark you will see that

although my own share in administration has been largely based on what you would call pure treasury principles, I have grave doubts if in a war for survival a nation or an institution should not be prepared to let posterity carry some little share of the risks and costs. I cannot say I would be entirely gratified merely by a solvent winding-up leaving, unrealized for the purposes of life, assets which should at the right moment be used. I am conservative and prudent by nature, but am far from blind to the advantages of courageous and confident action.

*Sincerely*

Charan on ILO Report "un certain complexe d'infériorité" : "Le ton, le style en sont excessifs, les idées parfois extravagantes" : "la petite mesquinerie à l'égard de la S. d. N est enfantine".

Dear Jacklin,

20. X/41

P1/10 (19)

(five copies)

I wrote the enclosed over a week ago but have not hurried to send it off. I am still however without any report or papers concerning the ILO Conference and do not know how far its actions and the views of the Delegations justify the doubts raised by Phelan's report. Although I very much doubt the wisdom of allowing unilateral action by one organization to prejudice the general future before the problems have been surveyed from other angles, one realizes of course that incidents of this kind have the habit of becoming less important with the aid of perspective and the sense of proportion. There is still much water to flow under the bridge. I shall write to you again when more information is available; ~~then~~ I hope you will do the same.

2 - One has the general impression that the Conference served certain useful political purposes, especially in the absence of League meetings. It was no doubt useful for internal USA politics and gave a natural platform to the Allied Governments, or perhaps more accurately, a platform for the expression of the natural sentiments of the Allied people. In this direction I hope it will prove to have been really useful. One organization of the League has certainly had the benefit of bringing itself before the public, although the conclusion of certain newspapers that it is the only part of the League which survives is rather misleading.

3 - The maintenance of the League organization with its present foundation of 46 States remaining, at least theoretically, attached to it; even the maintenance of the Covenant pending reorganization is, I am convinced, good statesmanship. If the headquarters were to move we could of course more easily make political demonstrations. Indeed such demonstrations could also be made in present conditions, but any such decision would have to be based upon the value attached to holding a political bridgehead inside Europe. Our departure might simplify diplomatic action in Europe in favour of the "New Order", even though final decisions will obviously depend on tanks and ships and planes. It is smart, but not necessarily politically wise, to say that the holding of headquarters in spite of all kinds of circumstances must be accompanied by "creeping paralysis". Whether that is so will depend in the first case on you and me and the Supervisory Commission and the determination of interested Governments. Any natural being would prefer to

To Hambro

~~Not sent~~

draft 24/X/41

Dear Northerner,

I understand you and Cecil are discussing the question of the possible appointment of a Committee which, if I understand aright, could consider the form of the post-war organization on the lines of the Bruce Committee's work. My information is I fear scrappy and I have no idea of your line of thought.

I understand that the question has been raised as to the competence of the Supervisory Commission to appoint such a Committee. That however seems to me to be a secondary consideration and although it may be difficult, I would not hesitate to share in responsibility of finding a way to give the necessary authority.

That however would require a conviction that the situation was sufficiently mature and that behind the proposal there was sufficient governmental approval or potential approval.

I am inclined to think that the time is not yet mature.

It is not merely that there is in many quarters a shirking of contemplating the form that the Organisation can take, but it seems that events have not yet developed far enough to enable Governments or Government representatives to face the fundamental changes in sovereignty, in military commitments and above all in economic spheres which will be necessary if we are to see real progress and reasonable stability.

I myself think the foundations will quite definitely have to be the present League and the present Covenant and it may be that the Powers will not accept more; some may want less, some may want to find security outside the League and the Covenant, however revised and reconstructed.

It may be strange, or it may be very natural in the different circumstances of the second country, but I think there is much more constructive thought being given to the future in the United States than in

7 Assembly  
Bureau  
Covenant  
Whom?

10

Britain. In Britain - and one can understand it as they are carrying a great burden - there seems to be room for little more than tasks of war immediate and future. But I think it would be tragedy, and I hope it will not come about, that the war should end or approach its end <sup>and</sup> leave to the haphazard improvisation of the months which will succeed the armistice, filled as they will be with tremendous tasks of disorder and starvation in Europe, to provide ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ for the new structure for the World. I concur completely in believing that before that time a group of experienced men having authority will have prepared plans and proposals.

It is also good that even war-ridden Governments still facing terrible dangers should almost be forced to Delegate the necessary authority.

The primary need<sup>s</sup> will be sacrifice, law, and the enforcement of law. The creation of machinery for peaceful change, but again with a power to enforce that peaceful change. Without security, which in the end means force, all plans for reconstruction, rebuilding national and international life would be vain.

Force which is not exercised through an international machine would be unpermanent, unreliable? less authoritative, more likely before long to provoke reactions, discontent.

The international machine would have disadvantages, but less than any other way of imposing peace.

If the international machine based upon the League and a reformed Covenant (with teeth in it) is taken for granted, we come to the economic side both as a weapon against the lawless and as a means of providing for all a standard of prosperity, not merely as a question of ideal justice, but as providing the essential conditions which shall make peace tolerable.

The reference in the Eight Points to free access both to trade as well as to raw materials, touches this most vital part of the problem, but as I see it the solution would mean tremendous sacrifices on the part of the great possessor-States: the States with natural wealth, with industrial power built by their people with great territories.

I do not pretend to see the means, but I see no indications yet that certain great Governments are ready or that their people are ready for the sacrifice of sovereignty or for recognition of community interest for the enlightened selfishness which recognizes the inter-dependence of nations.

7 I speak of the great Powers, but the same is largely true of the others. In one or two cases, the most tragic in Europe, I have been shocked to hear a mere reiteration of opinions and ambitions which flourished in 1937-1938. But the Great Powers by leading, and especially if action can be taken promptly on the conclusion of the war, will be in a position to enforce the same enlightened selfishness on others.

I am sadly cut off here from invaluable personal contacts; my life is filled with administrative and quasi-administrative problems and difficulties. *This* has many disadvantages when one takes occasional moments to reflect on the future.

X It is in the nature of things that there should be a greater movement of thought for the future in the United States, but there are some disadvantages and dangers there too. I share what I am sure is your view, that unless the American people will be prepared to take their proper share of responsibility in the world in which they live, our prospects are sad and our dreams and work and hope will be limited all the more that we must await further catastrophes to humanity inevitable as I believe they would be, before another serious step can be taken towards a human commonwealth.

The butcher ~~bird~~ may be dealt with, but we must see positive results, or the future will ~~seriously~~ surely prove that the sacrifice for short-sighted aims will have been in vain. I believe in spite of the comparative failure of the between-wars period, bold and courageous plans should be made and followed. I do not despair of the bold and courageous leadership which will be needed.

(Note- Question: Premature to get in advance of those leaders?)

go out of existence if necessary in a political explosion and a profession of faith, rather than to go out in a paralyzed silence. But these are not, as I see it, our alternatives and although I am at any time ready for the former, I have no intention to be a party to the latter. I suppose you will feel a little shocked in your British soul at my writing so intimately, but perhaps it will help you to gether an impression that our comparative isolation here has not taken the edge of our combatant spirit!

