

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

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1. 7. 43.

Coombs to see me. He is a Labour nominee both in the Civil Service and on the Board of the Commonwealth Bank. Not a bad little chap, though he has been a little difficult in the Commercial Policy talks.

Lunch with Viénot, who is looking very much better and has put on 8 lbs. since he arrived in England. He has been appointed representative of the French National Committee in London. If they were officially recognised, he would, I suppose, be the Ambassador of France. He thinks it very mistaken, from every point of view, that recognition is still withheld. It has a bad effect in France, and this is exploited by the Germans. He is very apprehensive of American economic imperialism in Europe. He thinks they will press for the setting up of Conservative and Right-wing Governments everywhere. He says their preference for Giraud over de Gaulle is most mistaken. The American intervention through Eisenhower was "most brutal". The two French Generals were sent for and bluntly told that no change could be made in the present attributes of General Giraud. He must remain both Commander-in-Chief and Minister of War. V. says that he has confidence in the stability of the National Committee, because, subjected to this most severe crisis, it survived. de G. did not, on this occasion, "go through the roof", but merely retired to his own room, and remained there for twenty-four hours, with great dignity! I said that he must really try to understand Anglo-American impatience at the perpetual quarreling of the Generals, and their backers. We were about to embark on important military operations, based on North Africa, and could not be expected to tolerate the possibility of riots, civil war between French factions, and the compromising of our lines of communications. He said he did not think that these were real dangers, and added that the promise to furnish arms for the French in North Africa had not yet

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really begun to be kept. Hardly any equipment had yet arrived.

We talked on, discursively, for some while, and I urged him not to seem a partisan of de G. He said that now he was a supporter of the National Committee, though he had his own preference for the one General over the other. Giraud, he said, was the most completely reactionary type of old regular soldier. "Order", he had said, "must, of course, be maintained when we liberate France; if necessary, with machine guns." de G., he said, was, no doubt, a "difficult" man, but part of his rigidity had been due to the persistent German and Vichy propaganda that he was nothing but an English agent, paid by the English. He had felt that he must prove this false. Further, if French trust in de G., still passionate, was dissipated, the Communists would come into their own, and the prestige of Russia be enormously enhanced relatively to that of Britain and America.

We spoke also a little on Relief, and I arranged for him to see Leith-Ross.

He has great qualities, including, as R. says, a most surprisingly un-French sense of what is "practical". Already, I think, he is sensing London a little better. He has, he says, practically no staff and a very great deal to do. I shall keep in touch with him.

An hour's talk with Sir J. Anderson. I begin the conversation by asking him to explain to me the "background" of recent moves concerning Relief. He is moderately apologetic, explaining that it was, of course, wrong for officials to circulate recommendations touching the functions of Ministers, without Ministers first having been consulted and their agreement secured. He can only excuse this on the ground that everything has been in such a rush. He is still apprehensive that U.N.R.R.A., when set up, with "forceful" Americans in charge, and a quantity of "greedy and destitute" small European allies

/clamouring

clamouring for supplies, may put us in the U.K. in a frightful hole. Hence the need to insist on the powers of the Combined Boards. This is all very well, but I am horrified by his further suggestion that we should now ask the smaller allies to accept our own view of the relative functions of U.N.R.R.A. and the Combined Boards. He is a little apprehensive of Leith-Ross's attitude, and of his view of U.N.R.R.A. I say that both L.R. and I have the sensation that manoeuvres have been going on and that there has been a lack of frankness among officials. Why have they not approached L.R. direct? J.A. says that he thinks some of them find L.R. very difficult to approach. "He sits and mumbles", and they can't hear what he says, but generally get the impression that he is very sensitive. J.A. asked what role I think L.R. should play, and I suggest Chairman of the European Committee. J.A. says he thinks this would be a good plan. Would there not also be a Deputy Director to Lehman? I say yes; would he think this a suitable post for L.R.? He says he thinks so, if the latter would like it. I say I think perhaps he would. I have mentioned it to him. But it would mean his becoming an international and no longer a British Government official. J.A. did not seem to have thought of this, but I said that this might have several advantages.

He branched off into saying that the F.O. was very ill equipped for taking the place it should take in economic discussions. He spoke unfavourably of the capacities of Ronald. I praised G.J., of whom he said that he had also "heard good accounts".

We ended thinking that a Ministerial meeting might be held before long to discuss various points, including the handling of the forthcoming Relief Conference in Washington.

DIARY2. 7. 43.

With J.W. to Snitterton, near Matlock, for weekend with F. Broad and his wife. An attractive old house in a rather good neighbourhood. Atmosphere of hero-worship, and I talk to them about trees and hedges. They have a good yew hedge. Walk up to plateau of Stanton Moor, owned by National Trust, from which grand views all round. Memorial Tower to Reform Bill of 1832. More trees cut down than planted. Descend to pub at Birchover, where we sit, unrevealed, while yokels behind their tankards declare that (1) P.M. is a grand man, and (2) that rationing of everything must go on after the war - "all fair and square". I assent and reveal my identity, and the Publican, an ex-miner who was taken prisoner in the last war and made by the Huns to work in a Polish mine, where he lost 8 lbs. through mal-nutrition, invites me to have one with him and gives me a free cigar. I have no doubt that consumers are all for controls and rationing. This desire must be mobilised at the right time.

5. 7. 43.

Get back from Matlock in time for lunch.

MacGowan and Melchett call in the afternoon. They are concerned, particularly the latter, about accusations made in the press, arising out of American anti-Trust laws, that they have been conspiring to restrict trade and even, it is hinted, trading with the enemy. They have seen Cranborne, since Strabolgi is raising the matter in a debate in the House next week. Cranborne has sent them to me. They stoutly deny, like the Old Lady of Dijon, everything. MacGowan says he doesn't know what they are charged with, but it's all lies anyhow. They ask what I will say in reply to questions to-morrow. I say that I will stall. They ask me to say

/that

that they have seen me and denied it all, but that they are at the disposal of H.M.G. and would welcome any enquiry. I cut out this last bit, but undertake to say the rest, not committing myself either to believing or disbelieving them. MacGowan begins the interview, looking flushed and bibulous, by asking whether I still have some of the brandy I gave him last time he called. This is produced, and the whole atmosphere is convivial. Melchett tries to correct MacGowan on points of detail. (MacGowan later says to me, "I have to try to keep poor Henry quiet. He gets so excited about these things.")

Talk on U.furniture, from which it appears that the officials have grossly under-estimated demand and have failed to procure the planned supply. They make various suggestions, but had not thought of imposing a standstill for, say, six weeks, on issue of new permits. This would, at least, give us some chance to eat into existing arrears, which are rising from an average of 2½ to more than 3 months, and will rise still further if nothing is done. Such a standstill would need to be supplemented by either a cut in the maximum ration, or a limitation of the classes entitled to buy U.furniture. The trouble is that this furniture has proved too popular, and we have had too many exhibitions!

War Cab. accepts Report of Committee on the Women's Services, including permission for some of these to volunteer for Relief work. It will be on a very small scale anyhow. I ask A.E. afterwards whether F.O. would object to enquiry here on accusations made against I.C.I. etc. by Americans. He thinks they might.

To-day we have heard of the death of Sikorski. This is deeply moving, and very disturbing. I had a warm affection and high regard for this man. He combined, as few others, the best qualities of statesman, soldier and patriot. There is no other Pole to take his place. Clearly his functions of P.M. and Commander-in-Chief must be split. Retinger comes to see me, red-eyed and worn out. Sikorski had specially asked for a Czech pilot, who had flown him in U.S.A. This pilot is the sole survivor, though

/badly

badly injured. Victor Cazalet also was on this plane. He was friendly, humane, manqué and generally ineffective. But up in the Elysian Fields he will be able to say that he died with Sikorski, and on active service. I recall that, in the General Strike of 1926, I met him on Paddington Station, strike-breaking. I said "What are you up to?" He said "I am prepared to die, if necessary, for my country." I said "Don't be so bloody melodramatic." After that, he learned much, and I often enjoyed his company.

Retinger to-night says that he is going out to Gib to bring back the body, and meanwhile urges me to send for Kwapinski and urge upon him the need to continue Sikorski's policy of friendship and reconciliation with the Russians, and the importance of keeping out Sosnkowski and Zaleski, both of whom are bitterly anti-Russian, but in the entourage of Raczewicz, who is a weak reactionary.

6. 7. 43.

Rank ~~to~~ says yes to my proposal to publish our correspondence. He has been most amenable. I let K.W. know and shall now incite a P.Q. by Willy Hall next week.

My P.Q.s to-day go easily, even on I.C.I. and American charges. I say that I have asked for a full report from our Embassy in Washington on the accusations against British firms. Meanwhile, we can do nothing.

Send for Kwapinski, who arrives accompanied by Szapiro. They tell me that the Polish Socialist Party supports Mikolajczyk for P.M., but desires that Kwapinski himself should be Deputy P.M. and Foreign Minister. ~~Raczewicz would~~ Raczynski would remain as Ambassador. They wish Stanczyk to succeed Kwapinski as Minister of Commerce, and Czolkosz to enter the Government. They say the Peasants and the Socialists are the two most important Parties and it is essential that the Polish Government should repose on a solid Party foundation. K. is strongly against

/Sosnkowski

Sosnkowski or Anders becoming Commander-in-Chief. Both are repugnant to the Russians and oppose the Stalin-Sikorski Treaty. K. says that he was imprisoned by the Russians at Okhotsk in Eastern Siberia, when the S. Treaty was signed. But he has no bitterness against the Russians and realises that Germany is the enemy and that Polish-Soviet relations must be consolidated. I make a grimace at Czolkosz, which they note, and I say "This is the same in all languages". They want me to suggest to Eden that he should send for Mikolayczyk and Raczynski together and tell them that neither Sosnkowski nor Anders nor Zaleski would be acceptable. This then would be carried straight to Raczewicz. The best, and least political of the Generals is Kupanski, the defender of Tobruk. They say that Retinger, before leaving, was sent for by the P.M., who said, among other things, "You have got a General called Sozzle-something. We don't want him. He would upset the Russians." R. replied "He is the senior ranking General in the Polish Army." The P.M. said "We ought to be able to get over that. I liked that man - I forget his name - in command of your troops at Tobruk." I undertake to pass all this on.

Industrial correspondents. I give them a most interesting account of Utility furniture, and how it is planned. (Two days later, in the press, the damned fools, having apparently concerted in a pub - except the too-gentlemanly and too-aged correspondent of The Times - produce a monstrous falsification, all alleging that I have intimated that there will be a "substantial cut" in the clothing ration next year. This makes me very angry, and I tell Simmonds to tell H. Davis that I will not have any more of these press conferences. I am not sure that I mean this, but it is the right thing to say to-day.)

Go to a Cocktail Party by Evatt, who is going away soon. Apparently he is not much upset by our post-war commercial talks with Dominion officials, but thinks that "full employment" is the first objective and that all trade and other matters will fit in with this. Many others present, including MacGowan and Lyttelton, both charged in

/American



American courts (I.C.I. and Imperial Smelting Corporation). I say to McG. "You are not allowed in here; you are under arrest." Then I add "I had to fish him out of the pond this morning." To which O.L. replied, "Some would have thought drowning would be better."

We are living through an orgy of Government by scraps of paper. I am putting into L.P.Cttee. papers on (1) Civilian Footwear, (2) Uniforms - resisting claims by Duncan, Bevin and Cripps for new uniform classes - and (3) Monopolies Enquiry, with special reference to I.C.I. This form of Government is quite intolerable. No important decisions are ever taken. J.A. has tonight a long screed allocating responsibility for plans for full employment. He gives me what I ask for, namely, location of industry, and restrictive practices. The fact that I had a row with him the other day has improved his manners towards me.

7. 7. 43.

Coach Alf Barnes for speech on M.E.W.

Talk to Labour Peers in Addison's room, with much general acceptance, on jobs of B. of T. Breeze with silly little Latham, who shakes his head when I praise U.furniture. Self-important little ass. He made a profit out of what Tomkins calls "Highway robbery" before the war.

Lunch with Winster in H. of L.

Receive R.C.deputation from Bishop Auckland and talk to them about the war effort, with R.C. schools rather in the background. They both respond very well and are much impressed by their reception.

Warter and Fletcher to see me. I present to them a draft letter, undertaking not to sell any of their shares, without consultation with the P.B.T. Fletcher accepts at once on behalf of Warner Bros. Warter is much more sticky,

*J.M. Carl*  
/his

his old mother-in-law, Mrs Maxwell, being very sticky and obstinate. I warn him, without revealing what Rank has promised me, that he may soon find himself replacing Rank as Public Bogey No.1. I press him, since I must give an answer by next Tuesday, to give me a quick answer, after further approaches to his mother-in-law and other Trustees.

H.G. goes off with these two to consider a draft, and I see Kwapinski and Szapiro. (My talk with them is recorded under yesterday's date, but it is to-day.)

*the Strang*

Dine with Sir A.M.Livingstone to meet Rieffler and other Americans. Thence to R.'s flat, expecting that he will try to draw me on our post-war commercial talks, the U.S. having sent a most stupid and ill-judged request to have an American observer on ~~Committees~~. But he keeps off this and talks intelligently of other economic matters.

Thence to G.J., to whom (1) I abuse Ronald, relating J.A.'s ill opinion of him, and also my annoyance at his having run to Law over the post-war commercial policy aide memoire, and (2) I report the sayings of Kwapinski. I ask G.J. to pass these on to persons handling Polish detail at the F.O. and let me know whether it would be worth while for me to send a special note to A.E. I am not keen to do this, lest green eyes shine. On the other hand, I am anxious that the F.O. should do the right thing with the Poles. (Next day G.J. rings up to say that he has told Strang, to whom most was known, except Kwapinski's ambition to be Foreign Secretary and the report of the P.M. and General Sozzle-something.)

8. 7. 43.

Receive Christopher Chancellor, now of Reuters. He comes commended by Sir L.Macassey, and I am amused to recall what I had heard of him from G.J. He makes a fair impression, though he articulates like a rabbit eating lettuce. He is very full of the possibility of Reuters

/helping

helping our trade and publicity, particularly in S.America. I arrange for him to see H.Johnstone and others.

Then Horabin, a Liberal M.P., whom I mistrust. He has a long and rather hysterical story of dissensions in the Liberal camp, and of their Conference this next week. He thinks himself to be in the vanguard of Advanced Thought.

Lunch, accompanied by Beale and Miss Poole, with Gillettes at their factory on the G.W.road. This makes a very good impression, both for industrial efficiency and good conditions. I say a few cheerful words to the assembled employees, telling them that their work, in keeping their boy friends well shaved, is not less important than making arms. I make some obvious jokes about coupons and the absence of beards. These are well received. I am anxious that Gillettes should buck up their production, and have arranged for them to have extra steel, a small return of labour, and the part-time services of experts working in their own factory for M.A.P. in tuning up their own machines. Atmosphere generally good.

Look in at opening meeting of Company Law Cttee. and am most favourably impressed by my selection. They seem a cheerful and resolute body of men. I give them a brief address on the importance of their task. J.W. tells me afterwards that the meeting was most friendly, and that many, including Catterns, fforde and Kettle, greeted him most kindly, and that the general attitude was most favourable to effective action. They will meet again next week, and then not till mid-September, and then once a week. In the first long interval, evidence will stream in.

U.Furniture. Further conference. Decide on six weeks standstill for buying permits, and on some further action, though on this opinion is divided as to whether it would be better to cut the general ration, or to exclude some of the now privileged classes, e.g., childless people married not very lately.

With J.W. to Royal Court Hotel, where he and

/Molly

Molly Hamilton are dining with R. They are going on afterwards to see Viénot. I explain that the latter is much preoccupied this week with a visit by Massigli, and that it is in the balance now whether he will be formally constituted Ambassador of France.

Irene (N.B.) dines with me alone and pours forth about Phil and his future. She says that some say that I am determined to be Foreign Secretary in any Labour Government, and should simply kick Phil downstairs if he got in my way. On the other hand, she recalls that I once said to some Conference "I don't care much for some of my colleagues, but I love Phil." I quote to her the wise saying of A.H. "Never fix your mind too much on any one office, or the result will be disappointment and bitterness." I tell her that, if we win the next election, Phil will be in the Cabinet - she did not seem to have realised this - and that, whatever office he held, he would have a general voice in all policy. I said that the only people who really influenced events were politicians in office. Next to them in influence came their departmental advisers. No-one else normally counted for much. She had thought that Phil might do better if he retired and became a publicist. I said this was a lousy life and counted for nothing. Phil and I were at an age when, if we won the next election, we should have great power to influence events, but, if we lost it, we should be too old, by the time the next one came, to do much. She did the usual gloom about C.R.A., and said that she heard it was not he but the P.M. who insisted on Phil being brought into the Government. I said that the P.M. wanted him, but that C.R.A. had pressed him on his short list, and that I had pressed C.R.A. much on his behalf.

Later I took her home and had a talk with Phil. I said that we must meet and talk and that I would try to make a realistic paper on foreign policy. (I noted that he had not yet reacted to my knockout blow in reply to his tripe for the French, but he explained that this was only because he had been too busy.) I must keep a little closer to him this year than last. Left alone, he has queer streaks of unreliability. Properly guided, he has great value. And, in any case, a most attractive personality.

DIARY9. 7. 43.

L.P.s Cttee. I reserve my argument on Uniforms for Bevin's Domestic Corps and others, though he and I have a slight preliminary wrangle over it. I put through my Progress Report on civilian footwear, and am amused to find that most other Ministers are now trying to share the credit for the slight improvement in prospects. O.L. says that he has been constantly telegraphing to Washington; Leathers says that ships will always be at our disposal to move any quantity of hides and leather; Portal says that two days after the last meeting he had taken a number of decisions and given a number of instructions; Duncan says there are just one or two points which he might raise, but will not do so, and will write to me about them. (This means that he is piqued a bit at my interference with his Leather Controller, etc. But he never does write.) I say that of course all have co-operated nobly, but I had to push them at it to get a start.

Then Monopolies, with special reference to the charges against I.C.I. It is thought, and I think rightly, that we should not countenance an enquiry into the charges of trading with the enemy. Either there is evidence or there is not. In the first case, there should be, not an enquiry, but a prosecution; in the second case, there is nothing to enquire into. Agreed that Simon shall take this line in the Lords next week. I also argue that there should be no general enquiry into Monopolies at present. On this C.R.A. thinks that we should soon have such an enquiry, and E.B. thinks that "We ought to have a factual paper." I say that I am proposing, before the Reconstruction Priorities Committee, according to J.A.'s latest plan, to make such a paper. J.A. backs me in this and closes the discussion. (What an incredible, wire-crossing confusion of committees we have - L.P.s Cttee., ~~and the whole bunch of official~~ Reconstruction Problems Cttee., Reconstruction Priorities Cttee., and then a whole bunch of official entanglements. The official committees are the worst. There is no collective desire to decide. Nearly all the officials are

/merely

merely watching the vested interests of their own Departments and asking that nothing should be done which would trench on these. The officials constantly excite their Ministers to defend these vested interests. And we call all this great tangle of complexity, obstructiveness, petty-mindedness, jealousy, lack of imagination and lack of urgency, our "Machine of Government"!)

