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

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**(Folder of Loose Typescripts)**

1. 1. 41

A bad day! First of all the Honours List. Of all my nominees only Stirling, one of the least meritorious, has got anything, and he a C.M.G. Hall, whom I had put in for a C.B. and definitely desired should be given something in preference to anyone else, has got nothing. Nor have Roskill and Nichols, whom I also recommended with preferences. I therefore instruct L.R. to write a stiff letter to Sir H. Wilson, who presides over a committee of officials which winnows the list of recommendations, saying that I am astonished to find that my wishes have been completely disregarded, that I am thinking of taking the matter up in other quarters (i.e. with the P.M.), but that first I should be glad to have Sir H.W.'s explanation. L.R. says that he expected to be called in to explain my preferences, but that this was not done. I tell Hall that I am fed to the teeth and what I am doing. He thinks, and so does H.G., that the Permanent Civil Servants are simply scratching each other's backs and ignoring the temporaries. As regards Honours in general, I am quite cynical and rather contemptuous, but if the things are to be given at all, they should be given as Ministers desire. G. thinks that perhaps I had not tied up my preference for Hall sufficiently with other recommendations, e.g., asking that if he cannot get a C.B. he should have a C.M.G. instead, in preference to any of my other nominees. He thinks L.R. may get from H.W. a quarter snub, and that, as I knew, these two don't get on.

Other glooms to-day are a report from C.P. that R.L. has been pouring forth "in the highest quarters" a flood of mischief-making stuff against me. He rang up G. in a state of great excitement just before lunch to report this, and I ask G. to check it up. There is also apparently the danger of a serious wobble over oil targets. G. and C.D. are asked to meet the C.O.S. this morning and gather the impression that, unless we can do a lot to the Roumanian oil ~~first~~ supplies, it is in the balance whether oil shall keep its present high priority. The C.O.S. have got an advance copy of the Lloyd Committee Report which is only being examined tomorrow by the P.O.G. Committee. I decide that I must take action if necessary with A.S. and Portal over oil.

A meeting this afternoon at the F.O. to consider Italian propaganda. Eden is in the Chair and, in addition to Duff Cooper and myself, a swarm of officials attend. The meeting runs on easy and amicable lines and the conclusions reached are pretty good. No peace is possible with Mussolini, but if he goes, no other alternative Italian Government is ruled out. If they asked for a separate peace, the essential points will be -

- (1) To get rid of the Italian fleet, and we might consider, to save their feelings, having it sent to America for the duration of the war.

- (2) Evacuation of Abyssinia, Albania and the Dodecanese, but not of other pre-war Italian African colonies.
- (3) Financial and economic assistance, and if possible military, for any part of metropolitan Italy which breaks loose or resists German occupation. Sicily, in particular, is in mind here, and also Sardinia. It would be a great bore if the Germans got hold of Sicily for aircraft, etc., and Fascism has never been strong in this island.

Now F.S.

Stay behind with Eden and bring in Van, G. and R.L. for a talk on S.O. arrangements. — They make quite a good impression. Eden, with whom I have exchanged very friendly letters - I deliberately laid it on fairly thick in order to create good relations from the start - is outwardly very agreeable and not, I think, a very strong character. He thinks well both of R.L. and of G., the former of whom ran his Press Department, while the latter was for a short while his Private Secretary and later with him at Geneva during the Disarmament Conference. On the other hand, he does not much like Van, whom he pushed off to be his Chief Diplomatic Adviser when he brought back Cadogan from China to be Permanent Under-Secretary. I spoke well to him both of G. and R.L. and he said "Yes, you have got two of the very best. If I had been here, I would not have let them both go."

2. 1. 41

Cab. on interception by our patrols of four French merchantmen escorted by an armed trawler just inside the Straits. This is the first interception made for some time, and the Admiralty are nervous of repercussions. The armed trawler protested vigorously! There was also resistance to one of our boarding parties and some casualties were caused to the French by, it is said, ricochets from the water of machine-gun bullets fired from one of our destroyers. None the less, the Cab., under the P.M.'s lead, decides, somewhat to the discomfort of A.V.A., that interceptions are to continue, for the next few days at any rate, while we have available forces, pending the start of a certain new operation.

Lunch with Hall, who gives an interesting account of Mr Justice Singleton and his adjudication on the conflicting views of my people and the Air Staff on German air strength. Hall thinks that the estimates of the Air Staff will certainly be greatly reduced, even if our "optimistic" figures are thought to be a little on the low side.

P.O.G. Committee gives me some reassurance. Wing-Commander Bennett says that Portal and the Air Staff are passionately keen on oil targets, though of course they want all other forms of action against Roumanian oil as well. The only opposition in the C.O.S.



## German

arose because the Navy want the two brand new/battleships to be bombed whenever possible, and the Army attach some importance to moral bombing. This is very encouraging.

I have had to beat my first retreat from the front line of the total blockade in response to a special message from Roosevelt to the P.M. urging that a few trial shipments of milk, etc., for children only in unoccupied France, under American Red Cross control, should be let through. It is clear that, not for the first nor the last time, we must give in to Roosevelt's wishes, and I am reasonably assured in this case by his very heavy insistence on the importance of our blockade and on the distinction between occupied and unoccupied territory. I therefore draft with Eden a reply for the P.M. to send to the President, indicating certain conditions and safeguards, and taking it for granted that it will be announced that this step was taken on the President's initiative. This last point is important in order to meet Parliamentary criticism.

Peake

G. reports that he learns from C.P. that it was to Strang that R.L. went and talked rather excitedly. Probably, however, and J.W. strongly concurs in this, it was not much more than "a rush of blood to the head" on finding that his old champion had returned as Foreign Secretary. I am not inclined to treat this too seriously, though it will mean that I shall have to keep a watchful eye on R.L.



DIARY4. 1. 41

Morton.

G. reports his conversation with D.M. The latter has pretended to be wholly in my favour, expressing great admiration for my energy and drive. When told that I held him in part responsible for agitation against my decision to get rid of King B., D.M. flares up and hotly denies this. It was the Prof., he says, and he himself advised the B.M. that every Minister of the Crown had the right to settle his own staff. Further, he now thinks, in view of what has since come out, that I was completely right to get rid of King B. G. thought that, in view of this attitude, there was not much more which he could say. I am very angry at this report, which appears to me completely contemptible on the part of D.M., concerning whom I have plenty of evidence that he is consistently unfriendly and tittletattles.

GRAVD

Receive a call from Freeman, the D.C.A.S. Rather a formidable character. I get the faint impression that he may be jealous of Portal, but am told that this is not so and that they are blood brothers. He is very anti-F.O. "What have the Foreign Office done since they brought Italy into the last war in 1915? Nothing at all." "In my innocence", he had said, "I suggested that perhaps the F.O. might do" certain things. He now finds that these are within my sphere.

5. 1. 41

Bombs on Eire. Better than on Liverpool. This is a British victory in the Battle of the Beams.

Back from C.H.Q. and find admirable Oil paper from joint planners to Chiefs of Staff. If the latter accept, we shall indeed have moved forward.

6. 1. 41

Receive Lie, new Norwegian Foreign Minister, a good solid Labour man who wants to win the war. He speaks ill of his predecessor, Koht, whom I never cared for.

Middle East Committee meets in the W.O. and discusses inconclusively Wavell's relations with M. of I. and Cairo Embassy. I say that all my arrangements with him are now satisfactory. This is all I have to say, and the rest of the discussion is long and a waste of time.

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7. 1. 41

Haydn Davis very active for my publicity. Most of this morning is taken up with film men and photographers. Other chief occupation is drafting letter and paper to P.M. referred to next day.

8. 1. 41

Nathan lunch to Benes and Masaryk. The former makes his first long public speech in English - and it is a bit too long. Then at 3 o'clock Masaryk gets up and succeeds, as I think none other could have done, in holding for another quarter of an hour an audience already on its feet to go. He wonderfully mixes personal charm, humour and sentimental appeal.

*D. Cooper* Then to Four-Power Conference. We are all dissatisfied at D.C.'s latest rather petulant and unconstructive reply, and R.L. reports that his officials think that he has won hands down. I am advised not to write any more letters to Anderson but to go and see him, leaving an aide memoire, and claim that, since D.C. won't play, and I have offered a compromise, I now revert to my original proposal. Further, at G.'s suggestion, that I claim that the Chiefs of Staff receive the two papers and be asked their views, since subversion is part of war. We should now be seeking, not to save anyone's face, but to win the war!

Also agreed to dissolve the I.P.D. and redistribute personnel.

Meeting of Ministers at Air Ministry, where A.S. is, as always, most friendly towards me. He gives a good account of progress of anti night-bomber technique, but at present, though the apparatus is good, there is not much of it and considerable training is required in its use.

*Taylor* Conference with G. and C.D. on Balkans, etc. I decide to send out G.T. at once to take charge. C.D. has him alone to explain that this is a great mission, ordered from the All Highest, and not a means of shelving him from a key job in the organisation at home. The ground having thus been prepared, G. and I, after dining with C.P., return and clinch the arrangement. G.T. takes is very well, and now the question is to get him a seat in the next day or two on a bomber. These are scarce and mean that valuable human cargo has to compete with valuable spare parts!

*oil* | Chiefs of Staff have now sent in a very good paper to the P.M. which is to be considered at a special meeting of the Defence

Committee along with my paper on interference with Rumanian oil supplies and the P.O.G. report to-morrow night. I am to be there. It seems that this is to be a larger meeting than usual.

I have to-day sent to the P.M. a letter, a summary memorandum, and a large number of papers relating to progress of S.O. I hope that these will seem quite impressive! I was anxious to see him to report orally, and so minuted to him, but his Secretary tells mine that he would like it in writing and that, just now, he is asking everybody to do this. In my letter I mention that M. has more than once told J. that the P.M. would like to see me more often on S.O. and would like me to take the initiative in proposing this; also that I would much prefer to tell him myself what is going on rather than that he should get second-hand and possibly inaccurate reports indirectly. The documentation which I now send is formidable. It will probably all be handed over to M. for comments. (M. has to-day rung up and told J. that he has minuted to P.M. on Oil papers that he understands that S.O.2 have been obstructed by F.O.)

Discuss with C.P. <sup>Peake</sup> the handling of A.E. <sup>Eder.</sup> Superficially I have begun well, having up till now written him three letters, one of warm congratulation, the second wholly approving his proposed attitude to trade negotiations with Moscow, and the third inviting him to see H.Q. I have also brought in my principal attendant sprites to tell him about S.O. So far so good, but one never knows who may be pulling him the wrong way behind the scenes.

R.L., who might, is only in London part of one day each week, and this is probably a good thing. Time was when R.L. breakfasted with A.E. every day. C.P. is leaving with the Viscount on the ship next week - his role appears more and more ridiculous, no better than a valet's, ordering Kiwi, etc., for the Washington Embassy! The Viscount has never been in U.S.A. before and will feel lost. C.P. will see A.E. to-morrow and try to make good blood between him and me. He thinks it is quite good now. (I remark afterwards to G. that A.E. no doubt hopes that he will get the succession to Winston, but that, as things are, this would not be a matter for the Conservative Party alone to decide. We should have to be consulted, and I should not be without influence. Hence, since there is no reason to suppose that A.E. and I will differ seriously on policy, it is not against his interest to be friends with me. To H.G., afterwards, I permit myself an even further speculation along this line.) C.P. says "I shall tell him that one day he and you may find yourselves standing side by side facing an angry crowd". It is thought that A.C. will be a steadying influence in this next phase.

Halifax

A.C. M.  
D. F. S.  
Cadyan



A story from the Viscount about Munich. When he and Chamberlain and Sir H. Wilson were returning together from Heston aerodrome, with the cheers of the crowd still in their ears, Hfax. said to Chamberlain "And now you ought to tell the House of Commons that you have invited the Labour and Liberal leaders to join your Government. Then you will put yourself right with public opinion." Chamberlain said "I'm not sure about that. You had better speak to Horace about it." And Horace did not approve.

*Leit Ross* L.R. has put up to me a perfect draft for a letter to the P.M. making complaint about the recent Honours List, the neglect of my clearly expressed preferences, the failure to consult L.R. in spite of the Parliamentary answer of September 18th, the assertion by Horace in reply to E.R. that preferences could not be given to temporaries, and the fact that in other Departments a number of temporaries had been honoured. I must watch for a good moment to pop this in.

DIARY9. 1. 41

Cab. I get my way against A.V.A. in securing that four French ships recently picked up by our naval patrols near Gib shall be held and not released.

Attend Pilgrims' farewell luncheon to Hfax. P.M., proposing his health, and having much praised him, says that he is a man of deep religious conviction, though he does not parade it, and has also for many years been an ardent supporter of the chase. "And thus", says the P.M., "he has always succeeded in getting the best of both worlds."

Hfax., replying in a speech on the whole dull, recalls the Indian station master at Delhi whom he once thanked for all the excellent arrangements made for his journeys. Whereat, the station master replied "It has always been a very great pleasure to see you off". "No doubt", said Hfax., "many of you here to-day are animated by feelings no less kindly than those of that station master."

Here were two flashes of wit which lit up raw reality.

Unsatisfactory conversation with Anderson about the eternal problem of the broadcasts. He will consult the Chiefs of Staff, as I desire, and makes further proposals for consultation between officials - this time Monkton and Leeper. Anderson is a dreary and disappointing creature. The idea, with which I had once toyed, that he might be a conceivable successor to the P.M., if anything unhappily were to happen to him, faded from my mind this afternoon. Eden would certainly be better than this - for more than one reason.

DIARY10-12. 1. 41

In my constituency. Address a private meeting of delegates which goes very easily, and also a public meeting in the Town Hall, B.A. This is reasonably well attended, in spite of the blackout, and I give a long and rather dull account of the present and future state of the war. Everyone, as usual, is terribly easily pleased.

13. 1. 41

Leave constituency early and back in London in afternoon. G. says that C.P. reports that Hfax. told him that he thought within a month there would be a further reconstruction of the Government and L.G. brought in. C.P. had said that he thought the Labour Party would object to this. Hfax. said he did not think they would be ~~able~~ able to prevent it. G. told C.P. that he thought this under-estimated the influence of the Labour Party.

A depressing muddle on the foreign broadcasts. Anderson saw the Chiefs of Staff at the weekend, I being away and they not having had their minds prepared. They accepted Anderson's general propositions as reasonable. Brooks has failed to be of any help, since his man Hollis, Secretary to the C. of S., was ill with flu.

Hall  
Go to-night to Defence Committee, where discussion is supposed to take place on a group of papers concerning attacks on oil. I am accompanied by G. and N.H. P.M. in the Chair gives the impression of being mentally completely exhausted. Almost alone, he argues against the proposals of the Chiefs of Staff and the Hankey Committee. He goes round and round the same point and is, for him, terribly slow in the uptake and most pigheaded. Portal handles him very well and with extreme good temper and persistence. At the end, the Chiefs of Staff paper is accepted in a grudging provisional fashion subject to reports at short intervals. I can't get my paper discussed at all, the P.M. saying, very affably indeed, "No, no, you needn't go into any detail about that. Provided the F.O. and the Treasury and the Service Departments agree, you can do what you like." This really leaves us where we were before. G., greatly depressed after the meeting, thinks we have suffered a reverse, or at least failed to make any progress in a most urgent business. I say that, on such form as this, I can't imagine how we can ever win the war.

After this meeting the P.M. asks A.V.A. and me to go and talk to him in his room, where he is much concerned over the composition of the boatload accompanying Hfax. to U.S.A. How have



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*C. Strach*      *? Gifford*  
 C.S. and a friend of his got on Hfax.'s list? This question is pursued with great ardour, and various Secretaries and naval officers are summoned to explain. Finally it is decided that C.S. and his friend can't be allowed to travel on this ship, and two officials attendant on a Canadian Minister are invoked to be put ashore instead. The Navy are to break this news to C.S. late to-night. It is a great pity that the P.M., being indeed very tired, should spend so much time on such small personal matters.

14. 1. 41

Administrative Committee meets in C.R.A.'s room. Shinwell learns nothing from his snubbing at the end of last session. He talks incessantly and makes a great grievance at the proposal that he should not speak for the Party in the debate next week on man power and machinery of Government. I take my share in squashing him and am astonished, not for the first time, at the sheepish submissiveness of some of my colleagues.

Go to see a private view of my film. It is, in its way, not bad, but I am made to speak with a most terrific cold in the nose. H.D. tells me that he hears that at three provincial cinemas this film has been cheered. Anyhow, it is seen and heard, he says, by some millions of people.

C.R.A. tells me that the P.M. has gone away for a week and that everyone agrees that he badly needed a rest.

15. 1. 41

The meeting of the Defence Committee on Monday night has turned out better, in the records, than we thought. It is recorded that the Committee approved my S.O. paper on interference with Rumanian oil supplies, subject to approval of F.O., Treasury and Service Departments. This is a very optimistic deduction from the chaotic proceedings, but G. tells me that he rang up Jacob, who was trying to take notes at the meeting, and said that he supposed it was clear that our paper was approved, and Jacob, after some slight hesitation, agreed so to record the decision! Thus is policy made.

Spears to see me, aimiable and long-winded, though ostensibly he came to air a grievance of de Gaulle about our leaflets. I ask his view of Eden, with whom, he says, he worked very closely for years on foreign policy. Eden's weakness, he says, is that he is always thinking too much about his career. Therefore, he is not so bold as he should be, and too much inclined to bide his time and conciliate those in authority.

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Very successful lunch for Sikorski, accompanied by Stanczyk, who as usual kisses me in front of the company, and Retinger. Herbert Morrison and George Gibson are both a good deal impressed by the General, and we have one of those intellectual discussions, which H.M. likes, covering the ground between the theory of Government and the details of administration, including political wangling. My three principal attendant sprites are also present. There is some discussion on what to do with the Germans after the war. G. remarks that so long as all Germans, just because they speak German, are put together in one state, they will, just by reason of their numbers and capacities, be a menace to everybody else. This would be equally true whether their State was Nazi, Communist, or Democratic, Monarchist or Republican. The real peril to the peace of Europe is the conception of Deutschtum. Therefore, there should be no "Germany" after the war, but a number of German States, reasonably content to be separate. Sikorski speaks much of his PolishSzech unity projects and is quite insistent that the Poles must have East Prussia.

I spend an hour with Eden, first alone, then with Cadogan, Sargent, G. and, at the end, G.T. who is brought in and introduced to Eden on the eve of his departure for Istanbul. I think that I should have no great difficulty in handling E. Alone with him, I speak of the Belgian Government and Pierlot's refusal to broaden it, of the Poles and Sikorski's predominance over all the rest, of Anderson's prejudice against R.L. (he reacts well to this and to my praise of R.L., saying that this is the old Horace Wilson intrigue), and finally I speak of L.G. and of the danger that the P.M. may yet try to bring him into the Government. E. says that, since L.G. was asked sometime ago to become Minister of Agriculture and made a number of impossible conditions, and since he declined to consider going to Washington, he does not think that there have been any further approaches. He shares my view that L.G. is not only much too old, but is a potential Petain. Beaverbrooke, he thinks, is the only person who would wish to work him in. I say that I could easily get all my colleagues standing on their hind legs and waving their tails in fury at any such suggestion. E. says he would like to keep in touch with me on this, and, if any threat develops, we can concert further. He is evidently pleased with his relations with the P.M., who, he says, tells him everything. I wonder! He also says, concerning my colleagues, that he hopes I will not think it rude if he says how agreeably surprised he has been to find how easy they all are to work with. C.R.A. he says, the P.M. likens to a terrier who, when he gets hold of an idea, will not let it go. He also speaks well of E.B., who, he says, has always a most individual approach.

We then have the officials in and discuss the S.O. paper "approved" by the Defence Committee. Sargent is a snag-hunter, particularly as regards cover for G.T. It was originally proposed by the egregious P.N., who I am glad to say is absent from this

Nichols

afternoon's discussion, to make him a cipher clerk! Then suggestions are made that he should be a King's Messenger, or the Assistant to the Assistant M.A. Finally, we secure, on the analogy of D.E. in Iberia, that he shall be an M.E.W. Adviser with local rank of Eccles Counsellor. E. is manoeuvred, without great difficulty, by G. and myself, A.C. backing us up in his quiet but effective fashion, into acceptance of our oil policy, and G. is then asked by O.S. himself to draft the necessary telegrams. This we do later at the Ministry with the assistance of N.H. I am able to invent quite a plausible M.E.W. mission.

From E. I descend to see Van, and the talk with him is almost wholly on the further approaches of D.M. This man, says V., is obviously making a bid for better relations with me. On his own initiative he sought a talk with Van to-day and said that the P.M. would be writing me "a nice letter" on my recent report on S.O., but that he would like to advise me to send short and striking reports of incidents from time to time which would interest him more than a long document. I tell V. quite frankly that I suspect D.M. of having made mischief with regard to me. Too many rumours reach me from too many quarters for this not to seem credible. I cite F.N. among others. However, I say, I am willing to work with people, even though I do not like or trust them, if for their own reasons they are willing to work with me. I will therefore wait for the "nice letter" and thereafter take some further steps about D.M., though, as I tell Van, last time we lunched together I was his host. Van also says that D.M. says that my grasp of M.E.W. matters is most remarkable, that I always have all the details at my finger tips, make a very good impression on these matters in the Cab., and nearly always get my way. I reply that I believe this is substantially true.

Van says that he would like to see G. once a week, say for about half an hour, to hear about projects. I say that this would be a very good plan and I will pass it on. I add that I myself am more and more taking personal charge of all the detail on this side, since there are greater difficulties here than on the other. I say this seeking to deflect Van from trying too much to control this detail. His attitude towards G. is outwardly quite friendly.

Later, when I tell G. of this, he says that it looks as though D.M. realises that now we are doing rather well and are not easily to be shaken, and that therefore he is trying to aid the victors.



16. 1. 41

Cab. Back up Cross in negotiations to secure use of enemy and enemy-controlled ships in U.S. ports. U.S. administration are damned slow in helping us on the economic front. I hope to rub this in to Hopkins when I see him. "All aid short of war" is an utter travesty of what they are doing as yet, even in directions where action would be very easy and cost them nothing.

General Sir Clive Liddell - not a very remarkable-looking soldier - the Governor of Gibraltar, comes to see me. He complains that, having to feed crews and passengers of intercepted ships, he has difficulty in maintaining his stores. After some discussion we agree on the most original idea that he should aim at keeping an extra month's supplies, over the six months' which he keeps now, in order to have a margin.

*Sampson*  
*Nichols*  
The telegrams to Bucharest and Angora, regarding the mission of G.T., to whom I am adding a don from M.E.W. named Camps, have now been agreed. G. reports that O.S. was most friendly and made hardly any changes in G.'s drafts, which I had already amended and approved; also that P.N. was in O.S.'s room at the F.O. but had clearly not seen the telegrams nor been consulted. This is most satisfactory.

I read, with great indignation, which leads me to make many marginal comments, a telegram regarding activities, or lack of them, in Austria. There is great sloth and hesitation in dismissing C. I am disappointed in B.C., who seems to lack grip and courage.

DIARY17. 1. 41

Harold Butler to see me. He wants, I think, to be kept in mind for big jobs that may come along. He tells me the long story of Monsieur Viple, whom he refused to take at the I.L.O. as his chef de cabinet. These proceedings, he said, showed him how rotten French politics were. V. was pressed upon him by every leading French politician, including Blum and Faure, both of whom stated that he was "a good comrade".

*Guthrie* Lunch for Benes and Ingr. *Lockhart* B.L. (very possessive), G. and Brig.G. also there. Good atmosphere and not enough detail to be dangerous. Ingr is, I think, rather a simple soldier, easily pleased by attentions from us and genuinely devoted to B.

Jos. Wedgewood comes to see me this afternoon. He has nothing much to say, but tells me I should read his new book, in which there are laudatory references to me. I get the book and find two such, the first saying that "full credit for making the Labour Party vote for armaments" and bringing it in on the right side in 1935/39 "belongs to Hugh Dalton, Citrine and Bevin". The second reference is to the eve of our entry into the war, when I met Hfax. after midnight on the Sunday morning coming back from the Cabinet and am reported to have said "Thank God!" when he told me that we should be at war in a few hours' time. This story is printed as told to J.W. by Hfax.

Monckton comes to see me and we talk a little of my differences with the M. of I. Clearly he would like to make a friendly settlement but finds his Minister rather difficult. I say "See how much more conciliatory I am than your Minister". He says "I think that is because you see more clearly what you want". Since R.L. is sick, the proposed meeting of officials must be postponed. Meanwhile there is no need to rush things.

*Nelson* C.D. gives one of his, as usual, very successful dinner parties this evening, for purposes of co-ordinating the war against the Germans and suppressing the substitute wars in Whitehall. I am put between Sir O. Sargent (who has been infinitely conciliatory and agreeable since he was almost carried out screaming from Hfax.'s presence when we had the row about the Bridge) and the D.M.I., a sentimental old fellow who seems to have a great fixation on one of my officers. The D.A.I. is also present and, remembering his grievance last time that I talked too much to someone else, I spread myself to him. I also sit at one stage between H. and Q., with whom I discuss the means of keeping trainees well and happy. And, at the end, I deliberately arrange to be left alone with C.S.S. who pours out to me the story of his ceaseless efforts. I tell him that Swinton was after his job but that this danger I think has now passed; also that it was the late D.M.I. whose supposed failure over

[p 3-6 removed] P.T.D  
Dalton I 24 (15)

Norway led to the demand for a unified Intelligence Service. Now that we have a new D.M.I., I think, I say, that this demand has subsided. He tells me with great emphasis that he has no politics (this is always rather suspicious) and that he would as loyally work for a Labour Government, "even an extreme Left-wing Labour Government", as for any other. "The only Government I would not work for", he says, "would be a Communist Government". I say there is no chance of this.

18. 1. 41

W. Lamb  
idea

Through the snow by car with C.R.A. to C.H.Q. As usual, a friendly air and nothing much to say. He says that, following my suggestion, he mentioned J.W. to A.E. "who was much interested", but clearly this was out of reach as yet, nor would A.E. in any case have wished to have one of my inner circle as his No.2.

Wood Drake

I press again that P.B. should go to the W.O. as one of the Under-Secretaries. I am sorry to find that he is thinking instead of Milner.

Grossman

12 noon conference at C.H.Q. attended by C.R.A., R.V. and others. Throughout the day C.R.A. doesn't react much, but obviously likes it. In the afternoon the usual pilgrimage with recordings, etc. In the evening a discussion, not very well staged, on propaganda and invasion. D.C. is a little vexed with me because I don't take more interest in what G. calls 'propagandology'. On the other hand, he said to H.G. "What a good thing it is to be one of the Minister's friends". H.G. said "If you weren't, you would never have been here at all."

19. 1. 41

This morning G. explains at length to C.R.A. what his branch is doing. "I got quite exhausted", he said afterwards, "getting no reaction". None the less, C.R.A. was obviously impressed. R.L. is not fit and is to take a wee off. He and D.C. complain to me of R.V.'s "instructions" regarding the arrival of R. and his cousin. The latter in particular is a great bore. I undertake to write to R.V. about this. (I do so next day, a rather good letter, and he the day after tells me on the telephone that his Colonel C. is to seek for suitable lodgings in the area for the cousin.) "This", says G., "at last gives C. something to do. He is now a *procurer*."

moment, the other three having already spoken, G. introduced with his customary skill. I ragged H. in a friendly way as poacher turned gamekeeper. "When you were head of a section of mine here", I said, "you used to by-pass everybody and come and see me without even waiting to be sent for!" In reply to this, he said that he always came with the knowledge of his seniors, but I said that I doubted this very much. Procedure having been settled, Q. left and B.C. was brought in from the Secretaries' Room, looking very frightened. We then explored some of the political imbecilities, as I described them, committed in regard to Austria, but I did not push this too hard.

Finally, I made a speech to them, saying that some Ministers were mere lay figures in the hands of their officials, and that the highest ambition of some others might be to polish their ministerial chairs with the seats of their trousers. But this was not my view of life. My view of a Minister was that one of his first duties was to be impatient and to be constantly poking up and energising his officials. Moreover, when I had reformed M.E.W., my first job had been to break a number of bottle necks, and the thing had worked much better thereafter. None the less, we had had a very good talk, and I now invited them to have a drink. C.D. said that they much appreciated having been received by me and it would have been fully within my rights to refuse to see them. I said, in effect, that I liked them all very much!

*Morta.* I then asked C.D. about D.M. He said that he had been very much changing his tune in the last few weeks. Before that, he had been saying that the whole show was a political racket - this presumably being aimed at me - that C.D. himself was no organiser that G. was too young, and that it was a shocking error to have got rid of King B. Now, however, he was by way of being very helpful and forthcoming. Neither C.D. nor I trust him further than we can throw him, and I am now a little disinclined to take early notice of him.

22. 1. 41

To-day's papers are full of news: the fall of Tobruk, of poor Bob Boothby, and of the Daily Worker!

As to B.B., he puts a brave and combative face on it in a statement to the press this morning, but the summary of the report looks pretty damning. Garro Jones, whom I run into, says that he does not believe B. can even hold his constituency. But I am inclined to think he may, unless, of course, he goes bankrupt. On personal grounds I am quite sorry about it. But I resist the temptation to write him a personal note of sympathy, realising that this might be given undue circulation.



It now appears that H.M. had already decided the day before yesterday to suppress the Daily Worker and The Week, but he did not trust some members of the N.E. and therefore felt he could not say much in front of them, except to try and put them off the scent. He told J.W. this morning, after defending his action at the Party meeting against an insignificant minority of objectors, including Rhys Davies and Aneurin Bevan, that he had quite agreed with J.W.'s speech at the N.E. but had not been able to say so.

Lunch alone with Hopkins, whom I met in Washington in 1933 when he was in charge of Public Works. Very much a buddy of the President, and very quick on the ball regarding our M.E.W. difficulties with the U.S.A. Very contemptuous both of his State Department and of some of our diplomats. When I told him of a certain recent difficulty, he said "Fancy Sumner Welles and Butler sitting up together discussing cotton! Neither of them knows the first thing about it." His principal remedy was to put a man in the American Embassy in London who was in the President's confidence and would have direct access to me. Then, he said, he could put anything I wanted "straight on the wires" to the President. He expresses a wish to see me again, and also to see something of our shelters. He was much thrilled by our fine morale, and clearly the P.M. has done good work with him.

An hour and twenty minutes' penance with Gillies in my flat. I have never known a man to combine so formidably loquacity with discretion. What this means is that most of what he says is irrelevant. He will keep V. and O. very much under his thumb. They are, in effect, on his pay roll.

G. reports that the spirit of the crew was very good this morning!

DIARY

23. 1. 41

Duff Cooper suggests I should have Francis Williams as successor to Bowes Lyën at head of my Press Section. This has possible political embarrassments.

Peter Fleming comes to see me before starting off for Cairo to take charge of trainees. He has heard nothing of the ridiculous bogey of a Hague convention preventing us from using volunteers among prisoners of war.

Dine with Sikorski and group of Polish airmen. Very fine types whom he has just decorated. The purpose of my visit, and of G.'s arrival at 9 o'clock, is to ask the General to furnish us with some suitable Poles for a particular adventure, should this be decided on. He is, as usual, the perfect ally. G. gives a very clear exposition of the plan. Not many from his stable could do this kind of military exposé so well.

R.V. is making rather a fool of himself over his friend R. and his cousin. I have to spend too much time on these matters.

DIARY24. 1. 41

*Wichells*  
It was two days ago that G. first mentioned to me a snag over I.P.W., someone having said that we were debarred by the H.Convtn. from doing what we wished. I have been suspecting P.N. of being at the root of this, and it is not till next day, when F.N. brings me a file, that I learn the thing began in the W.O. I have already written two Minutes to G. about this and do not seem able to get any further.

Maisky comes to see me to complain about the holding up of a Greek ship with Soviet cargo at the Falkland Islands. My people are very delighted that anything is being held up in this area, and I speak to Maisky very bluntly about Russian trade, with Germany on the one hand and the U.S. on the other. He says "It has been much exaggerated". I say that in that case the Tass Agency has helped to exaggerate it.

*Webb*  
Lunch alone with Cudlipp. He does not make a good impression. He speaks evil, more or less, of all Labour Ministers except myself, and says that M.W. is all for me. Also, "I and M.W., we are the D.H.". I am left to surmise that almost certainly he speaks evil of me to my colleagues. I do not want to see him often, but probably it will be wise to do so now and then.

A very good day for news. Rubble has come off. A telephone message from A.V.A. and news brought also from my own staff.

25. 1. 41

*Keyes*  
*(Italian this evening 2 AM)*  
Julian Amery at last appears and I send him off to report to F.N. Fletcher brings D.C.O. to see me, very tough and determined. F. is anxious to prove that he is a real liaison officer. Then I see F.N., who brings me a file on I.P. of W., including a frightful Minute by H.Q., of which more anon. This leads me to write a Minute to G. pointing out that the affair is still most confused and unsatisfactory. F.N. does not appear to know much about it, and I must really get to the bottom of it. (Brooding over the matter, I write another Minute next day and others as recorded later. This incident becomes a real hair shirt.)

Lunch with R. I tell her that we really are at last spending a weekend together! In the evening see B. Clarke and my D.T. on Czechs, etc. Both in good form.

Take Daniel to dine at L.C. I like him a good deal but do not think he is at all clever. Not clever enough to make a Private Secretary.

26. 1. 41 (Sunday)

I sleep in my shelter till half an hour past noon, being alone and uncalled. Therefore, I have slept right round the clock.

Lunch with R. and B.P. and go in the afternoon to see "The Great Dictator". Not very good except for some passages with Mussolini.

Then settle down on papers and make much Sunday music, chiefly in the form of Minutes to G. Our achievements are flowing in wonderfully well. We cannot hope to have such a good week very often. I also write to Van telling him not to run after D.M. too much.

27. 1. 41

I tell G. to arrange with H.Q. to come and explain to me about I.P.W. tonight, accompanied, according to the procedure recently agreed between us, when I am dissatisfied ~~below the rank of~~ with one below the rank of F.N. and neither the latter nor G. have been able to remove my dissatisfaction, by his two superiors.

Just as I am going out to lunch, G. says that F.N. says he thinks the meeting is unnecessary. Later in the day, thinking over this, I become exceedingly angry and dictate this evening two very violent Minutes (Nos.5 and 6). I find it quite intolerable that I should not receive prompt and straightforward explanations of what has been going on. I spend a very angry and sleepless night. Whether I sleep or not depends almost entirely on whether I am angry in the evenings!

Hell  
Sinfato

Before this N.H. tells me, full of optimism, that S. has shifted the ratio from 1 : 3 to 3 : 4. This, if true, is wonderful.

I finish a letter to the P.M. reciting recent achievements. They make a very good story, not only Rubble but sandbags under ice, etc.

G. says that a little bird has told him that A.E. is planning to retire a number of diplomats, including V., and is talking to the Treasury about proportionate pensions.

28. 1. 41

Tell H.G. to collect G. and H.Q. to-night. I make another Minute to G. (No.7) saying that, if necessary, this is an order, and that I wish to discuss with them the whole question of I.P. of W. past and future, including the speeding up of journeys of our people by



plane. I also have my last night's Minutes (Nos. 5 and 6) retyped, but tell H.G. to tell G. that "having slept on it", I prefer not to circulate these but to make a further effort for an oral discussion. H.G. says that G. replied "I suppose that means 'not having slept on it'". He has got it right.

H. of C. Boothby, I think, does very well. "If only I had realised how this might be misunderstood afterwards, ..... all I need have done was to add a postscript to a letter or a few sentences to a conversation." I feel that he is a far better man than most of those who judged him on the Select Committee. Unfortunately, he has broken the Eleventh Commandment, whereas many a financial rascal in Parliament has not. *"Thou shalt not be found out."*

Ministers' meeting at F.O. where A.E. gives a good summary. I stay behind and talk to him. I ask whether he would like a copy of my last report to the P.M. He would, and shows much interest. I write, in a covering note sending it, that G. and F.N. and their team deserve great credit. A.E. says that he cannot make out what Hoare is up to in Madrid. He is going to telegraph to him telling him to carry out his instructions. I say that D.E. is able; he replies that he thinks he is also dangerous. I say that I have heard him described as a British Baudouin. A.E. is very conscious of many problems whose latest phases are new to him, and of a great mass of detail to be mastered. I think that we shall continue to get on well together.

At 7 o'clock G. and H.Q. come to see me. F.N. has cried off, having, for once, a social engagement. But this is the second day in succession that he has dodged me and this vexes me a little. I cross-examine Q. at considerable length and he comes very well out of it. On the evidence previously before me, he was ignorant, snag-hunting and lacking in zeal to carry out my wishes. In short, he had written a very bad Minute and this was all that either G. or F.N. had produced to me as evidence of his activities. I am convinced, however, that he has really done well, and I tell him so. I add that until now I knew nothing positive in his favour except that G. and F.N. both thought well of him. This might carry him on for a while, but I was glad myself to find that he had been showing energy and intelligence over this and other affairs.

Later this evening I write to G. saying that this sort of experience must never be repeated. I have been boiled up with ever mounting vexation for six days, being unable to get any satisfactory answers to my questions. He, whom I have seen to be so skilled and subtle in handling difficult persons and problems, ought to know me well enough by now to do better than this. None the less, the show as a whole is now going very well and I find his qualities make all the difference both to it and to me.