4 - Talking about isolation, the P.S. of your letter of October 7th, T.212 No.14 certainly raises some hopes that the situation might change sufficiently to make it possible for me to go out for consultations. I do not think I can take any initiative which might be misunderstood, but I should like to think that you are trying to keep in touch with this possibility in mind.

5 - The minutes of the Supervisory came through safely about a week ago and may help to clear up one or two matters.

With kindest regards to yourself and our friends in London,

Yours sincerely,

Lunch - Burckhardt, Prince Radziwill (Poland), Anker,  
Melle de Blonay, Greyha-Vautier, etc

Dinner - Squire (USA Consul), Baerquin, Armstrong, van Esch van Wyck,  
Olivers.

22/11/41

Young Lord Derwent, at luncheon today proved to be quite a nice chap. Hon. attaché at Legation for cultural affairs, he is very interested in art & literature. He discussed future position of paraps & gaming class in G.B. He has Irish blood & Scottish & Dutch & is a miser as well as misad.

(Snack)  
Jacobson - of the Intl Bank at Basel passed on his way to USA on Carnegie invitation to attend Intl Ch. of Commerce. His wife's brother (Nye) born in Dublin has just been appointed Br. Deputy Chief of Staff. Brooke, Chief of Staff, is an Ulsterman. Admiral & General Cunningham's father was a T.C.D. professor. Billy adds to the Irish generals: Gen. O'Connor of Libya fame (now a prisoner) was another.

J. told story of Kruger, the Swedish multi-millionaire whose crookedness brought a traffic crash some years ago. Charran was the first at the suicide's body in Paris.

November 25, 1941

The Germans are holding a meeting to-day in Berlin of the anti-Komintern signatories including Italy, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Roumania, Spain; Finland is also attending. All the indications are that it was hoped to have more political "éclat" with 1) the occupation of Moscow and 2) fresh adherents to the Pact. I have not been able to hear of direct approaches to Sweden, Switzerland or Portugal, but in the case of the first two the Ministers at Berlin during the past six weeks received an unusual number of invitations to dinners, etc. and at every one of them the official line of talk was on the advantages of joining up and making a common front with Germany for the New Order economic and political. This indirect pressure I am told was impressively clear. The meeting however took place without either Sweden, Switzerland, France or Portugal and therefore has much less importance. It is an interesting revelation upon the moral value of the continued independence of especially Sweden and Switzerland.

Carl Burckhardt is in London in Red X business intrigue of de Haller, his visit to Berlin, etc. & his appointment in Red X etc. Wm B. says there were 300 holders of diplomatic passports with varying degrees of priority, waiting for places in the British plane services from Lisbon.

Lundh - Brunsborg (Swedish auditor), Carlsson (ant), Stenck, Gallois (I.L.), Olsson, Welpe, Jenny (pressing)

The dismissal of Weygand from his post in North Africa is definitely said to have been the result of a direct request from Hitler, perhaps more strongly made as it coincided with the opening of the British offensive in Cyrenaica. Weygand was not even allowed to return to North Africa to make his "adieux". Pressure is increasing very much on Vichy to make a separate peace. Details are naturally lacking, but it is said to include the cession of Alsace-Lorraine (already formally annexed by Germany) and of Nice to the Italians. Nothing is known as to other possible terms concerning the French Empire or future collaboration. There would probably be a release of a considerable number of the French prisoners. This pressure coincides with a notable improvement in the food situation in occupied France; several reports from Paris report this. Butter and potatoes and meat are available in considerable quantities at the fixed price in the markets. This may be rendered easier to the Germans by the withdrawal of a certain number of troops from France, but seems likely to be part of a deliberate policy for weakening any popular resistance to a separate peace. The food position in occupied France is now estimated to be better than in the unoccupied area. A separate peace made by Vichy would have a very considerable political importance. Washington has taken the dismissal of Weygand very seriously and a White House announcement says that the policy of the United States towards the question of supplies for French North-Africa has been reconsidered. St. Paul.

November 28 1941

The newspapers announced that A. has been received by the Marshal at Vichy. A few days after, Colonel Bach, now a Préfet, was received by the Marshal. A conversation with Agh. this morning brings back to mind certain matters. Bach was a military expert in the Secretariat seconded from the French Army. Amongst other things he was sent to Barcelona at the time of the Spanish civil war to deal with the repatriation of the International Brigade, a politically delicate affair. Bach as a result of that mission received one or two beautiful souvenirs from the Republican authorities, but Vejarano not very long ago stated to Agh. that Bach had promised him to send him copies of any Republican plans he received. The suggestion was that there was much double-crossing. The same man was Avenol's personal agent in Paris being reported to be close to Daladier in connection with the expulsion of Russia from the League. Bach had as ostensible mission to be in touch with the French military authorities with regard to aid to Finland. Renborg who had been sent to Sweden on the same sort of work to help the Finns came back through Paris where he had a long talk with Bach and on arrival here warned Aghnides that Bach was a "dishonest man". He is now chosen as one of the Préfets of the new régime with very extensive police powers over the population.

This brought back to our minds more of the story of Avenol's part in that Russian affair and its relation with the activities of certain elements of the right in France with regard to the war and Germany in particular. I am speculating about Avenol's visit to Pétain; I know that he has been "flirting" with the Comte de Paris pretending to be a kind of elder statesman.

There is an inner story as to what happened about the expulsion of Russia from the League. I do not know all of it. A. had been in Paris when the talk on Finland began and immediately he came back he told me of his plan for the expulsion of Russia. I presumed he had been in close touch with the Quai d'Orsay and the French Government and had consulted the British as they were more closely concerned. When he told me I put to him: How would it affect the war? Would it throw the Russians completely into German hands? He said they were already and the situation could not be affected. The Assembly meeting was reached and during that meeting Butler who was British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs asked Aghnides why this policy had been pursued so strongly. Aghnides said he supposed it was the Quai d'Orsay, but Butler said the Quai d'Orsay had known

"It is your Chief," he said

nothing about it and were doubtful. A little bit later from an American I heard another story. One of Avenol's reasons for going to Paris was to get in touch with B. the American Ambassador. Avenol was at that time playing hard for America and B. was said to be anti-League. He wangled a meeting with B. through Tyler. Another angle of the story is that B. who had been Ambassador at Moscow left there with very violent personal feelings against the régime. There is a story of a beautiful Russian woman who because of her intimacy with B. disappeared, probably in the classical Moscow manner into prison or something else. B.'s interventions were met by bland assertions of ignorance.-

On the other hand Sweetser heard from a Member of the U.S. Embassy in Paris that after talking with Avenol and later seeing the expulsion of Russia from the League B. was supposed to have written a letter to an eminent person in Washington recalling some difficulty, unspecified, which had occurred in Moscow and his (B's) intention to get his own back and the letter is said joyfully to have announced its accomplishment. This story was so shocking to me when I heard it that I refused to credit it although it came at first hand.- The other person behind Avenol was supposed to be Daladier. Whatever the cause, one thing soon became clear: that Avenol's interest in the whole affair which had included Assembly's recommendations of individual States to aid Finland, died out immediately the Soviet was kicked out. Agh. had been put in charge of the aid to Finland (by the way the value of the aid from the States Members was later estimated to nearly three hundred millions Swiss - or gold - francs). Avenol obstructed Agh. persistently during the months of January and February. I had been absent most of December through illness and at Christmas time visiting Ireland. Walters and Vigier gave the greatest possible support to Aghnides in trying to get Avenol to agree to the application of the Assembly's resolution.