Square Warter this afternoon over the exchange of letters on the sale of shares. He has been working hard on Mrs Maxwell and has got her round. He has also been put in the cart by Fletcher's quick acceptance. He asks whether I will write to Mrs M. a letter of appreciation. I say certainly. So everything is now tied up. I agree to leave a minute on the files defining "consultation".

A word with A.E. on Relief. I said I was more inclined now to let him have it soon. Law joins us and we agree that he had better take the Chair at an inter-departmental committee.

Leave for W.L. with R. by a most crowded train. Silly old Sydney Waterlow in a corner of the same carriage is telling all the world he has a bad heart.

10. & 11. 7. 43.

At W.L. Continuous rain and I can cut no grass! At 12 noon on Saturday, 10th July, R. comes and wakes me up to tell me that the invasion of Sicily has begun. Last time we spent a weekend together here, Bizerta and Tunis unexpectedly fell! These rare occasions have a good influence on the course of the war.

12. 7. 43.

Summon a swarm of officials, A.O., G.W., H.G., Allen, Meade and Lyal of D.C.T., and prod them forward

/towards

towards an early report on Monopolies. The permanent officials are a bit frightened of the economists, thinking they will take too Left-wing a line. But the economists have been doing most of the work. I give them ten days more, till 9 a.m. on Thursday, July 23rd, when it is agreed that the report, neatly typed, shall be lying on my table. I point out that there is now much pressure, from many directions, for an enquiry into Monopolies, and that I am anxious to resist this, on the ground that we are working it out ourselves. But if this isn't true, I can't go on resisting it. And that will be a bore.

George Ridley to see me and to discuss the immediate problems of his Chairmanship of the N.E. A nice fellow, but a bit slow.

A rather inconclusive discussion on clothes rationing with C.W. and various officials.

*Willy Hall*  
C.W. says that he has authorised the prosecution of Lady Astor for trying to obtain a fur coat from the U.S.A. without an import licence. I am rather pleased at this. He says that, if I like, I can put all the responsibility on him. I say that I shall say that it was, quite rightly, not referred to me for my decision, since there should be no discrimination in favour of the wealthy and influential, but that, when I was told that it was intended to prosecute, I expressed approval. It would be fun to put her in jail! C.W. says that she is "appealing to the Attorney General". Meanwhile, the arrest and prosecution of our three Scots Enforcement Officers is being delayed.

13. 7. 43.

I have 13 P.Q.s and 9 of the questioners are absent! Willy Hall is in his place to ask me the arranged Question about Rank. This comes over very well and has an extremely good press. (Bunch of cuttings attached.)

/Durston

ha

Durston to see me alone. We are to do this every now and then, so as to give me information and him more sense of his own standing. He has been working very hard on detailed allocations to firms and is not unhopeful of even this bad quarter. He says the Footwear Board has been a great success.

Amery gives a lunch to Ministers and others to meet Wavell. The latter makes a most remarkable and attractive speech. The Wykemist scholar soldier! A number of Latin quotations, a number of stories of sport, some straightforward and rather fresh comments on India, and an impressive and direct manner. Amery relates that when W. was in command in Egypt just before France fell, he had a very small and poorly equipped force, on paper far inferior to the Italians just across his Western frontier. But he had been well buttressed by two powerful French armies, the one in Syria and the other in Tunisia, so that in North Africa and the Near East as a whole, the Anglo-French position was very strong. Then Italy came into the war, and two days later France fell, and, a few days afterwards, the two French armies were in clear dissolution. This news was brought to Wavell while on the golf course by some excited subordinate who expected him to rush back at once to his office. But Wavell merely said "I don't see there is anything that I can do about it" and went on with the game. This story strikes a responsive chord in me. There is enough to bother about without bothering over troubles one has no power to cure.

This afternoon the Wool Export Group deputise to me, desiring to export to U.S.A., in spite of some most clear letters in which I have explained that our available export is now much less than the immediate Empire requirements and these must be met first. They are inclined to take a defeatist and narrow-minded view. I promise to speak to the Canadians; this is a safe bet.

Reconstruction Priorities Committee, with J.A. in the Chair. Two hours of it, but the results are not too

/bad



bad, if only the Minutes come out clean. I pursue, obstinately and repetitively, my line that Ministers must do more and officials less. On Monopolies I say that, whatever officials do, I want to put in a Ministerial paper. Is there any objection to this? J.A. says no, certainly not. (He is much more forthcoming towards the Board of Trade and its President since we had our little affray on the Bridges-Barlow Report!) On Location, I begin by saying that, I would like to do a paper, in consultation with Jowett and W.S.Morrison, but I finally get away with the initiative entirely in my own hands. Someone, I say, must kick off the ball or the game cannot start, and I am prepared to "make a map" of the problem, by way of beginning. E.B., rather disgruntled and jealous, keeps boring on about transport being fundamental, and, therefore, there should be a representative of M.W.T. on the Steering Committee (a new proposal of Anderson, to consist of five officials only, from Treasury, Ministry of Labour, Board of Trade, Economic Section, and Reconstruction Secretariat, - a vast improvement on the wretched old I.E.P., which I think we are slowly stifling.) I say that we know, broadly, where the new industries are required, and that we must see that there are suitable transport facilities for these regions. J.A. agrees with me. Finally, I say that, granted transport is most important, what is required is not an official from M.W.T. on the Steering Committee, but the Minister himself to attend this Committee. This is plain sense, and taken by J.A. But I don't believe that E.B. really sees the point at all.

Dine, hurriedly and rather uncomfortably, with Finney, who rambles on about the need for a Public Relations Office for the British film industry as a whole. He obviously sees himself in charge of such an office, and is, I surmise, inclined to get out from Warners. He is rather a bore and not really very clever. It would have been a very simple way to compliment me on my deal with Rank, announced in to-day's evening papers, and he should have liked this, seeing that A.B.P.C. were Rank's chief rivals. But he did not follow this up at all. I told him to see H.G.

9 plays up

14. 7. 43.

Party Meeting, at which much incredibly loose talk and rubbishy rhetoric is released on the need for planning - i.e., the setting up of one Minister to deal with everything. These fools have just no sense at all of what Government means, or what are either the inter-relations of Ministers or the proper limits of what any one Minister can do. Almost they make me a defender of our drab delays! Jowett, in reply, does less ill than usual.

Lebus thinks that, if we used his Works for U.F. production, we could bridge much of the gap. I am inclined to try, though he would then have to resign his official position as my adviser. But this need make no practical difference.

A.O., L.R. and P.L. all agree with me, after some talk, that the B. of T. should take "primary responsibility" for commodity policy. I shall open this with K.W. next week. It will be necessary to insist that we have proper staff. L.R. is loyally pushing old Miss Schufeldt upon the other two, who discreetly retreat. Probably it would be best to import someone from the Treasury.

Weir says that footwear is a little better, and goes into some details. This quarter will still be bad, not much above 75% of adults. The next quarter should show recovery.

Mrs Churchill and the P.M. At Home to all Ministers and their wives, and a variety of other leading persons, at No.10.

. Dine with Sir R. Streat and his wife. He has not much new to say, except that his great committee - the Cotton Board plus a number of selected outsiders - which is to discuss reconstruction, has held one or two meetings! These damned industries are even slower than the Government.

15. 7. 43.

Banks, Walker (a pleasant, youngish man who is their Wool Controller) and a third Canadian call, and I ask them whether they are willing to let the Americans supply part of their allocation from this country, so that our own wool people may export a "trickle" to the U.S. They say, as I expected, though very politely, No. So this will settle Behrens and his flock.

High Mass for Sikorski at Westminster Cathedral. This is a long-drawn-out, but deeply moving, performance. How well the Poles do all such things! And what a stunningly good-looking lot their picked men, and women too, are! Dramatic dignity, perfect poise, unquenchable national feeling, deep religious devotion. Three times during the long service they change the guard, two soldiers, two sailors, two airmen, standing at attention, with fixed bayonets, in two files on either side of the coffin, draped in the red and white Polish colours, on top of which lie his cap, his sword and a bunch of yellow roses from his wife. On either side of the coffin three giant wax candles, guttering like weeping eyes. At the end, 12 officers lift the coffin on their shoulders and carry it out. Outside the streets are lined with Polish troops. Entering, I had lifted my hat twice to their flags, one very soiled and battle-torn. Inside, now and again at chosen moments in the long service, there were silences, and then we heard outside their bugles blow, and as the coffin passed out through the West door, the Polish national anthem. The President, a fine figure of a man, though a political fool, sat right in front, flanked only by Madame Sikorska, deeply veiled and, I think, deeply moved through this so long ordeal. She was brought to her seat by Sosnkowski, the new Commander-in-Chief, who had resigned, with Zaleski, because of her late husband's treaty with the Russians. She was attended, at specially difficult moments, as when at the end she had to stand a long time while all the prelates of the Church, with all their silver crosses and holy water and other paraphernalia, filed past, by an officer whom I

/recognised

recognised as one of Sikorski's personal body guard.

Next behind her and the President was our own Prime Minister and his wife and Eden. Next behind them the Polish Government, Mikolajczyk, looking both younger and firmer than I had expected - the coming of responsibility may lift him up - and Kwapinski, proof that the good looks and natural dignity of Poland are no class monopoly, and Sosnkowski who, after many political perturbations, has become Commander-in-Chief, though in subordination, on paper at least, to the civil government. (I had not seen him since, while still at M.E.W., I had mobilised support for Sikorski and his treaty and invited Sosnkowski to come and see me, but, guessing my purpose, I daresay, he never came.) Leaving the Cathedral - it was packed with Poles, mostly in uniform, and with a number of British notabilities, including about half our Ministers of Cabinet rank - I found Sosnkowski standing on the steps. I shook his hand and said "I congratulate you on the opportunity which has come to you, to follow in the footsteps of our dear friend. May God save Poland!" I was much moved at this point, as at many others in the one and a half hours since I entered the Cathedral.

Viénot sees me for a moment, before going off with Leith-Ross to talk Relief. I gather that he is now duly accredited - Massigli having been labouring at all this detail for a week - except that there is still some doubt as to the "degree of recognition" which is to be accorded to the French National Committee. He says that, since they are so often told that this Committee is only provisional, we will not expect them to give more than a provisional, and short-term, assent to the U.N.R.R.A. agreement. This is half a joke and half a fair point.

Dick Law to see me. He thinks that he should probably go as leader of the delegation to the U.S. to discuss Relief - when probably, as it now seems, there will be almost simultaneous discussions of monetary, commercial, buffer stock and investment problems. He agrees, and thinks A.E. agrees, that L.R. should be internationalised, once

/U.N.R.R.A.

U.N.R.R.A. can be born. I stress that there is danger of national and self-regarding forces winning too much ground here; the Food Ministry, for instance, wishing to dole out peas, and the Treasury pennies, to those whom Anderson describes as "greedy and destitute European nations". I say I often feel ashamed at how little we have suffered in the war, and that it would be both morally wrong and politically short-sighted, to follow this line too far. As to our own people, they will take an "internationalised" policy in these matters, if it is properly put to them. We agree that he should have a talk with L.R. and then convene an inter-departmental meeting, himself in the Chair, to discuss "instructions" for the delegation. He asks why I have feelings about Maude and Robbins, both of whom I had mentioned at the F.O. the other day. He had found them both very good at the Food Conference. I said that Maude had, I gathered, intrigued violently on the Combined Board side against U.N.R.R.A. and that Robbins was fantastically anti-planning. There had, I thought, been a good deal of unfrankness towards poor old L.R. Anyhow, committees, if not presided over by a Minister, must still be presided over by L.R., who was much more distinguished and senior than any of the other officials concerned. I think he took this point. I said that, the period of gestation of U.N.R.R.A. being so prolonged, I was now inclined to hand it over to A.E. before long, provided we could find a suitable pretext, e.g., the completion of the instructions for the delegation. We agreed to keep in touch over these matters.

Am most warmly received by the delegates at the Annual Conference of the National Federation of Furniture Trade Unions. I address them briefly on Utility furniture and post-war planning. I am paid many compliments and they say that this is the first time that a Cabinet Minister has ever come to speak to them. I praise little Tomkins. On the way back I am beset by a rather pleasant young man, who turns out to be a Daily Express reporter, Douglas Worth, who accompanies me back in the car and asks a lot of questions. I arrange that he shall read over the proposed answers on the telephone, and this he does.

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Set off Reddaway on a rather stupid enquiry, suggested by E.B. at a Ministerial meeting, into our requirements, by way of comparing them with those of the smaller allies.

To-day came in the Minutes of the Reconstruction Priorities Committee held the day before yesterday. These have come out pretty clean, and show that I have claimed, and been conceded, the right to put in two Ministerial papers to my colleagues on Monopolies and Location. We are getting on.

DIARY

16. 7. 43.

Leave for W.L., where Saturday is all sun and Sunday all rain.

19. 7. 43.

L.P.'s Cttee. I have a fight against Bevin, Duncan and Ben Smith, representing Cripps, all of whom want to put various people into uniform for the first time. E.B.'s is the most dangerous and the least defensible. He wants a walking out uniform for members of his new Corps of Domestic Helps in hospitals, etc. I get strong support in resisting this from J.A., K.W., and H.M. E.B. takes it very badly. The other two claims, being smaller, are referred to officials, and it is agreed that J.A. shall umpire if we cannot settle them. (Two excellent papers of mine attached.) Then follows a discussion on withdrawing coupons from various part-time uniformed people, and H.M. claims that if he is to agree to this for his part-time Fire Service, the Home Guards must also make a surrender. I don't press for this, or even speak in favour of it, but J.A. thinks it should be done and the Committee so "decides". This leads to some fuss and trouble, for the W.O. strongly opposes and Grigg sneaks to the P.M. Bits appear in the press, where I, not unnaturally, am blamed for having made this proposal. The P.M. and I send each other Minutes on the subject which cross, he being much concerned that nothing shall be done to upset the H.G., and I explaining that this was not my proposal and that I do not press for it. A P.Q. is asked and C.W. is able to say that "no decision has been taken" to withdraw these coupons. The thing is then referred back to the L.P.'s Cttee. for re-consideration.

20. 7. 43.

Lunch with British Standards Institution. All very /dull

dull. Have a word with J.A. at the House over Relief. He is now most punctilious in consulting me on these matters, and I suggest to him that, once we set up U.N.R.R.A., L.R. should become an international figure, working under Lehman and presiding over the European Committee. He thinks this a good plan and says he will back it.

Dine with the Spearmans, Her I had not seen since she used to come to lectures at the L.S.E. and was supposed to be writing a book, which never got finished, on "Trade Fluctuations". He is a great supporter of mine and a great friend of old Hawkey. Also present A.V.Hill, the Cambridge scientist, Keynes's brother-in-law. I had never really met him before. He has that queer, dry, non-responsive quality of scientists. He says the Russians are doing some remarkable things, and Kapitzza, once at Cambridge, is now right at the top of their tree.

21. 7. 43.

Labour Party meeting. Ede on Education. Minor criticisms, but the Government's plan marks out at least the lines of a very great advance.

Arrange with K.W. that I shall, at the right moment, take over Commodity Policy, but that he must provide some suitable staff.

Law to see me. "U.N.R.R.A. must not be chloroformed", he says. I am more and more disposed to let him take all this.

To lunch with Haydn Guest, who introduces to me one Cook, said to be a specialist in Company Law and also interested in the border-land between Law and Economics. I invite him to send me his ideas.

L.P.Policy Sub-Cttee. I am unanimously invited to take the Chair. We then unanimously decide to liquidate the Reconstruction Cttee. Before the decision is taken, I

/ask



- ask Shinwell's opinion. He replies, very angrily, "I have no objection to the Committee being wound up". Then, after the decision, he stamps out of the room. This man has shot his bolt and lost all support on the N.E.

Meeting of Ministers under Lord President on Relief. L.R. comes with me, but he is not at all fit. The usual long yarn about Combined Boards, etc. I am fed up with the whole thing. And, in fact, when the time arrives, we shall just have to chuck into liberated territories whatever we can quickly lay hands on. And this will be so, whatever has been decided, or still left undecided, about U.N.R.R.A. or any other paper constitution, or any report by nutritional or any other inter-allied experts.

I try to prod my not very responsive officials over footwear and women's stockings. As regards the latter, there has been a great increase in the proportion of "durable" stockings, but on footwear there is still a stream of delays and disappointments.

22. 7. 43.

Willy Hall brings to see me a man named Clark, of A.B.P.C. He says that Warners could be bought out with British or Scots money. I doubt it. But what a queer, unstable, intrigue-ridden world this film industry is!

<sup>John Hunter</sup>  
H.J. has a preliminary talk with me on his speech in the House next week.

Dine with Listowel. Tame, but rather sensible, though not very vital.

23. 7. 43.

L.P.'s Cttee. Labour for laundries. Who will wash the clothes of the American Army? I amuse my colleagues

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by telling them that the area of greatest difficulty, when all the Americans have arrived, will be south of a line running from the Severn to the Wash.

Our Commercial Policy finally goes through a Ministerial Committee with K.W. in the Chair. This illustrates that queer process of final agreement by unenthusiastic men as a result of utter boredom and exhaustion. But these delays are tending to become eternal and will commit the world, if we persist in them, to eternal damnation. Llewellyn, fresh from the U.S., urges us to get in before the welter of Presidential primaries sets in about November. When that starts, there will be nothing doing for a year!

Now our agreement goes to the War Cab.

24. 7. 43.

Work on my Location paper. This is gradually improving in shape, but I find it very hard to finish it off.