29. 1. 41

I. P. of W. I send a final Minute (No.8) to G. which I hope now closes this series. It has been a frightful bore and may be I made too heavy weather with it. None the less, there was most irritating delay and only semi-disclosure over a period of six days since I first heard of the possible snag of the H.Convtn. Another point is that I have gained confidence in H.Q.

Later this afternoon I collect G. and F.N. to discuss my reply to P.M.'s Minute on coal for Italy, and the former, with less than his usual tact, puts in front of F.N. a Minute of mine not really intended for his eyes, complaining that he has lately made a habit of evading invitations to see me. But he takes this very well and everything, I hope, now is cleared up. I remark to G. that we all work under heavy pressures and that some explosions are inevitable. He says that probably it is all much worse among the Germans!

*Leaps  
in hair  
Swiss Bell*

R.L. and J.W. to lunch. Good progress is being made in recasting the hierarchy at C.H.Q. R.L. will now take anything from J.W. and H.G., both of whom he likes and regards as his friends at court. This suits me very well. He also told J.W. that, whereas he used to think I was much more difficult to work with than Van, he has now changed his mind. Since I came to a certain agreement with him about our relations, I have strictly kept it, he says, whereas Van is always jumping in excitedly with sudden orders regarding both policy and personnel. I am amused and pleased to hear that Barry, the Queenslander whom I recommended to him, is winning great favour and investigating for him the so-called "Intelligence Section" under the worst of the three "old sweats".

See A.S. in the afternoon. As usual, he is very good to deal with. We concert our line of reply to the P.M.'s Minute. "Civil" air lines are not to be thought of in time of war. It must always be shown that they have a military purpose. This has a bearing on my Swiss project and its presentation. The Beaver's ferry scheme has broken down. This will further impede carrying out of the plan agreed to by the Defence Committee. Also the weather recently has been vile. Therefore the programme has not yet started.

Laski's influence is said to be nefaste. I must enquire basis of this. He really does, I hear, correspond direct with the President.

*Acta*

The Duke of A. thinks he has made a discovery. H.Q. and another are the Socialist appointees of a certain Minister engaged in some sort of S.S.work. This is a nuisance, for H.Q. must travel. On the other hand, we have made a discovery.

Monckton to dinner. He is quite willing to settle the broadcast dispute on the lines that we have a "common directive" on

Italy, as on Germany. He thinks the F.O. and B.B.C. should also be in on this. I have no objection. The places of meeting, both for G. and I., to be left as they are at present. The M. of I. to withdraw their claim to leaflets. As to B.L., I should secretly be quite willing to see him go, but I stress his great value to me, especially for American correspondence. M. has seen him again yesterday and suggested to him the American Section of the M. of I. The earlier proposal, whereby he should merely act as a warming pan for C.P. as General Adviser within the B.B.C. and then move on to the American Section, was clearly a blunder on M.'s part.

*7. Cooper*

He goes from me to the Dorchester to find D.C. and report our discussion. "He doesn't like work", he says of his Chief.

Cripps, he says, writes to him about once a fortnight. He is completely disillusioned with the Russians. He complains that Halifax never gave him any cards to play. I said that, whatever cards he had, he could not play them with effect just now, when the Russians were terrified of Germany.

M. has heard, from Harding, of the report by Mr Justice S. This, he hears, is most encouraging. He speaks of a ratio of 4 : 5. The effect of this on tactics and prospects will be enormous.

After a little talk with H.G. on Ministers and their relative capacity for rudeness, I fall asleep and sleep long and placidly. The storm is over.

30. 1. 41

*with Arnold Forster*

W.A.F. to lunch at the House. He still thinks and talks in the terms of long ago. World opinion, he thinks, will be moved in our favour if we make it clear that we intend to reconstitute an independent Abyssinia under Haile Selassie. He had been afraid that delay in recent weeks was due to some desire to appease Mussolini. He is also most anxious that we should continue to repeat (a) that Nazis are not the same thing as Germans, and (b) that we shall do nothing to break up Germany after the war.

On the one point, I ask him where, and consisting of whom, is the "world opinion" which will be on our side if we say and do these things, and against us or luke-warm if we don't? Let us not, I say, delude ourselves with the belief that virtue, in the conditions of to-day, will bring any quick or large reward. This is an argument not against being virtuous but against being duped.

As to Germany, I tell him that I regret I do not find myself liking these people any better as the war goes on. My mind, in contrast with my view at the end of the last war that it was a good thing that Austria-Hungary should be "broken up", or rather that

its break-up should be legalised, is now moving towards the creation of a Mid-European federal structure, of which the necessary foundation is close Polish-Czechoslovak union, to which should also be added a democratized Hungary, keeping all her gains from Rumania and nearly all, but not quite, from C.S. (e.g., returning Kosice), and also Yugoslavia. These elements being fixed, I should also like to bring in a South German element, Austria plus some or all of Baden and Bavaria. We cannot bear again that all the German tribes should stick together in a solid mass menacing all their neighbours. We should create conditions in which it shall seem to the Austrians and other South Germans preferable to go into the other unit, which should offer them a wider market than that of the old A.-H., and reasonable self-government, leading them, however, in the last resort, to face a substantial Slav majority. Such a State might, perhaps, even extend by including Bulgaria and the remnants of Rumania, to fill in all the gap between Central Germany, however organised politically, and the Soviet Union. Essential to any such scheme would be an exchange of populations so as to eliminate the national minorities.

W.A.F. is a bit frightened at this, but does not argue frontally against it.

C.R.A. tells me that someone - "some member of the Camarilla" - had told the P.M. that I had really nothing to do with Rubble. C.R.A. had replied that he knew it was largely my affair. This sort of thing is most unsatisfactory, and I am considering whether to send a further note to the P.M. on the subject.

Hopkins and Herschel Johnson to dine with some of my officials and Ellen Wilkinson and Charlie Key, which last two take them round a night tour of the shelters. H. gives us a most amusing story of his visit with the P.M. to Glasgow and Scapa. This is the sort of vivid stuff which will delight the President when he gets back.



DIARY

31. 1. 41

Four-Power Conference in my room. Van chatters away about all sorts of unessentials to R.L. and, in the last few minutes, I ask whether G. has anything new to report. He says no. This is quite a convenient division of the time.

Lunch with Lady Colefax, on whose Lions list I now seem to be inscribed! H.Nicolson, who is not doing much just now in the public eye, tells me that he does his own diary every night on a typewriter. He appears in this record, he says, as a most blameless character. Reprinting his diary of the last Peace Conference, he added nothing, in spite of overwhelming temptations, and only omitted passages likely to give unnecessary pain to individuals. Are there giants in these days too? The P.M. of course, but anyone else? I say that I think as the war ends, those who took some large apparent share in ending it will look like giants to the next generation, though not perhaps to us who see them close up. H.N. thinks that his proudest boast will be, to his grand-children, "When I was a member of Mr Churchill's administration".

Maisky comes to protest about our seizure of part of the cargo of a ship and to argue that my references to U.S. exports to the U.S.S.R. are exaggerated. We howl with laughter at each other, but get nowhere.

*Guthrie*

We are invited - G. and B.G. and I - to a party with the Poles in Retinger's flat, where Sikorski arrives in due course and there are also gathered Kot and all the aides-de-camps. R.produces some bottles of Polish vodka of which, both liking it and desiring to be friendly, I drink a good deal. I should have eaten more of the cold salad, herrings, etc., which are also offered. I leave the Poles with every appearance of dignity and propriety, but my dignity might have suffered a little had they spent the next hour in my company! Next morning, however, I feel completely fit. That vodka, though strong, was a most clean drink.

1. 2. 41

To.Leicester to address a Regional Conference of Divisional Labour Parties. Some 400 delegates, the great majority of whom are very sensible, though a minority are cranks. I tell them that in the next few months each must be prepared to go through greater personal ordeals and personal risks than ever before, and that they should all recover the habit of carrying gas-masks. I have no doubt, I tell them, that we shall frustrate the enemy's efforts, but these will be immense. Compared with this, all talk of peace aims, etc., is very secondary. It is strange that even a

-2-

few can still be such fools as not to sense this priority.

Travel back with Donovan, candidate for East Leicester, a barrister who seems to have more political wits than most of his tribe.

*Now judge the work*

2. 2. 41. (Sunday)

Read last night Van's "Black Record". I think it will do good on balance, though many highly educated and traditionally minded people will be shocked. Certainly, however, it may be criticised as being hysterical and venomous in tone, even though it is true in substance.

*Hall* N.H. spoke ill on Friday to me of C.R.A., obviously echoing D.M. He was said to be sick and small and to bore the P.M., who had rebuked him when he had tried to intervene between the latter and Mr Pick on a famous occasion.

*Morko*

G. and F.N. dine with me (G. had been rung up and fetched back from the country owing to P.'s letter mentioned below) and we discuss the amazing obstruction of P. to Operation S. He has written an astonishing letter. "Assasination .... ethics .... laws of war ... uniform". How, at this rate, can we get on? Recall parachutists in Holland, dressed as nuns, peasants, policemen, etc. Also the Blitzing of civilians here.

There is also delay on the H. plan for Spain. G. will tackle the C. of S. to-morrow, and if he fails, I will try to break through to the P.M.

We discuss little Laski. There is evidence that he not only writes direct to the President but receives answers through the Diplomatic Bag. He gives the President quite a false impression of what is going on here, and his stature in the U.S.A. is far higher than in this country.

3. 2. 41

Operation S. G. reports that, as a result of his visit to the C. of S., we have lost on this, though we have got our way on Spain (principally hurrying up time-table), but this is a little too gloomy. P. was very definite on the question of clothing, but B.G., whom G. took in with him for this item, is running about trying to adjust all the arrangements.

*Guthrie*

Cab. in the afternoon, but unnecessary, since A.E. and I are agreed about the reply to the Americans on their headlong attempt to trade with French N.Africa.

Some gloom over Turkey. Last year's history in N.W. Europe is likely, the P.M. thinks, to repeat itself this year in S.E. Europe. All little people waiting to be eaten, one by one. No staff talks, no commitments, and then, when they are attacked, they will all yell for help at the top of their voices. On the other hand, K.H. reports that the Turks will fight. But when? When it is too late to matter much? They are not much mechanised. Their Army consists of great masses of men.

4. 2. 41

See Hopkins in the morning. We speak again of need for better contacts, and M.E.W., or its equivalent, in Washington; someone at our Embassy there - perhaps Campbell will do, coached by Marris - to handle detail; someone at the American Embassy in London who will specialise on M.E.W. questions, keep in touch with me and, with the approval of the Amb., wire direct to Washington, but this person must have the confidence of the President; probably Leith-Ross to go to Washington for a few weeks when the Lease and Lend Bill is through. H. says that there would be a lot to be said for my going, but he quite understands that, if there is an invasion here, I should not want to be out of it. He is a first-class scout for the President.

News from the F.O. is that A.E. is writing many "peevish Minutes", but is not really a strong man. He goes about saying "There is no control here. I can't imagine what Edward did with himself all day". It is not thought, however, that he will make any important changes of personnel at present. He is constantly on the telephone to the P.M., who is taking much more charge of the F.O. now than he did when the Viscount was there. The latter disliked the telephone, and when the P.M. rang him up and got into full flow, he used to say "What's that? I can't hear you". This used to put the P.M. off his stroke. Also the Viscount had guns in reserve, which A.E. has not, and could sometimes give the P.M. the unmistakable impression that he regarded him as a very vulgar and ignorant person. A.E. may soon become almost as completely a lay figure as the three Service Ministers. I have been greatly impressed with this lately and am shedding all ambition to become even Air Minister - my first choice among the three - in time of war. The Chiefs of Staff are much closer to the P.M. as Minister of Defence than to their political Chiefs, and much more influenced. The other day P. was asked by the P.M. to expound his views, A.S. sitting silent beside him, and was complimented by the P.M. on his "diplomatic as well as strategical insight".

Some progress with Operation S., but de G. will have to be squared to-morrow. He is said to be indignant at not having been consulted before, and to be raising all sorts of general questions of principle. Meanwhile, it seems that the question of clothing can

be settled.

G

I dine to-night with X who gives me an amazing account of his parents and his youth. This, as he tells it, would make a wonderful Chapter I of his Memoirs one day. It also helps to explain his reserve and others of his qualities.

His father wanted to go to the University but was sent instead into the Army and became a gunner officer. He was six foot three, very good looking, very gay, a very good shot, and "the life and soul of the mess" in India, where, however, he had sunstroke, the effects of which have never left him. Returning, he married X's mother, then quite a young girl, and by her had three children, X and two daughters, one of whom died, the other being now married to an Italian living near Florence. After the third child, he was advised that his wife must have no more, and, little being known in those days of preventives, he carried on in succession with several other women, including two Gaiety actresses, and is still quite interested in the other sex. He had a large mansion in Yorkshire and stood, in the first years of this century, for Parliament, but always spoke on the platform against his own side and finally, his sunstroke leaping back upon him, became quite speechless at a large public meeting and was howled down by the crowd. He polled fewer votes, X says, than any other candidate who has ever stood anywhere. X thinks he only got 2. The mansion has now been sold and is used as a Club for Sheffield business men. It has all been done up with aluminium paint and is incredibly vulgar. There is, for instance, a clock, the hands of which are made to represent a lady's legs. X, the other day, visiting this house with some friends, took them to see the room where he was born, but this was now a ladies' lavatory. X, who was born in 1900, never saw his father from the time he was seven till he was seventeen. He was brought up by his mother, who finally divorced his father. During these ten years his father was wandering about the world with his lady friends, shooting in the Rockies and fishing in New Zealand. In the last war he appeared as a dugout and was given some command at some home station. There he fell foul of the authorities because he carried on a great campaign amongst his men against inoculation, alleging that it poisoned the blood.

Much earlier, having been disappointed of his University education, X's father got a tutor to teach him Greek, was a very quick learner and soon was able to read Homer and Sophocles quite easily.

More recently, he nearly finished himself off by drinking a large tankard, which he thought contained sherry - this is how he likes to drink sherry - but which in fact contained Angostura bitters.

X claims that he is descended also, through his father, from Pitt "who, after all, was a good Party boss". His mother, I gather, he finds a bit of a bore and a snob. It is not surprising that he



should have been rather a late developer. He blossomed indeed at the University immediately after the war, when it appeared for the first time that he had first-class brains. Between school and University he spent the last six months of the war in an officers' training unit at Bushey, though he never went to the Front. He thinks that this six months was very good for him and that before he was very maladive.

5. 2. 41

*Lockhart*

I ask B.L. to see me on threatened statement by S. on Polish eastern frontiers. B. told S., who has reported to F.O. A.E. will see S. soon and try to draw him on this question. Clearly such a statement must be prevented, but it does not seem that I need intervene.

B.L. also thinks that R.L. is being rather slow and weak over reorganisation of C.H.Q. He will be down there this coming week-end.

L.R. thinks that the Japs will make a move southward before the end of March, possibly against N.Borneo and the Dutch East Indies. Only two things, he thinks, are likely to stop them, either the U.S. sending their fleet to the Western Pacific (and there are difficulties about this through lack of bases and Jap control of Marschall and neighbouring islands), or by Russians making threatening noises in the north. Of the latter, I say, there is no chance at all at present.

R.A.B., whom I see later in the day, thinks that the Japs are more likely to attack Burma through Siam. There is nothing to stop them bombing Rangoon from Siamese bases.

*Crossman*  
*N Baker*  
See Van for a moment in the afternoon. He is still fidgeting against R.H.S.C. and this is beginning to bore me. It is mixed up with the fidget against German Socialist émigrés, who, he thinks, are proposing to issue some joint manifesto against his recent broadcasts, and P.J.N.B. who, he says, has been writing letters saying that the Germans are no worse than other people. This is all a bit of a bore, and, like most other things in which V. now takes an interest, probably much exaggerated. None the less, I must speak to C. this week-end.

See Binney this afternoon. A small and unimpressive man for one who has done so well in Operation R. P.M. wants to give some special Honours for this, and I send in a recommendation of C.H. for a K.B.E. (In this queer world of Honours, probably to give C.H. something less than a K.B.E. would be worse than giving him nothing at all!)

Douglas Jay, who is now in the Ministry of Supply and viewed with some suspicion by Andrew Duncan, reports that the latter is a great "stormer and shouter". I should never have suspected this. He looks a very reserved and humdrum lower middle class Scot. But perhaps all Ministers really storm and shout, and I am one of the quietest of them all. This afternoon at M. of S. it was a conference on drop forgings and the wages to be paid. Many high officials were present, from the Ministry of Labour as well as the M. of S. A.D. shouted that there could be no advance in wages for these men, and refused to listen to any arguments designed to show that, short of compulsion, there was no other way of getting more men except to raise the wages from £3:10: - to £5 a week. A.D. said he knew all about it, he had done the work himself, it was not really skilled work, and £3:10: - a week was quite a good wage. He accused D.J. and others of "making difficulties". Sir W. Brown, who has never been a favourite of mine, and has always, I am told, spoken ill of his Chiefs behind their backs, having a most viperous tongue, went about this afternoon telling everyone how impossible it was to deal with A.D. and how he had to put up with six or seven hours a day of this kind of thing. And yet A.D. hauled him along from the Board of Trade to the Ministry of Supply.

Operation S. Gradually, thanks to G., we are surmounting difficulties. To-day P. is squared, since uniform will be worn. He tries, however, in his final letter, to pass some buck, hinting that we might like to get approval of P.M. On G.'s advice and on ~~mine~~ my own inclination, I repudiate this buck and authorise them to go ahead.

de G. is also squared, though he insists first on giving his approval merely "in principle" in the morning and sending a "note de service" in the afternoon.

6. 2. 41

I find that Woolton shouts too. He shouted at Leith-Ross yesterday at a conference on the price to be charged to the Dutch for their tea. He asked Leith-Ross why he was bothered to attend at all, and who, other than his experts at the Food Ministry, should know anything about such questions? Leith-Ross apparently told him that his experts were liars! Quite a bright little scene.

Evidence from W.'s report and also from interrogation of P.W.s that our leaflets have a great effect in precipitating Italian surrenders in Africa.

*Mortu*

*Wilton, Hambro, Hall*  
Have D.M. along to dinner this evening with J.W., C.H. and N.H. He gives an appearance of great affability and makes a great impression on J.W., who has never seen him before. I advise J.W. to remain just a little suspicious.

D.M. says, at the ending of an outwardly most affable evening, and without any leading from me, "It is not B., it's L. who is the great enemy of M.E.W. and M.U.W." I wonder!

*Lindman*

DIARY

13/2  
(my speed & B-St)

Dalton I 24

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7. 2. 41

Am summoned to B.P. by His Majesty this morning and have half an hour with him alone. He shows an interest in M.B.W. but has not, I think, heard much, if anything, of the rest. I tell him about Rubble and Fischamend. We speak also of gasmasks, and he says he has been thinking that perhaps they ought to have a gasmask drill in B.P. and he receive his visitors in his.

Call from the new D.M.I., Gen. Davidson, who makes a very good impression on me. He is an old friend of C.R.A., whom he praises for lack of Party spirit or personal animus. D. is one of those classless Scots. He is a gunner and has done some Intelligence work before, but not been too long in it to have a fresh mind. He says that the Alpini cracked up in this war because their officers, many of whom were Fascists from low altitudes, neglected their men. In Albania they had hardly any rations and only one thin blanket per man. These blankets, moreover, were in very poor material and tore in pieces. Alpini prisoners captured by the Greeks were in the most miserable physical condition.

He evidently thinks that G. is a little young for his responsibilities, and is surprised to hear that he is even yet 40. But I sing his praises and so, independently, does H.G., who, taking D. along the passage, says what a wonderful combination G. and I make. D. has also heard of "Dr Dynamo".

News to-day is that much evidence, coming through many different channels, accumulates that Jap entry into the war is very imminent. "Wait for the cable next week ... cut off all social contacts and hold yourselves aloof" (I said I thought that this one was all wrong, according to the theory. They should get all they could as late as they could. But I was told that this was the Jap way. Much wooden pride.) They seem also to be settling down in Camranh Bay and other points in Thailand.

& 9.

8./2. 41

Weekend in the Country on Reorganisation. Long talk with R.L., C.W. and H.G. Most points tidied up. The old Camarilla are resisting, and there is some fear that two of them - though not the third, whom I like least, - may resign. It is largely a question of face-saving. They complain that they have not been consulted. I have been demanding a Chart, with increasing violence, for several weeks. Also see V.W. and M. separately and try to be nice to them. I think I have squared them both without much concession.

*Valentin William C Murray*  
H.G. has a brainwave to secure W.A., a most suitable

*Adams*



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person now engaged in mere necrophily at Cambridge over the remains of L.S.E., to come as General Secretary. Acting quickly, R.L. and H.G. go to Cambridge to see him. There is hope that we shall get him.

Im Thomm

On the Sunday morning take I.T. for a walk, broken into sometimes by short runs, round the neighbourhood. He is doing very well and liking it.

G., who drives H.G. and me back on Monday morning, has seen V.W. the night before and thought him rather likely to resign. I said "You have demoralised him, by telling him how well everything goes on your side and making him think he is the opposite number to F.N.". G. said he didn't say this, but V.W. asked a lot of questions about organisation and, particularly, the daily meetings. But at breakfast this morning - I was not down - V.W. told G. very delightedly that "The Minister has changed everything on the chart and has put his pencil through the Headquarters staff." This last was true, for the chart on this point was misleading.

10. 2. 41

Lunch with John Carvel of The Star along with H.G. and Haydn Davies. C. says that R.A.B. was offered the C.O. in succession to Lloyd on condition that he went to the Lords. He was dissuaded from accepting this by Gretton and Co., who want to keep him in the Commons as they think of him as a future Prime Minister, and by his East Anglian friends.

Gretton and Co. loom rather large in C.'s picture of things, as they also, according to him, prevented Ramsbottom from being shifted, in R.A.B.'s favour, from the Board of Education, and also because they tried to put certain declarations into Winston's mouth when he was accepting the Leadership of the Tory Party.

In the afternoon, Cab. on Asaka Maru. On M.E.W. grounds there is every reason to stop her. She will be carrying back from Europe important machinery for the Jap Navy and a quantity of Oerlikan guns which the Swiss had contracted to make for us! On the other hand, the Japs may be trailing their coats and wanting an incident in which we might not have maximum U.S. support. A hint is dropped to me from the Chair. (Two days later A.E. says that he thinks the evidences of an immediate Japanese aggression have faded out again for the moment.)

Row over Cardinal Hinsley's broadcast, suggested to be dropped as a leaflet. Poor little "Van Cutlet", as Spears calls him, made a fool of himself on the C.A.R., relying on a fool Minute from Warner. The Committee, S. told me, were "unanimously flabbergasted".

I reverse the "decision" not to make and drop this leaflet, and write violent Minutes, much toned down from their first version by H.G., who thinks they will provoke the resignations of Leeper and Warner. Anyhow, I have been gravely embarrassed on the C.A.R., having to choose between an admission, in effect, that I have a poor lot of officials, or an admission that I am not in proper control of the show! We must take steps to prevent any repetition of this.

11. 2. 41

Lunch H. of G. Short talk with C.R.A. Agree with him that last Government changes - Tom Johnstone, Tomlinson and Paling - are good from our point of view, T.J. having replaced M. MacDonald and thus it being recognised that a "National Labour" place, when vacated, goes Labour again. I speak again of P.J.N.B., who is getting wisper and wilder, though still very good in many ways, the longer he is left outside. C.R.A. says he is going to push him for the next suitable vacancy - almost anywhere outside the F.O.

He has heard that Van is very nervy and difficult; also that the P.M. is now pretty well satisfied with S.O.

M. Webb to dine to-night. He is said to be a great fan of mine, but I should not trust him very far. He is not much of a scout, showing no sign of having heard anything of M.U.W. He says that A.V.A. was shown the other night a newspaper article describing how the Germans would use barges, etc., for an invasion. A.V.A. flung the paper down, snote the table, and said "These pressmen are a public danger, putting such ideas into Hitler's head."

M.W. twitters too much about Party politics after the war. He has some vague fear that something will be "put across" Labour Ministers and that they will be committed to some coupon election or permanent coalition. He says people are talking about this kind of thing on the Stock Exchange and in Tory Clubs. I tell him not to bother. I also read him what I think is a rather good letter I have written to Reg Wallis in reply to an enquiry on this subject.

12. 2. 41

Yesterday G. had to waste an hour with Prof. L. who rang up complaining that my reply on Italian coal supplies across Switzerland was very unsatisfactory. He made a number of fantastic proposals and was quite ignorant of all that we had done and were doing. Bloody waste of time!

At Party meeting this morning decided by 53 to 9 to support second reading of Needs Determination Bill. A certain number seem

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quite unable to go out and pick up the credit for this Bill - much less to give it to their leaders. In fact, at least 90% of the hard cases have been met, and the old people will be chucking their old hats into the air with joy all over the land.

See A.E. at the House and run over with him an agenda covering (1) M.E.W. and U.S.A. (he thinks that Salter might go out to Washington and stay there and, in addition, likes the idea that L.R. should go out for a few weeks), (2) Belgian Government; he does not seem to realise what a rotten lot they are, but I try to incite him, (3) Propaganda to Austria. He agrees ~~that~~ with me that, though P.M. has said that we intend to "liberate" Austrians, we should not go on and on too much with this motif. I say that I will send him some papers on this. I add that Van is inclined to think that every-one who disagrees with him on any of these matters is pro-German! A.E. agrees. I mention also that Van is sore because he was not asked to meet Hopkins. I try to combine a tone of affectionate regard with a hint that Van is occasionally difficult. I do not go further and raise with A.E. the question of impending retirement of Old Dips. (4) Russia. What say to Maisky? We find we are both lurching with him to-day! A.E. says he is inclined to be rather bloody-minded towards M., saying that we sent Cripps but have got no value from this, that he would gladly try to settle the Baltic difficulty, but sees no assurance that he will get any value out of that either. Meanwhile, therefore, we shall just settle down to go on winning the war.

On my return to the office, G. appears with plan for Opn.M. This has been done very quickly, the hint having only been dropped in Cab. on the afternoon of last Monday (10th) and the plan being ready this morning. Colonel A. sat up till 4 a.m. this morning finishing it. I sent a suitable message of congratulation.

After lunch with Maisky - an enormous crowd of people being there and no proper conversation therefore being possible - I go in A.E.'s car to the F.O. and talk on the way about Opn.M. He seems a little frightened of it and says he would like time to think about it. Perhaps straightforward methods of interception would be equally good, or better. I say that I will send a note to the P.M., emphasising the speed with which my people have produced this plan but saying that the political risks are to be weighed by the P.M. and the F.O. A.E. agrees with this, and I shall send him a copy. (G. makes a draft, ~~of this~~ and this is done in the early afternoon.)

At Emergency National Executive at Tpt. House - at which I arrived late - the question was raised, on Laski's initiative, of allowing people to stand for the N.E. who had not been nominated by an affiliated organisation. I wrote a note in favour of the status quo, and Walker tells me that, before I arrived, there had been

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inconclusive discussion, as a result of which a proposal is to be made to the N.E. that we should recommend that M.P.s and candidates should be allowed to stand, even without nomination. But, says J.W., this will probably not be accepted by the N.E., would anyhow be too late to operate this year, and won't in fact be taken at the Conference because we have already limited agenda to two days!

Turkish Ambassador comes to see me to talk chrome and the price of rubber, etc. I lead him on to prospects in the Balkans and find him deplorably defeatist, terrified of a Russian attack on the Turkish rear, and not seeing how Turkey can effectively intervene against Germany. He would like to "wait till 1942", when Turkey will be "better prepared". I hope, and think, that he does not completely represent the mind of his Government. This last, with two other incidents, makes a rather bad day. Little Gutt has been to see the P.M., taking with him a bunch of little leaflets, and has persuaded the P.M. to send out a Minute to F.O., M. of I. and myself indicating that "the view" of the Belgian and other recognised emigré Governments should prevail, as regards broadcasts and leaflets, unless F.O. thinks otherwise. This may be answered either passively, on the basis that it makes no change, or actively, by lengthy argumentation. I am inclined to prefer the former.

But much the most irritating incident of the day is the latest phase of the Gore affair. This little Mayfair twerp is still being fondled and conciliated, both by his Chief at Berne and by the F.O. (H. Hopkinson). The latter has sent a most shocking telegram to K. suggesting that Gore should come back, "especially since he seems to prefer it", that his recall "implies no reflection on his work", and that "similar employment elsewhere" will be found for him. G. says he has twice lost his temper with H.H. to-day over this affair. Meanwhile, K. is covering Gore against all suggestions of indiscretion, etc., and resents as "useless" detailed enquiries designed to show Gore's unsuitability for such work in war time. He thinks that he now realises the need for discretion, especially in such a post as Berne! and asks that his salary as Press Attaché shall be safeguarded.

I tell G. that all this makes the very worst possible impression. It is just as bad as the most untutored Labour agitator would suspect. Diplomats scratching each other's backs, shielding each other from proper blame, snobbery, social influence and pansidom. I reserve the right to invoke the Official Secrets Act! G., to do him justice, was not only very angry about this to-day but had minuted on the papers two days ago "Nonentities, nerves and nepotism".

I am also grateful to him for these lines on "The Inmates of the Dorchester Hotel" -

"The Rage of Power  
The Blast of Public Breath  
The Lust of Lucre  
And the Dread of Death."

Kennard



Part of this, we agree, applies also to poor old Van, who is filled with black rage and misery at not being ever at the heart of things.

13. 2. 41

R.L. arrives at noon looking rather sheepish after the row over Cardinal Hinsley's address. But we have not much time to discuss this as we both are going to a Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey to Lloyd, whom I had come much to appreciate since we had been colleagues. He had a full Abbey, but the service was much too long and lacked character.

Then, having dumped my top hat and black overcoat, which bore me, at the Ministry, I go, attended by G. and H.G., to pay an official visit to C.D.'s establishment. I spend three hours there and I think the occasion is a success. C.D. writes me a most warm and appreciative letter afterwards, which I feel sure is sincerely meant. I make a short informal speech to the weekly meeting of some two dozen of them, in the course of which I say "Happy the Minister who can make his own appointments and start free from all the personal legacies of the past."

I say that barely six months ago I was given a task by the P.M. and began by appointing G. and C.D., in both of whom I had and have great confidence, to take charge of this branch of the work. I am satisfied that C.D. has not got together a good team. The building work was delayed, no doubt, by the need to do some slum clearance on the selected site. It is a new departure to have close Ministerial control of such operations, and a colleague of mine in H.M.G. recently said to me that in his day it would have been inconceivable that a Minister should have directed such things and that he, who had spent more in certain directions than any other living man, would never dream of telling his Minister what he was doing. I replied "Things have changed a great deal, Sir John, since you were nothing more than a Civil Servant." This same man had also said that he thought it most remarkable that nothing had come out in public of me or my doings. I hoped that my Ministerial control would not be negative, but rather positive. I would undertake to defend them against any charges of impetuosity or undue enterprise or vigour. I would give no such undertaking in the contrary case. The only thing that interested me, and I was sure them, was to win the war. I should perhaps explain that I meant the war against the Germans. The great distinction was between the quick and the dead. I hoped that we could say, as Mazzini said, living an emigré among us and trying to learn our language, when the undertaker called at the wrong house, "There are no deads here".

I had only one quarrel with C.D. It was that he never went away for a weekend.

After all this, we had a light buffet lunch and all those present were brought up and introduced to me in turn. I was then taken all round the establishment and shook hands with all, including all the ladies, young and old, many of whom were visibly edified. C.D. kept asking if I was not too tired, but I replied that I never got tired and - afterwards - that it was very like electioneering, of which he and I both had memories. I particularly congratulated all those with Colonel A. who were responsible for the scheme for Opn.M.

This last will not be carried out, as an alternative and more direct method is contemplated which need not operate for a month. By then we shall see more clearly where we are.

Opn.S. is still waiting to go off when the other side oblige.

Mr G.S.Lea is a problem child. Brig.G. does not think well of him, on the basis of certain adverse reports. But he has now written a most spirited defence, with strong comments on some of those with whom, and under whom, he has been working. This is brought to me by G., his original discoverer, along with an intercepted letter. I am inclined to think that we should try to work him in somewhere else and have his comments followed up.

Dine with Spears to meet Pléven, de G.'s Breton. Also present W.Benn and G., to whom W.B. says "I see your name every day on the distribution list". I think this is all he knows about him!

*Pléven*  
P. does not much impress me. He is not dynamic, and, like all the de G. crows, can believe no Frenchman outside their little circle is any good or desires our victory. Naturally he denigrates all Vichy and Weygand. This may be true. On the other hand, he says that Pétain is really resisting. But it does not seem to follow from this, in his view, that we should do anything to assist this old man, except intensify the blockade against him. I am astonished to hear that three-quarters of the population of France is in the Occupied zone. The Unoccupied, though it contains Marseilles, Lyons and Toulouse, is for the rest most thinly populated.

G. forms a very low opinion of W.B., who, I explain, owed his Secretaryship of State for India in 1929 entirely to his bumsucking of J.R.M. In that office he was a complete failure and had to be put into the background at the Round Table Conference, while he became very unpopular in the Labour Party owing to his weakness and inaction over the Meerut case. He did not like me because he knew that I had several

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times prevented his getting good by-elections. Since he returned to the House in 1936 he had done his best to ingratiate himself with all elements in the Party, and by not taking sides in any of the more exciting controversies, had built up a certain popularity. He was, however, deeply chagrined at not having any post in the Churchill Government - his exclusion was a tribute to C.R.A.'s judgment. He had since practically boycotted Parliament and had a bogus job in Air Ministry Intelligence. G. said that he obviously knew nothing about anything and he supposed that he was now too old to have a political future. I said that I thought this was so.

DIARY

14. 2. 41

Trevor Evans

H. Davies brings in a wonderful yarn. He hears from T.E. of the Express that three or four people, one of whom was a woman, were offering the paper a most sensational story about M.E.W. The Fascist methods of the Minister; his habit of banishing all those who disagreed with him to a Ministerial Siberia, etc. They would furnish a list of names of persons working here before I came, their political records and their present jobs. Tories who expected to be fired by me were now in good jobs, but Reds and Pinks had been pushed out. Even some members of the Labour Party who don't toe exactly the Party line as laid down by me had suffered. But I was very clever and always gave such people an Irishman's rise. They said "We will give you the biggest front page scandal about H.D., but we want some big money." T.E. had asked whether J.W. was not my R.P.S. and whether this did not go against the truth of their story. They said "Jack is as black as his master."

H.G. and I both think that this is all rather nonsense, probably from someone very far down in the Ministry, probably from some Communist. It seems very unlikely that it will get any further, but Davies is going to try to find out more, and has persuaded T.E., whose identity must on no account be disclosed, to see these people again and get particulars from them early next week.

R.V. says he attended a meeting of soldiers and officials at No.10 last night when, at the end, leaflets for de Gaulle were discussed. The P.M. said to Van that he could settle it with me. "You're his chef de cabinet, aren't you?" R.V. told me that he felt a little old for a Private Secretary's job, but I told him that this was obviously how he was described in ~~the~~ War Cab. circles, as C.R.A. had used the same expression.

There is some evidence that A.V.A. and A.G. are both in Beaverbrook's pocket. Hopkins mentioned the last time I saw him that he had spent a weekend with the Beaver, and that both of these were there. To him, no doubt, this seemed quite a natural weekend party. But to others, less so!

Meet Walt Butterworth, just returned from U.S.A. to their Embassy here. He warns us that the U.S. are very slow to get into war, even with Japan. The quality of the Jap and U.S. Navies are both speculative. Neither has ever taken part in any serious modern warfare. Some good judges think that the Japs will be very weak, but this may be all wrong. W.B. points out that in a fleet action near Japan, damaged Jap ships may get home, but Americans will be very far from their bases.

O.Peake says that H.M. makes no pretence of his dislike of



E.B. and says that "There's too much vitamin I" in the latter's speeches. I ask how Assheton (*query* right spelling) gets on with E.B. O.P. says very well. It is amusing to see two Tory Under-Secretaries both being very loyal to their respective Labour Chiefs who are at daggers drawn!

O.P. says that he once stayed in the same house as Neville Chamberlain, who, thirty-six hours after his arrival, asked Peake "Can you tell me where there is a rear in this place?"

15. 2. 41

Lunch with Sikorski, who is seeing the P.M. tomorrow and going to Scotland the day after. He is hurt because the P.M. didn't mention Poland in his last speech. He also wants us to threaten reprisals against the Germans for their atrocities to the Poles. I say that this is a matter of high policy on which I cannot pronounce.

Conference later with G. and C.D. on pending operations, including Danubian K., which seems badly stuck.

Eden is on his way to Egypt and is likely to be away a few weeks.

Get away to W.D. soon after this.

16. 2. 41 (Sunday)

At W.L. Wind and rain. Walk through it with R. for three hours and return feeling healthy.

17. 2. 41

*Keyes'* Newspapers full of British parachute descent in the heel of Italy. This is the D.C.O.'s operation, in favour of which ours against the toe was postponed. All we did was to lend the D.C.O. one Italian. The thing seems to have been a pretty good failure, and the P.M. didn't know it was to happen and was furious. I hear that Keyes is now refused admission to the P.M. Previously he was always in and out. He writes long, wordy papers and is thought by the Chiefs of Staff to be half way between a menace and a lunatic.