Finland matters nothing to him, as he showed.  
Did the League? I much doubt it.  
The war? I wonder.

## LE CONFLIT S'ÉTEND AU PACIFIQUE

# Le Japon déclare la guerre aux Etats-Unis et à la Grande-Bretagne

**L'aviation nippone bombarde les îles Hawaï et les Philippines.  
Combat naval au large d'Honolulu.  
Vaisseaux américains coulés. - Avions japonais abattus.**

The attacks were being made while the Japanese special envoy to the Jap. ambassador were actually in conference with the US Sec. of State, Cordell Hull, it seems.

This war has not come as a surprise. Will it affect US supplies for GB & USSR? It sh<sup>d</sup>. hasten production & stop strikes in America. War seems as inevitable between USA & Germany. May come? if not today. The position in Switzerland will be worsened, I expect.

Prince of Wales & "Repulse" sunk. } appalling losses in  
Two US battleships also sunk. } the first few hours.

LONDON OFFICE: 38 FURNIVAL ST., LONDON. E.C.4.

TELEPHONE: CHANCERY, 8247

The  
Irish Digest

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22nd September 1941

Sean Lester Esqr.,  
"La Pelouse",  
GENEVA  
SWITZERLAND

Dear Sir,

We wish to thank you for your letter  
of the 26th August giving us permission to  
reprint your article on Fishing in Connemara,  
from the "Fishing Gazette", in our Anthology.

Yours faithfully,  
THE IRISH DIGEST

*C. J. Fallon*



UÍ FÍOGÁN TÁNAISTE  
(Office of the Tánaiste)  
TIGHTE AN RIAGHALTAIS  
(Government Buildings)  
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH  
(Dublin)

*M. f. f. p. 11<sup>th</sup> 1941.*

*11/9/41 recd  
9/12*

*A Seán, a capa,*

Many thanks for the copy of the  
annual Report of the League of Nations which  
you so kindly sent me. I received it  
safely some weeks ago but it was only last  
night I got time to peruse it.

Its contents interested me.  
It is good to be able to carry on even to that  
limited extent these difficult times.

Hope you are keeping fit.  
Mear of 'herself' & the children now & then.  
I believe they are all well

Kind regards

*Do capa Seán D. O'Callaghan*

18/12



HOTEL SCHWEIZERHOF, BERN

Dear Mr. Lester -

How nice of  
you to write me that friendly  
note - I am always glad  
when these lectures go off all  
right - not, I assure you, for  
myself, for I am really too



J. GÄGER • TELEPHON 2-45.01 • TELEGR. SCHWEIZERHOF BERN

from Geneva - but certainly  
French.  
This brings you my best wishes  
and the hope that you will not be  
kept from your journey for too long  
Sincerely Charlotte

Wm. Lester

Sous le titre "L'Etat d'esprit en Alsace" le Mulhauser Tagblatt du 30 novembre publie un éditorial qui s'occupe en vérité davantage de l'état d'esprit en Allemagne que de celui en Alsace. Le rédacteur en chef Wilhelm Kicherer raconte les conversations qu'il aurait eues avec certains mécontents. Il dit qu'il aurait essayé récemment d'expliquer à l'un d'eux la grandeur de l'époque que nous traversons. Ce dernier lui aurait répondu que si elle était moins grande, elle lui suffirait largement.

In line

Translation into German of a Swiss dialect song.

Du bist mein, ich bin dein.  
Dessen solst Du sicher sein.  
Du bist eingeschlossen  
In meinem Herzen.  
Verloren ist das Schlüsselein;  
Du musst immer darin sein.

P1/10 (20)

égard avec nos

meilleurs vœux pour

Noël et Nouvel-An.

Les Sœurs de St. Louis.

Un petit signe  
reconnaisant pour  
toutes les bontés de  
Monsieur à notre

Revenu de tout a life is such  
a burden - but because they  
really are for propaganda in  
that case it's as well that  
they should succeed.  
A friend, I hope -  
Yours sincerely  
Derwent

**ANGLO-GENEVESE SOCIETY**  
FOR THE STUDY OF LITERARY AND SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

You are invited to attend a meeting of this Society to be held  
at the Athénée on Wednesday, the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1941.

Monsieur Guillaume FATIO will take the chair at 8.45  
p.m. for a talk, in French, by

Lord DERWENT, on:

**LIOTARD, L'ÉCOLE DE GENÈVE ET L'ANGLETERRE**  
(with illustrations)

Tea and light refreshments will be served after the lecture, when  
Mrs. Velleman will act as hostess.

H. W. HÄUSERMANN, Hon. Secretary  
Tel. 40524

I had lunch with this young  
man, attached to British Legation,  
& liked him.

for the New Year  
I get scraps of news about  
you from people returning or coming  
from Geneva - but nothing  
much.  
This brings you my best wishes  
and the hope that you will not be  
kept from your family for too long.  
Sincerely Charlotte

Mrs. F. J. S. S. S.

Sous le titre "L'Etat d'esprit en Alsace" le Mulhauser Tagblatt  
du 30 novembre publie un éditorial qui s'occupe en vérité  
davantage de l'état d'esprit en Allemagne que de celui en  
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Il dit qu'il aurait essayé récemment d'expliquer à l'un d'eux  
la grandeur de l'époque que nous traversons. Ce dernier lui  
aurait répondu que si elle était moins grande, elle lui suffirait  
largement.

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Du musst immer darin sein.

ANGLO-GENEVESE SOCIETY  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
REVENUE de tout a life is such  
a burden - but because they  
really <sup>are</sup> for propaganda in  
that case it's as well that  
they should succeed.

A bientôt, I hope -

Yours sincerely  
Dewent

11<sup>th</sup> Dec '41

Germany & Italy have  
declared war on USA.

Germany, beaten back from Rostov  
& defeated in superhuman efforts to  
take Moscow, announces end of  
winter campaign in Russia.

If they can stabilise the line  
there and expect the attack on G.B.  
may be forced now.

British Libya campaign has  
so far been disappointing.

A long war.  
The American people were stunned for a week.  
But, at last, they will go into real war production.

12/12. Oct & November letters from Elsie &  
girls have arrived. Lots of hardships  
there, too. But letters cheerful &  
charming.

Towards ~~the~~ the end of the year the  
situation in the Pacific looks definitely bad.  
In Russia, Adolf has met a  
severe check; if Stalin had enough  
force it might be a major defeat.  
Perhaps it is.

