

Reduction Ratio:

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**Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary**

**Volume 25:
July 1941 - January 1942
(Folder of Loose Typescripts)**

3. 7. 41

See Marchbank and ask him to send a message to the Swedish railwaymen, emphasising the common interests of the workers all over Europe in resisting the Nazis, with special reference to Swedish Government's agreement to the transport of German troops from Norway to Finland. He is most willing to do this and says he will arrange for three separate messages: (1) from himself on behalf of the N.U.R. to the Swedish Railwaymen's Union, (2) from the I.T.F. to the Swedish Transport Workers generally, and (3) from himself to Lindley.

I take Parliamentary question just on the stroke of 12 on the Scheherezade, etc. There is still a good deal of concern in the House, which I welcome. I am asked if I was consulted, if it was a Cabinet decision (to both of which I say yes), and whether my Department has not been over-ruled on a question of major policy (to which I say no).

The long-expected debate on Propaganda then begins and I discreetly leave the House, nor do I return at any time during this debate. I sit in my room upstairs, where D.F. is instructed to come and tell me if there should develop any clamour for my presence. There is no such clamour, not even a word by any speaker, except Anderson in opening, about my Ministry, and he says only that there are other Departments which keep in touch with the M. of I. and the F.O., including mine. No-one picks up the point. No-one, at least, of those who speak, but there are great numbers who wish to speak and can't, including Pickthorn and King-Hall, both of whom I know wanted to refer to me. Indeed, G. reports to me late to-night that he met K.H. at dinner at one of those mixed parties of Lady Colefax, and that K.H. said most indignantly that none of the right people had caught the Speaker's eye and that he in particular had had a long speech prepared, nearly all about the Minister of Economic Warfare. G. also said that Sir Roderick Jones, who was present, said to him "I understand the Minister of E.W. has now taken over the show which Campbell Stewart used to run". I asked G. what he replied. He said "I changed the subject".

So we emerge quite scatheless, and now can count on a peaceful run for some while yet. R.A.B., whom I saw later in the afternoon, said that the debate had been an admirable demonstration of power politics. The Chair had been guided whom to call, and whom not. Captain Plugge had made an immensely long and unimportant speech which had occupied much time, and two maiden speakers had been worked in. I myself had squared Phil Baker, who spoke last before D.C., and Anderson had made a very long and boring speech to begin with, which had, as nearly as any speech could, taken all life and interest from the proceedings. R.A.B. thought that Anderson had done

his reputation some harm by this. He also thought that D.C. was safe now for about two months and that I should not be troubled again this side of Christmas.

G. heard a rumour that R.A.B. might soon be given a new job, something concerned with finance of devastated districts, so that A.E. could bring in one of his little cronies in his place.

The struggle for Dixon still continues. G. saw A.C. to-day and offered, if I could get D., to give back Broad to the F.O. He says that, if it lay with A.C., I should get D. to-morrow, but it is most difficult to persuade A.E. I said to G. "What is the good of my having here two people, you and R., who are supposed to have such influence in the F.O., and then I can't get a simple thing like this arranged?" He said "The F.O. is an abstraction. This is simply a question of whether the S. of S. can be persuaded. I have never pretended that I have any special influence with him. But R. has great influence with him." I said that A.C.'s letter to me was a most wooden and stupid communication. I had much rather have had nothing.

G. also tells me of the fate of O.S.'s paper, the first attempt to forecast the future and how we are to win the war. There had been discouragement because, although this was the first time that this topic had been put on the agenda of the Defence Committee, the P.M. would not bring it on, saying that it was only a mass of words and that they had more important things to think about. This, although the paper had been passed by the C.O.S. G. and I consider whether I should not, perhaps, put in a paper direct to the P.M. covering that part of O.S.'s paper which is my concern.

I act as host for H.M.G. at a reception attended by quantities of South American diplomats, Air Attachés, etc. I am supposed to do this kind of thing very well.

Peter Fraser dines with me to meet a number of the bright once-young people in the L.P. He is called away to a War Cabinet meeting but talks sensibly before he goes about politics here and in New Zealand.

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Cripps (bloody fool!) has leaked G.'s name to David Astor as being engaged in certain activities. D.Astor therefore comes along with a paper which, happily, does not show much sign of inner knowledge. G. says there must be some mistake about what Cripps said, though he is, of course, in touch with various people and could pass things on.

Cab. to consider my paper ~~work~~ on denial of oil to the enemy and authority to Cripps to discuss questions of supply and replacement. This goes through without much change or difficulty, but A.E. is, I think, a little piqued that I have bunged this in without consulting him.

Lunch at Debbie's invitation to meet a man named Holmes, who wants, he says, to serve the State without payment in some capacity according with his business experience.

Donovan and Big Nose may soon visit this country for talks.

Policy Sub-Committee meets this afternoon and re-elects me to Chair. Later, and, as I think, unwisely, they decide, by a small majority, to make Shinwell Chairman of the Central Committee on new policy.

This evening I have some of my Daily Councillors to dine: C.E.O., C.D., A.D., A.D.Z., and D.Fin. Just a little heavy with a little too much sense of frustration in some of their minds. Everyone in this war feels frustrated.

Bolivia. Mid-July may be warm there. Remember Zimmermann. Lati bag examined. Bolivian M.A. Berlin writing. Big Nose authorised to pass this on.

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In the small hours of this morning, both of us having returned and done some more work, G. suggests that I might explore with A.E. the possibility of R.L. returning to the F.O. and P.L. taking his place at C.H.Q., the whole show being then co-ordinated under one head, as I had so often told him I wanted. I said this would be rather difficult to handle but I would see how things went. It would be an admirable solution, for almost every reason.

Archie Boyle comes to see me. He is taking up his duties the day after to-morrow. I think he will be a great source of strength to us.

To C.H.Q. in time for lunch. I make a row about the Italian P.W. in India and how they are to be approached. I say that I will exercise my own judgment on these drafts and clean them up. It is silly to say that there should be "no propaganda". The practical question is, is it worth while to try to recruit a Free Italian force? Probably G.M. should be the conducting officer.

Tick off N. Sutton for talking nonsense about the Comte de Paris and the support for him in France, and the way in which the French workers now realise that the social legislation of the Blum Government was their undoing. I tell G., who used to know him years ago, to speak to him frankly and alone about all this.

In the evening I visit some Italians, find my Italian much more fluent than I had feared, and drink some not very good chianti.

6. 7. 41 (Sunday)

Discussion on a Beirut project. Sutton is very quick. G. has told him, on my instructions, that I like him personally but that he must not try and put across Right-wing French politics on me and say that "every Frenchman thinks"; etc., when he has no evidence at all behind it. G. says "You never need to tell Sutton anything twice. He is very quick; also very ambitious. He thinks he should have been more successful in business."

Return by way of Chingford, where I speak in P.M.'s constituency. I make a good speech and get off most successfully with the ~~Lady~~ Mayor of Chingford and, even more important, Sir James Hawkey, Chairman of the P.M.'s constituency organisation, who hated Neville Chamberlain and the old Tory machine and with whom I exchange various political reminiscences, designed to bring out the undoubted fact that it was the Labour Party which determined the change of Government leading to W.C. becoming P.M., and also that I played some

personal role in this.

7. 7. 41

My tart exchange with A.E. continues. He has to-day my letter in which I refuse Scrivener, with reasons, and complain again of the way in which L. was removed. B.L., who, as agreed with me yesterday, was going to suggest to A.E. that L. should be restored, found him very uppety, refusing to discuss this at all and saying that he had had a letter from me and had already answered it.

Lunch with Tree, who paints a gloomy picture of our propaganda in America. He was out there for some time on behalf of C.D. He saw both Eccles and N.Hall and thought they were a bit jealous of each other. He also says that E. was giving expression to extreme Right-wing opinions.

Cab. this evening on action to be taken against Jap southward movements. A.E. puts up a paper which is criticised as being quite useless and beside the point by P.F., who says that only military force is any good and that economic measures are neither here nor there. A.E. is a little testy over all this. P.M. appears very affable and begs me not to go when this item is over. I find that Sir James Hawkey has been going up to No.10 and singing my praises. He is most anxious that I should go and speak in the P.M.'s constituency again, next time at Woodford. This liaison can do no harm.

8. 7. 41

A tart reply from A.E., with whom I am thus having my first personal breeze. My last letter has caused him surprise, and he resents my observations about "a member of my staff".

Colonel Sosthenes Behn calls. This name is almost too good to be true. He is a smooth-mannered rich American whom I would not trust far. He has great financial interests in Germany (telephones, etc.). He is in favour of letting a lot of food through into France. He talks so much that I have little time to reply. I merely say that such ideas are quite counter to the strong feeling of press, Parliament and public here.

Lunch with P.Fraser before he addresses the E.P.A. He does this well, though lengthily.

With G. to dine with Czalet, recently back from U.S.A.,

whether he went with Sikorski. He gives a very depressing picture of our failure to organize propaganda or to make a good impression on the Americans. Hfax. is clearly doing very badly, and rumour runs widely that when he comes home next month, he will not return. C. says that he has been trying hard to "sell him to himself". He does not seem to realize that he could be the most important Englishman after Churchill and the most important man in the U.S. after Roosevelt. The incident of the hot dog and the Chicago baseball match was frightful. He put it on the ground beside him and left it there instead of eating it. The pressmen photographed it and displayed it: "Lord Halifax's hot dog. He didn't eat it." So unlike the King and Queen, who munched theirs appreciatively. Then he tried to answer questions the reporters asked him about baseball, which he didn't understand. If only he had talked to them about cricket or football it would have been so much better. He also committed a great gaffe, first in agreeing to go hunting in Virginia, a sport quite unappreciated by the vast American public; and then by going without a pink coat (which, it is understood, his hosts regarded as a great social affront to them). C. says that the only way you do business in Washington is by "having a chat", "popping in", or "ringing up". Hfax. can't do any of these things. He always eyes a telephone with deep distrust. He is a little deaf and doesn't hear telephone conversations very clearly. He has no gift for popping in. He only goes to see the President when he has been instructed to argue with him or to make awkward requests. What he ought to do is to ring him up and say "Can I look in to-night? I have nothing much to talk about, but it would be just fine to have a chat."

He has also a very poor staff, though Washington is full now of thousands of British subjects attached to various missions. There is no direct telephone communication between the Embassy and the various Missions downtown. There is no proper accommodation at the Embassy for the staff; some have to sit in passages and others in their bedrooms. C. Peake, who, according to Cazalet, is a great failure, has to work in his bedroom. Neville Butler was a most terrible choice for Washington, but is now returning. The temperature in Washington in the summer goes up to nearly 100° and is very humid. It was never meant to be a summer capital, the idea being that Congress and Government both went away.

G. says that Eccles was staying with Donovan. (He has sent a copy of D.'s Charter which only reaches me indirectly through C. Bentinck. The Charter covers everything, including everything of interest to me. I tell G. that I consider D.E. should have sent it to me in the first instance, since it was I who sent him to the U.S. I shall leave him for the moment in Iberia.)

Special Note

Pages appear to have been wrongly indexed at this point, to the best of our knowledge no original text is missing.

9. 7. 41

See R.L. twice, before and after his visit to A.E. He is most anxious, he says, to remove any personal friction between us. I tell him to press once more for L., carrying this as far as he thinks wise, but that, if I can't get L. I shall have to look outside.

Having had his interview, he comes back and says that he is sure he has removed any personal difficulties. He had said to A.E. that he hoped that he and I would not now be antipathetic to each other, since this would make his position very difficult. A.E. had said certainly not, and hoped our recent correspondence might now perhaps be forgotten. But, on the question of L. there had been no movement. A.E. had said that he would still keep the offer of Scrivener open if I cared to reconsider it. I told R.L. that of course I should not. It was then agreed that I should make a tentative approach to D.B.L.

made Later G. tells me that he finds that my relations with A.E. are not as good as R.L. thought. He has heard from L. that A.E. told a great harrangue to A.C. complaining that I interfered too much in foreign policy. "Am I Foreign Secretary or am I not?" It seems that this had something to do with the Poles, but G. will try to find out more about this to-morrow. Possibly Cazalet, acting on our talk yesterday, and using my name, has irritated A.E., who is apt to be vain and feminine.

See C.R.A. this evening - after dining with Mrs P. and Dejean, a small man like most of the Free French, who says they are anxious to rally round de G. a larger number of representative Frenchmen and are trying to get Jouhaux out of France into Spain disguised as a monk, but would be apprehensive of the adherence of P.Cot, against whom there is such strong feeling, whether justified or not. This in reply to my question whether it would not be well to rally non-Vichy Frenchmen now in U.S.A. behind de G., and I then ran off a list of some six or seven names, including Cot.

I tell C.R.A. of my breeze with A.E. He says I should see him and have it out with him. He thinks it is very bad to have taken away L. when "any old Ambassador" could have acted as P.S. to Cadogan! The F.O., he says, have hardly any countries left to look after now and must have an enormous list of unemployed diplomats. He says he has no objection to my telling A.E. that I have spoken to him about this.

I also tell C.R.A. of my paper on the next twelve months' programme. I wish to send this direct to P.M., with copies to him and General I. I think this much better than going round about through O.S. and his crowd. C.R.A. agrees (he says he does not like

Stank
 the way O.S. is seen lunching with H. Belisha). I say I will authorise G. to tell I. that he agrees. C.R.A. says his relations with I. are good, and G. confirms this. I tell C.R.A. that I consider I should be at the Defence Committee when this paper is discussed. He agrees, and asks me to raise this again with him later.

He is very angry with Lord Hyde of Cowes, who has been arguing against any unification of railways beyond the war period. C.R.A. says that this is a point where we must dig our toes in, and he thinks all Labour Ministers will need to stand together. I say that I am sure we will. This arises from my remark that if the Russians do defeat the Germans, Communism will have a great vogue all over Europe.

H.G., to whom I repeat this afterwards, says that he thinks in this country it would just bring the Labour Party in while not going so far as to make Mr Pritt Prime Minister.

I am again entertained to lunch by Mr Holmes, attended this time by Dobbie, William Street, and two Russians from R.O.P. I have to-day written to Duncan asking whether he knows Holmes and could have him interviewed.

Stank
 I run into Sir C.S., just back from the U.S. He says "I do so want to see you. I have got such a lot to tell you. I hear that you are to be the next Ambassador in Washington." This is a typical gambit.

My relations with A.E. being for the moment suspended, I am not sending in various papers I otherwise would.

DIARY10. 7. 41

An enormous assembly at the Savoy at the invitation of the Sunday Express in honour of Raymond Gram Swing. It is just a little humiliating, though we shall soon get more and more used to this sort of thing, that the majority of the Ministers of the Crown plus foreign diplomats, British Generals and every kind of notability in the press world have to be collected to help to boost this, I am sure, quite admirable and well-disposed American broadcaster. I saw him for a little while in my Ministry the other day, and he asked whether it was true that there were forces in this country willing to make peace with the Germans. I said that, if there were, they had no real power and were wise enough to keep under cover. I said that, for myself, "I would sooner be dead than an emigré, even in your most hospitable country". And this, I was sure, was a most widespread sentiment.

At the lunch I have a word with the D.M.O. about the replacement of Taverner. I say I want a man, perhaps a civilian, who is a friend of Oliver Lyttleton. I have one in mind now who is at the Staff College. D.M.O. says that if we want him, he will see that he is extricated.

O. Stanley to see me in the afternoon. He also appears well disposed, though I should not trust him very far. He is most anxious to have to-night a copy of my paper on the next year's programme, with statistical appendices on equipment, sorties, etc. He has a meeting to-morrow, when they are to consider a detailed reply to an American request that we shall tell them just how we plan to finish the job. I say that G. Swing told me the other day that the American production programmes were all set in any case - this in reply to my enquiry whether there had been any bad reaction from the Russian entry. O.S. said that what was needed was to increase very greatly this American programme. So far there had been no cut in U.S.A. into civilian requirements. The Americans must produce much more than they at present foresaw in the joint war effort - especially ships, if there were any intention later on to carry anywhither forces of their own and stores for them. O.S. says that his long paper has now made good progress everywhere except at the very top. The P.M. was bored with it, but others have accepted it. I said that much of it was out of date now, as the result of the Russian war; also that the part about the blockade was too pessimistic. He agrees to the first point, though he says that he made all he could out of what Vickers gave him. Vickers is a religious V.C.!

O.S. is inclined to think it would be unwise for me to put my paper, a copy of which he is to have to-night, straight at the P.M. He may turn it down flat. Anyhow, he suggests, General I.

should be consulted. I say that of course C.E.O. will do this. I also tell him that I have spoken to C.R.A., who is in favour of my putting it in direct. I leave this over to reconsider a little later.

I am letting O.S. have the temporary use of Colonel G., whom I send for later in the evening. He impresses me favourably: young, quick, keen, attractive and intelligent, I think.

That old rascal Sir C.S. also appears. He has returned from America with great ideas of his own importance and full, as usual, of intrigues in all directions. For the moment, however, I don't think he is going to be much trouble (touch wood!).

Several days ago I heard this story. The P.M. saw H.G. Wells, who began talking about war aims. The P.M. said "My dear chap, there can only be one war aim: K.B.O." To which H.G. replied, like a flash, "You can't win a war by even the most brilliant series of rearguard actions."

G. has been doing some further ice-breaking at the F.O., first on O.H., who, he says, has been constantly telling A.E. what a good chap I am and how he and I both think alike on all subjects. A.E., he learns, was really nettled by my last letter about Dixon and Scrivener, and has been in a piqued mood ever since. He was also piqued by my attitude lately in the Cabinet, when I gave the impression, he seems to have told O.H., that I thought he and most of the rest were poor miserable creatures who had no drive and were doing nothing to win the war, and that it was my role to thrust them along. This was over the Far East and the economic measures against the Japs. A.E. seems further to have complained that I often give this impression in the Cabinet (probably this refers also to my memo on "Denial of oil to the enemy; Russia"). His remarks about me and the Poles do not seem to have been very precise. It was part of a general tirade to O.H., so G. ascertains, in which he said "Am I Foreign Secretary or am I not? All sorts of other people seem to be interfering with foreign affairsfor instance, H.D. seems always to be carrying on negotiations with the Poles ..." G., however, hotted up O.H., which was not difficult, against the anti-Sikoriski crowd and the undemocratic elements in the Polish emigration, and later saw R.M., who said that he had been very doubtful about letting Savery's recent report go out as print, and that he thought I had been most helpful in my activities designed to build up Sikorski.

Making

that?" I say I had gathered this impression. What about the Poles? At this he seems a little embarrassed and says "Oh, did Rex say anything to you about that?" (This was rather a give-away; for R.L. had not in fact told me that A.E. had said anything to him about me and the Poles. I had gathered this rather through G. from O.H. and Loxley.) He then goes on "I oughtn't really to have said anything about it. I only got a story from a certain source and I daresay it wasn't true." I say "I have to see Sikorski a good deal because I have to arrange about his money and his parachutists and all that." A.E. says "Of course, I quite understand that." I: "You don't object to that?" He: "Certainly not". I: "You don't object to my arranging for him to meet other Labour Ministers and Trade Union leaders to talk to them about our ways of doing things?" He: "Oh, certainly not". And so this little conversation ends. I say afterwards to G. "We turned a little artificial sunlight on to the surface of the ice. We have melted the surface, but I think there may be still some ice below." He says "It can never ~~be~~ quite easy when a Foreign Secretary has as one of his colleagues someone who knows as much or more than he does about foreign affairs and is also a dynamic personality."

I then send A.E. - having held them up till now and having asked him this morning whether he would like them, and he having said yes, - A.D.'s report on Yugoslavia (minus the bit about Prince Paul) and Brig.G.'s comments on Savery's paper denigrating Sikorski and the present Polish regime. I end my covering letter on this second paper, having praised the experience and judgment of Brig.G., "On the other hand, I feel that Savery has travelled rather past his prime and that his personal sympathies are rather embedded in ~~the~~ a Polish regime and Polish personalities which have now passed off the stage." This seemed to me, when I composed it, a most moderate under-statement, but G., who gets a copy after it has gone, is afraid that this may start things up again and that this letter of mine will be minuted all round the F.O. and possibly mentioned to Savery and shown to poor old Dormer, who bears the meaningless title of British Ambassador to Poland!

I tell H.G. to send O.H. a copy of Stanczyk's speech to our Miners' Conference, and I form the conclusion that such trouble as there has been between A.E. and me over the Poles is due to Zaleski, who is probably jealous of the extent to which I have been seeing Sikorski. Z. is becoming lazier and slower every week, but not, no doubt, less conscious of his own importance.

By car this evening to W.L. with Bob Fraser, who is in quite good form and a very pleasant companion. Though he is now in charge of all publications at the M. of I., he has never seen D.C. and only once has seen a Minute by him. This said that steps should be taken to boost a novel called "Loss of Eden". This, I understand, paints a scene of Britain invaded by Hitler.

11. 7. 41

P.O.G. Committee. Hankey very anxious for oil offensive on two fronts. We agree to this being recommended to the C.O.S. Some of the accounts of Russian air attacks on Rumanian oil targets are discouraging. Many of their bombs don't explode, we are told, and once when they bombed Ploesti they hit the dummy town instead, which has been constructed near the original. On the other hand, they are attacking these targets night after night and may well do serious damage before long. (I regret to say that when the attack we had so long been demanding on a certain oil target was attempted by the R.A.F. some nights ago, they completely missed the town, because they couldn't find it. They don't like to admit this, and therefore merely reported "No particular results observed". But a photograph of the place taken two days later showed no visible damage anywhere and no craters anywhere in the neighbourhood.)

Take C.E.O. to Middle East Committee at the F.O. Also present A.E., Moyne (not Moyne's a Guinness but Moyne's a Barley Water!), Amery and Duff Cooper, each, except D.C., accompanied by one official. When I see Moyne, how I miss Lloyd! He is frightened out of his wits, such as they are, by every faintest suggestion of action anywhere. He quacks on about ~~the~~ "reactions" everywhere, in Saudi Arabia and Aden and Timbuctoo, and he is most anxious to avoid any "bloodshed", even if this may be necessary in order to eliminate German influence from Iran. He thinks it quite possible that most of the Germans in Iran are there for quite legitimate purposes!....

I stay behind, as arranged through the Secretaries, to have a word with A.E. and to re-establish our personal relations. But the Middle East Committee lasts till after 1 o'clock, Moyne and Amery having yarned on and on about "reactions" in Palestine, and whether or not one should revive partition. Therefore, I don't have very long, and other people also are hanging about in the room. But we go over to one of the long windows, with a half balcony outside, and have about five minutes. I say "Well, we have had one of our pillow fights!" He says "Perhaps I wrote you rather a sharp letter." I say "Oh I don't mind that. I daresay mine was rather sharp too. But what I do think was very bad was the way the thing was done. Cadogan made it much worse by writing me a most gawky letter." He says "I am very sorry. I really must apologise for the way in which it was done, but we were at our wits' end, owing to H.H. being suddenly taken away at a few hours' notice." I say "I don't want you to apologise, but I do want to have some assurance for the future. After all, when you thought of making R.L. an Ambassador, you did speak to me about it first and ask me to put it to him." He says "Yes, of course, I should certainly always consult you in any case like that." I then turn to the wider question and ask whether it was true that he thought I interfered in his affairs. He feigns surprise and says "No, certainly not. What makes you think

that?" I say I had gathered this impression. What about the Poles? At this he seems a little embarrassed and says "Oh, did Rex say anything to you about that?" (This was rather a give-away, for R.L. had not in fact told me that A.E. had said anything to him about me and the Poles. I had gathered this rather through G. from O.H. and Loxley.) He then goes on "I oughtn't really to have said anything about it. I only got a story from a certain source and I daresay it wasn't true." I say "I have to see Sikorski a good deal because I have to arrange about his money and his parachutists and all that." A.E. says "Of course, I quite understand that." I: "You don't object to that?" He: "Certainly not". I: "You don't object to my arranging for him to meet other Labour Ministers and Trade Union leaders to talk to them about our ways of doing things?" He: "Oh, certainly not". And so this little conversation ends. I say afterwards to G. "We turned a little artificial sunlight on to the surface of the ice. We have melted the surface, but I think there may be still some ice below." He says "It can never be quite easy when a Foreign Secretary has as one of his colleagues someone who knows as much or more than he does about foreign affairs and is also a dynamic personality."

Taylor
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12. 7. 41

Sun, wind and no shirt on Ogbourne Downs. A very perfect day. I return as red as a beetroot, and shall soon be slightly sore and then peel. In wartime, moreover, there is a shortage of suitable greases, but it was a grand day. Three cheers for Mithra!

13. 7. 41 (Sunday)

To-day it rains a lot and there is not much sun. Back in the evening.

A.V.A. defending Co-op tobacco against critics at the small party of Labour Ministers collected by C.R.A. to meet Peter Fraser the other night, related this story.

The First Sea Lord came to see him and found he had left his tobacco behind. The First Lord therefore offered him his pouch. The First Sea Lord said that it was very good tobacco. Next morning the First Lord's messenger came to him and said "Beg pardon, sir, but the First Sea Lord's messenger has asked me what the tobacco was that you gave the First Sea Lord last night. He says it is the best he has ever smoked and he wants to get in a supply." This, A.V.A. seemed to think, finally settled it. My own comment was that it was hardly fair to take the money. No wonder the First Sea Lord holds down his job.

14. 7. 41

See Kingsley Wood about a point concerning Spanish ships. (I was not properly briefed for this and make a row about it. It seems to be the fault of B.C., who is always putting his feet wrong with me and is said to be terrified both of me and of my secretarial staff! I put off K.W. for a quarter of an hour and get B.C. to give me explanations in the car between Berkeley Square and No. 11 Downing Street. This is not very business-like, though it serves its purpose. I tell H.G. to hold an inquest into responsibilities. B.C. and P.H. completely contradict one another as to what they said to each other on the telephone last Saturday.

K.W. says that I have a reputation for drive and energy which he thinks is well deserved. (I do not take these compliments too seriously, but I suppose he has heard somebody say something like this.) I ask him whether he thinks that he or A.E. has the greater influence in the Tory Party. He says in this Parliament certainly he has, for many of these Tories have memories. But of course he disclaims all possibility of personal rivalries. He says that many of his people dislike Bevin and accuse him of playing

politics and attacking the employers. K.W. was quite prepared to put over the case for railway nationalisation to the Tory Party, but now that Leathers has gone strongly the other way, he naturally is not very keen to do so, though he still would if the Cabinet so decided.

See Terence Maxwell and like him. I think he would do me quite well in the Middle East, and he seems quite keen to go, even though he has been told all the difficulties. I say that I hear that he is good at Augean stables. He also seems to know Lampson very well.

Middlewood, who is to receive an O.B.E. tomorrow, comes to see me in the Ministry accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law. I take them up to the roof and down to the shelter, and show them some of the neighbouring ruins. They all appear much edified. Mrs M. said that she was quite afraid to come to London lest there should be a raid.

To-day Derek Wood, who now goes for M.E.W. to some of the J.I.C. meetings, reports to me a most gloomy appreciation, principally W.O. The Stalin Line has been definitely broken at a number of points and there are now no more fortified positions in front of the German armoured forces.

Leningrad will be occupied by the end of this week.

Moscow will be occupied within ten days. The Germans are now by-passing Smolensk on both sides.

The Germans are now within 20 miles of Kiev and may take it at any time.

Odessa will have to be evacuated within a few days as the Germans are across the Dnieper higher up and will turn the whole of this line.

On the other hand, the Red Air Force is admitted to be still in being and German losses in tanks, aircraft and men to be heavy.

There is evidence of large barge concentrations at the mouths of the Danube from which an invasion of the Russian Black Sea coast will shortly be made. The Russians have been warned by us about this.

When the Germans reach a line that suits them, from the White Sea to the Black Sea, they will offer the conquered land to such Russian prisoners as will go and cultivate it. (This doesn't sound to me very convincing or economical.)

C.E.O. says the evidence is that the Germans expected within seven weeks to reach the line Archangel to Astrakhan.

15. 7. 41

Brig.B. thinks that the J.I.C. talk of yesterday is much too pessimistic. The W.O. don't really know anything. Hitler has now got "to remount a blitz", and this is a most difficult operation. Also it is significant that the Germans have to put their A.A.guns in their advanced positions. This means that the Russian Air Force is still very much in being.

Lunch with C.E.O. and an elderly pro-Consul who is very well preserved.

D.B.L. says that the Highest Authority has said yes and would like one day to talk to me about this side of things, of which he seems to know nothing. But, like me, he does not want D. to abandon his American pressmen. Therefore, something on the lines of two days a week in London and five in the country should be tried for a transitional period.

He also reports that B.Bracken is to succeed Duff Cooper in a few weeks' time, when Parliament will have gone into recess. This was told to me by Monkton, who was told by A.E., so it is pretty direct.

A fuss about Hulls. A.E. is still rather fidgety and seems to have sent a telegram apologising to Cripps, which was quite unnecessary. Sargent has written to G. asking for explanations. These are very easily given, the responsibility being with the C.O.S. I have a para. added to G.'s reply to S. saying that he has shown the letter to me and that, as A.E. will no doubt recall, the matter was mentioned at the Cab. on July 3rd both by me and the C.I.G.S. and met with general approval.

Dine and gossip with J.W. and discuss possible moves. He is not very keen on any old Under-Secretaryship, though there are some which would attract him.

16. 7. 41

Attend a Parliamentary Party Meeting, now back in the old Committee Room. Not a large attendance. Charlie Edwards has returned, looking very fit, as everyone tells him. He should have resigned long ago. Hear from both Phil Baker and George Lathan, who were present, of the visit of the deputation to the P.M. yesterday

on the M. of I. Some dozen went, including three or four from the G.C. The P.M. received them alone and was most agreeable and expansive. He said he agreed with many of their criticisms and hoped that he would be able to go some way to meet their requests. (One of these had been for a member of the Labour Party to hold political office at the Ministry.) He asked for "a week or two" to go further into the matter. At the end he talked to them about the war on the various fronts and kept the Cabinet waiting five minutes in order to finish. He said he hoped they would soon come and see him again and that he had enjoyed their company very much. Obviously he was in his best form.

Sir Gerald Campbell to see me. He says that, when he wants anything out of Mackenzie King, he suggests that he will send Sir C.S. up to see him. This always does the trick! As to V.W., he is very anxious not to have him on his staff, for fear of a Congressional enquiry into our propaganda. But he thinks he would do very valuable work as a propagandist, and thinks it a good plan that he should go with M.E.W. cover. He could then keep in touch with Big Nose. Of the Americans with whom the latter is in touch, Campbell says that they are "a false crowd."

See C.R.A. this evening. He seems in a very happy mood, having had, as he thinks, a most successful meeting with the Tory 1922 Committee, and having arranged, so he says, the party at B.P. to-day when all the exiled Monarchs and Heads of States were brought together for a nice little social gathering.

He confirms about B.B., who, he thinks, has many qualifications for the job, including knowledge of the press and the press lords and of the City. I say that he has a reputation of being reactionary and anti-Labour. C.R.A. says he does not think this is really so. Anyhow, he will have to be careful, and he is to have a Labour Under-Secretary. I ask is this to be Phil? He says no, he has something better than this in view for Phil, "with a talking part". It is Ernest Thurtle. This, I think, is a rather surprising but not at all bad choice. I say that if B.B. tries to use his influence with the P.M. in order to get the better of me, I shall make a row. I recall an incident when he talked long and loudly against me. C.R.A. says "He was ticked off for that; I don't think he will do it again". He says that he will arrange a little dinner party at which B.B. and I shall fall on each other's necks.

On Railways the row continues. Leathers is quite without political experience. It is a very great pity that Moore-Brab. went to M.A.P. just at the wrong moment.

A long, rambling P.Q., including a reference to leaflets, was put to-day by Milner to the M. of I. This is contrary to the Standing Order. I have reported this to C.R.A., who is sending one

of his secretaries round to see the clerks at the table to-day.

I read over to him the essence of my Minute and attached summary for the P.M. on S.O.I plan. I urge that it should come before the Defence Committee. He says he will bear this in mind and is quite friendly to the project as a whole. I mention, in particular, my Brig.G., who made a great impression upon him. I say that I will send him a copy and also one to General I. He says I had better also send one to A.E., since it affects foreign countries. (I think I sense here that A.E. may have been complaining about my interference in foreign policy!) Often, says C.R.A., he, the P.M. and A.E. go upstairs together after a Defence Committee. It would be bad if he and the P.M. had had copies but A.E. not.

Arrange in the afternoon for D.B.L. to come to the country for this weekend to discuss details.

17. 7. 41

Lunch with Wauters to meet Van Zeeland. The latter is very quick and Gallic-minded, very much above the ordinary Belgian level. But I should not trust him very far, remembering his proposals for financial appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini before the war.

I say that I hear that a Belgian National Council is now to be set up but that I regret that the proposal to include new Ministers, drawn from the different political Parties, in the actual Belgian Government has not been adopted. I say that, quite frankly, the four gentlemen who now call themselves the Belgian Government do not appear to me sufficiently to represent Belgium. He does not disagree (it is known that he is viewed with the fiercest jealousy by little Gutt), but says that the formation of the Council is, he thinks, a step in the right direction.

He then raises, as I expected he would, the question of Belgian relief. He thinks it would create a great impression in Belgium if some concession by us were to synchronise with the news of the formation of the new Council. He does not suggest that food should be sent in, but only vitamins, etc., for women, children and the unemployed. It would have to be administered by a neutral authority, American, Argentine, etc., and it must be a condition that it does not aid the Germans in any way. If there was any evidence that it was doing so, the scheme should be stopped at once.

I reply that this is a difficult question to which a great deal of attention has already been given. He will perhaps have seen a letter from me to Spaak, written only a few days ago, after long discussions both between officials and Ministers. He says he has

seen this. I say that my two chief difficulties are, first, that any concession made to Belgium would lead to an immense clamour from all the other allied Governments, so that the breach in the blockade would rapidly widen; second, that in practice it would be impossible to stop a scheme once started, even though there were clear evidence of its abuse by the Germans; third, that Parliament and the press here are very sensitive to further relaxations of the blockade, as he will have seen from the uproar over the Scheherazade case.

He gets my third point quickly and says "So you think that the present moment is not opportune". I say no, it certainly is not. Then, he says, perhaps we could try to introduce something of this sort before the winter. I say that these questions can always be looked at afresh, and perhaps the best thing would be if he would write me a purely unofficial letter putting up his suggestions and by-passing the Belgian Government. This he says that he will do. And so we win another little battle in our fight for time!

M.

Some mention being made of Miss Cracknell, G. tells me that just after I became Minister of Economic Warfare, Miss C. said to someone "This new man is the most difficult politician we have ever had to handle". "We" meant Sir F. Leith Ross and Miss Cracknell.

I send to-day to C.R.A. and A.E. copies of my programme paper, the summary, and my Minute to the P.M. C.E.O. also sends a copy to General I.

DIARY18. 7. 41

John Price is back from Stockholm, to my great delight. He had to wait three or four weeks for an aeroplane, but no doubt filled in his time well. He will make me a full report. He saw all the leading Socialists and Trade Unionists. Moeller gave him some confidential information which was only to report over here to me, Bevin and Attlee. (Next day Marchbank asks me, with a wink, whether I have heard about the explosion of the munitions' train in central Sweden.)

Glendonner comes to see me. Strictly speaking, he should have come long ago, as my U.K.C.C. agent, since it was only through my efforts that any money was got for their operations. Since he has not come, I have given him a slightly black mark and refused to listen to his name when suggested with others as Head of the Economic Mission for Moscow. But he is, I think, quite good for Turkey and has many positive qualities. I should like to send him back there, and he seems willing to go provided he does not have to stay out there indefinitely.

G., C.D., and A.D. come to see me with T.M. The latter now begins to wobble. He thinks that if C.D. goes out, as O.L. is pressing that he should, this will alter the nature of his mission. He will become, he says rather unguardedly, "small beer" if C.D. is to do the initial reorganising. This phrase makes a bad impression on us all. After he has gone, C.D. says he is afraid he is only thinking of his own career. A.D. says that he thinks I handled T.M. with great skill and almost got him, at one point, to say yes at once. However, since he won't, I ask him to sleep on it and give his answer next day. He is also a little disconcerted by O.L.'s unenthusiastic reception of his name. We had been told by two of our Jewish "general liaison" men that he was one of O.L.'s intimates. Obviously this is not true. He has also told someone that he knows A.E. very well, but when I raise this with the latter several days later, A.E. says that he hardly knows him at all. None the less, I regard him as a good man and shall be very vexed if he too slips through our fingers. G. gets him afterwards *tête à tête* and tells him that T.M. thinks I tried to rush him to-night.

To-night's tale is that the Tory back-benchers are making a great set against E.B., who has been offered Hfax.'s job but said "If I go out at all, I'll go out through the front door, not the back, and tell the public why."

P.Nichols is going as Minister to the Czechs! He wanted ten years ago to give lumps of Poland to Germany and was in favour, grounds of justice and not of insufficiency of arms, of large concessions of Sudeten-Czecho to Germany in 1938. He has a duodenal

ulcer which will keep him out of action for two months, and the only thing which can be said in favour of his appointment is that it is largely a nominal one and will eliminate him from the F.O.

Cazalet tells me that he was with Dormer the other day when Retinger came in and said, quite bluntly, "What a pity it is that Savery is so bitter against the General". This will have set the ball rolling. Cazalet also says that Zaleski is intriguing terribly against Sikorski, and is no better than a pro-German. A.E. tells me that, though generally his sympathies would be with the Foreign Minister in conflict with his P.M., in this case his sympathies are entirely with S. and against Z.

19. 7. 41

Maxwell has accepted, having been piejawned by C.D. yesterday and asked how he would feel if, having refused, he found that things had gone badly in M.E. because we had had to send some less good man. What would his conscience tell him? Anyhow, he will go now, so I do not need to see him again for the moment. (H.G. says that G. looked in early this morning, before T.M.'s decision was known, and asked H.G. to put to me that if M. turned it down I should not be too rough with him, since this would only make him go about the City saying what a shit I was and what a rotten show the whole thing was. This good and prudent advice turns out now to be unnecessary.) A very good telegram, as I think, is despatched to O.T., offering that C.D. and T.M. shall both come out together as soon as possible, but the former only to stay a fortnight: as I have deferred to his judgment over C.D., so I hope he will defer to mine over T.M.

I regard H. Hopkinson as a poisonous little blighter who is working against us out there. I tell both G.D. and C.E.O. that they have failed with him. The former is related to him and the latter thinks he is a personal friend.

To C.H.Q. in the afternoon. A rather useful conference on Sibs and Sibman. A good deal of improvement is possible here, and it would be best to have one man, not specialised on either branch. This is the general view, though R.L. some days later is pushed back on it.

20. 7. 41 (Sunday)

Morrell discusses with Section Heads various American questions. Not a very heavy weight.

Visit some Danes, with whom I have a great success. I am

able to remember quite a number of names and places from their country, though it has never been one of my first favorites.

21. 7. 41

Leave C.H.Q. in G.'s car with him and H.G. just before 8 a.m. and arrive back at the centre at 9 a.m., several times touching 80 m.p.h. on the way. I always like this.

M.M. says that the Germans have lost a million men and that two Panzer Divisions have been cut off. This via A.D.P. M.M. is much more impressed now. It was he who said, at the start, that everything would be over in three weeks!

Lunch with Nathan, the purpose of his invitation being to suggest that he should either succeed Croft as Under-Secretary of State for War, or be given full command, presumably with the rank of General, of his welfare activities. The first idea he would like suggested to Attlee; the second to Margesson. I say that I will have a word with A. and ask M. to see him.

D.B.L. is now very keen on his new sphere and is going down this week. G. says "You will find them rather like the Sixth Form at Dartington Hall". H.G. thinks that this is too malicious!

Cab., at which a long and not very conclusive discussion on military and economic problems in the Pacific. The Japs will try first to pick up undefended trifles and so build an Empire on the cheap. Indo-China next. (Within three days this happens.) The U.S. will react a bit to this and we must "match our action with theirs", even though this might increase the risk of more serious incidents and we have very little force, especially naval, available in the threatened area. Decision delayed on N.I.E., much to A.E.'s chagrin.

Hopkins is present for the first six items. Then, before we discuss certain Far Eastern questions, it is desired that he should leave. This is achieved by circulating a bogus agenda, and giving him a copy, in which it is made to appear that the proceedings ~~under~~ end with item 6. The P.M. then rises from his chair and says "Well, now we will adjourn", and an impression is created of general movement. But in fact only Hopkins really leaves, though P.M. accompanies him into the passage to say au revoir and that he is always available, and I see him to the door, fixing a future appointment with him.