A great row on the telephone by D.M. against F.N. (See separate note). This sort of thing is a most frightful bore.

*Morley* I report D.M. to C.R.A., who dines with me alone this evening after a meeting of Labour Ministers. He is duly hotted up.

18. 2. 41

A long and time-wasting Party meeting lasting two and a half hours on the rebellion in the Party against the decision not to oppose the second reading of the new Means Test Bill. After a long and rambling discussion, which L.S. in the Chair ought to have got the consent of the meeting to bring to an end much sooner, the Previous Question is carried by 33 to 22. This is a nuisance, for it will encourage the rebels who, of course, were here in force while many of the loyal majority drifted away.

Cudlipp, whom I do not much like though he is plausible and clever, and M.W. dine with me and J.W., whom C. has never really met. I hope this will do good, but I am slightly bored by the evening.

19. 2. 41

Belgian leaflets. Gutt comes to see me, but meanwhile Wauters, who is a good man, is seeing one of my own people, and I hope they will arrange to meet regularly in future and settle the business.

*Tommy Davies*

G. reports an experience of T.D. at lunch yesterday. I at once collect T.D. to lunch with me to-day. He sends me a report of what passed, R.F. and B.B. having been there. (See separate note.) This is getting altogether too much, and I send off a letter to C.R.A. about it. We shall have to have a showdown soon.

*Fletcher Barker*

Van and Crossman meet to-day and the latter obviously plays his cards well. Van is now very delighted with him, says that he misread one sentence in one of his memoranda, and asks me to tell C. that he likes him very much and would be very glad to see him at any time.

Van says he regards Eden's trip as a great mistake. He is talking of going to Ankara via Cairo. Probably he will get nothing out of the Turks, and in that case his prestige and ours will slump. It looks as though the Turks will do nothing unless attacked, and why should Hitler attack them yet? Van was not consulted about the trip or would have advised strongly against it. He says that his position becomes more and more impossible. He is very full of another series of broadcasts which he is giving in French. I suppose there will be a fuss about this also in due course.

Van is hardly away before Cadogan comes to see me, at my request. So I get the personal contrast at its most vivid. No doubt there is much to be said for C. Steady, common-sensible, unruffled. I begin on the Americans and the blockade and their

attempt to feed Weygand and North Africa with many things, including oil, without reference to us. We discuss tentatively the possibility of sending someone else to Washington. Drogheda is only just back, having been very ill with pneumonia. Otherwise, we both agree, he would have been an ideal man could I have spared him. C. also, I think, is doubtful of the wisdom of Eden's visit. He fears that things will so move that we may have to allow the Greeks, under pressure, to make a separate peace. This might be better than having the country "devastated to the last acre", and better than putting in some of our own troops and having them, not even evacuated, but trapped and destroyed. The Germans, he is sure, have been trying to entice us in force into Greece. This is how they wanted to help Italy. He does not believe that either the Turks or the Yugoslavs will move. Of course, if either or both did, putting our troops in would be a different matter. The Turks, of course, will be able to say that they couldn't do anything because we hadn't supplied them with enough equipment. It will also, of course, be said that we have shamefully abandoned Greece, but what better alternative is there?

He has therefore advised the P.M. to have second thoughts about Libya and to push on to the boundaries of Tunisia, thus making it as likely as it can be made that Weygand and the French will stand with us. Meanwhile, there are discouraging reports of German infiltration to Casablanca and other ports of N.Africa, and these have been communicated to the Americans to try to make them realise the un wisdom of promiscuous supplies.

I mention to him recent troubles with the Camarilla. He says that I shall perform a public service if I can damp them down, but that he is not sure whether it will help me personally to try. He says that he does not himself move much in such circles! I speak to him in praise of G. and the difficulties made for him by the Camarilla, and broach the question of tail feathers. He says that this shall not be overlooked and we will speak of it again in a few months' time.

This evening I bring together J.W. and C.D., who is very grateful for J.'s work in tying up the two branches. He would like him to go and have a look round the second branch. Lord B. is also present. "General liaison". He thinks, on the two incidents of this week, that this smoke must have some fire beneath it. We rough out a procedure, beginning with a talk between me and C.R.A.

Beasted

CM.9.

20. 2. 41 T.G.W.M.

Haydn Smith

T.E. comes with H.D. and tells me of a telephone conversation with a lady. She has now quite changed the story and says that the Minister is not responsible for what is going on. Indeed she does not think he knows. But the point is that all extremists, Right or Left, have been eliminated. "We are learning no lessons from Madrid or Moscow" (apparently this refers to the appointments of Hoare and Cripps to these two Embassies because the one was supposed to understand the Right, the other the Left). She went on to refer to the creation of two new Departments in the Ministry (she mentioned the word "underground") since I took over, connected one with the F.O. and the other with the W.O. When asked to mention names of persons victimised, she could not do so. The only name she mentioned was that of one of my officers. Without going into detail, I told T.E. that this particular man was ~~in charge~~ not in charge of any Department employing large numbers of people, and it therefore seemed that the lady must have got hold of the wrong end of the stick.

T.E. would not, of course, tell me her name, but said that she was the daughter of a General; that I knew her quite well and, if I met her in the street, would, he was sure, give her a most friendly greeting; that she was comely, aged about 37, had two children, was married to a dull husband, probably a conventional Tory, though not active in politics, and inclined to neglect the lady. She was related, T.E. understood, to Sir S.Hoare, either by blood or marriage, and she sometimes dined, he understood, with the Minister of Shipping and his wife.

I encouraged him to see the lady again and to get from her the names of alleged victims.

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Further discussion on the Camarilla. I hear that some "not flattering" things were said at a recent luncheon party. Someone has complained that I am sometimes too assertive in the Cab.

O.P., on the other hand, was surprised and agreeably impressed by the fact that the other night I was so quiet. In fact, I was feeling slightly bored and in a very poor form!

Bearded

Lord B. would like to begin trotting round, but I discourage this.

I see C.R.A. in the afternoon and he takes, as usual, a very good and loyal line. It is agreed that there shall be a meeting a trois early next week, when those concerned have returned to London.



I say that I think there should be a meeting with some half a dozen of my H.Q. staff. He thinks this a good plan. He is a good deal vexed by both the communications, copies of which I show him, and says that the other day someone put it into the P.M.'s head that E.B. was doing badly. This is another example of anti-Labour intrigue of which there is too much. He says that he spent an hour with the P.M. yesterday discussing everything most amicably. So much for M.'s yarn.

Markov

R.F. to dine. Appears to be most friendly and claims credit for having encouraged M. to boost, instead of ~~cutting~~ my activities. He was profoundly horrified, he says, at B.'s behaviour, and I get him to sign, as a substantially accurate record, T.D.'s account. The only change he makes is that he warned him, as soon as he started, what T.D. was doing. This really makes it worse for B.B. He suspects B. of being violently anti-Labour and thinks that he is carrying on a general campaign. I ask him, without leading him, M.'s views on F.N. and G. M. does not like either of them. He thinks that F.N. is "out of his depth" and run by other people (he mentions G.T. and T.D., but this is rather an out-of-date picture in any case). Also he is a legacy from C.

Taylor  
Dunn  
Dunn

He does not like G. because he "punctures" him, i.e., puts some rather simple yet penetrating question after M. has been building up some great imaginative edifice. Therefore he says that G. is "intensely ambitious" and thinks that he can best promote his career by making a success of his present job under me. He regards me, in short, as a horse to be ridden along the road of his own career. All this is rather trivial and unimpressive.

I ~~make~~ some satisfactory arrangements for R.F. to continue to do liaison through G. with my affairs.

Hall.

N.H. tells me that he hears that the U.S. really are going to make an M.E.W.

Spoker had been abusing me badly in Carlton Hill at  
 times with Ren Fletcher & Tommy Dunn.  
 I made Fletcher write a report, I then put him  
 to writing a statement, drafted by me, with Spoker  
 & details.  
 T.D. behaved most correctly

DIARY21. 2. 41

11 a.m. Visit the canteen in the Ministry. At last this is open after many weeks of pressure. It will make a great difference, particularly to those sleeping in.

Lunch with Bruce to meet Menzies, who has just arrived. Very hearty, amusing and intelligent. He reminds me of "a classical exchange of compliments" between me and him when I dined with him at the Athenaeum Club at Melbourne in 1938. After a good evening, he said "I am delighted and astonished to meet a member of the British Labour Party who has a sense of humour". I replied "I am equally delighted and astonished to meet an Australian Conservative who has some intelligence."

*from G*  
G. suggests that I should send N.H. to Washington. He has no sort of opinion of L.R., even as an envoy for a few weeks. Sir H.W. invented Van's present job. I learn tonight, for the first time, that D.M. was unfriendly to me as far back as July of last year, i.e., before I took over additional duties. He apparently represented me, most amusingly, as a windbag, a careerist, and a witless fool who shouted contradictory oburgations at my officials! His attempt to get Swinton the other duties, and his influence on the P.M. at this time is therefore quite established.

When he heard who my C.E.O. was to be from this officer himself, he was completely taken aback and had just nothing to say.

*Caledge*  
A.C.'s reserve. He has three pretty daughters but also an idiot son, of whom he never speaks and whose whereabouts is not known. He crawled out of the bushes once as a beater at a shoot attended by A.C. and some other high society!

22. 2. 41

To C.H.Q. D.M. is here for the night. Superficially perfect - and writes me afterwards a most oliaginous and excessively effusive roofer. We have a discussion in the afternoon on France, and he does the usual visits. In the evening we see a German film. I mention to him his telephone conversation with Nelson and say I did not like it. He says "Oh that was all a complete misunderstanding which has been cleared up now. I thought it was suggested that I was going behind your back". He then adds that he thinks N. is a good chap.

Van very excited about the attacks on him in The Times, and also about E.Mediterranean. He thinks it would be a first-class error

-2-

to put any troops on to the Greek mainland. We should, he thinks, at the least suffer another Dunkirk and possibly lose the men as well as the equipment, without being able to stop the German advance. This, he thinks, might even bring the French in against us - Darlan only waiting for just such an opportunity - and might make the United States fold their arms, and so lose us the war! And the immediate effect, he thinks, would be to destroy this Government and perhaps bring back Sir S. Hoare from Madrid as the new Prime Minister with the backing of The Times, etc. What we ought to do, he holds, is to finish off the conquest of Libya and then the French might well join up with us. He presses me to pass on these, as his views, to C.R.A., and bitterly complains that he is never consulted about such matters, nor was he about Eden's visit, which, he thinks, was most ill judged and, if - as is likely - the Turks do nothing, will be most damaging to H.M.G. as well as to E.'s reputation.

I pass these reflections on, as requested, but feel that the problem is not at all as simple as V. makes out. Without much knowledge of the technical detail, I find it hard to be at all sure. Van. says he is going to see B.B. again. I tell him that this man has been doing very badly lately, without giving details. Van thinks that C.R.A. and I ought to see the P.M. and discuss developments, including our need for better transport. "Give us the tools and we will do the job". But I do not tell Van about the two incidents which I have reported to C.R.A.

I tell D.M. that I should like the P.M. to see some of the chaps in my London show. It is this which leads him to say that the P.M. now sees fewer and fewer people and many Ministers hardly ever.

He says that the P.M., when he made his fateful decision not to send more fighter planes to France in the summer, said "I won't throw any more snowballs into hell".

### 23. 2. 41

Walk with Barry. He is very good stuff, though a little wordy.

### 24. 2. 41

Further with my C.E.O. on D.M. His conduct last July is the more odd because the two chief things I had done up to date should have delighted him - namely, stopping Italian oil and re-organising M.E.W. involving the promotion of N.H. So he has the less excuse for having been unfriendly, but it is a mistake to spend too much time being angry about such things.

Director Trevelyan  
(Dalton)

Visit Poles at their F.S. My D.T. and my C.E.O. both prove themselves to be very good revolver shots.

A friendly letter from Wavell approving my suggestions. Germans have already arrived in N.Africa.

The War Cab. is meeting less and less, generally now only twice a week, and nothing of great importance is discussed. One of its members says it is hardly worth belonging to any more.

D.M. last weekend said that now the P.M. only saw Beaverbrook, Eden and Alexander; that he never sees Sinclair, nor has he seen Margesson since he sent him to the War Office.

I pass on this last information to A.S., whom I see this evening, and to him I also mention B.B.'s misconduct. A.S. says that B.B. was ill and stayed for weeks in Beaverbrook's house. Hence these reflections.

Harris

I go on to mention Harris to A.S. and say a little about lack of transport facilities. He suggests a conference between us and some of the principals next week. Later this evening, G., to whom I report this, is afraid that I may have said too much, and that H. may be offended and may trace the source of my information (key word "immobilise" bombers for S.). Also he thinks the C.O.S. should first see his long and good letter on communications. I say "I ought to take you round in my pocket when I go to see my colleagues, and then you could squeak when you thought I was going to be indiscreet!" None the less, I get A.S. on the telephone at 10.45 p.m. and ask him not to do anything with H. yet. By a curious chance, J.W., not knowing of our difficulties with H., says that he knows him, having met him when at Grantham, and that he has expressed a wish to meet me, thinking that I am "the sort of man who ought to be in the Government". This shall be arranged next week and may help a good deal.

A.S. earlier to-day said that these whispers always started when there was a lull in the war. But he thinks that I should report the matter to C.R.A.



25. 2. 41

See Van at the F.O. He is in a great state because the P.M. has said that he cannot give his next three broadcasts in French. He has drafted a long letter to the P.M. which he shows me, saying that he is much the best known and loved in France of all Englishmen, that he has been "their comfort and their pillar" over many years, and that now, when it is known that he is not allowed to speak to them on the air, he will be completely discredited. And much else to the same tune. The practical conclusion, however, only is that he will have to "decline to take any further responsibility for propaganda". I ask whether this means that he will disengage from C.H.Q. He says, on the contrary, he will tell the P.M., with whom he is lunching on Sunday, that he will be only too glad to go on helping me, who am an old friend of his. I ask whether he contemplates resigning from Chief Diplomatic Adviser. He says that that may perhaps come next. He does not wish to be drawing a salary and not performing any of the duties which would naturally attach to his post. He has been completely frozen out and is never consulted on anything in the F.O. He is prepared to go on doing all he can "at half price" (i.e. for a pension on retirement). He says that when Hfax. became Foreign Secretary he said to him "Of course you are the fifth wheel on the coach, but I didn't make the arrangement. Chamberlain and Eden made it." This is perfectly true. They did it on the advice of Sir H. Wilson. At that time Van told Chamberlain that he thought of resigning and going into the House of Commons. This had frightened Chamberlain nearly out of his wits and he said that he would have the very strongest objection to this. Van had also felt that he was a little too old a dog to learn new tricks in Parliament. Chamberlain had then spoken of a peerage, but Van had refused this. He was convinced that at present there was a movement going on among rich people - the same old gang as in past years - to try to get a patched-up peace with Hitler and so save something of their private wealth at least for the remainder of their own lives. I said that I was confident that this sort of thing could easily be smashed.

In the midst of this conversation enter Sarita. From now on we all weep and wail together in an orgy of self-pity for poor old Van! No-one, she says, has borne a more cruel martyrdom for so long, and so on! Quite certainly, this beautiful but tiresome woman has been responsible for much misguidance, both of his mind and his emotions.

G. later comes in to enquire how the talk went, saying that Sir A.C. is "all agog" to hear. Van has had almost daily talks with him about the thing for weeks, and he is getting a bit tired of it. G. thinks that the most difficult situation would arise if Van retired, and was thus no longer entitled to see official papers, and yet continued in any even semi-official relationship with me. He thinks that the two things Van will fight to the end to retain are his room

-5-

in the F.O. and the right to see official papers. I had asked Van earlier to-day when he would be 60. He said next June. I said that, in that case, to retire now would make only about three months difference. I took for granted, though I did not bluntly say so, that anyhow he would be retired at 60. G. thinks that he by no means takes this view, and that, although with my full support in earlier days he used to retire all other diplomats rigidly at 60, thus making a flow of promotion and encouraging the young, he would regard himself now as being in a most exceptional position.

Dine alone with J.W. and we discuss the happy chance that he knows Air Vice-Marshal Harris who, in another connection, is being a bit of a nuisance to us. Arrange to have him to a meal next week.

I have now decided to send N.H. to the U.S.A. if suitable arrangements can be made at that end for his status and opportunities.

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We hear from Washington, via S.W., that on June 2nd a report was made to Hitler at Obersalzberg by the German General Staff to this effect.

Germany was getting into great difficulties over raw materials and especially oil. The oil shortage would become acute in the autumn of 1941, or earlier if Angle-American air action, as the General Staff feared, was able to do serious damage. Rumanian oil, they added, was of little use for aviation.

This was imparted to Hfax. on February 21st.

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26. 2. 41

Lunch with Wing-Commander James, back from Madrid. I have never much cared for this little man, whom I once violently insulted in the Lobby of the House, telling him that, in a speech criticising British ship owners for sending ships into Spanish territorial waters during their Civil War, he had spat on the Union Jack and was unfit to wear the King's uniform or to be a Member of Parliament. I added "I am glad to know that ~~that~~ we have got a damned good Labour candidate up against you at the next election. He is a personal friend of mine and I shall go and do my best to help him to oust you." (This was Bob Fraser.) Next day, however, I made him an apology.

Now, of course, he is cracking up Sam Hoare and describing all the miracles he has worked upon the Spaniards. There is a faint suspicion, still, of my playing with the Spanish Reds. I endeavour to remove it.

See E.B. and put him on his guard against an anti Labour Minister campaign in which Bracken is doing his bit. I tell E.B. that the P.M. is being told that he is not doing very well. "We know" I say, "where all these tales come from." Partly from the Beaver and partly from the people round the P.M. I also refer to the American journalist from the Hurst press who has come over in a bomber with a permit from the Beaver and has been defending Kennedy, advocating a compromise peace and getting, according to his own account, some support from a prominent Cabinet Minister. I never know how much registers with E.B., but I think a good deal more than appears from his manner.

*Mason Macfarlane*

G. brings General M.M. to see me and we talk for half an hour or so on Iberia. I like him and, according to G., he said afterwards that he liked me. I work hard to remove the lingering suspicion that we want to do independent operations, or that we are in touch with the Reds out there. I say that much of this suspicion lingers on from the days of King B., and that, on the second point, I always refused to take part in Parliamentary debates on Spain during the Civil War, that I have never met Negrin, and that it is significant that Ascarate, though he ran after many of my colleagues, never made any effort to contact me.

*Grand*

*Leite Rev. Dr. Droghe. with Mr. John Saitwell.*

*Harwood*

Menzies to dinner to meet what he calls my Brains Trust - D.G., one J.D., P.R.S., C.E.O., P.S.No.1. P.S.No.2 was asked but is away with flu. The evening goes pretty well, though it is clear that Menzies knows nothing about M.E.W. When asked by me to say a few words on our work in relation to Australia, he gives a very interesting account of Australian war finance, taxation, rates of interest, Central Bank credit, and all the great expansion of arms manufacture. Bruce, Macdougall (who is clearly breaking up) and Shedden are also there.

27. 2. 41

*Hoody, fast and bugger*

My attendant sprites watch most prudently all movements of my lips! My C.E.O. thinks that last night to Menzies I used that significant word Camarilla. H.G., invited to give evidence, says that he is pretty sure I said that the P.M. had a queer entourage. Menzies himself had been abusing Beaverbrook very freely. My C.E.O. also wonders whether it was safe to use to an Australian Conservative the description "This Churchill-Labour Government". Repeated to Conservatives here, it might do harm, but H.G. thinks that this was perfectly safe. Finally, it is thought that M. winced slightly and did not rejoin in like language when I used certain strong words. "It may have sounded rather too much as though you were showing that you knew the patois" I welcome all this prudence very much, to overawe my natural rashness of speech, but I discount it a bit too.

Francis Williams has done me proud in the Strand Magazine. I write and thank him, saying that I have never been so well done before and that he has beaten Bob Fraser's rendering of me in Picture Post and elsewhere, hitherto the best. I hope that F.W. may be linked up with C.R.A. on his personal staff.

See C.R.A. in the afternoon. ~~He~~ <sup>Mark & Frank</sup> He says that yesterday he spoke to the P.M. about me and my fears and reported two members of the Camarilla, M. and B. He said that the P.M. was very angry, said that these two had no business to talk like that, in particular that they had no business to use his name, that what they had been saying did not represent his own view, and that he considered that I was doing a good job of work. C.R.A. said that he had evidently seen, and liked, some of my recent ~~minutes~~ Minutes, e.g., that on the Polish flight. He would probably be sending for me in the course of the next few days, and would begin on my need for more aircraft.

I report this to my inner circle, who are much pleased. F.N. dines with me alone. We make plans for C.R.A.'s visit and tour on Sunday.

G. has done a bit of scouting to-day to discover how A.C. would react to my idea of sending N.H. to Washington with the rank of Minister. The response, as I expected, is not very favourable, since they have two Ministers already and, if they gave me another, could not refuse the Minister of Shipping if he asked for the same facilities. The alternative would be to make N.H. head of a special mission with the right of advising, and reporting direct to, Hfax. I shall pursue this further to-morrow.

28. 2. 41

Our counter-offensive of this week is yielding results! H.G. rings up to say that I am invited to lunch with the P.M. at Chequers next Sunday. Van also, as he told me two days ago, will be there.

Telegraph to Washington proposing that N.H., preferably as a Minister, but if not, as Head of a special Economic Warfare Mission, should go out.

G. says that he saw H. Nicolson with D.C. lunching at one of his Clubs. (How wise I am to refuse to frequent these places, except the Lansdowne, which is quite different!) G. Said to H.N. "How is the Whitehall War going?" H.N. was not amused.



DIARY

Dalton I 24 (53)

1. 3. 41

Attend an International Socialist Social at St Ermins Hotel. Crowded, but mostly Jews.

2. 3. 41 (Sunday)

Lunch at Chequers with P.M. (Meanwhile C.R.A. is having a quick lunch in London and making a tour of some interesting Country Stations. He tells me afterwards that he was much impressed, particularly by "the General".)

I go to Chequers via Denham. V. says that yesterday when he lunched at C. "everything went very well so far as your show was concerned". P.M. said nothing in criticism, and seemed interested and in agreement when V. said that good work was being done, that it had been built up from nothing, and that, especially in S.O.2, even better results were to be expected soon. "N. now is a happy man", V. said. There was not much register at this name.

As to himself, the P.M. hadn't understood that the broadcasts were to be in French. Hearing this, he removed his veto. "No member of the House of Lords will understand them", said the P.M.

V. said he did not want to go on holding his position of C.D.A. without feeling that he was performing important duties. The P.M. said "I thought ~~that~~ when you became D.'s Chef de Cabinet, though it wouldn't be so glorious as being P.U.S. at the F.O., that it would occupy you. Doesn't it?" V. said that neither he nor I could immerse ourselves too much in detail. He couldn't live in the country and draft documents. He was very glad to work with me, and to go on working, but I had two first-class Under-Secretaries, each with a good team. Then he began again on the two Germanies. The P.M. had asked, with a slight leer, "Is not that what they are saying down at ?"

V. asked me to back him up on the two Germanies. Some would pretend that he and I differed. Some, in deep confidence he told me, though not whom had tried to set him against me. They had said it was my fault that nothing was being done. Why didn't he take over? He had said that it ~~wasn't~~ wasn't true and that anyhow our relations were too friendly and he was too old for him to want to play any such game. I told him that C.R.A. had reported D.M. and B.B. to the P.M. - and what for.

Arrived at Chequers, I found only Menzies, several women - Mrs.C. and, I think, two daughters - various underlings, the Prof., Seale and Thompson. P.M. in great form. Complained that his beer was not cold enough. Spoke in praise of onions, of which we had a good supply; "l'oignon fait la force", that, he said, was Baldwin's idea of a joke. It appealed to his mediocre wit. He jeered a

little at Hfax. and his draft on Peace Aims. There was "no precision of mind in it regarding correlation of 'rights and duties'". What duties did a person living on idle investments perform? Yet did Hfax. propose to confiscate all such property? Of course not. He then talked of Socialism, the nationalisation of the railways, and the old Liberal attitude against monopoly. But "You can never ~~give back~~ go back and take away from people what they have". Therefore you could not un-nationalise the Post Office, even if you could prove that it would be more efficiently run by a private company. There must be a profit incentive and there must be a ladder. All this, I thought, was rather superficial. He has not been doing much new thinking on these subjects since the last war.

His mind was much on the sinkings. He told V. yesterday that he was thinking of them all the time. A chart was put out on the floor before lunch. Not so bad as he had thought, in these last weeks, in which, however, most damage is being done from the air. Fokker Wulfs and an adapted J.U.86 (?). The troops were eating too much. They could do with less rations. And they are using too much cotton and wool material.

Through lunch Menzies sat rather silent, a little over-awed, but he will tell the tale all right in Melbourne when he gets back. P.M. said "Hitler says that 16 million Jews ought to go and live in Australia. What do you say to that?" He had no good quick answer. P.M. also made the old joke about M.E.W. and M.U.W. of which he is very fond.

After lunch I had three quarters of an hour with him alone. I offered to send for G., whom I was keeping at the end of a telephone an hour away. No, he said, that is too far. I pressed very strongly my need for more aircraft, and read some notes on the present position. He asked me to write a short Minute on this and said he would do what he could to help. There is great competition for aircraft. I say that we are now ready for more tools. I say that in particular we are stuck for civil aircraft. He says, rather defensively, "that is not Beaverbrook's fault". V., he says, "gets things a little out of proportion". He asks whether we have not many Left Wing elements at W? (with a slight chuckle). I say that I am accused by others of Fascist methods and getting rid of Reds and even Pinks at M.E.W. I say that our people are being sniped. I want him to be satisfied. He says "I am not dissatisfied. I know that you are a very able man. (This would go all right in a headline, but not much warmth). He goes on to say that B.B. may have been saying some things which he had no authority to say. M. has denied saying what he is alleged, and adds "He read me a letter saying that he was much impressed with what he had seen." P.M. adds that C.R.A. has spoken to him about all this. I press that the P.M. should see some of my chaps. I speak of some of them. I say that F.N. was a friend of G.L. and A.V.A. When Tory M.P. for Stroud, he spoke against the Gold Standard. I sometimes wonder

Lloyd Alcock

*Guthrie*

whether the P.M. remembers this against him. The P.M. says "No, I am not that kind of man". Brig.G. seems to register slightly, and of C.H. he says "I want to give both him and a K". At first he said "No, I see no-one". Then, when pressed further, "How many do you want me to see?" Perhaps we shall get something later. He asks "What are your relations with Swinton? I say that I don't find I overlap with him at all. He seems to accept this. I speak of particular ops. He says "I have insisted on Claymore and Almoner. The Admiralty didn't want to do either." He was not at all surprised that the Norwegians had cold feet about the possibility of repeating Rubble. I told him that the Poles were wirelessly from Warsaw, and that the Czechs were disappointing. I spoke of M.M. and Relator. He said "I want Spain to keep neutral as long as possible."

We spoke of the Danube. He expressed supreme contempt for Prince Paul, who could have smashed the Italians in Albania. As to U.S. demands for food through blockade, he agreed with me that we must aim at delaying, diminishing and debating. He liked the idea of Savanna and still more of Josephine. (Later I found that this had all been cracked up too much in the report, and made a row with G. about this. Very lucky, I said, that the A.am. didn't call your bluff and give you all you asked, for then you could not have used it.) I said to the P.M. that anyone who tries to drive a wedge between me and Van will fail. P.M. said no-one has tried to do that.

Then, about 3.30 p.m., he said it was time for him to go to bed.

I think that, though there is no great cordiality or intimacy, things have advanced a bit.

### 3. 3. 41

Retinger tells me about Polish intrigues, saying that Stanczyk is being made a tool by others. I say that these must not be allowed to develop while Sikorski is in the U.S.A.

G.J. and C.D. to dine, and we discuss yesterday's doings. G. says that the P.M. is a little suspicious of me. It is not clear quite what he suspects me of. Trying to get his job?

### 4. 3. 41

Meet the Secretary of State for War in the passage at the H. of C. and find him very cordial. Lord B. has been talking to him about our show. I hear that Lord B. pays his election expenses. This makes a good link.

*Manjesson**Beard*

Dine with other Labour Ministers, as C.R.A.'s guest, to meet Menzies. I have done this rather often now, but he is interesting on the Australian Labour Party, even though probably not quite truthful.

Later look in at a party given by G. in the Lansdowne Club to various notables. He thinks it a great triumph to have got A.C. to come. Gen.M.M., who is said to be much impressed with me, is also there, and so are D.M.O., D.N.I., C. and Ismay. The table broke in the middle of the evening and there had been a certain fluster, owing to Mr Broad being less competent at arranging these things than my Mr Hancock, but, apart from this, the party was, I think, a success.

Mason-Mac (in 1945) & Labour (but died soon after)

### 5. 3. 41

D.C. to lunch to discuss possible modus vivendi with M. of I.

Stanczyk to see me. Anti-Kot and pro-Sosnkowski. I tell him not to intrigue against Sikorski. He takes it very well from me.

J.W. and Air Marshal Harris dine with me. This is a good move. J.W. knew him before. A lonely sort of man who would like to have a farm in Kenya or Rhodesia. Said to be very down-right and to spit into the fire. There was no fire for him to spit into to-night. Hates the Navy and the Foreign Office, but the Navy a bit more. He is in charge of all the Bombers, and the Navy keeps pulling them away. "Gimme, gimme, gimme". So, he says, the sailors always cry. And so his lovely bombers go "grinding up and down in the dark over the north-western approaches and cannot be turned on to targets in Germany. He found G. rather difficult, he complains, in to-day's negotiations. (G. coming in earlier, asked by me whether he had won, lost or drawn, replied "A draw, slightly in our favour".) The principle of the special flight is maintained, we are to have a slight addition to it, and also a chance of part use of machines going on other errands. I said that G. had been difficult on my instructions. We must keep in touch with this Air Marshal.

### 6. 3. 41

Dicate Minute to P.M. on success in Balkans. This follows recent Minutes on Air Communications (some progress with military aircraft but none with civil) and on our share in Claymore.

M. Webb to see me. He afterwards tells J.W. that I was "rather heavy" with him and said "You should be very careful or you



-5-

may find yourself in a very uncomfortable place." I spoke about Defence Regulations and Official Secrets. I don't think M.W. really knows much, though he pretends. (Separate note of this and other conversations.) "P.W. Dept. to M.E.W.". Wilson Broadbent of the Daily Mail frequents M. of I., goes about saying uncomplimentary things, and mentioning me. I ~~xxx~~ wish I could find out whom he sees. I am advised by B. and G. that it would be quite easy to stop him.

Dine in the evening with Bryan and N.H., the former a most frightful bore, an American seeking to send every kind of vitamin to every occupied territory in Europe.

### 7. 3. 41

A visit from Spaak, Gutt and Wauters about Belgian leaflets. Rather an animated talk in which I get S. to say that it is he and not G. who is the Belgian Minister responsible. G. tries to intervene too much. I then write to S. confirming our arrangement and, some days later, he writes agreeing. I hope now we have spiked G.'s guns with the P.M. and others.

Lunch to Charlie Bowerman, aged 90. What a fate! I am one of those who speak his praises. So does Citrine, whom I see for the first time since his return from the U.S.A. But he is more concerned with a personal grievance of his own, that he was not allowed in a broadcast to refer to German land-mines, than to poor old C.B. Ben Tillett, sitting on the other side of me while W.C. is inveighing against bureaucrats and censors, says "He has only the mind of a vestryman".

G.H. to dine with me and discuss our new plan for N. Africa and Vichy France. He has some hopes of a counter infiltration by the Americans and ourselves.

Speaking of the M. of I. he suggests that he should have W.M. to lunch and tell him to lay off, adding that I am now well away with P.M., Chiefs of Staff, etc. We speak also of I.K. and I recall, to his credit, that the night before we declared war, when I had been at the F.O., he had pressed me to take the line that, even if France would not go in, we should, alongside Poland. G.J. then made the bright point that, if this had happened, we should to-day be much better off, provided the Germans had permitted France to remain neutral.

### 8. 3. 41

Shildon War Weapons Week. A very successful visit. Large crowds in the street, to see procession of troops, A.R.P., etc; a

big and appreciative audience at the Hippodrome; a very pleasant reception at the Council Offices, and a very friendly welcome from Charlie and Mrs Myers and visits from Jack Smith, who is doing very well as Chairman of the Council, John Wright, retired school inspector who is doing excellent work as secretary of the W.W.W. Committee, and others.

9. 3. 41

Return from Shildon.

10. 3. 41

*Hambro*

G. says that C.H. was much concerned at some remarks of R.L. last weekend, in which the latter spoke of taking up certain matters direct with D.M., who would go to the P.M., who in turn would "compel the Minister" to do this or that. Not quite clear what! But R.L., before so speaking to C.H., had told him that it was all very secret and he must repeat it to no-one. C.H. passed a troubled night, then told C.D., who told G., who told me. But I must not tell R.L. that I know, or C.H. and C.D. would both feel compelled to resign! I said I thought C.H. was a bloody fool to have promised not to tell me.

I immediately send for R.L., who comes up rather reluctantly and lunches with me and C.D., whom I invite for the purpose, to discuss co-operation in F.N.A. R.L. seemed slightly sheepish and awkward I thought, but I respected C.H.'s conscience. Meanwhile, G. was lunching alone with L, the Head of our Italian Country Section. L. was the host and got rather drunk. He then proceeded to criticize most people. H.G. he appeared to regard as a devil incarnate, always pulling strings. C.D. he thought was not up to his work, and he was not pleased with me, not having forgiven me for having sent for him with others and complained that nothing was being done in his area. He alleged, moreover, that I was filling the place with Labour politicians, citing in particular D.C. and I.T. G. told him that I had inherited D.C. from M.I.R., into which he had been introduced by a Conservative M.P., one Captain Hogg! G. notes, however, that much of L.'s criticism was the same as D.M.'s, and thinks it clear that L. was passing these criticisms direct to D.M., and that this was the reason why D.M. flared so furiously when pulled up for communicating direct with L. It looks as though L. should be shifted. It is very extraordinary that he should speak in this way to G. and not suppose that he would pass it on to me and C.D.

*Crossin  
Thorn*

6.3.41.

M, who spoke yesterday to J. who told me, comes at my request to see me. Appears friendly and only anxious to report. (This differs a little from J's impression yesterday.) It is B. who has been talking to M. and others. Changes soon to be made in P.W. "Puerile and childish"; "whole thing stupid and ineffective"; "whole thing missing fire"; "will be taken away and put elsewhere". "We may take a hand".

Prominent members of own Party said to share these views.

This man frequents a certain place, where he is well in with the high-ups. Used to frequent an older shop.

I said this is boggy ground. M. said he knew this. He showed no sign of wanting to step on it.

I asked if B. had named a town. M. said no but he, himself, knew. He thought D.J. had told him. He reminded me of question proposed but not put months ago by G.E. on P.W.

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See to more advisers. Proposed (i) to put a private stop through A.M. on references; (ii) try to find out whom B. sees. (This before direct method with B) Reported later that stop is on already against reference to all methods.

Dalton I 24 (60)

7.3.41.

See L. who is to lunch with T. Discuss on Saturday à 3. Possibly call in 4th if not too sore. Later L. says P. says that its No. 2. Letter to me amended by No. 1.



DIARY

17/3 with Red  
knives

Dalton I 24 (61)

11. 3. 41

At breakfast I re-read my Mind Cleaner and decide in favour of the "dramatic offer" on conditions, as being the least lousy of all the lousy alternatives.

Conference in my room at H. of C., accompanied by Lord D. and G., with R.A.B. and A.C. We agree a telegram to Hfax. on these lines and propose to see the F.M. to-night. He should, I think, send a personal message also to the President. G. has made a draft for this purpose, bringing out the importance to us of agents, American and British, in F.N.A.

See Donovan again this afternoon. He has made a tour of some Stations and I reveal to him that I am the Minister. He thinks the President will be much interested. I then get in G. and we discuss the question of suitable Americans in the Zone. D. horrifies me by suggesting we should get in touch with H. Gibson. He thinks the Hooverites would be both interested in, and good at, the job. This is bloody hopeless! When G., who was shocked, but less shocked than I, at this exhibition, afterwards suggests that we should use D. as a channel to the President, I refuse violently. We had better send a telegram through another channel.

See P.M. at No.10 - I and Lord D., R.A.B. and A.C. - and find him in a most benignant mood. He takes our telegram for Hfax. without a murmur, adding only a phrase that any food sent under this scheme must be doled out, so long only as the French behave. The personal message he says that he will write himself, and takes our draft, but, typically and unfortunately, says that our point about the agents is "only subsidiary". He is not himself inclined to answer Darlan but would rather try to get the President publicly to rebuke him.

Dine with Durbin. Intelligent, good-hearted, industrious, but inclined to stay too long and rather heavy in the hand.

12. 3. 41

Party Meeting carries by 57 votes to 5 motion that M.P.s should not press amendments on Means Test Bill to a division without authority of A.C. Bevan makes a violent speech the other way and says that he will face all consequences. Later in the day he evaporates. Shinwell, having hauled up the white flag at yesterday's meeting of A.C., is absent from meeting to-day. D.M.A. passed a resolution last week approving action of majority. This is a signal to Shinwell to toe the line. Later, E.B. gets Third Reading of Bill without division. He says to J.W. in the Bar that, if a Tory

Durbin  
A.C.