Hitler has taken over the Army.  
and it is assumed, actually, that  
he will "follow his intuition".  
What's behind it? A first-class  
quarrel with his Army G.H.Q.?  
Or another plot? The Russian failure  
where will he strike next,  
people ask, & as it is assumed  
he has still a great force.

Spain, Portugal, & Gibraltar, &  
so to north Africa?

Or, more doubtful, invade England.  
The Libya battle is going  
better. It is vital.  
Vichy?

The war will not end  
until Europe can be invaded.

My God, how far off that  
prospect seems.

I am full of troubles.  
Singapore Bureau has  
to close. Loveday wants  
transfer Bulletin to Year Book.

There will be heaps of new  
problems if our postal communities  
— slow as they are — are cut.

Readjustments.  
aplunds has been urging I  
as S.G. sh<sup>d</sup> be outside to protect  
& develop the League Organ there.  
There's a lot in it, especially as  
they need a further "outside" too.

But ~~fix~~ <sup>fix</sup> ~~without~~ <sup>without</sup> me would  
— without false modesty — be in a  
poor way. I guess our policy  
is to hold.

*Following is a bunch of typical letters*

Geneva, December 19th, 1941.

Dear Jacklin,

As I wanted to send you the note about the Swiss contribution through the courtesy of the Legation, I have taken the opportunity of adding various other notes, as I think they may reach you a little quicker.

2 - I also add a letter to the Foreign Minister at Teheran concerning Hékimi. I have had half a dozen official interventions from them and that may explain part of the trouble I have gone to in my reply. In addition there is the question of their contribution, payment of which is pending. The new Government are rather more friendly to Hékimi; it would be useful if we could add their contribution.

3 - I have just been told confidentially to-day that there has been a decision "in principle" to pay the French contribution. You already knew that it had been placed in the budget and passed through the bugetary Committee six months ago. The 800,000 it represents will be useful as you may guess, especially the part which comes to the Secretariat because I see less and less prospect of changing the opinion I sent to you with the draft budget, i.e., that it was in substance an expenditure plan.

4 - I was really touched that you were taking some trouble about the letters from my family. I am afraid little or nothing can be done, but I enclose an envelope of a letter dated the 1st of November which arrived on the 15th of December. There are other letters written in October which have not come at all. Perhaps you would be kind enough at the same time to note for your files, the address of my wife:

5 - I am kept intensely busy as I find it very difficult to delegate certain types of responsibility. Stencek and his staff both Treasury and other, are probably working harder than they ever did. On the top of ordinary work we have two questions which are adding to it: the E.P.N. and the Wireless. The E.P.N. Committee of Experts about the accounts, etc., are holding occasional meetings which require attendance and careful preparation. Stencek keeps me quite up to date on it. There are some peculiar developments which may prove very favourably to affect our contentions, but which contain elements of risk. I won't go further into this at the moment, but the revelations do not give one complete confidence in the character of the claimants.

6 - You will receive our first long memorandum on the wireless to be submitted to the Arbitration Committee which will meet, we hope, about the 5th of January. Copies are being sent to the Members of the Supervisory Committee. Giraud, Stencek and Renn have all done trojan work on this, but I considered it well to bring into consultation also an outside lawyer with commercial experience. The difference between the offer of 250,000 francs and our claim (I hope over a million) is such as to justify small outlays of that kind. I myself have spent hours on the question and at each stage and (modestly) not without some utility.

7 - Brunsokog will have finished his auditing before Christmas and Stencek will be writing to you.

8 - I am being driven out of La Pelouse by shortage of coke as well as the question of general expense, but I shall probably return there in the summer as it is very convenient to the office.

9 - All the officials in America have so far refused to give their consent to the voluntary contribution, pending at any rate the settlement of the tax question. As I have yet no reply to my letter to Hambro asking him to bless my decision on the matter. I am not sure that even the tax question will settle that. This morning Park has telegraphed from Singapore refusing to make the voluntary contribution. All the staff in Geneva have signed the document presented to them but I believe, as I said before, that we cannot make distinction between one group and another.

10 - Lukac has just finished a long study of transport conditions on the Continent which I think may have both present use to certain States Members and be valuable as an interim survey of a problem which will be associated with postwar reconstruction economic and other. I shall spend part of the Christmas leave studying its 170 pages to see how far it can be reduced and whether it is suitable for general or limited circulation.

11 - I re-employed Tyler for a few months at about 30% of his previous salary to do some other studies, one of which has already been sent to Loveday and a copy to London. I am letting him finish another bearing on financial and economic reconstruction. The Health people in addition to normal work are also preparing various memoranda, but much as I would like, our limited resources and budgetary provisions make it impossible for the moment to do what should be done. The Social work is now being done between Van Asch and Miss Harris, but we are not neglecting anything which was done during the previous year, before Melle. Colin's death.

12 - The Statistical Yearbook will be published early in January. I have in this matter taken the precaution during recent months to see that all the tables were sent to Loveday immediately they were prepared so that if communications were cut, we would still have the option of publishing "outside". We have made arrangements in case communications were further restricted to safeguard the library collections from non-european sources; these have been assembled, if we are isolated, at two or three outside places including Loveday's branch. So far the Library has been extremely successful in keeping its records complete, although there are one or two holes including, extraordinarily enough, Canadian official publications. I hope there is nothing more in that quarter than extreme war precautions.

13 - I wrote to you once as to the question of your taking further precautions as regard to treasury control and responsibility for the funds. I have, as you know, passed all the formal authorities needed in foreseeing the possibility of a break in the communications between us but again I put to you the fact that 1) I am cut off from London as well as from Princeton and 2) - which God forbid - that anything should happen to you; there would be a chaotic, or at any rate, extremely difficult situation. Will you reflect again on this and see whether it is possible to take any further precautions.

14 - I estimate that the position of the League in Switzerland is not in any immediate danger; that could change in six months or indeed at any time that the Germans increase their interest and pressure on Switzerland, but on the whole I have no immediate forebodings. In holding headquarters we have always been taking certain risks and some of the regularly recurring fears about Spain and Portugal are at the moment prevalent. The risks are for the moment mainly those of isolation or separation of the formal head of the organization from vital parts and the effect on the work at present coordinated between Geneva and the branches. Geneva is still doing an essential and important share of the work of the branches, partly because, as in the case of opium the United States would not permit its transfer and partly because a centre in Europe is valuable to both the branches. If communications are cut, there will have to be some reorganization. I have tried to take precautions, but it is quite impossible to prevent difficulties.

15 - There is the more general aspect. We have chosen to hold headquarters for various reasons, but the political reason predominated. It has been put to me again very seriously and objectively by one or two non-interested

persons that the A.S.G. should be outside (in London or preference) as a coordinating instrument for the activity of the branches, but principally as the symbol of League organization and the centre around which a political re-organization be made. They may have been partly affected in reviving this opinion by the "imperialist" policy of the ILO, but there is of course a more general and quite substantial question involved. I do not encourage the consideration of that possibility here and I cannot put it up to any authority. The matter has been fully weighed and I believe, although you have not said so, there is a decision, or at any rate a clear understanding on the part of the S.C.