When the real adjournment is reached some time later, I say to D.C. on going out "I suppose you really ought to be congratulated on leaving that place". He says "Yes, certainly. But I don't know

what I'm supposed to be going to do in the Far East. I only heard on Thursday that I was to go" (some of us heard on Wednesday). "Nothing has been arranged and nothing more has been said to me about it."

22. 7. 41

V.W. to see me, when I explain his M.E.W. cover and press on him the need to be discreet.

Allen, of the American Red Cross, calls. He tells a story, quite good up to a point, of the inadvisability of sending anything more than vitamins and milk concentrates for children into unoccupied France.

See A.E. at the F.O. principally on a rather slapdash blockade paper which he has shot at the War Cabinet. This is rather wobbly on Relief and proposes (1) that I should make a paper on food prospects in Europe during the coming winter, and (2) that a committee should be formed of him and me and some of our colleagues to consider the "major questions of blockade" arising from time to time, and report to the War Cabinet.

I say I don't like (2) at all, thinking this quite unnecessary, and that our present procedure whereby he and I, and his officials and mine, consult and concert, is quite enough. (I had suspected some deep plot in this committee proposal, and so had my advisers, especially H.G.). He says he does not wish to press the idea of a committee and would be willing to withdraw it if I would put in my paper what I had just said to him. He is being bothered by Spaak, to whom we sent a masterpiece of a negative reply the other day. A.E. says that the C.O.S. have given a quite inconclusive reply to our questions about Iran. They say that such and such a line would be most excellent, if there were forces available to back up a threat. But what they were asked was are there forces available? This they haven't answered!

M.C.L. Reception for Peter Fraser. C.R.A. tells me here that he has spoken to Bracken and told him that the Anderson Award should stand and that the Committee of Three is important. Bracken said that he had no idea of asking for anything more, having quite enough on his hands already.

C.E.O. and B.N. to dine in private room at L.Club. We have four hours together, 8 p.m. till midnight. B.N. makes on me a very good impression indeed. We cover a great deal of ground. He is a man of energy, good brains, courage and great prudence. (I hear afterwards that he is still not quite convinced that Retinger is to

be trusted, though we have explained to him at length all the Polish wheels within wheels, including Cziechianowski's animus against Sikorski, though the latter made him Ambassador.)

23. 7. 41

Meeting of N.E. Thin attendance but much talk. Shinwell's appointment as Chairman of Central Committee on Policy goes through, as a recommendation from the Policy Committee, without discussion. First meeting of Central Committee to be held next week.

A good deal of grizzling over appointment of Thurtle as Parliamentary Secretary to M. of I. rather than Phil Baker. Many who have never loved the latter till now are his admirers to-day! e.g. Shinwell, who, trying to stir up trouble as usual, says that he thinks this is a "shocking appointment" and asks whether P.M. makes appointments without consultation with anyone. Someone recalls that Thurtle at the time of Munich called out "Well done Chamberlain!" and Barbara Gould, who deteriorates both physically and mentally from week to week, produces a version of a recent conversation with Thurtle in which he said that he entirely agreed with "the Vansittart letters". But there is clearly nothing to be done.

I hope, however, that Phil will get something before long; otherwise he will really become discouraged.

After lunching at the House and doing some "hobbing and nobbing" (a happy and descriptive phrase which I owe to my C.E.O., whom I found so engaged at the F.O. some days ago), I settle down in the Ministry to read piles of telegrams and other papers. Hardly started, I am rung up by Bracken, who says that he understands this Committee of Three is very important and he would like to make an appointment at once. He suggests that my General (sic) Brooks should represent him on it. I say that he performs indispensable functions for me now and I could not release him. Bracken thinks that "Joe Hollis could easily find you someone else". I say that I am sure he couldn't. Anyhow, he asks me to think it over, which I say I will do. I see B. later in the afternoon and he expresses deep horror at the idea of joining the M. of I. staff. Indeed, he says that nothing will induce him to go. Almost he clings to me weeping! I say that I regard him as one of my lynch pins and certainly would not contemplate losing him. If, however, Bracken were willing that my liaison officer with him should represent him on this Committee, I should have no objection. But it would be a very odd and unconstitutional arrangement. B. reports that G. (his No. 2) reports that D.C. asked W.M. to go with him to the Far East, that W.M. at first agreed but now is inclined to go back on it and to stay with B.B. Further, that W.M. is canvassing vigorously for Radcliffe to succeed him if he should go; also that it is now felt

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in the M. of I. that they can't appoint another diplomat to succeed Peterson because there would be such a howl at this in Parliament and the press. **D.C.** had invited seven business men in succession to succeed Peterson, but all had refused, one telegraphing in reply "Please don't try to be funny."

Later I hear that B.B. has asked Thurtle to attend the Committee of Three, which is now due to meet on Monday. B.B. has been told that D.C. has left unanswered an invitation from A.E., dated July 4th, to appoint his man, and is terrified of this delay emerging in reply to a Parliamentary question. It might suit very well if T. were permanently to be a member of this Committee, though he might be encouraged to think it beneath his dignity, as a junior Minister, to sit under the Chairmanship of an official. I shall try to see him to-morrow, tell him as much as is necessary and good for him, and smooth the way.

Barry Adams
R.L. comes to see me about the Sibman. Now, pushed by J.B. and W.A. (who ought to know better), he has fallen back to the idea of two men, and R. Smith as one of them. He has to-day had a conference a quatre with G., D.B.L. and W.A. and tells me that they are willing to leave it to him.

I say "All right", but G. later tells me that they came to no such agreement and that he and D.B.L. still thought that there should be one man and not two, and that R. Smith would be unsuitable anyhow, being an American citizen who would raise doubts in the minds of Service Departments, etc. I therefore have to write a Minute to R.L. and send it down by D.B.L. saying that the whole thing must be reconsidered and R. Smith not approached.

Dorothy Thompson to see me. She is, no doubt, a good friend of ours and a good broadcaster, but she stays too long and seems to be rather deaf as a result of coming over in a plane.

C.E.O. has been trying for days to see I., but this is very difficult. To-night he tried to see Bridges, and took out to dinner Harris, the latter's Secretary, a Fellow of All Souls and said to be quite bright. He brings back an awful picture of how those near the P.M. have to live. Bridges is used as a Principal Private Secretary in addition to being Secretary to the Cabinet. Neither Bridges nor Ismay have had any holiday since the war began and hardly ever have a weekend off. When the P.M. is about, they have to stay up till 2 a.m. and sometimes 4 a.m., and it is said that I., though he has the constitution of an ox and an excellent intelligence, finds that his mind is getting quite numb. The P.M., it is said, regards himself as Commander in Chief both of the British Navy in the Atlantic and of the Imperial Forces in the Middle East.

The General de G. is becoming more and more impossible.

He is trying to take away, purely for prestige reasons, a number of our trainees to act as "infantry of the air" in the M.E., but they will have no aircraft out there! and here there are many tasks awaiting them. C.E.O. is to sit on the doorstep of the C.O.S. to-morrow morning to try to get them to oppose this plan.

De G. has been in a terrible state about Syria and there is a dramatic account from O.T. of their talks in Cairo. De G. protests bitterly against the way the campaign was conducted (slow and unenterprising, he thinks) and still more at the Armistice terms and Protocol (signed by General W. without proper authority), unduly limiting the contact of Free French or other allied agents with the Vichy elements. De G. came, apparently not having slept and in a terrible state of wounded vanity and unco-operativeness, and tried to leave with O.T. a bombastic written declaration, "Free France, that is to say France, declines declares repudiates, etc." He said, in effect, that he would do what he liked in the future with all his own, would not recognise the British in any way in Syria, or as allies in any campaign. O.T., according to his own account, handled him with skill and firmness and hopes to calm him down soon, but fears that if de G. has another sleepless night he may be confronted with further quite impossible demands. Meanwhile, Vichy French Generals are allowed to remain in Syria who go about whispering that, though the Free French are allowed to take control for the moment, the British and the Germans will soon come back together, in combination, and turn them out. In Syria, as in Iraq, the British General in Charge has agreed, without proper authority, on terms much too mild for the disarming and removal of the enemy.

There has been a come-back from Washington from N. Butler through Cadogan raising difficulties about V.W.'s trip. Loxley arranges with H.G. on the telephone to send a reply that, until Hfax. has returned and considered the matter, V.W. shall only do M.E.W. work. He leaves tomorrow for Bristol and by plane next day.

24. 7. 41

Spend some time with Hopkins at the American Embassy, most of it alone, and then à quatre with Winant and Leith Ross. W. is said to get on very well with the P.M., but in my experience of him he is almost speechless, almost inaudible when he does speak, and never looks ~~at~~ straight in the eyes except at the beginning and the end of an interview. They say he has Red Indian blood, which helps to account for his rather curious appearance.

What a contrast is H.H.!^{It's Kim} Sharp as a needle, humorous, ready for anything. I say that, since he was last here, when I gave him a memo of M.E.W. questions, there has been a good move forward on

all points except one, namely, the creation of an American M.E.W. I ask him how this stands now. He says that Wallace, the Vice-President, is to preside over a new set-up which, H.H. hopes, will be much better than an Inter-Departmental Committee, as some at first suggested. H.H., before leaving, saw two letters, one from the President to Wallace offering him this job, and the other from Wallace to the President accepting, but publicity has been delayed pending the collection by W. of a good team. H.H. has urged him not to ask Departments, and especially the State Department, to nominate people, but himself to pick them. Otherwise, the S.D. will nominate some old man who will always be obstructing and tiring everybody out.

H.H. says Hall is doing very well. I talk to him also about Lapi, in which I think I interest him a bit. He would like a short memo on it with suggestions for practical action. "Why shouldn't we blow these planes up in the air?" he asks. He says that the U.S. now has troops in British Guiana and a strong force in Trinidad, so they are moving in the right direction. But what he would like to see is a U.S. armoured division at Natal (Brazil).

I ask him about Donovan, and say that I would like him to come over here soon to see and discuss our show. H.H. says he will pass this on and himself thinks it would be a good thing. ~~He would also like to tell the President something about it himself.~~ He would also like to tell the President something about it himself. I hope to arrange a meeting with him and C.E.O. on Monday, by which time we will have a short memo prepared and also let him have a glance at our longer one.

From U.S. Embassy to Yugo-Slav Legation, where I meet Simovich and Nintchich with little "Sabotage". Simovich is the more attractive of the two, honest, I should think, but politically innocent, as the commentators have already reported. Nintchich, on the other hand, is a dreary, tired old man. It was he who thought that, after the Coup, they would be left in peace by Hitler provided they did not mobilise! According to Simovich, they were both mobilising and demobilising at the same time! I deliberately abuse Prince Paul, having been told last weekend by Seton Watson that these Jug Ministers still think that the Prince ranks high in the affections of influential people here. I tell them that he was a traitor, both to them and to us, that we intend to keep him in semi-captivity in Africa, and that I salute them for having got rid of him, even though too late to prevent the evil consequences of his policy. I have the impression that they are very pleased to be visited; they seem to live in the Legation and spend all their time waiting to be visited by someone; but they have nothing much at this moment to put into the allied pot, neither men nor money, nor, I think, any power to influence events in their own country. They show me a number of postcard photographs of dead men and women hanging by their necks to trees in the Parks and other pleasant places in Yugoslavia.

They say that the Hungarians have been exceptionally active in perpetrating these hangings. Simovich says that he thinks after the war Hungary should be divided up between Czechs, Jugs and Roumanians. He also has a vague idea of some Balkan Federation, to which I say that I would add the Poles and Czechs.

Ernest Thurtle to dine with me. He is very delighted to be a Minister and I tell him how important the Committee of Three, on which he is to sit next Monday, is sure to be. I let him into some of my secrets, which he finds very thrilling, and urge him to sit permanently on this Committee. I hint that if he will, he shall come down to the country and see what we do. He said that B.B. was rather apologetic in asking him to sit on this Committee, not wishing to give him too much to do, but that he thinks that, if he himself wants to go on, there will be no difficulty with B.B.

Oliver Twist has sent a telegram welcoming the arrival of C.D. and T.M., and now we are anxious to get them off as soon as possible. C.E.O. wants me to get C.D. Treasury cover and give T.M. M.E.W. cover.

I hear that S.Hoare has written a personal letter to Eden suggesting that D.E. should be sent to America. This is damned cheek anyhow, and no doubt was instigated by D.E. himself. The letter was passed by A.E. to Sir D.Scott, who showed it to Drogheda, who said he was sure that I should not approve. Nor do I. I am inclined to summon D.E. back to report before long and should like to send him on a mission a great distance away. He has had to be ticked off for sending a telegram direct to the F.O. and not in the Arfar series, suggesting that we should tell Vichy Frenchmen that we will favourably consider giving them navicerts providing they will do certain things for us in return. This sort of nonsense takes no account of our press or public opinion.

DIARY25. 7. 41

Kolban comes to see me to ask about Relief for Norway. He puts it very reasonably and does not ask for much, but the objections to any departure from principle are formidable.

A regular row in the afternoon between S.O.1 and S.O.2 over appointment of Maxwell. G.T. is a good deal to blame for bad staff work and for trying to grab and snatch without consultation. I am asked to see M. this afternoon along with G., C.D. and A.D. They all march in and proposed terms of reference for Maxwell are planted down in front of me. I at once react against these, since they do not seem either to safeguard my own authority or to have involved any consultation with R.L. and Co. I ask G. whether he has seen them and he says yes, but it is quite clear that he has not had time to study them. It is A.D. who has drafted them. It is, however, very awkward for me to say in front of Maxwell that they give the latter too much power, and it was very stupid to bring him in before I had had a preliminary look at the T. of R. The only excuse for all this muddling is that everybody is in a rush. None the less, I have first to manoeuvre Maxwell out of the room, then to row the other three, then to suggest that C.D. should see M. alone and get him to agree to no terms of reference (this is awkward, for it may arouse his suspicions and make him think that I have not complete confidence in him); C.D. goes off and manages this very well, M. having acquired already great confidence in him. Brig.B., who is hanging about, - this again is badly stage-managed - is given in the Secretaries' Room a copy of the T. of R. with some preliminary amendments of mine. He is, of course, very angry that this is the first he has heard of it, particularly as it is now proposed to give M. complete authority over both S.O.1 and S.O.2 in M.E., i.e. more than was to be given to Taverner. There is the usual plaint about poor old Thornhill!

I tell H.G. to go down to-morrow with Maxwell and not to allow any dog fights to develop in his presence. A.D. is to be sent away to eat worms with someone else and not to argue in front of M. about anything. M. is just to be shown round and told who does what.

H.G. says to me afterwards that G. and R.L. will never hit it. M.L. is much too suspicious. He thinks that G. despises him and realises that G. always gets the best of any argument, having a much quicker and more incisive mind. Also he is jealous of the fact that G. sees so much more of me than he does, and he realises that I think much more of G. than of him. On the other hand, H.G. is to make the most of the fact that I shouted at them all this afternoon for not having consulted R.L., and tore up the terms of reference and refused even to consider them.

H.G. also says that when G. rang up R.L. on the telephone to try to straighten things out, instead of adopting a deadly serious tone, as R.L. himself did at the other end, G. treated the whole thing half as a joke and told R.L. he had been getting into terrible trouble and had been ticked off by the Minister.

H.G. says that Drogheda told him some time ago that there had been great heart-burning at the F.O. when I made G. an Assistant Under-Secretary of State, and that he does not think G. realises that he sometimes antagonises people by his rather offhand manner and his apparent lack of interest in what they are saying.

Later this evening I have a triangular talk with G. and H.G. and make them argue between themselves about all this. It is clear that in this case G. himself had not been properly consulted by his own subordinates over the terms of reference, etc. He had spent most of the day plugging away at our principal paper and trying to find out where it had got to now. He learns that the F.O.P.S. and the Planners both liked it and thought it quite exciting, but that the bone-headed old Chiefs of Staff cut out some essential passages. He also thinks there is some evidence that the P.M. has hinted to Hopkins not to discuss these affairs too much with me, at least at present, since nothing is yet settled. Hopkins's disinclination to see me again and the fact that his Secretary is being so difficult about his engagements is further evidence of this. (Two days later we find out that this is not true, since H.H. is flying to Moscow and his Secretaries are ordered to keep his movements very dark.)

26. 7. 41

Report on enquiry into food poisoning in canteen. Fortunately there have been no really serious cases and Ministry of Health Inspector is investigating. But it may, I fear, frighten people away from the canteen.

Retinger to see me and report progress on the Russo-Polish negotiations. At his suggestion, I ring up Stanczyk on the telephone and tell him he must stand firm in support of Sikorski, which, to his credit, R. says he is already doing.

Lunch at Drapers' Hall and then go down to Bancroft's School, where I watch some school sports, afterwards meeting a number of the masters (not at all a bad lot), and in the evening seeing some quite good acting of scenes from Shaw's "Saint Joan". I am spending the weekend in Woodford and being put up to-night by the Headmaster, Welles, who at first is very shy but gradually thaws. He is fairly young, a Classic, who was previously an assistant master at Cheltenham.

27. 7. 41 (Sunday)

See the Monitors in the presence of the Headmaster and get on quite well with them. Do all the right things, including attendance at the School Chapel. I doubt, looking around, whether these ceremonies produce any profound spiritual effect upon the victims.

Speak at Woodford in the evening. A very great success! I stand beside the Mayor and take the salute at a march past of representatives of the armed forces, the police, and all the A.R.P. services of the Borough. Great crowds look on and there are more than two thousand afterwards in the Cinema, with a further crowd outside, to whom speeches are relayed from within. I make a very good speech, lasting an hour and a half, during which no-one leaves except one woman with a baby. Two patches of generalities and rhetoric, including tributes to the P.M., at each end, and a lump of solid informative stuff about M.E.W. in the middle. Most enthusiastically received, both by the audience and by the small party which comes back to Sir James Hawkey's house afterwards for light refreshments.

Get back to the office at 11.30 and find both G. and H.G. returned from the country to do some work with me before going to bed. H.G. reports that Maxwell has done very well at C.H.Q. but that there was great irritation over the failure to consult, and that he spent a very difficult hour with R.L. and Brig.S., both of whom were very angry indeed. We discuss also a draft of my letter to O.L. and the terms of reference to Maxwell, which I am determined to hold up till after next week-end.

It is also necessary to hustle my Cabinet paper, as the P.M. wants A.E.'s paper brought on on Monday, and not held back till Thursday as had been previously arranged. The officials have produced some very poor pabulum for my paper, and H.G. must produce a draft of his own first thing to-morrow morning. H.G. and I go to bed, and send G. home, just after 1 a.m.

28. 7. 41

Hopkins is flying to Moscow. Hence the evasiveness of his Secretary last week.

I lunch with Bracken and have what may prove to be a most useful talk. He gives the appearance of being very friendly and co-operative; says his chief interest is in Home news and in American propaganda; he would like not to have to trouble much about propaganda to enemy and enemy-occupied countries. He does not want to appoint a successor to Peterson; he would like to have "General Brook"

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as the man to sit with Lockhart and Leeper on the Committee of Three; he would like this Committee to settle everything without much reference back to Ministers except on quite important matters; he says that he and I do not want to be always meeting A.E., whom he finds "very touchy". He would like to tell the House of Commons that we three Ministers have decided to set up a Department of Political Warfare; that we have put it in charge of people whom we trust, but that neither their names nor any of their activities can be published, since this is a highly secret branch of warfare, as secret as the plans of the Chiefs of Staff. He thinks that this would make a great impression in Parliament and in the press, where "political warfare" is a much beloved phrase, and that this would settle for good the question of secrecy. He thinks that the P.M. would back such a plan.

As to Brig.B., we finally agree provisionally that he shall be half mine and half M. of I., continuing to do for me all essential work he does now and having a second office at the M. of I. with a secretary, but not being required to be there every day. "the D.P.W.", said B.B., "would then really have its headquarters down at W." I ask him to put something on paper for me before the week-end and I will let him have my views early next week, but am hopeful we can do business.

Cab. Complete defeat of A.E., who wants authority to tell the Refugee Governments, and particularly the Belgians, that we will be prepared to consider favourably a proposal to let milk through the blockade into their countries on condition that the American Red Cross distributed it. He says that he is sure the Germans would refuse this offer and so we should score. He says that since our blockade in Southern France is not effective, it is difficult to maintain a total blockade against food into other areas. He also says that he has had telegrams from the U.S. proposing that milk should be sent into Occupied France.

I make a speech in reply to this, saying that I am afraid my paper with appendix containing general forecast of food situation in Europe next winter has only come round late this afternoon and that my colleagues will not yet have had time to study it. I strongly urge, however, that there should be no change in policy until my paper has been studied. There will be enough food in Europe this winter to feed all, even though modestly and monotonously, if the Germans will distribute it fairly; and perhaps draw something from their hoarded stocks of over 3,000,000 tons of wheat. The Marseilles leak in the blockade is not as bad as A.E. says, and anyhow, even if this leak exists, it is no argument for deliberately making another. I say I have not seen the telegrams he refers to on milk for Occupied France, and any small concession made now must rapidly extend, since we must be prepared to concede to other allies whatever we concede to any one. Nor is this the time to raise the question, since the harvest is just

coming in, and for some while there should be no serious shortage anywhere.

The P.M. then weighs in most heavily upon my side. "Once we leave the high ground of principle and come down into the valley of compromise", we shall face great difficulties. He takes the point about the harvest and declares that we must maintain the principle that the Germans are responsible for feeding those whom they have enslaved. A.E. must say this, again and again, to the small neutral allied Governments who come to him. The Beaver also backs up this line. Growing weary of the debate, he cries "Why should we discuss this any more now? Why can't we wait till after the harvest?" I'm told there is going to be a very good harvest in this country." And no-one says a word in support of A.E. It must have seemed very humiliating, but he brought it on himself, particularly by bungling in a paper on Blockade without consulting me first. I ask him, as the Cabinet is separating, about these telegrams on milk for Occupied France. He says, rather lamely, "I had a reference to them on my notes". I say I shall make further enquiry. I get H.G. to ring up Private Secretaries at the F.O. and he ascertains that there have been no telegrams about milk for Occupied France, only one telegram a fortnight old on milk and vitamins for Unoccupied France, which is an old story anyhow, and that on this telegram there was a conference between my people and the F.O. in which I gave instructions to resist, and resist they did. It seems that Herschell Johnson has waddled round to the F.O. since then and asked what was happening. That is all. Either A.E. was very badly briefed, or he read his brief all wrong. I am afraid he is still more annoyed with me than before, but it is all his own silly little fault.

G. and Maxwell dine with me and I have a final discussion with him on his mission to the M.E. He may not be brilliantly clever, but he creates in me a sense of confidence in what I think is solid competence, common sense and capacity to get on with people.

29. 7. 41

Reflecting on yesterday, I am afraid A.E. is rather a lightweight. He reminds me of a little boy trying to clutch all the toys.

I row Vickers for having turned out so feeble a first paper for me after three and a half days. I say that I always have to write my Cabinet papers myself and that I am surprised to get so little help, and so late, this time from his officials. In the end I had to turn it over to the other side of the house. He is apologetic and says that he realises that some of his people are too academic and don't understand the political side of things.

R.L. and Brig.B. to see me. They like the idea of D.P.W.,

etc. We shall discuss this at the weekend.

P.M. opens Production debate to-day and does pretty well, though it is not exactly his line. J.W. breaks a long Parliamentary silence with a short speech in the luncheon interval and E.B. winds up, so I am told, with great effect.

Stanczyk comes to see me in the afternoon. He is very firm about the Treaty and I repeat, though I think it is hardly necessary, what I said to him on the telephone, namely, that if he leaves Sikorski he will endanger all that good will towards Poland in the Labour Party which I have found it so difficult to build up. He says that among the Polish Socialists here, Ciolkosz and his wife were hysterically against the Agreement, but the others, and especially Lieberman, strongly in favour.

J.W. is in great form this evening, very cheerful and amusing. I tell him that his happy gifts of reconciliation will again be wanted between my two Assistant Under-Secretaries. We both agree that it would be much easier if there was only one of them, and if R.L. took a job abroad or in the F.O. One of the grounds of discontent is that both G. and I work quite late, when most others have gone to bed, and that he often brings me important papers, on which I make important decisions, just before he goes home. Indeed, I often have to tell him to go home and not work any later, since in the morning he has his 9 o'clock meeting with the Daily Council. Those who don't work after dinner cannot expect to be in on all these things, and in any case I won't have the machine slowed up by excessive consultation.

30. 7. 41

Say farewell to C.D., who with T.M. is leaving this evening in a flying boat specially laid on by C.A.S., at our request, for M.E. I give him a letter to O.L. which tries yet once more to make the point that all Subversion is one, and should be under one direction. (There is a confused mass of telegraphing now in process between M.E. and this end, and some of my officials want me to send several more, but I firmly refuse, since these two will soon, bar accidents, arrive in Cairo.) C.D. thinks he will be able to influence little H.H., who is his cousin and has, he says, a strong family sense!

First meeting this afternoon of new "Central Committee" on L.P. policy. Shinwell in the Chair, still too talkative but much subdued. It may not have been a bad appointment after all. After long and rambling discussion, a small Sub-Committee of seven or eight, of whom I am one, and the only Minister, is set up to lay down certain principles and make an initial sketch of Sub-Committees.

I hear that the Russo-Polish Treaty has been signed at 4 o'clock this afternoon, and as there is a party at the Dorchester from 6 to 7.30, promoted by the Anglo-Polish Parliamentary Committee, I ask for Retinger to come round and see me first. G., who has been at the F.O. this afternoon, says that, according to Strang, within the Polish Government "things couldn't be worse". I bring him in when R. arrives. R. says that Zaleski, Sosnkowski and Seyda are, so far, maintaining their resignations and that the President is also being very difficult. But Stanczyk and Stronski have both been firm as rocks. The announcement by A.L. in the House this afternoon was very well received.

I put the view that Sikorski might well let Zaleski go, but should try, even at this hour, to get back Sosnkowski and Seyda.

We then go round to the party, which is very crowded, swarms of Poles beaming and a number of our own obscurer M.P.s with a fringe of journalists, British and American. Conspicuous, however, by their absence are the President of the Polish Republic and the three resigned Ministers: also Raczynski, but he is ill, and is intended, Retinger says, to replace Zaleski as Foreign Secretary Minister. Kot whispers to me what I had heard already, that he has been asked to go to Moscow as the new Polish Ambassador there. He says it is a question entirely of his health. If this is good enough, he will go.

I congratulate Strang on the success of the negotiations which, I tell him, I understand were largely conducted by him. He says "The Foreign Secretary had a lot to do with it too".

Sikorski asks me not to go away as he would like to speak to me when the crowd has thinned. But it takes a long time to thin, and Retinger proposes that we should go away together. Finally, therefore, we disengage S., who is, and looks, very exhausted, and he asks me to come with him in his car, with only the faithful Tiszkiewicz sitting within earshot beside the driver. G. and R. follow in my car, but strike off to the new Polish Offices in Bryanston Court, while S. gives instructions that we should drive slowly round and round Hyde Park while he explains. He says that this morning the President said to him "You must not sign. You must delay. I do not authorise you to sign. If you sign, I shall resign." To which S. replied "This afternoon I shall sign. If you choose, you may resign." S. was convinced that further delay, demanded by the President and a few of the others, would be most damaging, and also that the Agreement itself was very satisfactory, particularly with the accompanying British Note. He said that Zaleski was lazy, obstructive and useless. He had sat through the discussions hardly uttering a word and never making a helpful contribution. He was supposed to be a diplomatic expert, but he

might just as well never have been in the room. I said I thought that S. would be well rid of him; he had been gossiping and intriguing, in the F.O. and elsewhere, against S. and also against me, because I was a friend of S.

S. was also very bitter against Sosnkowski, who, he said, had at one stage been prepared to sign a much less satisfactory agreement than that which they had now got. But, for some reason, which Sikorski connected with an intrigue with the President against himself, with the Polish Fascist leader Bialowski (?), and probably with certain sections in the Army, Sosnkowski suddenly turned round. Sikorski would not take him back unless he made a complete recantation. He also complained to me that my Brig.G. had been supporting Sosnkowski. I said that I was sure this wasn't true but that I would anyhow make enquiries and give appropriate instructions. (G. had shown me earlier to-day the record of a conversation between Sosnkowski and Brig.G. in which the latter had been urging the former not to persist in his resignation, and had added the opinion that Sosnkowski had "the whole Army" with him. G. told me afterwards, when I reported Sikorski's conversation, that Brig.G. had, at the Daily Council this morning, been putting Sosnkowski's case and giving the impression that he thought there was a good deal in it. I told G. to bring this up again to-morrow and to warn Brig.G. against indiscretions.)

Sikorski felt less bitterly about Seyda, and would, I think, be prepared to take him back quite easily if he were willing.

The Russo-Polish Agreement was, indeed, immensely improved in the last stage, as the result of ~~which~~ our representations in Moscow, by three changes:

- (1) The Russians agreed to insert in the first paragraph a reference to "territorial changes" brought about by the Russo-German Treaty of 1939 as "having lost their validity".
- (2) It was now agreed that, not only should the Polish Forces fighting in the Russian Army be under a Polish Commander nominated by the Polish Government here, but that Poland should also be represented at the Russian G.H.Q.
- (3) By a Protocol to the Agreement, the Russians undertook to release, as soon as diplomatic relations were established, all Poles detained by them, whether "as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds".

What then did the dissidents and resigning Ministers want? They wanted, it seems, an explicit undertaking from the Russians that they recognise the 1931 Eastern Frontiers of Poland. How empty!

No undertaking now can settle post-war frontiers. All that must come later. Nor can the Russians be expected to eat all that amount of dirt. They have, I think, gone quite far in this text. Nor is inviolability of frontiers a good formula for Poles. They want, and ought to want, to violate the pre-war German-Polish frontier and to take over at least East Prussia.

Sikorski said that he was going up to Scotland to-morrow to see his troops. He may, I suppose, have just a little trouble up there. I called for a few moments at his Office, where G. and R. were waiting for us, and then came away. G. said that R. also was utterly exhausted and had almost collapsed when they first arrived. R. alone had been throughout with Sikorski in the negotiations.

Those who have backed Sikorski up till now have backed a winner. He is a fine creature, courageous, far-sighted, wide-minded, and with much political sagacity.

G. thinks it will be very awkward if both Sosnkowski and Kot disappear, for we shall then have to re-arrange our relations. I had hinted this to Sikorski, but he said that this would not be so. In place of Kot we should have another member of the Peasant Party to deal with who was not hated as Kot was by some, and, in place of Sosnkowski, he would appoint another good soldier.

31. 7. 41

Send A.E. a letter of congratulation on the R.P. Treaty and his part of it. This is designed to sweeten relations which I apprehend may have become a little sour, though G. reports that he sounded A.C. on this to-day and A.C. said that he thought our relations were about the same, not much better or much worse, and that A.E. was not harbouring any particular grudge against me for bowling him out at the Cabinet on Monday.

I meet A.E. unexpectedly this evening at a small party given by Bracken in honour of Dorothy Thompson, and we exchange a few kind words. He says that the Polish Amb. in Washington sent a message to Zaleski that the State Department were opposed to the Treaty. This turned out to be a lie, but A.E. had to mobilise both Winant and Biddle in order to dispose of it.

Huysmans and de Brouckère come to see me with a long yarn about the King of the Belgians playing a double game, and a plot against the Belgian constitution. They do not make it quite clear whether this plot is to be consummated during or after the war. I say that if after, it is too remote to trouble about now, and much may happen meanwhile; if during, there is nothing much that we can

do to stop it. None of them have yet ~~xxxx~~ had any invitation to join the National Council, though there is talk of Van Zeeland becoming President of such a body. The poor things are rather inconclusive.

I give Bracken to-night a copy of my letter to Oliver Twist which N. is taking with him. B.B. is still talking very loud about the importance of co-operation, etc., but I am not quite satisfied with a draft he has sent me this evening, to be considered over the weekend, for the new D.P.W. I see an inclination to insert D.M. into this machine and perhaps to enable him to take control of it later.

Our Amb. at Ankara has sent a most amazing telegram protesting against the arrival of a certain D., a Bulgarian, in his capital. This man, he says, took part in "mutinous" activities against the Bulgarian Government before and after the German occupation, and is likely, therefore, to be persona non grata with the Turks. There is much else in the telegram which shows that K.H. is in a state of dithering demoralisation.

K. H. = H. H. H. H.

DIARY1. 8. 41

Can we get a place in an aeroplane for Moscow? A\$ it turns out, no.

I confront Retinger and Brig.G., who makes it clear that he has not been disloyal to Sikorski in any of his talks to Sosnkowski. I then hunt for Sikorski and ascertain that he is lunching at the Coq d'Or, where Dormer, the decayed diplomat who has been given the title of Ambassador to the Poles in London, is entertaining a number of them. To my embarrassment, when I go up to speak to S. to arrange to see him in the course of the afternoon, Stronski rises and grasps me by the hand and says "We all know that you are the No.1 friend of Poland in this country". This, if repeated by Dormer, as no doubt it will be, in the F.O., will not improve relations.

R.Brook is very good. I much approve of him.

Debate as to whom to send to Moscow. I quite definitely say no to Brig.G., who was the general favourite of the Daily Council, as C.H. told me rather injudiciously, leading me to row C.E.O. about rushing me into important semi-commitments about people. C.E.O. says it didn't go as far as this and that C.H. has been clumsy in his report to me. Finally, I decide that if C.H. cannot get away in time - he seems equally indispensable both for these most subterranean discussions with the Russians and for negotiations with H.M.G. on behalf of G.W.R. shareholders - we will send A.B., who, I understand, would like to go and would be pretty good.

H.G. and I see "Target for To-night" and think it very good indeed.

2. 8. 41

To C.H.Q. A row about the Sibman. They try to re-persuade me that he should be an S.O.1 man and not joint, and also that it should be R.S. I object that I can't have an American, who would not command confidence in all the circles where he must move. I ask whether they have no other name. None of them have. I then say that this is clearly a set piece, and the discussion comes to an inconclusively. H.G. agrees that it was very stupid not to put up other names. I say next day that I will agree, though reluctantly, to his being an S.O.1 appointment, but that he must be an Englishman.

3. 8. 41 (Sunday)

A gradual improvement in the atmosphere after I have blown off steam with H.G. walking in the Park. D.B.L. will, I think, be a very good influence; plenty of charm and common sense and no reason to suspect either side.

Scaife, who was M.A. Moscow in 1935-6, shows me some of his reports of those days which have been borne out now. He thought then that the Red Army was well equipped and would be a very difficult proposition if attacked, even by a first-class Power. (Note attached)

4. 8. 41

Bank Holiday and a sort of Sunday feeling in the Ministry, whither I return with G. and H.G. just before lunch.

B.B. comes to see me this evening and gives every impression of being anxious to reach a good settlement. I undertake to let him have B. on certain conditions and to make a draft.

I make an outburst, however, on M.'s Terms of Reference, since A.D. argues back persistently about these, and after I have twice told G. that I see no ground at all for changing or adding to them, A.D. presses that he should come and argue it with me. He thinks that (1) M. may think that he is being let down because I do not explicitly give him power to fire high-ups without reference home in the event of grave crisis, and (2) that C.D. went away thinking that he would propose T. of R. from that end and send them back for my approval. I say that I have no knowledge of (2) and see no need to vary (1), particularly as the thing had all been fixed up yesterday at a meeting where C.E.O., as well as S.O.1 blokes, were present. Anyhow, the whole muddle over the T. of R. is A.D.'s fault, and so is much of the general trouble between my two branches. Finally, I reluctantly consent to send a private telegram to M., though not changing T. of R., and then a further row develops as to whether this private telegram should be shown to S.O.1. H.G. is most insistent on this. I then make a loud explosion, saying that it will arouse B.'s deepest suspicion that I have a plot against his Colonel T. I blame A.D. with much violence for being rock-bound and uncooperative with my other wing, and also for making all the muddle in the first instance. He defends himself very well and finally H.G. says he is confident he can get the two telegrams past B. I agree that he shall try, and, to my astonishment, he succeeds. Meanwhile, the telegrams are not to go until we hear that our two people have got to Cairo.

Dalton I 25 (43)

SOVIET UNION

Annual Report, 1935.

Para. 313. The conclusion arrived at then is that, although the educational and training standards of the Red army have not yet risen to a sufficient level, and other conditions in the U.S.S.R. are still too backward to justify the U.S.S.R. in attempting offensive campaign against a powerful capitalist country, it would be a very risky matter for any country to attempt a war of aggression against the U.S.S.R.

Annual Report, 1936.

Para. 231. They have made, and are making, remarkable progress in technical equipment, especially in the mechanical forces for which the generally open nature of the country provides so suitable a field. The design and performance of their armoured machines is in many respects ahead of ours. But they are producing nothing very original in tactical ideas for the use of these armoured forces.

Para. 259. The Red army is in the process of being lavishly supplied with more and more equipment and armament, and that process is likely to continue at increasing tempos as munition works gain experience and are co-ordinated by the new People's Commissariat of Defence Industry.

Para. 260. The technical exploitation of material is also bound to improve fast as knowledge grows and is added to enthusiasm.

Para. 261. What is doubtful is the length of time the General Staff of the Red army will continue to allow the troops to employ the clumsy, out-of-date and extremely expensive minor tactics which are to be witnessed on all their exercises, great and small.

Para. 265. It is still considered, however, that in defence of its own territory, which is almost certainly the only eventuality which it is at present contemplating, the Red army, with its high morale, its powers of endurance, its great keenness and its growing abundance of material, may be expected to put up a very stout and probably successful resistance, even against a first-class enemy.

5. 8. 41

I have four P.Q.s, on supplies to Russia, blockade of Finland, Relief for Greece, and co-operation with the U.S.A. Two of these are spontaneous and two inspired. They all go very well and I get a surprising lump of press publicity.

Conference at F.O. with A.E. and B.B. There is general agreement on the basis of my draft, but we decide against any immediate announcement. The P.M. is away (it leaks out next day in the American press that he is meeting the President, and the German wireless picks this up, though our own press, even after that, is stopped from saying anything about it!).

P.O.G. in afternoon. New and better estimates of German oil expenditure in war on Russia. Berthoud comes to the Committee and makes a good impression.

Mr Justice S. has made a new estimate of British and German air strength, as at June 1st, i.e., before attack on Russia. The figures agreed by Air Intelligence and M.E.W. Intelligence give a ratio of about 4 to 5, but S. thinks that this is perhaps too favourable to Germany. Pretty good!

6. 8. 41

Brig.B. has seen B.B. who, however, only gave him five minutes but seemed very anxious to meet all our wishes. Later I redraft memo on P.W. and send it to my two colleagues. In the debate in Parliament this afternoon Lees-Smith makes an appeal for P.W. to be taken more seriously. The danger, he brightly says, is to argue that when we are not having success, we have no opportunity, and when we are, we have no need to do P.W.

My two emissaries have arrived in Cairo, so the much-debated telegrams have now gone off to them.

C. to dine with me alone. He stays much too long, but is most amiable. We agree that British Communists are no use for any purpose, but that in France, and still more in Germany, they may be most potent on our side. He is trying to find out what has happened to the Comintern and its directive. There is a tale that its H.Q. are now to be in U.S.A. I don't believe this. He also says that there is bound to be a conflict of interest between his show and mine as regards aircraft, etc. I say that we must make common cause to get more means.

DIARY7. 8. 41

Say goodbye to Colonel Clabaugh who is returning to the U.S.A. He has been much impressed with M.E.W. and will so report to his Chief, General Maxwell, whose role, however, in the new Economic Defence Board does not seem likely to be very prominent.

Deputation from China Campaign Committee, headed by Margery Fry and Eleanor Rathbone, on subject of supplies to Japan. I put them right on a number of points of fact.

First telegram from Cairo from C.D. They have, he thinks, established good relations with O.L. and his staff and he is investigating alleged irregularities. "Pretty good mess but not irretrievable." There may have to be a considerable purge. I tell C.E.O. and A.D. that they may have to come down to W.L. to see me about any further developments in the next few days.

Further negotiations about Brooks going to Bracken. The latter wants to pay part of his salary, and Brooks now agrees to this, though at first he was reluctant, on condition that there is no press publicity. I redraft, I hope almost for the last time, the joint memo for A.E., B.B. and myself on Political Warfare.

See Francis Noel-Baker, who has been interviewed for a job connected with Greece. He has suspected that it may have something to do with me.

DIARY8. 8. 41

Kept waiting for three quarters of an hour with Eden and Hudson in the anteroom to the Lord President's Committee, while a long jaw proceeds within on coal. Duncan and Grenfell between them have a pretty heavy responsibility for the general muddle over output and failure to keep enough men at work in the pits. It is incredible that, with no export trade, we cannot produce enough coal for our own requirements! Grenfell is now proved to be what I had always thought him, a second-rate, slow-witted, indecisive sheepshead.