Minister had introduced this Bill, it would have been greeted as a tremendous concession. But L.P. and T.U.C. are always ungenerous and ungrateful to their own! Some truth in this.

Crossman and H.G. redraft, at my request, letter for D.C. regarding German Section. I had met him in the House this afternoon and outwardly there was friendliness, but, when he has had more to drink, and is hotted up by his officials, he is less tractable.

E.B. and I dine with Sikorski, with whom are Stanczyk, Liebermann and Retinger. Talk about the General's coming visit to U.S.A. (I have had talks with Retinger and Stanczyk separately about this and have done my best to keep these Poles united!)

Conference later with G., H.Q. and V. on message to U.S. P.M.'s personal message, of which I now see a copy, is long and woolly and misses our points. H.Q. thinks it "sinister" and suspects the influence of Lord B. I doubt this. But we decide to send a parallel message to N.Y. to be sure we get the right sort of Americans in F.N.A.

G. reports that L.Cadbury, with whom he has been dining, says that A.V.A. is telling journalists that "in theory" we have already lost the battle of the Atlantic" but that, of course, if U.S. will give full aid, we can retrieve it. This makes a bad impression on L.C., as upon those with him to-night. A.V.A. is still in Lord B.'s pocket, made much of and flattered by being asked to man the piano and sing simple songs during weekend visits to Lord B. I tell them that Hopkins, at my third talk, mentioned casually that A.V.A. and A.G. (and their wives) were with Lord B. in the country when he went down.

*Beavak-ah*  
13. 3. 41

*Han Ecker*  
 N.H. and D.E. to see me. The latter wants to go to Washington to join in the negotiations about French North Africa, metropolitan France and Spain. He is a clever devil but I don't completely trust him. I pretend not to understand what he wants, and make him ask for it straight out. I then say that I have already proposed to Hfax. that N.H. should go, and haven't had an answer. I cannot have a situation in which N.H. is refused and he goes instead. On the other hand, if N.H. goes, I am willing that D.E. should go for a short time to assist him, and particularly to counter Murphy, the Irish anti-English American Consul who has been at Vichy.

*Drogheda Pecker*  
 I get Lord D. to ring up C.P. at Washington and ask what has happened to my personal telegram to Hfax., sent nearly a fortnight ago. C.P. says that a reply has already gone, and that my

proposal is accepted, with rank of Minister for N.H. This is better than I had expected. N.H., who has been on tenterhooks for some time, looks a little pale and jaded, even when told that all is well. Hfax's telegram comes in to me this evening.

At the Cab. we decide to postpone still further our decision over Asaka Maru till she reaches Cape Town. She has just left Bilbao. Someone is being very indiscreet with the Japs in London. R.A.B. thinks it is someone at the Admiralty. It seems that the A.M. is to be only one of a series of "spécial service ships".

P.M. backs me up against the Admiralty over the Bangkok, carrying 300 tons of rubber - and some rice and tea - from Saigon to Marseilles. She is due in the Straits in a couple of days. I press for the rubber to be seized. This is Germany's gravest deficiency and will simply go to make rubber tyres for the German Army, probably to be manufactured in unoccupied France. A.V.A. begins by pretending that this ship is sailing under a modus vivendi with the French authorities in Indo-China. This I deny. Next he suggests that we should make no more interceptions until Dupuy - I call him Dupe - the poor little ~~Swiss~~ Canadian Charge at Vichy, arrives here for consultation. This is rebutted. Next young Pound whispers in his ear that the B. may be escorted and may be in company with other food ships. Is she to be stopped then? P.M. says stop her, even if escorted, unless there is overwhelming French force. If with other ships, pick her out and bring her in to Gibraltar.

Odd how pacifist the Admiralty is in time of war!

14. 3. 41

Hall and Eccles to see me about American negotiations. I suspect E. of trying to get to Washington in front of H. He seems to have been busily running round over reservations on the Clipper. G. tells me that E. fluffs up to him and says that it is clear that I am profoundly suspicious of him. He supposes that this is because I do not like his politics, and that I prefer H. who is a Socialist. In fact, H. is nothing of the kind. I tell G. that I will try to smooth some of E.'s feathers down again, though I have doubts at the back of my mind as to whether he would not be prepared for a compromise peace to save his private wealth. G. does not think there is any evidence of this.

Kalina comes to see me in the afternoon. He is dissatisfied with the present Czech set-up, and I intend to speak to Benes to-morrow about this. He helps me to prepare a few short chosen words in Czech for the troops.

Dine with G. and have a few words afterwards with W. Monckton, whom we warn that there is some evidence of too much talk from near the top of the M. of I. to such as Wilson Broadbent of the Daily Mail. W.M. says to me "Whatever else people may say against you, at any rate you succeeded in sacking both C.S. and G."

C-Slovak  
Graw

15. 3. 41 *Martelli*

To C.H.Q. Evening discussion on Italian propaganda. G.M. is crazed on the Free Italy movement and goes too far in criticising the other branch of our show.

16. 3. 41

Walk with Johnstone in the Park. He has a good stride. We discuss bison and Bulgars.

*Lockhart*  
Lunch with Benes at his country house near Aylesbury. Am accompanied by G. and B.L. The only others there are Madame Benes, Smutny and Drntina. B. is full of the Roosevelt speech. He says he is now completely convinced that we shall win. He has not a great deal to say to-day, but I take him aside and push Kalina's barrow. I say that none of the Left-Wing Czechs, either Ministers or members of his State Council, can speak English, and this is a great handicap. On the other hand, Kalina speaks English perfectly, my friends in the Labour Party are well used to him, and, I hint, some are wondering why he is still without more status. B. says that K. has excellent qualities, but has been upsetting some of the others by impatience and impetuosity. But, says B., he has been warning the others that there will be no room for old men in the leadership of the Czech people after victory.

B.L. tells G., who tells me, that he thinks I have pressed K.'s claims rather too hard. This is based on my own account, returning in the car after lunch, of what I said tete-a-tete to B. before lunch.

Talk in the evening on F.N.A.

17. 3. 41

*Sutcliffe*  
Visit the Czech Army with G. and my Brig. In charge of Gen. Ingr. They are quite good as far as they go, but there are only a little over three thousand of them all told (this, of course, does not include the airmen). B.L. had said that most of them wear spectacles. This is not true. They have quite a sturdy



appearance. I have Guards of Honour, etc., and am shown an artillery exercise and also see one of their infantry battalions. I visit cookhouses, huts, clubs, ambulance units, and so forth, and make a pretty good speech at lunch to an audience of about 100, mostly Czech artillery officers. I say "I know that nearly all of you understand English. Whether you will understand me when I begin to speak Czech is more doubtful". At the end I fall into some prepared sentences of Czech, and this goes very well. (Czech passage on separate note.)

Kalina turns up with the press. I deliberately take little notice of him so as to avoid embarrassment.

18. 3. 41

Over the weekend the repercussions of the Roosevelt speech have been very great. Many doubters in Europe must now wonder whether Germany can win after all.

The Turks are saying that the Alliance still holds, but that their allies have not given them the promised arms. Even if they were now liberally supplied, they could only, they say, hold themselves in "general reserve for 1942". This chimes in with the talk of Aras to me many weeks ago. It is not very bright.

Pilgrims Lunch in honour of Wynant. A great occasion, but, by God, what a bad speaker he is! He seems completely terrified and reads it word for word from a manuscript. The words are all right but the mode of delivery is awful. I find myself sitting beside Dawson of Penn, the father-in-law of Eccles. I say some flattering things and that I have great confidence in him.

Retinger comes to see me. I am still without the F.O. and Treasury answer about the Polish money. Therefore I have to fence, as on previous occasions. G. has been on to them again earlier to-day and I was promised the official letter before Retinger comes. It arrives later in the evening and is bloody awful - the maximum of obscurity and imprecision after the maximum of delay. No figure mentioned, though on the telephone in my presence earlier Makins seemed to be quoting definite sums. I write a furious Minute and am angrier than I have been since the incident of the Italian prisoners of war.

19. 3. 41

A final outbreak with G. over Sikorski's money. I send him running round the F.O. and Treasury in order to get the thing finally clear. I tell him that I find no evidence of good will towards either me or him in either place. He seems to admit that

Hopkins

the little blighter H.H., his successor, is not too full of this, but he defends the others. I tell him to tell them that only a little more and I will complain to the P.M. about failure to get co-operation.

Little Dupe comes to see me and tells a wonderful tale of physical and mental vigour of the old Marshal at Vichy, of how he told D. that he would never have Laval back, that he did not trust Darlan a hundred per cent, that he would hold the Germans strictly to the Armistice terms, that they had been "ignoble", that he had repeated this word very often, that if the Armistice terms were broken the Government would move to North Africa, but that the Marshal himself would not move. It was, says D., only because he told the Marshal that the Armistice terms were not being kept in N.Africa that Weygand was summoned to Vichy and sent back with orders not to yield beyond the Armistice terms. D. thinks that the German infiltration in N.Africa is not really serious and that we may make a mistake by attaching too much importance to it. He thinks, however, that there should be American observers to report. I say I quite agree with this and want some British as well.

The Jug Minister calls and explains, as often before, that he wishes to keep me, as the equivalent of the Labour Party's Foreign Minister, as well informed as the F.O. He says that his Government will continue to insist on maintaining their neutrality. They will not allow the Germans the right of passage. On the other hand, they are compelled to trade on a large scale with the Germans. The northern and north-eastern parts of the country are not defensible, but they could defend themselves in the mass of mountains running from the Dalmatian coast and forming the greater part of Old Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia. Several of their airmen, he says, have already flown their planes away to Greece. This shows the spirit of the Army. The people, he says, are determined on resistance. I listen politely to all this but say little.

Sir C.S. calls, recently back from America. He is returning in a few weeks' time and thinks he can pull off a very great success with an American wireless station, to be financed by them and, in fact, controlled by me. He has only spoken to F.N. on this so far and will not let it go further.

A farewell dinner to N.H., attended by some 18 or 19 of my officials. I make a short speech and so does he. He is, I think, very delighted, and it has made a good feeling in the Ministry, particularly that he is to have the rank of Minister.

20. 3. 41

Wynant calls and stays just over an hour. Most of the time he is incredibly shy and tongue-tied and won't look me in the eyes. He brightens up a bit towards the end. He must be brighter than his outward form or how did he ever get anywhere? But he is, I think, a good friend of ours and herein a sharp contrast to his crook predecessor. I mention both Harriman and Cohen and he rises much more to the latter than the former. He is an American Man of the Left, with strong sentimental social interests. He speaks of a survey which much impressed him, relating joblessness to age, in our North-Eastern Region. He speaks in warm terms of Arthur Henderson (I am sending him a copy of Molly's Life) and of George Lansbury. I feel he might be soft on Relief questions, and he repeats that we should go slow in pressing U.S.A. along paths of Economic Warfare. He says several times, in different ways, that Leith Ross should go to U.S.A. "An older man" - he is comparing him with N.H. - "would have more influence" with those at the head of affairs. Evidently someone has been talking to him against N.H., whom, however, I summon in towards the end of the talk, and they seem to get on well. Wynant speaks up for Cordell Hull, who, he says, is the next most important man after the President, and has a very wide outlook and is always balancing one possibility against another. W. walks into my room with his hat in his hand and would have left it behind had I not reminded him of it. I hope he will talk quicker next time. He has the features and black hair, including thick black brows, of a Western Irishman, but there the likeness stops.

L.R. brings Sir R. Knox to see me about Honours. A most unsatisfactory man and a most unsatisfactory conversation! He takes the view that Honours are for "State Servants", i.e. for permanent Civil Servants. "The others" should feel it an honour to be allowed to work in the Civil Service during the war. . (Yes, he really did say just that!) Gradually, he supposes, a few Honours will have to be given to these people, but most of them should wait till the end of the war. If you give them anything now, it will only encourage them to expect something more later. We speak of particular cases, notably Hall and Nicholls, and he is most unsatisfactory on both. I say that it seems odd to me that a man whom His Majesty thinks good enough to make a Minister at Washington may not be thought good enough by Sir Horace Wilson and his Committee for even a knighthood, let alone a C.B. or a C.B.E. L.R. plays no great part in the conversation, though he sticks up for one or two of our cases, and I have the impression that Knox knows that near the top of the Civil Service L.R. counts for little. I tell Knox that if I were a private M.P. and not a Minister I should make a row over the quite undue share of the permanent Civil Servants. I say that, if the public knew on what principles the thing was being run, they would say that the Permanents were scratching each other's backs and keeping the rest out in the cold. I ask whether he realises that

when N.H. was appointed to Washington, I could find no permanent Civil Servant in my Ministry who could take over his job, and that I had to bring in a non-permanent from outside.

Visit Sikorski in the afternoon. He is going in a warship to U.S.A. in a few days. He is, as usual, most affectionate and friendly and is replying in writing to my letter about his money. He seems reasonably satisfied.

See Hambro this evening. I am able to tell him that he will be in the Birthday Honours, along with Binney, for services rendered over Rubble.

Dine with H.G. in our cafeteria. It seems going very well, the food being good and cheap and many people attending. But the Bar is not yet open!

The P.M. has circulated a magnificent document on Committees, calling on each Department to reduce by 25% both the number of its Committees and the number of persons attending them.



Juggery 21/3, 27/3 (Conf. L. for Mr. L. T. Daniels)

DIARY

Dalton I 24 (69)

21. 3. 41

CM April 23/3

Bad news from Juggery. They have signed the Axis Pact. Wire sent to use all means to raise revolution. G. screws this through the F.O.

I raise a fuss in all directions about not being summoned to yesterday's Cab. when blockade was brought up unexpectedly and some stupid, weak, ill-phrased conclusions reached. (I get this all washed out a few days later.) I take the following action:

- (1) Minute to A.V.A. expressing surprise that he discussed these things without warning me, and dissatisfaction with his proposed signal to F.O.C.N.A.
- (2) Minute to P.M. enclosing copies of (1) and saying that Cab. conclusions go far beyond anything desired by me, the Cab. or the Americans.
- (3) Letter of protest to C.R.A., enclosing (1) and (2). (He replies later that I should have been there and that he has spoken to the Secretary.)
- (4) Cause L.R. to write a formal letter to Bridges protesting against my not having been there.

P.M. sends a Minute saying that this had cropped up unexpectedly, that I should have an opportunity, if I wished, of putting my point of view before the Cab. next week in a paper, and that meanwhile, certainly, the words of which I complained were much too wide.

*Cynthia*  
*to Frances*  
*Nicholls*  
C.J. to lunch with me at her own request. She wanting to tell me that M.I. liked me very much and thought that I disliked him, and would be very pleased if I would take some notice of him. He thinks I think that he was weak over Italy. P.N. dislikes me very much and would be glad if I ceased to be a Minister. He also is very defensive about Italy. They only did, he says, what H.M.G. told them to. I reply to her that I should quite like to be nice to M.I., for whom the plain truth is that I just can't find a use in my Ministry, and am longing for him to get the diplomatic post long promised him. P.N., on the other hand, I have no use for at all. I regard him as having been a complete disaster. Not only was he quite wrong over Italy, but when I succeeded in reversing the policy, he went about saying that this new Minister's line was idiotic and ignorant and quite impossible to carry out. He is also responsible for constant obstruction of all our projects in the Balkans, including the Danube, and I still remember his attempt to appease the Germans at the expense of the Poles in the F.O. in 1930. As I say to G. afterwards, recounting these affairs, "I never forget I am like the elephant."

22. 3. 41

Final discussion on Honours and send in my list. It will be amusing to see what I get this time. I have put chief recommendations for N.H. (C.B. or straight K.) and Jack Nicholls (O.B.E.). I have also put in my C.E.O. for a C.M.G., and D.E. for either C.M.G. (second preference) or C.B.E.

After lunch go with C.M. to W.L.

23. 3. 41 (Sunday)

A very good walk with C.M. We start at 10, lunch at Avebury, where we arrive at 1.30 after a considerable involuntary deviation, tea at Marlborough (Dolly's) after a bit more deviation, and then walk straight home, getting in at 7.30. We think we must have walked 30 miles, but, having worked it out most conscientiously upon the map, taking account of all wiggles and woggles, we bring it out at 26½. This is not too bad in itself, particularly as we went at a great pace a large part of the way and frequently broke into a run. As we were coming over the last skyline, C.M. said to me "Now, of course, we ought to run", being quite sure I wouldn't. Whereupon, I said "Come on then" and started. We ran down to the postman's gate and then strode up the last hill. He was a little stiff and tired, much more, I think, than I was. I had not taken any kind of vigorous walk since the Christmas break, when I was in Scotland, so I don't think my physical condition is too bad, in spite of my funny life!

24. 3. 41

Busy with trifles. C.E.O., C.D. and I dine together and survey the scene. The good relation between these two is the key to much.

25. 3. 41

Uproar in Parliament and a great demonstration in favour of the blockade. I have quite a rough passage - a most unaccustomed experience in these days - at question time. Outcry from all sections of the House. They are shocked at recent press revelations of trade through Marseilles and at navicerting of American food ships. Really, of course, they should shout at the Admiralty, the F.O. and the P.M.! I have it put about that only a very simple-minded person would think that I ask the Admiralty not to stop these ships, or that I ask Hfax. to persuade Roosevelt to send the food ships! There is some perturbation among my advisers over this demonstration,

but on the whole I welcome it and it strengthens my hand for the Cab. this week.

D.M.I. to dine (at last) with C.D. and Vickers. D.M.I. is very intelligent, but Vickers does not shine much. Perhaps he has been overrated.

26. 3. 41

After some weeks' interval, we hold a Four-Power Conference. My two Assistant Under-Secs. have met and, I think, squared up their differences over liaison, etc. Van has been having a bad time with his duodenitis and looks sad and in pain. He has been pestering me with silly little notes on unimportant individual cases. It is rather pathetic.

Jug news is bad.

Benthall to dine. A useful, sensible, experienced, unexciting man.

27. 3. 41

What a day! G. comes into my room this morning with a smiling face and says "There was a coup d'etat early this morning at Belgrade". As the day goes on, we hear more detail, and it is clear that our chaps have done their part well. It was the Air Attache who went to Simovic and finally persuaded him to act. When S. asked what arms we could supply, the A.A. was authorised to say that we would do what we could, but his best chance of getting arms was to attack the Italians in Albania. There was a lot to be collected there. The money we have spent on the Serb Peasant Party and other Opposition Parties has given wonderful value. We knew before that the Air Force would be all right, and, if necessary, would fly away to Greece, but many of those near the top of the General Staff were rotten, and this coup was mainly carried out, apart from the Air Force, by Colonels, Majors and junior officers. Prince Paul, "Our Friend" (Eton and Oxford), has been a complete skunk. He has deceived our diplomats as such gentlemanly skunks always do. Chips Channon told G. to-day that he was sure Prince Paul had been behind this coup, because he was so fond of King Peter! This is worthy of the Servants' Hall.

(Prince Paul)  
S.E., who has been in our job for a long while, says that he remembers the black looks he first met at the F.O. when it was proposed that we should subsidise the Opposition Parties. "Prince Paul would be so vexed if he ever found out", they said.

I had a yap at G. later in the day because, through some

stupid oversight, he had not shown me the telegram he had last night, though he had sent a copy to A.C. and shown a copy to D.M. at lunch!

Cab. this afternoon. P.M. says now is the time to go ahead with the Danube. I say that a telegram went this morning. (It did, because the G. of S. wanted it, but it was only a repeat of earlier orders.) To-night we hear that the Germans probably have wind of our G.scheme, which is the most promising. I am not surprised, after all the delays. The K.scheme and the I.G.scheme are also both still on the tapis, but I have not much hope of them either.

*has*

I win a good victory in the Cab., where my five recommendations are all accepted. These are the conclusion of a very good and compact paper, as most think, on blockade of unoccupied France and French North Africa. I am to make a draft, with the F.O., to hfax, telling him to reason earnestly with Washington against any more blockade concessions, rubbing in that Parliamentary and public opinion is very restive on this subject. As the P.M. says, there will soon be only one country in the world being blockaded, namely our own. A.V.A. does not put up any serious fight against my proposal that the Admiralty should intercept as much as possible and than no un-navicerted ships and cargoes should be released.

Harriman dines with me alone. He is frank, friendly, intelligent and fairly quick. He does not care much for Laski, who, through Frankfurter, gives the President a queer and misleading picture of our public mind and future probabilities. He does not think much of Hull and agrees the State Department are remote and difficult. On food, he thinks the P.M. should make a quite blunt statement to the President of what we feel, not leaving the decision to the latter. I ask may I quote him to the P.M. on this, and he says yes.

Keren and Harar have fallen. What a day!



DIARY

28. 3. 41

A stupidity proposed regarding Noel Coward. I react violently against it. Someone over there has gone much beyond his authority. The man is utterly unsuitable and attracts publicity everywhere. I am told that it will upset X if I say no. I say I will risk that. C.E.O. rather weak on this. Thinks the man is very intelligent and amusing. This is a relic of pre-war Mayfair judgments. No use now! I am a little surprised.

Molly Hamilton to see me. We discuss her Memo for Policy Committee, and then go to lunch at Josefs, where Yugo-Slav flag is hung out beside Union Jack and whole place crowded. Many others have thought that this is a good day to eat Serbian.

// More congratulations on my Jug achievement. Letter from Ismay on behalf of P.M. and Defence Committee. We are well on top! I make an order of the day and write thanks and appreciation. A wonderful reply comes two days later from my Chief Organiser. It is quite touching.

Taylor

29. 3. 41

On top of the world! First news of naval battle in Eastern Mediterranean. In this phase the war goes fast our way. It may reverse a bit later, but never mind that.

To the country in the afternoon and dine à l'Italiano. They say that the Cardinal has declared that the man who wrote to The Times is "nothing but a Neapolitan bootblack". Also that the second man who signed the letter to The Times is a Soho brothel keeper. Also that the first man goes about saying "Churchill and I" will do so and so. He is in fact a small-town lawyer from Salerno, very black and quite unknown outside. Whatever money has been put on this horse has clearly been lost. Better nothing than this.

30. 3. 41

Wilson

It is reported that Sir H. Quisling has been seen lunching at some Club with Strang and Makins. Also that Makins has been seen lunching at some other Club with the Archduke Robert. What did I always say about Clubs! One asks "What's the game?"

Good and occasionally funny conference on Balkans. Lieutenant Colonel J. - he has jumped up very quick from being a Captain; someone, I think Brig.B., has done a most successful wangle - is rather innocent about the Bulgars. He even wants to "build up Boris" again. This leads me to make some observations on the way in which British diplomats always seem to be glamoured and

bamboozled by local Kings. Why this Servants' Hall mentality? "I am", I say, "a Republican for every country but my own." I hear that J.B. was much pleased at my attitude about all this. All we ask of the Bulgars now is to be anti-German, that and no more.

Indeed, this lack of objectivity of our diplomats, their tendency to get socially pot-bound and to go native everywhere (except in Czechoslovakia), and to judge people by the kind of dinner parties and weekends they furnish, is a frightful thing. It is a dim consciousness of this which leads to the cry for the "democratisation" of the Foreign Service. Consider, for example, Prince Paul - "quite unfit", said the P.M. the other day, "for public life, fit only for a life of luxurious seclusion". Yet some propose that this creature should be allowed to come to England, and I have already quoted C.Channon, who has the Servants' Hall mentality worst of all. He would make a good butler to minor royalty.

*Seton-Watson* As to Rumania, there is much conflict of view on persons - *Manila* versus Tilea. My two wings beat against each other and my two Under-Secretaries have had sharp words and Minutes on this. S.W., now a rather old, though still very learned, professor, apt to go up into a high treble when crossed, says that "There will be an explosion among the Rumanians here", unless they are allowed to come out in public as a Free Rumanian Committee. "Unhappily not an explosion among the Rumanians in Rumania", remarks one of my U.-S. All this is fun and brightens the day.

The Beaver rings me up in the midst of this about an aeroplane. Most reluctantly he agrees that it shall be delivered at a certain place the day after to-morrow.

*Brooks* *Coast* Later, more talk about N.C. He is a great friend of Brig.B., but I am quite adamant against the suggestion. What if he comes over here and makes a great fuss? I am asked. I reply that I will risk that. My C.E.O. remarked this morning that of course he is a "roaring pansy". He is disconcerted - perhaps rightly - when I requote this in front of Brig.B. Later he comes and says that the Brig. thinks I should get the P.M. - also alleged to be a friend of N.C. - to agree that he is unsuitable.

Lying awake and reflecting on this and the continuing problem of the River and other things, I decide that I will not say anything to the P.M. on this personal case. It would show weakness, I did not go to him when I fired King B., I have a most strong case for refusing this time, and I am inclined to suspect that Brig.B. is trying to create a situation in which the P.M. will say I ought to take the chap. I so inform C.E.O. next day.

Also to-night comes a queer tale of Spanish Monarchist possibilities from a certain sailor who has been here before. Clearly nothing can be done on this till our Amb. at Madrid reports something to F.O.

31. 3. 41

Having firmed up on N.C., I tell them to send a telegram to N.Y. stopping his return journey - the papers are full of it - and saying that proposal cannot be entertained; also another asking how much hashas been told.

Cab. in the afternoon, but I only have a watching brief while discussion on abortive incident of attempted interception of French ships east of Gib. Great dissatisfaction in highest and next to highest quarters at handling of our ships. The officer commanding S. thought it was contrary to International Law and political wisdom to take any steps against the French ships. He also thought the only step he could take was to sink them. This is all wrong from end to end and contrary to instructions. There is to be an enquiry.

*by Mr. Nicholls*

*Cypher*  
At short notice I ask M.I. to dine with me at the L.C. This at suggestion of C.J. M.I. and I wallow in memories of a generation ago. He was Secretary of the C.U.M.S. and a protégé of the Serpent (Dent). Amusingly, P.N. also comes in to dine there, the Bath Club having been burnt out over the weekend and many of its members being accommodated at the L.C. He waves a recognition and then sits by himself at a table some distance away. M.I. says that he is always hearing that I am saying things against him, that he ought to be hanged, drawn and quartered, etc., and that he feels very strongly that the anonymity of Civil Servants should be respected. He alleged that he was only carrying out the policy of the Government. I say that I don't accept this and that when, immediately on becoming a Minister, I got the Italian policy reversed, P.N. ran about the F.O. saying that my policy was "insane, ignorant and impossible". I also refer to his attempt to rob the Poles for the benefit of the Germans in 1930, which I had to check, and to his constant obstruction of everything on the River which I encountered on P.O.G., where, before I came, he had completely intimidated - odd though it may seem - Hankey and Cross. However, Brig.B. having come across to join us, I say to M.I. "Shall I ask P.N. also to come over and have a drink with me? Then we can all rag him". M.I. is horrified at this and says "Oh please don't". But feeling both malicious and gay, I call the waiter, point in P.N.'s direction, and say "Ask that gentleman whether he will come over and join us". The waiter, however, proceeds to the wrong table and asks the young man who is Brig.B.'s Number 2. He comes with alacrity.

*Brig.B.*

1. 4. 41

P.Q.s on Blockade. I am now pursuing a deliberate policy of maximum publicity for all imperfections in the Blockade. This is chiefly to influence Americans and make American public opinion push old Uncle Cordell and his State Department along. Also in a minor degree it is to influence British public opinion and to keep the H. of C. up to the mark. There is a danger that such publicity may react a bit against me personally, but I don't think it will, particularly if a little later I am able to show that there has been an improvement, and attribute this to my policy, including its publicity element. Also I am anxious to make them see that there are naval and diplomatic considerations which hamper the total blockade. The P.Q.s go off pretty well, including my reference to German and Italian pickings of cargoes at Marseilles, over 50%, and some say 80%, of cargoes being taken for the Axis. I am hoping that the U.S., in view of Darlan's latest performances, may say that they won't send the two gift wheat ships after all. I had promised to navicert these but nothing more.

Meet the Lobby Correspondents in the afternoon and talk frankly to them. The reactions in the next day or two are very good, both in London and provincial press.

Vote for the Sunday opening of theatres, but we are defeated by eight votes in a thin house. The Dismal Joes did their lobbying well.

C.E.O. and C.O. to see me on letter to Wavell and telegram on N.C. On the letter I am not sure that they have not committed me a little further than I wanted to go, even on assumption that N.C. stays put in U.S.

*Cowind*

Entertain this evening Benjamin Cohen of U.S. Embassy. I was told he was bright and important. I find him incredibly dull and slow. I have to meet him J.W., H.G., E.D. and D.J. Only the last two get much out of it. J.W., sitting beside the guest, falls asleep and snores at the table. I have never seen this done before.

*Darlan Jar*

2. 4. 41

Lunch with Sosnkowski. How happy could I be with either Polish General if the other charmer were away.

*C.S. Grant*  
Sir C.S. to see me. Full of mystery and of what he could do on the other side. C.H. also comes to tell me (a) that he is getting on with the arrangements for the aeroplane, and (b) with plans for my trip at Easter.



Cowan

Dine with J.V., who has been seeing some of our intimate papers, having been away for nearly a fortnight, and who has told G. just what he thinks about the "Society smart boy". He regards him as a risk in any case and not the sort for this.

3. 4. 41

As reports come in on naval battle in East Mediterranean, it seems doubtful whether much remains at all of the Italian fleet. Yet it was from challenging this that first Baldwin and then Chamberlain shrank away in 1935. Chamberlain said that it would be "Midsummer madness".

Taylor

I send a final urgent telegram to A.D. about the River. It may now be only a matter of hours, and success or failure may be decisive in the outcome of the war. He has done so wonderfully well that I have full confidence in him and know that he will do all possible to crown his work so well begun.

At Drapers' Hall to lunch and induct Sir Frederick Morris into the Company. I also yield to a request to come on the Governing Body of the Queen Mary College, now evacuated to King's.

Agree with C.E.O. and C.D. a letter regarding N.C., with cuttings from Hansard and the press. I ramp a little to C.E.O. on pre-war Mayfair standards. This man is thick with certain undesirable politicians who may not wish me well. Also there was a great stink on August 6th in the H. of C. and in the press. Also a regular dust storm of publicity when he started even to prepare to return to England last week. I would much prefer to turn the whole thing down flat, and am still looking for ways of doing this. My V.C. seems to have let me down by stupid acquiescence on the other side.

Korn  
Lyon

In my stimulated and organised publicity for the leaks in the Blockade, high praise should be given to D.B.L. for making much of the fact that, of two French ships lately intercepted, one carried an entire cargo of bananas and the other one million litres of rum and 350 tons of pineapples. It is true that these are almost the only exports of the French West Indies, but it went well to say "Starving Vichy? See how they live! We have long ago had to give up luxuries like these."

It occurs to me to-night that if, as up to now is so, this war is much less murderous than the last, there will be afterwards a correspondingly much less vehement anti-war sentiment. This would work both ways as regards prevention of another. It might make us less eager to prevent it, but much more clear-headed as to how. Less pure pacifism and more deliberately devised

defences, not merely by arms - though others will have to have enough of these to overawe the Germans in the next, perhaps long, phase - but also by social and political measures.

G. makes the bright remark to-night that at Eton the Sixth Form are the Labour Party and Pop the Conservatives. The feud, in which I once took my share, - the symbol of which was wearing pumps at early school! - has always, he thinks, gone on. It came back to me that, when Captain of my House in my last year, I made sure that there should be no member of Pop in the House by canvassing most vigorously with certain of my friends against the only possible, a certain David Bruce. He was the son of the Liberal Colonial Secretary of that day, and I recall a debate on Free Trade in the House Debating Society when I, from a Chamberlainite angle, ridiculed his argument that "Imports are balanced by exports". I went up to Cambridge as a Tory Democrat, my hero being Joseph Chamberlain, whose portrait in my first term at Cambridge adorned my wall, but not in my third.

DIARY5. 4. 41

Frank

G. brings to see me the Belgian financier, lately back from W. Africa. I would not trust him very far. He has done nothing yet. Perhaps that is not his fault. Two days later he brings to see me J.M. Quite a different kettle of fish. I take to him at once and hope that he will be able to be hooked out of his present backwater and given a good job in our show.

*Coward* N.C. is coming back to England all the same, but the whole deal is off, to my great relief, and it is said from the other side that he has been told nothing except the name of Colonel V.C. The latter has made a report on his visit which is much too full of hero-worship to please me. Meanwhile, those who know N.C. this side must neither run after him nor tell him anything.

C.E.O. says that our best information is that the balloon will go up to-morrow at dawn, when the Germans will attack both Jugs and Greeks and launch the most terrific blitz of which they are capable. Strong German forces, mounted Divisions, are said to be proceeding down the Adriatic from Ancona to Albania. The Jugs have waited too long. Had they struck earlier, they could have crunched the Italian Army in Albania. Now this may not be possible. The Turks are still mulishly keeping to themselves. We do not ask them to attack, but we would like them to contain substantial German forces.

6. 4. 41 (Sunday)

And up she went according to forecast! I hear this at breakfast.

The mission of "Chips" to Prince Paul is mentioned to me. When the coup was announced, "Chips" said delightedly "I'm sure Prince Paul's done it!" On the other hand, our Minister at Athens reports that the King of Greece told him that some politicians belonging to the Jug Opposition had expressed surprise and regret to a Greek newspaperman because they had never been offered any money by the British Legation.

Return from C.H.Q. after lunch. Talk and dine with C.D. Rather a splendid creature. Most loyal and devoted to me and also to C.E.O. He speaks with great admiration of the latter's loyalty, humour and quickness. His manner, he says, is not ingratiating, and recalls his first meeting with him when he was concerned to put the case against Mr S. of Berne. C.E.O. was then on his previous job. He seemed to be in a hurry, to be bored, and to be paying no attention.

And he rolled his eyes. C.D. then went away and told X. that he had got no change from C.E.O., who had made a bad impression on him. But X. said "Make no mistake. He got it all. As soon as you had gone he rang me up with the whole story."

*Tommy Davies*

*Hopkins*

C.D. also speaks of the gross indiscretions reported by T.D. to him of the talk of the wife of H.H., who is in a most key position and who should know better. M.P., H.H. and wife, T.D. and wife. Mrs H. held forth at lunch on what should and should not be done, and on relations between two wings. T.D.'s wife had never imagined anything of this kind, and was much upset. She is to have a baby in three months, added C.D. C.D. had reported this to C.E.O., who had taken it up with A.C., who, he said, had been duly shocked and would admonish H.H. and issue a special warning about wives and what not to tell them. C.E.O. thinks, when I make a fuss about this to him next day, threatening to take it up myself with A.C., which he asks me not to do, that probably M.P., who is "most ill disposed" and lives with H.H. and wife, is responsible. He tries to defend H.H., but I, remembering also the case of little Mr G. at Berne, am not convinced of these last two. I say "They come out of the same Mayfair hutch". He says he does not think they do really!

*Calder*

*Give*

*Peterson*

7. 4. 41

Cripps thinks things are a little better where he is. Gavrilovitch, a good man this, has had not bad talks with S. as well as M. M.'s pro-German inclinations are being curbed by S. My short view is, as it has long been, that if we could only begin to get the Germans down a bit, the Russians would come in and do their share of the stabbing. But this is still far off.

Not much Operational news. Still hopes of the River, but not perhaps, according to C.E.O., more than a 30% chance of anything worth while. We have one or two encouraging telegrams from A.D. saying that he has been assured that action will be taken as soon as Yugoslavia is attacked, and that "the Operation" has been prepared. Meanwhile, the Jugs seem to be in a muddle. Their Government has left Belgrade and is out of touch with their General Staff. Their M.F.A. is out of touch with his senior officials who are with Campbell and the other diplomats at Vrajanska Banja. It is all too reminiscent of Poland to be pleasant, although one hopes that the terrain favours our side this time.

*Taylor*



8. 4. 41

Lunch at Josef's - on the house - by special invitation for the Jug Minister, myself, and party. I bring R., Drogheda and H.G., and Subbitich brings his wife, his Military Attache and the latter's wife, who speaks with a strong Scots accent. I say to her "So you learnt your English in Scotland". She says "I am Scots. I was a nurse in the last war and met my husband during the retreat of the Serbian Army, when he was wounded."

It is not a good day for the war. Reported through a good channel that the Germans are in Uskub, though fighting is taking place around it and it may be recovered. Everyone, it seems, is blaming everyone else. We blame the Jugs, and rightly, because they took their decision so late that there have been no staff talks. They blame us because they say we have not given them enough air support. The Greeks blame them, in an official communique, for having fallen away and left the Greek left wing uncovered. Cadbury, with whom and J.W. I dine, says that Dill and Wavell are at daggers drawn and that there are great complaints by the Australians that their troops have been put in a bad place. For once I feel a desire at the office to hear the 12 o'clock news, but there is not much there.

*That he might be fortunate, make hal fortune*

I authorise a message to be sent, provided it is discreetly worded, regarding Dumini. I also send a message to N.H. in Washington, half ticking him off for having gone native so soon and acquired the outlook of the State Department. The latter are obviously feeling uncomfortable at the publicity given to the attempts at relief and blockade-breaking. An article by P.E. in the Financial News, entitled "Dalton v. Darlan", is intelligent and helpful (to me). L.R. says that a friend at the U.S. Embassy - probably H. Johnson - thinking this article was "inspired", has cabled it to Washington, and protests that American attitude is not merely because they are "humanitarians". Odd how many of my advisers get weak on blockade just now when public, Parliamentary and press opinion is strengthening.