16 - A propos I received your note about the press remarks on the absence of a political officer in London. You know, I think they are quite right. Some time before receiving your letter I had mentioned the matter again to Beger. Six months ago I had proposed to Loveday to send Chung Hill to London, partly as an offset to his own transatlantic position and to keep him in touch and informed as well as to be a centre of general information about the League both at Geneva and Princeton. From my angle he is not entirely suitable, but the best in sight. There should be a fairly senior person there quite apart from yourself; but we have cut our staff so much, we have nobody to send. Your letter on the subject was a consolation to me and I am sure that in spite of all your major financial responsibilities you will do your best to add this work. More than once during the past year Frank Walters' name has come into my mind, but although I get an occasional personal letter from him, he cannot have very much information about the present situation and its problems. Even so and in spite of his unfortunate physical trouble, his long experience and general knowledge might be valuable. I have said nothing on this matter to anybody and I realize there may be other aspects of the question to be known only in London.

17 - I have been thinking aloud in writing some of the foregoing, but it will at any rate help to give you additional impressions of the position. I am in reasonably good health, reasonably cheerful, somewhat overworked and just going on with the job. I have sent you a telegram of greetings for the New Year and thanks for your invaluable collaboration. Although we try to foresee and provide against possible difficulties, I have no doubt that in one way or another, we shall be able to carry out our small share in the struggle.

Cheerful and best regards to Mrs. Jacklin and all our friends.

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A preliminary note from Loveday says the Supervisory Commission's report only arrived on the last day of the ILO Conference and that Hill "managed to effect a partial distribution". The report was sent on the day it was printed by air-mail. It did not therefore play any direct part in the Conference.

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 reaction such as "all that is left of the League is now  
 migrating in and from America" and "the migration and the  
 working branch of the League to this side of the Atlantic" etc.,  
 remarks that "it does inescapably raise the question as to whether  
 one is consciously propagating these views."

4 - Another point of some interest bearing on these matters: Ms. Lenroot, United States representative on the Social Committee is now discussing, as perhaps you know, with some of our people in America the question of having a study made of post-war social problems. Eventually on the 21st of October I wrote to Sweetser as follows:

"I have read with great interest your letter of September 5th, informing me of the desire of Miss Kathleen Lenroot, United States Representative on the League's Social Committee, to undertake preliminary studies of post-war social problems, with a view to submitting them for the consideration of the League's Social Committee.

"I am sure it would be most valuable for the Social Committee if, at the end of the war when it may resume its labours and when social problems will come to the forefront, it were to have at its disposal a concrete plan for its discussions. While, therefore the responsibility and the initiative in this matter should, as was the case in similar circumstances in the past, rest with Miss Lenroot, I cannot sufficiently recommend or welcome such efforts.

"In the meantime, I would ask you to convey to Miss Lenroot my appreciation of her untiring interest and valuable collaboration."

I now learn from Sweetser that Miss Lenroot after

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of Nevada:

12th Dec '41

Jacklin,

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"In the meantime, I would ask you to convey to Miss Lenroot my appreciation of her untiring interest and valuable collaboration."

5 - I now learn from Sweetser that Miss Lenroot after giving this information consulted Goodrich (USA) and Tixier in consequence a resolution was proposed to the Labour Conference at New York!! Sweetser adds that in the fuss there, a resolution was overlooked and not passed. This was a peculiar procedure by an American member of a League committee with regard to a League activity, after consulting Goodrich.

12 - The early in January precautionary tables were prepared so that still have the made arrangements restricted to non-european are isolated, Loveday's branch successful in are one or two Canadian office more in that

13 - I taking further and responses, passed all the possible us but again from London forbid - that be a chaotic Will you re to take any

14 - Switzerland change in increase t on the who headquarter some of the ugal are a moment mai head of the work at branches. share of the case transfer to both t will have precaution culties.

personnel

6 - You will remember that I was informed that consultations were taking place between K. and H. as to whether in place of the proposed Committee a new report on the activities should be issued. I have heard nothing further on this matter and have received no such request from the Chairman. A new report by me on the present activities would now take a different character. It would not be exclusively descriptive. There is work which we should be doing but for which we have not got the money, more particularly health and social. By the way, if there is to be a demand made to the S.C. for a supplementary budget on behalf of the ILO, I shall want to add a reasonable sum, more particularly for the Health Section which is depleted below the essential minimum. You will recall Hambro's statement for example at the ILO Conference with regard to this work.

7 - Another matter in this omnibus letter: you will remember that the Supervisory Committee decided that the monthly financial statements should only be sent to the Members of the S.C. This is being done, but I presume it is recognized that specific demands for information as to the financial position and more particularly as to contributions paid, can hardly be refused. The only case I have had has been the pertinacious Cremins. I am sure that the S.C. decision was not intended as a direction to me to refuse an express inquiry from a Government on the matter as that refusal would only make our position worse, if not untenable.

8 - Our Paris Office has been seized and occupied by the German authorities, I think for a Section connected with Russian affairs. A report on the subject is being prepared and will be sent later to the Chairman and a copy to you.

9 - Brunsog has been working here for a week or so. I do not know what he will do about the ILO, none of the necessary documentation is available. I think he will finish the Secretariat up to about the middle of 1941, which will be useful. His departure from Sweden was delayed in the first case because the Swedish Government would not make a request for a diplomatic visa. His request for an ordinary visa made months ago had produced no result. Finally he got a government mission to Switzerland in connection with their war contracts with Swiss firms.

10 - We are still hoping to have Damme (Dutch) arrive here to act as Chairman in the wireless station arbitration Commission. He has accepted but has not so far obtained the permit to leave Holland. The Commission is being formed with the powers and rules of procedure normally applied to arbitration.

Dear Alec,

18/12/41  
It is a long time since I wrote a personal letter to you. I am kept consistently busy, so much so that I would very thoroughly appreciate a slack period, but one problem follows another and I have to have my hand in them all; I am sure, however, that it helps to keep one mentally healthy - if tired.

2 - I have been getting some letters from Jacklin which show on the whole, things are going well there. The behaviour of the Washington staff over the immigration visa and taxation business is rather unpleasant and of course the difficulty in dealing with these questions is vastly increased by the separation. I hope it will not add too much to your own worried. I do appreciate that there are difficulties and hardships for the staff in America and it is quite natural to have these questions brought up for consideration. I won't say their spirit is disillusioning or a revelation because in times of difficulty I do not expect too much from people, but I appreciate very genuinely and very highly the right stuff when the difficulty brings it out. We have had a lot of experience in that question since catastrophe fell on Europe; it has meant many re-assessments of individuals and sometimes the re-assessment has to be modified in degrees at a later stage. There are people who will, thank God, always merit full confidence and complete trust; perhaps more than oneself. There have been magnificent and glowing cases of unbreakable loyalty by men and women - not to an individual, not necessarily to an Institution, but to their own convictions of right. There have been others also, a mixed bag. It has not been a question of race or nationality: treachery, compromise, short-sighted self-interest - they have all played their part as well as the over-intellectualized who has lost from view simple worthy fundamental things. When the wind of defeat blows, many bend; some regain their poise but many of them would bend again with the next gust. We have to take them all as part of our world. It is not virtue that one believes that right is right, but in an agnostic world it counts.