Eden is very peevish at being kept waiting and sits down in a corner with a packet of papers. When at last we go in, to discuss the Wheat Conference at Washington, it is argued by Hudson, and accepted by Anderson, that Carlill, our representative at the Conference, has exceeded his instructions by accepting in principle a reduction in our wheat acreage without referring back. I feel that there is something in this point. It is agreed to send more telegrams to Washington and have a further discussion next week.

I then leave with A.E. for a delayed conference à trois with B.B. at F.O. Arrived in his room, A.E. drinks some milk and admits that he has a tendency to duodenal ulcers. He says that he had a good deal of pain from this about a year ago. I am told that this complaint comes from excessive worry, and no doubt A.E. is, more than most men, a nervy fusser.

We three Ministers then agree a paper based on a draft of mine which the other two amend slightly. It is proposed that next our three officials should work out a plan for organisation and operations of P.W.

Get away in the afternoon to W.L., taking with me some books and drinks. Just before leaving, I talk to H.G. and Brig.B. about sending someone to Moscow, as suggested by Cripps, to discuss subversive propaganda with the Russians. We three all think that Crossman would be the man. Later H.G. mentions this to R.L., who is frightened out of his wits at the very idea. This is becoming a very immobile old sheep, both mentally and in his Old Rectory.

So this evening I make good my escape and spend till -

12. 8. 41

quite alone, trying to forget the war and all my official duties. I go back to the Romans and read George Gissing's "By the Ionian Sea", a charming book recommended to me by G., Carcopino's "Daily Life in Ancient Rome", first mentioned to me by the Lord

Dalton E 25. 47a

Diary, [Xerox 1967]

Sl. No. ROSVENOR 4060.

original missing.

AR

MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC WARFARE,
BERKELEY SQUARE HOUSE,
BERKELEY SQUARE,
W.I.

Thursday August 2
[1941]

Dear Hugh

I attach C.D; telegram
(+ a further telegram)
of recommendations, also a telegram
from the Minister of State.

It seems to me that C.D.
has done really splendid work,
though it is evident that the
J.S.O. Middle East will have to
be reconstructed.

I immediately gave transport to
Tel. room I can hold a Book.

Since it seemed obvious to me that
 S.O.I. had known of C.D.'s recommendation
 at once. I hope you approve.

Dallas made no comment except
 to say that Rex must be consulted
 as soon as possible. Rex was in the
 country & said that the earliest
 moment he could spare for a conference
 was tomorrow at 12 noon. So if you

could bear to be in between 12.30 &
 1 he could speak to you on the
 telephone then. If Rex speaks &
 raises no particular point it will

Dalton I 25.47c 2

Tel. No.
GROSVENOR 4060.

MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC WARFARE,
BERKELEY SQUARE HOUSE,
BERKELEY SQUARE,
W.I.

be open to you to signify your consent -
if you do consent - on the telephone
or we can set a reply off. If Rex
shd. disagree, or if alternatively you
want to discuss the telephone yourself,
then I suggest that Rex & I shd.
come down & see you tomorrow
afternoon.

As for C.D.'s recommendation, I
like them very much, & it is
an excellent thing that they shd.
be warmly supported by Lyttleton.

O

It is not clear whether he believes
that either Pollock or Bailey - or
for that matter Thawbill - should be
re-employed at this end; but
there is no need to cross that
bridge till we come to it.

Of the names mentioned as
"accusers" not one is of any
importance save Northard.
He has told us all here frankly
what he thought, which is simply
that there was a certain amount
of middle - nothing else. The
others are either crooks, fools, or

Dalton I 25 47c

J.

• Tel. No.
• GROSVEFNR 4060.

MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC WARFARE,
BERKELEY SQUARE HOUSE,
BERKELEY SQUARE,
W.I.

old women. Still as C. D. says, the
point is that S. O. Middle East
has completely lost its name, & it
must therefore be radically reformed.

The point about Thomhill
& Aziz el Nassir is that T. Weeks
also lunched with this thugster (who
was caught after attempting to leave
the country in an aeroplane in order
to visit Round Hill) & apparently
on his own initiative made suggestions
& hints concerning "Home Rule" for

Dalton I 25 47

Tray - (Dalton) B. W. P. El. Paper
is now being tried for both trials
& has pleaded that T. encouraged him!
Lambson is consequently much enraged.

I am leaving - call just
through at 7:45 - the hope of
catching you after the D. R.
has handed you this letter &
enclosures.

Tom

Green

Chancellor (!) and found to be in the possession of R. Brook, "I, Claudius" in two Penguin volumes, and snatches of Gibbon.

It is not hot and rains a good deal, but I perform various mechanical tasks in the garden, notably cutting grass with a pair of shears and making hay on the lower part of my estate with the Gentry family. Gentry has had a hay rick burnt down by an evacuee boy and, although they say it was insured, he is therefore glad to get hay from elsewhere. W.L., it is estimated, can contribute more than three tons.

It is this evening (12. 8. 41) that I have my first disturbance. A despatch rider appears with two lots of papers, of which the more important is a series of telegrams from Cairo from O.L. and C.D., with an excellent covering letter (attached) from C.E.O. C.D. proposes to clear out not only P. and T., but Metherill, T.'s shadow, and Johnstone, who should have come home long ago and has disobeyed my orders by remaining. O.L. telegraphs that he is "entirely satisfied" with Nelson's recommendations. He adds that the latter has performed a difficult task with great tact and firmness. C.D. also reports that his recommendations are approved by the Chief of Staff, the Amb., and A.D.H.

Before I have been able to do more than read these papers through quickly, C.E.O. rings up. He has tried to get in touch with R.L. but the latter will not be available till 12 noon to-morrow; he will ring me up again before lunch; if they both agree on the line, they will tell me; if they disagree, they had better come down by car and argue it out with me. I say that at first reading I do not see how I can disagree with proposals so influentially backed.

13. 8. 41

No ring till 3.45 p.m.! C.E.O. then gives me an account of disagreement at his morning conference with R.L., attended also by Brig.B. and A.D. The fuss, of course, is about old T. Technically they have a point, in that it should have been A.D.H. and not C.D. who recommended that T. should be given his notice. R.L. and Brig.B. won't come down and see me; they say that they are sending down their views in a draft and that they have nothing more to say. C.E.O. says he will come down if I wish, and I ask him to do so with A.D. These two arrive soon after 6.30 p.m., bringing with them two long rigmaroley drafts for a telegram from me to Cairo. R.L.'s draft would refuse to approve recommendations on T., M. and J. until I had heard their replies to the charges made against them and had had time to consider these. This would take months! C.E.O. and A.D. have an alternative draft accepting the recommendations but emphasising that T. is not being dismissed. I say that I will be impartial and reject both drafts and substitute a much terser one of my own in which I simply approve the recommendations and say that they must be carried

out with the least possible delay. I had already drafted this before C.E.O. and A.D. arrived. I also send private telegrams to O.L. saying that I have approved, and to C.D. congratulating him on what he has done, adding that the four deportees should leave as soon as possible but that I do not ask that they should travel by air. (I have it in mind that if they come by a slow ship, preferably through Suez and right round the Cape, they will not arrive for some time and therefore I shall have no immediate trouble with them, and that when they do come, they will be forgotten men.) Apparently the talk à quatre in London was not very agreeable, and the real reason why R.L. didn't want to come and see me was that he hates rows and was pretty sure that I should over-rule him in the end after a further disagreeable scene. He goes to bed next day with a high temperature and there remains for some days; a psychological fever! Brig.B. appears to have made a great song and dance about T. being a personal friend of the P.M. and well known everywhere, and what frightful talk there would be in the Clubs in London about his ill treatment. I tell C.E.O. and A.D. that I can face this quite happily in view of the evidence at my disposal and the strong backing in Cairo for his removal.

14. 8. 41

R. arrives at W.L. from a visit to evacuees in Cambridge.

15. 8. 41

J.W. arrives. E.'s father died on Monday, so she can't get here till to-morrow. She is very tired after a long and trying time..

16. 8. 41

E.W. arrives in the early afternoon, and G.J. in the evening.

17. 8. 41

We go for a walk on the Downs, but it pours with rain, J.W. has a tummy ache and turns back early, and the other four of us, having got pretty wet, decide not to lunch out of doors on sandwiches as we had intended, particularly as we think J.'s tummy ache is due to drinking too much cider which has gone a bit sour, and therefore we all go back to a late lunch at home. In the afternoon people sleep, and later I win two games of chess, one against G. and the

*and we
have only
the other
four
the 5 have
with us*

other against J., and we all go to bed early. I have three rather tired guests this weekend.

18. 8. 41

Return to London, R. with a quantity of luggage by train, the rest of us in G.'s car. I pack him off to Scotland this evening by the night train, where he is to have a well deserved leave, and not to return till September 1st. He has worked immensely hard and well for many weeks, starting with the 9 a.m. Daily Council and finishing with me often past midnight in the office. He and A.D. have a final talk with me this evening. Darlan is mentioned.

A.D. says that C.D. has left Cairo in a Sunderland and may be home any day now.

Berthoud dines with me and makes a good impression.

19. 8. 41

P.O.G. Committee decides to recommend Cab. to authorise Cripps, at his discretion, to make offer to Russians that, if they destroy Caucasus oil, we will see them through both as regards oil during the war and post-war period and re-equipment of the industry. Berthoud does very well in this discussion.

Pauley, one of Ickes' men, comes to see me. He is to go to Moscow with Berthoud to talk oil with the Russians.

Simovitch pays a courtesy call. He is quite a stupid man but most anxious to be loyal and helpful.

Receive a draft of a "plan" for Political Warfare from the three officials. It is awfully bad, both in form and substance, full of confusions and platitudes. The Old Rectory in excelsis! There is to be a Ministers' meeting on the 21st at the F.O. to consider it. I must send a letter to my two colleagues to reach them before this meeting. It is a most awful bore this continual fidgeting on the P.W. front.

A.D. dines with me. He is coming in each night, in G.'s absence, to report on the principal events of the day.

20. 8. 41

Van looks in, not having been to see me for some time, and

reads some telegrams. He and Sarita were in a car smash the other day and, he says, both narrowly escaped death; she was badly shaken and his car will be out of action for some time. He thinks nothing of the Eight Points agreed by the P.M. and the President. It will be a great mistake, he says, to play this up very much. He also tells me that Montagu Norman was on the "Prince of Wales" and thinks that, if this got out, it would create a very bad impression. What game was he up to?

C.D. comes and reports to me at great length on his doings in Cairo. He seems to have done extremely well, and a new set-up is already in being whereby O.L. takes the Chair at a meeting where Chiefs of Staff and S.O.E. and others are represented. A.D.H. goes to this meeting. O.L., he says, is anxious to be on friendly terms with me and was a little apprehensive that I should take the line that C.D. need not have come out to Cairo after all. Charges of "corruption" were quite unproved, though undoubtedly there had been muddle, extravagance, gossip and intrigue in great quantities. C.D. will put me in a full report and substantial dossiers in a day or two. I insist that he shall go off on leave, preferably to Scotland where there are places he might inspect. I am hoping that G. will arrange for him to be asked for a few days to Ardkinglas.

R. and I lunch with Van Kleffens and a mixed party at Claridges. Afterwards she comes round to inspect my shelter bedroom, to which we shall move some of our furniture from the flat at Carlisle Mansions. We have decided to give this up in any case and either to take a small service flat somewhere else or, if, as is possible, R. goes to do some work in the Midlands, we shall store books and furniture in Swindon, to be near W.L., and no longer have a pied à terre in London at all, beside my Ministry.

The Chinese Ambassador, Wellington Koo, pays a courtesy visit and asks a large number of questions. He is not quite so serene and smiling a character as his predecessor. Some, indeed, regard him as rather sinister.

Spend much time with H.G., whose help in this sort of matter is very valuable, in drafting a long letter to A.E. and B.B. to reach them before to-morrow's meeting on the subject of the three officials' P.W.plan.

DIARY21. 8. 41

Cab. on Caucasus. Rather inconclusive. Consult Americans as to what we can offer.

Meeting at F.O. with A.E. and B.B. to consider the Plan of the three officials. I have sent a long letter, raising various points and objections, which the other two Ministers have only got just before the meeting. I have also brought with me an alternative draft. We are due to meet at 4, and A.E. has another engagement at 4.30. B.B. cannot arrive till 4.10, so we only have 20 minutes. In this time it is quite impossible to get down to any detail. B.B. makes a long speech about putting everything into the pool, and says that his decision has been received with horror by all his advisers, that Radcliffe has sent him pages and pages of legal objections, and that the Governors of the B.B.C. have also objected to being robbed of part of their just rights. None the less, he is determined to go ahead. He tries to rush me into saying that I will also put the whole of S.O.1 personnel into the pot, but this I refuse to do. A.E. does not seem to be focusing much and just repeats that everything ought to be joined and the officials ought to get on with their work. Finally, we agree that consideration of the officials' plan shall be indefinitely postponed and that they shall be told to get on with their work on the basis of the Ministers' paper of August 8th. It is also agreed that Para.4 in my alternative draft, about making plans region by region, shall be shown to Lockhart, who is then summoned into the room. He says that it will be very difficult for them to proceed, but he is told to do his best. I foresee that these Ministerial meetings are likely to be very brief and sketchy. No doubt this is what the officials are counting on in being able to run the show largely on their own.

Taylor A.D. reports to me that *Broad* P.B. has now twice been drunk, to the point of incapacity, in the afternoon in the office. I agree that in these circumstances he must be at once returned to store at the F.O. A.D. will speak to Mallet about this.

22. 8. 41

George Isaacs to see me to get material before going off to U.S.A. He is a good chap. H.G. thinks that I should spend more time in the future cultivating Labour M.P.s

C.D. goes off to-morrow night to Scotland for ten days. He is very tired after his trip.

Dine with Robin Brook. He also invites C. Maclaren,

Harcourt and Chris. Mayhew. I spend a very pleasant evening with these young men, all of whom are intelligent and likeable. R.B. is a great find. He has quickness, dry clarity and a sense of humour, like his Master. (slightly)

23. 8. 41

To C.H.Q. after lunch. After dinner H.G. and I discuss with R.L., B., D.B.L. and W.A. W.A., however, does not say a word the whole evening, and D.B.L. only once intervenes, to tell H.G. "Don't be so cynical". I cross-examine R.L. as to the meaning of his proposals. Is it intended that S.O.1 as such should completely disappear? I have the utmost difficulty in getting an answer to this question. It is, as I say to H.G. afterwards, like trying to pull teeth out of a sheep. But after much twisting it becomes clear that the answer is yes. At an earlier stage of the conversation we meet an unexpected set-back because, when I tell them what happened at the Ministers' meeting on Thursday last (21st), ending with the statement that they should now get on with making their plan region by region, R.L. says that they have had nothing in writing and can't do any more until they have. He thinks that the officials have been badly treated by the Ministers. He seems disinclined to discuss anything any further, and it is at this point that H.G. says that in this case we had better all go to bed, which leads to D.B.L.'s one intervention! Further cross-examination reveals that it is contemplated that I should have no more special relationship to C.H.Q. than either of my two Ministerial colleagues (although, of course, on the other hand I should acquire new and joint responsibilities as regards the B.B.C.). For all this, in principle, there is much to be said, but it is clear that in practice the real point which R.L. is after is to evade further Ministerial control by me. Indeed, I say to him that I have spent a large number of weekends at C.H.Q. by reason of a sense of duty, though I should much have preferred to spend them at my country cottage, and that I should welcome having to spend less time here in the future, but that in my view the show will not be efficient without a good deal of Ministerial control and stimulus. At a certain stage in the conversation I allow H.G. to make the running and myself remain silent. Every now and then B. tries to edge out and to suggest that these are really matters for Ministers to decide. To this H.G. or I invariably reply that what we desire to ascertain is what the officials themselves have in their minds.

And so to bed, H.G. very much excited but I, though a good deal irritated, somewhat less so.

24. 8. 41 (Sunday)

Lunch with some French and dine with G. Parry after rowing him for letting Petit and Passy learn too much. Meanwhile H.G. scouts about and ascertains that there has been a good deal of turmoil in the establishment and that most of the Country Heads are inclined to be critical of R.L., whom they regard as an old muddler. He gave them some account the other day of what was impending, and was somewhat heckled. They are all in favour of complete fusion, thinking that they will now run the B.B.C. On the other hand, the issue of Ministerial control does not mean much to them. G.M., who is the most anti-L. and H.G.'s best spy, says that R.L. has been putting about that propoganda is not getting properly over at present and never will until other Ministers also are interested in it. N.E.W.

25. 8. 41

At last we enter Iran. All has been ready since the 19th, and the original date of entry was the 23rd. I was getting very much afraid that we might dodge it at the last minute.

See Kingsley Wood on a proposal to forge Reichsmarks. He thinks M. Norman will be shocked but will put it to him again! We drift off into a discussion in which K.W. says that not everyone accepts the P.M.'s view that the President is a great man. There is another view that he is a yes man to all who speak to him, and Keynes thinks that he is also quite a sick man. The arrangements in the White House are very bad for hot weather - and it is a bad sign that the President has been feeling the hot weather in Washington this summer. He has an old-fashioned air-conditioning mechanism in his bedroom which makes a noise and keeps him awake at night, so he gets up and turns it off and then is no good for anything in the morning. Also his medical adviser is an old ship's doctor who has been a croney of his for more than twenty years but who has no knowledge at all of modern medicine.

K.W. also says that Cripps has been quarreling with the American Ambassador at Moscow and would like to come home again. I say that he would be a damned nuisance if he did and would probably join up with Shinwell if he came back. K.W. says that he has told Eden that he thinks that Cripps should see the job through.

Berthoud comes to see me this afternoon immediately before flying to Washington to join in oil talks.

Eccles also comes to see me and as usual is plausible and interesting. He says that in U.S. Democratic-Republican enmity is flaming up again. They think that now the Russians will help us to

win the war without their bothering much. There is no "security" in U.S.A. Everything gets into the press. A dozen of the leading American journalists sit all day and all night in a room in the White House drinking highballs with their feet on the table. Nothing can be kept from them. The President is a sick man and more and more with the mentality of an Emperor. He won't do any detailed discussion but always wants to be amused. He still has the gift of "charming a bird off a twig" and of bright phrase. When Eccles said that he ought to do something or other, the President replied "You might as well ask me to piss into the wind". Halifax is getting on better with him now, but, says D.E., after he had only been out there a short time he broke down and wept in D.E.'s presence because he couldn't get on with these Americans. Colonel D. is still in the stratosphere and has got no staff to carry out any of his plans. K.W. had told me earlier in the afternoon that Hopkins had had to go to bed for three days after his return from Moscow.

A.D.Z. to dine with me alone and discuss his coming trip to the U.S.A. I hope his terms of reference are now sufficiently safe-guarded to avoid further trouble between 1 and 2.

26. 8. 41

Move furniture from 5 C.M. to my bedroom at the Ministry, which now will look quite habitable.

Garro Jones asks me to lunch, but simply I think in order to "maintain contact". He says that Stuart Campbell, the Editor of the Daily Mirror, is interested in running some sort of opposition to H.M.G., but told him that of course Shinwell wouldn't fit the part. He had encouraged Garro, who, however, had not been very responsive. Garro thinks that we should continue a National Government as long as Churchill is Prime Minister, but that, as soon as he pulls out - and he is likely to want to pull out soon after victory so as to have time and opportunity to write the history of these times - we should revert to Party politics. In that situation Garro thinks that we should get a Labour majority, since no effective alternative Conservative leader would be available.

A meeting of Ministers at 5 p.m. at No.10, when P.M. gives us an account of recent events. He seems to me to be in extremely good form, very lucid and rationally optimistic.

He says that he felt that his courtship with the President had been carried as far as it could be by correspondence and that now it was necessary to add a personal contact. The President is a tremendous friend of ours and will do all he can, both to help us to win the war and to consolidate peace afterwards. The most

important definite result of the Atlantic Talks was naval. Pound and "Betty" Stark "fell in love with each other". Next month the new convoy system will be operating, not only to Iceland but everywhere west of No. 26 (this includes A. but not C.V.). So long as one American merchantman is being escorted by one American warship, any number of British merchantmen can join in. There will also be other extensions, e.g., around I, of forbidden zones in which loiterers with evil intent may be shot up. And so That Man will have to choose between getting into a shooting match with the U.S.A. or finally admitting that he has lost the Battle of the Atlantic. (The U.S. sailors, I gather, would much prefer the former!) Apart from these preparations, the Battle of the Atlantic has been going very well for us. The last two months of sinkings have been very low. Our decision not to go on publishing them was taken because, at that time, they were so bad that we did not want to encourage the enemy and depress our own people; now we don't want to publish them because they are so good that they might encourage the Isolationists and hamper our friends in America.

On the other hand, we have been having very great success in our attacks, by air and submarine, on enemy shipping. We have never before had such good opportunities for unrestricted submarine warfare and we have some very good new devices for air attack on enemy ships. We have now completely closed the Channel to them and there are no serious signs of invasion preparations in any of the West European ports.

The P.M. still does not think that the Japs will go to war with us. The Americans have been giving them very serious warnings which they may well interpret as meaning that the U.S. will make war on them if they advance any further, e.g., into Thailand. He has said that, if the Americans get involved in war in the Far East, we shall whole-heartedly go in with them. He has been very rude to the Japs in his broadcast on Sunday - "All this has got to stop" - and he thinks this will have had the effect of checking them. The Russians also have been very firm to them regarding supplies to Vladivostok from the U.S.A.

Meanwhile, the President is gaining time by conducting what is really rather a humbugging negotiation with the Japs on the conditions on which there could be a general guarantee of the neutrality of Indo-China and Thailand. This might be guaranteed, not only by the U.S. and the Japs and the British Commonwealth, but by France and China and everybody else! The President first hoped to keep this negotiation going for 30 days; he now hopes he can spin in out to 90. Long before then we shall be able to put a really strong fleet in the Indian Ocean, without denuding the Mediterranean. One of our damaged battleships has nearly completed its repair in the American yards, and a new one is just coming off the stocks.

The P.M. thinks that the Russians are doing very well indeed, and jeers at all the experts who began by saying it would all be over in a few days or weeks. He is confident that Russian resistance will continue through and beyond the winter, though they may lose more ground. He thinks that Leningrad may fall, but not Moscow. He says the German losses have been prodigious. Never in any nine weeks, either of this war or the last, have the Germans lost anything like these casualties. They are behaving with the most complete brutality towards the Russians, murdering them, soldiers and civilians alike, like rats by tens of thousands behind their advancing lines. Our entry into Iran, which can be powerfully defended on other grounds, will also have the effect of establishing a close link, with a route through a warm water port, and so across the Pacific to the U.S.A., between us and them. This will help particularly in the defence of the Caucasus and the whole Volga basin. The Russians have a very good fleet on the Caspian Sea, and of course nobody else has.

Returning to the Atlantic Conference, the P.M. says that there has been a slide back in U.S. opinion since May or June. (Several other people have told me that the President could have brought them right in then, but his health was not good and he could not decide, and so missed that tide, which has not yet returned.) There is a good deal of playing politics and this will only be remedied when they "unfurl the flag".

As to Peace Aims, it was the President's suggestion that they should have a statement; the P.M. put up the first draft, which the President amended, and which then was further amended by Cabinet consultations. The P.M. draws attention to two points of sharp difference between this composition and those of 1917. Then we spoke much of a "war to end war" and of a general organisation afterwards in which all were committed equally to disarm. On the other hand, we were full of ideas of making the Germany pay enormous reparations and of impoverishing them by seizing their trade.

Now we look at things differently. We must disarm the Germans and their accomplices but give no undertaking, which they can afterwards exploit, that we shall give them within any measurable time any sort of equality as regards arms. On the contrary, we must take care to see that we are sufficiently strongly armed to prevent any repetition, in Europe or the world, of these catastrophes. On the other hand, we now take the view that impoverished nations are bound to be bad neighbours, and we wish to see everyone prosperous, including the Germans. In short, our aim is to make Germany "fat but impotent".

As I told several people after listening to his broadcast last Sunday, I think that these ideas are both sense in themselves and

will go over very well both with the Right and the Left in this country. "Work and wages but no weapons" is my formula.

27. 8. 41

I arrange for R.L. to come and see me, intending to raise a series of small points. H.G. then tells me that the three officials ask to come together. Lockhart, who acts as spokesman, says that they have been sent for by B.B. and asked why they are doing nothing. B.B. says that he is prepared to put into the pool all the "war zone" personnel, both in M. of I. and B.B.C. The officials told B.B. that they were not sure that I was equally prepared to put all S.O.1 personnel into the pool, and they come to ask me if I am. Cross-examined, Lockhart says that what the three of them wish to have is power to "hire and fire" personnel according to their own ideas and without further reference to Ministers. I say that I can't agree to this, nor contemplate that, e.g., Country Section Heads whom I have chosen on the grounds of their competence should come to me and ask for a testimonial for another job because, without further reference to me, three officials have decided to dispense with them.

The right course, I say, is that the officials should prepare a plan and submit it to the Ministers for their approval. I draw attention once more to Para.4 in my "alternative draft", which was given to Lockhart in my presence on August 21st. A good deal of argument follows and I finally say that I will see Bracken shortly and that they shall then have a definite instruction. Not a satisfactory interview!

To lunch with the Dutch P.M., Anderson, Eden, Morrison and Dill also being invited. I catch Eden for a moment as we are leaving and say that I propose to see Bracken this afternoon and hope to agree with him to give immediate orders to the three officials to put up proposals for dealing with personnel. A.E. says that he wishes that they would get on with it, but doesn't dissent from my proposal.

After looking in on Sinclair, and leaving him a note on the Grande Voce (made topical by Russian activities of the same kind), I go on to see B.B. As usual, he is in a hustle between two meetings. (This is how "joint" Ministerial control is always going to work out in practice.) I produce a draft - a very good precaution on these occasions - and finally he agrees to it in substance. This says that he and I, in agreement with A.E., desire the officials to submit to us as soon as possible their proposed arrangements for complete fusion of M. of I., B.B.C. and S.O.1 personnel on "war zone" work. Finally, "this plan should provide for a single regional Head for each area". I take this back to the Ministry and send for Stephens, the newly appointed Secretary of the three officials. I tell him that I

hand this to him officially and hope that there remain no ambiguities. He reads it through and says he thinks it is quite clear. I then invite R.L. to come back and hand a copy to him. Our relations have become quite cold and distant. I say "You have complained that you have had nothing in writing from Ministers. Here now is something in writing which I hope is quite clear. Are you going to be in London again before next Wednesday?" (It is Wednesday to-day and usually this is the only day on which he comes up!) He takes it away, looking more than usually obstinate-sheepish.

H.G. and D.B.L. are going down with him in the same car to the country. H.G. takes a number of copies of this Ministerial Direction and will use them at his discretion. I speak very frankly to D.B.L. and say that I consider that R.L., whom I myself had made an Assistant Under-Secretary, has acted most disingenuously towards me. The interview of last Saturday has left a very unpleasant impression in my mind. He has been trying to conceal from me his real intentions. Clearly also he is most anxious to escape from any further Ministerial control. I also quote the remark, which H.G. reported to me, on n.e.w. D.B.L. says he has not heard this said and in any case he thinks that it is the last thing that could be said about me.

Very successful evening, Brigadier Shearer of the M.E. and Davidson, the D.M.I., coming to dine with me and some of my Daily Council after a tour of one of my Stations, where, unless S. was lying most thickly, they were most delighted and impressed with what they saw. S. says he will report this on his return to the M.E.

28. 8. 41

Nothing worth reporting.

DIARY29. 8. 41

See Hfax. at Privy Council Offices. He says that every night before he goes to sleep he asks himself could he have done any more that day to bring the U.S. into the war. Dealing with their Government Departments, he says, is like a "disorderly day's rabbit shooting". Nothing comes out where you expect and you are much discouraged. And then, suddenly, something emerges quite unexpectedly at the far end of the field.

Oscar Pollak comes to see me and propounds a scheme for a post-war federation from the Rhine to the Soviet Frontiers, i.e., including Germany. This, he says, would come after a revolution in Germany and elsewhere. I ask whether he thinks that any of the Slavs in this area would support this. He says that he is afraid the Czechs are not much in favour of it. I ask what about the Poles? He says that they and the Czechs hate each other more than either hates the Germans. I say that this is rubbish, particularly after the experiences of this war. He must realise that neither Poles nor Czechs, after this, will want to be in the same room with a German for a long while. He says "Oh, but I am only speaking of what will happen after a German revolution". I say that I am afraid this may not make as much difference as he thinks. I ask him what he thinks of (a) a Middle European Federation, including Austria, covering everything between pre-Hitler German frontiers and the Soviet frontiers, or (b) an extension of the Soviet frontiers westwards to the Rhine. As to (a), he thinks that it would be too anti-German, and (b) clearly fills him with horror. These ideas make a bad impression on me. As somebody to whom I relate this talk says afterwards, Pollak's proposals much too closely resemble the present state of things.

DIARY30. 8. 41

To W.L. More sun in one day than in the whole ten days of my "leave".

1. 9. 41

Back from W.L. and have short talk with C.E.O. just returned from leave in Scotland. Tell him of the happenings in the S.O.world, and ask him to do some scouting round. He has a word with A.C., who lets drop the remark, though only vaguely, as if repeating something at second or third hand, that he understood the idea was that I should give up propaganda.

Cab. A.E. has once more put in a paper, without previous consultation with me, on Relief, and once more suggested a voluntary breach in the blockade. This time the pretext is the President's wish to send some more milk, etc., for children in Unoccupied France. This to keep some raison d'être there for the American Red Cross. A.E. proposes that we should agree to this on condition that we do likewise with the occupied territories. I argue against this and have little difficulty in defeating it. A.E. is absent and A.C. has to state the case, which he does without much fire or conviction. P.M. as usual very good, and this time I am also supported by Woolton, who says that the Americans promised to send us much less milk than he asked for, and are sending much less than they promised. This is the second time within a month - the last was on July 28th - that A.E. has tried this on in the Cab. But I have twice defeated him. If I were he, I should feel a little humiliated.

Leave by night train for Edinburgh.

2. 9. 41

Arrive at Edinburgh at 11.15 a.m. instead of 7.15, the train having been deflected through Carlisle as there was an air attack on Newcastle which destroyed part of the line as well as large quantities of **sugar and cigarettes!**

The T.U.C., to keep contact with whom I am here, goes along very smoothly. George Gibson is an admirable Chairman and has done a really good year of office. He is now going to Stockholm on a mission which might turn out to be very useful.

Short talk with C.R.A. on the fuss over propaganda. I

say I have the impression that A.E. is trying to get too much into his hands. C.R.A. says that this is probably due to the F.O. officials. I say that we must retain, under the new triarchy, effective Ministerial control and stimulus. He says that he strongly agrees. If we had listened, he says, to the Chiefs of Staff, we should have done nothing either in Syria, in Iraq, or in Iran. I say that I will speak to him again next week when things have gone a little further.

3. 9. 41

Leave after the morning session and get to Darlington in the afternoon. Dine, as usual, with the Lewins.

4. 9. 41

Sleep in, pay the usual round of calls on the Trading Estate, make a statement to the press, play three sets of tennis - the first time I have held a racket for nearly two years! - with three Army officers on Will Davis's court. I get the best of the three as my partner, and win all three sets, the third a love set. To tea with Councillor Mascall, a Tory now one of my admirers, who has a long plaint about his ill treatment by an Air Ministry contractor. Then address two meetings in the Lightfoot, first of the D.L.P. Executive and then of a slightly larger body of supporters. As usual, they take my story very well.

5. 9. 41

Back to London and find that nothing much has happened at the Ministry except that the next version of the "plan" of the three officials has come in, with a most pretentious and tendentious covering letter, obviously drafted by B.L., and signed by the three of them. I discuss with C.E.O. and H.G. a letter which I shall now send to my two Ministerial colleagues in preparation for the next meeting. C.E.O. has been ~~investigating, next thinks with some success,~~ canvassing, he thinks with some success, in favour of unified control, through what will now be S.O.E., of all activities abroad. He hopes that I shall press this point on the others and make it a condition of my acceptance of the plan.

DIARY

6. 9. 41

Air Commodore Lywood and Colonel Lycett call and talk technicalities regarding G.V., but they are not unhelpful and I suggest that next there should be a talk between technicians.

I lecture on M.E.W. at H.Q. of Eastern Command and spend the night with the Signals, commanded by Colonel Rayner, M.P. for Totnes. Quite a pleasant change of company. I talk to a lot of the younger Signals officers, many of whom expect the war to last another five or six years and think that at the end of it quite a number will like to stay in the Army for a while to garrison Germany. I am also interested to find a good deal of vaguely Left Wing politics among them, including an insistence on the need to plan better economic arrangements for post war.

7. 9. 41 (Sunday)

Cleaning up with R. at the flat, which we are evacuating this week. I throw away a lot of papers but keep more. I find a letter which I wrote to Ovey from the F.O. in 1930 saying that I supposed the difficulties of contact in Moscow were like those of Late Romans trying to get on terms with Early Christians.

C.E.O. tells me that Sargent dropped an incautious remark to-day when, C.E.O. having said that, quite independently of persons, he thought the right plan was to have one Minister responsible for propoganda, Sargent had replied "We are moving towards that now".

There have been no fewer than five Peace feelers in the last few weeks, of which two have come through my channels. No importance should be attached to these as yet. (Mr has ruled that no contact of any kind be made.)

8. 9. 41

Motor trip with C.E.O. and C.D. to Oxfordshire, where we pay two visits. Not very impressive, but unrehearsed. Having a cold, I go to bed early.

9. 9. 41

I answer a P.Q. on non-military supplies to Russia, which tells quite a good story. I have previously mentioned this to the Administrative Committee, since there is a good deal of criticism, as to which I express no opinion, on military supplies and the

slowness of convening the Conference at Moscow.

Van comes to see me and I give him a rough picture of the Peewee discussions. He quite appreciates that difficulty may arise since A.E. and B.B. are always in and out with the P.M. whereas I am not.

A Frenchman is brought to see me by C.E.O. He has a remarkably good story to tell. I shall expect some more later.

10. 9. 41

Meeting at F.O. with A.E. and B.B. I had arranged that H.G. should ring up beforehand and say that I wished a meeting with Ministers only. The reply came that it was thought that D.S. should also be there. I said not at the start. I found D.S. hanging about in the Private Secretaries' room. The meeting with my two colleagues was a bit sticky. I said that I did not wish D.S. in at the start because I wished to speak frankly. I then expounded my letter of September 6th, beginning by saying that I had been giving a good deal of thought to this matter and that the three officials were, I was afraid, not very dynamic people, though they had other excellent qualities. R.L. in particular, though I praised his knowledge, experience, general political outlook and devotion to duty, was, none the less, a student rather than a man of action. This made it all the more important that we should continue to exercise Ministerial control and stimulus. I had no doubt that my frequent visits to, and detailed interest in, C.H.Q. had been essential in order to get the thing moving and properly staffed. It had been necessary to take strong action in order to remove certain people, e.g., V.W.

A.E. said that he also had been thinking a good deal about the question and had come to the conclusion that, if we were starting afresh, much the best solution would be to have one Minister, rather than three, and one principal official. Therefore, he thought, this Minister should be the Minister of Information. He realised, however, that to apply such a plan now would involve going back on our recommendations to the P.M., and therefore he was most anxious to give this novel experiment a good trial. He thought it essential that we should give the three officials as free a hand as possible. This phrase constantly recurred, both from him and from B.B., who, however, remained silent during this part of the conversation. Nor was I disposed at this point to let myself be drawn. I apprehended, however, that I was faced with a combination of two Ministers and three officials who would be glad of an opportunity to say that I had been so difficult and obstructive that the proposals made to the P.M. would not work and we must therefore think again. Since, moreover, there was a P.Q. down to be answered

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10. 9. 41

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next day, I judged it best not to carry the fight too far this morning but to make sure of having the announcement made to-morrow. It would then become politically much more difficult, since I should be publicly representing the Labour Party on the new triumvirate, for the Tory Ministers and the officials to disturb the arrangement. We therefore argued on about my detailed provisos, on which I got, though not everything, a good deal. B.B. having said that he thought my character sketch of the three officials was perhaps unduly unfavourable, and that B.L. in particular had, he thought, dynamic qualities, we had D.S. in to take a note of a rather confused discussion. In the result it was agreed:-

- (1) that the three officials should always call in representatives of outside bodies when their interests were affected, nor take any such decisions without prior consultation;
- (2) that (although I did not succeed in getting the full formula desired by S.O.2 prohibiting separate P.W.E. representation abroad) P.W.E. should, whenever possible, make use of "existing arrangements" (B.B. said he could not accept a monopoly for S.O.E. abroad, since he also had "some good people" in some places), and that no independent appointment should be made by P.W.E. without reference to the standing Ministerial Committee;
- (3) that there was "no objection in principle" to my detailed proposals on Ministerial control and stimulus, (provided these Ministerial powers were used reasonably. *These were circulated as proposals to leave out words in brackets*) *as negotiating with B.L. was called for at the end and it was agreed that we should have a meeting of the three Ministers and the three officials next Wednesday, when they would report to us what they had done.*

An amusing incident followed. J.W., lunching at some Conservative Club with Chance, ran straight into the three conspirators, who were accompanied by D.S. Evidently they were receiving from him an account of the proceedings! J.W. greeted them with his usual bonhomie, and he thought he had never seen in his life four persons looking more embarrassed and longing to be left alone. R.L.'s Rolls Royce was seen sitting outside the conspirators' office at 8 o'clock when I went with J. to dine at the Lansdowne Club. R.L. is working overtime to-day in London and Primrose has, for once, been left in the lurch.

Later in the evening I have a good and amusing tactical discussion with G., J. and H. What a first-class trio they are! H. had been much depressed by the development of this affair, and felt, as he has occasionally felt before, that he would now have too little to do. He is much the most temperamental of my three sprites, but this is part of his charm. G. was inclined at first to think that things had not gone too well for me and S.O.2 to-day and to fear

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that one thing would lead to another. He is - and this is one of his most satisfactory qualities - very non-political, in the sense of not thinking very easily in terms of Party sympathies and manoeuvres. J. and H. both being first-class at this, saw that I had been right to go slow to-day. G., however, soon suggested some other next moves, including the making of a striking memorandum on immediate problems of P.W. - co-operation with Russia, Peace Aims, etc. - which I should flick soon at my colleagues and the three officials. This should have a distinct, though rather subtle, Labour Party flavour. He and H. between them are to do this fairly soon. We drink my last bottle of Wiltshire mead with this discussion, in which there is much fun and forethought. I tell G. that H. finds his "reserve" rather formidable and, as usual, when I poke him up on any question of habitual behaviour, G. expresses great surprise and says that he has told H. much about his own early life!

I collect Phil Baker earlier in the evening to make sure that the right supplementary question is put to the P.M. to-morrow on King-Hall's P.Q. to bring out the fact that the new body is jointly responsible to the three Ministers. I wanted this put into the answer, but my two colleagues resisted on the ground that it would make the answer too long. On the other hand, we send it to the P.M. as guidance for answer to a supplementary if asked.

I also arrange to have C.R.A. to dine with me to-morrow. It was at my Council of War to-night ~~that~~ I decided that I must play up P.W. a bit with the Labour Party, who must be made to feel it a great advance that one of their number is now jointly responsible for this branch of the war effort.

11. 9. 41

The P.Q. on Peewee goes off quite well, with a long stream of supplementaries. It is blanketed in the news by P.Q. on the Moore-Brabazon case, leading to a breeze between the P.M. and Gallacher, and, next day, by Roosevelt's speech on Ocean Rattlesnakes. I take occasion, however, to mention to various M.P.s that I am now jointly responsible for all E. and E.O. propaganda, including B.B.C. broadcasts. I mention to Dobbie that Anglo-Russian co-operation on propaganda is most important and will have my attention. He says he is very glad that I am taking a hand in this.

At lunch at the House, Chuter Ede relates that when he met, with R.A.B. and various officials, the recent deputation from the Churches on Christian teaching in the schools, R.A.B. asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to conclude the proceedings with prayer. The Archbishop had seemed embarrassed. He had never, he said, been asked to do such a thing inside a Government Department before.

After a pause, however, during which all those present knelt, he regurgitated some collect which, Chuter Ede thought, had originally been composed for missions to the heathen. He would have done better, Chuter Ede thought, to have told R.A.B. that he was not accustomed to extempore prayer and would be glad if his Brother in God, Scott Lidgett, who was also on the deputation, would perform instead.