9. 4. 41

Bad news this morning. German mechanised column is threatening Salonika, having broken into the Varda Valley and worked round through Doiran. P.M. will have a job to-day when he moves a motion, now a bit time-soiled, of congratulations to our Forces for recent victories in North Africa, Mediterranean and Greece. If there were enough good and strong men in Parliament outside H.M.G., there would be danger of an upset. But there aren't, and so there isn't.- yet.

G. asked yesterday what V. was up to just now. I said I thought very little, and he then asked whether I thought, if we

were chased out of the Balkans, this would react against A.E. I said I thought not much, for the reason just given and because principle of collective responsibility pretty well accepted at this moment.

P.M. has a difficult job in making his statement this afternoon. It was to have been a triumphal ~~statement~~ vote of thanks to the Forces and the workers at home for recent victories in Africa, Greece and the Mediterranean. The speech was a strong and sombre performance. Less rhetorical ornament than usual. He announced the fall of Salonika and warned various possible next victims, including Turkey and the U.S.S.R. All turned on the outcome of the Battle of the Atlantic. He got his loudest cheer when he said that the blockade must be maintained. I sent a personal telegram to Hfax. afterwards telling him this, in order that he might realise the political atmosphere here.

There is not much sign of boil-over in the House to-day.

Very dull lunch with David Adams, his wife and Drummond Shiels. But I note in a far corner B.Cohen being entertained by B.Bracken, H.Belisha and R.Fletcher. I walk across afterwards and rag B.B., when left alone with R.F., about the way he talks of me and my show. Of course he denies it all, but I think that such hearty affrays are good.

Agreed with R.V. and R.L. that Mr V.'s resignation must be accepted.

News goes on being bad. Hoped that British troops can close Monastir Gap to-morrow morning. Jugs in complete confusion. Only three Divisions mobilised, i.e., on the Albanian frontier, two to the north (either side of Seutari) and one to the east (Prizrend). No effective defence along Bulgarian frontier, and Germans got to Uskub practically without opposition. They have also made a bad mess of the Piraeus, blowing up an ammunition ship and blocking the harbour. One Greek Division is said to have been got away by sea from Thrace.

G. says that one should not be gloomy, as it is better than it would have been if the Jugs had given in without a fight. "The Jugs have been an unexpected gift."

C.S. to dine with me, C.E.O. and C.D. He wants authority from us to play about with a Station over the water. It is all rather a bore. We don't want to make an enemy of him, but equally there are large risks and practically no utility in the project.

[1941]

MINISTER'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.Friday, 11th April.

9.0. Left Hendon in Lockheed Electra.  
Landed Catterick to refuel.  
Talk with Lord Trenchard.  
Landed Perth for lunch. Took Spurborg on board.  
5.0. Arrived R.A.F. Station, Wick (Coastal Command).  
Tour of Aerodrome.  
Visit to Operations Room with Group-Captain Drew (Station  
Commander).  
Discussion of raids on Norway - Oslo-Bergen Railway  
(destruction of snowsheds, Strength through Joy Hotel, etc.),  
Hoyanger, Finse.  
Dinner at Thrumster with Harmsworth. Discussion on Generals.

Saturday, 12th April.

Returned from Thurmster to Wick.

Interview with airmen, including Flight-Sergeant who had bombed submarine and photographed it in a sinking condition.

Report of thick weather at Hatston delayed embarkation.

Inspection of Lockheed Hudsons about to leave for Kaldardarnes in Iceland. These machines had just arrived from America.

Lunch in R.A.F. mess.

2.p.m. left Wick by westerly course for Hatston.

Received at Kirkwall by Contraband Control Officer

Visit to F.O.I.C., Captain Nicholson.

Talk with Search Officers. "Contraband Intelligence".

Petsamo oil tanks.

Mr. Lane's desire for commission in R.N.V.R.

5.p.m. By car to Howton Pier on Scapa Flow.

Met by Howarth in barge of A.C.O.S. Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Binney.

Saw H.M.S. Exeter. Received by Commander in Chief on "K.G. 5".

With Admiral Binney by barge to Lyness and thence to his house at Melsetter on Hoy.

Dinner at Melsetter. Admiral Macnamara.



Sunday, April 13th.

Return to Kirkwall.

Report of thick weather at Sumburgh.

Visit to R.A.F. Operations Room at Kirkwall.

Discussion about possibility of aerodrome in North Shetlands to intercept Condors.

Lunch with Captain Fancourt (Fleet Air Arm).

3.30 p.m. Left Hatston.

4.p.m. Arrived Sumburgh.

Received by Brigadier Cunningham and Captain Mitchell.

Tea at Lerwick.

Inspected Base with Mitchell, Cunningham and Sporborg.

Dinner at Hayfield House.

Monday, April 14th.

10 a.m. Drove to Seaplane Base at ~~Scrabster~~ *Skatska* on Sullom Voe.

Discussion on construction of aerodrome base there. One runway exists, 800 yards long. *skatska* Two others would be necessary. Establishment of aerodrome at ~~Scrabster~~ *skatska* would probably drive Condors 70-80 miles out of their course.

Hurricanes take 10 minutes from Sumburgh to ~~Scrabster~~ *skatska*.

Lunch at ~~Scrabster~~ *Skatska*.

Embarked in Walrus with Brigadier.

Accidental landing in Yell.

Arrival at Balta Sound.

Arrival of destroyer "Mansfield" in Sullom Voe.

Tuesday, April 15th.

9.30 a.m. Left Sumburgh with Newall, Epstein, Sporborg.  
and P.F.H.

To Inverness by easterly course.

Conversation with Sir A. Sinclair.

Lunch at Station Hotel with Brigadier Gubbins and  
Flight-Lieutenant Dickson.

By car from Inverness.

Bought shetland rug and Shepherd's crook at Fort William.

6.p.m. arrived Arisaig.

Wednesday, April 16th, 1941

- 10.00 a.m. Left Station XXI. Saw attack on conyoy of lorries and destruction of bridge *by Daves.* Visited Cammasdarrach and Garramore
- 11.00 a.m. Raid on Morar Station by Belgians. Visit to Rhubana. Three new huts constructed. Left Rhubana for Mallaig. Embarked on s.s. "Orca (late "Cachalot").
- 1.00 p.m. Arrived Inverie. Saw Sconces embark.
- 2.15 p.m. Re-embarked "Orca" for Tarbet Bay. Saw guard overpowered and ambushed. Crossed Tarbet Bay to Swordlands. Assault on Pier ~~at~~ and destruction of oil storage depot. By launch to Meoble (found to be overcrowded). Inspected revolver range. Walked via Prince Charlie's Cave to Lochailort. Returned to Arisaig by car. (? Write to Lord Reith about Duke of Sutherland and Sutton Place.)

Thursday, April 17th, 1941

- 9.15 a.m. Left Arisaig by car.
- 3.30 p.m Left Grangemouth by Flamingo.
- 6.00 p.m. Arrived Hendon.



DIARY10. 4. 41

Our man going to the Far East comes to see me. He is, I judge, a solid chap and should do well.

Minister of Shipping is locked out of the new appartments prepared for him and me below ground. He therefore comes and asks me for a key. I give him a drink and he expatiates on the gloomy shipping situation. It is worse, he says, than 1917-18. We have got to hang on for a year until the U.S.A. effort reaches full flood.

Friday, 11. 4. 41, till Thursday, 17. 4. 41

"Minister's tour in the North", accompanied by P.H., who enjoys it very much. I attach his skeleton diary, to which I have not much to add. It was all rather <sup>like</sup> electioneering, and therefore not a complete holiday in the ordinary sense. But this is not very practicable anyhow in these unordinary days. I still find it fun to fly, and keep up my record of never yet having been sick in the air. I add these oddments:-

11. 4. 41

Trenchard gives a long harangue on the need for persistence in bombing, and argues that our aim should be terror rather than damage. On this I disagree. T. is too old now to be more than an inspiration to the youth of the R.A.F. I daresay he is this.

Coastal Command at Wick. Good chaps. P.H. stayed in the Mess and found them all very earnest and conversation a little difficult. They are just determined to see the job through and are tremendously focused on this. Spend the night, along with H.S., with Harmsworth, decayed younger brother of the first Lord Rothermere. His moral is low.

12. 4. 41

Lunch in R.A.F. Mess where quite definitely a high proportion of the officers are not gents. There is more "democratisation" (filthy word for a fine thought) than in either of the other two Services. Staff at Kirkwall are, I think, uplifted by my visit. They are apt to feel forgotten men.

Howarth, Flag Lieutenant to Binney, is cousin of C.M. and has features very like his.

Dining in the evening with Binney and his officers, I hear the naval side of the controversy between themselves and the Coastal Command. The pilots of the latter, they say, don't know the difference between one ship and another, but offers to send naval observers up in the planes have always been refused.

13. 4. 41

Send P.H. out to fish (he has brought all his fishing tackle with him), but he catches nothing either today or on two later days. It is said to be a little too early, but I tell him that I shall have to get a new P.S.2.

14. 4. 41

The name of the place is Skatsta. Lunch here at the R.A.F. Mess and am impressed by Ambler, Wing Commander who in civil life was in a woollen business at Bradford. But I am impressed by great numbers of the R.A.F.

I flew to-day for the first time in a seaplane, a Walrus, of which they boast that she is still the same, and just as good, now as twenty years ago. She is used only for communications and near-in patrolling. I sit in front beside the pilot, the only other passengers being Brig. Cunningham, who seems to be a little less happy in the air than I, and an air gunner, who occasionally crawls up between my legs in order to get into the cockpit to fiddle about with the machinery. When we taxi along the water, the waves wash over the closed-in space above our heads, and she is slightly leaky! When we start to rise, we get a series of good bumps from the waves, which I feel is rather good for the liver and not at all disconcerting, but I am told that some do not like this at all.

My pilot comes down in the wrong Bay and has to get up again, but we land very cheerfully a little later. It is a magnificent panorama of islands and I like sitting beside the pilot.

Taking off on our return, the pilot flies over the party who have seen us off, Nips in salute and then turns quickly away to the left at a steep angle. Again I rather like this, but not so the Brigadier who is sitting behind us. This makes me feel rather superior.

I bump up in a truck to the extreme northern extremity of the Shetlands, i.e., the northern point of the Island of Unst; this lies to the north of the Island of Yell. There is a tremendous tide going round the point. I see two very secret Stations for detecting ships and aircraft at a distance, one belonging to the Admiralty and the other to the Air Force. I walk rather quickly up a steep hill, making the Brigadier and others pant. I find this trick too rather amusing.

15. 4. 41

Fly back in our Loughheed Electra from Sumburgh, after a drive from Lerwick with the Brigadier, during which he talked about "Walter Buccleuch", whom he tried to justify against recent accusations of Fifth Columnism. Someone, said the Brigadier, had to entertain Ribbentrop when he was Ambassador here, and Buccleuch did his best to oblige. (I hear from another source that he used to write the most half-witted letters to the Foreign Office asking why we and the Nazis couldn't be good friends.) Further, he used to entertain Prince Paul for months at a time in the Border Country, but this also he thought to be the performance of a public duty. He is, says the Brig., most painfully conscientious. (At any rate, my other source assures me afterwards, this Duke is not such a bad lot as some of the other Dukes, e.g., Westminster, or even Sutherland. The latter, however, seems to be a friend of the P.M. and for this reason I should perhaps be a little careful in handling a row which is now developing about the requisitioning of one of his many houses.)

On reaching the mainland, after a lovely flight over the Orkneys, on the direct course from Sumburgh to Inverness, I go forward and sit again beside the pilot, a handsome and agreeable young Flight Lieutenant named Dickson, born in Ceylon and educated at Canford and Pembroke, Cambridge. From this seat I get a superb view of the approaches to Inverness, with Invergordon and the Cromarty Inlet on the right. We only take one hour and forty minutes, with a following wind, from Sumburgh to Inverness.

After lunch, drive with Brig.G. and P.H. to the Western Highlands. Form a good opinion of Colonel Evans. And what a country!

I have a summons back, by telephone from H.G., for a meeting on Friday at the F.O. This is a slight bore, but I have had a good break.

Brig.G. reports that the Savannah party have returned - after they had been almost given up for lost, - that Benjamin has started, but that Josephine has disgraced herself. (This, however, was the Air Ministry's fault and not ours.) Hemisphere, moreover, has succeeded.

16. 4. 41

Since I must leave to-morrow, to-day is packed full. I see three exercises, inspect several Stations, and walk rapidly back from just above Meoble to Loch Ailort. This is a fine walk up and down misty hillsides in the rain, taking one and a half hours, with Brig.G. and Godfrey. Feel very fit this evening. It would have been fun to have two or three more days of this.

-4-

17. 4. 41

Back by Flamingo from Grangemouth with P.H. The pilot is normally the Air Minister's pilot. Less good looking and amusing than the one who brought me up, but very good at his job. Lunch at Stirling, where P.H. buys a quantity of Haggis, part of which I take to be eaten this next weekend at W.L.

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Back at 6.30. Dine with C.E.O., who has made a very good paper for the C.O.S. and the F.O.P.S. on Prospects of Subversion, country by country. O.S., he thinks, is very well disposed and not politically ambitious. He thinks I should sometimes come in on the Defence Committee. I warn C.E.O. to be a little careful, since when I and others came into the Government a year ago, O.S. and others went out.

X The River. Nintchich said to Campbell "It is worth all, since the river is blocked". There have been a few other references, but all quite imprecise, in the telegrams. It is most tantalising not to know what has happened. The Jugs have been so inefficient that it may well be that plans were made but never executed. Prince Palsy - this is the P.M.'s name for him - is en route from Athens to Egypt. R.V., C.E.O. says, has resigned and his resignation been accepted. I must pursue this.

The Greek Government is already in Crete (this news turns out to be premature); we are trying to extricate our troops, but it is not easy. On the other hand, the situation in Egypt looks better, and the moral of German prisoners is said not to be high.

18. 4. 41

Cross The meeting at the F.O. for which I am fetched back takes place this afternoon. A.E., A.V.A., R.C. and myself with a few officials. (I am amused to notice that R.C. attends Ministerial meetings now without advisers. A little while ago it was said he left everything to Hurcomb, including the stating of a case in the presence of other Ministers.) As usual, the Admiralty want to be absolved from certain blockade duties. I urge that we should be conservative in our principles but opportunist in our methods. I am concerned that we should not abate any of the former. Hence, in particular, I resist suggestions persistently pushed by Admiral Harwood on behalf of the First Sea Lord (A.V.A. having left for another meeting) in favour of a general rationing agreement with Vichy. The Admiral says "I don't know how that would appeal to you". I reply "It does not appeal to me at all". I add that if he presses it, "I



will fight you on it in the Cabinet". A.E. sums up pretty well more or less in my sense and will circulate a note for general concurrence.

I stay behind and speak to A.E. about R.V. I say I would like him to go on with me, though I add that he has lately not done a very great deal, particularly since G. and R.L. have got so well into their respective saddles. A.E. says that the P.M. would like to fit him in somewhere and wonders whether he could be an additional Parliamentary Secretary to M.E.W. or to the M. of I. I say that the former would seem very bogus. (It would also, in fact, be a very great practical nuisance for me, but I do not say this.) This idea was put up because R.V. says that he and I get on well together. As to the M. of I., this might be combined with the British Council and, in any case, a Peerage. I arrange to see R.V. to-morrow.

A.E. tells me that Lampson in Cairo wanted to ask Prince Palsy to lunch, and telegraphed whether he might. A.E. replied "No, such an act of hospitality would not be understood here."

I blow off over this incident to G., denouncing our diplomats as being men with no sense of national honour. The Snobs' International is a most powerful league of sub-men.

To-night G. goes off for a most well deserved week's leave at Ardkinglas. He astonishes me by his industry, both early in the morning and late at night. On Wednesday in the heavy Blitz he could not sleep, since bombs fell both in front and behind the house in Chester Square where he stays, and so he went out to join the fire-watchers instead. He is looking much washed out but has finished several good jobs before going off. I shall try to make sure that he is not disturbed or hauled back before Monday week.

19. 4. 41

See R.V. at Denham. He has a bad cold but is, I think, happy to ~~not~~ have got through his resignation interview with A.E. It is not, however, to take immediate effect, and he has been asked to sketch out over this weekend a picture of what he would like to continue to do. Most of all he wants to be free to write and speak, and notably to broadcast without embarrassing either H.M.G. or his colleagues in the F.C. He would also like to go on with me as at present and to be consulted sometimes too by the P.M. and A.E. He is not attracted by the idea of any political post in the Government, nor by the British Council, which he thinks is a dud show. Nor does he want to engage in details of administration. I say that I should hate any severance of our personal relation.

He says that during the whole of A.E.'s absence he was never

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# Special Note

Page 94 missing from  
the original

once consulted nor shown any papers. This was the final ground of resignation. He adds to me that he feels that he has warmth of feeling and of temperament which cannot live side by side with the cold fish - A.C. and R.A.B. who, with Hfax., once made a terrible cold trio. As to his attitude towards A.E., he says nothing, nor do I ask. I know that in fact it is not friendly, largely through the influence of S.

Thence to W.L., where there are buds on the trees and a sense of Spring.

21. 4. 41

Back from W.L. Lunch with Amery. Mrs A. is still all over me by reason of her son Julian, who I propose should now go to Palestine.

Bring back D.M. from this lunch in my car and talk to him cordially, or at any rate apparently cordially, about our progress, throwing in just a word or two of disapprobation of D.C. and the M. of I.

22. 4. 41

D.M.O. to lunch. I am mobilising him against Reith's officials, who have no sense of security or of the importance of my duties. He plays up very well. He and Davidson are a really good couple. Kennedy says that he thinks Law is the best profession in the world, and politics the second-best. Both really better than the Army! He says that Smuts always thought we were going to lose Egypt but that this didn't matter so long as we didn't let the Germans go south of the Equator. I say I think this is rather a local South African view. He says that none the less Smuts is a wise old man. K. doubts whether the Turks will now resist. The Germans will get all the Aegean Islands and so Turkey will be encircled. He believes that a number of leading Turks are already in German pay. Marshal Chakmak is in any case too old to count. As to the Russians, he thinks they know that the Red Army could make no fight against the Germans. Moreover, with mechanised forces, the old argument about Russia being defended by her great distances has gone. The Germans could overrun as much as they liked, though, as I point out, they would meet with new difficult problems of occupation. (Prytz said yesterday that he heard that the Russians would make no real resistance but would retreat before a German advance, Stalin thinking this the best way to keep his regime going. I hear from another source (Polish) the firmly held view that a German attack on Russia is very imminent, a question of weeks only.)



I see A.E. about the River. The P.M. is most anxious to give the public some good news. Can we say the river is blocked? I say not yet, and we go over the skimpy evidence together. He will telegraph to Cairo to ask the Jug Minister there what they know, and also, via Washington, at my suggestion, to the American Minister in Bucharest.

He says the conduct of the Greeks is very moving. They say "We are sorry we haven't been able to do more. Thank you very much for all your help. And now please go as soon as you feel you should in order to save as many as you can of your own troops."

Dine with J.W. who has had some holiday in the New Forest and seems pretty fit.

23. 4. 41

Morning at a National Executive. Great waste of time. Afternoon at a Ministerial Committee on Export Surpluses. Equally great waste of time. Menzies, Jordan and Harriman all present. No detail prepared. It is one of the pleasures of my life that I have so seldom to meet my Ministerial colleagues on committees. This helps me much to get on with my own work.

Lunch at the Spanish Embassy. Alba, who came back from Spain a fortnight ago, speaks ill to me of Suner and not very well of Franco. The latter, he says, is "very slow-witted"; the former is "completely pro-German and has a rotten tummy; he can never eat a good meal or drink a glass of wine." Alba says that if we lose Egypt, Spain will come into the war against us; if we hold Egypt it is much more doubtful. The Germans are putting on great pressure just now to be allowed through, but so far this has been resisted.

*I ask "what must he talk & bring spec. to our side?" No reply*

R.L. tells me that he has seen A.E., who has promised to pay a visit to C.H.Q. on May 10th. R.L. also spoke to A.E. about D.C. and said that he was "very idle"; also that we should have charge of all propaganda to enemy and enemy-occupied countries. A.E. said he quite agreed, but there were political and personal difficulties. On the other hand, A.E. was in favour of our Propaganda Plans for different countries and was also in favour of the proposed French Committee, with the F.O. in the Chair. I tell R.E. that A.E. had said to me the night before "You and Duff are both very combative people and once you start writing rude letters to each other you will go on for ever." I had replied that he must introduce an element of soulagement. H.G. says that the game must be to get D.C. to the triangular conference with A.E. in the Chair, and for me, though remaining very bland, to make D.C. lose his temper. It is reported that he does this very easily, and that the other night at the Dorchester he literally leapt at the throat of some man

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*(I asked "What would he say if Spain is to come in on our side? He didn't know")*  
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who had said something he did not like. He has now left the Dorchester and gone to live at Bognor, whence he arrives very late at his Ministry in the morning.

24. 4. 41

Summoned to Cab. to hear A.V.A. ask for authority to enter French territorial waters. No-one objects, and I remain silent!

I am delighted to read in a Colonial Office telegram that Prince Palsy and his wife are to reside in Kenya, with the status of political prisoners, and that a senior administrative official is to live with and watch them; that H.M.G. will pay the rent of their house, seeing that this is in the nature of a prison, but that it will be put to "our friend" that his large assets in this country should be drawn upon for his keep and other personal expenses. I hope that Lampson in Cairo has read this telegram with profit.

C.D. to dine and we run over many points of detail. He is conscious of difficulty with C., especially as regards communications, and of a certain unfriendliness from Freeman.

25. 4. 41

C.D. rings up to say that on April 6th six obstacles were sunk in the River. This is not much of a performance.

DIARY

41

25. 4. 41

See Reith and George Hicks on the subject of requisitions. I speak to them both in strict confidence and they are quite appreciative. I hope I also do some damage to de Norman, one of their principal officials, who has been most troublesome and even impudent. I plan that G. should follow up this visit and be a line of contact between me and Reith and Hicks.

Lunch with Sheddon, who is anxious to draw me (1) on how the Labour Party came to enter a National Government in this country, and (2) on how we feel about the P.M.'s interferences in strategy. This is in view of (1) the Australian political situation, where Menzies is clearly in some danger, and (2) the Greek adventure, with special reference to the Anzacs.

I tell him a fairly interesting tale, I think, with references to the principal leaders of the British Labour Party. I say that I think Menzies ought to resign and serve under Curtin, as the leader of the strongest single Party at Canberra. Sheddon will, no doubt, pass this on, but I do not think he is much taken by the idea.

Go in the afternoon to speak to the Institute of Insurance on the economic war and kindred things and put out an advance to the press, which goes well over the B.B.C. and also on the tape, though it is a little late for the newspapers next day.

26. 4. 41

To C.H.Q. for midday Conference. O. Harvey is there in place of M.P. He is very affable. I tell him that I find it delicate to see much of him, though I should like to, as my relations with his Minister are so bad. And indeed they are! Never a day passes without we exchange brusque correspondence. Soon we must have a show-down at the F.O. The F.O. are my natural allies, I think, against the M. of I.

27. 4. 41

Vickers

Return from C.H.Q. in the afternoon. I find a report, described as "a preliminary reference draft" on blockade prospects prepared by V. for the F.O.P.S. at the request of Oliver Stanley. This is a most pessimistic paper and I make a Minute that it is to go no further until I have had an opportunity of considering it in detail with those responsible for it. Next morning I am infuriated to find that a copy has already gone to O.S., quite without my authority., - V., furthermore, is away this next day, lecturing to the



troops somewhere in the West Country, and therefore I cannot see him before O.S., as prearranged, dines with me. I am exceedingly angry with V. and shall tell him so bluntly when I see him.

28. 4. 41

I have issued an order in my Ministry that, from twelve noon to 12.15 every Monday everyone must wear their gas masks. We begin this morning and I hold a conference with Drogheda and Stirling in which we agree on action of various kinds and on several draft telegrams to be sent to Washington. It is really much easier than you might suppose. Except, I understand, for those who must wear glasses in order to see. Rather a joke, and also quite a good thing from the point of view of morale.

Oliver Stanley dines with me alone and speaks most indiscreetly. (See separate record.)

My C.E.O. has returned from a week's leave looking very fit, whereas, before he went, he was getting very tired. My next move must be to get C.D. to go on leave. He is most reluctant, but I shall soon have to insist very firmly.

29. 4. 41 *Vickers*

V. is summoned to appear at 9.30 a.m. to explain himself. I am not very polite to him and he is a bit abashed. I say that it is henceforth an order that no important paper is to be shown to anyone outside the staff of my Ministry until it has been shown to and approved by me. What papers are important and what are not is a matter on which I expect my officers to use their common sense. That this last paper was important cannot be denied, since it purported to review the whole outlook for the blockade. I also dwell again on the delicacy, quite unappreciated by V., of my position and that of the Ministry in relation to O.S. "Did it not occur to you", I ask, "that an ex-Cabinet Minister and an ex-member of the War Cabinet might be thinking of a come-back? Or that he might be on the lookout for chinks in the armour of Ministries in Whitehall?" V. confesses that no such thoughts had occurred to him. I then tell him that last night O.S. had said things to me, both about people and about operations, past and future, which, in my view, he ought not to have said (I did not say what they were). He is a chronic gossip who never can be trusted to keep his mouth shut. V. should be most careful in future what he says to him. Nothing stays with him, everything is passed on.

*Stanley*

I say to someone else that our various failures in the Mediterranean have made me already mentally prepared to lose Egypt,

Syria and Palestine, in addition to North Africa, Spain and Portugal and also a part of the fleet while we are trying to get it out. This would lengthen the war though not alter its end. We are perhaps now in for a 20 years' war. It is getting very difficult to explain why we never seem to have anybody or anything anywhere.

N.A. Madrid to see me. Very optimistic about prospects of sectional Spanish resistance if Germans come in. Possible Don J. on Dickiebird Islands.

<sup>Canary</sup> C.E.O. says that when this man went on to see him from me, he appeared to be tight. What had I given him? I say he had only drunk three small glasses of sherry.

George Hicks to dine to meet G., who is to follow up on requisitions, J.W. and H.G. G.H. in very good form, pouring forth a stream of funny stories of all sorts. I think the meeting did good and made him feel that he was appreciated. He was most frank and cordial, both to me and to my three officers.

*Morton  
Scale* G. reports that earlier in the evening he had seen Hollis about the paper on Prospects which was thought to be too long for the C.O.S. at present. How proceed? It was thought, G. says, that a meeting with the P.M., attended by me and also by Ismay, G. himself and C., should get the decisions on the principal points raised in the paper. Later G. saw D.M. and E.S. (the P.M.'s Private Secretaries are not an impressive lot). The latter, nervous, G. thinks, of anybody else getting any influence with the P.M., thought it would be much better for something to be put in writing and for the P.M. to reply in writing. D.M., perhaps with the same motive, then agreed with E.S. I said that I would first put in a request for a meeting, on a half-sheet of notepaper with requested decisions on it, and, only if this could not be arranged, would try to get written replies.

Sir H. said that the P.M. was a tremendous bottle-neck and that all important decisions went through him. There were great advantages but also great disadvantages in this method of running a war. The C.O.S. were often disturbed at their meetings by the P.M. suddenly sending for one or other of their number.

Meanwhile, C.'s stock had risen sharply. The P.M. now thought he was a wonderful fellow and was always sending for him. G. said that he understood that once the P.M. got used to people's faces, after about three meetings, he took to them tremendously, whereas before he might even incline, on tittle-tattle, to think them no good. Meanwhile, then, we must not have quarrels with C., who has become so invulnerable.

## **Special Note**

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

30. 4. 41

The first really good news about the Danube. A telegram from B. reporting that our No.2 at Belgrade personally supervised an operation in the K. narrows (probably about April 8th) whereby the No.2, a cautious man and a good judge, estimates that the river will be blocked for at least three months. This particular block is additional to anything due to the destruction of the two railway bridges, and, almost certainly, additional to other barge sinkings at Golubas and Dombrova. Possible also that there were some further sinkings close to the Iron Gates, though this was not such a good place, as the river here was very deep. No news of any explosion on or near the shore, and this possibility must, I think, almost certainly be washed out. None the less, the result is pretty good, and I send to-night a Minute to P.M. with copies to other eminencies.

It is ironical that I also have to-night a long conversation with V. on the railway experts' latest estimates on probable improvement of Rumanian lines for taking oil westward. These say that some months hence transport, "as a limiting factor" in handling Rumanian oil output, will disappear. This takes many things for granted, e.g., German capacity to furnish more than 20,000 tank cars for this traffic, and leaves much unsaid, e.g., consequent strain on railways, preventing their use for other purposes. I shall not accept this statement without careful further examination.

No hard news yet about the Corinth Canal. It seems that German parachutists may have arrived in time to protect it.

Taylor

A.D. and others may be with Campbell's party which, according to a most civilised convention with the Italians, is due to be released after capture. On the other hand, the highly civilised Germans may politely intervene and seize several of these happy ones for kind treatment in one of their recreation camps.

I have a long go with V. over his paper. He is painstaking and most conscientious.

1. 5. 41

Agitation about a Daily Mail article by Wilson Broadbent referring to sharks in the Channel and hinting, though rather ignorantly, at some of my functions, though not naming me. M.I.5 told G. that they could prosecute unless particulars of source were given, and could prosecute source if revealed. But this would involve high political decisions, and I should need to go to the Cab. or at least to approach some leading members of it. The Daily Mail have also, by allowing this article, violated a D Notice against any reference to secret propoganda. Probably the thing has



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*Brinks*

been inspired from M. of I. Brig.B., who is very excited about it, thinks that it will be a principal subject of debate on the two days next week when the general war situation will be discussed. As usual, I think he wildly exaggerates the interest taken by the public in propaganda generally. There may, however, be some references in the course of the debate, though I doubt whether these are likely to be embarrassing to me. To-day I am inclined to think that my next step should be to see Eden. (Next morning, 2. 5. 41, I am inclined to reconsider this and do nothing myself until the debate, while seeing whether some preparatory action cannot be taken through the J.I.C. or other Service bodies. Though at first I was vexed at the affair, I am inclined to think now that it is easy to exaggerate it.)

*Bowyer*

Give an interview to five selected U.S. correspondents in London and speak from a brief prepared by D.B.L. This press conference has the most frightful results! On my return from the country on the following Sunday (May 4th) I find that Hull has been complaining to Hfax. against the references (attributed not to me personally, but to M.E.W.) to the things which the U.S. Government could do to help us, e.g., by bunker control, freezing enemy assets, and co-operation in black-listing. Hull, reported by Hfax. to be "very angry", said that if H.M.G. wanted to make representations on these subjects, they should do so through the proper channels. I have, however, the reply that I personally referred to these three, among other questions, in a broadcast to the U.S. early this year, the terms of which were discussed and agreed with Hfax. himself. There were no adverse reactions in Washington then, so why anticipate one now?

A further spot of bother, however, arises from a reference in my talk to the Chase Bank controlling Amexco (American Express Company) who still have a branch in Berlin. This has been cabled out (still under M.E.W.) and has led to furious denials from Aldrich, President of the Chase in N.Y., and a terrific nerve storm by Wallace, their man in London, who is threatening to make a complaint "in the highest quarters", i.e., to the P.M. Hfax. is so upset that he has sent personal messages to me and to Eden.

This alleged fact was taken by D.B.L. from my "financial pressure" section, and it is D.W. and H.L. who are responsible. I therefore, on the Sunday, have (1) to send a personal message to Aldrich expressing deep regret, (2) to telegraph to Hfax. sending a copy of this message and asking that Stopford should go and convey my regrets personally to A., (3) to send a personal telegram to Hfax. explaining the background of the interview, (4) to write a note to Eden explaining how the difficulty arose and how I am now smoothing it over, and (5) to arrange to see Wallace on Monday morning and mollify him.

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My officers are very penitent and surprised that I do not storm at them. I never lose my temper when expected and only tell them that this war is full of set-backs and this is a little one.

Sosnkowski to dine and also Ambassador Biddle, General Lee (a good friend of ours though not very clever), my C.E.O., my two Brigs., and P.H. Not a bad evening, except that it goes on much too long.

*Hancock*

2. 5. 41

As I am leaving London to-day, it is suggested to me by C.E.O. that I should see Arthur Guinness, head of the Merchant Banking firm, Guinness, Mahon & Co. (I think this is the title of the gang), who has been pressed upon C.D. as a most suitable "big man" to send out to Middle East on a quick mission to investigate, report and take necessary action in order to straighten out what is undoubtedly a bad tangle. This man has, as one of his partners, my employee B.C. and is also said to be well spoken of by C.H. It is these last two, I gather, who have been making the running on his behalf. A little while ago C.E.O. put to me tentatively that this man might be brought into my organisation in London, naming C.H. and B.C. as his backers. I said no, I did not want any more City people. We had enough of these already. C.E.O. said that this man, apart from his standing in the City, was intelligent and amusing and had an Irish wit. But he did not continue to press him against my objections. Now it is suggested that he should go on a brief mission to Mid.E. Since time presses, I agree to see him, but I have a dissatisfied feeling that he has been pushed too hard on me. C.D. says, before I see him, that he has only been told that he is one of several candidates whom the Minister is going to see. Guinness, apparently, did not altogether like this.

He is brought in with C.E.O. and C.D. at 12.30. The interview is not a success. He begins by saying that just after the last war he attended some of my lectures at the London School of Economics. I ask him what he has been doing since then. He says "I belong to a class for which I am afraid you have not much respect. I am a banker." This seemed to me a most gauche gambit. I replied "Most of you don't deserve much respect. But anyhow the mission we are going to discuss this morning is not a money-lending mission." From this inauspicious start the conversation made no real recovery. C.D. said afterwards that the man had been very nervous. I said "I don't want nervous people in my organisation. I want people of power and self-assurance." The man produced a piece of paper on which he had written down a number of points. He wanted sufficient status to entitle him to see General Wavell personally, and not merely be fobbed off with some Colonel. C.E.O. said that he thought the rank of local Counsellor would secure this. The man then said that he

would prefer to be a Minister. I said "I couldn't possibly recommend that. The Foreign Office would certainly turn it down, and apart from that, I don't think it is necessary. The local rank of Counsellor will be quite sufficient." He then said - bloody cheek I thought it - that he knew that I had secured the rank of Minister for Noel Hall in Washington. I said "That is quite a different case." He then repeated that he must have direct access to Wavell. I said "Of course you must see Wavell at least once, but sometimes he may be too busy with the war to see you and you may have to talk to some members of his staff instead." The man then began to say that he would be prepared to do the work with a salary, but .... I cut him short and said "That is very public-spirited of you but of course you would be entitled to reasonable expenses." This was what he was trying to say at some length. He then raised the question of his terms of reference. He was to go out to investigate and report. Personally he would be quite content with this, but was he also to have power to act on the spot? C.E.O. and C.D. had apparently put into his head that he might have some such powers. They should not have done so. I said "I think we can find a suitable formula. Telegraphic communication is pretty good and I should certainly expect you, as a general rule, to refer back for authority from me before taking any action." He then tried to go on discussing this point and bored me terribly. I said "I have told you that I will discuss a suitable formula with my officers." He then said that he was a great friend of Dill and that he would like to take a personal letter from Dill to Wavell. I said "I am not sure that that would be wise. I am not sure that Dill and Wavell have seen eye to eye lately." He amazed me by completely failing to see my point, and twice again raised this suggestion. The third time I said "I have told you twice that I don't consider it would be a good move for you to take a letter from Dill to Wavell. Don't you understand?" He then said he knew a lot of other Generals, including Adam. I said there would not be the same objection to taking a letter from Adam to Wavell. He then said he could start to-morrow, or the next day. I patiently explained to him that the congestion of communications was such that one could not get passages as quick as that. C.E.O. said that it would probably take about ten days. He did not seem to understand this, imagining that he was so important that he would instantly get a first priority. He had said earlier that he had had no holiday for a long time. I therefore said "If you were going ten days hence, you could take ten days holiday now." He said that his brother was away for a brief holiday and that it would therefore be difficult for him to go away too without endangering the success of his business. He said "Of course I don't know whether you want me to undertake this mission." I said "I am trying to make up my mind as this talk goes along." I noted with displeasure that once when I was speaking he turned round and talked through me to C.D. When I said afterwards that the man was not only a fool but had no manners, C.D. said that this again no doubt was due to nervousness. Finally,



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though unwillingly, I said that I would like him to undertake the mission. The interview then terminated. When he had been got rid of, I saw C.E.O. and C.D. together. I told them that I was most dissatisfied and that the man had made a very poor impression on me. None the less, since it was urgent to send someone, and since they had no-one else to suggest, and since they and C.H. thought this man was better than he seemed to me, I agreed that he should go. But his terms of reference must be narrowly drawn, and he must have no power to take any important action on the spot without referring back to me.

I may add that this man knows nothing of the Middle East and nothing of our organisation. His chief achievements hitherto have been in connection with the Standstill Agreement for British money-lenders to Germany and some Purchasing Commission in China.