G.J. dines with me. He was to have gone to Washington to try to tie up our plans for post-war settlement with the Americans, but his trip has been postponed. The U.S.G. and we have hitherto been working quite separately, e.g., on Armistice terms. There is now a possibility of the Italians surrendering soon, and what then? The U.S. think that we ought to have a military government, and are prepared to instal earnest American officers with suitable staffs in every Italian town and village. We think that this would be vastly wasteful and most irritating to all. We should like an Italian anti-Fascist Government which would help us to beat the Germans and save us from the administrative bother and waste of man-power of an Occupation. He thought there was much to be said for having the Princess of Piedmont, the Crown Prince's wife, as Regent for her little flaxen-haired boy aged six. She is a Belgian, and he thought this combination

/might

might be not unpopular outside as well as inside Italy. I said I thought a Republic would be better, but I recognise that this might mean bringing back some frightful old greybeard such as Sforza as first President. I hoped that there was no prospect of our recognising, after the surrender, Grandi or any of the prominent Fascists. He said there was no fear of this, but that practically everyone in the country had had, in order to keep their jobs, to pretend to be a Fascist. But they were all taking their tesseras off now. I said that I had no desire at all to treat the Italians badly, but I was a little afraid, if we treated them too nicely, of this being used as a precedent for Germany later. It is the latter who have always been the only really dangerous people. G.J. and I agreed that, whatever came later, it was obvious sense to discuss with Badoglio, if he showed willingness to give us the unconditional surrender of Italy, and particularly of airfields, ports and rail and road communications, for the continuance of the war against Germany. Further, G. said, and I agreed, that we ought by now to have had quite a lot of Anglo-American-Russian talks on questions of detail. But the P.M. had been much against bringing in the Russians - "those Mongols" - to interfere in the affairs of civilised Europe. The F.O. had got off, with great difficulty, a telegram to Moscow on our plans. Russian recognition of "Free Germans" was a hint to us that, if we didn't take them into our confidence, they would start doing things on their own. G. thinks that it is much easier to foretell Russian than American policy over a period. The Russians are very realistic, but may well become "black reactionaries" after the war. Anyhow, they will consistently pursue what they conceive to be their own interests, and it should not be difficult to agree with them what these interests are, and what ours are, nor need these clash. The Americans, on the other hand, are much more subject to tidal waves of sentiment, prejudice and hysteria, and these may go in any direction. F.Rodd in Sicily was Eisenhower's appointment, in order to avoid the possibility of having La Guardia forced upon him. G. agrees that F.R. has very bad judgment, and that there

-8-

is a danger, if he has any real influence, of all sorts of undesirable Italians, e.g., Volpi, having a voice in the future. I remind G. of how I had had to get rid of F.R. from M.E.W. and of his incredible account, in conjunction with Lord Greene, whose fatuous "mission" to Rome had been decided on just before I took over, of official Italian inclinations and purposes. I recalled how he had ~~asserted~~ asserted that Mussolini would have sold us large quantities of arms for use against Germany, and might even have come in on our side, had the British War Office not foolishly insisted on including, in the list of items to be sold, some particular gun in which the Duce took a special interest. G. said that he would look up some of the papers of that time and make use of them to try to diminish any possible influence which F.R. might acquire.

He related that when MacMillan brought Makins to see Eisenhower, he said "You see, General, this man has come to help me in the same way as Murphy helps you. He represents our Foreign Office in the same way as Murphy represents your State Department." Whereupon, Ike replied "If that's all he represents, you had better tie a stone round his neck and chuck him into the Mediterranean."

G. asked me whether I thought there was any chance that the Labour Party would break up. I said "No. It may break down, but it will never break up."

25. 7. 43 (Sunday)

Concert in honour of Huysmans and the Fund to establish a new Belgian-Dutch-Jewish colony in Palestine.

Dine with H.J., who is supposed to have been preparing his speech on the D.O.T. for next week. I had understood that he was going to rehearse it with me. But he has been sick - perhaps through nervousness! - and has not begun it yet. We speak of election experiences and I find that he has fought even more than I have. He seems to have carried his carpet bag all round the country. A slightly ridiculous figure:

DIARY26. 7. 43.

to/ Long, detailed talk with Liesching and Meade on the draft report of the Committee on Reparations and Economic Security. It is not at all a bad report, and the fact that Keynes is committed to it is important. But I urge them to include, as a factor in determining the distribution of whatever deliveries in kind the Germans make, the casualties, military and civilian, and other damaged persons, suffered by each ally. Their present formula takes account only of diminution in the value of national property. This leads to a pretty good distribution, but I emphasise that it will be impossible to defend it politically. The only other alternative, which I suggest to them, is that there should be a very rough and ready apportionment without pretending to ~~give~~ go through any elaborate calculations at all. There has been a great discussion about status of pre-war claims against Germany. There are three alternative solutions: - (a) to wash these out altogether, (b) to keep them legally alive, but to make no real attempt to meet them, and (c) to wash out practically all of them, but to give preferential treatment to the Dawes and Young Loan. My inclination is strongly towards (a). For the rest, the report proposes that -

- (1) The Germans should be required to make very substantial deliveries in kind for a period of 5 years after the Peace, and also to furnish labour service on a large scale to any of the allies who desire this, but that the Germans thus conscribed for reparation work abroad should not include any who were too young to serve in the German armed forces during the war, and should be concentrated, so far as possible, on members of the S.S., S.A., ~~and~~ Gestapo, etc.
- (2) Deliveries in kind should be limited to goods directly necessary to reconstruction, e.g., machine tools and timber, but not - and this is politically

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most wise - coal.

- (3) At the end of five years, deliveries in kind should cease, but the Germans be required thereafter, having themselves been totally disarmed, to make a contribution to the general cost of "peace keeping" by the armed nations or by an international armed force; this contribution to be secured by a levy of, say, 20% on the value of all German exports (this is Keynes' idea!).
- (4) The Germans should also pay cost of the Armies of Occupation, or part of these, in so far as such payment involves no transfer over the exchanges.
- (5) There shall be complete destruction of German synthetic oil industry, but not of synthetic rubber industry, since the latter is less uneconomic, on a smaller scale, and less important for war.
- (6) Consideration should be given to permanent transfer of the Saar to France, and of East Prussia and industrial Upper Silesia to Poland, probably with removal of German minority.
- (7) All reasonable encouragement should be given to Austria to separate from Germany, including assurance of economic prosperity through some close association with neighbour states to the East of Germany.

(6) and (7) would operate much to reduce the German war potential. As part of disarmament, there should be no civil aircraft or aircraft industry permitted to Germany. Other measures, e.g., Allied control of German banking system, are not recommended. Now that things are moving so quickly, it is very important that this report should be finished and presented to Ministers soon.

/Dine

Dine with Rank and have a rather discursive talk about Films. I ask him, at H.G.'s suggestion, for a full list of all the studios and cinemas he now controls, to be put on the files for reference.

27. 7. 43.

To-day we have a debate on the D.O.T. and Export Trade. H.J. makes a long, ponderous speech - his first as a Minister, though he has been in office since May, 1940, and his first in the House since 1934! He makes the mistake of telling them too much about all the Committees he has set up, and all the business men who are assisting him. The automatic response to all these unveilings of the machine is "Will you publish their reports?" "Can't we have a White Paper?" "Won't you tell us the names of the Committee?" "What has happened to their recommendations?" To this question he made the unfortunate reply, greeted with much laughter, that he had "referred them to the Minister without Portfolio". This last is becoming a worse and worse joke. I hardly feel it necessary in these days to consult him or take account of him at all.

juvrit

I wind up the debate briefly in half an hour and my remarks are well received, though ~~told~~ much too rapidly to be accurately reported in Hansard. Nothing of much importance is said by any speaker in the debate. I am increasingly conscious of the wide gap, in knowledge and understanding, between all reasonably intelligent members of the Government and the rest of the House. These last wander in an arid desert of utter ignorance. They are a very poor residue, with all the best of all the Parties in the Government, with most of the best of the rest away in the armed forces or other war work which keeps them from Westminster, and with age and disenchantment settling on the heads of these ~~stolen~~ relics of the 1935 election.

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Thence to War Cab., where for 2½ hours we discuss mainly the financial relations of this country and India, on which the P.M. is most persistent and eloquent. Our debt to them is piling up at the rate of £250 million a year and is already over £800 million. Parliament does not know this, nor does the country, and it would be quite ~~undesirable~~ that, when the war ended, we had really to pay all this. The P.M. says that we should (a) tell Parliament the truth and (b) be prepared to put in a counter-claim at the right moment for the cost of defending India from the Japs. K.W. and I are asked to make papers on the financial and trade aspects of the matter. I say, when asked my opinion by the P.M., first, that the size of this debt is quite new to me, second, that I am sure there would be great indignation in the country at the suggestion that we should have to pay it, and third, that, if we tried, it would make even more difficult the question of our balance of payments.

minutes

In the last five ~~months~~, when everyone wants to get away to dine, we get quickly through, with hardly a comment, the final authority for our Commercial Policy to be broadched by Hfax. and for our delegation to go to Washington in September to discuss all these topics - Clearing Union, Buffer Stocks, International Investment (on which the U.S. are to take the initiative) and Commercial Policy - together. Quite a good Cabinet!

28. 7. 43.

Riley

L.P. National Executive. G.R. is a very good Chairman and gets the business through. Nothing very important to-day. I report the Policy Committee's recommendation to liquidate Shinwell's outfit and this is approved almost without discussion.



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29. 7. 43.

Llewellyn to see me. He seems to like his job in America and seeks to convey the impression that he is good at dealing with Americans, addressing them with greater frankness than our diplomats. He says that, when he was discussing our offer to make raw materials available under Reciprocal Aid, he said "And then, of course, you would agree to our vetting all your exports, as you vet ours now?" They found this a most awkward suggestion, and he was sure that the White Paper would soon be abandoned by common consent.

Paul Herbert to see me, to arrange for my visit to Wembley, the purpose of which is to encourage the Local Labour Party to adopt him as their candidate. He is a good chap and I should like him in the House.

Dine with J. Laurie and E.D. <sup>Dublin</sup> The former is half inclined to come into politics, and we both encourage him. His experience with the National Bank of New Zealand would be quite a good background. He is just 40. I undertake to talk to Shepherd about him.

30. 7. 43.

*Only party where to put an industry, Welsh industry is central production even if low price much more to London!*

I find the officials, Watkinson, and still more Welsh, terrified of the policy of putting London out of bounds for new industries. They think that this would kill all sorts of promising new enterprises as well as being politically impossible. I must rely on my intrepid Temporaries to binge up these palsied Permanents!

Lunch with Southwood, whom I have never really met before, but who makes upon me an impression of honesty, common sense and broad humanity, without egoism. S. says that Beaverbrook said to him "You take all your ideas from your own newspaper; I put my own ideas into mine." S. added, rather pleasantly and simply, that he thought it was

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quite a good thing to take his own ideas from the Herald, since he had confidence in his staff and they were experts to an extent that he would not pretend to be. He said that I was not liked by the Express or the Mail. I said I knew this.

Ralph Parker, Times correspondent in Russia, comes to see me, at my request, following praise of him by A.V. Hill. Not very talkative. But he says that the Anglo-Soviet Treaty means much more to the Russians than to us, and that they all talk about it. He relates that two New Zealand soldiers in Cairo met a young Russian airmen, whom they asked to have a drink with them, saying "We are Communists". To which the Russian replied "I am not a Communist, but", here raising his glass, "I drink to the health of the King of England!" It was not clear, Parker thought, what part the Red Army and Air Force would play in post-war Russia.

To W.L.

DIARY2. 8. 43.

Back from a hot, windy weekend at W.L.

Take Rajchman to dine at Josefs. He is still very bright. We talk of Poland. He relates that Sikorski, just before the fall of France, had quite misjudged the situation. He was at Vichy waiting for an interview with Weygand, who, however, never turned up. He thought that all was firm and so telephoned back to Angers, where the Polish Government then was. But Rajchman, having heard from Commert that all was up, got in touch with Rackiewicz and Zaleski and warned them to get out while they could. This they did. (I wonder whether it would not have been better if they had been captured by the Germans.)

In the autumn of 1940, R. said, the President had asked Zaleski to form a Government, Sikorski to be Commander-in-Chief only. But Sikorski then sent officers to occupy the Embassy and also to Zaleski to tell him that, unless he gave in and agreed to Sikorski being Prime Minister as well, blood would flow in the streets of London. Zaleski did give in, Sosnkowski advising him to do so. Sikorski, R. added, was not, therefore, quite such an easy man as he may have seemed to us. He frequently sent his officers to give instructions to his Foreign Office.

Mikolajczyk he had seen for the first time to-day. He thought him a small Peasant leader from Western Poland, a typical kulak. R. had proposed the formation of a United Nations Sikorski Memorial Fund, but M. had been quite cold, though correct, on this. Kot, R. thought, had completely foxed the Socialists in the recent reconstruction. They had been given the most unimportant posts. Commerce, Labour and Finance meant nothing at the moment. R. had heard well of Kwapinski, but had not yet met him. Stanczyk he regarded as a very small T.U. official, and he imagined that Grosfelt, the new Minister of Finance, had been utterly astonished at his own selection. He too had been a very commonplace T.U. organiser. Romer had the reputation of

/being

being a very good diplomat, but he was very, very Catholic and went to Mass daily. Raczynski, he thought, was of no account.

R. spoke, I thought, not very well about the future ~~stability in Europe~~ set-up in Europe, dwelling too much, to my liking, on the importance of maintaining German industry in the general interest. I said that my picture was that we and the Russians, preferably with the Americans but even more imperatively if without them, must keep the Germans in their place and give all the rest a fair chance to live and grow. R. said that he thought it ~~unlikely~~ the Russians and the Americans would be closer friends with each other than either with us. There was a great consciousness now in both countries that they were next-door neighbours in the Pacific, and air transport possibilities were being closely studied. Much the best air route in the world was through the Sub Arctic, through Alaska and Northern Siberia. Here, he said, one had fine weather for 360 days in the year. The Russians and the Americans would more and more find interests in common.

We then passed, inevitably, to China, regarding which I made my usual protestations of utter ignorance. He warmly praised Soong and sought to assure me, in reply to my questions, that there was little chance of China relapsing into political anarchy when Chiang-Kai-Shek faded. In 50 years' time, he said, China would be the greatest Power in the world.

3. 8. 43.

Answer P.Q. on clothes rationing and announce that the basic ration will remain the same for at least five months and children's and industrial supplements go on as before. This is received with less interest than the press and my post bag would have led one to expect. There is more interest in my reply to the Astor woman who, having

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been convicted last week of illegally soliciting clothes - to wit a fur coat and other articles - from the U.S., and fined £50 and £10 costs, jumps up and asks, as an irrelevant Supplementary, whether I think that everyone knows that if they bring clothes into this country from abroad, they must surrender coupons. This, of course, is not the point at all, but I don't want to be led aside, and merely answer "I should be very much surprised to hear that any responsible citizen was ignorant of the regulations." This was much cheered.

Courtauld and Hanbury Williams to see me, and I suggest to them that they should plant some of their new factories in areas which are in danger of being depressed. C. seemed sympathetic to this suggestion, adding that their chief requirement was a great supply of water, both of clean water coming in and of facilities for dirty water to go out. We mentioned Dundee, and it was agreed that I should later send him some more particular suggestions.

Dine with Horabin. Half crook and half cracked, I think. He shows an inclination to join the Labour Party and says that Megan Lloyd George, Clem Davies, and Professor Gruffyd would come with him. Also, he thinks, - though I don't - Gwilym. He is in touch with "the old man" but admits that he is getting rather feeble. He talks the usual bunk about Trade Union domination of the Labour Party and is also furiously anti-Eden. He says that the members of the Labour Party whom he knows and likes best are Shinwell, A. Bevan, Silverman and Bowles! I don't think he would be much catch. Meanwhile, I have procured him an exit permit to go to America on business.

4. 8. 43.

Address Conference of National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers. I have a very friendly reception and some compliments. I make a thinly veiled attack on Beaverbrook and his press, though not mentioning them. But Trevor Evans, who is a very good friend of mine and was

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obviously sent to the Conference this morning to take me down, reports me very accurately in next day's Express.

W.S.Morrison to see me, at my request, to discuss Location of Industry. I don't know how much I can count on him, but he talked very good and encouraging sense to-day, both on the impossibility of moving large numbers from the distressed areas, the need for getting new industries in, and the desirability of stopping the further industrial growth of London, Birmingham, etc.

With J.W. to see, in Max Milder's private studio, "Mission to Moscow". Warter - a little watchful, perhaps, of my relations with M.M. - and Fletcher also there. It is a very good film, though some regard it as unduly pro-Soviet and may dislike the representation of the British Ambassador, who is not in the least like Chilston, as a stage diplomatic half-wit. M.M. as usual protests his devotion to this country, his desire to get naturalised, and to do all he can to help our film industry;

Thence, at 10.15 p.m., to C.R.A., with whom I spend two hours. I tell him of the obstruction of B.B. to my broadcasting and send him next day, at his request, a note on this. He says that he will take it up. We speak also of L.P.matters and I tell him that I am to draft a statement on the Peace Settlement and therefore find it more convenient not to be on the Ministerial Committee, of which he is Chairman, to consider the same subject. But he promises to keep me in touch with their proceedings. It is not a good Committee, since all Parties have to be represented on it, and this means Sinclair and Mabane, in addition to himself, A.E. and Crookshank "as an old diplomat"! Our only other member is George Tomlinson, who knows nothing about the subject at all. Cripps is also on.

An attempt is to be made to get the Postmen to withdraw their demand for affiliation to the T.U.C. Meanwhile, the P.M. has seen representatives of the three other Civil Service Unions and has told them very frankly that if they break the law, all their members will lose their pensions.

5. 8. 43.

T.V. Soong and W. Koo call. The former is impressive. But, though I had prepared myself to answer, or to evade, a number of possible questions, the talk remains quite general. (Leith Ross tells me next day that he gathers S. has a feeling that British Ministers don't want to talk detail to him, or to commit themselves, and that he went to a luncheon with K. Wood which, he thought, was a complete waste of time. I said that he had had every opportunity to talk detail to me, but had not taken it.) I spoke, in connection with Relief, of the importance of the Four Great Powers working together now and after the war, and added that some trouble was being made by small Europeans. I thought that this might please him, and I think it did a little. But he said that many people spoke of the "Four" without really meaning it. He had the less excuse for not leading me on, since I had been praised to him by Rajchman, who is very close to him.

L.P. Policy Sub Committee, with me in the Chair, and Shinwell's resignation accepted without regret, get through a good deal of work in re-arranging all our Committees for the coming year. This is not a bad bunch of chaps now.

Sir George Nelson to see me, at his own request, to talk about post-war trade with Russia, China and U.S.A. The Russians have already approached British Electric with suggestions for orders that would amount to £3 million, and have said that they don't want to deal only with one Company. I said that I thought we should be wise to have some organised opposite number to the Russian monopoly of foreign trade; otherwise they would take us one by one and drive very hard bargains with all. I think perhaps the U.K.C.C. might help in this way. He did not dissent. As to China, he thought that financial backing by H.M.G. would be necessary if much was to be done. As to the U.S., I was able to assure him that there would be an improvement soon, as regards the limitations imposed on our exports by our

Lend-Lease white Paper.