C.R.A. to dine at my request. I tell him a good deal of the trouble over P.W.E. I say I am not prepared to be a mere lay figure; also that I had had a feeling that a game was being played which I do not ~~like~~ care about; also that, since I am now, in view of to-day's reply by the P.M., openly in joint charge of P.W., I shall be expected by the Party to take a keen interest in these matters. He quite agrees to all this and asks me to let him know if I have any trouble, in which case he will speak to the P.M., who, he says, is the last man in the world to agree that officials should be given a free hand without Ministerial control and stimulus. I denounce R.L. as an F.O. official who has been disloyal to me, and C.R.A. passes naturally to a general denunciation of F.O. officials and says that he has told A.E. that they are no good. As to the Shah, of whom it is now decided we must rid ourselves, the F.O. had no alternative candidate ready. C.R.A. had told A.E. that this was very poor. The Germans would certainly have had their puppet ready.

I tell him that M.E.W. is not now a full-time job and that I should not be interested in continuing to do that and nothing else. On the other hand, I show him our weekly progress report of No.2 and tell him of some of the visits which have recently been paid and of the praise of the D.M.I., with whom he is very friendly.

H.G. is still thinking that he might like to go to some post in which he would see more of the inner economics of the war effort. He is, I think, sometimes a little envious of E.D. and D.J. I said that, of course, if he found a good chance of this kind, I should not want to stand in his way, though there would be a good deal to settle, including the difficult question of a successor.

G. says that H.H., just returned from Cairo, says that W.Benn' is indicated for the "high-level co-ordinator" of propaganda in the M.E.; also that Colonel T. has succeeded in getting himself on an aeroplane to Lagos and may be home any time now. I had mentioned again this question of my purge in the M.E. to C.R.A. this evening and I must be ready, if any attempt is made to re-employ this man in Peewee, to make a fuss.

DIARY12. 9. 41

General Arthur Smith, C.O.S. in M.E., called by some "The Christian General", comes to see me. I have made a separate note on his visit. He confirms that he approved the removal of Colonel T. from the M.E., though hoping that he could be used somewhere else.

Moscow Colonel Guinness reports on his mission. He seems to have done extremely well and to have won the confidence of those with whom he had to deal. (Later on, when all the detail comes out, this favourable view has to be revised a little; see later note.)

13. 9. 41

Pleasant lunch with G. and H. in which we discuss "What is 'intrigue'?" How does it differ from diplomacy? Should one not either be quite worldly or quite non-worldly? Is there any stopping place between? Monks, dons, diplomats, politicians....

W.L. in the afternoon, where there has been great activity by R. in shifting furniture, books, clothes, etc., from our now evacuated flat, partly to W.L. and partly up the road to the cottage where we store quite a surprising quantity of stuff in one room.

14. 9. 41 (Sunday)

Sleep round the clock till 11 a.m. and work at shifting earth to fill the saucers round my Service trees.

15. 9. 41

H.G., just returned from C.H.Q., gives me a most amusing account of proceedings down there during the weekend, and of indiscipline bordering on riot! (Separate note attached.)

Meet Oliver Stanley at the Lansdowne Club this evening. As usual, he gossips against the Government, including the P.M. Our expedition to Greece was a first-class blunder from every point of view, he thinks, and it is incredible that General W. didn't tell the home authorities that he only had one and a quarter Divisions left in Cyrenaica. It is said that this should have been "inferred" by those at home, but if it had been brought out clearly, it is doubtful whether the Greek expedition could ever have taken place.

The C.I.G.S., moreover, was strongly of opinion, before he left England, that it should not be attempted.

I said that A.E. had hoped, till a late stage, that he might bring in the Turks, as well as the Jugs. O.S. said that the Turks would never do anything - except perhaps defend themselves against direct attack - till we have given them enough air to defend Istanbul and Ankara.

He says that the U.S. feeling against heavy bombers is due to the fear of their Army and Navy folk that, if they do too much on this line, there will be a demand in the U.S. for a separate Air Force.

He claims that he concerted with my C.E.O. the reply of the C.O.S. to my paper to the P.M. I say that this is moving not too ill. He thinks that H.M.G. will be in great difficulties soon because the Russian campaign will go badly and we shall be blamed for not having tried something more vigorous in the west. He thinks that H. Belisha will be a dangerous and unprincipled critic. He himself will, however, support H.M.G. on this issue and perhaps even make a speech in the House.

He likes and thinks well of Shinwell. No accounting for tastes, but I tell him, what he says he did not know before, the story of Shinwell's refusal of a not unimportant post in the Government.

DIARY16. 9. 41

Retinger to see me, shining-eyed, on his return from Moscow. Like many others, he shines more brightly with high responsibility. He seems to have done good work out there for the Poles. He speaks most highly of my Colonel.

A most boring and inconclusive meeting of the Lord President's Committee on Wheat. Once more, my Ministerial colleagues in the lump make a deplorable impression.

Lockhart calls to take me to visit the B.B.C. underground slum in Bush House. I am insisting on my duty to visit establishments now under P.W.E., whether in London or the country. It is a frightful Hole of Calcutta; no ventilation and two dozen people in one not very large room. They have been here since April, having moved from a quite unprotected shedifice in Maida Vale, whither they were pushed after the B.B.C. was bombed. Kirkpatrick and Newsome take me round, but, after a few minutes down below, I begin to feel a headache, though generally pretty insensitive to such things. (I mention this next day at meeting with Ministers, and a formal letter is sent to B.B.C. Governors on our behalf.) K. afterwards says that I seem to be the only one of the three Ministers who is taking any real interest in this matter.

Then follows a very long and late sitting with my Colonel, due to fly eastwards at 9 a.m. to-morrow, but who has to be warned, rebuked, not too much discouraged, and furnished with explanatory documents, before he goes. C.E.O. and A.D. are with us all the time, C.E.O. and I having had a previous talk a deux. The Colonel has got on very well with those whom he has met, but they have jollied him along a bit too fast and he has been a little innocent on politics, and the limits of our permitted activities, in some countries. We revise his draft documents and I hand him also a Minute and a personal letter. There remains some possibility of trouble if the original documents are ever published by his opposite numbers, or brought to our Amb. out there, or even captured by, or sold to, the Germans. We must, however, meet these troubles if they come. Meanwhile, I think I have done everything possible to retrieve the Colonel's slips, and he will be more careful in future. He is quick, eager and intelligent, - even a little too quick - and naturally without great experience.

17. 9. 41

A hectic morning putting final touches to speech to be made at Nathan lunch. This goes, most think, very well. (Copy of notes attached, to which I stick pretty faithfully.) I have

(I make 5 revisions to his
speech and minute to me, for
future showing, if long (some
out - in his own interests!)

Maisky on my right.

Thence to F.O. for first meeting of P.W.E., three Ministers plus three officials, plus Stephens. Superficially, the meeting goes off pretty well. On the whole there is an appearance of affability, and most of the propositions made are accepted, though here and there I insist on explanations and amendments, in accordance with a talk beforehand with C.E.O. and H.G. Afterwards, A.E. says to me, brightly and with a hint of slight relief, "Well, that all went off very well, I think". He wears to-day his agreeable manner, not that of a peevish child snatching all the toys. I recall the story of a funeral, to which, in days of high political tension, Mr Gladstone ~~was~~ ^{was}. As he advanced towards the graveside, a Conservative old lady was heard to say "Oh dear, I hope he ~~does~~ ^{will} not come here to make a disturbance".

Crossman to dine. I view this able and energetic man with some detachment. He is loyal to his own career but only incidentally to anything or anyone else. He gives, however, a most amusing picture, supplementing H.G.'s, of events at C.H.Q. The new Section Heads have a complete contempt for the officials. I urge him, and the other Section Heads, to work in well with Kirkpatrick, whom D.C. likes, though he is so rude to others that some resent it. D.C. says that one of the consequences of the new arrangement is that not only do they lose the "galvanic stimulus" of Ministerial control, but also the steady, sensible and subtle aid of H.G.

Later this evening I see A.D.A., who, as usual, makes a great story of the possibilities in the North.

18. 9. 41

Tick off B., who has been talking to his Petroleum boss (it is most doubtful whether he should have mentioned my affairs to him at all) and to F.O. officials, who are now writing a letter to C.E.O., on my mission in the capital to which B. should go. All this without a word to me or C.E.O. B. is a solid-headed able chap who has done quite well on his recent trip to Washington, but he has not done this little bit of business as he should.

X.U. says that there is not enough interest in French T.U.s here; I shall take this up.

D.E. wants to be sent to N.Africa, where he thinks he could make some useful contacts, both with Americans and Frenchmen. The American M., he says, is "wildly gregarious" but never writes despatches.

Lunch, with E.B., with Sikorski. Retinger, just returned from Moscow, is there; also Stanczyk and Lieberman, who has just been appointed Polish Minister of Justice in succession to Seyda, the National Democrat who resigned over the Soviet Treaty. L., who used to frequent the L.S.I., is old, sick, garrulous and argumentative and tends to interrupt the conversation when it is getting interesting. But it is cute of Sikorski to appoint him, since this will dig in the Polish Government still better with the British Left.

A gloomy view is taken of Russian prospects in the south, and E.B. says "You Poles will soon have to take over Russia".

This makes them all purr. The Polish Army being reconstituted east of Saratov might obviously, however, move down towards the Caucasus, and E.B. thinks that there might be a Polish General in command of the southernmost sector of the Russian front. Budyonny, everyone says, is an old bonehead, and has been quite out-witted by the Germans. A Cavalry General! All modern armies have had experience of these.

Fourteen hundred Poles had been condemned to death by the Russians and would have been executed within a few days but for the conclusion of the Polish-Russian Treaty. Therefore, with them this Treaty is most popular. Leading Poles, including several of their Generals, were beaten on the feet by the Russians so that they could hardly hobble, and then, next day, when the news of the Treaty came through, a red carpet was put down for them and a great banquet held in their honour. "Very oriental!" someone says.

E.B. also thinks that we might get an additional consignment of arms from the U.S.A. for the Polish Army in Russia in addition to what is to be provided for the Russians themselves. He will propose this idea to Winant.

P.O.G. this afternoon. B. gives a good report of his American talks. It seems that the S.D., for once, played up quite well. Hankey is to go, we agree, after the meeting to propound in the right quarters the strong case for sending British troops, including Sappers, up into the Caucasus, to form part of a joint defence.

C.D. to dine. He and A.D., C.E.O. says, have been excessively disturbed about F.W.E. They see everywhere thin ends of wedges. C.D. is beautifully and simply loyal to me. He has some hates for others. He thinks there will be greed elsewhere to pick from our south wall a now rapidly ripening peach. I think I reassure him. If need be, Party politics can be played on this. Nor would I consent to have only a part time job. On the other hand, much is going well with us, and the many visits of high-ups, who will talk around Whitehall, to some of our establishments is, so far, very

good, though we must not let it go too far. I tell him that no Minister has yet been permitted to resign from this Government, and there would be obvious great disadvantages if any did.

19. 9. 41

Laurence Cadbury, just back from Moscow, comes to see me. He has not, apparently, been a great success out there and did not get on well with the Russians. But he is as cheerful and expansive as ever. The Russians, he says, are very disinclined to collaborate; General M.M. has only once been allowed to go anywhere near the front; Air V.M. C. has been shown nothing; the Navy have seen a little more because they have been able to be positively helpful to the Russians. Mikoyan, the Armenian with whom he had to deal, always started by trying to put him in the wrong. He will reveal nothing unless Uncle Joe has told him to. The general attitude of the Russians is "You British thought we couldn't fight, and that our Army and Air Force were no use. Now you see that you are wrong. We can manage our affairs quite all right, thank you, without any help from you, except as regards supplies and arms and the operations in the west which you refuse to undertake." Thus, when Cadbury produced Berthoud and another man and said "Here are two of our oil experts come to confer with you", the Russians asked "What for? What is there to confer about?" C. had seen the Beaver at 1 a.m. this morning, at Layton's suggestion, and found him quite uninterested in details. "I am not interested in money", he said, "Dobbie Bateman must look after that..... I am not interested in an agreement..... I don't believe in statistics....."

B. is to fly to Moscow with the T.U. leaders.

Helm to see me. Quite a nice chap, at first sight, though he is said to be troublesome, both with superiors and subordinates in Washington. He is also very wobbly on Relief, on which I speak to him quite frankly.

Take the Prof., C.E.O. and M.Lubbock accompanying me, to inspect our invention. It works pretty well, at both ends, and we take turns going up in our very old aeroplane to test it.

Talk to H.S. in the evening, particularly about N.Europe. He says that the Germans are trying very hard to infiltrate the escapees. We have caught three of their agents already!

DIARY20. 9. 41

To C.H.Q. in the afternoon with H.G. An amusing evening, to me, when after dinner I give a "talk in time of transition" to the three chief Peeweess and to D.B.L., W.A., J.B. and such new Regional Heads (D.C., B. and H.) as can be collected. H.G. is also present and thinks afterwards that I barbed here and there a little too much. (Attached rough notes on which I spoke.)

(But D.B.L. thinks not. He thinks he 3 CP's just didn't see any of the points.)

21. 9. 41

Return from C.H.Q. and go to Peterborough, where I speak in the afternoon at an N.C.L. demonstration, getting back to King's Cross at 9.30 p.m. Thereafter conference with G. on Gib., Berne, etc. All this todo is boiling up most tiresomely.

The Russians are now asking us for men in quantity, both for the southern and northern sectors of their front. They don't want, they say, only a token force of, eg. two Divisions, but would like 20 at least. This is like asking for the stars or fairy gold from C.O.S., but I fear the consequences of continual refusals.

22. 9. 41

E.P.A. lunch to R.B.Hanson, Leader of the Conservative opposition in Canada, and a group of his friends. They do not love Mr King and say so pretty freely. *A dull, heavy, well-intentioned man.*

Visit Dr Macormack, 23 Wimpole Street, a skin specialist. He gives me various prescriptions which, a few days later, seem to have been effective.

At Cab. to-night the telegrams to Washington and Moscow about the Caucasus go through with one minor emendation suggested by Leathers.

R.B. to dine. An excellent companion.

After dinner discuss resignation hypotheses. Gloom is said to prevail in my D.C.

Dalton I Dip +
25. (67)

DIARY

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Daily Commit.

Dalton I 25. (68)

R/3/1.

P.W.E. Foundation.

File

C. H. Q. 20.9.41.

Since we last met much has happened. P.W.E. has been formed and S.O.1. absorbed in it.

I now share Ministerial responsibility for what is done here with A.E. and B.B. Likewise, I now have, for the first time, joint responsibility with them for B.B.C. broadcasts to E. and E.O.T.

I have suggested both to A.E. and B.B. that they should sometimes pay visits here, as I shall still occasionally do.

Leaked Grants 5-1/2
All entered into P.W.E. for work arrangements
Negotiations leading to these new arrangements have been long; some questions still remain to be finally settled (B.B. is finding B.B.C. Governors obstructive, but merger of relevant Sections of B.B.C. in P.W.E. has already been announced both in general terms by the P.M. in Parliament, and specifically in information circulated to select list of Ministers and Officials).

As you know, I have long favoured closer working between covert and overt propaganda staffs. Soon after S.O.1. was established I proposed to D.C. that I should take over B.B.C. broadcasts to E. and E.O.T; when he

refused/-

- 2 -

refused this I proposed a fusion of Regional staffs between him and me, on the lines of the German model. At that time my idea was that Regional fusion should be combined with individual Ministerial responsibility for S.O.1. and B.B.C. through certain key personnel, while retaining their separate identities. This too, D.C. rejected, saying that he would be driven to form separate country Sections in M. of I. After much debate we got the "Anderson Award", which would at least have provided co-ordination. But this ~~was~~ never operated because D.C. could find no one to represent him on the proposed Committee of Officials.

When B.B. became M. of I. he did two things. He asked for Brooks to represent him on the Anderson Award Committee and proposed that we should try ~~to~~ ^{really} to unify enemy propaganda. I welcomed the latter in principle, though details at that time had not been worked out, and agreed to share Brooks with him.

There followed discussions both between the three Ministers and between the three ^{principally} Officials concerned. Frankly I did not like the first plan put up by the latter, for this, though it involved the disappearance

of/-

- 3 -

of S.O.1. and the end of Ministerial responsibility,
 did not provide for Regional fusion at all. This seemed
 to me the worst of both worlds; just the opposite of
 what I had expected. It is a sound principle of
 British constitutional ^{and} democracy that for every act
 of every official some Minister is responsible. To have
 3 officials jointly responsible to three Ministers is
 a novel arrangement. This could only be justified
 if it gave a real gain in efficiency. Such a gain
 I thought might be found in Regional fusion. But without
 such fusion there was no case for any change at all.
 I, therefore, took the line that such fusion must be an
 essential part of the new plan, and to this, I am glad to
 say, the M. of I. agreed. We are now well on the
 way to achieving this genuine unity and making a workable
 machine.

Handwritten notes:
 712 members ready to support Sir, however.
 I put S.O.1. food share. My int i staffer's exp
 RU's - leaflets (monthly) in city.
 "Korblei yoria for all people"
 Regional Halls effort marks aftermath of
 Montelli's who 2nd down 8th well been
 Pt Macis Wce. 18/4/50, Mary Bacon - SD
 D.C. said "Korblei yoria for all people"
 Hoff - let's
 mit. -
 13/4/50

23. 9. 41

G. enters and says "C.D. has resigned". When I enquire further, I find that C.D. has worked himself up into a dreadful state, and has not been sleeping, because of all his apprehensions of P.W.E. I send for him in the afternoon and find, as I expected, that he is still, as ever, almost dog-like devoted to me and only thinking that his threatened resignation might help me. I say it wouldn't now and, if ever it would later, I will tell him. It seems that G., who joins us in the afternoon after we have been at it for half an hour, has argued back to him on tactics this morning.

I have a long talk with C.R.A. this evening and parade a series of complaints (copy of letter separately attached) I take the conversation also on the wider ground regarding our failure to do more to help Russia. He says the Staff have been adjured to consider all possibilities. I say I am not satisfied by the familiar argument that we have no shipping. We should seriously consider diverting some shipping, even at cost of letting our food stocks and even rations fall. I hear that some shipping on the North Atlantic is not fully loaded at the other end, or loaded with non-essentials. I seek to give him the impression that I am in a pretty black mood. He says he will "take it up" and I say probably this is best done in the first instance with A.E. C.R.A. thinks that Leeper is probably the nigger in the woodpile.

Dine with J.W., with whom I discuss question of interesting suitable M.P.s in P.W.

24. 9. 41

B told me how he heard the weight of supplies for British head was more than 1000 tons in C.R.A. Balkin ration in particular.

Long meeting of National E.C., taking all the morning and till 4 p.m., which dislocates my afternoon programme and means that poor little Rennie Smith is once more squashed out from an audience while three Czech Ministers are kept waiting twenty minutes. They don't seem to mind and anyhow only came to tell me, all three of them, that there were 180 Czech workmen in India and 35 in England from the Bren factories in C.S. and that they were not sure that they were being fully employed. They want to send me a memo on the subject. I say I shall be delighted to see it and will they send a copy also to Mr Bevin. So much for that!

Walter Green is a very slow and indecisive Chairman of the N.E. Half the morning is spend on complete trivialities. But C.R.A. comes to ask the N.E. to agree to his signing, with the P.M. and Sinclair, joint letters in by-elections in support of Government candidates, whether Con., Lab. or Lib, against opposing candidatures.

After a long and rambling discussion, in which some still speak of the "electoral truce", as though we had not moved beyond that since joining the Government, it is agreed that C.R.A. may do what he wants, by 13 to 10. Thereupon Shinbad, most excitedly, declares that there will be terrible repercussions outside over this, especially when it is known that it was by such a narrow vote, whereupon I say that when S. has been longer a member of the N.E. he will no doubt realise that it is a breach of duty for any N.E. member to go outside and say how voting went or who voted which way. Whereupon S., very indignant, says that some people might lecture him like this, but not I. He knows very well that I have frequently done such things myself. Whereupon the Chairman calls the next item!

Slight fluff in the afternoon over question of publication of long screed of tiresomely written generalities, of which H.J.L. is the author, though many others have lengthened the document by interpolations. Finally agreed to wait till November before publishing.

In the luncheon interval, walking in Millbank Gardens, I come upon Sam Watson alone, gazing down into the river. Hitherto I haven't much focused this comparatively young man, who, I have been told, is an apt pupil of Will Lawther. He may, however, now that he represents the miners on the N.E. as well as being an increasing influence in Durham County, become important. He used to have the reputation of being near-Communist. This afternoon he seems friendly and begins by denouncing Shinwell. He voted this morning in the majority. He seems entirely ~~focused~~ *neutral* on winning the war.

Long jaw before and after dinner with G., J. and H. over tactics in our fight with P.W.E. We are in danger of being buried in reams of communications! I approve an excellent Minute to the P.M., with copies only to C.R.A., A.E., D.M. and Colonel H., in which are related three months' work, some of it most encouraging and in spots ~~xxxx~~ dramatic. I also show them my first draft of a lengthy letter to C.R.A. following my talk with him yesterday. G. and H. both think this good; J. has been too much away lately to get the points.

G. says that D.C. are still very much concerned, and produces a long screed which, H. and J. supporting me, I refuse to consider, of a draft that I should send to A.E. and B.B., beginning with Gib and then passing on into a farago of disputatious generalities. This is all wrong, and I finally end by proposing that the D.C. should come in a body and see me to-morrow morning. It is queer what bad judgment on political issues non-politicians have. There is just no resignation point in any of the present controversy. C.D. and others are like sufferers from delirium tremens, who see all over their bed clothes and bedroom walls scampering thin ends of wedges! G., H. hears from R.B. - and there

is every evidence to support this - puts forcibly to me the views of the D.C. and forcibly to them my views. The result is that he is apt to annoy both me and them, but this is quite a good way of doing his duty.

25. 9. 41

Receive my D.C., with a slight deliberate air of formality. I begin by congratulating them on the success of recent visitations and express the hope that some day we shall be able to persuade the P.M. to do one.

I then make favourable comment on the reports which I have been able to embody in my latest Minute to the P.M.

I then tell them that I understand they are greatly concerned over certain current disputes and future dangers. I refer in particular to Gib. I tell them that there is a lot of politics in all this and that they must leave this for me to handle. I am, or should be after a long experience, an expert in politics and in political tactics, just as they are experts in their respective spheres. I tell them that I am quite alive to all the issues raised and am taking the matter up with the Lord Privy Seal. But it would be a great mistake in tactics to begin talking of resignation now. My resignation would be received with a hoot of joy by many. If I am even to threaten it, much less to carry out my threat, it must be on some issue intelligible to a fairly wide public. No such issue is yet presented by Gib or Berne. We must get the thing in simple terms, e.g., threat to security, disunity of command, multiplication of secret services abroad, etc. It is no use writing long letters to my colleagues full of disputatious generalities and semi-technical rigmarole. For this reason I have rejected the draft put up to me by my C.E.O., no doubt after consultation with some of them. Meanwhile, what they should all be trying to do is to collect allies high up in the service Departments, in the F.O., with C. and elsewhere. I shall keep in touch with them and keep them informed how things go. I much appreciate their gifts, their hard work, and their personal loyalty to me.

I then invite observations, but C.D. says that I have taken all the words out of their mouths and there is nothing more to add. C.H. says that he is going to see B.B. to-day and thinks he can talk to him quite straight and tell him that he does not even begin to realise the nature of the problem and what deep waters he is fishing in. Would I approve of this? I say yes certainly. He then says should he hint that both I and members of the D.C. are thinking of resigning if this thing goes wrong. I say certainly not. This

would be a great stupidity at this time.

Lunch at the Spanish Embassy, where I find the Cuban Minister rather intelligent, plausibly pushing the thought that Cuba would be a most convenient dump for the relief supplies to be poured hereafter into Free Europe.

Middlewood is in London, boring on about the Alligator. I spend some time keeping out of his way, and use my room at the House of Commons for this purpose in the afternoon. He is altogether too persistent about this particular case. Probably they have offered him money if he can "derequisition" them. I arrange, through P.H., for him to see several officials in different Departments.

Ly Heltz
See Littleton this afternoon, G. and Hopkinson also being present. The latter seems to have been got at a little by the Peeweess, but O.L. responds excellently to my argument about security and single channels. He finally says, with a grin, "Unless I am got at by someone else, I think I am on your side on this". There is, I hear, to be a Ministerial meeting on M.E. propoganda, etc., next week. O.L. says he would like to get on with "the primary war". I say I feel the same.

I send off to-night my long letter to C.R.A. (copy attached). There is a good deal of explosive material in this and I want him to feel that I am in a bit of a mood and must be helped and humoured, if a dangerous row is to be avoided.

Lockhart
G. tells me that he has been invited by B.L. to go over and have a talk. Should he go, and if so how should he say? I say certainly go, but principally listen and unmask none of my batteries. Later he tells me that they were a deug and B.L. obviously very harrassed and inclined to want a settlement. He had been spoken to by A.C. at the F.O. who, B.L. said, had been "very fair" but had said that the Foreign Secretary wanted B.L. to settle matters with my people. B.L. then hinted that, if no settlement was reached, we may all be blown up. From this I inferred that he was afraid of losing his own job and wished to frighten G. into believing that he might lose his too. He had then propounded a new and interesting scheme whereby the head man at Gib should represent both the Peeweess and S.O.E., all communications to go through S.O. channels (and G. had here said that of course there should be reciprocity in seeing communications sent by us) and an undertaking that Gib was a special case and that the Peeweess would seek to establish no other representation abroad anywhere. I said that if this was really firm, we should certainly do business. I would be willing to make great concessions over Gib if we won our point in the rest of the world, and if, in addition, we won half our point in Gib, we should have done very well. On the other hand, I had had too much experience of conversations without witnesses in which G. had participated with this crowd being

afterwards repudiated, and therefore I attached importance to getting the Peeweess to put something in writing. G. said that B.L. had said that, of course, he did not know whether he could get this idea accepted by his two colleagues. It had been left without prejudice on either side. I told G. that he could continue the negotiations, but with great caution and discretion.

Dine with R. who is staying at the Royal Court Hotel, Sloane Square, pending some more permanent arrangement about her War Effort. Charles Latham asked this afternoon whether she and others thought he should become a Peer. He pretended to regret the prospect very much, but they told him that they thought he should take up this new responsibility. I had heard from O.L. this afternoon that W.Benn is also going to the Lords, and not to Cairo.

After dinner talk to H.S. on Scandinavia. I also mention my meeting with the D.C. this morning. He says that, if I went, resignations would not stop at the D.C. A great number of the others would also refuse to go on. I give him a brief summary of my letter to the L.P.S. We then discuss North Europe. He is full of hope and projects. But, it is said, we could only clothe one Brigade with winter kit! There are 25,000 willing and organised men south of a line to be broken open. It would not be hard to cut the lines of supply northward, especially if the Germans carried out the threat now being made in the event of our previously successful exit. An S armoured force would help to break open the line from behind. Planning programme 1,000,000; maintenance programme 450,000. (But B. told me the other day that we allowed more than twice as much weight, in rations, equipment, etc., per head, as the Germans.)

a repetition of

(Next day a long letter of B.L. going back on last offer. a reply of afternoon by me. They are rapidly acquiring more tanks. to 3 C.P's. B.L. refer to them L & to me!

DIARY26. 9. 41

An encouraging Minute from P.M. in reply to mine to him.

Frytz to see me and, apropos of files, which I say I never read when fat, he quotes a Swedish Civil Servant friend of his who said "I am used to Ministers who can neither read nor write, but now I have one who can't listen either". Goering, he says, lately appeared in a purple toga to decorate German airman, who were not pleased by this attire.

G. lunches with me and we review the progress of negotiations with the Peeweess and collateral action in other directions. He is handling his talks and correspondence with B.L. with much skill and patience. It looks as though we might get a good settlement.

H.G. says that though the three Chief Peeweess are no doubt very solid, it should not be impossible to split at least B.B. away from the combination. C.H., whom I see later in the afternoon, has been most helpful in this direction. He knows B.B. well and is his senior on several Boards in peace time. He has been to see him and spoken of our serious objections on security grounds to Peeweess ambitions - to Brig.B.'s secret army, though he does not so describe it to B.B. The latter says that he is sure nothing of the sort is intended, only a few broadcasters here and there. C.H. also refers to the ludicrous Minute on the first meeting of the Liaison Committee, where he and D.B.L. are to function.

27. 9. 41

Sleep, make bonfires, admire best Cotoneaster Frigida. This super shrub is now one of the high lights of the garden.

28. 9. 41 (Sunday)

Read Old Callabria, prune trees, particularly Ilices, and cart earth to fill up round conifers.

29. 9. 41

Back from the country full of fight and fresh air. C.E.O. reports progress in his talks with B.L. Letters are being exchanged. It seems that Gib. may now be settled out of court and that the Peeweess are retreating. B.L. didn't at all like the fact that C.H. had visited B.B., nor that G. had sent copies of his letter to B.L.

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An encouraging Minute from F.M. in reply to mine to him.

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G. lunches with me and we review the progress of negotiations with the Peeweeps and collateral action in other directions. He is handling his talks and correspondence with B.L. with much skill and patience. It looks as though we might get a good settlement.

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arguing against a third and independent show abroad, to C. and to A.C. All these moves, gathering allies, were most good tactics!

C. to see me later in the morning. I am anxious to enlist his support, but, since I arranged for him to come, the threat we both took seriously appears to have receded. He says, however, that he would certainly go straight to the P.M. if a third show were attempted. So, I say, would I.

30. 9. 41

Parliament re-assembles. See and satisfy deputation from Miners' Parliamentary Group on economic aid to Russia. P.M.'s speech, emphasising our "sacrifices" (not a very happy word) for Russia and dwelling on the way in which food stocks are piling up here, with higher rations on the way and better Christmas dinners than last year, and on the immense forces to be held in this island to prevent invasion, will have sounded, I think, not too good to some. Not much warmth in it for the Russians.

Dine with C.D., who also has L.P.S., A.V.A., M. and A.D.A. Later in the evening G.B. is discovered with difficulty and retrieved from his hotel in an Admiralty car. The talk runs largely on the North. L.P.S. and A.V.A. are, I think, both affected in the manner intended. Leaving, they say that they will speak to the P.M. to-morrow.

1. 10. 41

A bit of dust at Party Meeting, Shinbad being more than usually offensive and provoking C.R.A. to leap to his feet and exclaim "That's a damned lie!" I also rise and make an observation about S.'s suggestion that our supplies to Russia are "inadequate" and say that I am looking forward to an opportunity to tell the Party Meeting something about these matters. S. then refers to my "bravado". Arthur Jenkins afterwards rebukes him for refusal of share of responsibility of the Government and for constant and bitter attacks on Labour Ministers.

I tell A.J. afterwards that he should have told the Meeting that S. had refused to be interested in, or responsible for, the safeguarding of the people's food.

Colonel Thornhill to see me. He is inclined to shout and bluster but the talk passes off not ill, I think. (Record in my private file.) In the afternoon I send for Brig.B. and show him the famous telegram to me from the Min. of State saying that he

is "entirely satisfied with C.D.'s recommendations" and that the latter has "handled a most difficult situation with the utmost tact and firmness". (Further record in my private file.)

Go to see L.F.S. in the afternoon. Begin by speaking of this morning's meeting. (A.J. tells me outside that S. lunched at Dartington Hall with H. Belisha and Clement Davies, both of whom wrote their names in the Visitors' Book, but S. prudently did not.) I then speak further to C.R.A. about the contents of my letter and about our last night's party. He says that he and A.V.A. saw the P.M. this morning and that I shall be invited to attend the D.C. to-morrow afternoon. Passing to other points mentioned in my letter, I tell him that things look a little brighter now as regards Peewe's claims abroad. He agrees, a little nervously and without taking up points of detail, with some declamation on the lines of my letter. I ask him to ask the P.M. to show interest by a visit to one of my spots. He says that he will do so.

George Gibson to dine to meet Lie and Frytz. He was a great success in Stockholm and seems to have been getting on well with Bracken since his return.

Late to-night conference with C.E.O., A.D.A. and H.S. on to-morrow's proceedings, to which A.D.A. will accompany me.

2.10.41

Confer with A.D.A. on D.Ctee. which meets this afternoon.

Cazalet says our great national problem is the character of No.1; having over-ruled the teddy bears six times, and with bad results, D. and three or four inside, he has now got his old G. complex back again. No group round him with whom he will consult.

This version is, I think, rather out of date, but 'C. says that he unloaded it all on A.E. a week ago "who agreed with it"!!

Visited by Professors Hansen and Gulich, just returning to the U.S., who propound a scheme for joint Anglo-American Economic Research Commissions, Development Commissions, Financial Corporations, Food Raw Material Supply Commissions for post-war Europe, etc. They think that a declaration that our two Governments are considering how to maintain full employment after the war will rally large support in the U.S. which would otherwise be hostile to the President. They say that many Americans are troubled because they fear that from this war there will emerge a very Conservative England. I say that I have heard that other Americans are troubled because they fear that there will emerge a Communist England. (There is no pleasing these darned Yanks anyhow!)

They ask if there is not better hope for ad hoc arrangements of this sort, at any rate to begin with, than for large schemes for a reconstructed League of Nations. I say I think there is, and at first sight I like their rough sketch.

Call on A.E. at his request a quarter of an hour before the D.Ctee. He is overwhelmingly affable. It is clear, I think, that he has been spoken to by the L.P.S.! First he asks my view about a reply to the Swede, who has told him what he told me and others two nights ago about Ribb.'s talk to the Swede in Berlin. On this I show A.E. a draft paper which suits us both. Next he speaks of pressure from Norwegians and Belgians about food; I tell him that the Norwegian wants a parcel for every family in Norway, and he agrees that this puts the scheme out of court. The Belgians want to buy some sardines. This raises echoes in my mind of large files, and I say I will have a look at it.

D.Ctee. A.D.A. does not stay. Fear of buzz. I make a statement at the start. Then talk goes on for more than an hour. But why should a soapy little Envoy sit in on matters far remote from his charge?

Kingsley Martin to dine. He seems rather pleased to be taken so much notice of. I ask him to help me over P.W. He already knows the names of the sub-trinity. On the whole, he seems well disposed.

DIARY3. 10. 41

International Sub (Political and Economic Relationships) at Transport House, when we have a general preliminary quack. I emphasise that we must put economic questions well in front this time, speak of the proposals of Professors Hansen and Gulick on Anglo-American co-operation to maintain full employment, to study and finance development schemes, etc. I say that Russia also must be brought in from the start with U.S.A. in any international society worth while; that this must be re-named, since the old name "League of Nations" stinks to Heaven, perhaps undeservedly, but most potently; that we must be quite flat and clear about arms, none for the Germans and their associates in crime, and lots for us, and that, unless we say this flat and clear, we shall get quite wrong both with our own Party and still more with the country. I recall here our past controversy on arms, my attitude, and the moral of all this.

Lunch afterwards with L.Woolf, W.Gillies and W.A.F., but am rather appalled to find the first and third of these much more concerned about some wicked attempt to compel the Emperor of Abyssinia to undertake to accept the views of British Advisers rather than to be free to reject them, than with any other aspect of the war! Oh God! Oh Bloomsbury! Oh St Ives!

Take Chair at Policy Sub, where M.Phillips is installed as Secretary. His appointment has led to the resignation of a Jewish lady, Miss Friedmann, who, although we have given her promotion too, refuses to serve under a man without "academic qualifications". I say to M.P. "Well, you can tell anybody who raises the point that you were chosen by two bloody Professors, H.J.L. and I".

4. 10. 41

A.D.A. reports a most indiscreet telephone conversation which took place last night, when someone from the War Office seems to have shown himself quite lacking in any sense of security. "I send this in self-defence", says A.D.A. I tell C.E.O. to take it up with D.M.O. I am summoned to a meeting at 11 a.m. on Monday, so must cut short my weekend.

I have read in bed this morning a most remarkable paper by one of the followers of General de Gaulle who has been on perilous travels.

To Newcastle in time to dine with the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, where some two dozen guests are assembled, including the Regional Commissioner (Lambert), the Traffic Commissioner (Maxwell), the Chief Constable, the Sheriff, a soldier and an airman from the local Commands, and a number of Councillors, of whom a good proportion are Labour, as is the Lord Mayor himself. To this little body I make a very successful speech, lasting quite a long time. I tell them that I shall speak frankly and confidentially and, up to a point, do so, though being careful to say nothing which, if it should get indirectly in the press, would do damage.

Stay with David Adams in his immense Victorian mansion, "Jesmond Cottage". His wife is a bit of a bore and he himself is not exactly quick off the mark, but they make me quite comfortable.

5. 10. 41 (Sunday)

Sleep in. "Demonstration" in the afternoon in Newcastle City Hall with some 700 people present. I make a moderately good speech which is reasonably well received, but it is a bit flat. We are in the dilemma that if we hold meetings on a Sunday afternoon we are told that people are all asleep after their lunch, and if we hold them in the evening we are told people don't like to come out because of the blackout.

Back by night train.

6. 10. 41

Back at 6 a.m. Conference with C.E.O. and A.D.A. before important meeting at Cabinet Offices. We go over a memorandum prepared by A.D.A. with some care.

At the important meeting 24 people are present, of whom only two are in mufti. The C. in C. makes a good Chairman. I make a short statement at the right moment.

I gain the impression that the whole thing is a mere, though interesting, exercise. I am asked afterwards by Colonel Price whom to contact. I say C.E.O., though insisting that the greatest reserve is to be maintained on P.M.'s orders.

Later C.E.O. attends a meeting at which again nearly two dozen people are present. He and Hurcomb, representing Lord H. of C., are the only civilians. He also reports a visit to D.M.O., who was horrified at the story told by A.D.A. of telephone conversations with our N.D.O.

With Sir F.L.R. to see A.G. over Wheat Conference impasse, etc. L.R. is inclined to throw up the whole thing in disgust, owing to obstruction of Tory Ministers against any undertaking to limit post-war acreage. A.G., as usual, creates a vaguely amicable mental fog around the discussion, and it is left to go to the Cab.

This meets later in the evening and I attend (1) on the question of a declaration regarding hostages, where A.E. is weak and wants to be wishy-washy, having been advised by his lawyers that we must not repeat the experience of the attempted trials of war criminals last time. I am only anxious that we should say that "lists are being compiled", being content to leave the execution of persons on these lists to each restored allied Government. On this I get some support, and A.E. is to take back his draft for re-consideration; (2) Wheat Conference. Here the Prof. has bunged in a paper arguing that it would be very bad propaganda to suggest that we intend to compel Europeans after the war to limit their wheat acreage in the interests of British Empire plus American growers. There is, I think, something in this. So does the P.M., who says that it is a terrible thing to contemplate that we should say "Thou shalt not grow thy daily bread". The peasant is to be forbidden to nourish his family from his humble crop, forbidden by some international bureau of superior people, sitting somewhere far away, high above the troubles of the world. He always makes this sort of case damned well! It is decided that we will try, first through Wynant, to suggest to the President that we have got off on the wrong foot in these wheat talks; that we should first agree on the wheat pool for post-war relief, dating back to the P.M.'s famous declaration of August 1940, and that we should then propose discussion not on limitation of particular commodities but on the general principles which should guide Anglo-American post-war economic policy.

I ask Lockhart round for a drink and show sympathy for his toils and trials. He responds a bit to this and says that one of his colleagues is always in the country and the other always running around doing liaising with everyone. I say that I think L. himself should have more authority. He says that this, he thinks, is also the view of the F.O. I quote the recent case of his negotiations with G., where, I having agreed to the provisional suggestions brought back by G., L.'s two colleagues, though only officials, boggled. This, as I said next day to A.E., is not quite "comme il faut".

It is remarkable how much confusion can be caused to rail transport if a few people play about with the destination labels on the various trucks.

DIARY7. 10. 41

We have promised to let them have 500 a month of our Chief Delegate's latest. It may seem to some bad taste to call this a "sacrifice", but it will gravely delay the equipment of our own armoured divisions.

Sir N. Kendall calls and leaves with me three sheets of paper. This is to be actively pursued.

Lunch with Mrs P. to meet C.R.A., Admiral Muselier and (Naval) Captain Moret (I think). The Adm. is a cross between Nancy and Marseilles, and looks very Midi. Both the Frenchmen speak ill of the General. He has, they say, no political sense, no sense of humour, and no woman. He is never heard to laugh. (I think I have quoted before the saying of the high official at the F.O. that he has "a head like a banana and hips like a woman"; it is also suggested that there is something wrong with his pituitary gland.) His new Council, they think, though it contains some poor material, should be developed into a real control over him.