To Darlington by the afternoon train.

### 3. 5. 41

Sleep in an address meeting in Town Hall in the afternoon, afterwards having tea as usual with officers of the Party and Jim Gilliland and Joe Foster. The Town Hall meeting is our substitute for the usual May Day demonstration, and Gilliland makes a fine speech for an old gentleman of 75. This, he says, is the first war that he has ever been in favour of.

### 4. 5. 41 (Sunday)

Back from Durham and arrive in time for long conference with Colonel V. on his paper. I am gradually improving this. He is very industrious, up to a point intelligent, but rather slow. Most of the evening has to be devoted to clearing up the Chase Bank muddle.

### 5. 5. 41

Lees-Smith to lunch. In this week's Parliamentary debate he thinks that all attention will be on Operations and Production. No-one will be interested in Information. Hence, the Daily Mail fuss and my controversy with the M. of I. are most unlikely to arise.

Cab. in the afternoon. I report on three months' delaying action with State Department on food ships. We have got no solid quid pro quo, either in check to German infiltration in North Africa or in removal of French fleet from Mediterranean ports, or in stronger



Vichy resistance to Germans going beyond the Armistice terms. Nor are we properly consulted by State Department before they decide on new concessions. In the total, the concessions involved in wheat ships are small, but the principle is bad and demoralising. P.M. thinks that Hfax. took perhaps too stiff a line when told of the two latest wheat ships. He had said that this news would come like a bomb-shell in this country. P.M. thought that we had given this hand to play to the Americans, who were represented at Vichy, and we should not make too much difficulty, since we were not ourselves maintaining an effective blockade against Vichy France, and there were many more dangerous cargoes, e.g., rubber. A.E. said that he sympathised very much with my point of view, particularly as when we thought we had got a settlement with the S.D. they constantly started up some new hare without prior consultation. It was, however, agreed by all that for the moment there was nothing more to be done, beyond the attempt in the latest telegram agreed by P.M., A.E. and me, asking that despatch of next pair of wheat ships should be postponed until next month and meanwhile no publicity be given to the latest undertaking by S.D. to French Amb. in Washington.

While waiting to go into the Cab., I had a few words with Ernest Brown, who is very hot against Horeb Elisha. Brown said that he himself had been elected Leader of the Simonites at the beginning of this session, by 31 votes to 4 for Horeb, and of these 4 one was Brown's. (Evidently Simonites vote by show of hands, not by ballot!) But after this vote, Sir G. Schuster, trying to make a compromise, had proposed, and the rest had weakly agreed, that, though Brown was Leader, Horeb should be Acting Chairman in his absence.

Brown then produced from his pocket a cutting from last week's Truth containing a poem derogatory to Horeb. Brown said he thought that the two articles that appeared in Truth when Horeb resigned had finally finished him. It might be necessary to remind people of them. Brown said that when Horeb had been invited to lunch at No. 10 (why?) last week, he had tried to collect all the press photographers on the door step, but this move had failed owing to wartime regulations against crowds in Downing Street. Brown said that he thought our great fight which was coming soon would be between those who wanted to make a premature peace and those who, "like me", intended to fight this thing out to the end. I asked "What is L.G. doing now?" Brown said, nodding sententiously, "He is keeping in the background, biding his time."

The love of Liberals for one another passes the loves of all other political animals. I say this knowing, at first hand, something of the mutual loves within the Labour Party and, at second hand, not a little of the Conservatives.

Brooks to see me. He is convinced that the great topic to-morrow and the day after will be Propaganda and Information. I say that, on the contrary, it will be Operations and Production of war material. (I turn out, of course, to be quite right, and there is hardly a mention of Propaganda on either of the two days debate.)

D.M. comes to see me and I speak to him of the Daily Mail article. He thinks it is most disgraceful and will question the Ministry of Information as to whether they saw it and agreed to it, whether they did not see it, or whether they saw it and protested. In any case, a B notice against reference to secret propaganda was violated. D.M. says that Horeb recently sought an interview with him and spoke at length. But the purpose of the visit could be simply put. What was the chance of Horeb getting a job in the present Government? How would this chance be affected if it was clearly understood that, in the event of his not getting a job, he would join up with L.G. and form a really powerful Opposition?

Dine with M. Ingram, a piece of return hospitality. He is rather an old bore, and, falling slightly below the level of diplomatic department to which I have been accustomed, commented adversely to me, when the bill was presented to him, on the price charged for the four brandies which we had consumed. (G. was surprised when I reported this incident.) Ingram spent much of his time denigrating Sir A. Hardinge, the King's Private Secretary. He was out of touch, he said, with all political realities. He might dangerously mislead the King in difficult times. He had been offered an Indian Governorship but had refused it. I asked whom M.I. would prefer. He said he thought that Walter Monckton would do it very well. I did not say that just lately I am inclined to blame W.M. for a large part of my trouble with D.C.

I decide to-night to cancel my invitation to Guinness to go on my Middle East mission. He is, C.E.O. tells me, very sore about his treatment by me last Friday. He says that, after all, he is a Conservative and I am a Socialist and he doubts whether he should work well with me. He supposes that I have heard evil of him from some of my colleagues. I say that none of my colleagues have ever heard of this self-important fool, but that if he is talking like that, I just won't send him. C.E.O., I think, both expected and wanted me to take this line. He adds that Guinness might speak ill of me to Wavell and ~~report~~ recommend that all my show should be taken over by the military. C.E.O. says that C.D. was rather upset at the failure of the interview, but that C.E.O. said to C.D. "If your friend carries on like this, we shall soon be in as bad a way as France was." I say I am quite clear that this man neither has the other gifts I want nor can be trusted to be loyal to me. The opportunity of getting rid of him comes through news that G.T. is, after all, still safe and sound with Campbell's staff who are being brought by the

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Italians to Rome and are due to be released, under Anglo-Italian convention for liberation of diplomats. This is very good news, since I had had deep fears either that G.T. was dead or, ~~was~~, worse, caught by the Gestapo. I shall not be reassured till he has emerged from enemy-dominated regions, but so far so good. C.E.O. suggests, telling me this news, and I still grumbling on at having been rushed by them over Guinness and having really no confidence in him, and less and less the more I think of ~~it~~ that bad interview, that, if I want a get-out, here it is. I eagerly embrace it and ring up C.D., who sadly agrees.

This was done earlier in the evening before I dine with Ingram. I ask C.E.O. to prepare a draft of a letter from me to Guinness. After dinner he produces this, but it is frightfully bad, half jocose and half promising something more in the future, written in a much more familiar tone than I am disposed to adopt towards this bloody fool whom I have only seen once and never want to see again. Therefore I re-dictate, in his presence, a much terser, though still polite, note expressing regret that, in the changed circumstances, in view of G.T.'s early release and unique experience of the Middle East, I no longer feel able to avail myself of Guinness's services, though much appreciating his willingness to undertake, at great inconvenience to himself, a mission which would have had high value for our war effort.

#### 6. 5. 41

The first day of the Parliamentary debate. I spend most of the day in the House. Eden makes a poor speech in very difficult conditions, since clearly in public session there are many things, e.g., about the Turks, which he cannot say. Horeb, much applauded by a small clique on rising, makes a speech clever but, having regard to his own past, most impudent. C.R.A. winds up pretty well.

To see Van and discuss with him the usual themes - our broadcast to Germany, Crossman, D.C., etc.

Then a conference with C.E.O. and C.D., who say that Guinness has received my letter pretty well. Apparently a good deal of social fuss is still being made of him and he is to be had to lunch by various people in the coming week. I say he is not to be told anything more about my organisation. We discuss alternative names. It is thought that Brooks would be best. C.E.O. asks me what I think of the possibility of J.W. going. I say I don't think this will do. I mention this to J. who quite agrees.

7. 5. 41

In my bath I change my mind and think J.W. might do for the Middle East. After my bath, down in the shelter, I put it to him, but he raises four objections -

- (1) It would cause the most frightful jealousies in political circles and do me harm. (I say that if this is all, I will face that.)
- (2) He does not click with soldiers, finding them stiff and they not quite knowing how to take him.
- (3) He only knows the No.1 and not the No.2 branch of our work.
- (4) There would be much more fuss and trouble with the Camarilla, including D.M. who is by nature a jealous manqué man and who rang up to ask whether J.'s speech last weekend, grossly condensed and misrepresented in the press, represented the official view of M.E.W.

He puts this argument quite well next day to C.E.O., who, on the whole, agrees.

Before going to National Executive I have a quick word with R.L. on possibility of Brooks going. He puts on his most obstinate and sheepish look, says Brooks is quite irreplaceable and that he himself could not carry on if he went. Practically a threat of resignation.

Second day's debate in the House. L.G. makes a deplorable opening speech, which I don't hear, and P.M., as usual, comes through magnificently at the end. He likens L.G.'s orations to one of those with which, no doubt, the aged and venerable Marshal Petain enlivened the last days of M. Reynaud's Cabinet. This will stick now.

8. 5. 41

Still fidgeting on as to whether Brooks can go. I see him and R.L. together. No progress. At the end I say "I am sure you have both tried to be helpful, but I have not been helped by this conversation." A short point is that no-one suitable will go unless I am prepared to make a terrific row by courting resignations and giving orders which will be profoundly unpopular, with terrific reverberations in Whitehall. I am not prepared to do this - at this moment. Brooks says, perhaps truly, that the whole Middle East show is in a pretty good mess - returning troops, prisoners of war far in excess of anything expected, etc. So if our show is in a mess too it will only be like the rest.

Wynant has been to see A.E. with a protest about my press conference. D.B.L. sees Cohen at the American Embassy this afternoon and is taken in by him to Wynant, who is quite friendly. A.E. writes



that he would like me to make him a statement which he can send to Wynant. Sterling Products Incorporated, an American concern tied up with the German Bayer interests, making aspirin, etc., sends solicitor's letters demanding to see me and threatening legal proceedings. I let them be handled by my officials, who, supported by lawyers, think they have intimidated them.

The Beaver rings up and asks whether I have seen Wallace. He came to see the Beaver two or three days ago. I say yes. The Beaver sounds friendly, but is such a bloody rascal that I don't trust him not to be adding to the trouble. He says "I have been in a lot of press scraps in my life so I don't take them too seriously." I say "You know who my chief Press Officer is, don't you?" He says no. I tell him, just for atmosphere.

*Linera*  
C.R.A. to dine with me alone. Whenever the pressure in the pipe gets too great, I see this little man, who is always most loyal, unruffled and understanding on my affairs. When he arrives, C.E.O. is with me - I think by his own design, but, once arrived, by mine too - with papers on the River, the Greek Canal and other recent Operations. It is not understood why neither A.E. nor P.M. referred to the River in the Debate. Perhaps because Prof. L. has been going round denigrating our claim to have blocked it for three months, as reported by me to the P.M. on the basis of M.'s story. C.R.A. says he will drop a bomb on this nonsense tonight at Defence Committee, and I will send another hit to P.M. with latest evidence to-morrow, noting that latest story destroys Hitler's yarn that river is open.

*MasKas*

I suggest that I and C.E.O. should sometimes come to Defence Committee, when relevant. C.R.A. agrees that this would be useful.

P.M.'s circular on P.P.S.s, etc., was provoked, C.R.A. says, by Fletcher's utterances, including one in which he said that Jap Embassy kept spies in London, and by one or two Tories, not by J.W.'s last speech. I tell C.R.A. also about my continuing fuss with M. of I. and about the Press fuss. On both of these he is most sensible. He says that P.M. liked Phil Baker's speech yesterday very much and said "We ought to have that man in the Government." C.R.A. replied "He is next on my list."

C.R.A. says to me "No-one in the Government except the P.M. and you and I take any interest in Operations." He suggests that I should sometimes go to the War Room in the evening and cheer up the chaps and see the maps. He says he often goes down. I say "let us go together, you and I and C.E.O., one evening." He thinks this would be a good plan. I then make C.E.O., who joins us at the end of our meal, motor him to the centre, wishing that they shall become better acquainted. C.E.O. tells me afterwards that the little man was in great form, telling stories all the time.

DIARY9. 5. 41

Dine alone with Harriman. (I have made a separate record of our conversation.) C.E.O., whom I see later that night, thinks that it was a mistake to mention our man out there. I therefore decide to ring up Harriman next morning and take steps to put this right.

10. 5. 41

Ring up H. accordingly and say that I have been thinking of the form in which the message should be sent and would like to speak to him again next week before he sends it.

I go to see H.Q. in time for the 12 o'clock meeting, which is attended by A.E. and his most bone-headed and elderly P.P.S., Colonel Ponsonby. The visit, I think, is very successful, and A.E. is favourably impressed. My blokes all play up well and he enjoys his afternoon visit. He talks a bit against the Air Force, thus reflecting Dill and W.O., and says that they are most obstinately opposed to dive bombers for army co-operation. He blames, in particular, Harold Balfour for this. (How these Tories love one another!) He also says that if we had had only one armoured division in the Middle East, the Turks would have come in on our side. I wonder!

Duff Cooper has not yet answered his letter of a fortnight ago. Ponsonby tells me, walking round with him alone in the garden, that D.C. is no use and should be fired from his job and sent to the Lords. Peterson, he says, is "just a block" at the M. of I. Ponsonby asks, on arrival at the Abbey, whether I come down here to sleep every night!

Gambier Parry propounds his idea of the Grande Voce. A.E. will mention it to the P.M. and I will send in a note about it. Lindemann has apparently blessed it.

11. 5. 41 (Sunday)

Drive back in the morning with G. from C.H.Q. Before starting, we had heard something of the damage done in last night's air-raid on London. As we come into London there are some signs of this, much smoke hanging in the air and the streets full of broken glass and charred bits of paper. We drive first to my flat and find that an incendiary bomb has burned out the top flat immediately opposite to mine. This will improve my view, and it is interesting to see that this old Victorian building, ugly though it is, is yet so solid that this incendiary burnt itself out without

spreading either to right or left or downwards through the solid stone walls and floor to adjoining flats. No damage to my own. We then go to Chester Square, where G. finds that the house some six doors away from No. 20, where he is lodging, is completely gone. It would have made no difference whether last night here one had been under the roof or in the basement. In a public shelter close by, the Mayor of Westminster and 12 other people were killed. As we drive back, we see a working party still digging for human remains in this shelter. Last night also Maurice Ingram was killed while fire-watching on the top of his block of flats above the Mirabelle Restaurant in Curzon Street. They say that he was killed quite quickly by some flying projectile.

De la Warr asks us to lunch and there relates some remarks of Brocket (separate note attached). I tell G. that D.L.W. bores me rather because, though he still looks rather young, he bores on like quite an old man. I said to Sargent, whom we meet after lunch, that responsibility for Ingram's death is on the doorstep of the F.O., because they delayed so long in sending him out, as promised, to Mexico.

Back at the Ministry in the afternoon. It is a little difficult to work or concentrate one's mind. There have been many tales of where the damage is, so about 5 o'clock I get G. to drive me down to Westminster and thence to South London. Westminster Hall, which we first visit, has not been badly hit, and the main part of the roof still stands. But then I learn, for the first time, that the House of Commons has ceased to exist. Looking in from the Star Court one sees that the Chamber is completely gutted. G. and I then work round from the old Members' Smoke Room - where we talk to one of the women staff who was there all last night and says that twelve large bombs fell in the river and two policemen disappeared, leaving no trace, - up the staircase, and so under dripping ceilings - the fire brigade often do more damage than the fire - to the entrance to the old Members' Lobby, where, under the sky, lies a great mass of broken bricks, twisted iron and charred bits of wood. The statue of Joseph Chamberlain, however, is still standing, with uplifted hand. His less gifted son has much responsibility for this. We then work round to the entrance to what was once the Chamber itself. Here the destruction by explosions and fire is quite complete: I clamber about among the rubble with my nose full of the smell of burnt wood, and watch firemen still leisurely playing their hoses on some smoking debris. The members' lavatory in the old Aye Lobby is still intact. Therefore, as a last gesture, I enter and relieve nature. Then we depart. I recall that, apart from little final formalities, the last words spoken in this Chamber were those of the F.M. in his peroration at the end of the Vote of Confidence debate on Wednesday, May 7th -

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Lord De La Warr told me to-day that Lord Brocket had spoken to him about putting down a Motion for the House of Lords on post-War Agriculture. He had replied that this seemed to him rather a remote question, since the loss of the Balkans and our set-back in North Africa would have prolonged the war. Brocket replied that he was not so sure; it might well be that they would have shortened the war and that we should negotiate peace this Autumn.

De La Warr added that he had run into Brocket again at Lord Lynton's - and there are reasons for doubting the war resolve of this Peer too. Brocket, he heard, had also been in the company of Unity Mitford. It looks as though he is a carrier of traitorous thoughts.

*Common*

12th May, 1941.

*Breakdown*



"When I look back on the perils which have been overcome, upon the great mountain waves in which the gallant ship has driven, when I remember all that has gone wrong, and remember also all that has gone right, I feel sure we have no need to fear the tempest. Let it roar, and let it rage. We shall come through."

And after that we voted by 447 to 3 our confidence in the Government.

Then we drive down to South London and make a tour of ruin, including John Wilmot's constituency in Kennington. From Newington Butts to the Elephant practically everything is burnt away.

To-night on the 9 o'clock news it is announced that the House of Commons, Westminster Hall, Westminster Abbey and the British Museum have all been hit, though the damage to the House of Commons is far greater than any of the others.

12. 5. 41

Speech-preparing all the day except for a lunch with Kot and Liebrach at which C.E.O. and M. are also present. Sikorski, they say, has just got back from America very much exhausted. He flew from New York to Newfoundland in seven hours, and from Newfoundland across the Atlantic in eleven hours.

13. 3. 41

Speech-preparing. Harriman to see me in the afternoon, when we rearrange the message he is to send to the U.S. He will make no mention of our man out there, who, I explain, I find is less important than I had thought. Also it might be better for them to send a man over here than us to send to them. He will put this alternative, and also mention Donovan as a man who knows something of what we are doing. He says that Hopkins thinks well of me.

G. says that Ismay was able to-day to give him half an hour. He and the Chiefs of Staff are most delighted over Hess. The P.M. has been thinking and talking of nothing else, and therefore they are free, for once, to carry on the war.

G., J.W. and I dine together. G. says he has overheard, but must not repeat to me, who was the "Scottish personality" whom Hess said he had come to see. I say "Was it Lord Brocket or the Duke of Buccleugh?" G. says he mustn't answer. I say "Very well, I shall put it about that it was the Duke of Buccleugh." Returning to the Ministry I find D.B.L. and McCorquodale outside. The latter says that it was the Duke of Hamilton. He knows this from a man who travelled down by the night train to see Andrew Duncan and who

heard it from people who were standing drinks to the ploughman who picked Hess up.

14. 5. 41

My vote is taken in secret session in the miserable "annexe" at Church House. The House was in a bad mood, "an odious mood", as R.A.B. said to someone. First a long wrangle as to whether the sitting should be secret or not. This was started by Clement Davies, who is increasingly sour, self-important and intriguing. This grumble was supported by Winterton, Maxton and a few others. C.R.A., who was leading the House, pointed out that last Thursday, when business for this week was announced, he had stated that this vote would be taken in secret session and that no one had raised any objection. This, of course, was true. Half an hour was wasted with this nonsense before I was able to get going. This brought us to 12.25. I did not finish till 1.55. During this hour and a half I spoke at length and answered, with great restraint and politeness, a large number of questions, mostly very stupid. As seen from within a Government Department, especially mine, the House at large appears as a monkey house of utterly ignornat and ill-conditioned amateurs. I gave them the plain facts about the Marseilles and Siberian leaks, though most of this was known before. They fastened on the Marseilles leak and the failure to enforce our blockade at the Straits. They completely failed to take my points about Anglo-American co-operation and new methods for relieving the Navy. I demolished the nonsense recently put out in the Financial News and the Tribune about oil stocks in Spain, had a reasonably good run on Relief, and on the German economic situation. I quoted at some length what I had said last year about oil, emphasizing my three conditions: (1) large-scale using up of oil by the enemy war machine, (2) continued heavy attacks by the R.A.F. on oil targets, and (3) our continuing to hold the Eastern Mediterranean. It was only on these three conditions, the first two of which have not been fulfilled, that I had said, ten months ago, that the enemy would be in very grave difficulties as to oil in a period to be measured in months, and not in years.

German oil stocks now, none the less, in my considered view, based on the advice of experts, not only of my own but of other Departments, were dangerously low. As Germans improve the Rumanian and Yugoslav railways, and still more if they get the sea route round the south of Greece, enemy oil stocks might soon begin to rise again.

Many members received my speech as a cold douche. I am doubtful how my own reputation was affected. At the time, all was so gloomy that I came out pessimistic - as well as a little weary, for I sat through the whole thing, only going out for a quarter of an

hour for a glass of beer and a sandwich in my room upstairs. But my scouts, J.W. and others, say that many members thought that I had done well. (This was also the view of my three M.E.W. Peers (Drogheda, Farrar and Hawke) who sat up in the Gallery.) Certainly the chief disapprobation was manifested towards A.V.A. At last they had the point that if the blockade was not working, it was primarily because the Navy was not intercepting enemy ships. The Tory naval officers, Beamish, Southby and Bower, led a clique, supported by Winterton and other elements, who constantly asked whether the First Lord should not be there, or should be sent for. Beamish and Southby both whispered to me that they had nothing against me and were trying to support me. After a while, Warrender came in looking pink and sheepish and sat on the Bench, but no-one was impressed by this. A little later A.V.A. came in, looking very angry and thrusting out his jaw. Foots had just been saying a few words (I had to give him some sort of a show, but I couldn't let him wind up, and he made a fair mess of it when heckled as to whether it was a political or a naval decision not to stop ships in the Straits. He said that it was "purely operational". This excited them still more.) A.V.A. then rose and spoke for some ten minutes, and I thought did pretty well, explaining, as I had explained before, that the Navy had much else to do, fighting the Battle of the Atlantic etc. But the Tory naval M.P.s I think dislike having a Co-op. grocer as First Lord and have put about the tale that he is both doing his job badly and ignoring the House of Commons.

It was said that we were still appeasing Vichy. Also that we should have bombed Rumanian oil. As to this, I had a very straight reply, namely, that until the Germans attacked the Greeks, the Greeks did not want us to give any pretext for air reprisals against them by flying from Greek aerodromes through Bulgarian air to bomb Ploesti. And when the Germans did attack the Greeks, our bombers were fully engaged bombing the Germans. And now there is no aerodrome nearer than Crete, a distance of 600 miles according to P.J.N.B., from which to do it. But I told them that Ploesti was still on my list and that I would speak to A.S. about it.

PM  
 Very few M.P.s wanted to speak in this debate, though many sat glumly listening. Molson, specially brought up from some military station by Foots to take part in the debate, did little good. "Who is that man with a face like a tench who interrupted me?", the present M.P. is reported to have asked some years ago during a debate on India.

First K. Lindsay and later the ineffable Cunningham Reid asked me whether my Department had any responsibility for progaganda to the enemy. I was able to say "No, my Department has nothing to do with this." The second time, I said "That is the responsibility of the Minister of Information." For to-morrow a question has been put asking the P.M. who is responsible. I am inclined to be rather pleased at this, for responsibility for overt broadcasts will now,

I hope, be publicly fastened on Duff Cooper. Attempts have been made lately to try to involve me in this particularly vulnerable activity.

Thence, rather gloomily, to Claridges where a large reception has been organised by D.B.L. for the British-Dominion Press. They arrive in large numbers and all seem delighted to have been asked. I am conscious of being now in very good form, receiving them all at the entrance, remembering lots of their names and peculiarities, and saying what are called "a few well chosen words" to most of them.

Thereafter I am carried off by my three Secretaries, J.W., H.G. and P.H., to a birthday party arranged by them in my honour at Scotts. This celebrates one year of my administration at the M.E.W. I recall how, on a certain Wednesday at Bournemouth, where I was looking after the last stages of the Labour Party Conference, after a short telephone conversation with the new P.M. in which I was offered, and accepted, M.E.W., I rang up R. and asked her to ring up H.G. and order him, on my behalf, to wait for me from midnight onwards at my flat, where, half an hour after midnight, I arrived and invited him to become my chef de cabinet.

P.H. tells a story of King George V, who, hearing people talk of going abroad, said "I hate abroad. I think abroad's bloody."

15. 5. 41

Great commotion over a supplementary answer given by the P.M. in the House about propaganda in enemy countries. Asked by Neil Maclean what Minister was responsible for this, P.M. first replied that several Ministers assisted in this important work and H.M.G. took collective responsibility for them. Asked to whom, then, questions should be addressed, P.M. said - most unguardedly - either to the Minister of Information or to the Minister of Economic Warfare. Pressed further, he said that if there was any doubt as to who should answer, he would do it himself.

This was really a most frightful gaffe by W.C. He has never really focused my role in propaganda, nor, apparently, appreciated that for ten months my name has never been mentioned or admitted in Parliament or the press as having anything to do with it. I am told that when he made this reply, the House was pretty full, but not a great deal of interest was taken in it. There will, however, certainly be much further bother. He has dropped a bomb through my head cover and we shall now have to put on some new substitute roof.

I went round to see him at the close of the Cabinet this morning with a draft statement which, had he been willing to make it,



would have planted responsibility for answering all permissible questions in Parliament on the M. of I., while ruling out many on grounds of public interest. This draft of mine also contained the statement that the Foreign Secretary and I maintain touch with the M. of I. in order that all aspects, political and economic, of this work should be properly coordinated.

The P.M. did not, however, like this idea at all. He had obviously not focused the problem in any degree, for he said to me in some surprise "I had no idea that you had refused to answer questions in Parliament about this." He said that he would not consider issuing any further statement but that, if questions were asked, we must deal with them when they came. He appeared to me to have no sense at all of the secrecy of what I was doing.

I spoke afterwards to C.R.A., who said that he had been horrified and astonished when the P.M. gave this supplementary answer, but that it was then too late to stop him. He undertook to say something to the P.M. that evening about the difficult situation which had been created. I said, rather angrily, that the P.M. took no interest at all in this particular branch of my work and regarded it as a bloody bone which had been thrown to me in order to appease the Labour Party. C.R.A. said that he did not think this was so, and added that the P.M. had only last week said that he thought I was doing a very good job of work. I was not much mollified by this.

Hess and Syria have rather overshadowed this nonsense for to-day, but, following up, G. invites himself to dine this evening with the P.M.'s secretariat, whom both he and I blame for their failure to keep the P.M. properly informed and on his guard upon this question. The P.M.'s Private Secretaries, G. and I agree, are a very poor lot indeed, and it is astonishing that he is content with them. The only one with any personality is Colville, and he is very self-opinionated. Seal, the No.1, is shortly leaving for the U.S.A. on some naval job. G. reports later in the evening that he rubbed it in to them as much as he could, but could only do so after dinner, as the P.M.'s brother was present at the meal and this prevented all intimate conversation.

I shall try to get this straightened out, as much as it can be straightened out, at the meeting at the F.O. to-morrow with A.E. and D.C.

A rumpus with Mr Leathers, who thinks he is going to turn M.E.W. out of the present building without any discussion with me at all. I have arranged for the Office of Works to requisition Lansdowne House just across the Square, and, if necessary, many of us can go in there. But it would be much better for us to remain where we are and for Leathers's additional staff to go to Lansdowne House.

Anyhow, the thing must be discussed between us, but he impudently contends that a decision has already been reached at a meeting at which he, Attlee and Anderson were present, though I was not, and though I have received no official notice in writing, nor has Sir F.L.R., of any decision at all on the matter. Hearing of Leathers's refusal to meet me, I ask C.R.A. whether any decision was taken. He says Certainly not. They only had a preliminary discussion and it was understood that Leathers and I would go into the matter together.

I therefore get Leathers on the telephone and speak to him with some clarity. I ask whether he does not think it an extraordinary thing that any decision on a matter affecting me should have been taken in his presence but in my absence. I also tell him what C.R.A. said to me and remind him that C.R.A. is not only a personal friend and colleague of mine but also the Deputy Prime Minister. I say further "When you and I have been colleagues a little longer and have got to know each other a little better, you will discover it is no good trying to bluff me in this sort of way. I want this matter discussed on a business basis (I thought this was rather a good line with him!) with all the facts and figures in front of us." Finally, therefore, he agrees to a meeting on Saturday morning at 10 a.m.

C.E.O. says that he and A.D.A. have been thinking again about sending someone to the Middle East. They think now that it should be a young politician who can walk in on Wavell and also size up the situation as between D.H.P., who obviously ought to go, and the others. Of several names suggested by C.E.O., the only one I fancy at all is Tommy Dugdale, who has many of the necessary qualifications if he could be spared from his post as Whip. He also is said to have a duodenal ulcer. I authorise C.E.O. to approach him, sound him generally without mentioning my name and, if he shows any sign of biting, to send him to see me. The only other possible in the list suggested is Keeling, who, however, is not nearly such a good candidate and once asked me why I had not taken him rather than C.D. for the latter's place. Some of the other names suggested, e.g., Titchfield and various other stray Lords, are quite ridiculous, and I so inform C.E.O. He said they had been trying to make as long a list as possible. One name suggested which has merits is Duncan Sandys, but, quite apart from the fact that he is now disabled for some time by a motor accident, it would be too great a risk to send him, for he might double-cross me back to the P.M. He has a reputation, C.E.O. says, for "specialising in disloyalty."

DIARY16. 5. 41*Sambha Nay**(125)*

Grande Voce. G.P.'s bright idea goes with Minute from me to P.M., with copies to a few others, and later P.M. writes "Proceed as proposed", which, D.M. suggests, at least means ~~by~~ the machine, though Air Ministry and M. of I. will have to be squared.

Call from Bickell, a Canadian tough, with an agreeable grin, from the N.A.P. He talks of swapping a Hudson for my still stagnant L. But later it appears that A.M. and M.A.P. are squabbling violently over the L.

*Sallistic*

Jug Minister calls and gives me an account of their campaign. In the last war most of the Serbian Army escaped southwards. This time this was impossible because the Germans, attacking from the south-east, drove an iron belt right through to the sea, there joining the Italians, and everything north of this was captured. (I saw another account by an eye-witness, very vivid, of how the Germans attacked while Yugoslav mobilisation was still in process, so that all the few roads were choked with men, and guns, and horse and ox transport. These were perfect targets for the German Air Force, and there was almost nothing to reply.) S. said that the supposed difficulties of the terrain for tanks in Southern Serbia and Albania had just disappeared. He added that they had prepared gun positions and defensive strong points on high ground above roads running through Passes. But these positions had been bombed, without reply, by German aircraft, and especially dive-bombers.

Lunch with G.E.O. and C.H. to meet Colonel Newcombe, once of the Dunster Force, who knew the Caucasus in the last war and Stalin (then called by his Georgian name) and wore for a while a Russian uniform. Not quite the man for my M.E. job; no doubt he had great drive twenty years ago, but now he seems a bit old fashioned

With G.E.O. to see Amery at the I.O. He is very full of Iran and Iraq and anxious that C. in C. India should take them over. (I hear later from other channels that there has been a great row between the two Generals, W. and A., the latter being for defending, and the former for evacuating big bits of the M.E. The former says that he must concentrate all he has in the Western Desert. He even suggests asking Raschid Ali for "his terms".)

Meeting at F.O. with Anderson, Eden and Duff Cooper. Before going up, I have a word with Van, who urges me not to lose my temper with D.C., particularly if he shows signs of losing his with me first and thereby putting himself in the wrong. I square Anderson, I hope, in the Private Secretary's Room before the meeting. I say that I am tired of silly squabbles with D.C. and am quite prepared (1) for the status quo and (2) co-ordination under the F.O.

At the Ministerial meeting which follows, D.C. is isolated, 3 to 1, and plays his cards very badly. He says he wants everything now done by my No.1 Branch. He says that I "bitterly resent" any criticism and that, in our various scraps, "the Minister of E.W. always begins it". This does not make a great impression on the other two. As to co-ordination, D.C. says he thinks the committee now meeting in the M. of I. does it. I say no, it is symbolically important to put the committee in the F.O., under an F.O. chairman. Both the others agree with this. Anderson is to make a note of our conclusions. When agreed, this is to go to the P.M.

A.E. then takes me aside and says that he is afraid this may come upon me as a bombshell, but he is thinking of offering Rio to R.L. He wants to promote men of ability to Ambassadorial power. He then asks in Cadogan and it is agreed that I should first sound R.L. Perhaps it may be in the national interest, A.E. says, that he should stay where he is. On the other hand, he should not be passed over, and an Ambassador's pension will mean something to him, since he has no private means. A.E. adds that, if he goes, I can, of course, have "anyone you like" from the F.O. to take his place. He hints that I might like Stevenson (but of course I shouldn't).

Later talk to G. about this. I am clear that if R.L. goes, G. should become responsible for both Branches, with a good man at No.1, the opposite number to C.D. This might be Dixon or Locksley, though both of these are a little young. This, apart from making a better chart, would be a good means of getting rid of "fissiparous" tendencies.

U.S. and Dakar. Much hinting in the press at redefinition of the Munroe Doctrine to include this. Privately it is known that Anglo-American staff talks have been taking place for some time, but the U.S. have not yet one armoured brigade! and they are afraid of starting with a failure.

In Spain the Cavalry of St George have been charging; hence some of the recent changes; hence also Attaché H.'s concern for J.M.'s tinplate.

17. 5. 41

Meeting with Leathers on accommodation, three officials aside being also present. He has been trying to dodge a meeting with me and to pretend that a "decision" has been taken that I should clear out and leave him the whole building. When, having routed him on the telephone, I succeed in getting down to a "business basis" and facts and figures are produced, it is quite clear that Berkeley Square



House plus Lansdowne House will more than accommodate our joint staffs, but that Lansdowne House will not accommodate all mine. Therefore, either I remain where I am and he takes Lansdowne House, which I propose, or, in some degree, I, as well as he, am split and give him part of my space, taking part of Lansdowne House in return. It is revealed that the Ministry of Shipping are packed much less tightly than my people, and that the top floor is practically untenanted, for fear of air-raids! It is finally agreed that we should go to a conference with Anderson and Attlee.

I row G. violently, both before and after lunch, on S.O.2. I make an aide memoire afterwards on some of what I said. Too many business men; too little political gumption, and biases against the Left; an ~~official machine~~ inefficient machine wherein my Minutes are lost or disregarded; failure to keep me informed of what is going on; a loss of interest by all except me in the Liberator; too many "smooth-faced explanations"; failure to get the right man to take over my M.E. show. The truth is the war is going rather badly and all these things are shown up sharply as a consequence.

In the afternoon to W.L., in a most black mood.

18. 5. 41 (Sunday)

Having gone to bed and sleep just after 10 last night, I wake up at 7.30 this morning and then snooze on again till 11, when breakfast is produced, thus sleeping round the clock. The rest of the day I spend in the garden, getting up three stubs, making a bonfire, and trimming my trees. This makes me feel much better.

19. 5. 41

Conference on Accommodation with Anderson, Attlee and Leathers. Much arguing backwards and forwards. Finally I say I will move 400 of my people from the third floor and let him have that.

R.L. to see me. I tell him that A.E. will offer him Rio. His first reaction is quite negative. He is not interested in Ambassadorial gold lace; he feels he is doing a more useful job where he is; his wife's parents are both old, and one of them very infirm, living nearby at Oxford. I tell him to tell no-one but his wife, but to discuss with her and then to see A.E. on Wednesday. Meanwhile I say I do not wish to influence his decision either way, valuing him much where he is now but not wishing to stand in the road of his career, which, moreover, has a more than personal importance.

Sikorski and Retinger to lunch; also G. and my Brig. S. and R. have just flown back in a bomber from the U.S.A., where they have had a most exhausting but successful tour. We discuss also some financial questions, on which a brief for S. to show to the P.M. is to be made by G., in consultation with Retinger.

F.O.G. Committee meets after a long interval. The German oil position is bad now, worse than it has been since war began, but may soon improve. Therefore the time for an attack on oil targets is now. But there are many rivals, and I find an idea growing (O.S. has got it badly in his F.O.P.S. paper) that oil targets are most difficult to hit and therefore not "rewarding"; transport and morale targets are now said by many to be better.

Sir E. Ellington to see me; a possible for the M.E. I would take any good fighting man now, but he is lame and old. Over the weekend I have reversed my view of whom to send. On Saturday I had told G. to get in touch with T.D. to-day, but this morning I have countermanded this. I want not a sort of diplomatic mission but someone to take hold and take charge.

*Hawks*

C.D. is back from one week's leave, most unwillingly taken, but looks much the better for it. He, I and C.E.O. dine together and review the week. I say, most sincerely, that I have missed him and that C.H. has not really filled his place, having too many irons in the fire. My fumes are still near the surface and I let fly again about this branch of the show being too much of a business man's club, and about my Minutes being lost, and about the suspicion of the trading with the enemy case, and about some of the Country Section Heads being very second-rate.

I hear next morning that C.D. had indigestion and didn't sleep well. I hope it wasn't my fault.

20. 5. 41

*John Price*

I send for J.P. and question him as to how he is getting on. Clearly he is insufficiently used. He produces some very useful evidence on Danish Socialists, but he has never been asked for it before.

*G.P.*

G.P. comes to see me on the Grande Voce. I send him to see D.M. I hope that this will soon move.