*all about Channon*  
3 - Now about your letter No. 79, do not worry. I am not really gullible. All the foregoing means that there are degrees of trust. I think M.H. may have exaggerated the impression I wanted him to convey. I did not want you to close your mind to past history or to act as though we had not all had good cause for our opinions; all I wanted was a practical working arrangement. I follow every question with your group here with very close personal attention. I go into some matters when there is the slightest query, as closely as any Director would do. I would not tolerate from any of the quarters the development of a spirit, so far as I can check it, which is not entirely objective

Naturally I cannot fully replace you, but I spare neither time nor pains. Will you keep this in mind in any question which comes up for discussion? Count on me to see that the risk (your No. 79) is limited. I go shooting rabbits with anyone who can handle a shotgun, but if there should ever be tiger-shooting I'll expect very few sportsmen to be there.

4 - Lukac has finished his big study to which when you heard of it you gave such full and gratifying approval. I imagine it may be of value. I shall write separately about it when I have read it; I fear it will be much too long; he will immediately start on the other question which you have suggested, i.e. "future organization problems".

5 - I fear that in spite of the printing programme you sent to me, you have been unable to let me know more of the other aspects of your work which would be of very great interest.

6 - In your personal letter No. 78 you show that you too feel some of the difficulties which the division of the Secretariat brings to you and you will appreciate that I obviously share these difficulties too. There is, as you know, a round-about route by which you could see that I was informed without risking the disclosure of anything which you might wish to treat confidentially. And don't be peevish with me (paragraphs 7 & 8).

7 - Do not overlook, when you are considering the work which can be done for us her, that there is a question of high policy involved in the maintenance of our life in Geneva; that is apart from your own personal views expressed when your section was divided. I am still convinced that as long as the route remains open, it is good and valuable to have certain things done here.

8 - I wonder how much the new situation caused by the spread of the war will affect your work. Theoretically it should make no difference as you have always argued for a poised scientific equilibrium. But your relations with your hosts, a subject on which you have in the past several times shown sensitivity, may be made easier. I hope so. I have in mind in this connection your references to Northerner and his activities and the effect upon your relationship with him. I imagine Arthur's side will be rather swamped for a time in this connection. I am looking forward to the commentary on the recent Conference; their resolutions even more than Ned's report, and perhaps still more the way the resolutions will be interpreted by the staff, seem to me like a deliberate encroachment on our field and on that part of our field which has done much to preserve alive the activity. I think this is foolish and short-sighted even if it has the appearance of smart tactics. I suppose they were lucky not to have their Conference a month later when events must have wiped out so many of the internal

problems in your neighbourhood. I wonder if these events should not actually make our position vis-à-vis Sodal and their chiefs much easier and more promising?

9 - Not unconnected with the preceeding paragraphs, I may mention the question you raised about the Charter. I gave way to you with very much hesitation, some doubt and bad grace. As posed it was a political question rather more than a practical one. I don't feel happy in a position where judgement demands prudence, but if I am to endanger the carrying out of a mission, i.e. holding Headquarters in the middle of Europe, I would like to do it in a more worth-while way.

10 - Since most of this letter was written I have received your letter No. 93 of December 1st. I notice that about the proposed entry of the ILO into the economic field you say they have practically no competent staff and that the reference to cooperation with "inter-governmental agencies was intended to refer to us." What an extraordinary commentary on the attitude of the conference or its directors that they should be so much afraid to mention the League, even when they were about to try to take over the work being done by the League. I agree that the main problem will be not who does the work, but that it should be done and I do think it is a tremendous pity that there cannot be some of that spirit on the other side of the wall and I am glad you too are prepared to cooperate with our aims with whatever organization may prove useful, but I hope your idea is clearly one of cooperation. I remember conversations with you on this question, but neither of us would be entitled to sacrifice the programme or the constitution of the League or to take any action to prejudice the future form of organization. From your own description it would seem as though they had to build a new machine to do the work which should be and probably is being done by your group. If there is any question of cooperation or helping or any approach from their side, I should of course be glad to hear about it.

11 - I hope you are keeping in good health and that Nathalie and the boys are as always making the best of things. I am tired but cheerful and quite prepared to be pugnacious, but it would be worth a million dollars to me and to the job if I could spend a week or two with Roger and all his adjacent companions.

With thanks for all you have done in our joint work during a hard year and with best wishes for the new year to you all.

Naturally I cannot fully replace you, but I spare neither time nor pains. Will you keep this in mind in any question which

Dear Roger,

22/12/41

I enclose copy of a note dated the 1st December, No. 93 from Loveday, which may be of some little interest to you even though you yourself were at the ILO conference.

2 - Reference to this matter in paragraph 10 of my letter to Loveday is partly influenced by the fact that for some months prior to his departure, Loveday had been impressed with the advantages of his work being transferred to the ILO. It was not, however, seriously discussed at that time and indeed I recall a message from HMG. to Avenol later in 1940 expressing strong opposition to any such proposal.

3 - Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the same letter have arisen out of the trouble between Loveday and Charron, formerly the very best of friends; there came a split in the summer of 1940 and to a great extent it seemed to me more than justified, but I wanted in spite of that to maintain a practical working relationship between the Princeton branch and the remains of the section here. An attempt to get this led Loveday to write me an impressive warning.

4 - You will notice in the last paragraph 7 of Loveday's letter that he talks of a meeting of the Economic Committee, or the Economic plus the Financial Committee. I had asked that this be kept in mind at the S.C. meeting last August, but Loveday then did not think it was desirable or practical. I have the feeling that if such a meeting were held, it would be very desirable to have it held in London. I have long been uncertain and somewhat unhappy that Loveday depends for his relationship with London, now the seat of half-a-dozen Governments - on chance visitors to the United States. Perhaps I am wrong and perhaps he is keeping in much closer touch than I fear. He has as I said in a previous letter opposed the suggestion by me that some one should be detached by him to maintain liaison in London. If he himself could pay occasional longish visits to London, that would meet the case. Perhaps my apprehension is much exaggerated, especially as Loveday himself should be and is well balanced. If the war took no turn which made it undesirable, the ideal thing probably would be for certain members of the staff at Princeton to work in London whilst the staff relating more to intelligence questions kept their temporary headquarters at Princeton. I am taking the opportunity of a personal letter to mention this question.

and short-sighted even if it has the appearance of success. I suppose they were lucky not to have their Conference a month later when events must have wiped out so many of the internal

5 - By telegram to-day Loveday raises the question of transferring the monthly statistical Bulletin to Princeton. This would involve the statistical Year Book being published there next year. I have long been considering the measures necessary in case the communications were cut and am inclined to think that my plan of waiting until force majeure made it impossible or undesirable to continue publication here, is practical and practicable. I may however agree to Loveday's proposal.