Thence to P.W. Ministerial Meeting. This is our first for several weeks and there is a lot of detail on the agenda. It does not go badly, the three Peawits suffering a series of rebuffs. They wanted to cease to be anonymous, but Ministers unanimously drove them back into their hidden cave; they wanted to begin "discreet publicity" regarding leaflets, but Ministers refused, I quoting from an admirable draft by R.L. prepared for me to send to the late D.C., arguing that any publicity for leaflets would lead to the most embarrassing Parliamentary situation! Further, the Peawits are sharply called to order by B.B. for issuing, for the education of Bomber pilots, a de luxe leaflet. They are told not to do this kind of thing again. I, moreover, insist that they should cease to claim that everything is "political warfare", including "the R.A.F. offensive and the Blockade". I insist solemnly that the P.M., in a public statement, has defined P.W. to mean propaganda to enemy and enemy-occupied territories, and nothing more. Brig.B. pompously replies that every word of their paper has been passed by the Chiefs of Staff. I say that is not good enough for me and that the Prime Minister's definition must be followed. Moreover, if I were to admit the terms of this paper, I might find the three chief Peawits sitting one day in M.E.W. and claiming to run the whole show.

Approval is given to the settlements between G.J. and B.L. on Gib and the general case. I say, and it is recorded in the Minutes, that these settlements reflect great credit on the negotiators. (I say afterwards to A.E. and B.B. that B.L. should

-2-

have more authority to settle without continual discussion with his colleagues. It is not, I say, quite comme il faut that I should authorise G.J. to settle on a certain line but that B.L. should have to refer this to two officials who then make difficulties and delays. A.E. is, I think, rather sympathetic to my general line, but B.B. not. He says that all three must act together and must be constantly in touch. I say that this cannot be, since R.L. spends nearly all his time in the country and the other man is always running round liaising. This will have to come up again.)

The N.Y. case is postponed. It is clear that B.B. has been much excited over this, probably by Brig.B.

Thence to H. of C. to hear E.B. defending his refusal of exemption to the eleven Buchmanites. It is scandalous how much interest is taken in these people, and how little of the right sort, for I am pretty sure that there is a nasty smell at the bottom of the Buchman well and that the thing is really tainted with Hitlerism. E.B. makes free with the scriptures, saying of those who misrepresent him "I forgive them for they know not what they do". (This blasphemy is deeply resented by some Tories near the door, one of whom - Pickthorn - goes out saying "since one can't be sick inside here, one must go out".) There is no challenge to a division.

A.D.A. comes to see me, and with C.E.O. we compose answers in long-hand to four questions. A.D.A. is a grand chap but suffers a little from lack of formal education. He went too early into business.

Dine with V.Cazalet; also present G.J. and R.Fletcher, soon to be ennobled. Rather a dull evening, V.C. boring on and on about Raids. He has a down on old Keyes, whereas R.F. thinks that a satisfactory settlement can be got of his functions and relations to the Chiefs of Staff. G.J. says to me afterwards that V.C. is very stupid but well meaning and is trying in a very vague sort of way to be helpful.

8. 10. 41

R.Opie calls. I had only seen him once or twice since our trip to Russia in 1932, when I gave him all my Keating's Powder but none the less he was devoured nightly while I was left untouched! He has been at Washington, though on M.E.W. pay roll, since the war began. I think he is jealous of N.H. and would like his job. He is inclined to defend the S.D. and says that we should even give them backing against the ephemeral special war agencies.

Give lunch to Mikolajczyk, accompanied by Librach and M. The new Polish Minister makes a good impression on me. He understands a good deal of English and speaks some, contrary to what I had been told. He will, I think, be less suspicious and difficult than his predecessor.

C.D. to see me. I tell him of the successful outcome, as to Gib. and the general case, of yesterday's meeting of P.W.E. N.Y. case adjourned for further enquiry. He says they are actively pursuing the source of the bits of paper. I then make a row, and afterwards to C.E.O., about A.D.B. and his busybodying. I have had to send a quick letter to A.E. arguing against the telegram banged home by O.L., incited thereto by A.D.B. I later dictate a furious Minute. He should be fetched home and not return.

My first official call from the General de Gaulle, with whom it is now permitted for Ministers to have official relations. He leaves a memo with me, which can be interpreted as claiming too much, but I give no undertaking except that I will examine it with care.

R. and J.W. dine with me. She has had nine days in the country and done some useful gardening with old Mr Palmer. She is now back at the Royal Court Hotel and hoping to hear soon something that will suit her.

9. 10. 41

Further important meeting in C.W.R. where again Lord H. of C. and I are the only two civilians in a room crowded with military, naval and air eminencies. The plan before us is most adversely reported upon, the adverseness growing with the discussion. Tovey, who blotted his copy book with A.V.A. the other day by being deliberately absent, though only 50 miles away, when the First Lord visited the fleet, says, in the course of the discussion, "I suppose this is a question of tactics in dealing with powers higher than ourselves". I did not think this would have been a very happy remark, even in the absence of civilian Ministers.

Cab. More on hostages. A.E. has slightly gingered up the declaration but still won't say "lists are being made", or should be made. He can't get beyond "The facts are being recorded", but it is finally agreed that references to making lists can safely be made by broadcasts, etc.; therefore, we get the point for propaganda.

Spend afternoon making a Cab. paper on Vichy, F.N.A., and the Blockade. A pretty damning affair.

Dine with C.H. to meet B.B., G. and D.B.L., who, however, leaves early, being also there. Not a success. B.B. was rude, assertive, ignorant, inconsequent, stupid, angular and unreceptive. Talk ranged round U.S.A., propoganda in general, C.O.S., the old point about the fourth man in a black coat (I am so bored with this!), D.C.O., etc. C.H. did his best and took this insufferable oaf away afterwards; I hope to some good purpose.

DIARY10. 10. 41

Attend a Privy Council at B.P. with Anderson (looking oleaginously happy, for a reason revealed to the world a few days later), Moyne, with a dirty collar and a hesitating manner, and Llewellyn, attending, I think, his first P.C. Purely formal. H.M. has spent the last three nights in the train, travelling about in Scotland and the North of England.

To W.L. this evening for a long weekend, but, before going, I put the final touches to a Cabinet paper, purely for information, on Vichy, French North Africa, and the Blockade. It is against this background that I have ordered a telegram of rebuke to be sent to A.D.B., who is due home shortly on leave.

11 & 12. 10. 41

At W.L., filling up saucers round trees, lighting bonfires, going for two runs, on Sunday in the dusk and on Saturday in the moon-lit dark (and feeling very fit after them), sleeping, and reading Old Calabria and Tirana's "Spoil of Europe". "Give me your watch and I will tell you the time"; a French description of "collaboration" with the Germans.

13. 10. 41

Back from W.L. See my D.G. about the next Honours List. I consider that I am entitled this time to two C.s as, owing to Hall's refusal last time, I had none.

Lunch with G. and C.J. They were not far from me this last weekend, having been staying with Hudson at a house he has just acquired near Pewsey and having found themselves on Sunday shooting at birds on the Downs near Littlecote. G. tells me that the Littlecote agent related over tea that I had waved an angry spade at the Hunt when they were once passing along the boundaries of my estate. For this reason it had been suspected by many, when the war broke out, that I was a Fifth Columnist!

I told G. that I only remembered the "Hunt", a mangy show in any event, having been twice, during the time I was at W.L., within sight. It was probably true that, armed with a spade, I had advanced towards my boundary fence to see what was going on, but I felt no animosity towards this rustic cavalcade, though equally not much interest in it. Hence there was no basis for this yarn!

(2)

They had also spoken, it seems, last weekend, of B.B., who has a house at Bedwyn, which, however, he is going to sell. They say that he has no sense of the country at all, and walks alone through country lanes wearing a dark suit with striped trousers and a black hat. Comment is made on the engagement of the poor old Lord President of the Council, announced this morning, to the widow of Ralph Wigram, commonly known as "Ava". She is said to be the most frightful woman and can only have hooked Sir J.A. in the belief that he would soon be either Prime Minister or Viceroy of India. It is suggested that a telegram should be sent to her: "You have miscalculated."

An incredible letter arrives for me to-day from B.B. - "Dear Minister of Economic Warfare Yours sincerely". He is in a state of violent excitement about the Cloak beyond the sea and seems convinced that I have been deliberately double-crossing him. What a fool and a nuisance this man is! The result is that I have to spend hours - yes, literally many hours - of my own time and that of C.E.O., A.D. and A.D.Z. going through old files and making a reply which shall reach this fool, and also A.E., to whom a copy must be sent, tomorrow morning in good time before our meeting. I wanted to spend this evening quite otherwise, namely in preparing a Minute for the P.M. on the latest news from Jugoslavia. But that is held up by this ridiculous incident, and therefore next morning (14th), instead of the P.M. having got my note, one comes round to me from him asking for just this information.

14. 10. 41

Lunch at H. of C. and snaffle A.E. in the passage. He is wearing his most affable air to-day and I play up to his conciliatory gifts and diplomatic skill, with a view to this afternoon's meeting.

We meet at 3 o'clock and first deal, with two Peawits in attendance (B.L. is away on leave), with a number of smaller issues. Then the Peawits withdraw and we three Ministers remain. B.B. is very obstinate about the cloak and suggests at one point that we might ask the P.M. to look into the whole question. A.E., however, does not take this catch but suggests instead, after we have talked on for a bit, that a decision should be postponed and that each of us should come again, bringing officials with us. In particular, A.E. suggests that I should bring A.D.Z., who, in fact, has been waiting in the ante-room during the speaking, in case we should call him in. B.B. says that Radcliffe told him that he got a most confused impression from A.D.Z. I argue throughout for the maintenance of present arrangements and tell A.E. afterwards - backing this up by a letter most deliberately friendly and complimentary -

something of the close relations of Big Nose with the Colonel and C.R.F. I said in the letter that full details of this I could only give to the P.M., L.P.S. and A.E.

Lord Hyndley gives a dinner party in honour of C.R.A., about to leave for the U.S. to represent H.M.G. at the I.L.O. Most of those present are Labour members of the Government, including Under-Secretaries. But the P.M. graces the occasion by his presence and Kingsley Wood, Moore-Brabazon, James Stuart and Harvie Watt are also there. The P.M. is in very good form and, in addition to making a short and cordially phrased speech about C.R.A. and H.M.G. generally, holds forth at great length on the war and kindred topics. During a large part of this he makes me his principal audience and also calls across the table to me about the latest news from Montenegro. I tell him that I have sent him in to-night a note on the latest developments there. Following this up, as the party is dispersing I catch him by the door and urge him to pay a visit to my Stations. He says "Yes, I must" and seems most friendly. Therefore, next day I send for M. and have made out an attractive afternoon's programme which I bung in with a pressing invitation. If I could get him on this trip, I am pretty sure that he would be interested and would focus my doings better thereafter.

15. 10. 41

Some fun at, and after, Party Meeting. Yesterday Shinbad had pursued a long dialogue with the P.M. at question time over the Russian campaign and the "disquiet" felt in the country owing to our inadequate assistance. He had seemed to be playing up for an early debate on this subject.

I therefore came to the Party Meeting, by arrangement, with Lees Smith and H.S.L., armed with particulars of economic aid to Russia. I had originally hoped to be able to make a fuller statement on recent work of M.E.W., including P.W.E., in which I am anxious to inspire a reasonable interest in my Labour colleagues. Clearly, however, it is better tactics - this thought flashed on me, as many tactical revelations do, in my bath this morning - to concentrate on Russia.

There is some delay in my getting on, as many small points are first discussed at tedious length by small people (it is astonishing how the smallest people in the Party talk largest, longest and oftenest at Party meetings). Several people, including Ellis Smith, call from time to time for me to speak and ask when I am to come on. About 10.30, therefore, I am called and speak for about a quarter of an hour, giving a good deal of detail, but not much statistics, on non-military supplies to Russia, emphasising that on

most commodities the Russians have had, and are to have, all they ask for, that shipping is a considerable difficulty, and ending up by a reference to P.W.E. and co-operation with the Russians as to propaganda.

This statement is very well received and a series of questions is put to me, practically all of which are genuine and friendly enquiries. Shinbad, however, who always sits with his back averted from the platform during the whole of our proceedings, rose from his place and ostentatiously left the meeting in the course of my statement. He was observed striding down the passage alone with a black face. This, therefore, all goes very well and no-one presses for an early debate on Russia. There has been a considerable interest in the press on this subject, and pressmen hung about members afterwards. A considerable leakage, with substantial elements of accuracy, afterwards appears. On the whole, it does me good and Shinbad harm, and is also helpful to the Government. How it all happened I do not enquire.

Attend a Nathan lunch, where C.R.A. is the principal speaker. He does quite well in his funny little unimpressive way.

A.D.Z. brings me two telegrams, now in final form after some discussion, to Big Nose, reporting Ministerial meeting and intransigence of B.B. It is hinted in the second of these, which will be unnumbered, that it might be worth while to get Our Revered Friend himself into action.

Pollock calls to see me this afternoon. Our interview is very brief. I say there is no point in going over all the past. It is clear that the whole show was a mess, and he must take considerable responsibility for this. Now he is due for leave, has to have a sinus removed, and afterwards should report to C.D.

Move to Kuibyshev. I saw it in 1932. It had asphalted streets and some good modern buildings even then. Preparations for this move have been going on for some time.

Dine with Sir H. Brittain alone. What this artificially hearty rascal wants from me, I am not sure. Encouragement for the import, in spare shipping space, of South African brandies and sherries, perhaps, though I pointed out that this was in the sphere of other Ministers; to be sent on a mission to the U.S.A., perhaps, though here I rather hinted that the Ministry of Information had a prior interest and added that this was not a good moment to think of sending out more people when a Treasury official was on his way to organise a reduction of at least 25% in the personnel of our innumerable missions and hide-outs in Washington.

16. 10. 41

Conference on M.E.W. publicity. It is agreed that we shall make a pamphlet for wide circulation, as "Bomber Command", etc. There have been some fluctuations both in outside views of the Blockade and its effectiveness, and in our own views of how much we were doing, and how fast, and exactly how. Some have stressed shortages of particular commodities, others effect on German labour supply, administrative machinery, transport, etc.

Lunch at H. of C. Shinwell has called J.C. a "bloody swine" for the two paras in the Star Man's Diary on our Party Meeting, and has threatened a libel action. Silly ass! I am well pleased with the leaks in the press on yesterday's meeting and my statement. Some cuttings attached.

This afternoon interview

- (1) Swedish Minister, who, as usual, leaves me with one good story. This time he says solemnly "There is, I fear, one ~~great~~ very serious factor responsible for a great decline in British morale. So many people are now being compelled to live with their relatives."
- (2) Colonel Johnstone. A cold interview, of which I have made a note. He is going back to his Regiment. He acted improperly, he admits, in retaining official files which had to be taken from him at Lagos, and also showed much reluctance in coming home when ordered by me.
- (3) A.D.B. Him I row for half an hour for playing politics with Minister of State, Monckton, etc. Then we talk on Spain generally. He says we can do nothing till we are allowed to prepare to raise the Reds.

To-night I see a telegram from Moscow. All diplomats and foreign journalists, except S.C. and one or two others, were to leave by 9 p.m. on the 15th. S.C. has burnt nearly all his files. This recalls a moment last year when G. told me that at the Quai d'Orsay they were burning all their papers. It gave him, he said, a queer feeling in the tummy. Molotov, S.C. and a few others are leaving by air for the new capital on the Volga.

17. 10. 41

C.E.O. and C.D. to brief me on my talk with Sir W.H. Not much difficulty now. Should he see A.D.B.? We must not force this.

J.C. to see me. He is quite pleased, as am I, over the

Star Man's Diary and other disclosures. The provincial press have done it well. Now we must try to get S. off the A.C.

Sir W.H. calls and converses smoothly for three quarters of an hour. C.D. has warned me that he is getting visibly older. This is so. (Separate note on this talk.)

Lunch with Benes and the L.P.S. B. gives a long and characteristic discourse on the situation. The Russians will hold, their Generals have been inferior to the Germans, but the ratio between their equipment and man power and that of the Germans remains, till now, much the same. The Russians have lost, largely in prisoners, some 90 Divisions; the Germans, mostly in dead and wounded, some 60 Divisions. The morale in Germany is low. They will take very ill another winter. They will not be able to support two more winters. Therefore he thinks the war will end before winter 1942. Meanwhile we British must do more, he says, both in military action and in propaganda. Goering is now quite finished. Two months ago the Czechs were told to take down all portraits of him from their walls. He had become unpopular through living so luxuriously. In Vienna they cried, when he came, "Down with the plutocrats!" He was against the Russian war. So were the older Generals, but the younger Generals, full of hope in the Panzer Divisions, were in favour. They all believed that in two months at the outside Russia would be finished. Hitler has now become merely the pawn of the Generals. The Nazi Party is in dissolution. None of the other Party leaders, except Himmler, have any power now.

C.E.O. brings new man to see me who should deal with Italy. He makes a good impression.

18. 10. 41

Leave King's Cross in the afternoon and get to Darlington soon after 9. Explode to Will Davis over Alligator. I have now written 22 letters on this subject, in addition to various interviews and telephone calls, and my Private Secretaries have been constantly beset both by J.R.S.M. and by a man from Alligator themselves. W.D. says that J.R.S.M. has been getting money from these people for giving them wrong advice and fussing about in London, and that some time ago they should have started to move into alternative premises.

19. 10. 41

Speak at two meetings on Aid to Russia organised by D.M.A., first at Coundon, where I have some 350 people in a cinema, quite a good meeting for this small place, and then at Stanley, in the Connsett Division.

Some 550 people here. Both pretty good meetings. I tell the oft-told tale of what I did for non-military supplies from June 22nd till the Moscow Conference. My advance is well reported - in every important paper except the Daily Express - and is on the air at 9 p.m. and midnight.

Catch night train from Newcastle.

20. 10. 41

Back at 6 a.m. at King's Cross.

A.E. writes on Pfnce. that he would like a short while to think about it. There is, it seems, some discrepancy between what A.E. told the diplomat concerned and what the latter told his Government.

There is not much time and these delays are vexatious.

21. 10. 41

Weekly meeting of P.W.E. with seance following at which C., A.C., G., A.D.Z. and Radcliffe are also present. A most infuriating afternoon! B.B. is worse than ever. He brings no papers, has studied nothing, is arrogant, rude, inconsequent, critical, purely destructive. I am told that he makes a bad impression on several of those there. I show great restraint, but shall not indefinitely continue to do so. B.B. has been met by me very handsomely over the first point he raised, namely N.Y. cloak, but he goes grizzling on about the Channel and T.C. and Co. Whatever I or G. say during this talk is at once seized upon, twisted and made into some fresh ground of complaint.

The L.P.S. is on his way to U.S.A., and, if we are to have a flaming row, it will be best to play for time till the little man returns. Meanwhile, this other man is always hanging about No.10. On the other hand, it is not clear that much heed is paid there to what he says, though my last invitation for a visit to No.17 has not been picked up.

A.D.A. reports that things are going well in his field of action. We now only await an All Clear on Pfnce. (This comes next day.)

Dudley Ward dines with me and dwells affectionately on past memories. He also says that it is extraordinary how M.E.W. goes on so well - he admits it does go on well - when the Minister

is largely concerned with other and engrossing duties, likewise the Director General with Surpluses, and of the two Directors, one is a sick man and the other deeply fascinated by problems of military intelligence. I say that it goes well because I have a very good band of officials, because I have a definite policy and they know what it is, and because there are no bottle-necks, but direct access to me from below the level of Directors. Also, I might add, a most efficient private office.

22. 10. 41

J.W. and H.G. to breakfast in my shelter, when we start a talk which is continued tonight.

National E.E. Meeting quicker than usual and over by lunch. Discussion of conditions under which we can go on same platform as Communists in Aid for Russia campaign. Shinwell tries ingeniously to widen the field so as to allow himself to speak on Trades Council platforms. Finally decided, by narrow vote, that matter should be referred back to Sub-Committee, it being agreed that we can speak, when we choose, at (a) straightforward Labour Party meetings, (b) meetings convened by civic authorities, and (c) meetings convened by the Ministry of Information. This should surely be enough!

Speak at National T.U.Club. My speech seems to have been a fair success and odds and ends are reported in different papers. I am following H.G.'s advice and spending a good deal of time just now in Labour Party circles.

Francis Williams to dine, also J.W. and H.G. I am most tactful in not making any personal reference to F.W.'s Minister, who has promoted him and with whom he appears to be getting on quite well.

(talk reported on next page.)

Pursue a line started at breakfast this morning. The Beaver is playing up to the Communists on Aid to Russia. Some shop stewards are trying to by-pass T.U. officials and go straight to Ministers, especially the Beaver. Moore-Brab. a few days ago went to an aircraft factory and tried to address the men. They greeted him with boos and cries of "We want Beaverbrook". If Russia were to collapse, there might be a very sinister and formidable combination in favour of a negotiated peace. "Let us all make peace together"; "How can we ever expect to win the war now?"; "If Germany will evacuate West Europe, why should she not have more space in the East?", etc. In this combination you might find the Beaver and his papers, Southwood ("Always an appeaser to the finger tips", says F.W., with deaf old Dunbar always against war, and Cudlipp, who is said, only a fortnight ago, to have been talking most defeatist stuff and declaring that we could never win), Kemsley and his papers, the Daily Mail, the Communists, M. Norman and a bunch of money lenders in the City, etc.

A slight variant on this theme is that the Beaver is trying to build himself up as the only man in the Government with any push and go. M. Foot has been saying that if only the Beaver had gone to Moscow in September, 1939, he would have fixed everything up with Stalin and there would have been no war. (M. Foot and Frank Owen are constantly speaking now on the same platform as Harry Pollit and other Communists.) John Gordon of the Sunday Express is going around, says F.W., telling everyone that the war has been hopelessly mismanaged by the Government, that at this rate we can never win, that the only man who can put things right is the Beaver, that Parliament is a bit out of date, and that a number of "the younger Generals in the Army" would back a Beaver Government. It might be that a Beaver Government, taking office to wage the war more ardently, might soon become a Peace-by-negotiation Government.

I do not think, nor do any of my three companions, that a Beaver Government could come into office except as a result of a serious Parliamentary set-back to the present Government. Of this there is no sign. The P.M. could carry a vote of confidence any day in the House by a majority of several hundreds. The Opposition Lobby would not muster more than two dozen at the most. If anything were to happen to the P.M. now, it would not be the Beaver who would succeed him. The men of Fleet Street tend always to over-estimate their political influence and importance. The tale about the younger Generals is, I believe, sheer rubbish. The House of Commons has a very firm foundation of the national will to wage war till we win. None the less, the Beaver, I am sure, is up to no good (it is reported that A.E. said this to a friend only a few days ago) and we should all be on our guard and keep our ears open. Certainly at some moment we may need a sudden showdown between warmongers and peacemongers.

23. 10. 41

Sit beside A.E. while Phil opens general debate in House. He does extraordinarily well and could not, except for a few occasional critical passages, have made a better defence of the Government, even if speaking from our box. Also, as usual, his speech is admirably phrased and the balance is better than usual.

Handwritten: H.D. comes to me in a flutter - how these pressmen get into flutters! H.B. says that they are always hunting for excitement and finding it without any real justification - concerning a letter from Sir A. Gridley, an obscure Tory M.P., published in to-day's Times in a very prominent position on the leader page. In this letter old arguments, perpetually used before, are trotted out in favour of a smaller War Cabinet of Ministers wholly free from Departmental responsibilities, and ~~hint~~ it is hinted that some Ministers, un-named, are either too tired or not "carrying the guns" and should be dispensed with. The only Minister named throughout the letter is E.B., and it is hinted that if he is wanted in the War Cabinet he should give up his Departmental work.

H.D. says that all the Lobby is in a state of wild excitement about this letter! They say it proves that "the Beaver is on the rampage again", intriguing against all his colleagues and trying to get for himself a position of dictator on the Home Front. All a bit hysterical and far-fetched.

Dupuy comes to see me this afternoon and, with only a little encouragement, talks at great length (see special note). He is a bit better than last time and talks less appeasement. Perhaps, however, this is only because he now knows I don't like such talk and not because he has changed his mind. I have evidence that he is involved in some communications with Major H. at Gib. He says, unguardedly, in reply to a question put by me at the end of a long and outwardly cordial talk, that he has never yet been to Gib. but thinks it might be useful for him to return that way. He has never met Gort but "knows" some of his Intelligence officers.

Meanwhile, it looks as though A.D.B. had been telling more lies and carrying on more intrigues than even I had suspected.

C.E.O. produces an excellent plan for a counter-attack on B.B. regarding a proposed American gift for Malaya. Drafts to be prepared on this. B.B. has gone away for a number of days and won't be back in time for next Tuesday's meeting, which, therefore, with my consent, will be postponed. This is an advantage, since I don't want too much going on while C.R.A. is away.

R. to dine with Phil and Irene. She is now to have an interview on Monday morning which she hopes may lead somewhere.

DIARY24. 10. 41

Lunch with Krnevic, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister, and Jukic of the Yugoslav Legation. Both are Croats. K. was Matchek's Deputy as Leader of the Peasants' Party. He makes a very poor impression. He speaks of "cliques" making wars, but the only special cliques to which he can refer are those of the Serb Generals, each of whom, he says, has an expensive flat at Belgrade. He also speaks of the high expenditure of the Army in Yugoslavia. I have to drag the Germans into the conversation. He speaks vaguely of the importance of Democracy and a New Europe, but nothing concrete. I ask does he wish to abolish Yugoslavia, and, with some hesitation, he says no. I ask whether no Croat Generals. He says only one or two. I ask why did not the Croats pull their full weight in the Yugoslav Parliament. He says that the Serbs "got hold of" the electors in the Voivodina and in Macedonia and so got a Serb majority. I ask were the constituencies unequal in electors. He says no, not particularly.

Dine with C.E.O., who cheers me up a bit out of a fit of rather deep depression by telling me a story, which he swears comes from a first-class source, of the banquet given at the Kremlin, when Stalin sat at the head of the table, Beaverbrook and Harriman on each side of him. There was no common language and no interpreter within reach. Therefore, there was no conversation at all at the top of the table. Stalin was served by an attendant with special food and drink, no doubt a habitual precaution against food poisoning. A bottle of red wine was first planted in front of him. Beaverbrook, wanting to warm up the atmosphere, stretched across for this bottle and poured himself out a glass with a friendly grin, but this was not returned. Stalin scowled and without a word covered the bottle. Next his attendant brought a bottle of Caucasian champagne, and champagne glasses were set before the guests. But this time Stalin was running no risks. Still scowling ferociously, he stretched out his hand and appropriated the still empty champagne glass of the Beaver and placed it, inverted, over his own bottle, where, except when he refilled his own glass from this bottle, it remained.

We speak also of Reuters and what a ramp it is now likely to become, and of Christopher Chancellor, now its secretary, whom C.E.O. used to know very well.

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Yes!

25 and 26, 10, 41

At Diss with J.W. and E.W. A very pleasant weekend - food, drink, sleep, chess, and a good walk in the State forest of Thetford.

27, 10, 41

Back from Diss and find an admirable paper prepared on Bva. This shows that the M. of I. knew all about it for many months. G. is to show this to A.C. and ask the latter to show it to A.E., who might hint to B.B. not to press this matter any further or there will be troublesome disclosures. It is rumoured that A.E. is getting fed up with B.B.

Slight fidget over our French broadcasts and the question whether we should encourage or discourage "individual acts" against the Germans. The War Cab., not having thought much about it, says don't discourage, but there are solid reasons the other way and a number of Allied Governments are keenly aware of them.

Letter from B.B. in reply to my counter-attack on the offer of the wireless transmitters. He ~~sees~~ ^{sees} a few points, but essentially it is a rearguard action and he agrees, though abusively and with bad grace, to ask for the transmitters.

Take out R. to dine with me. He is very good, both clear-minded and Left-minded. He has a high opinion of J.W., whom he has hardly met, admiring in particular his self-confidence.

28, 10, 41

Fuss because A.E. wants to tell Maisky rather too much about the Jugs. A.E. seems to have a very poor sense of security. He keeps running to the P.M. rather than asking me for information. This is to be dealt with by C.E.O., who has already been in touch with O.H.

More trouble over A.D.B. who, it is now suggested, has been dropping unauthorised leaflets (this later is denied) and seems to have been having quite unnecessary telegraphic correspondence with the indiscreet H., who has been well ticked off in a message from the F.O.

Dine with R. at her hotel. It is irritating that the interview she stayed in London for last weekend was put off at short

notice. She could have come to Diss with me.

29. 10. 41

The press to-day is full of rumours that the Beaver will resign - at least for a time - owing to asthma and the strain of his recent trips abroad. A parallel rumour circulates, though not in the press, that he wants to be the Production Dictator and let Layton, between whom and the Beaver there is a queer and long-standing affinity, go to the Lords and take over the Ministry of Supply.

Other trouble breaks out in a new place to-day. It is about A.D.B. He is to see me this afternoon; C.E.O. and C.D. have had a word about this this morning. C.D. rings up to say that A.D.B. will bring with him an explanatory statement and a bunch of related telegrams; he hopes that, in view of the White House possibility, I shall attach most importance to this and not dwell too much on other things. I agree, but say that I must touch on other things and that A.D.B. has such a thick hide that he will not feel a light touch. Having then had a word with C.E.O., I ring up C.D. again and suggest that it would be better if the dossier were sent up to me to read before A.D.B. arrives. C.E.O. had thought that this was what was intended. The dossier arrives just before lunch, but I find that several key telegrams are missing from it. I send for R.B. and tell him to go at once to get the missing papers and that it is a disgrace how badly this has been done. I then ring up C.D. and we have some "words" on the phone. I say that I can't get things done right, that I don't know who selected the telegrams (he then says he did) and that there seems to have been some "concerting" between the selection of the telegrams and the making of the statement. This upsets him and he says he is writing me a letter later in the day. This duly arrives (attached) and I send, later in the evening, a suitable reply. It has been impossible to get him on the phone. I ask him to come and see me to-morrow.

Meanwhile, A.D.B. comes this afternoon, having been told, apparently, that he is to be "executed" (I think A.D. told him this, and he said he must go and have a good lunch first!). C.E.O. asks whether I mind his seeing him for a few moments before he sees me, in order to prevent him from saying anything foolish. I say yes to this. C.E.O. then brings him in and stays - which amuses me a little. I begin on the White House and that goes all right. Then I ask whether this is not in conflict with the policy which he and others have been pushing. Then talk on appeasement and I tell him that it is no good trying to play up to P., or even to W., in the hope of earning their support. That will only go if and when we are visibly formidable and visibly winning the war. He says that he quite agrees. I then touch on one or two of his recent irregularities

and other people's, including H. who, in addition to his other crimes, has used my channel for a communication about his own private future. I also speak about my other Ministerial responsibilities, for Blockade and propaganda to France, and say that A.D.B. should have definite instructions what to do and what not to do. He says he would welcome this and, indeed, has a point in his favour, in that the memorandum from M. which he sent some time ago, making appeasement proposals, was not forthwith repudiated but was reported by A.D.W. to be causing great interest in high quarters. I do not remember that I ever saw this paper.

C.E.O. says afterwards that he thinks this talk went off fairly well and that A.D.B. liked its frankness.

Meeting at D.O. on East African Mission, Cranborne in the Chair. Also present Barley Water, Platt, who makes a good impression on me and C.E.O. who accompanies me, Machtig, Strang, and some underlings. The talk goes pretty well and a number of difficulties are removed.

There has been a muddle about my arrangements for to-night, but in the end I go to dine with the Minister of Agriculture who, though rather deaf and heavy, and inclined to talk his own shop too much, is in favour of winning the war, taking decisions, cutting out Committees, and telling the public the truth, especially on the Home Front, where they do not yet even begin to understand what a German victory would mean to them. B.B., he says, should really take this last job in hand. No-one has done it well. Anderson last night even made a speech in which he said that various new proposals of the Government "might cause inconvenience, and even perhaps hardship". This is really quite incredible language when we think what is happening on the Russian Front and all over enslaved Europe.

Another Beaver-Stalin story:

- S. "What do you think of Maisky?"
 - B. "~~Mr or Mrs?~~ *He or she?*"
 - S. "~~Either or both?~~ *Maisky.*"
 - B. "~~Both~~ *Rather bores,* don't you think?"
- Half an hour later
- B. "What do you think of Cripps?"
 - S. "Rather a bore, don't you think?"

Another story, this time of the Beaver accompanying the P.M. in June, 1940, to France just before she fell. Weygand, even then, was expatiating on the theme that France had sinned and must be redeemed through suffering. Whereupon B. said "I am a Calvinist. I know that no-one is redeemed through suffering. Many are destined to suffer - and suffer and suffer for ever, but

they are never redeemed." Weygand said to another Frenchman afterwards "What a curious view of religion that man has".

C.E.O., whom I consult on C.D.'s letter, gets first A.D. on the telephone, who says that "It is very serious", and then tries a little later to get M. but hears that he is in with A.D. Evidently, therefore, some new "concerting" is taking place. I suspect A.D. of being the nigger in this woodpile. He hinted ←

(C.D. n "Mrs resignation."
30. 10. 41

To-day I have an orgy of sweetness and light, first with C.D. and then with the Peawits.

P.O.G. in the morning, when we consider, in a preliminary way, Russian estimates on enemy oil. They put all the figures higher than ours, initial stocks, civil consumption, normal military consumption, abnormal military consumption in the last four months, and destruction, especially by them. None the less, the resulting figures, ours and theirs, are not far apart.

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seems call into his hand.)

C.E.O. (who had had a most successful conversation with Sir W.H. on Peninsular affairs at the F.O. this morning) comes in just before lunch and tells me that C.D. was missing from the early morning meeting and that it was not possible for him, as he had planned with me yesterday evening, to address them on the personal crisis, as A.D.A. and M. both slipped out early in the meeting, thus depleting it. (Moreover, last night when C.E.O. had suggested on the telephone to A.D. that the thing might be discussed at the morning meeting, A.D. had said that he very much doubted whether it should be.) It appears that he was reassembled with C.D. after C.E.O. had gone.

I tell C.E.O. that I shall try honey-pot tactics this afternoon and aim first at getting the resignation withdrawn. We will see ~~whether~~ where we get to and then think again. He says I ought to think what I would do if I can't get the resignation withdrawn, or if others resign as well. On the first point he and I and H.G. were inclined to think yesterday that M. would be the best successor.

they are never redeemed." Weygand said to another Frenchman afterwards "What a curious view of religion that men has".

C.E.O., whom I consult on C.D.'s letter, gets first A.D. on the telephone, who says that "It is very serious", and then tries a little later to get M. but hears that he is in with A.D. Evidently, therefore, some new "concerting" is taking place. I suspect A.D. of being the nigger in this woodpile.

30. 10. 41

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Subs

C.D. stays with me for three quarters of an hour. He combines what I think is quite genuinely a strong personal regard for me with an obstinate adherence to certain so-called "principles" (I am sure A.D. has put all this into his head) which should be adopted in running the show, now that it has grown to its present size. I read him the Charter, which is quite in conflict with much that he suggests. Following a line concerted with C.E.O. at lunch, I suggest at a certain point that I should talk separately to each member of the D.C. and get their views. I would then have a general talk with the whole lot of them. The resignation is duly withdrawn "at any rate for the present". That is enough for to-day. It comes out that he attended a meeting of the D.C. this morning after the regular meeting, i.e., after C.E.O. had left.

At the end I tell him that A.S. rang me up the other day and asked about his proposed promotion. He was taken aback at this and said - I am sure quite truly - that he knew nothing about this and didn't want it, and suggested that I should cancel it. I said I hesitated to do this and that I had told A.S. that I would be in favour of it. I noted, in the light of recent turns, that A.S. had said to me that this would put C.D. on the same level as two other people, and his analogy with one of these is being strongly pressed in his statement of "principles". I then asked him when he left to go and talk to C.E.O., which he said he would be most glad to do, paying him many glowing compliments, but evidently having been persuaded that it was he himself who should have what he afterwards called to C.E.O. "Plenary powers" in running the organisation from day to day, though admitting, of course, that important questions of high policy should be referred from him to me and C.E.O. C.E.O. told me afterwards that he had suggested to C.D. that what was happening was only growing pains of a healthy and expanding organisation getting a little too big for its old clothes, and that it should be quite easy to sit down and look at the thing in a practical way.

I intend, therefore, to see the other members of the D.C., each alone, next week at the rate of about two a day. Therefore, towards the end of the week we should be ripe for a general talk. I shall deliberately begin with M. and A.D.A. and ask the former how he would run the show if he was in charge: My motto, I said to H.G. later in the evening, in dealing with this bunch will be "Either educate, or divide, but in either case, rule". H.G. said it would be much better to educate. He said it was astonishing how people not accustomed to the Civil Service failed to understand the meaning and nature of Ministerial responsibility.

And so to P.W.E. The Brig. is absent on leave. Everything goes swimmingly. No continuance of my row with B.B. On the contrary, he is most amiable to all, though very much on the lookout

Taylor

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against unnecessary expenditures, even on the secret vote.

I stay behind to have a word with A.E., telling him that V. has no longer been seeing telegrams for six weeks and does not wish to see them any more, in case this should embarrass H.M.G. He is, I think, rather relieved to hear this. I then speak of the paper I sent to him through C.E.O. on the Jugs for his talk with Maisky, and he says thank you for this, obviously having liked it - it contained several new points which pleased Maisky - and liked the way C.E.O. put it over to him. He says that he said nothing to Maisky about the ~~supplies~~ subjects we did not wish mentioned. He then says that this afternoon's meeting went very well, didn't it, and I say yes and I was glad that B.B. didn't raise again any of his old troubles about Bva. If he had done, there would have been a crushing rejoinder, including quantities of Minutes on the files of his own Ministry by Peterson. A.E. says he had warned B.B. not to raise this again and it is clear that C.E.O.'s approach through A.C. to A.E. has succeeded.

A word at two at the end of the meeting with B.L., who is, I think, now quite well disposed and anxious to play. I say how important it is that he and C.E.O. should negotiate things between themselves without bringing in his other two colleagues. R.L. departed yesterday on a week's leave, and therefore there is likely to be a further period of easy going.

DIARY31. 10. 41

a See, with D.F., four possibles for Press Officer. Of these Rayner is much the best. He will be swapped back in exchange for Mungeot, who would like this move.

Lunch with Bruce to meet Earle Page. The latter, sat between Woolton and Leathers, is very friendly to me. I say "I am not blockading Australia".

C.E.O. reports that there is "a little lift" in the atmosphere to-day.

Metherell to see me. He says it is a private, and not an official, diary. I read him the relevant King's Regulation and passage from the Official Secrets Act. I don't think there is much more to be done with him. I have been, not for the first time, a bit misled on the evidence.

To W.L. by the 6 p.m., taking with me C.E.O.'s beginning of a paper, copy of my original charter, etc. Find that R. has come down by the early morning train, which explains why she had "gone out so early" when H.G. rang her up from the office this morning.

1 and 2. 11. 41

Sleep and stub and, on the Sunday evening, work on S.O. papers; also on Juggery, which is coming up to the top of the bill in view of the continuance of the revolt.

3. 11. 41

On this and the two succeeding days I interview separately six members of the D.C. and make reports of what they say. (Separate notes attached.) To-day I have M. and A.D.A. Much nonsense is talked, alongside of some sense, but what a cabal! It becomes more and more clear that it is largely directed at C.E.O. A.D. has clearly been at the bottom of this.

Lunch with Bill Street and his friend Mr Holmes, who is very pleased that I have put him in touch with Sir A.Duncan, who seems disposed to use his services in the Eastern region. The responsibility is Sir A.D.'s and not mine, and I did not press him unduly.

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Meeting in the afternoon of "International Relationships Committee" at Transport House. Continuance of a "second reading debate". We are some distance yet from anything that can be called a report.

Dine with Durbin and Chester, a Manchester economist, now in one of the circuses, at Martinez. H.G. tells me later that they both thought I was not much interested in my Department. I don't know how they got this impression, for I told them, I thought, several amusing stories of how it all began. Perhaps they expected a solemn lecture on my problems of to-day. But it would have been altogether too much of a bore to do this kind of thing.

4. 11. 41

To-day A.D. and A.D.P. The former is as clever as a monkey, but the latter is much the most sensible witness so far, putting down most of our troubles to the fact that people are over-working and not taking enough time off.

Juggery is on the bill. I am summoned to a nocturnal meeting, with P.M. in the Chair, to discuss it. This results from my suggestion to A.E. in a note sent to him last week. Therefore, I spend a good deal of to-day with Glenconner, who is now my regional expert on J. He comes round with some papers just before lunch while A.D. is still expatiating. I therefore take him out to lunch and have to fetch him back later in the day for a conference with C.E.O. and me before the evening meeting. I have not seen much of him till now, but find him quick, informed and personally pleasant.