*Mark*

C.E.O. brings Ismay to see me on possibles for the M.E. He thinks that Ellington is too old and physically not strong enough, but thinks we could find some fairly well-preserved soldier, Brigadier or upwards, who has been retired recently and would both be good at the job and know his way about with W. and his staff.

Norton

That evening G. is entertaining C.N. and his wife, and I join them. She has become quite frightful and talks most violently and ~~injudiciously~~ injudiciously against General S. and his entourage. She supports with wild vehemence the other General S., and also Beck, of whom she says "At least he was an honest man". Really a terrible exhibition! Obviously she is so worked up that she talks like this everywhere. Most embarrassing for her quiet little, good little husband! This little man is now on the Joint Planners, one of our useful sources.

Sosa hasht

21. 5. 41

Lunch at the House, where Sir M. Robertson is woffling about "the art of diplomacy" (rather difficult to explain to A. Creech Jones) and telling everybody about his report to the F.O. (really written, I hear, by I. Mallet). He says he is being very revolutionary and wants to run the Personnel Board which he proposes to institute.

Dine at short notice to meet Lord Cecil with Phil and Irene. Cecil is now very deaf and old but still has charm and an affectionate attitude towards me. Last war he was Minister of Blockade, and many of my problems, particularly in Anglo-American relations, are just like his. Thus, before they came in they were furious against our Black List. When they came in, they changed in 24 hours and became far more drastic than we had ever been.

I lead the party on to Got and Dolivet.

Later that evening I tell something of what they said to G. and then go through the Dolivet file, which shows at first great energy but then an unbelievable degree of ignorant capitulation and telegrams sent from a low level which should have been put up to me.

R.L. cannot come up to-day. He is in bed with laryngitis, brought on, perhaps, by over-excitement about Rio. So he cannot see A.E. for a day or two. I tell G. to speak to A.C. and, using judicious language, to hint that A.E. might put pressure on R.L. to accept. I have always been in favour of the promotion of younger generations and must not make an exception, even when my own personal interests might be adversely touched.

22. 5. 41

Count Karolyi calls, on Kingsley Martin's introduction. Physically a pathetic figure, very lame and hobbling on a stick, and with a split palate, so that, although he clearly knows English very well, he is hardly intelligible. I cannot think that this poor

creature could be seriously thought of as a political force in Hungary. His chief reason for coming to see me is to complain that the B.B.C. broadcasts in Hungarian are still pro-Horthy. As if it mattered if they were! Moreover, as I tell him, they are Duff Copper's responsibility and not mine. He leaves behind, however, a document which, H.G. tells me, is pretty spicy and should probably go to M.I.5. I tell Count K. that I will write to D.C. suggesting that he should see him.

I hear that this little pig has now gone to Bogner for three weeks. Meanwhile, I have a most amiable letter from A.E. agreeing with my proposed amendments to Anderson's draft note on our meeting à quatre last week.

The Beaver rings me up and says, first, to prepare the way, that the American journalists all tell him what a fine chap I am and how I give them much more news than other Ministers. He then goes on to ask about the Liberator. How am I getting on? I say not at all, and give some brief infuriated explanations. I say I want two H.s in exchange. He says that he and I must stand in together on this and urges me not to give up the L. without further consulting him. I agree to this. Later in the day I ring up Archie Sinclair, who tries to smother me with charm from the other end of the telephone. But I make clear that I am not at all inclined to be appeased and am still waiting for a reply from him to my long and furious letter written on May 9th. He says he is just going to sign it and I shall have it to-morrow. If I don't think it satisfactory, he will be very glad to have a talk. I say that I am quite sure I shall not think it satisfactory.

Press conference with the Lobby. I tell them of the misdemeanours of Vichy in the economic field, of how the French supply and work for the Germans. This all goes down very well, including the news, which I let out, of the interception of the Scheherazade.

We had a great joke in M.E.W. about this ship. I was asked last Saturday by my Lord D., before going off for the weekend, what my view was about stopping her. I said that, since she was carrying American observers as well as oil, I would let her go through. For the Americans, I hoped, would not only "observe" but also throw their weight about and dish out dollars and make propaganda, and perhaps do other things as well. On my return on Monday morning my Lord D. informed me that over the weekend the F.O. had been clamouring for the ship to be stopped, that the Admiralty were panting to send the signal to have her stopped, and that even the poor old State Department had been urging us to stop her. I, therefore, alone stood in the way of this simple act of blockade enforcement. I quickly yielded. I hope the other three partners saw the joke too..



D.M. comes to see me with rather vague plans which he has put up to the P.M. for action against Vichy ships and factories and for various forms of propoganda. I say that I am all for this, but it will involve having some contact with persons of the F.P. and I am told that C. has got the C.O.S. to forbid this. D.M. is astonished.

DIARY23. 5. 41

R.L. to see me to say he has refused Rio. I am really a little sorry about this, for it would have simplified many things to put in a younger F.O. man to run this side and to give G. general charge. But that can't be now.

C.D. to see me. I row on about my dissatisfaction with political bias and mishandling of Danish and French-in-U.S.A. cases. He says that if I feel I have another man who could do better, he will be very glad to resign. He knows that I am worried about the show and does not want me to be worried. I say I have no man in mind who could do better. In C.E.O. and in him I have complete confidence, though further down less confidence in some. T.D. was technically responsible for the telegram about the French to which I took exception. C.D. says he takes all responsibility and does not want me to row T.D. So we compromise on my asking T.D. to lunch and showing him my caustic Minute in a friendly way. This happens and I think T.D. is quite happy about it.

C. to see me this evening. I make a separate Minute on this meeting. He admits that his people use language loosely and create the wrong impression. On the other hand, he produces some evidence against one of the Frenchmen. He has hopes that something important may come of some of his contacts in France. But this should be a matter only of weeks. I think this row will have done good.

24. 5. 41

Colonel Hopkinson comes to see me. He seems a sensible good chap, likely to get on with others and show energy. He took the Engineering Tripos at Cambridge immediately after the war. I have been so often disappointed and side-tracked over my new man for the Mid-East that I decide quite quickly to take H. if we can get him. Telegram for Mid-East to be drafted.

Further row about the B.24. I am now trying to make a triangular meeting with A.M. and M.A.P., but there is great resistance and obstruction everywhere.

25. 5. 41 (Sunday)

I go for a run in the Park with J.B. and think I weary him a bit, though he is 36 and I am 53! He has been feeling frustrated and discouraged by R.L. I say I hope that this can be put right.

Barry

V.W. must be moved to the U.S.A. <sup>This</sup> ~~It~~ will simplify much down here.

H.G. says that R.L. was not at all convinced that I was really sorry he had refused Rio. H.G. said that I was always like this and never exercised undue influence on anyone, least of all to keep them if they could do better for themselves elsewhere.

26. 5. 41

Go to Cab. on question of American supplies for North Africa. We still hear hopeful tales - the Americans always think them more hopeful than we do - of French resistance in this area. Agreed to go on leaving the playing of this hand primarily to the Americans, since North and West Africa is the area in which they will probably begin to make war, but to suggest to them that sugar and tea are more harmless supplies, in case things go wrong, than oil. B.B., whom I meet just outside the Cabinet door, says that the failure of Roosevelt to speak clearly, or to act, is getting people down. We are always told that he must not get in front of his own public opinion, but the question is will he get in front of Hitler?

G. tells me that Rex Fletcher told him at lunch to-day that the night when the news came through that the Hood was sunk and the Bismark had escaped, A.V.A. went down to his shelter beneath the Admiralty and played on the harmonium which he keeps there "Oh God our help in ages past".

At Cab. the Beaver makes a row about propaganda to America. We should give the U.S. more news. General sense of gloom. A convoy has been sunk in the Atlantic; we have had heavy naval losses in the Mediterranean (two cruisers and four destroyers sunk and two battleships hit in the "sea defile" north of Crete); the Hood sunk and the Bismark still at large.

Thus, says the P.M., the Germans have established a "unit superiority" over us. This is the most injurious and distressing naval incident since ~~we~~ we missed the Goeben.

See Eden over co-ordination of propaganda in Middle East. His letter to me on this subject had painted the picture of a most remarkable man - "almost Ministerial rank", high standing, great experience, first-hand knowledge of the area, etc. I said "I suppose you drew this picture with some particular man in mind. Who is he?" He replied "How shrewd you are! This draft came up to me from the Department, who went on to suggest Harold Nicolson, but I don't think he would do, do you?" So he had left the description but left out

the name! I said I quite agreed, he wouldn't do. He was wetter than the wettest sponge in the fullest bath. I then suggested Burnett Stewart - whom he didn't like because he had opposed an Expeditionary Force for France, didn't get on with Wavell, and was anyhow too old; Mason Mac - whom he liked but thought was too good for this job; R.A.B. - whom he said he didn't think he could spare, and who might not think the job was good enough for him, counting in due course on having a Department of his own here; and, without much enthusiasm, Pat Hastings, since a lawyer would have some useful qualifications. I said that on the whole I should prefer a soldier, particularly as I thought that there should be high-level co-ordination, not only of propoganda but of subversion. He said he would think about names and suggested that I should have a word with Dill. He showed me a private wire from Wavell to Dill saying that S.O. in M.E. was "a racket".

This last word excited C.E.O. when I told him and he was all for my seeing Dill at once. Otherwise, he thought, the word would go round and round. And it was I who, sometime ago, had told Wavell that I thought P. wasn't up to the job and should be changed, he at that time taking a different view.

Dine with the Belgians to celebrate the 70th birthday of Huysmanns, but, though Spaak is in the Chair and other Belgian Ministers and the Belgian Amb. attend a reception for C.H. this evening, he still has no official position.

27. 5. 41

Mrs Churchill visits M.E.W. to inspect some of our German trophies, e.g., airmen's flying suits and other garments, medicine chests captured from German ships, etc. These come to M.E.W. for testing and analysis of materials. She takes away a small tin box of tablets to be taken "to prevent fear". The box was about half empty.

Lunch with Drogheda. Van and the Belgian Amb. also present. Van looks much better and happier already, the beginnings of a new free man. He will definitely retire on June 25th, when he reaches 60. He hopes to come to C.H.Q. about every fortnight and to London about once a week. This will suit me very well.

Harriman brings Cohen to see me and C.E.O. The idea is that C. should take a verbal message to the President about my show and suggest that I should send someone over (but not Bearsted, Harriman advised me, though I had no thought of this). Alternatively, and as I should prefer, they would sent a good American over here. H. says that his message has miscarried and got muddled at the other end. Either Colonel D. didn't understand or thought he shouldn't



tell. Hence F. is puzzled and inquires "Who is the Minister?" He seemed to think that it was Anderson. This is a good joke and shows fairly good security. I don't tell either of them much. C.E.O. thinks Cohen is pretty secure, but he is more doubtful about Harriman.

Dill comes to see me and we have a useful talk. I ask him to push for me to get H. and to make him a Brig. The high-level co-ordinator I want to be a soldier, and thus avoid either an M. of I. bloke or a dusty diplomat.

I later send Dill a Minute on this talk.

Go with J.W. and H.G. to dine with Mackay, Bob Fraser, whom I have not seen for some while, also being there. Mackay is just back from Australia via the U.S. and tells a most awful story of the rottenness of our propaganda to America. I undertake to put him in touch with the Beaver, who is much concerned about all this, and also hates D.C.

That we have sunk the Bismark is a bright gleam in a dark sky. We have now got a Rook for a Knight and, being ahead before, ought to be winning this naval chess game.

28. 5. 41

Lunch with Stanczyk, who is much impressed by the Durham Miners, among whom he spend the May Day weekend. He says that I have a very good name up there.

Trying to manoeuvre V.W. to U.S.A. Conference with R.L.; G., Brig.B. and H.G. on this. We can perhaps send him out with one of de Gaulle's people and then leave him there.

Dine at home. To-morrow R. goes to the country for a month.

D.C. is ill at Bognor. This leads P.H. to tell me the story of the dying words of King George V. When he was nearly through, Dawson, having kindly but perfunctorily examined him, said "Your Majesty is getting on very well. I think we shall soon have you back at Bognor." To which the dying King replied "Bugger Bognor."

29. 5. 41

Conference at the Air Ministry. I am supported by C.H.; A.S. by Balfour and Street; Moore-Brab. is there with Bickle and another official. A.S. says he is not prepared to be put in the dock.

I say that the B.O.A.C. should be there and develop a long complaint. Balfour tries to answer this with a technical rigmarole which I say has no bearing on the point. The pile-up at Stockholm is quite intolerable, and the Norwegians are very vexed too. Finally, after a good deal of chitchat, it is agreed that I am to have, in place of the B.24, other aircraft, including the H. as soon as she is ready, the continuance of the little L. and the two Norwegian L.s as soon as they are ready. This service not to be diminished until A.S. and I are agreed that the glut has been worked off.

V.W. to see me and I persuade him that America is the place for him. I think he likes the idea, subject to details being worked out.

*Archie*  
A.Boyle also to see me. He would like to come into my show. I say that I would like to have him, provided it can be worked from the A.M. end without ill feeling. He will, I think, be an asset in several ways.

C.D. to dine. I felt that I was rather too unkind to him last time we talked. A flutter to-night from D.M. about Iraq oil fields. Our answer is pretty straight, but there is evidence of some feeling against Wavell for bossing everything and everyone.

Long confabulation after dinner with G., C.D. and Brig.B. about my telegram to Wavell, and the relations between H. and T. out there. Very tedious, but in the end we agree a formula. G. says that afterwards Brig.B. says that "The Minister was splendid!"

DIARY30. 5. 41

Meeting at F.O. of reconstituted Middle East Committee.

In the afternoon Hopkinson calls and says that he feels himself quite unsuited for the job in the M.E. I talk to him for half an hour trying to pump some self-confidence into him, but at the end, when he says, in reply to a question by me, that nothing I have said has influenced him at all, I say "I am very glad that there are not many officers in the British Army like you, or I do not see how we could hope to win the war." I don't know what has happened to him, but I write a terse note to Dill, speaking of his "most unresponsive and almost inarticulate obstinacy".

Then see <sup>Wavell</sup> L.P.S. and draw from him a little more than usual. He admits that Wavell's credit is fast falling and that he has talked too much of not being able to take on any new commitments in the M.E. He would have let both Syria and Iraq go, and was even prepared to "ask Raschid Ali for his terms". He was overruled, and it is to the credit of A., C. in C. in India, that he strongly combated W.'s line. L.P.S. says that W. still thinks in terms of "defending a line" or "a perimeter".

There is also a strong rumour that Monckton has resigned and that the M. of I. is breaking up.

I hear that the Duke of Buccleuch said the other night at some Club that he thought we ought to make peace, and that Lord Gort, who was present, leaped to his feet and denounced him in unmeasured terms as a "decadent Duke" and much else! This is Prince Paul's friend.

31. 5. 41

Vickers sees me and reads some conclusions of a pessimistic paper on oil, as affected by events in the Eastern Mediterranean. It looks as though oil will no longer be a commodity of the first interest for M.E.W.

1. 6. 41 (Sunday)

Sleep in this morning till 11 o'clock. Spend the day cleaning up and see C.H. this afternoon. He is pushing on with the eternal problem of our aircraft service to Scandinavia.

Hambro

2. 6. 41

L.P. Conference opens in the Central Hall, Westminster. Jimmy Walker makes a fine opening speech and then, being too blind to see any of the delegates, hands over the Chair to Walter Green, who does very well.

*Talman* See Colonel T., who makes a rather negative impression. C.D., J.W. and I dine together, and C.D. says that he has heard disquieting stories about the American view of the P.M. and his entourage. Harriman is not impressed, nor, according to C.D., is the Amb., who has flown back with Cohen to report frankly. There is much comment on Crete and on our failure to provide air cover for our ships or our men.

It is said that many important decisions are taken over here late at night and in a state of sozzlement. Also that H.M. and P.M. had words about Crete ten days ago, H.M. insisting on putting a number of questions to which no very good answer could be made. A search for a scapegoat is going on and already Longmore has been relieved of his command. Wavell may follow.

3. 6. 41

L.P. Conference. Majority of more than 120 to 1 in favour of a total victory as a necessary prelude to a just peace. Very good spirit throughout the Conference.

H.G. says that D.C. has resigned. It is about time it was true.

- Address Society of Labour Candidates and tell them
- (1) that Himmler has got our published list of their names and that they will all have a sticky time unless we win the war;
  - (2) that when an election becomes possible, we shall resume our normal competitive political activities, but that, in the meantime, they should throw themselves, each in his own constituency, into the war effort in every possible way;
  - (3) that we should aim at continuing the present Coalition, not only till victory has been won, but till the foundations of peace have been laid;
  - (4) that, if they want to win when they fight, they had better not have a khaki election.

*Talman* Colonel T. to see me. He shows up a little better this time and accepts the job. He is so highly recommended that we cannot reject him, without losing the good will of the C.I.G.S. and the D.M.O.



Dine with C.E.O., with whom I talk very freely on personal matters, and discuss the possibility of the Germans being so discouraged after defeat that they will have no more children. This would make for a much better Europe! He says that it is Mrs Biddle who influences her husband, provides his dollars and writes his despatches. She is the real negress in the woodpile and responsible for the pro-Beck and anti-Sikorski racket.

He says that A.G. has now got a wretched little man called Stannard who thinks he is going to make the next Peace Treaty. This would be deplorable and the F.O. are not encouraging him.

4. 6. 41

L.P. Conference. Most of the steam is out of it to-day and the delegates not much excited about anything. I move the E.C. Memorandum on Peace and Blue Prints for the New Britain. Not an exciting speech either.

N.E. elections. The representation of D.L.P.s is smaller than usual and not very representative. None the less, there is a solid block of voting for the seven of us elected, including Jim Griffiths who, to my regret, takes the place of J.W. The latter has been blanketed at a series of conferences now for the past four years, never managing to get a proper start, as he has twice come in as odd man out, replacing first Cripps and then Pritt. Also he has been a bit in public obscurity since he has been with me as P.P.S.

The best change is Alice Bacon, young and eager, for silly old Susan Lawrence, who ought years ago to have had the gumption to retire gracefully. Now she has been heaved out, and serve her right!

Return to Ministry after two and a half days away and talk once more on this eternal question of the M.E. Our report from P. shows that he has been much restricted in what he has been allowed to attempt. There is therefore the case for sending out a strong personality along with T. Perhaps it should be C.D.

Am summoned to dine to-night with Their Majesties at B.P. in day clothes. Also present Anderson, Greenwood, Sinclair, Ernest Brown, Van, Dill and Harding, and a Lady in Waiting who seems to come from Northamptonshire and Northern Ireland.

I am never wildly keen on meeting my colleagues en bloc, either at B.P. or elsewhere.

The Queen has a very clear memory of her visit to Bishop Auckland and the Trading Estate, including the point that a number of the factories were run by German refugees.

The King has no use for Vichy and is surprised that the Americans have so long had illusions on this. He also has some bad words to say for Kennedy, the ex American Amb., who, he says, was frightened to death of being bombed the day war began. I tell him some of what I hear from N.H. in Washington and the difficulty of getting American E.W. policy properly tied up.

A.S. says that Moore-Brab. is having all his best people taken away from him and sent out to the M.E. Westbrooke, who was their key man on production programmes, has been sent out with Haining. (I hear later from G., who heard it from B., that Haining has been sent out to enquire how it is that, though there are said to be 500,000 troops in the M.E., there are never more than a few thousand available for any new operation; and the same question is to be asked about the Air Force.) Moore-Brab., A.S. says, simply "bleats on the telephone" when told that he is losing such and such an officer. He should, of course, be on the spot in London.

G. says that he dined to-night with Hood, D.C.'s P.S., and heard that, unless D.C. can get more powers, he will resign and so will his principal officials. This is less precise than the story that they had all put in their resignations. Hood also says that D.C. is now inclined to go back on the agreement reached with A., E. and me. A., however, had told me to-night that he had put in a Minute to the P.M. enclosing, at last, a copy of our agreement.

DIARY5. 6. 41

Lunch with Mrs P. to meet officers of the Allied Navies. I sit between the American and the Greek Naval Attachés. These officers are in charge of a certain Admiral Dickens, who was N.A. at the Hague. He knows P.H., of whom he says he is an imperturbable young man. I say that F.O. officials are meant to be like that. He says yes, sometimes too much so, as in the case of "Mr Bland" who always used to say to him "Oh, but how sweet of you my dear!". He thought, and so did I, that such language was not suitable addressed to sailors. I told the story to G., who has a poor opinion of N.B., who in turn said that G. was a careerist. I said that one should vary one's vocabulary more to suit one's audience. P.H. says that Admiral D. was always demanding at the Hague a much larger room in which to sit, and that he hears that since his return to the Admiralty this is still his chief complaint.

V.W. to see me, and I am rather bored to find that the details of the charter for the U.S.A. are still a bit desirable.

Sir A. Duncan also calls personally to press for the release of R.W.B.C. I say that I will agree to this if he will keep the West Auckland Clothing Company in full employment, since he admits that they are one of the best firms in the country for his work.

Evening of Thursday, 5. 6. 41. to morning of Monday, 9. 6. 41.

At W.L., from which the Stamps have now departed, leaving it to us alone.

This is my longest break for some time, and I return full of energy, equanimity and toleration. It rains a good deal and there is not much sun, but it is good warm growing weather. My beeches are doing particularly well and the white-leaved trees are magnificent in the wind, as are the four Aldenham Grabs flowering red against a dark sky.

9. 6. 41

From W.L. in time for conference before lunch on this afternoon's Ministerial meeting on "information". I ring up A.E. and say that I think it a frightful bore that this meeting is summoned. I thought, I say, that we had all agreed on a co-ordination plan as long ago as May 19th before D.C. fell ill. He agrees that it is a great bore but says that he and Anderson will stand by their agreement if I will too. I say certainly.

Having ascertained that C.R.A. is also to attend the meeting, I see him just beforehand and put him wise. I press, particularly, the view that there must be unification of subversion, and that this matters much more than unification of propaganda.

We meet at No.12 Downing Street, where the Beaver now operates. He is in the Chair. Also present C.R.A., J.A., A.E., D.C. and I. Also in attendance Bridges, Monckton and Radcliffe. These last two have come to explain, I suppose, why they want to resign, unless the M.of I. can get more powers. They take first the matter interesting me, and J.A., A.E. and I all repeat that we are satisfied with what the Beaver calls "The Anderson award". D.C. says that he dares say it will work but that there really ought to be unity of control of propaganda. C.R.A. repeats several times that there should be unity of control of subversion. A.E. says that he has in mind to appoint an Under-Secretary - it is not quite clear whether he means political or official - in the F.O. to look after propaganda.

Go with G., gate-crashing at my own request, to dine with Nancy Rodd (née Mitford) sister of Unity, and wife of Peter, younger brother of Francis Rodd. She is writing a novel called "Wee Free". The first chapter of this she gave to G. and C. and it was shown to many in the F.O. and M.E.W., and also to me. I thought it great fun and demanded to meet the authoress. To-night she has the second chapter, which she reads aloud to us two. We cry pitifully at the efforts in the U.S. of the "League to Help Britain to Help Herself" and at the continuing social frustration of the Nazi conquerers in England.

She has apparently written four or five novels already, and, G. tells me, is much more Left than I am. She and her husband have a small house near the Regent Canal. She has no use for her brother-in-law Francis and likes to hear my story of how he almost brought Mussolini into the war on our side if only the stupid W.O. had not insisted on demanding, along with a great quantity of other arms which we were going to buy from Italy, a particular gun of which M. was very proud and which he would never agree to sell.

10. 6. 41

Parliamentary debate on Crete. It is a difficult defence but the P.M. makes the best of it. Someone says that, as between him and his critics, it is more nearly than usual a drawn battle. No other Minister speaks and this is a matter of some adverse comment.

I speak to Duff Cooper for a moment after the speech. He is most exceptionally and unnaturally friendly. He complains that the P.M. has mentioned to-day the names of many British Regiments who



have been fighting in Crete, whereas he has been prevented from doing this by the W.O. He says that there is much to be said for me having control of all enemy propaganda. I reply, as so often recently, that I feel it is no use chasing will-o'-the-wisps of administrative perfection. I am quite sure that the "Anderson award" will work quite well. When all this is clear, I will deal with the various points raised by D.C. in recent letters. He says that A.E. is taking O.H. away from him in order to be his P.P.S.

I learnt from C.R.A. that the Anderson award is agreed upon.

In the afternoon to Ealing to rehearse my brief part in the Blockade Film over which the M. of I. have been so obstructive.

11. 6. 41

Attend weekly L.P. meeting at the Annexe. Not very exciting. C.R.A. passes me this note -

Two women talking: "There's one thing about this 'ere bombing, it does take your mind off the bloody war."

<sup>Dani</sup>H.D. calls to tell me of his luncheon last Thursday (June 5th) with the Beaver. He went as Industrial Correspondent of the Star. A dozen of the other leading Industrial Correspondents were there. The meal came to an end without the host having said anything at all interesting, though he had drunk a lot of whiskey. Norman Robson, of the Starmer Press, then asked why they had been invited. The Beaver then began to talk about production. Everything is all right now, he said. The P.M. had put him in charge of priorities, and he was settling all disputes. He then launched forth into a tirade against his colleagues collectively. The P.M., he said, was a grand fellow, but who had he got to help him? Almost nobody at all! He did what he could, but who else was there? There was A.V.A., and you could search the seven seas and not find a better First Lord. Then there was Herbert Morrison, a clever little chap who was not doing his job too badly. And then there was Eden. But as for all the rest - ! Bevin, for instance, was very little use, though now and again he had flashes of insight and might be worth keeping for that alone.

After this comradely declaration, the Beaver was asked just what the Minister of State did. He answered "I am not Deputy Prime Minister. I am not in charge of the Home Front. That is supposed to be Attlee's job. I just help the Prime Minister with anything he wants done." Then, said H.D., there was a long pause and a silence lasting at least ten seconds. Then they saw that the Beaver was weeping. And then he said, in a broken voice and wiping

the tears from his eyes, "I never wanted to leave the Ministry of Aircraft Production. I loved that job. Don't believe anyone who tells you that I left it of my own free will. I never wanted to be made Minister of State. I wanted to have a Department that would help to win the war." And then he rose from his seat and rushed from the room, leaving his guests sitting at the table. They waited for a little while to see if he would return, and then themselves rose to go. But as they passed through the adjoining room, there was the Beaver, quite recovered, standing on the hearthrug. "Now boys, let's have some more drinks before you go", he said. And so, soon after, ended what H.D. thought a most odd party.

There has been an agitation going on for a little while to build up the Beaver and to make him appear as the P.M.'s No. 2 and successor if any ill should befall him. But, as I pointed out to some who thought his succession was a danger, he would be nothing but for the P.M.'s favour, and nothing if the P.M. disappeared. None the less, he is up to no good and cannot cease from intriguing. "He is a sick old crook", said my C.E.O. to me when I told him H.D.'s account.

I reported this Beaver lunch story to C.R.A. this evening and hotted him up a bit over it. I said that this sort of thing must be stopped, and he said he would speak to the P.M. about it. I think he will. He said that the Beaver had quite failed to organise M.A.P. and had left it at his own desire. Indeed, he had been trying to get out for some time. He was a frightful hump in personal relations, always flattering his colleagues to their faces. I said that I also heard that A. Bevan, who frequented the Beaver's parties, got to know much too much about what went on inside. I gave an illustration concerning the proposal to suppress the Daily Mirror recently. I said that I thought a united front against the Beaver might soon have to be formed.

We then went on to the Map Room in the C.W.R. and looked at some interesting details. The disparity of forces in Syria is very much less than I thought, but the expedition remains largely a bluff, and can only be expected to succeed if resistance is not great.

I also spoke to C.R.A. about D.C. and suggested, passing on here a bright thought of G., that T.J. would make a good successor. C.R.A. agreed, though he thought T.J. was very wedded to Scotland. He said that D.C. ought to be put into a siding, and The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster seemed to indicate itself. The present occupant was no use, bored the P.M. to tears, and had been one of the worst influences on his predecessor. Six months before we went to war, Hankey had said that he would sack any member of his staff (then Cabinet Secretariat plus C.I.D.) who dared to express the view that we should be at war within a year.

Conference in the afternoon with my two Under-Sees, and C.D. Curious case of Ingram.

This morning's Daily Mail carries a story that D.B.L. was "nominated" and "backed" by the M. of I. for a job in the U.S.A. in connection with propaganda. It is also stated that he is at M.E.W. and that "some Government advisers" had advised against his appointment. I ask D.B.L. about this and he says that a rumour has been going around for sometime but that some at the F.O., notably David Scott, who, I hear, is soon to be retired, have been much against it. D.S. said that the King had formally objected to any member of the Royal Family going abroad in wartime. D.B.L. had rung up H.M. last weekend and had been told that this was the first H.M. had heard of it, so D.B.L. told him that he hoped he would make a row with the F.O. about it. I said that it was most odd that I had heard nothing about it. Should I take it up with D.C. and make complaint? D.B.L. said that he thought D.C. was getting so deep in the ..... ( he used a most crude expression) that it would really be almost too unkind to tackle him about it. I therefore arranged for L.R. to tackle Monckton. The answer given by the latter is that they had only taken preliminary soundings with the F.O. and with Hfax. and that I should, of course, have been formally approached if these had been favourable. But Hfax., they say, was decisively against it. This is a typical story of M. of I. bungling.

D.B.L. says that he hears that both last night and the night before D.C. was "Oxford drunk".

I say to Mrs Dean that I am afraid she must get a very lurid view of Government from this diary. I tell her that H.G. said to me, after a month or two, "I had no idea that it would be all like this."

12. 6. 41

Honours list appears in which, since N.H. refused a C.M.G., I have only one O.B.E. (J.W.Nicholls) and one M.B.E. (T.Wilson) plus Hambro, described as a Banker, with a K.B.E. But the F.O. can think of no worthier recipient of their one C.M.G. for the office, as distinct from the field, than Palsy mi.! This makes me very angry and my first inclination is to write something about it. But I am wisely advised to do no more than speak of it, if opportunity should arise, to A.E., who, after all, resigned on Italy. A Civil Servant with a worse record, from the point of view of his present Chief's policy, could not be found in all that dreary office. It reflects no credit on Cadogan to have pushed this name.

D.B.L., who also takes this Honour very ill, having once lived for a fortnight in the same flat with his brother-in-law of

Nicholls

his and been unable to hear it any more, says that "there's a lot of dirt in the F.O." and that Palsy mi. and also Makins and "that second-rater", Cadogan, are still talking appeasement. "Don't bomb Italy", they say, and "We must have a strong Germany after the war". He says that my stock is pretty high in many Conservative circles. This follows my saying that I don't trust the Beaver to fight the war through to the end. He warmly agrees.

The press this morning is full of reflections of an amazing harangue delivered yesterday by D.C. to the Lobby correspondents.

It consisted largely of an attack on A.E. and the F.O. Blazing with anger, he declared that the appointment of Sir M. Robertson as Chairman of the British Council had been made and announced by A.E. without any consultation with him, but only with the P.M. He declared that "If there is to be a M. of I. at all", he must have a seat in the War Cabinet in his own right and control all the news. He said that the Beaver was looking into the whole question and, pending his report next week, those of his leading officials who have offered their resignations ~~take~~ would hold their hand. He seems to have said that he had no quarrel with, or complaint against, M.E.W., with whom he had excellent working arrangements.

I thus begin to find myself in a rather amusing and temporarily satisfactory position, though some of my advisers think that D.C. has in no way changed his attitude of hostility towards me and my doings but is only "containing" me while he fights his main battle with the F.O. and Service Departments.

Cripps comes to see me on his first return to England from Moscow. I have made a separate note of what he said. He too speaks ill of the F.O., and of Hfax., but pays me and M.E.W. a compliment for giving quick decisions and being well organised. I don't know whether this is sincere.

Freeman to dine with C.E.O. and C.H. He seems well disposed, but I do not trust him very far. He says that Portal has gone sick and thrown all the work on him. He says that it is impossible to stand the jamborees with the P.M. lasting up to 2 or 3 in the morning. I say that others should immitate the P.M. in going to bed for two hours in the afternoon. Freeman says they can't do that because they have too much work to do.



Dalton I 24 (147)

Tuek with D.C. 15/6

Sax after Le Week 6

Sitz 1/2 pm

DIARY

13. 6. 41

To Lord President's Committee to discuss instructions to our delegate to the Wheat Conference in Washington. Hudson very sticky and wants to reserve the right to increase our wheat acreage after the war. I thought we had got this move defeated, but later H. runs round to A.E. and suggests ~~that the telegram to Hfax~~ a telegram to Hfax, who has the Junkers outlook on the land.

Colonel Mavrodi, an unattractive-looking Rumanian, calls at his own request to bring me a "message from Maniu". But I find he has nothing in writing and left Bucharest as long ago as the beginning of February. The message simply is not to co-operate on any terms with Tilea, who is Carol's man. I invite him to put something on paper but in no way commit myself.

Loxley to dine. He starts as R.L.'s No.2 in ten days' time. He continues to make a very good impression on me. G. says he will make a wonderful Ambassador one day.

14. 6. 41

To C.H.Q. in time for the noon meeting, chiefly devoted to R.U.S. Good and varied progress. R.V. talks to me about his telegrams (I say that he can see them in M.E.W. in Drogheda's room once a week, if A.E. agrees to the principle) and of his little friend R. Oh such an unending bore! I wish we could emigrate him to the U.S.

15. 6. 41 (Sunday)

Run with Adams in the Park. Competent but very reserved. I want him to take over V.W.'s official house when the latter goes. Visit new arrivals, Italian and German. Both fresh and promising. Try once more to square up the M.E. tangle.

16. 6. 41

M.E. Committee at F.O. C.E.O. accompanies me. Many names are suggested to direct propaganda, etc., in the M.E. None find much favour. My candidate is Oliver Stanley, whom D.C. also supports, but to him D.M. and L.A. raise objection. L.A. suggests Keeling, but to him A.E. and D.M. object on the ground that he has too little personality. Mievile is also mentioned but is thought to be too much of a private secretary. One of the best liked names which emerges is Haythorn Hall, now Governor of Aden but not yet 50. The

chief argument against him is that he was for some time in Palestine and is therefore thought by the Jews to be against them. C.E.O. knew him when he was in the Near East Department in the F.O. shortly after the last war and thought him tough and good.

*Lockhart*  
A.E. after the meeting tells me that he is thinking of inviting B.L. to represent him on the Officials Committee under the Anderson Award. I say that I think this would be a very good appointment. He runs out of the room after D.C. to ask his view and comes back looking a little crest-fallen. D.C. had said that of course B.L. was a first-class man but that A.E. was getting "too many people in here" to deal with propaganda.

*Pain*  
C.R.A. asks urgently to see me just after lunch. He is a little disconcerted because, having reported the Beaver to the P.M. on the basis of what I had told him, for disloyalty to colleagues, the Beaver is now producing signed statements by journalists who were at his lunch that he said nothing against any Labour Ministers. I therefore send for H.D., whom we cross-examine. He gives, I confess, not quite the same account now as he gave before. He now says that the B. said of C.R.A. "He gives wise guidance". H.D. says that he has already been asked to sign, and has signed, the statement to which C.R.A. refers. I say that the point was, not so much that some Labour Ministers were spoken ill of, though there is still some evidence of this, e.g., Bevin, but that, commenting on colleagues, no matter of what Party, to the press, the Beaver, by not mentioning the vast majority, had conveyed the impression that he thought they were very little good. H.D.'s backslide is slightly embarrassing and illustrates that he is always inclined to exaggerate and get things out of focus. However, when he has left us, C.R.A. says knowingly "They have frightened him", and there, for the moment, we leave it.

Taverner to dine with me, before his departure for M.E. He has been very oyster, and his instructions are that he is to examine and report on my affairs, but not explicitly to take over. I have just a doubt whether he will not try to do himself good by sucking up to Wavell and reporting that He should take it all over.

At 9.45 p.m. to the Defence Committee to present a report of the Hankey Committee on oil for the enemy. The P.M. is most benevolent to-night, smiling upon all. He says that the Air Staff must give old H. what he wants, namely at least one very heavy attack on the two principal oil plants in the west. Portal, who looks drawn and ill - G. says that at his Club he never speaks to anyone and has become neurotic under the strain - says that the Air Staff have changed their view about the vulnerability of oil targets. They now hold that these are not good targets, in the sense of being self-destructive, as at first was hoped. Moreover, most of them have very little "near miss value", being situated in remote places. The

argument is now thought - and here the C.I.G.S. agrees - to be much more in favour of attacking enemy communications. Smiling at me, the P.M. says, in reply to my remark that the Danube is, I am afraid, free again now, "Never mind, you blocked it for two months. That was good." Discussion on Russian oil and bombs on Baku. All this should be prepared as quickly as possible. Some diversion of aircraft from the Western Desert will soon be practicable, however the battle there now goes. (Two days later this battle peters out.)

I say that I hope the Air Force and the Admiralty will help us to give the enemy a Battle of the Mediterranean in the same way as he is giving us a Battle of the Atlantic. We must do all we can to sink his tankers so that, in spite of the loss of the Aegean, he shall not be able to break the oil blockade by using the sea route along the Greek coasts.

I afterwards look into the Map Room in the C.W.R. and find that Vichy mobile columns are getting round our lines of communication in three places in Syria. This may be rather a bore. On the other hand, we are sending another Division to reinforce the Syrian push.