5 - Dr. Park to-day reports by telegram that the Health Office there can no longer effectively work and proposes either the closing down temporarily or transfer to Australia. The material coming from Singapore has become insignificant since the Pacific war broke out and it will probably be a long time before any substantial service can be resumed. I propose to let Park go to Australia on the same conditions as the men who have been sent to USA. He may there examine the conditions but I do not believe there is anything to be gained by attempting to continue the service from ~~Singapore~~ the last report dealt with Macao only. It is sad to see this office going out of action but we shall continue the circulation of epidemic statistics from here as far as possible. I do not like to leave that field exclusively to the German controlled office.

6 - If the Portuguese gate should be closed for correspondence and communications, I shall have to make a new examination of the situation here to see what is possible and useful. I hope that our policy of holding headquarters, which is and has always been regarded by me as mainly a political decision, will continue to be justified when I am even more completely cut off from our people abroad. I have also taken for granted - and I am sure rightly - that the intention of the S.C. and of yourselves was not merely that the person of the ASG and a small administrative staff should remain in Geneva, but that all practical activities useful to States Members should be carried on.

7 - I hope all this does not give the impression that I see our problems without a sense of proportion. Would you be kind enough to forward the enclosed letters to Jacklin. If you have time to glance at them, you might get some more information about some of our affairs. Perhaps you would also let Jacklin forward the letter to Loveday.

With kindest regards and best wishes for 1942,

Yours sincerely,

Dear Arthur,

17-12-41

I have been thinking about you during the last ten days since the new war developments. It is perhaps too soon yet to see how these will affect your work, but I can well imagine that there will be intense developments of the war effort which may divert or temporarily slacken the interest in the post-war problems. I hope not but am inclined to think that as the war has become very real and as the opening round was not all that might have been desired, we may see a little impatience with people trying to look beyond the immediate problems. It would be very desirable that while the national effort is developed and contemplated, that the real objective of war - which is peace - should not be ignored and its problems entirely left aside.

2 - We have come to the end of another year and our organization is still healthy and active, although I am feeling more and more the effects of the heavy economies imposed on us which, as we now have no elasticity, prevent much to be desired developments. The dispersal of the staff between Princeton, Washington and London has added to difficulties on one side, but give me a good deal of gratification as a counter balance to the policy of steadfastly holding the seat of the League. I was rather moved the other day to hear of three prominent men who had collaborated in Loveday's work and who are still in occupied countries having separately expressed opinions showing how much hope they attach to the future for the Organization and to its having maintained a bridgehead in Europe. Others, not so far away who a year ago were hopeless or indifferent, have lately formally expressed somewhat similar opinions.

3 - We have gained a year which often looked problematical, but there is still much water to flow under the bridge. We are again having our periodically recurring anticipation of developments which may affect our work and our situation through the question of communications. If that happened, we shall be facing a whole series of problems and most of them it is impossible to foresee and provide against. They are inherent in the policy of not abandoning the post; if that were to occur, there would be a reflection in different degrees of these problems with our colleagues abroad. I would have the greatest confidence that such circumstances would not of course in the slightest degree affect the essential loyalty to the Organization. At any rate, Loveday and yourself would help to maintain the morale of the waverers if any.



23<sup>rd</sup> Dec 41

Another four letters from  
Elsie dated Oct. & November.

all that a man could  
desire. I am much  
cheered & strengthened.

Ann's first University dance  
- "glowing with happiness", writes Elsie.  
She will find her feet, all right  
later - mental growing pains.  
(She writes me a verse of poetry -  
has begun to appreciate beauty in  
language).  
Ann, writes Ann, "one  
of the most beautiful girls".

Elsie, full of charm & courage  
& intelligence - and more  
important we are keeping in  
step. As she says "going the  
same way".

It's not a bad world, by most



Christmas week-end 1941

# GRAND HOTEL DU PARC

VILLARS s. BEX

J. CHEVRIER, DIR. • TÉL. 42.34 - 42.35 • TÉLÉGR.: PARC VILLARS

NOTE pour M *onieur* Lister

Clearing up la Pelouse  
for two months - cost do  
with 25% of small coke allowance

Warmest greetings from us both, 1941

QUIET MINDS cannot be perplexed or frightened,  
but go on in fortune or misfortune at their own private  
pace, like a clock during a thunderstorm.

Robert Louis Stevenson.

New Year Greetings, 1942,  
from Mr. & Mrs. Ronald Armstrong  
4, rue Beauregard, Geneva.

WITH ALL GOOD WISHES  
FOR CHRISTMAS AND THE NEW YEAR

Harry and Betty.

Livingstone

BRITISH CONSULATE  
GENEVA

RTMENT  
E 3.90.95  
3.90.95

20. XII. 41

BRITISH LEGATION,  
BERNE

My dear Sean,  
This is to bring you all  
my good wishes & much gratitude for  
all your goodness to me. ~~your~~  
~~kindness~~

I much enjoyed the lunch-party  
yesterday. I feel sad to have arrived  
in such a storm-blown state.

Yours are

Elizabeth W.

(Wiskemann)



POST CARD

PLACE FOR ADDRESS ONLY

NO. 1

THIS SPACE FOR WRITING MESSAGE

Nos meilleurs  
vieux poas 1942  
Helio 106  
Princeton, N.J.  
Jefferson Road 126.

Mr. of the  
Sean Lester  
Societe de Nation  
Geneve  
Switzerland

Seen by the  
made a early chart  
filled with characters  
decorated with ovals etc  
I gave the content a  
pic me in two a  
my friends.





"C"

THIS SPACE FOR WRITING NOTES

A. Loveray.  
A. Chapman  
Hertha Hill

M. Kiv  
F. Wiegand  
R. Harkness.  
A. H. Macfarlane.

M. Kiv

M. Kiv

S. Hartmann

John Lin Day  
A. Rosenberg  
P. W. Van Housen  
(P. Deperon - a great mission)

With every good wish  
for Christmas and the New Year

from

Violet and Per Jacobsson

37, St. Albananlage  
Basle, Switzerland

To Mr. Lester and all our colleagues at Geneva.  
Christmas Greetings  
and best wishes for  
the New Year

Princeton, N.J.  
U.S.A.

With every good wish  
for Christmas and the New Year  
from  
Willet and Co Jacobson  
37, St. Albans Place  
Buck, Switzerland

To Mr. Lester and all our colleagues at Geneva.  
Christmas Greetings  
and best wishes for  
the New Year

Princeton, N.J.  
U.S.A.



NASSAU HALL  
COLLEGE OF PRINCETON NEW JERSEY.

John in story  
A. Rousby  
P. de Van Meester  
(P. De Meester - a great mission)

M. Lova  
P. de Meester  
M. K. W.

F. Meester  
M. K. W.  
A. T. Meester

M. K. W.

M. K. W.

S. Meester

THIS SPACE FOR WRITING ANSWERS



CHRISTMAS

1941

arr  
9-2-42

1616 West 22<sup>nd</sup> Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

U.S.A

Dec 2. 1941

Dear Lester,

I have a faint  
hope this may reach  
you in time to bring  
you our good wishes for  
the New Year.