A.E. proposed to me a few days ago that we should at once appoint a small high-level official committee to study methods of post-war trade with Russia. I at once agreed to this. Liesching is on too many committees already and Nowell would have to take this one. Only the Treasury and perhaps the Economic Secretariat or, better, the Allied Supplies Committee, would be in on this.

J.W. and I dine with Phillips Price and his son and daughter - but, fortunately, not his wife - at their flat in a mews off Carlos Place. He is a nice chap and very well disposed, but deaf and slow-witted. His daughter Tanya used to be very fat, ugly and bespectacled, but she has much improved and seems to have lost her glasses. She is at the M. of I. Peter is still quite immersed in films and now working for Lady Yule. I don't quite know how he has escaped the Army. He talked at large, but had no real answer to the question which J.W. and I both pressed upon him: "If you were the P.B.T., what would you do next about films?"

6. 8. 43.

Conference with C.W. and officials on possibility of improving quality of clothing and ~~limiting~~ eliminating rubbish from the ration. I tell them at the end that they have fought a good rearguard action. It seems that improvements arranged for some time ago are now beginning to emerge in current production.

Swinton calls and makes himself most affable. He reminds me that he was, for three separate periods, P.B.T., and for 8 years in all! He wrote a paper from B.W.A. in strong support of my Commercial Policy, though making a special case for measures to hinder Jap exports. He talks a lot about the W.A. natives and how well they are getting on, both increasing production and fitting themselves for responsible jobs in industry and Government.

McGowan

~~McGowan~~ to see me in my series of Talks with

/Big



Big Industrialists on Location. He pretends to be very sympathetic and says that he regards it as a national duty for I.C.I. to help in starting up new enterprises in what would otherwise be post-war depressed areas. We are to discuss particulars further.

The House of Commons went yesterday into recess. What a good thing! I confess to feeling rather sleepy, and look with drowsy distaste towards the New Statesman, which would be better named the "Bellyachers' Bulletin", lying on my desk.

Dalton J 29

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DIARY

7 & 8. 8. 43.

At Cambridge for weekend with the Hardmans. Very pleasant. He is not only still lecturing to the troops (A.B.C.A.) but is a member both of the Borough Council and the County Council and a J.P. He still has an absurdly childlike manner. He is anxious to get into the House next time, and I advise him to think of outer East London rather than Greater Birmingham, to which he was being faintly beckoned by J.Dugdale and Harry Wickham. He could go on living at Cambridge, keep up most of his activities there, and reach a constituency in Outer East London by car fairly easily - not much more than 40 miles. Various old Cambridge stalwarts - Briggs, Overton, Mrs Rackham, etc. - come in after tea on Sunday afternoon. I also call in at the Romsey Labour Club, of which D.H. and I laid foundation stones. Hundreds of cheerful and orderly men absorbing beer. Many greetings. We also visit the Village Colleges at Impington and Bottisham. All pretty good! I also like David's wife, Freda, and his small daughter, who bears the unusual name of Karin (short a). I don't know why I have not seen these nice people for so long. The only explanation is that life gets choked.

9. 8. 43.

*But saw a V.S. official  
carried her off with Karin.*

Back from Cambridge. Heyworth, of Unilevers, to see me, at my request, on Location of Industry. He doesn't impress me very favourably. He says they employ very little labour anyhow.

Kreck, the Slovene, brings round one of his propaganda books about post-war frontiers, etc. He wants not only Trieste and the Isonzo Line, but a bit more to the east, nearly up to Gemona, pre-1914 Italy, as well as a piece of Carinthia and a small piece of Hungary. He thinks that if

/Yugo-Slavia

ceases to be a unity, there might be a generally accepted small, independent Slovene state, which would be a great entrepot region. I say that this is all nonsense, and that the only chance of his getting anything - and I think he is asking for too much anyhow - is to keep J. a unity. I blame the Croats and advise him to use his influence with them. He wonders whether he should go to Egypt with King Peter. I say yes. He hopes that the fate of the Slovenes would not then be settled in his absence. He also hints that the King may take out with him only officials (and this is what happened; the King makes a purely official Government, headed by Pouritch, leaving all the squabbling politicians behind in England. And serve them damned well right!)

10. 8. 43.

Forres on Argentine Railways. <sup>Three</sup> ~~The~~ antediluvian Directors of these are thinking of wandering off to Buenos Aires without prior consultation with the Government. I said they wouldn't get exit permits, and, even if they did, could do no good. I say I will arrange a meeting after the holidays.

Pottery Reconstruction Committee put up some bright ideas for a post-war Governing Body for the industry, half manufacturers and half workers, with a Government nominee as Chairman. Provided we can prevent this from being restrictionist, it may lead some way, and incidentally bring about the elimination of inefficient and out-of-date units.

With H.G. to dine with Del Giudice, Rank also being present. Rather gaseous.

11. 8. 43.

Spend most of the day at Datchet. The two Old Ladies seem quite changeless, and both in better health and mood than when I last saw them.

12. 8. 43.

10.15. Cripps on A.T.A. uniforms. I say that we have the sensation of being double-crossed and that the first step will be to ascertain the facts; how many in uniform and how many new claims. Also he undertakes to ask Sinclair not to press for uniform for B.O.A.C. if I make concession to A.T.A.

*(I have when I'm on leave he has been in J.A., C.W. putting in his (part) time)*

11 o'clock. Ellen Wilkinson on uniforms for part-time Fire Guards. I tell her that most of my colleagues seem to be suffering from nervous uniformitis, a fantastic disease after four years of war. I say that it is understood that some of this crowd have their uniforms already, and I won't enquire just how many. But I won't agree, in principle, to any new class being put in uniform for the first time. We then speak of other things. She says all General Secretaries of Trade Unions, including her own Hallsworth, would love to be M.P.s. That is why they talk of the H. of C. and of "politicians" with such studied contempt. She finds much spitefulness against her in her own Union because she is a Minister.

12 noon. Meet Rationing Committee of T.U.C. and B.E.C. and break news to them of re-pointing, footwear up, other than children's and wooden soles; socks, stockings and some cheaper utility garments down. They take it moderately well and don't raise a row because I have taken this decision without consulting them. As somebody said, once you agree to "consult" anybody, you can never get away from them and can never settle anything. Consultation

*lead to paralysis.*

See C.R.A., who tells me that B.B. is "hipped" because I haven't approached him direct about the broadcast, but only through officials and then through C.R.A. He swears that since last year there have been no Ministerial Sunday postscripts, except by members of the War Cab. I tell C.R.A. that I accept this, provided it continues to be applied to all, but must have a post-9 p.m. talk on another evening of the week. This would be much better than the

/suggested

suggested five minutes after the 1 o'clock News on Sunday. I also speak very strongly about B.B. and recall his gross discourtesies of two years ago and the complaints which I then had to make. It is natural that I should wish to have as little direct dealing with him as possible. C.R.A. does not dispute this line and will speak to him further. We also have a short word about the Postmen and the T.U.C. It is clear that Citrine, by his stupid, conceited tactics, has put both the T.U.C. and the Postmen - and to a lesser extent the rest of us - in a most awkward position.

To W.L. in the evening, where for three clear days I sleep, read Ilya Ehrenburg's "Russia at War" and cut grass.

16. 8. 43.

Back from W.L. for meeting of Labour Party Sub-Committee on proposed delegation to Russia. Laski is absent, without excuse, and therefore no positive statement is put up as to what such a delegation would discuss if it went. The general view is that the whole idea is misconceived. Only H.M.G. can discuss with the Soviet Government. Nor could representatives of the Labour Party discuss with representatives of the Russian Communist Party the future of the Internationals, without first squaring other Parties of the Second International, particularly Poles and Czechs, and doubtfully even then, in view of our attitude towards the British Communists.

Meeting of Ministers - Standing Committee of War Cab., on which I have been put, on Indian Finance, etc. - slow and inconclusive. It appears that there are no effective price controls in India, a vast expenditure by us and U.S.G., for which we are getting very doubtful value, large profits on war contracts, relatively low taxation, both direct and indirect, including no income tax on land, and only 80% E.P.T., great hoarding of food by peasants, a considerable flight from the currency, probably engineered by Indians who don't love us, and the mounting debt owed by us to the Indian Government. Not a very pretty picture,

/with

with politics at least as important as economics, and an Administration in its various parts timid, inefficient and corrupt. More particulars are to be furnished on many points.

Private letter from C.R.A., who has spoken to B.B., who has given assurances, as previously, of absence of ill intent.

17; 8. 43.

L.P.'s Cttee. We decide not to take four coupons from the Home Guard, but I don't succeed in a counter-demand that it should be laid down that no new classes of civilians should be put in uniform from now on. J.A., just back from Washington, seems more pleased with himself than ever. This self-satisfaction is almost a bore! O.L. says, as on several recent occasions, that he thinks we are now trying to do a bit too much and that we should strongly represent to the U.S. that our present import programme is too little. In particular, we should get more imports of material for civilian clothing. It is pointed out, however, by me and others that the real difficulty now is less materials than labour, and it is suggested that officials should consider what can be done to increase labour supply of the right kinds in the right places.

Leave for W.L. - I hope for a week.

DIARY24. 8. 43.

And so it was, with pretty good weather, except on the one day when I went a full-sized walk, with Evan Durbin, carrying three bottles of beer, to Uffington, where we picked up his wife carrying luncheon for three persons. It was very windy, even in the ditch running round the earthwork, and, soon after we started off home, it began to rain heavily. We sheltered for a while in a Dutch barn, but were all three quite drenched when we got back. He spent two nights with me and she one, and, after they had gone, Douglas Jay came for three nights and Peggy for the last one. He was really looking very ill and couldn't walk at all, or do more than sit in the sun. But we played some games of chess and he was much better when he left. I ~~approached with him~~ broached with him the possibility of his coming, at last, to the B. of T. to take part in post-war plans. He would be very good at this, quite apart from my present team of post-warriors being over-driven, reduced by sickness and pre-occupied with immediate jobs as well, for he has a quite exceptional knowledge of Government factories, what they make, the character of the labour force, the local transport arrangements and the local employment situation. But it is no good my asking for him if he is going to go on being ill. So I left it rather vaguely, while he goes off for three weeks more sick leave.

I kept off shop pretty successfully during the week and cut a lot of grass. But I encouraged these two intelligent visitors to talk, and here are some of the things they said.

E.D. thinks that our post-war troubles will be with the Russians. They will want, soon if not at once, to expand, like every other Great and Growing Power. And then they will begin to threaten our interests. He doubts whether talking to them will be any easier than talking to other lunatics, such as Hitler (I think, and tell him, that all this seems to me too gloomy).

Agriculture. He thinks the wartime revolution here has not yet been widely understood. He admits that the degree of planning of production by County War Agricultural Committees has been far greater and more detailed than he ever imagined possible. These Committees, whose members are appointed, ~~not elected~~ by the Minister of Agriculture, not elected by the interests, mostly consist of farmers with a few agricultural workers. They not only have the

/power

power, but actually use it in some Counties, to decide how every field shall be cultivated, e.g., in Bucks. Farmers have to fill in forms indicating their intentions, and are then visited, argued with, and admonished by representatives of the Committee, and frequently have to change their arrangements. This is not "farming from Whitehall", but it most certainly is farming from the nearest county town. These Committees also issue certificates to farmers indicating to them what grade of efficiency they have reached, A, B or C. Farmers graded C are often much distressed and try to work their way up to a higher grading next year! Quite a large acreage has now been taken over from bad farmers by the Committees and is being farmed by them. (I said that of course we should press that all this should go on after the war; a typical policy of "sensible, Socialist Conservatism". This, rather than any wholesale nationalisation of agricultural land would be the line. Many public and semi-public agencies, of various kinds, would increasingly own land; not only these Committees, but the Forestry Commission, the National Trust, and Universities, Charities, etc.)

He thought the National Trust should act much quicker. They arrived late in the day when either unspoilt land had begun to be spoilt, or when prices had risen. I said they had now considerable surpluses. He thought this was quite wrong. They should spend all their spare cash now rather than wait. There were large chunks, e.g., in the Chilterns, that could still be bought. I said that in many cases they might buy a large tract and then proceed to demolish a few bungalows and other undesirable buildings already on it.

He said that none of the Treasury officials knew any economics and this might have disastrous consequences. They only knew about a few strictly limited topics - Public Finance in the narrower sense, Foreign Exchange and the technique of Public Borrowing. If left to themselves, half a dozen high officials at the Treasury would land us with two million unemployed at the end of the war.

He was most optimistic about U-boats, having recently been reading some secret papers. We had, he said, been carefully preparing for some time new weapons and tactics, and we suddenly loosed all these in a blitz against U-boats just over three months ago. The results were terrific, and at least 90, as had been announced, were destroyed in three months. It was difficult, he thought, to



see how they could ever come back again in real force. Meanwhile imports were pouring in, and the Battle of the Atlantic, he thought, was quite definitely won.

*(Had more) about more,*  
 D.J., as I have already said, seemed to me quite ill and in a fuss about his health, food, family, etc. ✓ But he said some very intelligent things. He asserts that there are not any fewer passenger trains now running than before the war. M.W.T. pretends to have taken off some trains and issues bogus time-tables. But, in fact, for every train taken off another runs in duplicate, or triplicate, or makes an engine pull many more coaches. Therefore, many more people than before the war are now trying to travel, and this, not fewer trains, is why there is all this crush and inconvenience. And this, he says, is merely an inflationary symptom, like the unprecedented queues at cinemas, or that quite new phenomenon at London stations, a queue for taxis, including many people who have never driven in a taxi before. People have been given a lot of money and this is headed off, by rationing, etc., from many normal vents, and thus flows in increased volume towards the unblocked vents, including travel.

He says that Sir A. Duncan is often very rude to the officials. Once D.J., with a number of others, attended a conference with the Minister, when Sir W. Brown, then Permanent Secretary, ventured to say "I think it would be best" to do so and so. Whereat the Minister shouted "What business have you to think? I don't ask you to think. I am the only person here who need think ....." Sir W. Brown, on leaving the room, said to D.J. and the rest, "What can one do, when a lunatic is appointed Minister? He thinks he is Churchill, Beaverbrook and Napoleon rolled into one." (I think Sir A. Overton has relatively a very easy time!) D.J. thinks that Duncan is now "subsiding" and contenting himself with saying to the officials "Well, it's an order by the Prime Minister and it must be carried out." D.J. says that officials are always filled with consternation when they hear that "Ministers are intervening" in any matter. For this will surely mean that either a lunatic, or at any rate an unworkable, "decision" is about to be handed down.

In sharp distinction with E.D., he believes that it is with the Americans, and not with the Russians, that we shall have our worst post-war troubles. We shall be very much in their power, since they will have a Navy three or four times larger than ours, and a Merchant Navy double or treble ours. They will, therefore,

/in

in the last resort, be in a position completely to dictate to us, and to cut off our food supplies if we show independence. This is a state of affairs which has never existed in our history before. When we realise it, we shall not like it at all, and there will be a tendency for us to line up, he thinks, with Western Europe in a combination against American Imperialism. (I think that this, too, like the other prospect, is much too gloomy, and that, given reasonable sense on both sides, though there may be difficult moments, there will be no "last resort". None the less, as D.J. points out, we may have some very troublesome successors to Roosevelt and Hull, who may want to use their undoubted powers harshly.)

He makes some new points in favour of the thesis that we should have done better to fight Hitler in 1938, i.e., at Munich, rather than in 1939. He thinks there is no doubt that the Germans used this last year, and also the Sitzkrieg period, much better than we and the French. The proportion of the German to the British plus French Air Force rose through both these periods. The German tanks that smashed Poland were built after Munich. The German tanks that smashed France were built after the outbreak of war. The story of our tank construction is most discreditable. Though we invented them in 1916 and were presumably experimenting with them in the inter-war years, we had none that was worth a damn in 1939. The War Office are much to blame for not making up their minds to what they wanted, and the Ministry of Supply has lately had considerable success in this field. Our improved Churchill tank is now very good, and the best we have, but it is still definitely inferior both to the American, the Russian and the German best. No rifles were being made at all in 1940, except a few in Woolwich Arsenal, and new factories had to be built de novo when Morrison was Minister of Supply. There is a terrific indictment, not yet made public, against Chamberlain, Inskip & Co., for having utterly bungled all our rearmament before Dunkirk. On the other hand, the argument that Hitler missed a great chance in not coming straight after us after Dunkirk, instead of hunting down the French, is a fallacy, for he could only have landed either by means of airborne troops or of landing craft, and he had much too few of either in June, 1940, to be effective. On the other hand, he did his best to amass landing craft by September, but then the Battle of Britain went against him in the air. A much greater error was to send the Afrika Corps to North Afrika instead of keeping them in Europe. How much better, D.J. points out, it would have been for Italy, and for Germany, and how very troublesome for us, if Italy had stayed neutral until now. She would then have kept all her African Empire and constantly brought pressure on us by threats from all directions.

/Lionel

Lionel Curtis, he says, alleges that he was allowed to read all the War Cabinet Minutes of the last war. Not only so, but he talks about them in All Souls. He alleges that in April, 1918, nearly all the British Cabinet thought the war was lost and were in favour of seeking armistice terms from Germany. Only Lloyd George stood out strenuously against this, backed by old George Barnes, the solitary semi-representative of Labour, who, Curtis says, understood so little of the military appreciations that he simply kept on saying "We can't have lost the war." Among the military leaders, Haig was the only one who stood firm because it was his nature to go on fighting anyhow. And, at this very moment, the German Generals were telling their Government that Germany could no longer win!

As to post-war arrangements, D.J. is convinced that we cannot just close down R.O.F.s in places where there would be consequential unemployment running into thousands. It will be necessary either that these R.O.F.s shall go on making arms, even after peace, or that they shall switch over to some other suitable production. For this he thinks there may be additional legal powers required. If so, we should seek them now.

27. 8. 43.

Nowell is to represent me and take the Chair at a small "high-level" official committee to make a plan for post-war trade with Russia. Only F.O. and Treasury are in on this, though a few other people will have to be seen and asked their views, e.g., Ministry of Supply, U.K.C.C., A.S.E., and Export Credits. Also Gifford, the little Scots economist who has been in Moscow since 1940, and is now on leave. (A.O. suggested that Somervell should represent me on this, but I wouldn't have it. I don't want any re-entry by him. Nowell has not had much limelight lately and, with P.L. away in Washington, will have to take more responsibilities in C.R.T. And this is not a very difficult job, nor should it be long.)