Weekly P.W.E. goes quietly until Other Business, when B.B. explodes with a complaint about some leaflets pushed under the doorways of the Thais! It is not known who did it but it has greatly embarrassed our Minister, who has sent home a screaming telegram about it. It is suggested that I may have had something to do with it. I say I think this most unlikely but have had no notice of this question, which therefore had better be examined by the officials between now and next time. B.B. then raises a more general question of competing organisations doing "propaganda". He says that either this matter must be settled by the Ministers or referred to the P.M. I say I think we had better look at all this next time, and that, to my mind, there is no difficulty of principle. But this is a vexatious little blighter and I am irritated by his constant attempt to play the P.M. card. He is too much inclined to say "I was talking to the P.M. yesterday"; "At lunch to-day the P.M. leaned across the table to me and said ..." (even, it seems, if there were some 30 people present). When L.P.S. comes back from U.S.A. I must have another word to him about all this. A.E., on the other hand, is, I think, generally bored with B.B.'s methods.

Summons for Juggery, first for 10 p.m., afterwards put to 10.45. I arrive at C.W.R., taking Glenconner with me, though it is most unlikely that he will either be wanted, or allowed, in the inner room. We find Cranborne also waiting in the Mess-Anteroom. I do not get in till 11.45. P.M. in a good mood. We have a useful discussion. All possible is to be done to help the guerillas. A further conference on lower level with the Admiralty to-morrow. Also further talk with the A.M. Only others present are A.E. (with A.C.), the three Teddy Bears, Ismay, Hollis and Price. This is not technically the Defence Committee but a Staff Conference.

Service Main Report. How would be a Service Main?

5. 11. 41

See Rayner, who is now definitely appointed and very keen on the job. Also the Belgian banker from West Africa, whom I ask to give me a short note on his hopes and problems. Also A.D.Z. and D.Fin. A.D.Z. says that the American W. is seeing B.B. to-day. A.D.Z. will hear later what passes.

Attend Contraband Committee this afternoon and compliment them on a really good piece of detective work.

Invite myself to tea with Mrs Amery, who has signed a letter in The Times on a Relief Fund for Juggery. She is very fond of me but comes in with a catch in her breath, saying that she hopes I have not brought her any bad news. She feared that I had come to tell her that something had happened to her younger son. Her elder son has just been interned in France. He was apparently in a Sanatorium for T.B. I am at once able to reassure her. She is prepared to write a letter holding up ill-advised appeals and broadcasts and arranging for B.F. - who is very much excited about this letter in The Times, and has spoken on the telephone to old Lord Crewe, another of the Secretaries, who has expressed great contrition - to go with her to the next, and indeed to any future, meetings of the Committee.

E.F.Penrose, now attached to American Embassy on economic questions, dines with me and, at his request, his lady assistant comes too. Rather dull and heavy.

C.E.O. gives me his paper on S.O. organisation, suggesting various changes that probably should, and others that might, if we are pressed, be made. Other developments are -

- (1) A denial that anyone of mine had anything to do with the leaflet to the Thais.

- (2) A.D.Z. saw W. after his visit to B.B. and is making me a note; B.B. appears to have spoken with even less discretion and loyalty than might have been expected.
- (3) Frightful gaffe by ^BD.B.C. over a certain French General. They seem to have allowed the Belgian news to contain large quotations from a secret report by this man, who will now, no doubt, have been imprisoned by Vichy. This follows gaffes in other news items regarding the same General.
- (4) Maurice Webb gives me, over the telephone, a story of impending Ministerial changes, including the following: Kingsley Wood to go to the Lords, Eden to the Treasury, Cranborne (though he is said to be hesitating about the offer) to the F.O., George Hicks into the War Cabinet to replace A.G., who would busy himself with supplies for Russia. Jim Griffiths also to enter the Government. I say that this all sounds rather unlikely, but M.W. has sometimes been right before. A.E. would go to the Treasury (1) because there isn't much to do there, and (2) in order to give him a wider Departmental experience, since he is regarded as a possible successor to the P.M. I tell M.W. that I think it most unlikely that this would be consummated with C.R.A. away. M.W. supposes that such very rapid promotion for G.H. would create great feeling in the Labour Party. I think it might.

P.F.H., to whom I talk later this evening on his own future - he is shortly to be medically examined and, if in a high grade, would then be de-reserved as from a date next month - says that the gossip is, both in the F.O. and among intelligent Conservatives outside, that A.E. has not been doing so well lately, but that it would be read by many as rather a disgrace if he were shifted to the Treasury. Personally, I would rather have Lord C. to deal with.

6. 11. 41

C.E.O. has had a further talk with C.D. after this morning's Council and reports that the latter is looking very ill and feeling very low and conscious of strain. He is now saying that in any case he would like to resign and make way for a younger man. He does not suggest who this should be. Not, apparently, M., for whom he speaks of a larger responsibility in his own section and who, he says, is unpopular with some; nor, apparently, A.D., who, he says, is a very good Chief of Staff. C.E.O. urged on him that his resignation now would do much damage in Whitehall and encourage the snipers who, the more we succeed, the more are they

D.p +

-4-

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All untrue!

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jealous. I give C.E.O. the seven confidential records of my talks in the last week and ask him to take them away, comment on them and put up proposals on which a statement might be got and his own position safeguarded.

In the evening he brings me back an analysis and a scheme of new arrangements which, he thinks, should meet C.D. If not, I should have a good piece of paper to argue on. I accept his draft with one or two minor alterations (original copy attached). As usual, particularly in times of crisis, he is very clear-headed and very imperturbable.

He says that he had A.D.Z. to lunch to-day and gave him an outline of his ideas. A.D.Z. seemed most delighted and thought that a scheme on these lines would be acceptable to all. The plan now is that I shall ask C.D. to come and see me to-morrow and try to get him to accept this piece of paper. It must not be carried off to be debated by members of the Daily Council. It is now only a question between me, C.E.O. and C.D. If C.D. agrees, I would then summon the Daily Council, probably on Saturday morning, but without either C.E.O. or C.D., and tell them what had been decided, reading them the paper. I should not allow debate on this. If I get stuck with C.D. to-morrow, I shall ask C.E.O. to come in and join in the argument, but I should much prefer not to have him in until we other two are agreed. C.E.O. and I agree that, if we get agreement, there must be a further period, say a month or two, during which C.D. carries on and gets the new scheme working. At the end of that time he might, if his health does not improve, resign on that ground alone and go with a good atmosphere. I have an open mind as to his successor except, as at present minded, I would not have A.D. and am a little inclined towards A.D.P.

6. 11. 41 (contd.)

I lunch to-day with Sir P.Lorraine. There was no reason why he should have asked me unless he wanted something from me, for his social circle and mine would not normally intersect. And so, quite early, it appears.

He is, he says, a war casualty, for, if Italy had not gone wrong, he would have continued as Ambassador at Rome for three years longer. So here he is, at the height of his powers, and with an unrivalled experience of the Middle East, where he has spent 25 years of his life and served in Persia, Turkey (twice), Egypt, Greece and Italy. I say that people seem to be falling over one another in the Middle East just now and that Sir W.Monckton is the latest addition to the swarm. Sir P.Lorraine sniffs contemptuously at the name of the late King's legal adviser and goes on to say that what he would really like would be "the job Oliver Lyttleton has got". I say that I understand Oliver Lyttleton doesn't like it much, feeling that he has been pushed out on a limb, doesn't know what is going on at the centre, and is not helped by the Departments at home.

Sir P.L. then talks in praise of the Turks. They were quite right not to get involved in a war in the Balkans. They were quite right not to trust the Yugoslavs, whose Army, some wit said, was "set like a cricket team". The flower of the Turkish Army would have been lost to no purpose in Thrace. They would fight, he was convinced, in defence of Anatolia, which it was crucial to deny to the Germans. He did not for a moment believe that they would give the Germans a right of passage. But we had failed in our contractual obligations to arm them, and this gave them a right to be cautious. The forces which we had put into Greece were, he thought, "well lost". We could never have held up our heads had we not gone in. He would have favoured an attack on Bulgaria, before she had been armed by the Germans, by Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. The Turks, he thought, would at that time have been willing to join in this. The Bulgarian Army was a great danger for the future in the Balkans. If, however, we had occupied the Bulgarian mountains, we should have put ourselves in a far more favourable position than if we had tried to re-establish a Salonika front in which our troops caught malaria in the lowlands while the enemy sat comfortably in the highlands.

We then, inevitably, spoke of Italy, and he related various conversations with Ciano who, however, was always very much petit garçon when the Duce was about. Italian policy was always based on an estimate of military events outside Italy. She had come in on our side in 1915 because she thought we were winning; and on Germany's side in 1940 because she thought we were losing and that it would soon be too late to share the spoils. Hitler had not welcomed Mussolini's entry into the war in June, 1940.

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Ciano had asked Loraine, when France was toppling, what we should do when she fell. L. had said we should go on with the war. C. had asked "What with?" L. had said he declined to answer the question in that form but that the war could only end when Britain either won or surrendered, and that Britain would never surrender. C. had shrugged his shoulders incredulously.

L. said that he was convinced that Mussolini had not really committed himself to Germany until June, 1940. M. must have known of all the discussions taking place between our people and the Italian fighting services and industrialists. We had been allowed to fly the most secret Italian machines. He did not believe that much had gone from or through Italy, in the way of supplies, to help Germany. I said my evidence was the other way.

He told me a story of anti-British placards put up in Rome which said, among other things, "England has missed the bus". But some Italian wrote underneath "But she is rich enough to take a taxi".

Towards the end of our lunch he asked whether I thought that we were making progress with "welding the whole nation into one class", which he seemed to think was most desirable. I said that taxation, rationing, etc., had moved us a fair distance already towards greater equality. He said "Don't you think that what are called the Upper Classes have been behaving very well?" I said that I thought the majority of people in all classes had been behaving well, though there were some bad patches, no doubt, in all. He asked whether I thought that it might not be a useful service for him, seeing that he was a large landowner (I did not quite apprehend the significance of this reason for his proposal), to go round making speeches for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour at factories on "the anatomy of the war", particularly in those areas where he owned land and was therefore well known. I said I thought this was a most excellent idea but that of course it would fall under the Ministry of Information. I asked in what areas he owned land, and he replied in Northumberland and in Suffolk, and then a long rigmarole about how his ancestor in Northumberland bankrupted himself by guaranteeing a loan for the relief of the local poor during the Napoleonic Wars. This had meant that the estate had had to be broken up. I asked whether he had since got the lost land back again. He said that his present Northumberland estate had "come through the female line". I said that if he was inclined to do some speaking, I was sure he would be most acceptable at Warship Week demonstrations, etc., all over the country.

I never see this diplomat without recalling that it was he who once apostrophised me as "Mr Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State".

Whitney came to see me and seemed quick (for an American), keen and friendly. He saw B.B. yesterday and to-morrow is seeing the P.M. He repeated his piece about the Channel, i.e. that his Chief would like it to go on as it was but that of course it was not for him to interfere in matters which H.M.G. must decide. He had not told B.B. his connection with my other interests. We spoke also of M.E.W. and I said that all doors here would be open to him, as they had been to Colonel Clabaugh, who, he said, had brought back a very full and interesting report. He said that Big Nose thought it might be useful for him to ^{come} ~~go~~ over to London again soon, and this time to visit C.H.Q., which he had not done last time. (W. was going down there to-night)-. It was a point that P.W.E. should have a man in N.Y., or, indeed, a succession of men there. I said that Big Nose should have made this visit last time and it was only because things were so rushed, and it was in the country, that he had not done so.

Medhurst also comes to see me at my request. He is clearly anxious to be helpful. He wishes that the C.A.S. would come and see the show which Bottomley saw the other day. The latter came back quite converted. M. is a first-rate showman. I speak to Medhurst about aircraft to help the Jugs and he dwells on the difficulties of finding one's way over that mountainous country. But he is trying to get some increase in our facilities there. He has done us very well in other directions.

7. 11. 41

H.D. reports that there will now be no Cabinet changes nor any important rearrangements of functions, though minor rearrangements touching Ministry of Works and Ministry of Labour, and also perhaps touching Supply and Admiralty.

The statement widely published (except in the Daily Express) some ten days ago that the Beaver was ill with asthma, very much over-tired and nearly at the end of the six months for which he had undertaken to run Supply, was given out on the Beaver's own instructions through J.B.Wilson to Stacpoole of the P.A. J.B.W. added "Now you can all start to speculate on the Beaver's future". Hence began all the guesses at Cabinet changes.

The P.M., however, was much displeased when he heard of this, feeling that the Beaver was trying to force his hand, and objecting also to attacks being made, e.g. by Clem Davies on Kingsley Wood, on individual Ministers. Some changes had been under consideration before, notably the disappearance of Moore Brab. from the Government and his replacement by Gwilym L.G, but even this is off now.

It also became known that the Beaver had drawn up a short list for assassination: K.W., J.A. and A.G. This came to the ears of J.A., who went straight to the P.M. and received, not only an assurance on his own position, but an assurance that the Beaver would not be allowed to become Deputy P.M. for the Home Front, which is said to be his ambition.

The source of this report is J.C. via J.A. and H.W.

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~~Lunch at Yugoslav Legation where, out of a party of nearly 20, the only arrangements of this nature is that, via Ambassador Biddle and I, I sat on Tinovic's right and on my right an old gentleman named Jovanovic, a Serb Professor of Constitutional Law, was~~

DIARY7. 11. 41 (contd.)

Lunch with Mikolajczyk. C.E.O., M. and M.X. are with me and it all goes very easily.

This afternoon I see C.D. alone. This too goes easily. I begin by getting rid of his offer to resign, repeated to-day though in a very different manner from last week. I say that, with these new changes, he must go on at least for several months, and then, if his health is really not good enough, we can think again. But I hope it will be. I then read over to him, having given him a copy, my scheme of new arrangements. He obviously likes them, but asks whether he could not take them away and discuss them with his people. I say no, he must not do this, he and I must take our responsibilities. If he agrees to this scheme, I will have the Council in to-morrow morning and tell them that these are my decisions. So he agrees. And then I send for C.E.O. and tell him that we two have agreed on a certain paper which I have shown C.D. And C.E.O., playing up very well, says "I haven't seen it yet". And so I give him a copy and he reads it through and then says he agrees too. (Of course he drafted it for me and I haven't altered his draft much.) And so all has gone on swimmingly, but I felt with C.D. that it was a little bit like doing a major negotiation with a backward child!

8. 11. 41

Receive the Council, minus C.E.O. and C.D., this morning. I give them rather a formal address, with some history of what has gone before, and end by reading to them my "decisions" on future organisation. I then invite obs., but there are none. A.D.A. says "Now we must all do our best to help C.D."

To W.L. by the 6 o'clock train, weary after a week of more than usually troublesome negotiations in the course of which I have tended to let M.E.W. slide, which is a bad thing to do, or to let others think I am doing.

9. 11. 41 (Sunday)

Don't get up till noon and in the afternoon fill saucers round more trees.

10. 11. 41

Back from W.L.

General Platt, the victor of Keren and now G.O.C. East Africa, comes to see me at my request, and I also ask G. to come in. The General is very sensible about the East African Mission. He says that many of the Whites out there think that the war will never touch them now and that they can settle down to business again as usual. G. takes him away with a draft which it is hoped will reassure the trembling Moyne and also, as arranged with me beforehand, to poison his mind a bit against the new Lord Rennell, whom we used to know as Francis Rodd and whom I got rid of from M.E.W. quite early for the failure of his Italian policy.

Oprecht, brother of the Swiss Socialist leader, comes to see me. He wants to speak of propaganda - British propaganda in Switzerland in the form of books and Shakespeare plays. He is, I understand, a bookseller. I am afraid I am not very sympathetic. I say that Hitler will enter Switzerland just as soon as he chooses, if I keep Switzerland short of supplies he is less likely to choose, and anyhow the only British propaganda which will count in Switzerland is British victories, of which I hope they will soon hear a lot more. The best books and plays, even Shakespeare's, will not persuade a single Swiss to join our side without these prerequisites of what the Huns have taught the world to call Machtpolitik.

Earle Page and Bruce, who is clearly frightfully bored with Earle Page, dine with me to meet a principally M.E.W. party - Foot, L.R., G.J. and H.G., to whom I add Moelwyn Hughes. I owe the latter a meal and would rather pay it this way than any other. He talks too much and knows too little.

11. 11. 41

H. of C. reassembles. R. has started to-day her new duties and thinks she will like them, but she wants some more of my margarine coupons!

At the Adm.Ctee. Shinwell demands that he shall be allowed to make the principal speech on the Address. He goes on and on, awkwardly insistent, and declares that, if not chosen by the Party, he will go to the Speaker and put in his claim. It is clear that other members of the Committee do not wish Shinwell to speak, but, over-delicate, they hesitate to say so bluntly. One by one being asked to speak instead, they make excuses, but finally it is decided that Griffiths shall kick off, though he protests that he knows

nothing about strategy and will find it difficult to follow the P.M. This decision having been taken, Shinwell rises abruptly and leaves the room.

P.W.E. meeting, followed by a meeting of A.E., B.B. and myself alone. B.B., as usual, has a long string of grievances, which he puts with his customary rudeness. I say that I am getting rather tired of all this and, in particular, very tired of the suggestion that things have been concealed from him by my people. I say "I am rather tired of being told that I evade issues or am a liar. I may have other qualities which are displeasing to the Minister of Information but I am not that sort." A.E., slightly embarrassed, says he thinks that there are several alternatives; we might extend the P.W.E. area, or let the M. of I. take all propaganda. I say there is a third alternative, namely to keep the present system, which is not working at all badly. But I am willing to consider the possibility of extending the P.W.E. area. It is agreed that we shall think over the matter and meet again for further discussion. These talks create in me a sense of deep depression. This continual fratch is a vile waste of time, not only mine but my staff's as well. I am not sure which is worse, A.E.'s green eyes or B.B.'s brainless bad manners. G. tells me that A.E. has told A.C. that of course certain arrangements were made before he came back to the F.O. and he is not sure that this is the right set-up. Meanwhile, C.R.A. is still dangling about in the U.S.A., and, on these inner questions, there is no-one else whom I can mobilise. Therefore I am playing a bit for time till his return.

At Cab. for point on Vichy ships. There is a long sitting on other matters, but the decision is right on the point which concerns me, even though there is still the dimmest idea in many Ministers' minds, including the P.M.'s, as to what "contraband" now covers. But the recent seizure of the five Vichy ships off South Africa was justifiable, I tell them, on three grounds; they had no Navicerts; they carried contraband; they resisted "visit and search".

As to rubber, it is decided that it shall be a matter between me, F.O. and Admty. as to whether it would be worth while to risk a row with the Spaniards by entering their territorial waters to intercept.

N.Hall to dine. Very full of himself, his achievements in Washington and the way in which all the diplomats and consuls tried to keep him down. He is a frightfully patent intriguer. I had forgotten how patent. Last night he was at a partie carree with B.B., Radcliffe and Tree. I am most careful not to ask what was said. He would go back and tell them that I had shown interest.

12. 11. 41

C At Party Meeting results of elections for Adm. Ctee. are announced. The only changes are that Barnes and Ellis Smith come on in place of Klynes, who did not stand again, and Kennedy, who would have been well advised to do the same. He is now only a walking corpse, with a faint residue of mental trouble. I learn from Ritson at lunch that a few of our colleagues had been organising a vote against all Ministers. They had been going round with ballot papers in which the names of all Ministers were struck off, because "they have got a job already". This movement showed itself in the order of voting, though it did not, judging from the figures, affect more than about a dozen of the voters. The list, in order, ran: Griffiths, Pethick, Noel Baker, Wedgwood Benn, Lawson, and then Alexander, the top Minister, and then some other non-Minister, and then myself, and then, two places down, Herbert Morrison, and two places below that, Grenfell.

But the great joke and semi-sensation was over Shinwell! As the names and votes were read out and his did not appear, his face became more and more grave. When the name of Ellis Smith was reached, Will Thorne, who was announcing the results, said "And those are all elected", and then went on to read a list of "non-elected" with their votes. And so we went down to the thirties and the twenties, and still no Shinwell, and still the wonder grew! His name was not read out at all, but old Pethick in the Chair, Lees-Smith being ill in bed, said in his fussy old way "I think there is the name of one candidate which has been left out". Then someone came up from the back of the hall with a slip of paper, from which it appeared that Shinwell had come in last but one among the elected, and his name was missed out from the enumeration - by mistake? I wonder. This is probably the best solution. If he had been pushed off altogether, he would have made even more trouble. He left the meeting, as usual, before the end, and was afterwards seen gesticulating with Thomas Balogh in the sandwich bar.

as/ This afternoon I take the Chair at a Post-war Finance Sub-Committee and we get through the business in twelve minutes, merely signing various pieces of work to be prepared. J.W. and I will work this particular racket and he will mobilise all the outside Socialist economists, mostly now Civil Servants, and City people necessary to bring our thoughts and information up to date. Shinwell would have been entitled, ex officio, to attend this meeting, but he does not come.

g A.D.A. and A.D.S. come to see me over Swedish trade, etc. They have had a series of conferences with M. Wallenberg and say that he has not been having at all a happy time. He is to

come and see me before he goes and I shall say that we all here take very badly the refusal of the Swedes to allow our ships to sail from Gothenburg with machine tools and special steels which we have paid for long ago. They are juggling with the law and lowering the reputation of Sweden as a country where the Courts play fair. I am to indicate to him that his two ships loaded with rubber, copper and oil may sail, but that they must call at the Faroes, and I shall hint broadly that if we have not got our own goods out by then, they will not be allowed to proceed to Sweden.

A.D.A. says that M.W. is much bothered because a story is going round, though it has not been printed, that he is here on some kind of Peace mission. He is now reported to be saying that the economic state of Germany is much worse than most people over here think. His primary objects, A.D.A. and A.D.S. say, are to keep Sweden, and particularly the businesses in which his money is sunk, physically intact till the end of the war. I hear from another source that M.I.5 has made a severe report on him. I ask C.E.O. to produce it. (I don't think it; his brother made it)

Germany; he is happy now

Say farewell to Berthoud, for whom I have a steadily high regard, before his departure for M.E. He will be carried as one of my establishment and I have arranged his duties in consultation, on the official plan, with the Petroleum Department.

ref

mpf

Dine as the guest of Sir A.Mackenzie Livingstone, a social engagement fixed once before but then put off, as I had that night to be at the dinner given to C.R.A. on his impending departure for the U.S., the P.M. and others being there. Sir A.M.L. was in Parliament with me as a Liberal from 1924-9 - and then no more -, in which year, he says, he joined the Labour Party. He would like, he says, to return to Parliament as a Labour member. He now walks with a stick, and hobbles mentally as well. H.G. says that he has been very odd on the telephone, having rung up several times about this party to-night, asking whom I would like to sit next, etc. But it is quite a pleasant party, George Hicks entertaining us all with a series of moderately lewd stories admirably told. A.V.A. is also there and holding forth most proud-smilingly about the exploits of his Navy. Also D.M.I., who sits very quiet, Thomas Tait, grinning away, Sir Charles Maclaren of the Ministry of Supply, who looks after Ordnance factories, General, once Colonel, Appleyard of N.E.Trading Estate, and a few more.

(Patrik)

1951

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Back about 10.30 and collect C.E.O. who, as usual, is working late, to report on his talk this afternoon with Ismay. The latter was very pressed but, as usual, friendly. C.E.O. told him I was having a row with Bracken and he said "Oh dear, can't they settle something up?" He liked my new plan defining the relation of C.E.O. and C.D. to Chiefs of Staff, etc., saying that this resembled the plan he had now devised as between Bridges and himself,

which was working well.

C.E.O. says that everything is swimming along very well for the moment at B.St., that he is being consulted more than ever before by C.D. and A.D. He brings me four drafts - one to the P.M. complaining of recent indiscretion by the Daily Mirror and Daily Sketch, a second to A.E. on our work in the Americas, a third to B.B. dealing at great length with the latter's latest series of complaints and putting forth some constructive suggestions for extending the P.W.E.area, etc., and a fourth to B.P. explaining to Hardinge, following up G.'s own talk with him, that there are three Ministers in charge, and not one only, and that perhaps Their Majesties would prefer to lunch with D.B.L. and then be taken round sub-Ministerially. He is damned good, this principal Officer of mine. He creates in me not only confidence in him but renewed confidence in myself. I let him have the first and fourth draft back straight away, but the second and third, being more complicated, I shall sleep on and put about with.

And so, having read a few pages of "Scum of the Earth", which is now my bed book, I sleep very well, much better than for some nights past, till I am awakened -

13. 11. 41

- in time for one of my breakfast parties with J.W. and H.G. in my bedroom.

Lunch at Yugoslav Legation where, out of a party of nearly 20, the only non-Yugoslavs are Bruce Lockhart, Ambassador Biddle and I. I am sat on Simovic's right and on my right an old gentleman named Jovanovic, a Serb Professor of Constitutional Law, who speaks some English (Simovic only extremely bad French). J. was first in England more than 40 years ago "when Queen Victoria was on the throne" and just before the South African war. Lord Salisbury was then Prime Minister. He has not been back since, but going the other day to the House of Lords, where the House of Commons now sit, he was much struck by the change in our clothes and customs in this interval. Then we discuss Dicey's thesis that the British have no droit administrative. I say that that was true when Dicey wrote it, but that since then there has been great development, especially under social service legislation, of special tribunals, so that a great mass of argument and decision regarding legal rights is kept out of the ordinary Courts. I speak to him of Robson's book on Administrative Law, which I do not think he knows. I am cornered after lunch by the Slovenes, whose names I missed, but one is Yugoslav Minister of Information and the other, though he looks too

f
two

Said Monsignor "You must look like other
-7-
weeks at the end of his
... with no ...

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4

young and cheerful for the title and dresses like a layman, is apparently a Monsignor. I swap place names with them on the Carso and in Venezia, Giulia generally, where I served, and helped to shoot up Slovenes and their villages, in the last war. Monsignor says "Oh but you know our country so well. You are one of us. You are a real Slovene". Simovic is at this stage brought into the conversation, and they discuss their frontier with Italy after the war. Fiume - Reka - of course they must have, "and Trst?" I ask. Why yes, of course. Simovic says they want the line of the Tagliamento as their boundary. I tell him of my crossing of the Tagliamento with our last war guns, and how the Italians gave me a little bit of ribbon which now I could never wear. I also mention to Simovic at lunch that some of those with whom he was in touch were my officers, but ask him to keep this quiet. Of these assembled Jugs some, such as Nincic, are pathetically too old, and few seem to have much distinction. But, as the allied Governments in exile go, they compare favourably with most.

Biddle, who, as usual, oozes sentiment and compliments, says that as I entered the room he thought how very fit I looked, in spite of all official cares. It was "wonderful" (his most hard-used word) how at my age I had retained a respectable figure in the region of the stomach (I forget just how he put this). I said that sometimes now, when I was in the country, I went out for a run in the dusk. He said that in London he sometimes went for a jogtrot round the Park. I said that we might perhaps go out together one morning. This would make a good press par. for both of us. What time did he start? He said about seven. I asked whether he wore shorts: He said no, only a pair of grey flannel trousers. I think I must follow this up!

I bring back B.L. for a few words on P.W.E., etc. It is clear that G. is holding B.L. very well, it being an advantage that he knows M. If these two could handle all my relations with P.W.E., I should be quite happy to leave it without any Ministerial interference at all. B.L. is still evidently harassed by the weight of his duties. Now, he says, the three Peawits spend much time in considering how they can keep questions off our Ministerial agenda which otherwise may lead to "another explosion" by B.B. He says that A.E. is awfully bored with B.B.'s way of carrying on. I propose to him an extension of the P.W.E. area, especially in the Far East which might anyhow soon be thrown into their laps if war broke out there. He is a little shy of this, but I more and more lean towards this sort of plan.

My long reply to B.B. is not yet ready to go. I played about a bit with C.E.O.'s draft, and H.G., as well as B.St., have ideas. C.E.O. is to see the American W. to-day and sound him out.

Baker 67

*A.D.Z has project
W. Watchell was too
hard U.S. 2 W. wants C.B.*

re/
(He can't do this till 10.30 to-night, and an hour later reports to me that W. feels that A.D.Z. has put a bit too strongly the case for the single channel, and that if W. has his own office in London he could communicate from there. W. also said to C.E.O. that he would like to meet me and B.B. together to discuss this. I explode at this idea, saying it would be worse than useless. Much better for W. to write down what he would like, so that we may have something hard and stick to it. C.E.O. will try and get this from him tomorrow. C.E.O. gathered from W. that P.M. thought not too badly of our affairs but was very bored with the dispute over propaganda. Since I have said nothing to the P.M. about this, he can only have heard B.B.'s version. This illustrates boredom of the present phase.)

W.H. all this at all etc.
Address five or six hundred members of my staff in the canteen this afternoon on the work of the Ministry. H.G. has prepared me a very good basis for this, and I gather that the talk goes quite well. "He has forgotten nobody", said one of the young ladies coming out afterwards. I had indeed recited in due order nearly all the different sections of the Ministry, explaining how each played their indispensable part. I got the best laugh when I said that the Chilean Ambassador, when I sent one of my senior officers to apologise to him personally for great and unjustifiable delay in dealing with a case regarding Chilean wine, soon afterwards died. The shock and surprise at receiving an apology from a British Minister of the Crown had ~~indeed~~ been too much for him.

Careful
A.D.1 comes to see me and gives an interesting account of the M.E., particularly of Turkey. He is not optimistic on ~~the~~ Turkish intentions or power of resistance if the Germans demand the right to land at Trebizond. High-ups in the Turk General Staff and Police are, and have long been, in German pay. There have also been many small signs of Turkish turning away from us. Our Amb. is terrified of precautionary action. He nearly leaped from his chair in excited anger when it was suggested to him that perhaps the Turks would double-cross us ~~at~~ the end. He would not think for a moment of this hypothesis - which, incidentally, would blast other reputations as well as his. A.D.1 thinks that Morgan, the Minister at Angora, a promoted Consul, has much to do with the Amb.'s attitude. (G., when I mention this to him, says that Morgan is a "frightened old man".) Moreover, A.D.1 says, if one has only a short time at Angora it is difficult to do business, because the Amb. not only plays tennis every afternoon for two hours, but also takes with him to make a four, the three leading members of his staff.

To-night I entertain J.C. with J.W., H.G. and H.D. He is, I think, a good friend of mine. He says that C.R.A. was told that he could have the Washington Embassy if he wanted it. I think this is a bit unlikely. J.C. is close friends with H.W., whom he will

-9-

arrange for me to meet, probably next week, with one or two notable people, two of whom are wives of the War Cabinet. It will be interesting to see whether he can hook these. He says that Lord B., and to a lesser extent B.B., are not in favour now with the P.M., but that J.A. is. The P.M. said to J.A. "Max has moved on from A. to B, but you are still A, and I take you in alphabetical order". He thinks the P.M. will always stick to J.A., whom he first met and appreciated when they were both young men at the Home Office. Afterwards J.A. was at the Irish Office when the Anglo-Irish Treaty was negotiated.

DIARY14. 11. 41

G. shows me a letter he has written to W. about the channel of communication to the Colonel.

Wallenberg comes to see me at noon. I have recorded my talk with him separately.

W. to dine with me with C.E.O. and A.D.Z. He is a bit wet, and obviously trying very hard to be friends with everybody, particularly with B.B., who, it seems to have been impressed upon him - no doubt by B.B. himself - is "very close to the P.M.". Therefore he has sent a not very helpful telegram about the channel controversy, and won't reply affirmatively, or at all, in writing to the draft sent to him.

After dinner I put the finishing touches, with the aid of G. and H.G., to my long reply to B.B.'s latest impudences. I have deliberately delayed a day or two so as to give time for the L.P.S. to return. I am very conscious of the attempt being made to force me into a corner while he is away.

A night or two ago I walked round late in the evening to C.E.O.'s room and spoke to him of these "embarrassed, transient, jealous, embittered phantoms" of politicians who drift across the Civil Servant's sky line. We win our battles to-day and lose them to-morrow; we come in and go out, generally at quite short intervals. To me, sometimes, the idea of going out has great attractions. I should regain my freedom of expression; I should regain full freedom of speech. I should declare in a loud voice that the P.M. was tres mal entoure ("But what good would that do?" G. asked). Anyhow, whatever happened, I had a tender feeling for his future career and hoped that hunting with him during this period would not have damaged it. Indeed, I liked hunting with him and would not care for it, in these conditions, with many others. As usual, he was astringently calm and sensible. "We shall come through all right, I expect", he said. This depression lifts considerably in the next few days.

15. 11. 41

I get R.B. to bring me some papers, G. having gone off, as his habit is, by a very early train this Saturday morning and returning on Sunday afternoon. I draw R.B. on recent events and he says at once that clearly A.D. has been at the bottom of the intrigue, for it was no less, against C.E.O.'s position. Though he has not been long enough with the latter to be "conscious of an acute loyalty" to him, yet he thinks it most disgraceful that there

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W. to dine with me with C.E.O. and A.D.Z. He is a bit wet, and obviously trying very hard to be friends with everybody, particularly with B.B., who, it seems to have been impressed upon him - no doubt by B.B. himself - is "very close to the P.M.". Therefore he has sent a not very helpful telegram about the channel controversy, and won't reply affirmatively, or at all, in writing to the draft sent to him.

After dinner I put the finishing touches, with the aid of G. and H.G., to my long reply to B.B.'s latest impudences. I have deliberately delayed a day or two so as to give time for the L.P.S. to return. I am very conscious of the attempt being made to force me into a corner while he is away.

A night or two ago I walked round late in the evening to C.E.O.'s room and spoke to him of these "embarrassed, transient, jealous, embittered phantoms" of politicians who drift across the Civil Servant's sky line. We win our battles to-day and lose them to-morrow; we come in and go out, generally at quite short intervals. To me, sometimes, the idea of going out has great attractions. I should regain my freedom of expression; I should regain full freedom of speech. I should declare in a loud voice that the P.M. was tres mal entoure ("But what good would that do?" G. asked). Anyhow, whatever happened, I had a tender feeling for his future career and hoped that hunting with him during this period would not have damaged it. Indeed, I liked hunting with him and would not care for it, in these conditions, with many others. As usual, he was astringently calm and sensible. "We shall come through all right, I expect", he said. This depression lifts considerably in the next few days.

15. 11. 41

Taylor
I get R.B. to bring me some papers, G. having gone off, as his habit is, by a very early train this Saturday morning and returning on Sunday afternoon. I draw R.B. on recent events and he says at once that clearly A.D. has been at the bottom of the intrigue, for it was no less, against C.E.O.'s position. Though he has not been long enough with the latter to be "conscious of an acute loyalty" to him, yet he thinks it most disgraceful that there

should be so little recognition of how much he has done for the others. R.B. gathers that C.D. is not much liked by those some distance below him, who find him very rude in personal dealings and contemptuous of many of their suggestions. He thinks, I gather, that if I had got rid of C.D. this time, it might have been better. But I explain to him that this is impossible.

R. lunches with me. She is off next week to South Wales on the first of her visitations. She is most delighted to have got a definite full-time occupation at last so close to the war effort. She is the first of a new class of "liaison officers" between the Ministry and the new Ordnance factories which are putting up hostels for their workers, a great majority of whom will be women. She may, later on, be stationed in one of the regions, coming occasionally to London, or may be stationed in London, going out from time to time to visit the regions. I am most delighted that she feels at last well fitted in. She comes under Beryl Power, with only one other person intervening.

C.H. to see me this afternoon. The idea is to get out a cargo of Swedish matches on a Swedish ship on the Gothenburg shuttle service.

16. 11. 41 (Sunday)

Very wet. I stay indoors most of the day reading Koestler's "Scum of the Earth". "Our unique and ultimate war aim is to teach this planet how to laugh again". A terrible exposure of the rottenness of France, especially the French Administration and Police. France was like a beautiful house, beautifully furnished, which unseen armies of white ants had eaten, and so when the owner came in, and all looked as usual, when he sat down upon a chair it collapsed in dust, and seeking to save himself he clutched at the table, which turned to dust too. And then he staggered against the wall and that too collapsed in dust, and then the whole house collapsed, so there was nothing left. Everything was pourri.

And we British, though so much less attractive than the French, in so many ways, to other continentals, yet have this queer resistant quality - as clearly have the Russians and, in a different way, the Poles and Czechs, but which the French have just lost.

K. says of us, however, that it is a "fascinating country" "where schoolboys behave like grownups, and grownups like schoolboys". And he says wisely that "An assurance of victory sustains morale even more than the assurance of having a just cause."

I go to bed after a run up the road, my only exercise this weekend!

17. 11. 41

Back from W.L. Lunch with Phil and Leonard Woolf, who, now that Virginia has been dead some months, looks better than he has for years. She must have been a frightful strain. He thinks that we should only recognise the exiled Governments as definitely "provisional", since we don't know what will emerge in these various countries later on. I am inclined to agree with him in substance, though not exactly in form. I think that those who stay behind and face the Nazi death, torture and starvation music will have great pride in themselves and some contempt for those who hopped it early on and only sent exhortations from a safe distance.

G. hears from A.C. that A.E. was much offended by my letter. He thought I was trying to interfere with "foreign policy", telling him what he ought to do. He was never consulted about this set-up. He is not at all sure it is the right one. He thinks that G. is "keeping his end up" pretty well but that I am a most dangerous person. He is going to write me a most furious letter. A.C. had asked him why he did not have a frank talk with me on the subject.

G. comments on this story that A.E. doesn't really like "frank talks". He prefers brooding and exploding to his own officials about the wickedness of outside intermeddlers. G. says that A.C. is going to draft a "mild reply" to my letter for A.E. to sign. (As appears later, I forced a frank talk, the "furious letter" was never written, and A.C.'s "mild draft" took its place.)

DIARY

18. 11. 41

Answer an inspired P.Q. on Vichy ships, which has been concerted with the F.O. and Admty. and goes over quite well.

Lunch with Maisky alone. We are waited on by a Russian maid who has only the dimmest idea of what to do with the food. The service is so slow that after an hour the coffee has only just been produced and Maisky has let it stand for five minutes without pouring it out. I have to say that in ten minutes I must be away for a meeting of the P.W.E. He says Oh dear, he hoped to have a much longer talk. Not yet socially very clever!

I am very cautious with him, having had previous experience of his leaky habits. This time I try to get him to talk. He says he does not think we have any clear idea as to how we are going to win the war. The P.M. is very brilliant and very determined, but, M. thinks, he is trusting a good deal to our national luck, which has never forsaken us yet but which, M. suggests, should not be too much counted on. Our Navy and Air Force both think that they will contribute very much to the final victory. But the Army seems to have no such pride in itself. He then relates how, when his Military Mission arrived, he took them round to Eden, Sinclair and Alexander, and in each case they were received in a most friendly atmosphere, asked to sit down and offered cigarettes. When, however, he took them to the W.O., Margesson, accompanied by two not very senior officers, received them most stiffly. All remained standing and the interview lasted only some five minutes.

He tries to draw me on peace terms and the future of Germany. I say that we are thinking a good deal about these matters. He says that Lord Cecil said to him the other day "After the war there must be not only a universal League, but also a group of Powers strongly committed to mutual aid against aggression." M. asked who should be in this group, and C. replied "I am not sure, except that it will be indispensable that you and we should be in it." I did not tell M., but I recalled how, when Sokolnikov came over as Ambassador in 1930, I asked Lord C., at a squash at the Speaker's House, to come and shake hands with him, but he thrust his hands behind his back and said "No, no, I couldn't bear to do that."

P.W.E. meeting this afternoon goes fairly smoothly till the end, when, as usual, B.B. explodes. This time over alleged complete lack of preparation of propaganda in M.E., with the Offensive already started this morning. Nothing has been done, the whole machinery has been broken up (this is obviously the tale he has heard from Brookes) and there should be an enquiry into the

whole business. All this in front of the three P.W.E. officials. I merely say that he is wrong, not for the first time, in his facts; that a great deal has been prepared; that A.D.H. sits in with the Minister of State and the military, and that the personnel now asked for are only reinforcements.

I stay behind and talk to A.E. I summon up all my reserves of charm for this vain, feminine creature. He has been in a great stew over the very tart letter, as he thinks it, which he had from me last weekend, on G.'s excellent draft. G. hears that he minuted to A.C. "This looks like a lecture by the Doctor on how to run my job." On this side, however, our conversation is friendly. He says he understands that G. and A.C. have had a good talk. He thinks it is remarkable how, for an improvised organisation, we have got on so well. He has never been opposed to recruiting agents in S.A., but on other matters thinks that our Ministers should always be consulted. I say I quite agree, but surely they should have discretion without referring everything home. He thinks they will exercise discretion in what they refer home or not. I say I don't think there is much between us on this and shall be very glad to talk to him further in detail at any time. I say that only to the P.M., to him and to the L.P.S. and I prepared to speak quite freely on these secret questions. I ask whether G. has not confidence here of the P.O. and that he was my first appointment, specifically to keep relations good. A.E. says yes, he has their confidence.