Pick up in the Map Room D.M., very pleased with his C.B. on which I have congratulated him and he has replied fullsomely. We go up to his room and he gives me a long account of Hess. He blames A.E. for sitting on this news so long. The apple, he thinks, is beginning to go rotten. According to his account, which G., to whom I relate it, says is not at all new, since all this came out in the first three days of the questioning of Hess, the latter was completely astonished to find that we were not all starving and cowering in dugouts. He freely admitted to his astonishment and added that, if it had been Goering, he would have committed suicide on discovering the truth. Hess had ~~failed~~ felt himself rather losing favour with Hitler lately and being left out of important conversations. Therefore he determined to come over here in order to bring back to Hitler what he most wanted, namely, the conditions on which we would make peace. Hess said that the ground plan of Mein Kampf remains unchanged Russia was the enemy, but England, if she wished, might still be the friend of Germany. Germany would take the Continent of Europe and England might have the rest of the world. Only some evil influences, in both countries, had deflected us from paths of co-operation and had, temporarily, led Hitler to follow other tactics than those which he had laid down in Mein Kampf. Hess thought that it would be a terrible mistake if English and Germans went on bombing each other when they might divide the world between them. He had come to the Duke of Hamilton because he was firmly convinced that, behind the facades of Parliament and Free Press, it was really the King and his Dukes who ruled England. Therefore, he must make a contact with one of this inner circle. He had, it seemed, a morbid fear of being poisoned. By whom? By the English? No, of course not, they are an honourable people. By the Jews? No, of course not, not in



England, "You know how to deal with Jews". Then by whom? It seems by German emigrés, for whom the Nazi leaders have a haunting fear, looking forward to a day of retribution in their own country.

17. 6. 41

See B.L. and urge him to accept A.E.'s offer to be U.S. at the F.O. in charge of propaganda. This, I hope, would mean a perfect tie-up of the officials under the Anderson Award. I find him rather irritatingly reluctant. I say that inside the cage he would have much more influence about everything, including his Czechs, than outside. Also that, if later on the M. of I. fades out, at least from foreign propaganda, and the F.O. takes formal responsibility, I making my own arrangements with them, he will hold a very key position. I also say that with the F.O. my relations now are very good, not only with A.E., but, through G. and R.L., with the officials.

On leaving me, in a rather excitable condition, as H.G. afterwards reports, he says that I "put it to me the wrong way" in suggesting that this would be a good job for him; also that I don't realise, he thinks, that G. and R.L., far from being, as I seem to imagine, two bright lads loved by all in the F.O., have each many enemies. Thus A.C. cannot bear R.L., though O.S. is in his favour.

I am, however, the keener to get B.L. because G. tells me that O.S. is talking of Sir M. Robertson as an alternative. G. does not seem to see how great a bore this would be, having to handle this loquacious egoist. (R.V. told me an amusing tale last weekend of Sir M.R. who, it appears, has the habit of sitting under the stairs at the St James's Club, and gassing on endlessly. One day some soldier, I forget his name, infuriated by this persistent phenomenon, referred in a loud voice as he passed by, to that "f....ng old bore". Having overheard this, Sir M.R. demanded that this soldier should resign from the Club, or else he would. R.V. was asked to intervene, and asked Sir M.R. what, in this description, he objected to. Sir M.R. said he objected to it altogether; it was most insulting. R.V. said "I can quite understand your feeling insulted if he had merely called you an old bore, but I should have thought that men of our age would think it quite a compliment to be called what he called you." Sir M.R. said that he had not previously thought of it like that, and was mollified.)

Dine in Hampstead with L.R. Rather dull. I don't much like his wife; his daughter has a spotty face, and why did he ask that dull old stick Sir W. Goode to meet me? And Hampstead is far away and takes a long while to get back from there. I come back by tube from Swiss Cottage to Piccadilly Circus and, not having been in the tube at night for a long while, observed with fascinated horror the swarms of night population at each station. Someone says "I don't



know how we shall be able to get them all out at the end of the war."

18. 6. 41

My mnemonic is B.C.D. - Beaverbrook, Caucasus, Diplomatic. The Beaver's alleged activities (see separate note on leaflet issued by Communists at Greenock, purporting to report a speech by MacGovern on the Beaver's peace intrigues in April, 1940, only a few days before Churchill brought him into his new Government) are causing, I gather, some stir in Parliamentary and press circles. (Hector McNeil, the Labour candidate, said to be young and able, is an employee of Beaverbrook on the Scots edition of the Daily Express!) Efforts are being made to put down a question in the House, apparently harmless, e.g. to ask the P.M. what are the Minister of State's duties now, and to this would be attached a quick supplementary bringing out the allegations. But some M.P.s are shy of tackling this, e.g., Shinwell, and others have failed with the Clerks at the Table. These say that the P.M. gave so recent an answer on the Minister of State's functions that the question cannot be put again. Adam McKinlay, typical Scots beebie type, advanced to the Table, plumped down in front of the Clerk the one copy of the leaflet so far received in London, and said "I want to ask a question about this." So the cat was right out of the bag, leaping, no doubt, first on to the Speaker's knee and then, behind the Chair, on to the Prime Minister's table. The press are all afraid to print a reference to the leaflet for fear of libel, but I learn that the Beaver has issued invitations to all the Lobby Correspondents to lunch to-morrow (Thursday). Perhaps he is going to deny this story, or perhaps only the other story that he thought ill of many of his colleagues. I give very special instructions to my myrmidons, J.W. and H.D., to keep right out of this and only to walk about with their ears open.

Caucasus. I learn new geography and Colonel V. confers with C.E.O. A Minute containing many inappropriate names for an Economic Mission to Russia is submitted on M.E.W. level. C.H., the only good name, and him I could not spare on such a wild goose chase, Beveridge, Sir E.Simon (whom I characterise in a marginal note as "a sanctimonious Liberal City Councillor"), Glenconner, De la Warr. I think this thing had much better be under the military. Is there anything worth while for me to send to the P.M. on this? I am rather doubtful.

Diplomatic Reforms. I have for long been meaning to make a paper for A.E. on this, and start to-night to do so. On the whole the reforms are very good.

Taylor  
G.T. arrived back yesterday by air from Lisbon, sent even in advance of the Minister (R.C.). He is brought to see me this morning by G. He looks very well and fit. He was captured by the

-6-

Italians, when the Jugs collapsed, near Kotor, but he and the rest of the large party, more than a hundred, of captives were treated very well by this comparatively civilised enemy. They passed some weeks at Chianciano and had quite a pleasant time waiting for all the formalities to be completed for their journey on through France and Spain. He is eager to be working again, but I send him away for several days to see his wife, who thought at the first, as we all did, that he was probably a corpse, and he is to return to London on Sunday night and make me a full report of all his doings. The Jug collapse seems to have been catastrophic, and the Government formed after the Coup to have consisted of a number of very elderly politicians who, though their Coup was a flagrant defiance of Hitler, believed that if they sat as quiet as mice he would no longer notice them. Therefore, they stated publicly that their foreign policy was unchanged, privately that they were still neutral and could enter into no staff talks with us, and never issued a general mobilisation order. The Croats, moreover, welcomed with open arms both Germans and Italians, and all along the Adriatic coast there was no resistance at all. All things considered, the Slovenes had done better than either the Croats or the Serbs.

I was all for Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia after the last war, but the failure of the Czechs to blend the Slovaks, and the Serbs the Croats, into reasonably united states, makes me very doubtful whether I was right. These two synthetic countries, with their clumsy long names, are symbols of what G. often calls "The Professors' Peace". He thinks that all the Professors are in hiding awaiting their chance to leap forth from Chatham House and elsewhere to give us just such another!

I receive two Czech Colonels, Kalla and Chodsky, who come to make pretty speeches and present me with an album of photographs showing my visit, and also those of the P.M., Eden and Sikorski, to the Czech troops in England. They say they hope that I shall always go on being the friend of their country, that they have much to learn from us in democratic practice, that they would like to become a British Dominion after the war, but that perhaps we should find this an embarrassment. Some of the photographs are rather good.

A most amusing development with little D.C.! While G.T. is with me, D.C. rings through direct on the telephone, and addresses me, for the first time ever, by my Christian name. (Indeed, in view of this approach, I ask again to make sure who it is!) He then says "I hear that you are going to blitz me again", and goes on to admit that it was most irregular and unfortunate that I was not consulted about D.B.L. He says that he told W.M. to sound L.R. but, before he could do this, the F.O. in Washington had turned down the proposal, so that the whole thing was stone dead. I say that I have indeed been a bit annoyed, since D.B.L. is, after all, my press officer and I have not been consulted about the proposed disposal of his body,

although London and the press are full of rumours about this. J.T. chiefly - "a most tiresome young man, I always think", says D.C. - seems to have been running round asking everybody's opinion and has reported that there might be awkward P.Q.s if D.B.L. went out. I explain further that I have some time ago considered, with Lothian, the question of his going out; I should not be inclined to agree, nor would he wish, that he should be away for more than, say, two months, and he should go under M.E.W. auspices, not least because I could answer awkward P.Q.s, especially from the Labour Party, much more acceptably than could D.C. He says that he agrees with this. "You and I", he goes on, "understand each other. You write me a rude letter and I write you a rude letter, or I write you a rude letter and you write me a rude letter back" But what I hate is someone who keeps running to the Headmaster." This goes, I suppose, both for A.E. and the Beaver, and perhaps some Service Ministers too. "Well", I say, "I haven't signed anything yet, though I had ~~writ~~ rather a good letter in draft for you, but I won't send it now."

R.L. comes to see me in the afternoon. He thinks that B.L. will accept A.E.'s offer. But B.L. wouldn't accept until he had sounded the Beaver, with whom he dined last night, but stayed late as the Beaver was called away for several hours to be with the P.M. B.L., therefore, didn't get to bed till between 3 and 4 a.m. and insists on sleeping this afternoon.

I send for D.B.L. and tell him of my talk with D.C. He admits that last night he told Sammy Hood that I was getting more and more furious because, though I had received no official information, gossip was constantly reaching me from all quarters of the compass about D.B.L.'s proposed appointment, and that I had prepared a most luscious raspberry which I was about to despatch to D.C. S.H. said "Oh, that's too dreadful" and ran off to D.C. Hence the telephone conversation.

DIARY19. 6. 41

The Devil's Cousin calls and says his General is much pleased with a letter from the P.M. about money, etc., which I had thought was not too good.

20. 6. 41

A day in the New Forest on a tour of inspection. A very good lot of men have been got together. It reflects great credit on M. C.E.O. and H.G. come with me. The rhododendrons and azaleas are fantastically beautiful, massing everywhere.

Going down, we question Can Stalin survive? Certainly, whatever he does now, he has got his country into a jam. It is said that Zhdanov is a possible successor if Russia is going to fight. Z. is very tough and intransigent. He is from Leningrad and pushed the Finnish War.

21. 6. 41

Further talk on oil with M. Turner and others. It is doubtful what the Russians can do in the air, and I am pressed by some to urge that we should send aircraft of our own to bomb Ploesti from Russian aerodromes. I am inclined to think this fantastic - and so does C.E.O. whom I consult. Alternatively, we might let the Russians have a few navigators. C.E.O. has written to Ismay about the problem of the Caucasus oil from our point of view.

Go in the afternoon to W.L.

22. 6. 41 (Sunday)

I sleep till 9.30 a.m. and then, calling over the stairs for my breakfast, hear from R. that the Germans have attacked Russia. This she heard on the 7 o'clock news but did not wake me. I am mentally prepared for headlong collapse of the Red Army and Air Force. On the other hand, it is possible that they may do much better than we think.

A lovely day in the sun. R. much better for being here and for sun-bathing. What she would really like to do would be to re-plan London.



23. 6. 41

Cadbury to see me. He is willing to go on the Mission. He is a good chap.

Lunch with Mrs P. to meet the Turkish Amb. C.R.A. also present. I row the Amb. in my most pellucid French on the Turkish-German Treaty. Is this the moment, I ask him, when Hitler is about to enter Russia, that such a Treaty should be signed, debarring Turkey from giving any aid, direct or indirect, to any Power at war with Germany - saving formally the Turkish Treaty with us! - is this the time? And does he think, does he really think, that we are going to go on giving arms to the Turks now? Have not the Russians a much better claim to anything we have to spare? And does he really think that the Americans, on whom the Turks have been counting for arms and other supplies, are going to give them any? No. This Treaty has made a most painful impression here, and I hope he will so inform his Government. Labour members of the Government, I add, will find it most difficult to answer questions as to the conduct of the Turks. He has very little defence to make. It all really comes down to this, that, if they hadn't made the Treaty at this particular moment, the Germans would have attacked them and not the Russians; that it is a good thing the Germans have attacked the Russians; that Turkey will defend herself if attacked, but must be better armed before she can take any more positive action. I say that everybody says they will defend themselves if attacked. This is the perpetually recurring tragedy of miscalculation.

I ask him whether he foresaw the German attack on Russia. (I know that Eden told our Amb. in Turkey only last week that the Turkish Amb. had told him that he was convinced there would be no hostilities between Germany and Russia.) Aras - L.R. says he started life as an accoucheur - says yes, it was all in accordance with his predictions. He had told Eden last week that he thought there was at least a fifty per cent chance that Hitler would attack Russia. Eden told him that he thought it was a hundred per cent chance. It is a pity that the Turks ~~do not~~ send us a better Amb.

News that Brig.T., whom we thought lost, has been picked up and captured by the Germans. As G. says, there is a hoodoo over us in the M.E.

Cripps to see me in the evening. He is friendly and business-like. He is going about saying that M.E.W. is the most efficient of the Government Departments and that we always give him quick decisions. He has told this to Stokes and A.Bevan, who have repeated it to D.F. To-night I get him in order to put to him the possibility of taking out B.M. to do some work that concerns me. He is prepared to see him next day but is not very enthusiastic about the role proposed. Meanwhile, he is hustling about making arrangements for the Mission, quite competently.

24. 6. 41

Cripps calls again and interviews B.M., the young man who makes quite a favourable impression on both of us. It is agreed that he shall go to Russia with the Economic Mission. Cripps thinks he is not quite the man for contacts with the OGPU and would prefer this to be arranged through some Slav, possibly Czech, though, perhaps through Istanbul. I am having this investigated. Meanwhile, we shall put B.M. wise about our organisation and give him a cipher to be used if necessary. Anything may happen in Russia now, and all the Mission may be widely separated. C.E.O. says later to-day that he hears most secretly from a German source that the Russians have already lost 1,800 planes, half their first-line strength. At this rate, they will be driven out of the air altogether in two or three more days. (Two days later, the Germans are only officially claiming to have destroyed 400.)

H.D. arranges for me to meet his friend and colleague J.C. in a remote corner of the Ritz. He won't come to my Ministry. A long story of the influence which he and others - notably, he says, Menzies and P. Fraser, and also he thinks some people from South Africa - are bringing to bear to get me made Minister of Information. He says that he was asked whether he knew me and what he thought of me by Prof. I., that he has had a word with B.E. and also, so he says, with Mrs C. He seems to have been haunting the Chilterns last weekend. He asks how I would take such a proposal. I begin by saying, quite truly, that it doesn't attract me. I asked for M.E.W. and know that I can do it (no mention throughout our conversation of M.U.W.), I am not sure that I could do M. of I. and in any case it is a coffin. Everyone in the country thinks they are experts on propaganda, and any Minister would find himself always ringed round by Aunt Tabithas

(Whatever you do and whatever you say,

Aunt Tabitha says 'No, that isn't the way'.)

Moreover, the row now going on shows, if nothing else, that the whole set-up is most unsatisfactory. Nor could I contemplate working with some of the present officials.

J.C. then says "How if the job carried a seat in the War Cab. and it was understood that the Minister was on an equal footing with the F.O. and the Service Departments?" I say that that might indeed make a difference, and if the offer were to come with such a condition, I should at least be interested enough to consider it carefully. At present the position of D.C. in the Cabinet is one of complete humiliation. Whereas I never attend except when I have something on the agenda on which I speak and argue, D.C. is always there but never allowed to take part in debate. I say that it would also be necessary, in the hypothesis contemplated, for me to have a completely free hand to deal with the staff. J.C. asks finally, do I object to his plugging my name during the next few days, with the conditions indicated? I say I have no objection, though I think it

most unlikely that the thing will go any further, and, as we both agree, it would mean either increasing the War Cabinet by at least two or turning out one of the existing Labour members. He says that this is a difficulty which has been thought of and that it has been suggested that C.R.A. should go. I say that this is quite impossible. He is the Leader of our Party and any such suggestion would cause a frightful row.

I report this talk afterwards, strictly enjoining complete secrecy, to C.E.O., who thinks that I should also press to sit on the Defence Committee. I say that I should, of course, insist on taking S.O. with me, and so we should get the much talked of Co-ordination by another route. I say that I should want him to come with me and we would define titles and duties when we got there. He says that he would like to do this ~~very~~ much and that such co-ordination would be supported by all the younger people in the Service Departments. I also mention the talk to H.G. and say equally that if it came off I should wish him to come with me. This he would like very much. I tell him not to speak of it even to C.E.O. He thinks it is unlikely to happen. So do I.

Dine with G. at Le Coquille, where, among the visitors, are Will Lawther with a lady not his wife, and Mr Pritt with nobody, wondering, I suppose, what to say and do now! G. says that this is a Free French restaurant. "Ici on parle des opérations prochaines", I say.

25. 6. 41

N. Maclean puts P.Q. to P.M. on Communist allegations against the Beaver. (Copy of relevant part of leaflet attached.) As often, there is a muddled series of supplementaries. MacGovern sticks to his story and Maxton says that, if the thing were to be pursued further, though he does not see much point in doing so, MacGovern's word would not go unsupported. I can't believe that this little extract has done the Beaver any good, though not as yet much harm. I hear that Stokes may try to bring the question up again.

A Propaganda debate in the Lords following rather obvious lines. No reference, so far as the reports go, to me. Cranborne, replying for the Government, says little, but reports that discussion on "co-ordination" is going on as a matter of urgency and that the Government will make a statement very soon.

I hear from B.L., who has now moved into the F.O., having accepted the S. of S.'s offer, that the Beaver has now washed his hands of the whole affair, which is being dealt with personally by the P.M. G. has won a bet to-day with W. Monckton. He bet him a

GREENOCK BYE-ELECTION SPECIAL.

Price 1d.

"PEACE CANDIDATES".

FINANCE OFFER BY BEAVERBROOK.

M.P.'s ALLEGATION.

The allegation that Lord Beaverbrook in April 1940 offered to finance "peace candidates" in elections was made by John McGovern, M.P., when he addressed the Study Circle in West Regent Street, Glasgow, on Sunday, 25th May.

Lord Beaverbrook, he said, sent for Mr. Maxton and Mr. McGovern during the East Renfrew bye-election and asked them to come to his house as he wanted to speak to them. Lord Beaverbrook said to them that he was prepared to support their peace appeal by putting a "peace candidate" into each of the constituencies and fully supporting them financially. He even offered to send special reporters into the constituencies because he saw no sign of Britain beating Germany. Lord Beaverbrook thought that Peace Appeal would have been the better thing to do, and the institutions and press of this country would have been safeguarded.

Mr. McGovern also said that Lord Beaverbrook told him personally that the nearest approach to peace we were, and ever will be, able to have was when the Marquis of Tavistock tried to arrange an honourable peace with the German Government.

RECENTLY "PROMOTED".

The East Renfrew bye-election was contested by Annie Maxton, for the I.L.P., against the Tory, Major Lloyd, and polling took place on the 10th May, 1940 after the defeat in Norway, and just at the commencement of the invasion of France. At that time Lord Beaverbrook was not a Cabinet Minister, the Churchill Government being formed four ~~months~~ <sup>days</sup> later. Lord Beaverbrook was

for/



for several months Minister of Aircraft Production and recently was "promoted" to Minister of State, an office without any duties, as a result of which there has been considerable speculation about his present position in the Government.

Mr. McGovern also stated that when he visited Berlin in 1938, he saw Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador, who spoke of the Nazis in the highest terms. Sir Neville regarded men like Hitler, Goering and Goebbels as supermen and considered the Labour and Concentration Camps to be very fine institutions which he would like to see in this country.

This allegation is borne out by Sir Neville's book, "Failure of a Mission", in which he writes that: "There were in fact many things in the Nazi organisations and social institutions. ....which we might study and adapt to our own use with great profit to the health and happiness of our old democracy". In a speech a few days ago, Sir Neville stated that Hess was "innocent" and "blameless", a further indication of the present attitude of the former appeasers.

The allegation now being made against Lord Beaverbrook can only increase the uneasiness which is already felt as a result of the Hess visit, and the welcome which was extended to the former Nazi leader, whose admitted purpose was to conclude a compromise peace.

PEACE MOVE ADMITTED.

It is also significant that, according to Mr. McGovern, Lord Beaverbrook admits in private that peace moves were made by the Marquis of Tavistock, although these moves were subsequently denied.

Equally/

Equally significant is the fact that a peace millionaire, who is alleged to have advised peace with Hitler in April 1940, is said to have turned to the I.L.P. members of Parliament and offered to take up their campaign for a compromise peace.

Lord Beaverbrook is the owner of the "Daily" and "Sunday" "Express", and a string of associated morning and evening papers. His politics have always been extremely reactionary but rarely orthodox. In his newspapers his slogan before the outbreak of war was "no war this year or next", with the object of lulling his readers into a false sense of security. He was, in his own way, a leading advocate of appeasement and was the most consistent and strenuous opponent of the peace front against the Nazis.

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week ago that he would still be in office at the M. of I. to-day. W.M., however, told G. that he would not be there very much longer, and hinted at the possibility of some job in Egypt. This is obviously the high-level co-ordinator. I told G. I was much against his getting this, though Dill had suggested his name to me several weeks ago. I said that W.M. had done very badly by me, I having been friendly and forthcoming to him and indeed having had him alone to dine and suggested that D.C. and I should keep the status quo. I had had no repercussion of any kind from this friendly act. At the least it would have been civil, if not also self-interested, for W.M. to have made some further contact with me and indicated difficulties, if any. I must push A.E. on this appointment. He wrote to me several days ago that he had put a Minute up to the P.M., who had not yet replied. It is the more urgent because of the capture of my Brig.T. W.M. wants to speak to G. about the new appointment. I tell G. to stall on this.

To one of Nathan's lunches, where Peter Fraser is the guest. He makes a good speech, but too long and repetitive. He has grown in authority since he became P.M. Maisky is also there, looking very tired, and is called on to say a few words. This sort of audience is not exactly pro-Bolshevik and some of them seem to have difficulty in dragging themselves to their feet when the Chairman proposes the toast of Russia. Great physical contortions are necessary for some these days. Villiers says that he has been meeting several people at the Clubs who, of the Russian entry into the war, say "Isn't it awful?"

I send a Minute to the P.M. on Josephine B. and other recent events; also a very secret letter enclosing a copy of a telegram about the deeds of our bright young Jewish helpers in Syria.

I ask A.E. to dine, partly in order <sup>Harvey</sup> to keep our relations well manured - I have written congratulating O.H. on his appointment as P.P.S. and received an almost too effusive reply, saying how he knows that A.E. and I see alike on all foreign questions and that co-operation between our two Departments is most essential - and partly to enable him to meet G.T. and M. and hear their Balkan stories. I also ask G., C.D. and J.W. This makes quite a nice little party on a hot night, though A.E. is late arriving, having had to see the P.M., and has to go for a Defence Committee at 9.45. None the less, I think it did good. After he has gone, we all take to abusing the F.O. and diplomats, both general and individual. G., greatly outnumbered, puts up a very good half-hearted defence!

Master son

26. 6. 41

What is the difference between Hindenburg and a Foreign Office official? Whenever you put a piece of paper in front of them, Hindenburg signs it and the F.O. circulates it.

Lunch at H. of C. with J.W. and George Ridley. We are now back again in the Palace of Westminster and using the House of Lords for our proceedings. G.R. is concerned at the intrigues of Laski, who, he thinks, having really nothing else to do, is getting too much influence in the National Executive.

Conference with C.E.O., C.D. and A.D. on M.E. A.D. has produced some new ideas and telegrams are sent accordingly. Meanwhile W. has been unstuck and the new high-level co-ordinator not yet appointed. Nor at present do we intend to find a substitute for Brig.T. I prod through the F.O. to No.10 about the H.L.C. The P.M.'s secretaries - a very paralytic lot - have lost A.E.'s Minute. Later they have found it again and the P.M. is to give a decision within an hour. Later on I hear that he has left for Scotland by the 8 p.m. train.

C.R.A. asks A.G., A.V.A., D.G. and me to meet Peter Fraser at dinner. The latter is very shrewd and increasingly forceful since he became P.M.

A flutter later in the evening about some intelligence regarding the Toluol on the Fortunata, which I had picked up in my first week at M.E.W. This cargo seems lately to have been at Tunis, but there is obscurity about dates and possibilities.

Our information is that the Germans counted on the breakup of the Red Army within a month, mass surrenders of troops, the destruction of the Red Air Force and the collapse of the existing Government. They would then organise a series of separate vassal states, exploit their supplies and be able to turn all their forces west in time to invade this country before the autumn. Last year their invasion date was fixed for September 16th, though in the end this was called off. A date later than mid-September would be precarious, owing to uncertainties of weather. If, therefore, the Russians can go on fighting for, say, two months, the German High Command will be in a jam. Meanwhile, they are getting no oil from Russia; ~~must~~ transport large quantities eastward over their railway system, and may find their Rumanian supplies seriously disturbed. The ~~German~~ communiqués are very confused, but there is reason to think that a good deal of damage has already been done by the Red Air Force to oil stocks at Constanza and perhaps also to refineries at Ploesti.



DIARY27. 6. 41

I am amused at personal references to me in some of the telegrams. Thus Vereker reports from Helsingfors that Ryti said that I was the worst propagandist Britain had in Finland. This, of course, is because I have stopped their supplies through Petsamo since they have handed over their soil to the German Armies and pushed away our Trading Inspectors and even our Consuls from their positions. V. goes on to say, in his telegram, that this is most unfair because I have always given the Finns a square deal. Their Minister here, whom I have handed over to D.F., reported home a little while ago that it was as hard for him to see me as for Gripps to see Molotov.

In a telegram from N.Africa it is reported that the French believe that I am the chief obstacle to their receiving supplies from the U.S.A.; that in this I have some support from A.E., but that the P.M. takes a much broader view of the situation!

The Swedes have allowed a German Division through. H.S. gives me some information on the Swedish background. He says that the old King is for capitulation, though strong elements in the Swedish Parliament are against. I say "Very few Kings are worth the money". Per Albin has made clear in secret session the limits to which the Swedes will go. These are nearly reached now.

Francis Williams to dine with me. He says the chief fault of D.C. is that he takes no interest in his job, shows up only between 10.30 a.m. and 6 p.m., takes two hours off for lunch, is generally a little flushed before lunch and more flushed afterwards, and, when contacts are arranged for him with the press, spends all his time grumbling against his colleagues. Thus, at the end of such a lunch the other day, he said "I don't know why you think I have any information for you. Nobody ever tells me anything. The P.M. had a press conference this morning; I wasn't invited, and I don't know what he told them. You had better go to No.10 and ask." F.W. further says that decisions are reached but never acted on, and that D.C. never presses these through. In short, he keeps no prod sheet. F.W. is sure the job could be done well by any energetic and reasonable Minister. He hints that he would like me to do it. I say that I am not at all attracted. Particularly as the status of M. of I. has so declined.

28. 6. 41

To South Wales by morning train. Address Annual Conference of S.W. Regional Council of Labour. A good solid body of delegates and all goes easily. Reasonably good publicity for my speech, both on the air on Saturday night and in the Sunday papers (advance attached). Drive with George Morris, an excellent fellow, to the top of Caerphilly Mountain, where we have a drink at the Black Cock. It is very full of cheerful people. G.M. says that he thinks the purchasing power of the population in Wales has increased three-fold since the war. This allows for invacuees, but is chiefly due to the disappearance of unemployment.

29. 6. 41 (Sunday)

Stay in bed most of the morning. Lunch with Sir G. Bruce, Regional Commissioner for South Wales and a distant relative of mine, a solicitor who has acted for the S.W.M.F. and Mr Caleb Rees, who represents the M. of I. Then by car to the Rhondda, where I have a good meeting with a thousand people in Ferndale and make a rather rhetorical speech, which they seem to like. There is a good male-voice choir and other accompaniments. Back by train and sleep in Ministry.

30. 6. 41

Decide to put in a Cab. paper on inducements to the Russians to agree, and even to co-operate, in certain circumstances, in destructive action in the Caucasus.

Spend the afternoon at the Lord President's Committee, where a most boring discussion on the instructions to be sent to our delegate at the International Wheat Conference at Washington takes place. My colleagues in the lump are one of my most boring experiences. We go round and round the subject for some time but finally get a not too bad formula. It is agreed that it is more important that the Conference should succeed than that our wheat acreage in this island should be maintained at even the pre-war level.

See Hulls and agree to his being used, but there is a terrific scramble for seats on the aeroplanes.

C.R.A. to dine with me. He says the Beaver is still asking him what Labour Minister complained of his speech to the journalists. But C.R.A. is refusing to say. He says the Russians had great numbers of their aircraft shot down on the ground because they kept them too far forward and did not camouflage them. We had given them plenty of warnings, but these were disregarded. He is

The Right Honourable Hugh Dalton speaking at the Annual Conference of the South Wales Regional Council of Labour at Cardiff on Saturday, June 28th, said:

No part of our nation is more firmly determined to fight this war through to the end than is the British Labour Party. At our Annual Conference at Whitsuntide we once again declared, by a majority of more than 120 to 1, that we can have no part in any policy of accommodation with the enemy and that the necessary prelude to a just peace is total victory.

Hitler thought, when he committed his last act of treacherous and unprovoked aggression, this time against the Russian people, that he would catch some flats in this and other countries. He thought they would forget his filthy crimes, and think of him once more, as some fools thought of him in pre-war days, as the World Saviour against Communism. I hope those who believed that rubbish then know better now. The Anti-Comintern Pact was Hitler's bait for simpletons. In truth, that pact was not against the Comintern. It was against the liberties of free men everywhere, and most of all against the British Commonwealth.

Hitler, and the Germany which follows him, is by far the most evil thing on earth. This is our deadly enemy with whom we mean to fight it out. It is his life or ours. All who fight against the Germans are our friends and comrades in this war. It is a simple test; we need no other.

In pre-war days many of us, and I myself, strove hard to build an Anglo-Franco-Russian pact which, with the Czechs and other friends of ours, should have an emphatic superiority of armed force over Germany and should hold the criminal rulers of that country firmly encircled, and intimidate them into keeping the peace. Unhappily that did not come off.

We/

We of the Labour Party have been, and we remain, opposed to Communism. But today the Red Army and the Red Air Force are our comrades in arms. They and we are out on the same errand, to crush the German war machine and the economic apparatus which feeds it. Today our hearts and thoughts are with the Russian soldiers and airmen fighting the same enemy as our boys. My thoughts, as Minister of Economic Warfare, are most of all with the Red Air Force, striking at one of Germany's softest spots in the Roumanian oil-fields and refineries and accumulated stocks.

It was Hitler's urgent need of oil which has determined many of his recent moves; his campaign in the Balkans to secure Roumania's oil supplies and, as he hoped, a sea passage for them through the Eastern Mediterranean; his intrigue that failed in Iraq and now his attack on Russia.



shocked to hear that many people already know of the impending change of Wavell and Auchinl@ck.

I have been making a great to-do to-day about the sudden theft of Loxley, of which I only heard late last night. I write to A.E. complaining, though not too bitterly, of the procedure and pressing for Dixon in exchange.

1. 7. 41

Mason-Mac

Pessimistic talk about Russia. M.M. went out very pessimistic and didn't want to go. He doesn't like the Russians anyhow. One should not believe too much in his reports. He went out thinking that the Russians could not last three weeks. All this from Brig.B., who says that B.L. has observed that our staff has always been optimistic about all previous campaigns in this war - Norway, Belgium, France, Libya, Greece, Crete (I heard two days later from another source that the best view is that it was the Army which failed in Crete, not the Air Force nor the Navy; Freyberg was a very brave but very stupid man and mishandled his ground troops). This time, says B.L., regarding Russia our staff are pessimists. Perhaps they are always wrong!

I gather, however, from others a general impression that the Russians are doing badly. They are also putting in huge demands for arms and materials from us, and this may be in order to be able to say later on that we let them down because we would not give them what they asked for, and that therefore they had no option but to give in. It is also a matter of comment that Stalin has hitherto said nothing. Is he preparing to sell out in a few days? (Two days later Stalin makes his first declaration, which reads all right.)

The Free French are also doing badly. They are not being at all loyal to us in Damascus and it is said that their troops are not fighting well. The Syrian campaign is going very much too slowly.

Lunch to-day with Stanczyk and a number of other Poles. Raczynski says that before they attacked Russia, the Germans were offering the Russians slices of Turkey; now they are offering the Turks slices of Russia. He is not very confident that the Turks will keep on our side of the line.

Talk on the telephone to Duff Cooper and ask him whether he is satisfied with the way things have gone. He says no, certainly not. I ask if he will open the debate on Thursday; he says no, he is not to be allowed to do that, it must be opened, he understands,

by some member of the War Cabinet, probably Anderson. He says that he has got no Head for his Foreign Publicity Department; can I suggest a name? I ask does he want another diplomat? He says no, he would prefer not. I can't think of anyone who would do. There are strong rumours that nearly all his other leading officials have put their resignations in (D.B.L. hears this from S.H. to-night). It is also said that D.C., screaming with anger, flings their resignations back in their faces and refuses to accept them. He is said to have told the P.M. that he did not think that Ministers should resign in wartime; otherwise he would have gone.

2. 7. 41

Quite a Parliamentary flutter over the Scheherazade and other two ships for French North Africa. The P.Q. to me is No. 71, and, as is our usual practice, I leave it to D.F. to take questions on Wednesday. It is just reached on the stroke of 12, and D.F. having given one principal and one supplementary answer, the P.M. bursts in and takes it himself, answering a series of supplementaries by Shinwell and others. This incident, and my absence, is the subject of some comment afterwards among the pressmen. Why didn't I take it? Some suggest that I funk'd it; others that I had refused because I was in disagreement with the policy and was even on the point of resignation. H.G. thinks that there may have been some slight damage to my personal prestige, but I doubt whether there is much in this. Anyhow, it is quite temporary. On the other hand, it is a great advantage that the P.M. should have stated that in this case we are deferring to U.S. opinion. He said many things which certainly not D.F., and doubtfully I, could have stated publicly at this stage. There has been a good deal of press bustle over this for several days, and this has its reflections in Washington, where S. Welles is being heckled at his press conferences. At mine, held this afternoon by D.B.L., the question was pressed by Americans as to whether the Minister of E.W. was in favour of this policy. D.B.L. said that it was the policy of H.M.G. Another American asked whether M.E.W. would not like to liquidate a number of the personnel of the State Department. D.B.L. said that possibly such feelings might be mutual.

Sikorski, as the guest at a Nathan lunch, makes an excellent speech, as full of good generalities on peace aims as any yet delivered. M., who is there at the high table, is making a paper, at request of me and C.E.O., which I can forward to A.E. in reply to amasing piece of print containing observations by Savery.

R.L. calls in the afternoon to report a long séance at the F.O. this morning in which he is trying to get Dixon. He thinks that the chances of this are not too bad. I say that I will lie back until I hear. If I get Dixon, to replace Loxley, well and

*Cadogan*  
good; if not, I shall make a row with A.E. I have received a very wooden letter of apology from A.C. for the way in which the thing was handled. I tell G. to go to-morrow to the F.O. and push further for Dixon. R.L. tells me that both A.C. and O.H. - who G. had reported to me had looked very "po-faced" when the matter had been raised over a cup of tea the other day, and said that A.E. would certainly not part with D. - had been very helpful.

*Lyttelton*  
I hear late this evening some account, following my informant's talk of one and a half hours with Ismay, of recent events. The decision to send O.L. to the Mid-East was only taken by the P.M. in the train returning from Scotland on Saturday. O.L.'s instructions were written out by the P.M. in his own hand on a half sheet of notepaper in the train. Everything was settled with a rush and O.L. left on the Monday, before I, or a great number of other Ministers having some interest in his arrangements, could see him. He insisted on taking with him H. Hopkinson as "diplomatic adviser". (Van, whom I saw this evening and seems much happier ~~since~~ now he is out of the F.O., said that he thought this a very excellent choice by O.L. but that the latter's mission would make the position of Lampson and the Embassy people quite untenable.) One reason for this high speed was so that O.L. should see Wavell before the latter left for India. A certain operation, which sounded most promising and opportune, cannot be undertaken owing (1) to lack of ships and (2) to impossibility of providing fighter cover except over a very narrow and near stretch of coast.

The M. of I. has now been definitely defeated and, as was put in last night's Evening Standard, the Malet Street area is to become a Protectorate.

Mr Bentinck has a simple view as to why we are less good (if, indeed, we are) in this war than in the last. It is, of course, always easy to say, looking hopefully from men we know to men we hardly knew, "They were giants in those days". None the less, the closer one comes to the top, and the nearer one sees the detail of decisions and the play of motives, the more disillusioned one is apt to become.