Gifford, who comes to see me this morning, says that he finds the Russian climate very healthy, particularly the winter, which, though cold, is nearly always clear. He has never yet been asked to a meal at a Russian's house, though sometimes to a rather formal meal, with never less than eight persons present, in a restaurant. The truth is that Soviet citizens don't meet foreigners except for some definite and officially recognised purpose. ~~The~~ On

/the

the other hand, he says that our N.C.O.s are able to mix much more freely with their Russian opposite numbers. The Russians with whom he has to do are busy learning English, and learning it quicker than he is learning Russian.

Watkinson is still rather frightened of the Barlow Report, and of my inclinations in regard to it. He says once more that I, as P.B.T., should emphasise to my colleagues the economic dangers of too rigid a closing of any area to new industrial development. He is afraid, I think, that I am too conscious of the social objections to big cities and the needs of the Distressed Areas to do justice to the other side of the argument. But (a) I refuse to be unduly departmental, particularly when this particular Department on this particular issue has, as I have often told them, such a lousy record, as shown by their evidence to the Barlow Commission, and (b) I am deeply concerned with economic considerations when I seek to prevent heavy unemployment in the difficult areas and all the wastes, of fixed capital, etc., involved in labour drift from these areas to the Great Wens. Later this evening I return to drafting my long-delayed paper on Control of Location, which has been held up, partly because I have had so many other things to do and it has gone a bit stale in my mind, and partly because I have been waiting for the Local Surveys we have been organising, in order to be sure which look like being, in default of remedial action, the blackest post-war areas.

26. 8. 43.

Decide to give more towels to pubs and clubs, but not as yet to hairdressers. We have been training the public to "take your own towel" both to hairdressers and hotels and don't want to untrain them. I also agree, after raising a number of queries and difficulties, to allow clothing concentration to go on in the areas not yet covered, beginning with London, Derby and Stroud Valley, and going on to the North-East and, if there are no loud screams against it, Scotland.

Lunch alone with Benes.

He thinks the war will end in Europe at latest by April, 1944, and perhaps by next December. Therefore, it is becoming very urgent to settle our peace arrangements, including frontiers. He attaches the greatest importance to U.K., U.S. and S.U. all being in agreement. If either the S.U. stands out, or the U.S. stands

/out

-7-

out, there can be no real peace. We and the U.S. meet frequently at the highest level. This is very good. But it is most important that, before long, there should be a triple meeting at the highest level. This can best be approached, he thinks, by further bilateral meetings (a) between us and the Russians and (b) between the Russians and the Americans. These would increase mutual comprehension and prepare the way for larger things. He thinks both we and the Americans make a great mistake in not speaking more frankly, and even bluntly, to the Russians. They would understand this and would respond in the same way. The Russians, he thinks, will agree to all the smaller countries on their Western borders being independent, provided it is quite clear that they are not going to be pro-German. The Poles, he thinks, should accept the Curzon Line in return for East Prussia. Both Eden and Welles told him that this was also their view, but neither of them would say it, either to the Poles or to the Russians. He had urged them to say it to both. He makes great complaint against the Poles that they will not, even now, agree to give back Teschen. This should be regarded as part of the repudiation of Munich. Benes would like a strong triple pact between the three Slav States - Russians, Czechoslovaks and Poles - but for the moment this is impossible, owing to the Russian-Polish quarrel. This being so, he is very anxious to conclude his Soviet-Czech Treaty, exactly on the model of the British-Soviet Treaty. He has been asked to wait, and to postpone his visit to Moscow, and has so far agreed, but cannot wait much longer. On the other hand, he strongly denies the story that he intended, or that the Russians had asked him, to move his Government from London to Moscow. It has never been suggested and he would never agree if it were. Fierlinger, his man in Moscow, has been a little too friendly to the Russians and a little too precipitate in coming to decisions. The result is that the Russians think they have got him in their pockets, and have lost interest in him. They are taking more trouble to please other people, of whose good will towards themselves they are less sure. (This tale, no doubt true, has a moral. You should not be too compliant with the Russians, nor seem too openly or quickly to appease them. Above all, not too quickly. Their nature is to spin things out. This is part of their Asiatic nature.)

B. says that he knows only too much about émigrés. This is the third time in his life he has been "in emigration". He does not believe that any of the Polish or Yugoslav leaders now in London will have any place in their own countries after the war. (He thinks the Poles in Poland are much more inclined than the Poles in

/London

(A. &amp; Miksa)

London to enter into sensible relations with the Russians.) He has said the same to the Czechoslovaks in London, especially to Bechyne, who is now a very old man but still planning to return to Prague. He himself will resign the Presidency as soon as he has given in liberated Prague an account of his stewardship since Munich. He has this statement already prepared. He added, a little to my amusement, that of course he couldn't say whether his people might not wish to re-elect him as President.

He wants to go to Moscow soon, not only to make his Treaty, but to discuss his future frontiers. The Russians, he thinks, will want to prevent the re-emergence of a "Ukrainian Question". This means that they cannot allow any Ukrainian areas to remain in Poland. I say that I suppose that, in that case, they would also wish to take over Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. He hedges a bit on this, and says "perhaps later". They would want it at once, he thinks, if the alternative was to leave it with Hungary. But they might be well content that he should have it, particularly as he intends, in the future Czechoslovakia, to have a very much greater decentralisation, including decentralisation of finance. Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia cost the Czechs a great deal of money between the two wars. The Russians, he says, would never agree to the Poles and the Hungarians having a common frontier. He himself, on the other hand, would be serving a European interest if, by taking back Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, he dissuaded the Russians from crossing the Carpathians. (I thought all this was a bit thin.)

B. is strongly in favour of the transfer of populations and equally strongly against any renewal of the Minority Treaties. I said I was in the heartiest agreement on this. He would want some 2 million Germans from the Sudetenland to go back to Germany within a short period. He would be prepared to give up Eger and four or five other pieces of Czech borderland inhabited by Germans in return for one very small ~~minor~~ territorial counter-concession, so that he could defend all this as an "exchange of territories". Likewise with Hungary, in return for "a couple of villages south of Kosice" and on condition that he kept a frontier on the Danube, he would be willing to give some regions of pre-war Slovakia to Hungary and also "the city of Berecztas" in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. This "city" is, as I know, not much more than a squalid little village!

Returning to the question of decentralisation, he said that he would expect the Slovaks to pay for all their own arrangements without a subsidy from Prague. He thought that after a while

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they would be less keen on decentralisation and "autonomy".

Austria, he thought, should be independent, with an economic agreement with Czechoslovakia. I said that in my view there should, at least, be a Customs Union and a common currency through all this area, including Poland. He said he had been so often taken to task for making promises and not keeping them that he would not commit himself on these questions of detail. Hungary, he insisted, must be democratised. (I have been obstinately of this opinion ever since I sniffed the faintest and most distant smell of Hungary. But there have always been plenty of "experts", both in the F.O. and outside, to argue that this was either unnecessary, undesirable or practically impossible.)

B. says that the Czech Communists whom he has recently brought on to his National Council are his most loyal supporters. He has made a programme, to which they and all the other Parties have agreed, including the nationalisation of heavy industry, land reform and social security.

He sometimes thinks the Labour Party are not very friendly to the Czechs and to himself personally. He hears that Gillies goes about saying that he is a Bolshevik agent. I said he need pay no heed to this last. For the rest, the Labour Party knew much more of the old Czechoslovakia, and liked it much better, than any other State in Central Europe. We had been prepared to support the British Government in going to war at the time of Munich, and had said so. On the other hand, I had to tell him frankly that, with the exception of Kosina, there was no Czech Socialist who had any effective contacts with our people. Most of the Czechs in London, including Socialists, could speak no English. In this they compared very badly with other exiles. Also most of them were too old to make much impression, and Necas was always ill. I pressed upon him, not for the first time, to make more use of Kosina, who was well liked by us. The fact that he was not used for liaison purposes was the chief reason why liaison was not good. B. said that the reason why he had not been able to use him more was because of rivalries and jealousies between the Czech Socialists themselves, but he undertook to have another try. He expressed a wish to keep in touch with me. I told him that I was going to make a draft for the Labour Party of a Peace Settlement, and would discuss some points arising out of this with him.

Weir gives me a relatively hopeful account of footwear production for at least eight months ahead. He did not deny that

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the Army had large reserves of boots, as is not unreasonable, and it has now been agreed that a large part of the capacity hitherto used to make Army boots shall be turned over to civilians. This is happening already.

Dine with Nathan and a mixed party, including his Partner, Oppenheimer, a most frightful Jew, who bores on about "discrimination against the rich", because not only do they have to pay such high taxation, but no Havana cigars have been imported since the war. He himself used to smoke 12 of these a day and does not like inferior substitutes. Masaryk says that it will be quite impossible for British pacifists to teach those who have been tortured and oppressed, their relatives tortured and murdered, by the Germans, to love the latter. We live here in an insulated, unreal world. We don't know what the Germans are.



DIARY27, 28 & 29. 8. 43

At West Leaze.

30. 8. 43.

Woodcock and O'Donnell with Ord Johnstone to see me on Alarm Clocks. These T.U.C. officials are much worse than my own - real caricatures of chinovniks. With great efforts, and after much prodding, I have now procured over 100,000 alarm clocks from the U.S. and Canada. My idea was that many workers badly needed them. But this is not the idea of Messrs W. and O'D. They are working out an immensely complex administrative process, designed to secure the rejection, after slow and mature consideration, of practically all the individual applications, which will need to be submitted before any distribution can be made at all. Not only does the Board of Trade print "buying permits", but the T.U.C. prints "application forms" and these are distributed through various Unions and brought back again, after the distribution, to the centre, to be "checked". And this is all they do. They simply check any dishing out of these clocks. I find myself slightly impatient, but am anxious not to alienate these slowcoaches, who are very useful as cover for many otherwise unpopular decisions.

L.P. International Sub discusses draft of proposed broadcast appeal to Italian people. (The march of events renders this unnecessary.)

31. 8. 43.

War Cab. on India. Our financial relations seem odder and odder the more one studies them. We now owe the Indians more than £700 million, and they have "repatriated" practically all the Indian Government debt held before the war in this country. We have agreed to pay for everything we get from India, but to give them free all stores and equipment to be used in India in connection with the war. No trace of lend lease in our relationship. Meanwhile it is admitted that there has been no effective price control, that large profits have been made on contracts in India - principally for the benefit of a small number of Hindu millionaires, such as the notorious Birla - and that the Indian Government is to be the owner of war factories and other establishments to which we have contributed in some cases all, in other cases half, the cost.

All very odd, and quite a reversal of what theorists would expect! I don't much like appeasing Mr Birla. I ask that in the "Bible", or official history prepared for our information, exact dates should be inserted showing when these queer arrangements were entered into. It will thus be possible to pin down responsibility upon the authors.

Talks with Liesching and Meade in preparation for their trip to Washington. Both, I think, are much looking forward to it. And so they damned well should! They will have a most interesting time and enormous quantities of food and other fun.

*ad* P.M.'s broadcast to-night is as good as ever - I am an addict of his oratory - and there is much emphasis on friendship with Russia and appreciation of their contribution to victory.

1. 9. 43.

C.R.A. summons a meeting of myself, E.B. and H.M., with Piercy and Meade, whom I take with me as an *extra*, to consider the proposed instructions for our Washington delegates on monetary questions. E.B. is very much afraid we are drifting back to the gold standard, and that we shall be at the mercy of "an America with a 19th century outlook". I think the question of *the* rate of exchange is more important than either (a) the amount of gold, if any, to be subscribed by States joining the Clearing Union, or (b) the currencies in which the Fund can deal, though here it would be much better to restrict dealings to an international currency - Unitas or Bancor - falling back, however, if pressed, on an ingenious suggestion of Meade's that the Fund should only sell sterling to any central bank, on the demand of the latter, and should only buy sterling from the Bank of England. But this last is a little too subtle for my colleagues. It is finally agreed that I shall write a letter to K.W. to-day and raise the point in Cabinet to-morrow, when the others will back me up if necessary. (I do this, but not much backing up is required next day.)

Dine with Sir A.M. Livingstone and sit next to Riefler, who has apparently told our host that I am one of the Englishmen of whom he is most fond. He tells an interesting story of social research in the remoter valleys of Tennessee - Old Man Hull's State - where, as you go further up the valleys, all sense of saving, and finally all sense of religion, vanish in these most primitive communities, full of inbreeding, where men, originally of good stock, scratch a most scanty living, making their own clothes out of their own sheep skins, etc. It must be very odd back there.

2. 9. 43.

Economist Luncheon to celebrate their centenary. A roomful of eminent persons. Keynes, sitting next but one to me, says that he saw my letter to K.W. on gold, rates of exchange, etc., and quite agreed with it. Speeches by K.W., M. Norman and H. Morrison, all read from carefully typed scripts. Private Secretaries and others had laboured mightily. K.W.'s was a very good speech, but I am sure he had not looked at it before he rose to deliver it. M. Norman said that the Bank "welcomed instructed criticism", regretted that the Economist did not confine itself wholly to finance and the city, and praised the Bank of England for being a private institution animated by public spirit. H.M. made some rather wicked quotations from articles ardently defending the gold standard the week before we came off it, and demanding, on the morrow of the last war, the swift suppression of all controls.

Dine alone with G.J. at his flat. He says Quebec was quite fun. The great ones were in the Citadel, and the rest of the world, including A.E., who was very indignant about it, were in the Chateau Frontenac. There was free food and drinks, without limit, for all. Leathers, whom G.J. liked, said that Bracken was very conceited and had been thought by the press to be very insulting. Much hard work had been done to bring the Russians closer to the Americans. One difficulty was that translations from the Russian always sounded very rude and abrupt in English. As to Italy, G.J. would prefer not to have Badoglio on our hands as a man with whom we had made terms. All this was now on the point of being decided.

We discuss the present top lot at the F.O. He says that Cadogan stands out a mile. He is a good influence on the P.M. when left alone with him. He will be 60 this year. He will stick it, out of a sense of duty, till the end of the war, and will then insist on retiring. He wants to be out of it all.

Sargent is even older, very clever, but very sick, nervy and malicious.

Peterson and Newton are grotesque as leading figures.

Then comes Strang. G.J. ~~thinks that~~ he will probably succeed Cadogan. He has his points. G. says there are very few people who could really tackle the job of Permanent Under-Secretary. He thinks Makins could, and that he himself could. But both of them

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would be thought to be too young. We agree that the Civil Service everywhere is very old and tired at the top. It was much better in the last war. Warren Fisher, he says, became Permanent Secretary to the Treasury at the age of 43. Of A.E. he says "He has antennae in all directions, but no brain. He doesn't read papers, he only sniffs them." We speak of the Malkin Report on Reparations, etc. I say I think it is quite a good job. He says he will make a short note of the substance of it for A.E.

To-morrow the party leaves by ship for Washington, to engage in "preliminary, informal, non-committal, purely official, discussions" with the Americans on Article VII ("Monetary, Commercial, Commodity and International Investment Policy"). Law will lead them. A final flutter and telephone call from him to-night, asking whether I don't think we could accommodate old man Hull by agreeing to his bilateral negotiations, even though we still propose a multilateral approach. I am horrified at this and tell him that he can go into all these matters on the boat, but that there are most definite Cabinet decisions on them which P.L. in particular is most competent to explain to him. Someone has been getting at him at the last moment. I suspect Ronald. (But next week it turns out to have been Penrose.) Keynes and Waley will be there for the Treasury; Ronald for the F.O.; P.L.; Meade and Shackle for me; Robbins for the Economic Secretariat, and a few secretaries as well. There are very great possibilities in these talks, but we are getting very close to that "night wherein no man can work" in American politics, i.e., the month before the Presidential campaign. Anyhow, the delegates are well instructed and a pretty able lot. (I ring up P.L., who has left the office to pack his bags, and tell him of Law's conversation with me. I rely on him to coach Law on the boat.)

The instructions were finally passed at a War Cab.to-day. The points put by me in my letter to K.W. were well received and generally supported, particularly the need to avoid having the value of sterling tied too tightly either to gold or to any other currency. I argue, moreover, against allowing the right to depreciate our exchange being decided by a vote in an International Governing Body. We should, I said, and this was generally supported, aim at some objective statistical test, as in our proposals on quantitative import restrictions in the Commercial Union scheme. K.W. undertook to instruct the delegates in this sense before they left.

DIARY3, 4 & 5. 9. 43.

At W.L.

6. 9. 43.

Spend a good deal of time on my broadcast and gradually improve it.

Kingsley Martin to dine with me at Josefs. As usual, he seems to get everything wrong way up. He began with a great denunciation of "your friends the Poles". He said they were all bent on fighting the Russians. I asked him what Poles he knew. The answer seemed to be None at all except Szapiro. I took him through all their leading personalities and he had to admit he had met none of them. He asked what I would do with Poland, and I said move her physically to the west and politically to the Left. I asked whether he would resist Poland getting East Prussia. He said he didn't like it at all, but didn't think he would resist it. I said another alternative was that Poland might become a Soviet Socialist Republic. He said this would mean the most horrible resistance and massacre, and agreed with me that the fact that the Poles were R.C.s made this solution particularly difficult. He seemed quite incredulous that anyone, anywhere in the Government, was taking any interest whatever in any post-war problems. I naturally could not tell him much, except that he was wrong. He was afraid - he is always physically afraid of someone - of the Eighth Army on their return to England. Attempts were being made, he said, already to organise them as a political force. He had heard of some man who had been going about the City, with the approval of some Generals, trying to raise a large sum of money to use this military force as a "Fascist" instrument. How bored I am with this dreary old bogey, appearing always in new hysterical disguises! And they will have to invent some new epithet in place of "Fascist" now. Also he was afraid, as always, in the years before the war, of Mosley and of the 18B detenus. They might have great influence when they got out. They were, he had heard, all keeping careful notes of everything that was said or printed against them. And they would start a tremendous lot of libel actions when they came out and might arouse great public sympathy. He thought it was a great mistake that Morrison had not published something to show that he had some real case against Mosley. I said I didn't

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I once told Cole  
"he must win power by the  
votes of the football crowds;  
he was terribly shocked!"

believe any of this at all. It would be enough to discredit them to ask on whose side they had been before and at the beginning of the war. Also to ask Mosley where he had married and who his witnesses were. K.M. was quite astonished when I said the answers were: in Berlin; Hitler and Goering. I said that all this would much better be published later on. Timing was essential. If published now it would be forgotten. It had been published years ago and forgotten already. In reply to his bleating questions about the political near-future, I said that here again much turned on timing. We had in the Labour Party, I said, too many experts in the art of losing elections, and too many people who specialised in total ignorance of the views and sentiments of the great mass of their neighbours. It would, I said, be total lunacy to fight an election, if it could be avoided, against the present Prime Minister while the laurels of victory were still bright upon his brows. K.M. agreed that we must lose in such a case, but was inclined to think that it might be the best thing to do, in the circumstances. This led to my last remark. I said I had now reached an age in political life when I wanted either to have power or to retire and plant trees. I was not interested any more in impotent ~~gr~~ations in opposition. Therefore, my simple plan was, though it might be quite impossible to execute it, to continue an all-Party Government, and to screw as much good policy as we could out of our colleagues while it lasted, until such time as we could fight an election and win it with a Labour majority. Also I judged it most important that we should have many younger and more interesting candidates. He seemed to think it quite impossible that any of this could happen. He also said that I was still, it seemed, conceiving politics in terms of the old Parties. I said I was. You could change the contents of a political bottle more easily than the label, and these old bottles were very hard to break. He was inclined to agree, but wondered whether there might not be some "regrouping". I asked what sort. He said "A Centre Party, for instance". On this I quoted my favourite dictum of Harcourt's. "I have heard much talk in my time of Centre Parties. I know them well. All centre and no circumference." He said he agreed. The trouble is he always does say he agrees with whoever is speaking to him at the moment. Then he meets someone else and agrees with him. I quote the saying, though not the author, that A.E. had "no brain, but antennae in all directions". K.M. said that this was the exact opposite of Cripps. I told him I thought campaigning against C.R.A. as Leader of the Labour Party, as Laski did in his articles in the New Statesman and elsewhere, did no good at all, but rather harm, since it generally sapped confidence and could have no effect, except perhaps in the opposite direction to that intended, on the Leadership. This, I

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reminded him, was determined, not by any general sentiments of public opinion, nor by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, nor even by the T.U.C. and the "Trade Union bosses", but by the members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. And these, quite certainly, had no intention at all of making a change. These tired old men were enthusiastic for social security, and applied this to the Party Leadership as well. "Too much Beveridge!", he said. I added that, after an election, with much new blood, it might be very different. My own attitude was well known. I had always preferred Morrison and had done my best, first to get him the Leadership and later the Treasurership of the Party. Both efforts had failed. K.M. invited me to one of his N.S. lunches. He said I should meet Laski, Brailsford and Vallance. I said I should enjoy this very much. A queer creature!