Then, turning to B.B., I say that I shall pour out to C.R.A. the story of what I have had to put up with during his absence. It is quite intolerable that B.B. should always be running round to the P.M. A.E. says he doesn't think the P.M. pays much heed to what B.B. says. He doesn't register.

Later this evening I dispatch a letter to A.E. on the result of my enquiries into our preparations for propaganda in the M.E., with a covering letter giving him some background.

19. 11. 41

At Party meeting this morning H.M. makes an effective statement on 14 B. This is well received and accepted with all but unanimity. Shinwell jumped up after H.M. and, at tedious length, repeated his arguments, though putting them less well and maundering off into reflections on the possibility that he himself might one day be imprisoned, as he had often been in the past, etc. The Party gets very impatient with this, and finally old Pethick rises in the Chair and asks him to bring his conclusions to an end as there is other business to get through before eleven, and only ten minutes left for it. S.'s stock is pretty low in the Party just now, and I hear from Ede that there is a good deal of discontent with him among

the miners in Seaham. Last weekend he made a speech in which he said "I beg the Government not to be more afraid of me than of Hitler."

Lunch at H. of C. and hear some amusing gossip from Rex Fletcher. He is not now in touch with A.C.O., who, he says, is humourless, industrious, and most ambitious to become First Sea Lord and so retrieve the naval reputation of his father, who had to give it up, on the ground of his German connections, in 1914. This man, being the cousin of the King, has a snob value in the Services and, having married one of Ashley's daughters, is rolling in Cassel money. He was most unwilling to give up the command of the Illustrious and had to be specially summoned back by the P.M. himself. (I hear later to-day from C.E.O. that he is having to start right at the beginning, as we had to more than a year ago, and fire practically all the existing top lot.)

R.F. says that Keyes's dismissal was his wife's fault. A satisfactory agreement had been reached with the Chiefs of Staff and K. had accepted it, but his wife persuaded him to write a 5-page letter to the P.M. going back over all the old ground of Zeebrugge and Gallipoli and saying that "I cannot accept this diminution in my status". This was the only sentence which caught the P.M.'s eye, and he thereupon told the C.O.S. to leave the matter in his hands. He then told K. to go. The press leak, about his Comandos being his "babies", etc., also came from Lady K. (R.F. says she has an enormous moustache and he calls her "The Marchioness Budyonny".) K. said "I only spoke to one press man and I thought he was the man from the Sunday Graphic, whom I have always found to be a gentleman and who never repeated anything that I told him in confidence." This conversation, however, was on the telephone and was not to the Sunday Graphic man at all.

In order to placate the deaf old Admiral, he had then been offered a peerage and the Governorship of Northern Ireland, in place of Abercorn, but he didn't want the peerage - "He said he didn't think he'd earned it" (I asked R.F. "How does one earn a peerage?" He said "I am quite the wrong person to answer that question!") - and then Abercorn refused to quit Northern Ireland.

I say that I hear - I had heard it from M. Webb only an hour before - that A.V.A. is doing too many luncheons and speeches, and that people are asking whether he has not got enough work to do at the Admiralty. R.F. said that A.V.A. was certainly very much taken up with social events. "You and I", he said, "got through all this when we were young, but A.V.A. finds it a thrilling new experience". And so he goes to all these luncheons and dinners, and off in the afternoon to have his portrait painted at the expense of the

Special Note

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from sequence.**

R. Fletcher
& T. Davies

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which, and Mr Makins of the F.O., see separate note).

After dinner I brought him back and told him what had been going on, particularly with B.B., during his absence. I reminded him of B.B.'s conversation in the Carlton Grill last February, vouched for by two witnesses. He said that he had taken this up with the P.M. at the time and that B.B. had been ticked off. I said there had been an improvement for a while, but that since we had been together on P.W.E. he had been completely impossible and bloody-minded. I then showed C.R.A. all the correspondence between myself and B.B. He read it all through - though there is now a damned lot of it - snorting with indignation. He said "This man is not fit to be a Minister in the middle of a war". I said that he had clearly wanted to bring on a crisis, while C.R.A. was away, and to tell some cock and bull story to the P.M. and get him on his side. I had played for time and prevented this. I objected very strongly to B.B. continually running round to the P.M. and giving him an account of our affairs. It placed me in an intolerable position. C.R.A. said that he quite agreed, and that B.B. must be either a P.F.S. or a Minister conducting his business properly with his colleagues. I said that B.B. was always saying, when we were together, "As the P.M. said to me last night...", or "I was lunching with the P.M. yesterday and he said...", or "I have to be round at No.10 in ten minutes". I said that I couldn't possibly agree to B.B. having to do with anything secret, except within the P.W.E. area. C.R.A. quite agreed. He said the M. of I. was the worst Ministry in Whitehall. (Ministers apart, he has a great down on the staff both at the F.O. and the M. of I.) I said that I had heard indirectly from General I. that B.B. and D.M., not being friends of mine, put ideas into the P.M.'s head about my other wing and lessened his interest in it. I showed C.R.A. the report prepared by C.E.O. for A.C., and his covering letter, on the other wing; also recent letters from the Polish Deputy Prime Minister and the D.N.I. He thought all this seemed quite good. I said I had some minor difficulties with the F.O. but wouldn't bother him with these now. My immediate preoccupation was B.B. I said, however, that A.E. had hinted at one of our Ministers' meetings that all P.W.E. might be turned over to the M. of I. I said that I couldn't agree to this for a moment. I judged that it was important, other considerations apart, that one of the Labour Ministers should be in on propaganda. If the Party thought that an attempt was being made to edge us out of this, there would be a row. C.R.A. warmly agreed. He said that he was seeing B.B. to-morrow, the latter having asked to see him in order to get information on the U.S. He would take occasion to speak to him on what I had told him. I think he will play up quite well.

The L.P.S. told me this evening that he had had trouble with Makins in the U.S.A. "He was supposed to be my Secretary, but he tried to run me on a Foreign Office string. I wasn't having it." The I.L.O. Conference had passed a resolution in favour of setting up a special Commission to study post-war problems. A few days later, M. brought the L.P.S. a draft for a communication from him to the Foreign Secretary, proposing that this Commission should be presided over by Van Zeeland and that H.M.G. should be represented by Leith Ross, who would have been the only British representative on the Commission. L.P.S. asked why he had produced this document without first discussing with him the general line. M. said "It is only a draft" and added that he had been discussing it with the Embassy and the State Department while L.P.S. had been away for a few days. L.P.S. said that he had no authority to enter into such discussions. Nor did he understand why any communication should be sent at this stage to the Foreign Secretary. The proper Minister to communicate with was the Minister Without Portfolio, who had charge of post-war planning. The L.P.S. told M. that he had no use for Van Zeeland, who had been a member of a most reactionary Government in Belgium, and that the whole make-up of the Commission was wrong, since the I.L.O. was tripartite and there should therefore be three British representatives, one of whom must be a good Trade Unionist. The L.P.S. therefore tore up M.'s draft and summoned a meeting of the British delegation, including my brother-in-law and George Gibson. He then made his own draft and sent it off to Greenwood. M. had said to him that we should not allow the I.L.O. to usurp the functions of the League of Nations. The L.P.S. replied "The League of Nations is dead and the F.O. helped to kill it. The I.L.O. is still very much alive." M. replied that the Economic Section of the League was still alive in some place, the L.P.S. forgot where, on the American Continent. The L.P.S. told M. that this meant nothing at all. It is quite clear that M. showed great ineptitude in his handling of the L.P.S.

I said that I knew M. only very slightly. He was reputed to be one of the abler F.O. officials. I had only once had any direct dealings with him since I had been at M.E.W. and this had not been satisfactory. While Halifax was still at the F.O. and Labour Ministers in the Government were trying to get the Belgian Government widened so as to include Socialist and Liberal elements - a line in which we were getting some support from Halifax and even from the P.M. - it had been suggested to me that I should ask M. to lunch, since Belgium was one of his responsibilities. I had done so, but had discovered that he thought very much better than I did of the present Belgian Government, and much preferred Gutt, the little agent of the Société Generale, to our friend Camille Huysmans, whom he obviously regarded as a dangerous and undesirable character. It had then become clear to me that, so far as M. exercised any influence on this subject, it would be

directed to frustrate the wishes of the Labour Ministers.

As for Van Zeeland, I reminded the L.P.S. that his famous "Plan" for European settlement had principally consisted in procuring very large loans from Britain, the U.S.A., and the small moneyed States in Europe, to Hitler and Mussolini. He was the chief apostle of money-lenders' appeasement.

19. 11. 41.

20. 11. 41

In my talk with C.R.A. last night he said that he had got on quite well with my brother-in-law. I showed discretion here and did not say what a dull dog I always found him. But one day, said C.R.A., Sir John suddenly exploded with indignation and said "I have been representing the British employers at international conferences for years, in half a dozen capitals, and I have never yet been asked inside a British Embassy or Legation". C.R.A. then spoke to Hfax., who invited both Sir John and the Trade Union representatives to luncheon. If he had not been spoken to, there is no evidence that he would have done it. C.R.A. said to me "I said to your brother-in-law 'I suppose the F.O. think you haven't got a dinner jacket.'"

I get this morning a most reasonable and friendly letter from A.E. in reply to mine about the wilful child and the dangerous toy. I send a note to G. saying "You were quite right. Firmness pays, and I think that A.C. has done some good work over this". G. says later that this looks very much like A.C.'s draft. H.G. thinks that my talk with A.E. the other day has also helped it through.

Lunch, rather unwillingly, with little Gutt. The others present are Camrose and a swarm of Belgians, business men and officials. Gutt says that it will interest me to hear that his wife writes from Brussels that she has been preserving tomatoes but that she can get no rubber rings for the bottles. This shows the enemy is short of rubber. I also think to myself it shows how very odd is the position of the Belgian Government when Gutt and Spaak both have their wives in Brussels, under the German occupation but with facilities for correspondence. Evidently neither of these two men will go too far in support of the common cause!

K.U. comes to see me this afternoon to ask me, on behalf of Gillies, to be at the International Sub to-morrow, when a decision should be taken regarding our attitude towards the German Socialist refugees. He goes on to speak of Jouhaux and the disinclination to get him out of France. He says he thinks there is a certain lack of keenness about this in our own show, and something even worse in the de Gaulle camp. J., if over here, would put all those little camp followers into the shade. Citrine, he says, spoke to the F.O. months ago and said that he would welcome J.'s arrival here. I make a Ministerial minute on this and must take it up to-morrow.

A tremendous joke, in the light of some recent insinuations about the insecurity of this building! A despatch case, unlocked, was found in an empty conference room by one of the messengers, who

brings it along to H.G., who brings it to me. It is full of confidential papers, as well as correspondence about income tax and an order for 70 clothing coupons for a "distinguished visitor" (M.W.). Rather squalid, this last, I thought. I tell H.G. to send it round to C.E.O.'s office with a note that this has been brought in by a messenger and the papers seem to be his affair. Later C.E.O. tells me that he is sending R.B. round early to-morrow morning to C.D. with this case, saying that he takes a serious view of the breach of security and asking for an enquiry! Who was it said that not all telegrams should come up here, nor very secret papers, because they didn't know who read them?

John Rayner to dine. I am very well satisfied with this new head of my press section. He is full of ideas, has plenty of outside contacts, and is already getting stuff across to the press in better shape than either D.B.L. or S.M.

DIARY21. 11. 41

A.V.A. was still thinking, a few days ago, of rationing Vichy, but I think that recent events will have knocked that on the head. Eccles is coming back soon. (He has been getting into hot water with the F.O. and me and others while away, but, when I get him face to face a few days later, I find it very difficult to be even very cold with him, but he comes, fortunately for him, on a day when I am feeling on the top of the wave.) The American Max S. has been busybodying again. The sooner he stops, the better.

Have a few moments with C.R.A. just before lunch at No.11. He did not speak to B.B. yesterday but thinks it will be better to speak to the P.M. when he can catch him at the right moment.

First-class row at International Sub this evening, George Dallas banging the table and getting purple in the face in a diatribe against Stampfer and others, who are defended by Phil Baker. It is mostly about the unilateral disarmament of Germany. I pour a little oil on the troubled waters, say that Stampfer's mission has been a great muddle but that I will see him, and explain the difference between P.W.E. here and arrangements in America and let my colleagues know later what he really wants and what I feel we can do for him.

Give my second address to the staff of M.E.W. on the importance of their work. This is for those who couldn't come last week. It seems again to be a success.

First of my weekly talks with C.E.O. and C.D., covering a wide ground. A.C.O. is being shot at from all directions. (The following week the ex-D.C.O. makes a speech in the House which I don't think will have cut much ice. Official Secrets Act prevents anything interesting being said. This would be my difficulty too.)

22. 11. 41

To W.L. by the six o'clock train with C.M. who is now a Captain and wears uniform.

Before going to bed we go for a quick run in the dark up the road to Dudmore.

23. 11. 41 (Sunday)

A wonderful day of sun and breezes. We walk and run most vigorously from 9.45 to 2.15, stopping only for a quarter of an hour,

sitting first for a few minutes on the Sarsen Stone, looking down at Ashdown House along an axial line from above, and then having a drink at the "Queen Victoria" in Aldbourne. We begin by running over a piece of plough just across the road and down the hill to Lower Barn, then strike past the Giant's Grave, over the Swindon road, and up to Peaks, from which we do a two hours' swerve first to the left and then round to Ashdown, and then swiftly up the rising ground beyond it and so back, bee-lining to Peaks again, from which we go down to the village, running a good part of the way. I am delighted at my endurance and find C.M., aged 26, a perfect partner on such an enterprise. After this energy, and lunch, we go to sleep in front of the fire, and after tea play chess. He has gained much self-confidence, he says, during the past year. He is still in some ways surprisingly young and immature and has not yet grown a very firm or worldly judgment, but he is extremely nice.

24. 11. 41

Lunch with Mrs P. Also present C.R.A., Comert and Roger Cambon, who is crushed, sick and pathetic. He says that Corbin went off to South America but had a nervous breakdown, largely due to the fact that he knew no-one out there. To cut oneself off from all one's friends is the worst thing one can do at such a time, says Cambon.

Comert

~~Comert~~ says that the B.B.C. get hundreds of letters from France showing their reaction to the B.B.C. talks. He thinks that I should enquire as to the general line of these letters. He is sure that it is all nonsense that there is a strong Royalist feeling in France. The Comte de Paris appeals to hardly anyone. Nor is it true that there is an anti-Parliamentary feeling, nor even a strong anti Front Populaire feeling. People say "If this that we have experienced under Petain is authoritarianism, give us back our Parliament and democratic institutions".

Stampfer to see me in the afternoon. I make a separate note of my talk with him.

edf

G. and I dine together and discuss to-morrow's P.W.E. meeting. He thinks that I should now take quite a stiff line with B.B. and refuse to go on arguing any longer. It is clear that writing letters is no good and that none of the arguments or explanations put forward are seriously considered. He reports to me that Tree told de la Warr, who told it back to him, that I was a most sinister figure and was organising a Gestapo of my own, staff with members of the Labour Party. Also that S.Hood gave G. the impression that the talk in the M. of I. was that they should take it all over and that what was left could be done by "the military" or C.!

(950E)

(all propaganda)

After dinner I dictate for myself an aide memoire (separate note.)

Brig. B. has just been rejoined by his wife. These two to-night are also dining at the Lansdowne, where they are also staying. He tells a story of the P.M. inspecting a Division. He was to lunch afterwards in the Mess at one and get away at two. But then he decided that he would lunch at 12.30 and get away at one. The Divisional General sitting on his right made vain efforts to attract his attention. Finally, just as he was going, the General said "Prime Minister, I am a teetotaler and a non-smoker and I am 100% physically fit." To this unfortunate effort the P.M. replied "I smoke and drink everything that comes along and I am 100% physically fit, but the difference between you and me is that I am 100% mentally fit as well."

Later this evening, having further conferred with G., who says "We want allies very badly", I decide to try to catch A.E. before to-morrow's meeting.

What is all this worth? Sometimes I feel that I should be much happier outside it all. I recall how, after my third Parliamentary defeat, returning to the School of Economics and entering the crowded lecture hall, where my appearance, after a much publicised fight, was much applauded, I said "What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!" Whereat G. replies, quoting from neither he nor I remember which Greek author, "All is laughter; all is dust; all is nothing."

Παλι να γελᾷς, και παλι να κοιμῶς, και παλι να περῶς
to my own

All that is left of his Greek or mine is a bagful of tags but he has more in his bag than I. "Those who believe themselves worthy of great things become worthy."

25. 11. 41

Attend Administrative Committee, where Shinwell, for the first time in his life, sits silent, though with his habitual pitying, contemptuous look.

I am anxious to see A.E. before the P.W.E. meeting at 3, but this can't be managed, so I have a few cryptic words with him on the telephone and arrange to speak to him after the meeting.

The meeting itself goes better than usual. Several points on which I had expected a row - Middle East reinforcements and Aspidistra - go past easily.

The only slight flutter is over a Parliamentary question on

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Mark
Brig. B. has just been rejoined by his wife. These two to-night are also dining at the Lansdowne, where they are also staying. He tells a story of the P.M. inspecting a Division. He was to lunch afterwards in the Mess at one and get away at two. But then he decided that he would lunch at 12.30 and get away at one. The Divisional General sitting on his right made vain efforts to attract his attention. Finally, just as he was going, the General said "Prime Minister, I am a teetotaler and a non-smoker and I am 100% physically fit." To this unfortunate effort the P.M. replied "I smoke and drink everything that comes along and I am 100% physically fit, but the difference between you and me is that I am 100% mentally fit as well."

Later this evening, having further conferred with G., who says "We want allies very badly", I decide to try to catch A.E. before to-morrow's meeting.

What is all this worth? Sometimes I feel that I should be much happier outside it all. I recall how, after my third Parliamentary defeat, returning to the School of Economics and entering the crowded lecture hall, where my appearance, after a much publicised fight, was much applauded, I said "What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!" Whereat G. replies, quoting from neither he nor I remember which Greek author, "All is laughter; all is dust; all is nothing."

All that is left of his Greek or mine is a bagful of tags, but he has more in his bag than I. "Those who believe themselves worthy of great things become worthy."

25. 11. 41

Attend Administrative Committee, where Shinwell, for the first time in his life, sits silent, though with his habitual pitying, contemptuous look.

I am anxious to see A.E. before the P.W.E. meeting at 3, but this can't be managed, so I have a few cryptic words with him on the telephone and arrange to speak to him after the meeting.

The meeting itself goes better than usual. Several points on which I had expected a row - Middle East reinforcements and Aspidistra - go past easily.

The only slight flutter is over a Parliamentary question on

which I ask for information as to the reply proposed to be given by B.B. It is a silly thing about the Horst Wessel song having been played, etc., etc. B.B. says he does not think an important executive like ours should spend time on such trifles. I say "That is a matter of opinion. Each of us must have his own view as to what is important."

I then have a short time with A.E. alone and speak with him very frankly on the lines agreed last night. I say that I could not for a moment agree, nor would my political friends, to any proposal to edge me out, and that, though A.E. and I have put our Party politics aside for the duration of the war (I think he rather likes this), B.B. has not. I say that I have shown great patience with him in correspondence but that it is clear that many things are being said which should not be. I cite R. Tree, who obviously only echoed his master's voice, but it is intolerable that such things should be said, particularly by a fellow who puts up the P.M. for weekends. I then recite my Council - a Foreign Office official, a Conservative ex-M.P., a member of the Bank of England Board who is also Chairman of the G.W.R., a regular soldier, an ex-Director of Air Intelligence, a Director of Courtaulds ! I ask him! A.E. seems to take all this very well. He says "Perhaps I have sometimes been rather inept in the Chair". He is sure the P.M. is not at all interested. He has never spoken one word to A.E. about this subject. He thinks that I have been "very wise" in my correspondence with B.B. Might it not be a good thing for me to mention this to C.R.A.? I say that I have already done so and he has read the correspondence.

A.E. is shortly going on a journey. During his absence we need not, it is agreed, have regular meetings of Ministers. I say that I am proposing that he should arbitrate the dispute on Bva.

It seems that Cripps is not doing very well just now. He makes a great fuss over small things and won't give straight answers to important questions. He is in a nervy state. I say I have had long experience of him, and now he only eats raw carrots! A.E. says that the Beaver treated him very roughly when in Moscow, which he had much resented.

A.E. was pleased, I gather, with my last letter - and indeed it was intended to please him - but I fear that our plan of fortnightly meetings with A.C. and C.E.O. will now have to stand over till his return.

I then go straight to No. 11 and tell C.R.A. what has passed. I repeat that it will mean a first-class political row if any attempt is made to monopolise P.W.E. When the battle in Libya has died down, he will speak to the P.M. I dwell on the insecurity of B.B. and

quote the Gestapo story.

To-night, after these two talks, I feel much brighter! The Celt in me jumps up and down these days, contrasting, as I tell C.E.O., with his most level English imperturbability.

Dine with R., who has had some days in South Wales and is now going off to the North-West. She is very much interested in her new duties. She may be stationed later on in Manchester.

26. 11. 41

National E.C. Not very exciting. Shinbad wants more Party demonstrations, but is told that these are useless if disloyal speeches are made. He also objects to T.U.C. taking care of Russian T.U. delegates, but ~~xx~~ this too is overruled.

Lunch at the House and hear some of the afternoon debate on 18B. Here H.M. does very well and challenges the critics to a Division. But, after calling the first time, they cannot find tellers.

J.W. and R.B. lunch together to-day. The former likes the latter very much and finds him very quick, loyal and lucid; not much interested yet in politics, thinking politicians are "just a bag of monkeys", as indeed most of them are. J., not having been in on the detail of the last few weeks, reports that R.B. says that there is a certain "insularity" at B.St. and an inclination to press the distinction between policy and operations too hard. In this G. and I are in the same boat. Some of those at B.St. felt "a little bruised" and "anti-Minister" and R.B. thinks that it would have been a good thing for me to have accepted C.D.'s resignation, doubting whether he is quite a big enough man for the job. I encourage J. to maintain this contact. He wanted to tell me this in the absence of H.G., not because anything was said against the latter, but because he might have taken the line that J. shouldn't ~~repeat~~ "bother the Minister" with all this. J. says that he wanted to tell me so that we shouldn't repeat our experience with C.H.Q.

G. sees W. this morning, who tells him that he has just, with consent of B.B., been allowed to do business with Mr Grubb. B.B. made it clear to W. that he intended to take over P.W.E. lock, stock and barrel. This I shall pass on to C.R.A. Nor can I think that such a proposal would be favoured at the F.O.

The news from Libya, these last few days, is not at all what we had hoped for. C.Bentinck tells G. at lunch that it is because we have such bad generals.

↳ pat it something up.
"It's ready!"

A Munich in the Far East? Troutbeck comes down to the House with latest telegrams and information. S. Bennett was with the P.M. till 3 a.m. this morning and the question is being dealt with stratospherically, not even a Cabinet. They want to buy three months. Stimson - how I keep on remembering 1931 and his book and Simon, but he is now 72 years old! - Knox, after all these terrific bellifist speeches! - pressing Hull. There is nothing more I can do, and indeed I am pretty well satisfied with the way in which the M.E.W. case has been stated in our telegrams. Oil for one year's war or two years' peace, and stocks declining as a result of the frost. Any addition, even if nominally ear-marked for civilian uses, which include "industry" and "transport", would just lengthen these periods.

L.R., who always hates the Japs, says that trying to appease them now will merely make them think that we are too weak to fight, and this is quite likely to make them go full steam ahead. Thailand in the role of Czechoslovakia?

Tanks and tomahawks at Archangel. Some water was left in some radiators and froze. Some essential parts were missing from the planes.

G. dines with H. Millar, after a slightly sticky conference at the F.O. this afternoon, and thinks now that he has sold H.M. the idea and that a good liaison officer with the Embassy, the sort of chap who could blow in on the Amb. and generally keep in touch with H.M. himself, would make things run smoothly. Baring, now touring for us further south, might be just the man. The position of the Colonel is not very strong and if we are too much tied up with him and too little with the S.D. it would be awkward if he fell. H.M. speaks very well of N.H., who also emphasised to me the other day the great power of the S.D. G. gathers that C.P. is more and more a catastrophe and should come home as soon as possible. Just "a male nurse"!

27. 11. 41

C.J. to lunch. She wants G. to have ten days in Scotland over Christmas and the New Year. I say he may. R.A.B., she says, will never get far because he worries so frightfully over everything. The other day he couldn't sleep because he wasn't sure whether he shouldn't write a letter to a Bishop who had made a speech partly going back on what he had said to R.A.B. at a conference at the B. of E. on religious instruction in our schools! And he worries too, she says, before every party, large or small, that he organises, whether it will be a success or not. And he is most old-fashioned in his views and wants to return to the age of Pitt and the great

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country houses, and thinks that Socialists are quite frightful. And, living in his constituency, he worries even more because he never dare dismiss anyone in his employment. His wife, C. thinks, is perhaps a little too bracing with him, and this only makes him worse. I tell her that R.A.B. had had ambitions to be made Deputy Leader of the Tory Party when the present P.M. took it over, and that there had been evidence of a press campaign aiming at this. She says that de la Warr would, she thinks, rather like to come back now to the Labour Party. No doubt he made a mistake in 1931, but he is full of energy and good will and feels now rather under-used. I say that if he really wants to come back, I think that probably it could easily be arranged. Jowitt was not only back now but in the Government. On the other hand, de la W. had had a long innings as a Minister, simply because he was about the only remnant of the Macdonald crowd who could be plausibly given anything. He had not done too badly out of his connection with J.R.M. She then returns to her familiar charge about P.N., who, she says, is really longing to be spoken to nicely by me. I say I think that this would be a waste of my time. Francis N.B. was sitting at the next table, and, after he had gone, she said "I hope he didn't think that 'Phil' meant his father." I said I would take steps to remove any such idea.

See Simovic in the afternoon. He is naturally most anxious for more help for his people. We shall do what we can. Gavrilovic will be in London soon. S. says he would like him to replace Nincic as Foreign Minister. N., he says, is too old but is supported by the Queen. Perhaps later someone could bring influence to bear upon the Queen to make her change her mind. I report this later to C.E.O., who says he gathers that when Gavrilovic arrives there may be a move to put him at the head of the Government. Hence Simovic's desire to make him Foreign Minister and stop at that.

Division in H. of C. on I.L.P. amendment, which is defeated by 326 to 2.

Dine with P.H., whom I am surrendering to the F.O. at the end of the year. He does not, I think, much look forward to the prospect of working in the Central Department under Makins, who has the reputation of being inconsiderate to and uninterested in his subordinates.

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100.

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DIARY28. 11. 41

Call from two Slovene Ministers who are apprehensive of stories that we are going to appease the Italians. I set their minds at rest, insisting, however, that we cannot now commit ourselves for or against any future frontiers.

Lunch with Amery. The Egyptian Ambassador is there, talking frightful rubbish against the Russians. He does not understand why we are supporting them. The short answer is that they are much more worth supporting than the Egyptians, but I don't say this. G. Rendel also present, and so is Wellington Koo, with whom I have a conversation, when the Egyptian becomes too boring, on tea. When all the wine has been destroyed by war in the West, then we shall stimulate ourselves instead with China tea.

Eccles to see me. He has blotted his copy book with A.F., who, he says, has also been indescribably rude to "Francis Rennell", thus we must learn to describe Mr F. Rodd. I say that this is most justifiable. F.R. is almost an 18B case. He has been going about London saying that "there is no Government" in this country.

Dine at St Dominics and make myself agreeable to poor old Farrer.

Telegrams from Washington show that Hull is suffering from overstrain, and that S.W. too "reflects something of the atmosphere of Peeved Innocence". The Chinese have been most active, and the proposed arrangement with the Japs is off. H.M.G., by the mere expression of doubts upon some details of the plan, has helped China.

29. 11. 41

R.B. to lunch. He is anti-Kings and Sheppard and Rylands. He recalls the latter's liaison with Topsy, a most unusual adventure for him, - and how? -, and then talks of G.F.S., who never asked him to his house, although he taught him for two years. He had evidently a great contempt for this pedagogue, who, I say, I had known very well when I was up. But he had married a twittering little wife, a very bad poetess, with a ridiculous Christian name - Fredgond - given her by her cruel scholar of a father, F.W. Maitland. I tell R.B. that I had once eagerly asked G.F.S. whether he thought I should ever make any success of a political career, and that he had made an encouraging reply.

To W.L. to-night alone.

30. 11. 41

Gardening, filling saucers and getting out one rather easy stub.

And then I go back to Catullus. I rediscover, after many years, poems III and V in Macnaghten and Ramsay's edition.

III is about the sparrow

"Quis nunc it per iter tenebricosum
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam"

and V, Let us give and take thousands of kisses, now while we may, for -

"Soles occidere et redire possunt.
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux
Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

After listening to the nine o'clock news I walk, and partly run, to Woodsend and back. The moon is nearly full. I have put my Whitehall-war-worries well away to-day but now give a few thoughts to future tactics. I shall, most certainly, threaten to resign and blow a lot of gaffes unless I can secure some real improvements.

1. 12. 41

Dine with Seebohm, who, however, does not interest me very much.

G.'s hunch is that the Japs won't fight (so is that of various other people).

I go over the ground with G. and am not very pleased at the present state of things. Apart from trouble with B.B., there seems a constant F.O. block against our projects. Our man K is running risks in Thailand, but obviously rightly, being in touch with the Commander-in-Chief, though he has run beyond F.O. authority. (A few days later it turns out that he was quite right to run these risks, and there is a sporting chance that they may bring in some positive results. But to-day it looks as though we are risking another row with the F.O.) Our Operations now are few and far between. Our last reports have been most bare, long tales of what has not been done, with most of the blame put upon the weather. We are living on the past. I tell G. that just now I am particularly anxious for a successful operation or two.

-3-

The telegrams over the weekend show that Hull is still peeved. He seems to keep no Private Secretaries at the B.D. When Hfax. asked for a copy of a certain paper - H.'s most important declaration to the Japs, as amended after pressure from the Chinks, - H. fumbled about on his desk amid a pile of other papers and couldn't find it.

It is said that, as a result of Chink pressure, Stimson swung over, remembering, at the age of 74, what he had tried to do ten years ago. It is clear that T.V. Soong hotted up Chiang Kai Shek and also leaked deliberately to the American press. Hull is very vexed with him. We had shown sympathy with China and had suggested that the first terms proposed might not sufficiently safeguard, nor seem to the Chinks to safeguard, their position. But we had not been consulted until the last minute.

2. 12. 41

*(Proposals including lifting
Hoehawk on oil, & other commodities,
cells, Japs keep some secretaries in China)*

Party Meeting, the third, on the Man-Power Bill and Production. Many are dissatisfied and no very clear lead is given.

P.W.E. meeting. Chief row to-day is over the Italians despatch to India, where they are adversely reported on, and B.B. launches the usual attack on the organisation originally responsible for choosing them. I say that they were vetted by Martelli for the other wing. I have, as usual, afterwards to make further enquiries, which completely bear out my recollection, in case there should be further attacks.

It is suddenly announced that the P.M. will come to see one of my Stations. I therefore get M. in and we plan a visit to the country house at A.E., which will be more interesting than the previous plan and not interfere at all, as that would now do, with ops. (Later this is cancelled, but I arrange for M. to keep in touch with Commander Thompson of the P.M.'s staff.)

On returning from the P.W.E. meeting, I find B.B.'s latest letter. This is so offensive that I decide not to answer it. In the next few days, however, I give C.R.A. a copy of this letter and notes on the reply which I might have made.

Dine with P.H. at his flat. A good dinner cooked by the step-mother of S.M. - a dark Australian violinist. Her husband is out but Cameron, of the F.O. News Department, is there. (A few days later P.H. tells me that this community is breaking up and he and another are moving out.)

G. tries to get Ivor C. into our show, but the latter, a nervy little man, though apparently attracted is also frightened of responsibility. But he would be much better here than old Brig. von Cutler.

The Chinese Generalissimo says that the S.D., still trying to appease the Japs, would have left him in the lurch. He says further that it was a lie that either Knox or Stimson was behind Hull in this. He is grateful for our part. And it is quite clear that the man who really did the trick was T.V. Soong.

3. 12. 41

P.M.'s visit to my Station is off, owing to pressing preoccupations.

Lunch at B.St. and have the impression that A.D. is very tired and pressed. He is making himself too much a bottle-neck.

I have been trying several times to catch C.R.A., to whom I hand over further papers relating to B.B. and speak with emphasis and indignation. I just cannot go on like this and my patience is exhausted. He says he will make a memo. for the P.M. on the matter. This last conversation takes place on the following day (4th). To-day C.R.A. has two Cabinets, one Defence Committee, and an L.P. Administrative Committee, where there is visible great restiveness, partly owing to Anderson's incompetent handling of the Government case in the House, and much rebel activity in the wings.

Talk with G. on my propaganda paper for P.W.E., which I am bunging in partly for its own sake and partly to get on record my views on propaganda and the importance of appealing to the industrial workers and putting up a picture of the future, in case there should be a further crisis or crash.

G. says that if the Russians march on, we may yet have a Communist Europe - "And then we shall be boiled, unless we have made something here that will appeal to our own people. If we have just gone back to millions of unemployed and individual capitalism, we shall deserve our fate."

4. 12. 41

Party Meeting decides by 52 to 25 - with a better attendance the majority would have been much larger - not to support any amendment to the second reading of Man-Power Bill. (This decision is defied later in the day by Shinbad, who had spoken "officially" for the Party, and by some thirty others. This lack

of discipline causes great annoyance, but it is difficult to take drastic action in view of (a) the considerable number of the rebels, and the "moderate" character of some of them, and (b) the fact that the amendment, calling for more effective state control, especially of mines, transport and munitions, has great sense, as well as Party ideology, behind it, and reflects widespread dissatisfaction in the country. The P.M. was not, we hear, at all annoyed at the vote. He said to C.R.A. "After all, the House of Commons is the right place in which to have divisions.)

G.Rendel to dine. He clearly liked the Bulgars much better than the Serbs, who are now his charge. He thinks that a very grave mistake was made in not giving Boris the Garter. We had given it both to Carol and to Paul. "The King never mentioned it to me, but I am sure that he felt it very deeply."

We spoke of King Peter. G.R. said that he was mentally not more than 16½. I had already heard that he was spending five days a week at Cambridge (Clare). G.R. had visited, last weekend, the Queen Mother at her "cottage" in Bedfordshire. After a talk with her alone, he had gone out and found King P. playing darts all by himself in a shed at the back of the house. This had so profoundly shocked G.R. that, as soon as he returned to London, he began to make arrangements for King P. to be attached to the Brigade of Guards.

I spoke of Gavrilovic and said I thought that he sounded to be much abler and more dynamic than Simovic or Nincic. G.R., looking extra grave - he wears always an aspect of saturnine gravity - said "He is, I am afraid, very Leftist, and I am not sure that he is loyal to the Dynasty."

We spoke also of the reforms in the Foreign Service, on the details of which G.R. has been working. The Malcolm Robertson Report was, he said, a very rough and ready affair and very little of its detailed proposals survive. They have had at the F.O. a series of sub-Committees and he has had much negotiation with the Civil Service Commissioners, the Treasury, etc. He said that the paper which I sent in to the S. of S., and which he read again before coming to dine with me this evening, has been most valuable and that many of my proposals are being adopted. There must be an entrance examination not too dissimilar from those for the Home Service, in order that a promising young man may have a double chance. Then there must be "State Studentships" to enable young men entering as "Probationers" in the Foreign Service to spend time abroad learning languages. He is also against the swarm of expert advisers recommended by M.R.

DIARY5.12.41

Lunch with Mrs P. C.R.A. is there and Moret and Labarthe, both of whom denounce de Gaulle. Go back with C.R.A. to No.11 and speak to him further on B.B. I dine with him to-night at his Club. He has seen B.B. and told him that his P.P.S. should talk less. G. says that this, no doubt, is why Tree cut him yesterday evening when they met at Lady Colefax's weekly Pay for Yourself dinner party. C.R.A. also says that B.B. denies being motivated by animosity against me and my affairs. I tell C.R.A. that I just refuse to believe this and give him some further letters. He says that this thing must now go to the P.M. and I say that I will agree to this only if (1) B.B.'s letters are put before the P.M., and (2) if C.R.A. himself is present. Further, if the thing, being complicated, is referred to someone else for consideration, this must, I say, be a Minister and not an official, especially D.M.

6. 12. 41

Morton
To W.L. with P.H. *Hancock* Before leaving, I have a great rush to get off my general propaganda paper to C.R.A., A.E. and B.B. and to dictate the heads of my paper on subversive propaganda for C.R.A. alone, for him to use in his report to the P.M.

Morton
Lunch with G., who tells me that D.M. is vexed because Hollis doesn't want him to see a copy of our fortnightly paper to the C.O.S. G., rather rashly, has hinted that it may be possible to make a separate "political" report for D.M., but I am against this. Clearly, D.M.'s relations with the Service Departments continue bad, as in the old days; hence his absurd proposal, made some time ago, that I should crash through to the P.M. making demands against the Service Departments. This would be a great tactical mistake.

7. 12. 41

A very good day, and I take P.H. for a three and a half hours' walk on the Downs, with rather little running but a good deal of fast walking up hill. We come back via Baydon and call in at the pub, where one has a sense, in the slow Wiltshire bucolic talk, of the complete remoteness from all that absorbs my nights and days.

Nine o'clock News says the Japs are in. They have begun by attacking the Americans. This, from our point of view, is much the best way for them to begin. It will unite all the Americans in one great warlike fury. But this, I say to P.H., will lengthen

the war by two years. We must now begin to make plans for 1946.

8. 12. 41

I try to complete the paper for C.R.A. to-night but things move too slowly.

Meeting of Labour Ministers decides that we should insist at Party Meeting on seriousness of violation of Standing Orders by Shinwell, etc. All this row, however, is now blown away by the war news.

This does not prevent great waste of time by Shinwell, both at the Administrative Committee and the National E.C. this afternoon. At both of these I take him up and he becomes infuriated. At the second gathering he says that I am "exceedingly objectionable" and that I am trying to prevent him from speaking. I say that I am not doing this but only observing that however long he speaks he will say nothing new, and the longer he speaks the fewer people will remain to listen and to vote at the end, and that this no doubt is part of his calculation. At the end we carry some almost meaningless motion saying that the N.E. "views with concern" recent disunity in the Party but will take no action until the matter has been dealt with by the Parliamentary Party - which, of course, it isn't!

Dine with Eccles, who is making himself very affable and agreeable just now, wanting, I gather, a good job at home rather than more trips abroad. He has a most ingenious mind, but I always finish up by asking him to make me a paper. He thinks 48 not in quite such close touch with Big Bill as he was a little while ago, since he is mostly in N.Y. and the other man in W.

9. 12. 41

To Privy Council, where also Anderson, Simon and Woolton, to get Royal Approval for two contraband orders against Japs and the three new little enemies, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. Talk to Simon about chess, and in particular Danish Gambit. He says Black would be unwise to take the third Pawn. I tell him of Kenneth Swann's conversation in the train yesterday and of his games with Mises, the Old Master, aged 74. Simon says that J.H. Blackburne was reduced in his old age to haunting coffee houses and playing games with solicitors' clerks after lunch at a shilling a time. He counted to play three or four games each afternoon. One man who took him on sat gazing at the board for five minutes before making his first move, P - K4. Thereupon Blackburne said "Your game sir", and gave him a shilling.

-3-

Spend all day on finishing my paper for C.R.A. on Subversive Propaganda. It has been a most frightful corvee and we are all heartily sick of it. A.D., given my precise notes made on Saturday (Dec.6th), has ignored them and sent six or seven pages of sheer doctrinal generalities. I have also my draft and another by C.E.O. Three altogether, from which here and there I pick bits.

I hand the finished paper over to C.R.A. this evening, in addition to my comments for his use on B.B.'s last letter, which I am not answering. I also get C.R.A.'s signature to an Italian proclamation for the encouragement of Dupont.

U.S. naval news is very bad, and D.C.D. says that he hears from a good source that the President will to-night announce "staggering" naval losses, that California may at any moment be attacked, and that Jap planes were over San Francisco and Puget Sound at dawn to-day. (The President in fact says nothing so sensational, though Vincent Sheehan says almost exactly this.)

(Who is generally drunk.)

10. 12. 41

P.M. announces, at beginning of Parliamentary sitting, Prince of Wales and Repulse sunk. Great gloom in and about the House. It is, as Entwistle says to me later, a most pessimistic and temperamental place. Stanley Reed, too long sun-baked in India, says that the Japs now command all the Pacific. Later, rumours run round the lobbies that the Japs also sank Barham and Ramillies. But these are not in the Far East at all!