I have had news  
of the League, having  
been (with Kate) to Washington  
to lecture on the Permanent  
Court to a new 'institute'  
of the kind so common at  
Geneva & met Hambro, Sweetser,  
Miss McGeachy.

Felkin, Sutherland & gone on  
to Princeton to see the group  
there. Bieler was out here too.  
I was astonished at the amount  
going on - particularly in  
the field of 'status of women'.  
I wish I could help.

Nevertheless I think it  
is noble of you to stay there  
and captain the water-logged  
ships. I hope at least you  
have good news from  
Ireland.

This is a non-interventionist  
centre and it is surprising

how tranquil public opinion  
in general keeps - or  
rather how indifferent -  
a war comes nearer &  
nearer to becoming an  
unconcealable reality.

With the best of  
good wishes from Kate  
and me

Yours ever

Hugh McKim Wood

P.S. Please remember me to

BUNDLES FOR BRITAIN, MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH

Mrs. Lester when you write

# Leader Page Parade

A FRENCH saying assures us that "Le journalisme mène à tout, pourvu qu'on en sorte." Its veracity seems to be vindicated by the case of an Irish journalist who starting on the "Connaught Tribune," later in Dublin as Chief Reporter on the "Evening Mail," and from there News-Editor of the "Freeman's Journal," has just become Acting Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Mr. Sean Lester will fill the chair which Lord Perth filled with so much distinction as Sir Eric Drummond and which his successor, M. Avenol, has just vacated.

## Geneva Guardian

IT is a luxurious and at present seemingly purposeless shell, the Palace of the Nations at Geneva. But Mr. Lester is somewhat of a philosopher. When we think this out, it must be evident that we can never start building Europe anew without some form of co-operation.

As it is he is the keeper now of the tiny flickering light, all that remains of the flaming torch of great hopes and ideals. Betrayed and belittled, let us remember, by all the big Powers without exception.

## Danzig Mansion

I HAVE not seen Mr. Lester since the evening in his house in old world Danzig, over which city he was High Commissioner for three difficult years. He lived there in what was once the residence of Field-Marshal Von Mackensen, a huge brick mansion near the main station.

The Lesters loved the magnificent stretch of white sand of the Baltic beach, their simple summer bungalow at Bohnsack. In winter the girls could be met riding in the vast pine wood of Oliva, near the Castle Church, where the Irish-descended Bishop of Danzig, Count O'Rourke, resided.

ters. The train journey through Belgium, with its bedlam at all the many crowded stations, was another contrast with the quiet Mayo countryside.

## Pigs on Money

THEY had only one fear, to be served with snails and frogs, unrecognisable under dainty cooking.

The nuns of Don Bosco, who looked after them, could not understand how the girls could



Mr. Sean Lester.

sighted on the Ostend-Dover crossing.

## New Duties For Mr. Lester

Following the retirement of M. Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, his duties at Geneva have fallen to an Irishman, Mr. Sean Lester, who has been Deputy Secretary-General since 1937.

Mr. Lester went to Geneva as permanent Irish delegate to the League, in 1929 and in 1934 he was offered and accepted the post of High Commissioner for Danzig.

SS = Schutzstaffeln  
Basle, Basel, Bâle

P1/10 (22-23)

# LEAGUE BEGINS CLOSING DOWN

P1/10 (22)

GENEVA, Thursday.

THE League of Nations began closing down to-night, with only 69 of its 329 employees sure that they will go to Vichy, in France, as a skeleton staff in the event of Switzerland being invaded.

The Secretary-General, M. Joseph Avenol, at a meeting of the staff this afternoon, gave 205 employees and officials the choice between handing in their resignations to-morrow, or agreeing to have their contracts suspended, when he declared a "state of emergency."

Many of the League officials wept when M. Avenol told them they must decide about their resignations.

He said that even if the League fled to Vichy, the official headquarters would remain Switzerland, since only a vote of the League Council could change that.

Only 18 Swiss gardeners and caretakers will remain in the League's gigantic Palace of Peace.

The Rockefeller Library, which forms a wing of the League Palace, had already been closed, and valuable books and records are being packed and sent to France.

Those who choose to resign to-morrow get six months' pay, while those who wait until their contracts are suspended receive three months' pay.—Associated Press.

According to the United Press, League officials are reported to be negotiating for headquarters in Lisbon in order to enable a continuation of the League's technical work.

(Other news of situation in Switzerland on page 10.)

The conciliation award has been rejected by a number of N.U.R. branches, including the Amiens Street No. 2 Branch, which fixed Monday next as the date for strike action.

This branch controls 99 per cent. of the G.S.R. road transport workers, but it is understood that its strike resolution, which was passed on May 9, is purely a branch resolution, and that a strike, to be official, would require the sanction of the Irish Executive of the Union.

The bonus award has still to be considered by many branches in the country (there are between 80 and 90 in all) before an official decision is given.

Official decisions will be taken following the June meeting.

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## **BRITAIN TO PAY MORE FOR IRISH PIGS**

(From Our Correspondent),

LONDON, Thursday.

The British Ministry of Food announces that from Monday next the basic price of pigs imported from Ireland will be increased by 6d. to 19/- per score, dressed carcase weight, for fat pigs up to nine score, dead weight.

This is equivalent to 106/- per live cwt.; 18/- per score will be paid for pigs up to 10 score; 16/- for pigs 10 score 1-lb. to 11 score; and 15/- for pigs over 11 score.

A special tolerance will be allowed whereby no pig from 9 score 1-lb. to 9 score 5-lbs. will be paid at a less price than £8 11s. 0d. While the price for pigs from 9 score up to 10 score has been increased by sixpence, that of pigs from 10 to 11 and over 11 has been decreased by 1/6.

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## **Fought In Eight Wars, Dies At 98**

LONDON, Thursday.

General Sir Bindon Blood died in London to-day in his 98th year.

# POSITION OF IRISHMEN ON LEAGUE STAFF

*Hall +  
McGuire*

P1/10 (23)

It is not yet known in Dublin, writes an IRISH PRESS reporter, how Irish officials are affected by the decision to reduce the staffs of the League of Nations.

Irishmen fill prominent positions in the League staffs.

They include Mr. Sean Lester, former High Commissioner in Danzig, who is now Deputy-Secretary-General; Mr. E. J. Phelan, Deputy Director of the International Labour Office; Mr. R. J. P. Mortished, member of the Conference Section attached to the International Labour Office, and Mr. Brian Durnan, former Radio Eireann announcer, who several months ago took up a League broadcasting appointment.

In the event of an invasion of Switzerland, it is reported, the staff will go to Vichy, in France.

Ireland's contribution towards the expenses of the League for the current financial year is £10,670.

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CAMMON CENT

*Issued by The Pigs*

**SHRINE OF ST. PHIL**

**A SOLEMN NOVI**

will be of

**MAY 17**

(The Finding

Pray for peace with justice in  
persecuted—for the restoration

Our Lady of Victo  
St. Philomena, Martyr for

Send your petitions, and if possible,  
**FATHER WATTS, DOR**

**Inquest On Girl**

**Killed By 'Bus**