I heard a good crack to-day, a variant on Will Lawther's answer to an American audience to the question "What about the Indians?" "What Indians? Red Indians?" The variant is: an Englishman to an American: "Well, at any rate, our Indians are still alive."

J.W. has just returned from ten days in West Cumberland. He is very pleased at the progress he seems to have made towards the succession to Tom Cape. Adams would have been the natural successor, but has told J.W. that he would prefer him to have it, so that he, Adams, could go on concentrating on his present work. He would not feel like this with anyone else. Archie Rowe is also very keen that J.W. should have it. And so, oddly enough, is Cape himself, who has a special link with the Wilmot family. In 1934 he told J.W. he was tired of living in a hotel and would like a suitable lodging in London. He lodged for six months with J.W.'s mother, and hence has a warm personal feeling towards the family. I have told J.W. how great a blessing it is to move from a London constituency, which makes a stale slave of one, to a northern constituency, where greater native loyalty blends with much greater distance to make one's rarer visits much more highly appreciated. A. Rowe told J.W. to tell me to beware lest in the re-distribution in Durham Lawther might contrive something to my disadvantage. I spoke the other day to Shepherd, and went into the figures. It is clear that County Durham must lose at least one member, and much the smallest electorate is Barnard Castle, only 46% of the quota. Next smallest are Spennymoor and Bishop Auckland, each between 70 and 75% of the quota. And these three lie together and compose South-West Durham. Therefore, much the easiest and most obvious adjustment

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would be to split Barnard Castle into two roughly equal halves, as regards electors, and to join one to Spennymoor and one to me. This would bring both of us close on 100% of the quota. I should think that I could comfortably carry my half of Barnard Castle, even though it would contain the town of Barnard Castle itself and a substantial rural area. But some mining communities would be bound to come in too. My constituency, in that case, would be increased by about one-third in electorate, but doubled, or perhaps trebled, in area. In much of this area, however, particularly if it included the higher reaches of Teasdale and Weardale, there are very few inhabitants, though much natural beauty. I am not, therefore, much bothered by this prospect. An alternative and less convenient procedure would, of course, be to keep Barnard Castle in existence and bring it up to quota by adding bits from each of the other two, the residues of these two being merged into a second constituency. This would mean splitting the Bishop Auckland Division, which would be a bore. But it would also mean making the area of the Barnard Castle Division uncomfortably large. I don't think this plan would have much support. But I must discuss this when I am in the North next month.

7. 9. 43.

Watkinson reports progress. He is still a bit perturbed about my Location policy. I tell him that I have told Overton that it is "against the constitution" for any of my officials now to say anything outside the Department in conflict with my own views. I find this long semi-resistance getting rather irritating.

Vienot to lunch. This is the first time I have seen him since he has been "recognised". He is in a good mood. I tell him who will be at lunch with Mrs P. to-morrow and he says that Dejeans is now provided for. He is French representative with the smaller allied Governments in London. Comert, on the other hand, is a difficulty. He is very unco-operative. V. says that he has a tremendous mass of detailed work to do and hardly any staff. He is no longer taking his hour's lesson a day in English. I upbraid him for this.

Warter and Fletcher to see me at my request. A.B.P.C. have just bought a new circuit - the Mayfair Circuit - consisting of some 40 cinemas. This brings their total number up to about 450, as against Rank's ceiling of just over 600. I say that I feel they should now give me the same undertaking which Rank gave,

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namely, not to make themselves any bigger without seeking my consent, "such consent not to be unreasonably withheld." They jibe a lot at this and say they ought to be allowed "parity" with Rank. I say that there may soon be a row about their proceedings, arising from a P.Q., or the Films Council, or Rank himself. I invite them to go away and think it over. I sense I may have a bit of trouble about this.

R. comes to dine with me in the office, after which we two and Simmonds go to the B.B.C., where I broadcast after the 9 o'clock News. (Copy of my talk attached.) I am told that it went well. Indeed, all the early opinions were quite favourable. J.W., whom I find waiting for me later, said that he had been afraid it might go badly, but that it was most strikingly good, and very much better than I did at M.E.W. (Pulham, bringing me my tea and papers next morning, said that he had enjoyed it very much. It was "all plump and plain".) J.W. said that I managed my voice much better than usual, and avoided a "schoolmasterly tone", which sometimes crept in, as with his brother Horace! J.W. had originally thought my script looked rather too much like baby talk, talking down to the audience, but, he said, it did not come over at all like that, and a number of his constituents assembled round his radio at his Committee Rooms enjoyed it very much.

8. 9. 43.

Penrose calls. (Separate note attached.) He gets duller and slower each time I see him. The amount of fidget over these Anglo-American discussions is quite incredible. The S.D. is rent with rivalries and now, to make things worse, a general post seems to be taking place there. So now, on the one hand, underlings keep pressing - "Servants' Hall talk" I call the silly telegrams which come in from Washington - that we should delay our arrival, and, on the other, I get this sort of silly urgency. I have some confidence in our delegation doing as well as the conditions will allow when they arrive.

12.20. Meeting of Ministers of Cabinet rank specially summoned at F.O. A.E. informs us that at 5.30 p.m. this afternoon Eisenhower will announce Italian unconditional surrender and the granting of an Armistice, the terms of which cannot, for obvious reasons, yet be published. They would tell the Germans too much and give them a chance to try counter-measures. Political, economic and financial terms to be imposed will be announced later.

/Negotiations

Negotiations were opened some weeks ago by the Italian General C, who came to Lisbon and said Badoglio would like to change sides and fight with us against the Germans, Italy thus becoming a United Nation. (This was the first really serious approach, though there had been other unimportant ones before.) It had to be explained that things could not be done so simply. So he returned, though he took an unexplained long time getting from Lisbon to Rome. Then there came another Italian General, Z, who discussed upon a basis of reality, and the arrangements for the surrender were made. The Armistice was, in fact, signed in Sicily last Friday, i.e., five days ago. But it could not be announced till now. The Russians, as well as the Americans and ourselves, are associated, and in agreement, with the action taken. There will be other striking developments within the next week.

E.B., just returned from the Southport T.U.C., is, as usual, very full of himself. He says he was particularly pleased because he got a much greater ovation from the delegates than did the Russian visitors. This was when he was first introduced by the Chairman. After he had finished his speech, the applause first died down and then rose up again. He received a series of deputations in his hotel while he was there. There was, he thought, growing resentment among the delegates at the domineering attitude of the G.C. towards the floor and at the nagging attitude of Citrine in particular against Labour Ministers. I mentioned to him my Location paper and he, not having read it, makes the remark that S.Wales, the N.E. and Scotland are the three most important "Defence Areas" for the future. I suggested he might take the Chair of the meeting of Ministers which I propose.

*Committee*

Lunch with Mrs P. Also present Ellen Wilkinson and three Frenchmen - Vienot, Dejeans and Comert. I tell them what is coming at 5.30. Great delight, particularly by the French at the prospect of getting back Corsica at once. It is only garrisoned by Italians.

*Ellen Wilkinson*

I incite E.W. to be on my side over Location. She says she doesn't want again to have to lead a march from Jarrow. She thinks that Sir Kingsley Wood and Sir R.Hopkins paralyse leading permanent officials everywhere. All know that their future careers depend on Treasury approval. I think this old tale is a bit over-told. But she is quite right to say that Hurst is a most evil influence and that Jowitt is as weak as a rabbit in dealing with him, though he detests him personally.

/Retinger

Retinger, whom I had not seen for some weeks, comes to tell me that Mikolajczyk is doing much better than he expected, and that R. has suggested to him that he should invite Bevin, Morrison and myself to a frank talk on the future of Poland. This would naturally follow Mrs P.'s lunch to M. and the three Socialist Polish Ministers next week. R. has not at present any official position in the Polish set-up. But I gathered he is seeing a good deal of M. and that he will accompany him to the U.S. when he goes next month. ~~xxxxxxxix~~

a/ We all sit round in the Private Office and listen to the 6 o'clock, and also to the 9 o'clock, News. It isn't easy to assess how large or how swift the consequences are likely to be. There are said to be nearly 20 German Divisions in Italy, and these brutes will, I suppose, make a good deal of resistance. The Italians are now being encouraged, by Eisenhower and by Badoglio himself, to turn against the Germans. A.E. said to-day that Eisenhower was most anxious to make the fullest possible use of Italian assistance. On the other hand, most of them are utterly sick of the war and will be little use. But we shall gain soon many valuable vantage points, and the German forces will soon be ~~seen to be~~ spread too thinly to hold all their outposts. Meanwhile also the Russians are advancing at great speed over the wide front. (To-night they played the Internationale, following God Save the King and the Star-spangled Banner. None of these tunes are quite worthy of such great and tense occasions. A really good March would be much better.)

NOTE OF CONVERSATION

Yesterday Mr. Winant rang me up and asked whether I would be willing to see Dr. Penrose. I said I should be very glad, but what about? He replied "about these Trade Agreements". I thought it wisest not to say more on the telephone.

This morning Dr. Penrose appeared and, after some beating about the bush, said that the State Department were most anxious to get on at once with the negotiations on bilateral treaties. They had had a great success - he repeated this several times - in getting their powers to negotiate these renewed by Congress, but it was most important that these powers should be acted upon quickly. He said that he had spoken to Mr. Law about this and the latter had promised to discuss it on the boat with the officials accompanying him. Dr. Penrose thought that the State Department would be most anxious to start negotiating detailed tariff schedules without running the risk of this being delayed by "general talks" on our "proposed wider approach".

I was careful to avoid expressing any opinion on the value of bilateral, as against multilateral, treaties, or to say anything to Dr. Penrose which, if accurately reported back by him, might cause embarrassment to our Delegation on their arrival at Washington.

I, therefore, contented myself with saying - and repeated several times - that the visit of our Delegation, which would be admirably led by Mr. Law, and consisted of a number of our ablest officials, resulted, as he would know, from an approach made by Lord Halifax early last month to Mr. Hull. They would be empowered, and fully competent, to discuss all matters arising under Article 7, including monetary, commercial, commodity and international investment questions. It was, I was sure he would agree, quite impossible to discuss any of these matters simultaneously in London as well as in Washington. I had no doubt that the State Department would not hesitate to put to the Delegation any political considerations to which they attached importance.

He said that he supposed Mr. Stirling would be the official who would negotiate on our behalf the details of a bilateral treaty. I said that Mr. Stirling was now in London, and emphasised the superior status and wide experience of Mr. Liesching. (This clumsy reference to Mr. Stirling strengthens my view that he should be kept in London and that he has been much too pliant at Washington.)

I had much difficulty in edging Dr. Penrose out of my room and he continued woodenly to reassert the immense urgency of bilateral negotiations. He did not say with whom and left it to be inferred that he meant with the United Kingdom in particular. I carefully did not develop the argument that we had practically nothing more to gain from another such treaty. I do not know at what level, or by which of the many intriguers, Dr. Penrose has been incited to make this approach to me. It is all rather tiresome and untidy and I hope we shall have no more of it. I think we should not inform our Delegation of this approach to me, lest confusion should grow.

Dr. Penrose  
also

DIARY

9. 9. 43.

Sir Roy Robinson, Chairman of the Forestry Commission, calls at my request. Slow but sensible. An Australian from Perth. I begin by handing him my jarra walking stick, with its metal band inscribing my visit to the Night Trots in 1938. I say "I expect you recognise this wood." But he only blinks at it and says he is affaid he hasn't brought his glasses. Then, when I explain, he has never heard of the Night Trots, though they are a great institution in present-day Perth. I told him I had always been in favour of trees, and he remembered that I had taken an interest in Savernake when the F.C. took it over. He said it was in very poor shape, and indeed a very large part of our private woodlands have been allowed to become quite derelict, but he is satisfied that they are gradually putting it to rights. He has just been showing Kingsley Wood and Jowitt round some of his Scots plantations. I arrange to go with him one week-end in October to the New Forest, where he says they are doing all sorts of interesting things, and this will be the time when the autumn tints, he says, will be at their best. This remark shows that he has a certain sense of the beautiful as well. He is quite pleased at the acceptance by H.M.G. of the proposals in the new White Paper and is anxious to avoid any unnecessary discussions on "principle". It is much better, he thinks, for them quietly to go forward, here a little and there a little, taking up new land as it offers, while doing their best not to upset farmers, etc. He has now got George Trevelyan to be Chairman of a joint committee for the Lakes, and the objection to conifers is gradually diminishing, he says, because a number of their plantations are now growing up well, and even the critics have to admit that they are not unattractive. It has been a handicap to the war effort that so much timber, ripe for felling, is in such remote places, far from rail and road communications. On the other hand, it is not good to plant too near centres of population, for then the locals start fires and in other ways damage the trees. Thinnings, he says, can normally begin 11 or 12 years after planting. But it is easy to exaggerate the amount of employment given by any of his operations, and they ought not to employ labour needlessly, or to stop short of the most economical methods of mechanisation. They get much better results now if they plough land to a depth of 1½ feet before planting, thus breaking up the pan. In chalk there is no pan, but here too ploughing is very helpful. I ask about Japanese larch in chalk. He says it has been rather disappointing. Beech, ash and sycamore do best in chalk.

/I ask

I ask about the Commissioners. He says they tend to be appointed too old. But Courthope has done very well in the House, where a quicker and cleverer man might have run into danger. Quibell is a very good chap but knows nothing about it. Phillips Price knows something about it but always falls asleep at the meetings. Ropner knows a lot about it but never attends. From all this I gather that the Chairman does pretty much what he likes. I like him and shall keep in touch with him. On Distressed Areas he was not really very hopeful. Quite rightly, he doesn't want to come under the Minister of Agriculture, or nothing would get planted at all. Sheep - even those scraggy hill sheep - and cereals - even on the poorest land - would always get the preference.

See three of my colleagues on my Location of Industry paper:

(1) H.M., accompanied by Ellen Wilkinson. He begins quite well by saying that he agrees with a large number of my propositions. But goes on less well, thinking that we should have more details, and that trying to redistribute unemployment between different areas is dodging the larger question of how to maintain full employment everywhere. Not very good.

(2) Kingsley Wood. He, of course, wants to hang things up until we have a lot more reports from the Steering Committee, and produces a note from Hopkins, who is away on leave, promising that the S.C. will have a report on other aspects of all this by the end of this month. K.W. says that Portal came to see him and said that we couldn't possibly tell now which areas would be most distressed at the end of the war, and that I was "in too much of a hurry". I said that P. had told me quite the opposite, namely that my proposals were very good, that he supported them and would like to be on the proposed committee.

(3) E.B. Much the best of the three on my paper. He has a real understanding of the problem, and says that his man Phillips has submitted a paper ~~from~~ very much on the same lines as my own, to be sent to A.O. It has not yet gone, but he will have it sent off at once. He suggests that we should co-operate.

I then touch on his statement on Demobilisation to the T.U.C. at Southport, which has created much commotion, to the effect that "First in, first out" must be the guiding principle, and that we cannot have wire-pulling in favour of key men. This has been taken by some, including my Business Members, to be going back on

previous declarations of Government policy, e.g., by Jowitt, which admitted that some priority for key men must be assured. E.B. says that he was not intending to make any new declaration on policy, and that he was "speaking colloquially" and perhaps was not quite accurately reported. But he is sure that the claim for key men must be kept down to the minimum, and he wishes to have a principle whereby, as with individual claims for deferment, which is really the same thing in reverse, two separate Departments must check up on each other. This is all very sound sense. As the W.O. witnesses have been saying to the Inter-departmental Committee on this subject, release according to length of service will mean, first of all, release of the pre-war territorials, and these contain a quite high proportion of key men and intelligent people generally. The soldiers, in order to minimise the risks of mutiny and give satisfaction to the sense of justice of the troops, are most anxious to hold, as closely as they can, to "First in, first out". And I am sure they are quite right. I won't be pushed, either by Business Men or B. of T. officials, into over-stressing the claim for key men.

Dine with Lady Colefax, taking with me Riefler, whom she is most anxious to meet. I talk with G.M. Young, whom I do not remember to have met before, now an inhabitant of Oare, and with Lady Hardwicke, whose husband I understand is an Earl now in North Africa, and she herself a daughter of that most malign and stupid ex-Ambassador, Sir F. Lindley, who was all pro-Jap and one of N. Chamberlain's cronies. Lady H., however, is very sensible and charming and now lives at Rockley. We three, therefore, conspire for the preservation of the Wiltshire Downs against "development".