X.U. to see me, and later David Keswick, both on French matters. I sense that some juniors have been playing Right-Wing politics and making difficulties about getting out J. I have great difficulty in getting the file on J. I am irritated by all this and by the influence apparently exercised by the crowd from next door. (C) Meanwhile, I am invited to authorise further contact with the General, the discovery of next door. He is very unpromising and has still less promising associates.

Cab. with Leathers, where between us we quickly get agreement to proposals for a negotiation with the Spaniards designed to remove from the middle sea a quantity of French tonnage.

Gossiping before going in, L. says that the U.S. yesterday embargoed, last night dis-embargoed, and this morning re-embargoed, all Lease-Lend export except food. He has not yet been able to sum up the effects on shipping, but many will have to take a much more round-about course and much is likely to be caught or scuppered by the Japs in the next week or two.

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Dine with G. to meet Wingate, who gives a most fascinating account of leading patriot levies in Abyssinia and of his clash with Cunningham, Platt, etc. He is a genius, very dynamic, almost a lunatic, has recently tried to commit suicide, isn't good in a team, but should certainly be used on some independent command.

Later to-night G. propounds a new scheme, which he thinks an independent umpire might take, for restoring the unity of subversion, letting M. of I. take all overt, including leaflets, and keeping P.W.E. in existence but rather as a co-ordinating agency. The covert parts of C.H.Q. would then become one of my stations, though I need not spend much time on it. H.G., to whom this is put up, doesn't like it, and doubts if anyone else will like it, and points out that my quarrels with B.B. are over neutral countries. To my mind, the chief difficulty would be the disposal of the second and third High Peawits. But it might be worth while suggesting it to C.R.A.

H.G. thinks we work too late at night. He thinks no other Minister works so late so often, with obvious repercussions on staff. I tell him this is wrong. Great numbers of ministers work much later, sometimes at least, than I, and larger staffs held late elsewhere than in this building, though more sleep in here than elsewhere.

H.G. has been hit hard by to-day's news, and is tired and generally not very strong. When I get C.M. into the office I shall make him do more late nights. Meanwhile, A.D.P. has written C.E.O. a silly, misunderstanding letter making difficulties about my getting C.M., but I dictated only earlier this evening - and that C.E.O. had not got it yet was the ground of my words with H.G. - a Minute indicating that C.M. would only be moving from one room to another, with no change of status; he could wear uniform everywhere, but most conveniently would not in this building, so as to avoid needless comment and gossip.

11. 12. 41

Press Conference at M.E.W. on Japan. I deliberately paint a dark picture, emphasising her great economic resources, her stored up stocks, and the danger of her seizing new spurces, the loss of which to us would be even more serious than their gain by her, - oil, tin, rubber, especially.

X.U. again to see me and I cross-examine him on the Minutes and other papers circulating on the J. case in my French section. Not a satisfactory picture. I am summoning a conference for to-morrow.

Finally get off a Minute to the P.M. on Jugs and ~~Greeks~~
Greeks.

It is extraordinary how difficult it has been to get this Minute made. From B.St. they send up a fantastically unsuitable draft and, as usual, C.E.O. has to do it himself and I to add the final touchings up.

Major Harold, now attached to Vickers, to dine with me. A competent and well-informed man. Worked for I.C.I., principally in Japan.

12. 12. 41

C. comes at my request, really about J., as he well knows, but I range the talk wide. He has indications of coming moves in North and West Africa and perhaps against P., by sea and air, thus avoiding the soil of S. For the moment there are no strong forces in S.W. France, only tired mauled troops returned from the East.

The Russian victories in the East are now, beyond all doubt, most important. This comes from other sources than C., but he confirms it. Hitler now is Napoleon II, but he is retreating, not from Moscow, but from this side of it. The threat to the Caucasus has gone, for the time being. Out East the question, ~~is, not only~~ why were the Americans caught, as Winant is reported to have said, not only with their pants down but with their pants hanging up on the line, ~~and~~ why were we almost as undressed on our air fields in Malaya? Why did none of our Fighters appear until the Prince of Wales and Repulse had been done in?

Returning to my talk with C., he is inclined to trust indications that Darlan is now losing ground in favour of Pucheu, whom the Huns prefer. It might not even be excluded that Darlan, who is above all pro-Darlan, might now become pro-British. The General whom we have now taken over from C. might, the latter thinks, be some use in the event of military operations. He is a patriot and anti-German. On the other hand, I point out, he has very poor, or very bad, political associates. Anyhow, there is no harm in flirting with him so long as that does not debar us from flirting with others also. We then pass to J. and C. produces a telegram showing that something now seems to be laid on. I tell him that Bevin, as well as Attlee, are interested in this case and that I am not sure whether subordinates, both his and mine, have not been playing politics about it. He says he is sure his haven't (but I am not sure at all, though I don't press it further with him). He says Winant told him that he thought J. would be a most valuable man to get over here. I ask how long ago? He says Six weeks.

Sir James Hawkey to lunch with me. Most affable, and soon the talk leads on to B.B., Sir J. leading it, and I tell him that

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-6-

this is by far the worst of all my colleagues. I hot him up a good deal about this and he is almost on the point of rushing off to the P.M. at once. But I discourage this, though leaving it that he may mention it to the P.M. when next he sees him. Of course this is all on the basis of P.W.E. Hawkey says that at the time of Dunkirk, B.B., then just made P.P.S., was talking most defeatist stuff, saying he did not see how we should ever win. A parson told H. that, having heard B.B. on this line, it had quite spoilt his sermon. He had not known what to say to the people. G. and C. also lunching at the L.C., I bring H. across and join them, and G. plays up well. H. says that the only way to deal with Bracken is to "treat him rough". He also says that he was at one time a master at Bishops Stortford. I had not heard this before.

G. says that one of my staff is going to present me with a book entitled "How to Get Rid of Bracken" but the trouble is that it takes seven years, and then the bloody stuff may grow again. I shall keep in touch with Sir J. Hawkey! He says that when he praised me to the P.M. after my visits to the constituency, the P.M. lowered his eye-brows, as his way is, and said "Yes, he is a very able man". (This same epithet was used on a certain occasion at Chequers.)

I call a conference this afternoon on France: C.E.O., D.C.D., A.D., M., A.D.S., and D.Keswick, and (later) X.U. We go over the ground and the difficulties and I read out, before X.U. comes in, the note I made on my cross-examination of him on the J. case. And yet, when I call for all papers, including internal Minutes, nothing is produced except a handful of telegrams. I want this matter investigated and responsibilities fixed.

C.E.O. and D.C.D. remain for weekly conference, and I ask A.D., "since you are here", to stay too. I tell him not to be a bottle-neck.

H.G. dines with me and all is most serene again. He admits to feeling tired but says that one of the "big things" about me is that I like outbursts from my intimates in response to outbursts of my own.

A.D.P. is fidgeting over the transfer of C.M. He cannot come to see me to-night but will to-morrow. C.E.O. says that he came to him, "with tears in his eyes", saying he quite recognised the justice of my Minute but that all his best people were being taken away from him. It has taken them a long time to realise how good C.M. is!

frustration elaborated
C.E.O. has put up a plan for restoring "the unity of subversion" while giving a good deal elsewhere to B.B. This has

attractions, but presents difficulties about persons. The rough idea would be that R.U.s and Sibs would be solely under my control and become one of the S.O.E.Stations. David B.L. might be put in charge and become a Director, attending twice a week in London. R.L. at the Old Rectory would gradually be frozen out. This plan must be further explored.

The story about the P.M. and the Divisional General and the 100% physical fitness came back to me again to-day, but with an improved beginning. As he was leaving, the P.M. offered the General a cigar. From this point on the story is the same.

And here is quite a different kind of P.M. story. He sent for a young airman who had been decorated - ~~I am not sure it was not~~ with the V.C. - for climbing out on to the wing of an aeroplane to make some repairs. This young man was struck dumb with stage-fright on entering the P.M.'s room. The P.M. said "You feel very humble and awkward in my presence, dont you?" The young man said "Yes, sir". The P.M. said "Then you can imagine how humble and awkward I feel in yours."

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DIARY14. 12. 41

Wet all day, so I read and sleep. R. is clearing things up and packing for her move to the North.

13. 12. 41

A.D.P. to see me about C.M. He wants me not to take him, but I insist that I must have him. This prolonged fuss is rather a bore. These subordinates of mine should have more sense of fitness than to go plaguing on in opposition to my personal wishes regarding my private office.

I collect C.M. for lunch and tell him that I wish him to accompany me on my tour from December 22nd over Christmas. He would like this. He now is quite attracted by the prospect of coming here.

I get a very satisfactory short note from C.R.A. on his approach to the P.M. He put the case strongly, and the P.M. was much "impressed with the impropriety" of the behaviour of "the offender". From now on, C.R.A. writes, he thinks that "this warfare will cease."

To W.L. tonight. R is on the train though I don't know it. We miss in the dark at Humberston & Brown drives me home. Then we get a message from Horace at the gate that Dew has rung up to say that R is stuck at the station! So Brown & I go back & pick her up.

DIARY15. 12. 41

Back with R. from W.L. She goes to Manchester to-morrow and has lots of travelling at the start, but will be based at the Grand Hotel.

Whitney calls to say goodbye. I don't know whether he will come back. He is not at all secure and has been trying to ride, as C.D. said, three horses at once.

G. has received this morning a "letter of offer". He says that he supposes he has me to thank, or is it the F.O.? I say it is I, and there was some resistance from the F.O. Later I show him the correspondence and also his "citation". I ask him "Can you deny any of this?" and he says "I should think I could". He has always been very detached about these things, and refused, when at the F.O., to serve on the Honours Committee. But he thinks the F.O. should be grateful to me for having taken him off their list.

C.D. to lunch. He has reprimanded A.D. for sending off a telegram to Cairo on policy towards Italy without referring it up to C.E.O., though the latter had furnished him with a draft which he had just torn up and done over again at nearly twice the length and less well. C.E.O. had been very angry about this and rang up C.D. on the telephone saying that he would not be double-crossed in this manner.

C.D. had complained to C.E.O. about my demand for C.M. It was "a breach of the charter" and much more. A.D. is always at the back of these fusses, I suspect. But it is really an outrageous bore that there should be so much resistance to break down over a Minister's wishes regarding his private office. C.D. says that he didn't mean C.E.O. to mention this to me. C.E.O. afterwards says that he is sure he did!

C.D. says that A.D.H. wants to come home for a bit. I am not against this and play with the idea of sending back A.D. in place of him.

Ripka calls with a message from Benes this afternoon, concerned that we may be using Sudeten Germans, making them part of our German, and not Czech, section, and without collaboration with the Czechs here. He raises this not so much on the point of principle as on that of practical convenience. I say I will look into it and write a Minute accordingly. I am sure that Jaksch has been boasting. Sudeten Germans have big mouths and Czechs have long ears.

.. Acts as Chief Executive Officer to the Minister in connection with special duties of a highly secret character entrusted to him by the Prime Minister. He has been responsible for creating a completely new organisation for this purpose and for maintaining close and very confidential relations with the Chiefs of Staff, the Foreign Office, the Service Departments and other Departments of State. In the performance of these duties he has shown varied ability of the first order, wide knowledge, quick intelligence, constant initiative and resourcefulness, marked organising power, great discretion and tireless energy. Without his aid the Minister could not have brought this new organisation to its present pitch of efficiency nor established its present harmonious relations with other Departments. ..

—
PORTRAIT
OF A
PUBLIC SERVANT

BY A
FRIEND
WHO HAS HAD THE
GOOD FORTUNE
TO BE ALSO

MORE THAN
ONCE
HIS MASTER
December 1941

Coached up by Glenconner before going to the D.Ctte. on (a) Juggery and (b) Spain. (b) goes through quite easily, but why has there been such a long delay? All A.E.'s fault. As to (a), both the Air and the Admiralty make difficulties about helping, but the W.O. would like us to be helped. A.S. says that they are giving us some more aircraft. I have the impression that the thing has gone reasonably well, but next day, as the sequel shows, I modify this view. L.P.S. is in the Chair at the D.Ctte., friendly and helpful. P.M., Pound and Portal are absent. The conclusion is obvious. The Beaver is also away from the Cabinet and Hollis left for somewhere last Saturday.

G. is waiting for my report when I get back, and we dine together at the L.Restaurant. (Slip attached.)

16. 12. 41

Lots of things go wrong to-day. The Minutes of the D.Ctte. come out all muzzy. They were taken by a very third-rate soldier (Price). And to-day C.D. had a very bad interview with the C.O.S., in the course of which Freeman was very rude and said we were always clamouring for aircraft and then did nothing with them when we got them, and interrupted rudely at several other points. F. told C.D. that "Your Minister" last night agreed that we should take aircraft from our special formation for Juggery. Ismay and Brooke said that this also was their impression. This only shows how bad it is not to have firm conclusions formulated at the end of a meeting. Certainly there has been misunderstanding here, if not worse. I never said anything of the kind, and indeed my letter to the P.M. says the exact opposite of this. Nor was it ever put to me that this should happen. On the contrary, A.S. said last night that he would give us "three or four" more for our special formation.

Hearing this, therefore, from C.D., I ring up A.S. and complain about and against Freeman, and recall to him what he himself said last night. He says that of course he recognised that they must give us some more planes and will speak to Freeman and will ring me back. This he does within a quarter of an hour, saying that Freeman did not indeed "follow it up" or "elaborate" it, but he did say last night that he supposed we would "make a contribution" and to this he ~~misapprehended~~ understood me to have assented. I emphasise that our special planes are fully committed to important enterprises to which Poles, Czechs and others attach great importance, and that we cannot pull these away. I say that I will come round and see A.S. myself, with expert advisers accompanying both of us. A.S. says that both he and Freeman are full up all the rest of the day, so I don't press this. (But the sequel shows that this talk did good.)

Laurie Stone ~~W. W. Stone~~
Oregon left 15/12.
Wing

Robert

Habsburg?

Accompanied
by Mrs. Harold

Peake

(brother of Robert)

C.E.O. has received a most impudent letter from D.M., asking whether, if required, to prove the truth of my claims in my last letter to the P.M. about Greece, I could do so. I make a draft for a reply, saying that if asked to do so, I could, and that, more generally, I don't report anything to the P.M. unless reasonably satisfied that it is true. No doubt D.M. is in league with the other man. We will see what happens next, and particularly whether he sends an impertinent reply to this last letter. I am minded to send for him and ask him what he means.

Lunch with the Swede. Wallenberg still here. I wish they would get on with the extrication.

Mikolajczyk and Librach call in the afternoon, making bitter complaints about their aircraft, and the ground staffs. It is an oft-told tale and I am very angry about it. The only question is when, whom and how hard to hit.

J.W. and I are to dine together, but join up at the L. Club with G., C. and the wife of R.A.B., whom I have never met before, though I have heard much about her. She is neither good looking nor elegant but I can see what is meant when it is said that "she is very good for R.A.B."; a manageress with ambition. *G says she was meant to be a spy.*

The Prof. last week told a story of a Jew whose son turned Christian. Hailed before Jehovah and upbraided, this Jew finally asked "What about your own son?"

J.W. relates that a number of spinsters were sitting at long tables in a room in the Censorship Department going through intercepted correspondence. An old Blimp was in charge, on whom one spinster eagerly advanced and, holding up a letter, said "I am quite sure, sir, that this letter is by a Lesbian". Whereupon Blimp, raising his eyebrows and his voice, cried "Gad, madam, I wonder if any of you girls can speak Lesbian." J.W. says that this story was told to Miss Cracknell, who didn't see the point, and then to Miss *Wood* who did, and explained it to Miss C. afterwards.

G. produces this one -

The Commissars' Club at Kalinin
Is the best Club that I've ever been in.
Said a chap from Odessa
"You watch me undress her"
As he brought a young girl of thirteen in.

Minton

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17. 12. 41

Nathan lunch for Peter, King of the Jugs. Among those invited to meet him in the ante-room and be presented are Benes, Raczynski (in the absence of Sikorski), Amery, I, Law, Addison, Rendel and - P. Nicholls. The latter is now Minister to the Czechs. He has been suffering from a duodenal ulcer. He stands looking rather awkwardly away from me, and I, therefore, partly for my own amusement and partly to oblige C.J., advance upon him and ask after his health. He says that he is now quite well again. I say that I was sorry to hear that he had been ill, and that is all.

At the lunch I sit between Benes and the Egyptian Ambassador, who bores me. With Benes, however, I discuss his message from Ripka. B. says that Jaksch is anyhow a small man. "You can't change a man who is fifty years old". He would not be followed by more than 5% of the Sudeten Germans. The Communists among them are much stronger and have always kept a single Party with the Czechs and Slovaks. The Sudeten Communists have been much more loyal than the Sudeten Socialists to the Republic. After the war they will be stronger still. He has brought several of them on to his Council. He is only anxious that we shall do nothing now which can be used as a precedent by the Sudeten Germans.

His talks with the Poles are going well. It has been a help to get rid of Zaleski, whose head was made of wood. Raczynski is much better and has good will. B. would like soon to announce a definite scheme for confederation.

All the States between Germany and Russia must choose on which side they will be. For him, the choice has never been in doubt. He hopes that in the future it will equally not be in doubt for the Poles.

He has been speaking in these last days with "Minister Nicholls". I say that of course he knows that this man has a bad record, having been Munichois and also an appeaser, right up to her entry of the war, of Italy. His political errors, I add, date back and are continuous. 1930 he wrote a Minute proposing that large chunks of Western Poland should be given to the Germans, on the ground that Germans were better people than Poles. I had had to put my thumb on this.

B. said that he thought N. now realised his errors. He had frankly admitted some of them. I asked "Did he give you the impression of a Guilty Man?" B. said "Yes". I said "Perhaps this will make him all the more eager to do the right thing now. I hope so."

King Peter reads, fairly well, though with a slight American accent, a speech prepared for him in English. He stumbles over some of the long words, e.g., pronunciamento. What fool put that in? The speech is much more Serb than Yugoslav, doing all the Kossovo stuff and saying, of the Slovenes and Croats, only that he means to go on being King of all the Yugoslavs, and that in the last Government before the coup d'état the Croats and Slovenes were represented by their best men but that the Serb representation was a mockery. He denounces "the Regency" several times and with emphasis, though not naming Paul. He fervently declares himself to be a democrat. He was most warmly applauded by an exceptionally large gathering. *He has no chin.*

C.D. has had a much better day with the A.M. and Freeman sent a sort of apology, at third hand, for his rudeness yesterday. There seem good hopes of more planes quite quickly for Juggery. Therefore I hold up the angry letter which I was to have sent to A.S. protesting against the failure to assist the Poles and Czechs.

invaluable
A most interesting talk with C.E.O. and H.G. on future possibilities, and especially the creation of an M.E. and P.W. This is very difficult, but not too difficult, I think, to try. It would be linked up with the ~~necessary~~ decline in work at M.E.W. I shall speak to C.R.A. about it.

I saw the letter for a minute or two this morning, just before he went in to take P.Q.s. I asked "Did you show the P.M. any of the letters?" He said "Yes, I did, and he was very much shocked." I said "I understand that B. is now preparing some paper for the Cab., but I think this most unsuitable to be discussed in the Cab. It should be considered by some one Minister, acting as arbitrator." C.R.A. said "I am handling this at present and any papers will come to me. If you have any more trouble with him, let me know."

I tell this both to C.E.O. and to C.D. on the telephone. To the latter I say "We have some down days and some up days. Yesterday was a down day; to-day is an up day." We are agreed that my ticking off, even though very mildly, Freeman, and to to-day's new offer.

18. 12. 41

See J.C. at H. of C. He gives me more particulars of Macmillan's most clumsy intrigue against the P.M. He wrote a letter to poor old Harry Fildes! The latter was showing it to J.C. when he had to go off to the telephone, taking the precious letter with him. He didn't take any action on it, not even replying. The movement against the P.M. among the Tories is confined at present, I think, to disgruntled and not at all important Back Benchers.

Slocombe comes to see me in the afternoon. He has lately been printing nonsense about a flow of oil from the U.S. through Spain to the enemy. I have had this checked up and there is nothing in it. The story is being put about, it appears, by those American oil companies who are not getting orders to supply Spain, in order to spite those which are.

C.R.A. receives No.1 Ministers at No.10 to tell us officially, what most knew before, that the P.M., with the Beaver, Pound, Portal and Dill areⁱⁿ in Washington, and Eden and Cadogan in Moscow. The P.M.'s absence will be announced to-morrow in secret session to M.P.s, but Eden's not, so as not to endanger his return. C.R.A. speaks hopefully of the Moscow mission. The P.M. is not expected back from Washington for a little while yet.

Hambro brings Drogheda to see me on trade with the Swedes. H.G. reports that there is a feeling in the relevant sections of the Ministry that Hambro is always running away with the cart and appeasing the Swedes. I thought I had put M.E.W. back on the map when I made Drogheda Vice-Chairman of the Anglo-Swedish Commission, of which Hambro is Chairman, a week or two ago. But it seems that D. is dominated by H. To-night they try to put a quick one past me, on the ground that Wallenberg is, at long last, leaving to-morrow night and that therefore some additional quotas should be agreed forthwith. It is not quite clear whether these have been put to the Permits Committee or not. I insist that they shall be so put before anything is put up to me. This is to be done to-morrow. H.G. says that H. always tries to dodge round him, and in past him, when Swedish questions are at issue.

Eccles is trying to be sent on another mission to Washington, and has so tried to persuade Drogheda and Stirling, to deal with proposed negotiations with F.N.A. on the lines of my Minute to the P.M., which the F.O. swallowed whole, proposing direct trade between F.N.A. and the U.S. and ourselves, thus deflecting supplies from F.N.A. away from Metropolitan France. I don't accept the view that none of our people in Washington is capable of conducting these negotiations, and, moreover, as D. admits, there

would be a scream from the F.O., and shrillest from A.E. on his return, if Eccles was again to be used on an important and semi-political mission, so soon after having blotted his copy book with the F.O. over his, as A.E. thought, too political telegrams from F.N.A. Later in the evening, I encounter D.E. with his wife and father-in-law. I ask her whether she wants him to stay at home or go away again. She says she prefers the former. This will give me an extra argument!

This was after I had been persuaded to go with G. and C. to one of Lady C.'s parties. I can bear these once in a while, but would be terribly bored to go too often.

Hear late to-night that Bertie Lees-Smith is dead. He has been suffering badly from asthma for some weeks, and away a good deal. His will power and firmness in the Chair have been, I thought, weakening for some time. I last saw him two days ago climbing into Phil Baker's car in Palace Yard to go to a N.C.L. meeting. I last spoke to him the day before, when I asked after his health. He seemed a bit low and said that he had had this trouble all his life, and that it always came on in the winter. He could not sleep at night and always had to sit up in bed. The last words he said to me were "Very few people have got a physique like yours. You don't realise, I expect, what it means to you."

He was a first-class colleague, sensible, balanced, kindly, quite without any sign of bitterness, envy or egoism. He had a rather gentle sense of humour and I always found him most easy, agreeable and helpful to work with. He had not a first-class brain, nor was he a great orator. But he was, perhaps, a better politician, in the best sense, by reason of these two defects. He filled, since this Government was formed, a special niche in the House. His place will not be very easily filled. I suppose, in the first instance, old Pethick will take it on. But he is getting very old and has not Bertie's width or poise. The only other possible candidate is Phil.

Bertie was Ismay's cousin and always took an interest, at one time rare in the Labour Party, in the Army, and, to a lesser extent, in the other fighting services. Questions of strategy, and also of military organisation, interested him a good deal, and he used to go off quietly and spend time with Army and Air Force Units. On these matters he was a good deal more than an amateur, though a little less than an expert.

DIARY19. 12. 41

Murton
D.M. comes to see me at my request. I probe him as to what was behind his curious query to G. about my report on Greece. He says the P.M. casually asked him. D.M. says that he himself only wants to help (I wonder!). I have made a separate note on this conversation. He is going on leave for a week.

The House of Commons in one of its bad, ragged moods. A very bad spirit, pessimism and discontent with the conduct of the war; but no leadership of any opposition. There is evidence that the old gang of Chamberlainites are fanning up each other's animosities against the Churchill Government. If only they had a leader, they would put the Government in danger. Malaya now is a little like Norway in May, 1940. The P.M. being away, C.R.A. and A.V.A. spoke for the Government, but neither made much headway. Reference to the P.M. received hardly a cheer. The Far East has got people down. It was a secret session.

C.E.O. and C.D. for weekly talk. Latin America is reported by B.N. to be in a most dangerous state, and liable to fall a prey to Axis intrigues in all directions. I am inclined to think that this is much too black a picture, but it is my duty to make sure that the F.O. are told that this is what we hear. This is to be done. (They don't take it very seriously, but they have been warned.)

Italy
Rise
Colonel Nicholls to dine. I have not seen him for twenty-five years, when we were subalterns together in the 35th D.T., first at Perham Down and then in France. I remember him as being good on a horse and at the piano and rather an agreeable companion. He was then - and therefore still is - six years younger than I am. He says that I made a great impression upon him in 1916 and that he remembers my saying that I was going into Parliament after the war. He asked me whether I was going to be Prime Minister and I said "Yes, probably". He also says that I put "ideas about the under-dog" into his head "over our rum". We both thought little of our C.O. or of the way in which the 35th D.T. was run. And therefore he went into the Air Force just before I went into the Artillery. Since then he has been in India and elsewhere, pursuing his career as a regular soldier. Now he is Chief Signals Officer at the headquarters of the Third Corps. We get on very well together and he is full of recollections of me in the last war. I think he remembers rather more than there really was. He talks, quite sincerely I think, about politics in a rather uninstructed, well-meaning, Left-minded way, saying how "grand the men" are and how some officers don't realise this, and how right it is that everyone should go through the ranks and how difficult it is for men promoted from the ranks to get their bearings, and how he has tried to help in such cases and in various ways, and how, after this war, we must not repeat the mistakes we made

after the last war. He asks me whether I am ever free for a weekend, and I say yes, for the next one. So we fix that.

20. 12. 41

G. to lunch and concert plans for pushing M.E.P.W. I will begin with C.R.A. B.B. is said to be ill and out of action.

See C.R.A. at 3, while G. goes over to the Foreign Office. I give C.R.A. a copy of the note about H. Macmillan's intrigue against the P.M.; push the claims of I.T. for a by-election; and expound in broad outline the scheme for M.E.P.W. He takes the latter pretty well and I say that I will make a note of it for him over Christmas.

To W.L. by the usual train.

21. 12. 41

Jones to tea, talking about West Africa. Spend the evening reading Diaries of some ten years ago.

22. 12. 41

Back from W.L. and dictate a note for Fletcher for I.T. to take when he sees him to-morrow afternoon; rather a good note, of which I have kept a copy.

C.E.O. is lunching with Fletcher to-morrow before going off on leave, and I.T. is coming in afterwards. C.E.O. sends me a most amusing note on the conversation at lunch.

May her C.M. to lunch, and then we start on our Christmas tour of my Stations. This is separately recorded in a diary made by C.M. writing as though in my name. To-day, however, our car breaks down within half an hour of our destination - Sir T.B.'s country house. The next day, 23rd, we have a car smash, overturning a grocer's van at the side of the road and ourselves skidding round and shooting on to the grass verge, no-one, however, being hurt though C.M. has a black eye and a scratch near by. On Christmas Eve I have to be back in London for a Cab., where, however, J.A. is completely defeated on a most inept proposal which he makes regarding "clandestine" relief for Greece. He brought this up on his own and without much notice to me. In the afternoon we meet again at a Defence Committee, where I have some M.E.W. points on Malaya, and J.A. pretends to be glad the Cab. turned him down this morning, saying that he can now tell the Greeks this. My opinion of him does not rise.

26. 12. 41

MINISTER'S TOUR.22nd - 26th December, 1941.A.D.C. is
Chris MayhewMonday, 22nd December.

Set off after lunch for Hatherop Castle, Danish Holding School, accompanied by Colonel Munn and A.D.C. Car broke down near Aldsworth village, half a mile short of our destination. We were lucky to find another car from the school near by. The baggage was transferred to it, and we arrived about 5.30. The Danes were shy and the British rather gauche, and it took a couple of hours and several rounds of drinks before the party got going. The Commandant, Major Spooner, dates from the last war, and has views on Hore Belisha, horses, P.T., women, Jews, etc. He probably drives the Danes pretty hard. The Adjutant, Lieutenant Mahoney, is the best type of ranker officer. The chief instructor, Lieutenant Brown, weighs 18 stone: the A.D.C. has played rugby against him, to his cost.

After dinner we were shown a lengthy and boring film featuring Edward Everett Horton.

Tuesday, 23rd December.

Went for a run before breakfast, sweeping aside objections raised by A.D.C. After breakfast inspected my Danes doing P.T. and parachute practice. Training and equipment seemed satisfactory, but the Danes themselves appeared somewhat lacking in spirit and toughness.

The staff complains of lack of administrative personnel. But they number 35, and, as there are only 10 students at present, their grievance seems hardly justified.

At 11.30 a.m. left with Colonel Munn for Grendon Hall, Wireless School. The outstanding personality here appeared to be a Captain "Kay", an anglicised Polish Jew, who seemed dead keen, and equally good as a technician and instructor. The Commandant, Colonel Pollak, kept rather in the background: he seemed pleasant and able, but somewhat lacking in self-confidence - perhaps on account of previous S.O.E. experience.

After lunch, fired a Tommy gun, scoring several hits on the target, which was of a satisfactory size. Witnessed various stages of W/T instruction. Ordered A.D.C. to send a message via the mobile W/T unit for reception at the school. A.D.C.'s message, to the effect that our gallant agents had sunk the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau by the application of two limpets, was ruled out on grounds of security. A second innocuous message was efficiently picked up at the school.

"Kay" and Pollak made various suggestions regarding the work of the school. "Kay" claimed that he could recognise the transmission of his pupils by their "touch" on the transmitter, and proposed that the reception of messages from our agents in the field should be done by our agents' own instructors. This would involve close co-operation with "C", or the establishment of a separate receiving organisation. At my invitation "Kay" and Pollak promised to submit a paper on this subject. They also recommended closer liaison with Station IX, so that their practical experience might be made good use of.

Shortage/

Shortage of instructors was evident at this station, and also acute overcrowding.

After leaving Grendon, our car, driven by Munn, collided violently at a cross-roads with a grocer's van. The van came in from the left doing 20 m.p.h. and Munn held a steady course doing about 25 m.p.h. Contact was made at right angles, the van hitting the left rear of our car and overturning. We skidded round and left the road. The grocer and his daughter were helped out, and suffered no damage: Their morale was excellent. Munn and I were undamaged and the A.D.C. escaped with a black eye: the morale of all three was excellent.

After doing what was necessary we proceeded to Cricheley (Belgian Holding School), arriving about 6 p.m. Here I received a message summoning me back to London next morning for a Cabinet. So inspected Cricheley forthwith, catching the unfortunate staff on the wrong foot, painting, polishing, washing, etc., in preparation for looking smart on the morrow. I received a favourable impression, but the chief cook looked thoroughly dirty and unhygienic.

The Commandant, Major Scarbury, was pleasant but not dynamic. I was impressed by a Captain Amies, who seemed lively and intelligent. The A.D.C. disagreed.

Wednesday, 24th December.

Returned to London for a Cabinet and Defence Council Meeting, and then to Briggins Hall with Major Perkins, arriving at 4.30 p.m. Found most of the Poles had left for a special Christmas Party in London, which disappointed me, but met some Polish instructors, including a Major Hartmann, who were splendid in every way, intelligent and tough. Inspected the printing and forging section, whose equipment, organisation and work was impressive. Spoke some words of Polish to the Polish technicians, which went down well. The Commandant, Major Kennedy, made no impression either way.

Left for Station XVII at 6.30. As at Cricheley, could not get in at front door, which annoyed me. Dinner was excellent and Gubbins was there.

Thursday, 25th December.

Up at 8.30 for a short run before breakfast with A.D.C., who took it better this time. After breakfast a long walk with the Commandant, Major Rheam, and Lt. Howard. After lunch played billiards with A.D.C. against Howard and a certain Buckland, the instructor in industrial sabotage. We won a close match; I played only moderately well, but scored now and again.

Then inspected explosives, arms and devices, demonstrated by a slovenly and somewhat apathetic sergeant. Threw a bomb, which exploded satisfactorily.

Tea with the station's F.A.N.Y.s, who seemed exceptionally lively and attractive. After tea, Rheam gave me a lengthy exposition of his work and lecture syllabus, and showed me various models of railway and industrial equipment. He had no complaints or suggestions to make.

Friday/

Friday, 26th December.

Up at 8 a.m. for another run before breakfast, this time accompanied by A.D.C. and Lts. Newman and Howard. Left Station XVII at 10 a.m. Have received a good impression. Rheam is serious minded and keen. Accommodation and equipment all seemed pretty good.

Arrived Audley End (Despatching School) at 11 a.m., escorted by Colonel Barry, a young-looking staff officer. Interviewed Norwegian, French and Belgian agents, who are waiting to be taken into the field. All are impatient about the waiting, especially the Norwegians. The French were in great spirits. "Robert", who was recently in France, gave me a long account of underground movements there. He is most impressive - keen, knowledgeable, and with a good sense of humour. Also inspected packing of containers, and examined their contents. Got a good impression all round, and liked the Commandant, Major Rose, and a Captain Buxton, who were both young and keen.

Set off for London at 2.30, arriving Berkeley Square at 4.30.

26. 12. 41

Back at 4.30 and at 5.30 I see C.D. for the weekly run round. C.E.O. on leave in Scotland. R.B. dines with me.

27. 12. 41 to 29. 12. 41

Weekend with Nicholls at The Bridge House, Mordiford, Hereford. Very pleasant and easy. They encourage me to sleep late in the morning and I am taken out on Saturday evening, the 27th, to an evening party of rather uninteresting people. (H.G. says, when I relate this on Monday, "It is just as well to remind oneself occasionally how dull most of those people whom one meets in the country really are.") On the Sunday we go to lunch with an enormous number of members of the Bulmer family, into which I.T., who meets me at the station, the night before, has now married. A faint flavour of rural radicalism in the cider.

L.B.N. wants to go into politics after the war and thinks the Labour Party the only possible. I will arrange for him to meet C.R.A. I also drop a hint to him, without saying what it is, that he might find a change over in the near future to a show run by me, interesting. He is inclined to like this idea.

29. 12. 41

Back from Hereford. C.D. comes and reports on a number of matters, including that he hears that Lieut. Colonel L.B. Nicholls has the reputation of being "a first-class officer". I say that he would be completely loyal to me and there would be something to be said for putting him in charge of our Signals.

Dine with H.G. and I.T. See Brig.B. in the distance and think to myself how very annoyed he would be if I succeeded in pushing I.T. into Parliament now!

30. 12. 41

Try to hook C.I.G.S. for an informal dinner party.

C.D. rings up after lunch to say that he and M. had a good talk with the Air people and he really thinks that something will be done now.

Ring up Shepherd about the latest by-election news. He

-4-

tells me that I.T. is being mentioned at three of them - Keighley, where his name is known and Mrs L.S. may not be a serious candidate, Newcastle-under-Lyme, where Josiah, junior, is not running, and Nuneaton, where Frank Bowles is also being mentioned. I.T. is the only one who is being mentioned at as many as three. He should have a sporting chance of picking up one or other.

Send a letter to C.R.A. enclosing, very briefly, "a proposal for a M.E. and P.W." I will take this up again with him at the end of this week. So far I send this to no-one else but suggest that he might like to mention it to A.E.

To W.L. in the evening.

Spend two days and three nights here, crossing the river into 1942. Listen to much wireless, my batteries having been powerfully reinforced, and hear P.M. at Ottawa on the evening of the 30th, coming over very well, followed next night by Hitler's very dreary and defensive New Year's Message. I also play twenty-one games of Patience with cards stolen by C.M. from his family and find that Triangle comes out more often than I had remembered. I had thought it was only once in ten, but these days I get it out four times in twenty-one. It is a good form of mental diversion which I have wanted to have down here for some time. Also sleep a lot, run about the garden a bit and cart quantities of earth and sods. Find that we have now completed four years out of five of our Juice Agreement. At the end of 1942 we shall complete this and thereafter pay for what we consume only.

2. 1. 42

Back in the morning.

M. to see me. I give him my impressions of my tour, especially on the Commandants, following fairly closely C.M.'s diary notes, though not showing these to M.!

Simovic brings me a number of papers in Serbo-Croat, which later it seems difficult to get translated without revealing secrets to outside organisations. He also returns to his old complaint against the Queen and Nincic and Groll. The last two, he says, are completely defeatist and against all aid to Colonel M. They are worse than the Croats! Gavrilovic is now in London and he would be glad if I would see him. I say I certainly would.

Simovic is a very simple man, but very honest and well-meaning.

write a long letter, mostly news, to R., now based in Manhattan. I miss her a lot.

-4-

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Eccles to see me, with a request to be used in M.E.W. This, however, is not very easy, as he would fall out, D. thinks, with Jack Nicholls in our Neutral Trade Department and could not conveniently be fitted in elsewhere. D. had said that E. was due some leave and would like to go and manage his farm near Andover. But E. says he is not due any leave and does not want to spend time on his farm!

C.D. to see me (C.E.O. still being on leave) for our weekly talk. He is very anti-F.O. and says that they are involving us in great risks of losing the war. This repercusses a little against C.E.O. I suspect A.D. of working steadily in this sense. I have got the C.I.G.S. to dine with me next week and ask C.D. whether he would like to come. I say that I propose to have C.E.O. and M. He is not keen to come himself and hints that it would be better if C.E.O. did not either, though he does not wish to hurt his feelings. It would be much better if M. were to talk direct to C.I.G.S. Soldiers understand one another but do not like talking shop either to politicians or civilians. C.I.G.S. would not want to "hear about politics".

C.D. said that Medhurst would like to come and see me and expound what the A.M. hoped to do. I said that I should welcome this. C.D. is hopeful that progress will now be made, if only to avoid a scandal.

He showed me a very interesting, though indiscreet, telegram from the man about whose trip to Russia I made difficulties. This says that A.E.'s visit was not at all a success, that no Soviet official came to see him off, that he had quarrelled badly with S.C., who was on his way home intending to resign.

To this I must add a report brought by H.G. through P., who had seen a telegram at the W.O., to the effect that A.E. had been very sticky with the Russians over (1) Baltic States, and (2) Persia. *(Some parts in (1), though not without some justification. but none in (2).)*

I discuss this with H.G. later this evening. It has been said that S.C. has long wanted to resign from the Moscow Embassy and would like either to come back into politics here or be Viceroy of India. It would be a frightful bore, in nearly every way, if he came back and constituted himself Leader of the Opposition here. If, however, he blows the gaffe and attacks A.E. for being difficult with the Russians, there might easily be a first-class crisis and A.E. might have to be sacrificed. I shall sound C.R.A. on this when next I see him. Meanwhile, I tell H.G. that I feel that I am being furnished with more pretexts, if I should need them, for a strong line.

D. Hughes

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C.D. to see me (C.E.O. still being on leave) for our weekly talk. He is very anti-F.O. and says that they are involving us in great risks of losing the war. This repercussions a little against C.E.O. I suspect A.D. of working steadily in this sense. I have got the C.I.G.S. to dine with me next week and ask C.D. whether he would like to come. I say that I propose to have C.E.O. and M. He is not keen to come himself and hints that it would be better if C.E.O. did not either, though he does not wish to hurt his feelings. It would be much better if M. were to talk direct to C.I.G.S. Soldiers understand one another but do not like talking shop either to politicians or civilians. C.I.G.S. would not want to "hear about politics".

C.D. said that Medhurst would like to come and see me and expound what the A.M. hoped to do. I said that I should welcome this. C.D. is hopeful that progress will now be made, if only to avoid a scandal.

He showed me a very interesting, though indiscreet, telegram from the man about whose trip to Russia I made difficulties. This says that A.E.'s visit was not at all a success, that no Soviet official came to see him off, that he had quarrelled badly with S.C., who was on his way home intending to resign.

To this I must add a report brought by H.G. through P., who had seen a telegram at the W.O., to the effect that A.E. had been very sticky with the Russians over (1) Baltic States, and (2) Persia. Gipps

I discuss this with H.G. later this evening. It has been said that S.C. has long wanted to resign from the Moscow Embassy and would like either to come back into politics here or be Viceroy of India. It would be a frightful bore, in nearly every way, if he came back and constituted himself Leader of the Opposition here. If, however, he blows the gaffe and attacks A.E. for being difficult with the Russians, there might easily be a first-class crisis and A.E. might have to be sacrificed. I shall sound C.R.A. on this when next I see him. Meanwhile, I tell H.G. that I feel that I am being furnished with more pretexts, if I should need them, for a strong line.