All are still agog over events in Italy. There are rumours of landings everywhere and of far-reaching repercussions all through Occupied and satellite Europe. And Persia to-night has declared war on Germany!

It was very lucky I got in my broadcast on Tuesday, the night before the Italian news broke. Otherwise, I should have been quite blanketed. Meanwhile, Beaverbrook is blanketed, in his attacks on me. I always speak of him now as "That asthmatic ape". Meanwhile, I have, as yet, received no abusive letters regarding my broadcast, but quite a number of complimentary ones and many of the usual type, beginning with general approval and going on to some particular grievance.

10. 9. 43.

Forres to see me on Argentine Railways. He is shortly going out, with one of the committee of three, to try to negotiate something with the Argentine Government. They were well received at the F.O. the other day by Law.

Sir H. Shackleton and Sir T. Barlow to lunch with me. The former says that the quality of utility clothing is not declining, but rather the reverse. We are now, for the moment, on a fairly easy wicket.

To W.L.

11 & 12. 9. 43.

At W.L. Dine on arrival with the Browns. Mrs B. much thrilled by my broadcast. She thought the ladies particularly liked being directly addressed about their stockings. (Several days later Hoskins, at my Co-op lunch at the Dorchester, said that his wife was "just putting the kids to bed" when the wireless was on and she heard my reference to stockings. She stopped and said "Why is Henry Ainley talking about women's stockings?").



DIARY13. 9. 43.

From W.L. My train is one hour late.

Meeting of L.P.Sub-Cttee. on proposed delegation to Russia. H.J.L. has prepared, as we asked, a statement containing the suggestions (1) that we should go to see the Russian Communist Party, and not the Soviet Government, and (2) that we should discuss with them, inter alia, the possibility of forming one single International, to include all the Socialist and Communist Parties of the world. Several of my colleagues take exception both to (1) and (2) and it is agreed to refer them for ~~Parliamentary~~ preliminary discussion to next week's N.E. Laski threatens to resign from the N.E. if we don't stick to the delegation. What a tiresome, un-teamish, head-in-the clouds, rabbinical rhetorician!

H.G. to dine and then with me to the film "Victory through Air Power". The latter, Seversky's thesis, is pretty impressive, though it exaggerates. I gather from H.G. that the post-warrior machine is not working quite well. He says that D.J. is now back, and quite fit. I ask him to put up to D.J. whether or not he wants to come to me, to be, in effect, my P.A. for post-war, with the rank of an A.S. There can be no more bargaining on this last point. If he wants to come, the sooner the better, and he should write to me direct.

14. 9. 43.

Cripps to see me on Location. He cannot say yet what will be done with all his factories after the war. Unless they keep them going in Bristol, there will be heavy unemployment there! He thinks it is all part of a much larger question. So they all say. About the most sensible letter from any of my colleagues on my Location paper is from Gwilym L.G., who really deals with practical points as they arise. I have hopes of him as a good ally. I have agreed (correspondence with J.A. attached) to the postponement of the consideration of my paper until the Steering Committee produces something next month. But I have agreed only with protests, to which I can hereafter revert, if there is further sloth.

At International Sub. it is decided, after a much too long discussion, not to issue any statement, as had been proposed, "interpreting" the Resolution on "Post-war treatment of enemy peoples"

/passed

passed at our Annual Conference. It took much talk to reach this conclusion. But, in the end, they left it to me, as previously agreed, to draft some Heads of a post-war settlement, and to discuss it with various groups.

Talk with Maisky, alone at his Embassy. (Separate note attached.)

Dine with C.R.A., just back from a week's holiday in Cardiganshire. He says the position at Salerno is not so bad as alarmists have been saying. (E.B. and Portal this afternoon have been glooming frightfully. "Another Dunkirk". "The Americans have given way in the south". "You can't direct a war by political instructions from Washington", etc.) I press C.R.A. to press the P.M., at a suitable moment after his return, to think of post-war tactics. The easiest way would be not to hurry a post-war election, provided we could hold our own people from reckless disengagement. They are great experts, we agree, at suicide. I also suggest that we might try to get the P.M. to address, on some suitable occasion, our own Party Meeting. C.R.A. is much fitter and fresher and in pretty good form and sensible. But he really doesn't, one feels, have an effective pull on the Party.

15. 9. 43.

Parr, the Clerk to Drake Son & Parton, comes, at my request, and tells me that, though they were blitzed out at 24, Rood Lane, they still have all their documents in safety. I arrange that Underhill, who has now succeeded Bernard Drake, should come and see me with a list of documents relating to our family affairs, so that I may remind myself what's what and be assured that everything is in order.

Mrs P. gives a Polish Luncheon. Mikolajczyk now speaks very good English indeed. But I get a rather unhappy impression, from his talk, of his relations with his President and Sosnkowski. (M. first of all resigned from the task of forming a Government when the President appointed S., without consulting M., to be Commander-in-Chief and therefore, under the Polish constitution, to be the President's successor, after Sikorski's death.) M. now says that S. does not accept the supremacy of the civil Government over the Army. He takes the line that, under the Polish constitution, the Government and the Army are separate and equal powers. He has contacts, M. says, without the proper knowledge of the Government, with various reactionary elements in this country. M. would like me to try to have it explained to people in authority here that all

~~arrangements~~

/arrangements

arrangements for supplies, etc., for the Polish Army must be made through the Government, and not independently by S. I ask M. whether he has mentioned this to the P.M. He says No. All this seems pretty bad. The three Polish Socialist Ministers are also present. Grosfeldt, whom I have never met before, says the Germans have now killed off practically all the Jews in Poland. Kwapinski wants to come and talk to me again about Relief. Oh what a bore this is, fencing with foreigners to try to hide the infinite delays in Washington, and here!

Spend the evening at Wembley, where they have a magnificent Town Hall. It cost, they say, £220,000, which seems very cheap in view of what they have got, and was completed just before the war. I speak almost wholly on Russia (copy of Advance attached) and rag a pleasant young Reporter from the Daily Express. I said "I have just been reading a book by one of the greatest journalists of modern times. No, I don't mean Lord Beaverbrook, I mean Ilya Ehrenburg. You should all read his "Russia at War". And at the end I said, looking at the Reporter, "Now I don't think I have said anything to-night that will give Lord Beaverbrook an opportunity to burst a blood vessel in to-morrow's Express in attacking the Board of Trade. I have said nothing about corsets or coupons. And Lord Beaverbrook, I know, is very keen on Russia and the Second Front." I would like to see Paul Herbert, though he doesn't make a very good speech to-night, being, I think, a little shy in front of me, to be the candidate for the new Wembley Division on redistribution. On the other hand, Albu, who is in the Chair to-night, would like it for himself. He is a clever Jew, the Manager of some industrial firm, slightly inclined to bellyache, but, I should think, curable by reasonable treatment. I let them all into a certain number of harmless secrets, which they much enjoy.

16. 9. 43.

An hour with Halifax. As full of charm as ever, but very airy and unattached to earthly detail on monetary and commercial policy. He thinks, on my exposition of the Commercial Union, that this should appeal to Hull. He is, H. thinks, a very fine old man, very Nineteenth Century and "quite pathological about North Africa" and France generally. Welles is resigning, not through any difference of view on policy, but because Bill Bullitt's "smearing campaign" against his private life has attracted much attention. The President has had to pay some heed to it, and, H. says, it seems that the allegations made are not wholly untrue. — This is a

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was a  
homestead

great pity, for Welles is a fine man and has greatly improved in the last few years. In particular, he is now much more of our way of thinking on Russia. He is now always on the lookout to prevent the appearance of snubs or neglect and is much more accommodating over their western frontiers. He says now, e.g., that he thinks the U.S. has been too rigid about the Baltic States. It is being suggested that he should go to Moscow for the Foreign Secretaries' talk. A.E., H. thinks, is quite justified in being a bit annoyed because it is always thought that "London is untouchable" as a place for talks between the Big Three. H. says that he would not say this "outside the walls of this room", but that he thinks the P.M. somewhat idolises the President. The latter is most uncomfortably susceptible to political breezes. Once recently he made a certain statement about Russia "at the Pacific Council, where, as you know, we discuss everything except the Pacific, with the Chinese, the Dutch, the Australians, the New Zealanders, etc." When H. reported this home ("You know how we have to fill up our telegrams with little bits of gossip"), interest was taken and he was asked to find out more exactly what the President meant. But, when he asked Welles to pursue it, the latter replied, by telephone, that he had spoken to the President, who had flatly denied ever saying any such thing. This had made H. feel that "The President is, perhaps, a little like Lloyd George. You never quite know when you have got him, or whether he will not slip through your fingers." Hull, he thought, was apt to feel a little hurt and indignant at the "rough treatment" he sometimes received from the P.M., and by his "cyclonic manner".

The President was now quite keen to meet Stalin. He had at first thought it would be better for them to meet à deux, since the P.M. had already met them both separately, and Stalin might think that, at a meeting à trois, he would be out-numbered by 2 to 1. The President, therefore, had played with the idea of meeting Stalin in Alaska. But he had now given this up, since Stalin seemed to like the notion of a talk à trois, and it was now likely that, after the ground had been prepared by the Foreign Secretaries, the three Big Men would meet at Teheran. It was essential, H. thought, that they should settle here the question of Russia's post-war western frontiers. Otherwise, the Russians would soon be arriving in debateable districts, and there might well be risings and bloodshed, e.g., as between Russians and Poles. This would produce the most shocking impression. We and the U.S. should try to make a reasonable bargain on behalf of the Poles and push them hard towards accepting it. Sikorski had said to him that no

Government in exile could, of its own free will, agree to the cession of any part of the national territory. But such a solution might be imposed by stronger allies. (It was typical, H. said, of the President's approach to such matters, that he had once said that there were more Lithuanians in the U.S. than in Lithuania, and that he must take account of this in deciding his attitude towards the Russian claim.)

We then spoke of post-war politics. H. thought it would be very bad if the Coalition broke up soon after victory in Europe. He had spoken both to E.B. and H.M. on this, and both agreed with him. He asked my view. I said that it was most desirable to rejuvenate this Parliament, and I had toyed with the view that we might have an agreed programme, backed by the three Party leaders, but that in each constituency each Party should be free to run its own candidates. (I have expounded all this earlier in this Diary.) H. said he liked this idea very much, and that H.M. had propounded something of the same kind. I said that I had first propounded it to H.M., who then had thought it probably impracticable. H. said he thought the P.M. would prefer to go on into the Peace with a National Government, if we would play. But, if he were suddenly to be irritated by some intransigence or awkwardness by the Labour Party or the T.U.C., he might lose his temper and plunge for an election. There were, H. said, various people, including K.W., of whom he evidently has a low opinion, who had rejected any such idea as that put up by me. And they had, unfortunately, more influence than they deserved with the P.M. H. thought it was a pity the P.M. had become Conservative Party Leader. It would have been better to let old Salisbury have this. He hoped that I, and my Labour Party colleagues, would do our best to win over the more long-headed of our Party to our view. I said that, of course, if we plunged back to a Party fight, there was no doubt that the P.M. and the Tories would sweep the board. I did not think, however, that this would be good for the country. In particular, it would not be good that we should be officially absent from the Peace Conference. Last time great evil followed from the fact that the Labour Party were not in at the peace-making, and therefore went much too far in after years in criticising the Treaty, and hence, almost necessarily, in supporting our ex-enemies against our ex-allies. H. quite agreed with this, and added that such a Tory sweep would be very bad, after a short interval, for the Tory Party itself. Any Government holding office immediately after the war would soon become most unpopular. Even the P.M.'s popularity would soon fade if we got into economic and financial difficulties at home. After a very short time, there would be a tremendous sweep against a purely Tory Government in the post-war years, and the Tories would be violently swept out again.

K.W.

/Lunch

Lunch with Alf Barnes - at the Dorchester in a private room - with Richards, Sydney Elliott's successor as Editor of Reynolds, and Hoskins, the Managing Director. Both of these are young and rather pleasing North Country men. All very agreeable, but the chief point raised by Barnes is whether an increase now agreed to of 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ % in the permitted printing of all newspapers - daily, evening, provincial and Sunday - can be justified at this stage of the war. Should not the shipping, materials and labour be used to better purpose? I explain that this is primarily the Ministry of Supply's affair, but I undertake to make enquiries. The circulation of Reynolds is now just under half a million. It would be useful for me occasionally to see Richards.

Scott, of Northern Ireland, tries to persuade me to pay them a visit. He suggests a talk with the Linen people on post-war exports, etc. Sir B. Brooke would like to ask me, provided I was disposed to come. One can cross by air in two hours from Hendon to Belfast. I said this last point was a great attraction. I could not come just yet but would like to later. And so I should. I have never been to Northern Ireland.

Abercrombie to see me at my request. He is very donnish, a little like Beveridge, though, I should think, a nicer person. I arrange for him and one or two of his planners from M.T. & C.P. to meet Watkinson, Warter and my post-warriors, not excluding Allen and H.G., and to have a round table talk on planning and location. I have to push Watkinson rather hard into co-operation on these matters. He has a bit of a bee in his bonnet about the Barlow Report and the banning of London, even though I constantly make plain that this must be accompanied by many safeguards, appeals, etc. I lay upon my table a copy of the Abercrombie-Forshaw "Plan for London". I say to G.P. that I keep this here, as old Oscar Browning used to keep a Crucifix above his mantelpiece in King's, "in order to frighten the Agnoggers".

Prest

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[Xerox copy - 1965]

Not for publication, broadcast or use on Club Tapes before 00.30 B.S.T.  
16th September, 1943.

The Right Honourable Hugh Dalton, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, speaking at Wembley today (September 15th) paid a warm tribute to Mr. Maisky.

"He has lived among us for 11 years," he said, "as Soviet Ambassador. No man has done more to increase Anglo-Russian understanding. I have been in touch with him through all this period, which has included some very difficult days for both our countries. All through this period I have stuck obstinately to the opinion that, without close and continuous Anglo-Russian co-operation, alike in military, political and economic fields, there could be no assured peace in Europe.

This grew clearer and clearer, to all who had eyes to see, from the moment when Hitler began to build up again in the centre of Europe armed forces and a war potential which were an obvious and brazen menace to all Germany's neighbours, including Russia and ourselves.

If, after this war is won, we are not to be caught napping a third time, Britain and Russia must work hand in hand. We must both be strong enough to play our part in policing the peace, and the Germans must be kept too weak to threaten it. Many capital cities have fallen in this war, and many fair and fertile lands have been over-run by the German hordes. But neither London nor Moscow fell, though the enemy launched his full force and fury against them. Both the Battle of Britain and the Battle of Russia will stand forth in after years as events which shaped the course of history and cheated Hitler, first in the West and then in the East, of his dream of total German domination of Europe.

So, hereafter, Britain and Russia must be the two great European pillars, west and east, of our post-war security.

We all rejoice in the recent declarations of our Prime Minister on the meetings and the closer contacts now being planned between high representatives of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. If we, the three greatest powers on earth, stand firmly together after, as during, this war, the future is full of hope."

DIARY

17. 9. 43.

To Edinburgh. Sleep at North British Hotel.

18. 9. 43.

Attend and address Annual Meeting of Scottish Council of the Labour Party. George Ridley and George Shepherd also present. Not at all a bad gathering, and my speech and answers to questions are pretty well received.

Dine with Neil Beaton and a number of Directors and Managers of the S.C.W.S. All most friendly and like a rather pseudo-confidential speech I make to them. They will send me some pairs of male wooden-soled shoes on appro.

19. 9. 43.

Back to London, travelling with George Shepherd. He is, in his rather rigid, frigid fashion, one of our best practical political intelligences. He has been giving a most objective lecture on the making of political programmes to some Conference, analysing the relative popularity or otherwise of various items, and the importance of off-setting a few unpopular with many popular proposals. He thinks the trouble with Citrine is that he hasn't got enough to do in his present job and that he is jealous of the politicians. The cure, he has told him, is to go into politics. We discuss redistribution in some detail, and he will send me particulars on Durham.

20. 9. 43.

H.G. to see me and prepare my mind for the confab on Monopolies, which I tell A.O. later in the day I would like to hold, to try to resolve divergent views.

Lunch with Nemeč and Ploskal, a Czech business man and official who speaks very good English. N. says that he knows nothing of the whereabouts of his wife and family. Nečas is ill,

/he



he says, largely because he thinks his wife and daughter have been executed by the Germans. Benes has just heard that a brother of his has just been executed. Kosina has heard that his wife and children have been made "hostages" by the Germans.

Meeting of Reconstruction Priorities Committee, to which I go to present the argument that not all building labour and materials must go to dwelling houses, but some to industrial buildings, including repair of these. Portal, who presents the main paper, in which the Board of Trade is not mentioned at all, gives me the impression, even at 4.30 p.m., of having drunk a great deal at luncheon. He looks blearily around and successively agrees with all his critics. "I quite agree with you my dear chap....That is exactly what I meant.....We should always be hand in glove...." The paper is referred back, for the second or third time running, for further consideration. The status of the Board of Trade is recognised.

Late to-night Watkinson brings me the latest draft of his Location paper. It is really quite good, though I suggest various amendments. There are many ingenious suggestions in it, and it is not any longer out of line with my own thought and written statements of policy.

21. 9. 43.

*K Wood*

K.W. died this morning, quite suddenly. Only yesterday he had been very alert, cheerful and sensibly talkative at the Reconstruction Priorities Committee. It was his heart. He had been in office 12 years running and was 62. I found him, as a colleague, personally agreeable, always shrewd, often helpful, though sometimes deliberately deceptive and one of the principal obstructionists to the taking of decisions. He was a bad influence, in this last respect, on the P.M. He was more of a professional machine politician than any other Conservative member of the Cabinet. From this point of view his disappearance is likely to be a good thing.

Parliament reassembles after six weeks recess, and, though this is my day, none of my Questions are reached. Grigg makes a worse fool of himself than usual and is howled at from all quarters of the House. The P.M. makes a very long speech, with an hour's adjournment in the middle. It is, almost wholly, powerful and persuasive.

/Policy

Policy Cttee. recommends, for to-morrow's N.E., acceptance of Uthwatt. Morgan Phillips is very useful in mobilising all such detail.

Reconstruction Committee accepts official's proposals on Disposal of Surplus Goods in Factories. Not a bad Report, which now goes to War Cab.

Conference with A.O., G.L.W., Allen and H.G. - C.W. also being present - on Monopolies. Rather mulish and I have, at the end, to ask them to leave the papers with me and I will make my own redraft. The difference is that the Permanents want to register all restrictive agreements, but only to disallow them if it can be definitely proved that they are contrary to the public interest, whereas the Economists want to forbid them all, except under special licence. And both sides tend to overstate their case. I think that both proposals should be stated in the paper, and the choice left to Ministers, who, I remind A.O., and not the officials, are experts in politics. *Wakahorn*

Dine with Ian Fraser, who talks about post-war tinplates and wallpaper. This blind man, whom till now I hardly knew, is distinctly intelligent.

22. 9. 43. *Ridley*

L.P. Executive. G.R. gets all business through by 11.45. Laski is away with heart disease and Shinwell is unusually agreeable. We approve the principal proposals of the Uthwatt Report, thus winning a snail's race in which it seemed, sometimes, that H.M.G. might creep to a decision before the Labour Party!

The question of the delegation to Russia is pushed back to the International Sub. I pledge myself to make the first draft of my Heads of proposals for a post-war settlement in time for the next meeting of this Sub; also to revise, with G.D. and M.P., the draft of "Our Land" before the next N.E. I seem to be doing quite a lot, in addition to being P.B.T.

*Dalton* Three Swedish Socialists - Anderssen, Aman and Nilsson - are arraigned (I think this is the right word) by G.D. this afternoon at St Ermin's, in the presence of some dozen N.E. members. He says that, though we have been fighting the war for more than four years, this is the first time that we have heard anything from our Swedish comrades, or that any of them have officially visited us.

We don't complain, but we recall that during our darkest days they were absent, and sent us no message of encouragement. He adds that at the International before the war, it was always the Swedes who encouraged the other Scandinavians to refuse resolutions in favour of effective Collective Security, on the ground that this would be contrary to the policy of Northern Neutrality. And look where Norwegians, Danes and Finns are now! They are a bit disconcerted by this, but their manners are too good to show it much. They are then drifted into a cross-examination as to their permits to German troops to cross their country, to Finland and Norway. They admit one complete German Division of 18,000 men and, under cross-examination, 10,000 Germans a month "going on leave" and returning. For how many months? Twenty-four. That is to say, I observe, 240,000 men in all. They are asked whether they are still supplying iron ore to the Germans, with which to make guns, planes, etc., to kill us and the Russians, Norwegians, etc. They admit they are. They explain that this is what neutrality permits. They are asked whether, if the Germans tried to cross Sweden again, either to Finland or Norway, they would at last resist, and abandon neutrality. They say they would. They are asked why they have stiffened up at this stage of the war, and stopped, as lately as last month, the permit for the transit of the monthly 10,000. They have a bit at this, and I say, "Is it not simply because now we are winning the war?" They don't admit this. They are asked whether, if we or any of our allies asked for permission to cross Sweden, in order to assist in the liberation of Norway, they would resist us. They say that obviously this is a question they cannot answer. They say that at the start of the war they were very weak because they had given away so many of their arms to the Finns. We suggest to them that this, for a nation so lightly armed as Sweden, was somewhat imprudent. They say the Finns think it would be "a sign of weakness" to ask the Russians what terms they would get for leaving the war. We all urge them to tell the Finns that the sooner they give in, the better. I add that, if they linger too long, they will merely be annexed and absorbed into the Soviet Union. They are asked what views they have on post-war problems, political and economic. They say that they are so shut off in Sweden from all contact with the outer world that they have got no views. They would like to know ours. I say that we are deeply engaged in war, but that they will have more leisure and - here paying them compliments upon their peacetime achievements - that it would be of great value to us if they would send us some ideas. This they agree to do. It was, I think, quite good for them to be thus put through various hoops. They have, in fact, been waiting to see which way the cat was going to jump. I cannot wholly blame them, for I hope Stockholm will not be bombed,

/but

-5-

*Liesleit*  
 but it is as well that they should hear, a little crudely, our plain views.

*No well*  
~~see~~ and Willis to see me. C.R.T. is not much of a show, with P.L. away. These two have been persuaded by the Treasury and India Office, the two guilty Departments in the affair, to tone down and dis-emphasise the draft paper on the Indian sterling plans. I ask N. whether the Treasury are going to submit to us, for our preliminary comments, their paper on similar subjects. He says he thinks not. I tell them to put in the first paragraph the peccant figures on the sterling plans which first shocked the P.M. and myself and others. N. then says that his committee on Anglo-Russian trade is slowly progressing, but, rather to my consternation, says that he is inclining to the view that it would be a mistake for us to put up a counter-monopoly to that of the Russians.

*balancing*  
*balancing*  
 Dine alone with Bruce Lockhart, whom I have not seen for some time. He is very full of himself, and how hard he works. He is now labelled, he says, at the F.O. as a Russian, and no longer as a Czechoslovak, expert. He is bothered about the prospects of the two Anglo-American-Soviet conferences. The Russians will definitely want to talk details, about frontiers, etc. There is still great reluctance to do this, on the part of the P.M. and, he thinks, the Americans. A.E., on the other hand, would like to do it, and went out to Quebec boasting that he would "bell the cat". But he didn't. B.L. says that A.E.'s relations with the P.M. are good, but "because he pays the price" of always giving in. B.L. thinks that there is a distinct danger of the Russians being alienated by our reluctance to talk. Stalin, he says, won't come further out than to Teheran, though he has been urged to do so, in semi-humorous telegrams, pointing out that the other two are "old men", more easily fatigued than he by long journeys. But Stalin's life would be in danger in, e.g., Cairo. The Russians, B.L. thinks, are sitting holding two scales, in the one our 20 years' Treaty and collaboration, in the other a policy of deliberately fomenting, as of old, disturbance and chaos everywhere, save in German-Russian relations, which would again become ordered and intimate. He is pretty sure they would prefer the former, but, if they grow too vexed with us, may turn to the latter. They are brimful of suspicions of all kinds, which will need much exorcising.

As to Italy, Eisenhower wants Badoglio to be fully recognised at once, as an ally. The P.M. has stood up to this a bit, and A.E. stood up to the P.M. till 3 a.m. on his return,

/insisting

insisting that recognition should be conditioned by a broadening of the base of Badoglio's Government to include men from all the Parties of the Left, including the Communists. He thinks the P.M. finally stuck to this in the telegram to Washington finally drafted in the small hours. There was, B.L. says, great confusion, even among the Chiefs of Staff, as to the date and hour of the Armistice. It might easily have come out 24 hours wrong either way!

I said that I was much perturbed lest an easy settlement with the Italians, which, on isolated merits, I would favour, should be treated as a precedent for the Germans. I was delighted that the P.M. had said so vehemently in the House yesterday that the German case was quite different. B.L. said that he was afraid the Americans were weakening on this too, and Warburg, of the American P.W.E., was arriving to-day to reconsider policy towards Germany.

B.L. spoke also of the latest developments in the dim underworld of S.O.E., P.W.E., etc. (I said that I had grown used now to the sunlit spaces and clearly marked frontiers of the upper earth.) He said that Charles Hambro had certainly been responsible for poisoning Selborne's mind against G.J., who had been, "for a while quite down and out", but had been taken up again by Cadogan and now was, he heard, again doing very well. Looking back, the trouble from the start had been the jealousy between R.L., conscious of his seniority and at the same time of his physical remoteness from me, and G.J. C.H. had been dismissed partly because he didn't concentrate sufficiently on his work, and partly as a scape-goat for a first-class row in the Middle East. It seems that S.O.E. had been extracting the wrong kind of Greeks from Greece, contrary to the desires of our High Command. Glenconner - I said that I thought well of him - had also been blamed for this, and R.L., who, of course, had been on the other side, had gone to bed in high fever. Many of the Greeks in question were strongly anti-King, and it was still the policy of H.M.G. to back the King - up to a point. The military in the Middle East had now demanded that S.O.E. there should come under them (this was a claim made in my time). Selborne had been summoned to a Defence Committee and had "read a paper for an hour and a quarter". At the end everyone had been bored and sleepy, and it had been decided that Lyttelton should act as umpire. The scale of S.O.E. and P.W.E. had both expanded enormously, and so had the "integrated Anglo-American organisation". Listening to all this, I felt rather glad it was no longer my province.

DIARY23. 9. 43.

Clarry to see me on the possibility of making alarm clocks in this country. He is accompanied by one Silberman, who says he is now making munitions but would like to switch, in part, to alarm clocks. I say that it is very odd we made none here before the war. S. then says that it was most unfortunate we had to import so many from Germany. He himself used to make them in Germany, in the Black Forest. He has given full particulars to the R.A.F. of all the German factories, which made alarm clocks in peace time, and their whereabouts, and hopes that they will all be bombed and destroyed. Then, he explains, we shall be able to get all the trade. "Not a very nice face", as Neville Chamberlain once said of Hitler.

Receive representatives of all the Football Associations, who want more coupons for their players. I say I will go into it with a desire to help them, though it is difficult, since supplies are short and one concession leads to another.

Leave this afternoon for Wisbech, where I stay at the "Rose and Crown" for two nights. On arrival, I am received by George Dallas, in his capacity as Chairman of the Nene Catchment Board. He is very pleased with himself and in tremendous form, and it is certainly a very good show. He has in attendance one Dobson, an official of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries - Catchment Boards are under Fisheries - a son of "the poet", as G.D. says when introducing him. Ffiske is also there, in place of J.W., with eager eyes and a spare car. As I warn J.W., G.D. is at first most suspicious of this new face, glaring peasant-like and asking what he does for a living. But, once he has produced me, the ice thaws, particularly after we have had a few drinks all round. Mr Rodwell, the proprietor, is a great character, and this Inn has a larger quantity of good port, and other wines too, than any other country Inn in England. We make an admiring pilgrimage through the cellars. G.D. also lectures rather menacingly, and I instruct more benevolently, a man named George Maxwell, whom I rather like, on the past history of international affairs, and how the Labour Party - and, G.D. adds, myself in particular, have always been right. G.M. is in charge of a printing business in the town and, being apparently a bachelor, lives at the "Rose and Crown". He was, he says, educated at Uppingham, and can drink beer but apparently no other kind of alcohol. We have a long discussion, all of us, on the vexed question of the "re-education of Germany" after the war.

and how.

MANSELL

Kushin  
20/11/04

24. 9. 43.

Spend most of the day out on the Wash, a party of about 20 of us, in an excellent craft belonging to the Catchment Board. The party includes a number of local worthies, farmers, etc., mostly members of the Board, two or three quite bright young men of the Board staff - engineers, superior clerks, etc. - Mr Rodwell, in charge of the provisions, Captain Burton at the wheel, several able-bodied seamen, Mr ffiske and myself. We go out at low tide and come back at high. The difference is 25 feet! Reclamation of the Wash must be partial but may be continuous. The outer channel is too wide and deep for the Zuider Zee technique to be repeated. But much further reclamation is quite possible. All that is required is to dump in the right place a sufficient number of cargoes of stones and of wire-netting, on which the stones bear down. Thus the "training walls" of the various rivers debouching into the Wash can be prolonged. G.D., who shows remarkable agility for his age in dodging about the boat and the gunwales, wants to annex the Wellender's walls. He would like to annex the Ouse too, but there might be more opposition to this. Clearly it would be best to have a common plan for all these three debouching streams. We board during the day two Admiralty Survey boats, taking soundings, and a fishing boat catching shrimps, of which we appropriate a good and most eatable supply, already cooked on the fishing boat. We also inspect on the way out, and at low tide, the wreck of a collier split in half by a bomb. There is a small working party on her now breaking her up for scrap. Approaching the sandbank on which she is stuck, the rowing boat which puts off from our craft is so heavily weighted that it cannot get very close in. Thereupon, the faithful seamen prepare to wade ashore carrying the distinguished guests piggyback. I, however, hereupon take off my socks and shoes, and, rolling up my trousers, do a paddle. The dutiful Civil Servant and son of "the poet" immitates my example, and so do one or two more. But it would have been fun to have a camera and to have photographed G.D. riding piggyback on a sailor's back through the water. On the way back I ask one of the farmers, between drinks, whether he doesn't think the County War Agricultural Committees are doing grand work. There is an awkward silence, and then much laughter by the other farmers. It appears that this man has just been proceeded against for failing to carry out his local Committee's instructions. Otherwise, he is said to be quite a good farmer.

WELLAND  
AS WELL

/A pleasant

-3-

A pleasant evening at the "Rose and Crown", after which we are visited by local Councillors and others, who are all most delighted to meet us, and to stand us, and be stood, drinks. ffiske tells J.W. next day that they were all so delighted that, if I had wanted to "take down any of the town monuments," I could easily have got their agreement to do so.

25. 9. 43.

Spend the morning further inspecting the works of the Nene Catchment Board, this time on land. Really quite impressive, though it has had little publicity. ffiske, who is an engineer, accompanies ~~the~~ G.D. and myself and one of the Board's staff. Two very modern and powerful pumping stations, whereby gravity is twice defied, first when the water drained off the low-lying and very rich soil is pumped up into a special channel, and, second, when it is pumped up again from this channel into the main stream of the Nene. We inspect also various locks, and the result of dredging operations which have re-aligned the river's banks at several points with the aid of piles, visible at low water. One lock is called, after the pub nearby, where the publican is also in charge of the lock, the "Dog in the Doublet". There is a pleasant picture of this title hanging just outside. The Dog appears to be giving instructions for some hunt or other.

*17 Standing creek.*

After lunch, and parting from D.G., who has really done an extremely good job of work here and is evidently much respected, both by the members and staff of the Board, ffiske drives me to Diss through the State Forests around Thetford and Brandon.

Here I spend the night, and -

26. 9. 43.

- the next day with J. and E.W. Much skill and care, as usual, over food and drink. We visit the wooden house, and estate, of Tresfon. I like the house better, I think, than the inmates.

*John & E.W. visit*

27. 9. 43.

Back from Diss in time to lunch with the New Statesman. They give one a damned good lunch, and I was interested to see the

/gang



gang who run this often most irritating and unreal paper - K.M. himself, Cole, Brailsford (whom I had not seen for years), Driberg (who is now their Parliamentary Correspondent), Aylmer Vallance, Joad (only a recent addition to these lunches, I gather), Roberts and an eager, bright-eyed young man whose name I didn't catch. They are terribly concerned with things which matter, relatively, very little, e.g., whether Polish and Czechoslovak citizens who, generally, no doubt, being Jews, don't want to join the Polish or Czechoslovak armed forces, are really being given an effective option to join the British instead; further, whether such persons, joining the British Forces, ought to be terrorised by threats from their co-nationals that they will be given hell after the peace, having so opted, and whether, having effectively ~~opted~~ opted, they ought to be compelled to serve in the British Pioneer Corps rather than any other Units, and whether they can be protected from ill treatment from the British, as well as from their own co-nationals. I said, rather bluntly, on all this, that a definite statement had been made that the option was genuine, but that, having opted, they ~~would really~~ couldn't really be so bloody choosy, and that some of them seemed to think they were entitled, as refugees, to contract right out of the war. These remarks of mine at any rate had the effect of shutting the subject up. I then talked to them pretty freely and off the record on personalities and tendencies within the Government; on the incredible indecisions, some calculated and some not, which beset our post-war plans; on the evil influence of the late Sir K.Wood in this regard, and on the utter futility of the still faintly breathing Sir W.Jowitt. I urge them to urge the Government to make its mind up sometime on Barlow, Uthwatt, Scott, etc.

21 | Asked ~~what~~ my views were about a Coalition after the war and an election, I said my view was most profoundly simple. Next time we had a General Election, I wanted to win it. And this could not be done if the Labour Party merely arranged for a duel between itself and the present Prime Minister, while he stood at or near the highest pinnacle of his fame. This remark also seemed to have a damping effect upon further discussion of this topic.

My God! At what astronomical distances this mob live from the Great Simplificities! Their cleverness is all. But it was quite a pleasant occasion, and I think they liked me being there. The article in the next Number, on Home Front, was pretty good, and reflected, without divulging anything awkward, a number of my suggestions.

Call on C.R.A. for the first time since the Government changes. I asked whether he personally wished to be congratulated or not, on translation from Dominions Secretary to Lord President. He wasn't sure, and, throughout the talk, seemed rather glum. He said he had protested violently against the reintroduction of the Beaver. I said I hoped the latter wouldn't intermeddle with any of my affairs. C.R.A. said that every Minister was saying this. All the Home Front Ministers wanted him to go abroad, but the Foreign Office were eager he should stay at home. Anyhow, I said, if he went on attacking me personally in the Express, I should now be able to take it up with him officially. J.A. will keep on Reconstruction Priorities Committee, which C.R.A. will now join for the first time. He will himself take on the L.P.'s Committee. I said that Jowitt was no damned good at all, and that his staff was lousy; it would be much better to wash out his job completely, push Simon off the Woolsack, and sit W.J. in his place. It could then be said that C.R.A., as Lord President, was generally responsible for "co-ordinating" post-war stuff. He admitted that W.J.'s position was "being considered". I said he was quite useless as a politician, though no doubt a good lawyer. C.R.A. didn't disagree. As regards the F.O., he said the P.M. was very insistent that there should be a Trade Unionist there as Parliamentary Under-Secretary, and that the P.M. himself picked George Hall. C.R.A., as I knew, had G.H. next on the list for a No.1 office. He repeated again to-night that he had done very well at the Colonial Office under Lloyd, and had frequently stood up for his own ideas. I said I was sure he would do all right at the F.O., but that it was a pity he was 62, and so had little power of growth. Why not, I asked, Creech Jones? C.R.A. thought that answering F.O. questions in the House was a skilled business, which G.H. might be trusted to do well, but that perhaps C.J. would make some blunders. He was, I repeat, rather glum throughout our talk. The only time he really smiled was when I asked "In view of all this shove-halpeny business, am I to understand that I am to go on being President of the Board of Trade?" Whereat he smiled most affably and said "Of course."

28. 9. 43.

E.B. has invited 6,000 women from all parts of , and women's organisations in, the country, to a "Secret Meeting" at the Albert Hall. This "secrecy" infuriates the press, who are not at all content with a later-in-the-day issue by the M. of I. of the

/speeches

wrote | speeches made. But the women loved it, and this matters more for the war effort. They were successively harangued by E.B. himself in the Chair; by the P.M., who was not anywhere near his best, not unnaturally, since he had to appear at 10.30 a.m.; by Dorothy Elliot and Marjorie Maxse, moving and seconding a vote of thanks to the P.M., the former very well indeed, to which first he and then Mrs Churchill briefly replied; by Woolton and Brown, neither of whom I heard, before lunch; and then after lunch by me, after a too-long Chairman's speech by F.Horsburgh; then by a string of some 18 Ministers answering questions written and handed in by the women during the luncheon hour; and finally by Eden. The women were all given luncheon on the premises and read/out literally thousands of questions. I only got about 100, and only answered a few of the more convenient, undertaking that the rest, if not already replied to in my speech earlier in the afternoon, should be dealt with by post. What I had to say went over fairly well. (approximate version on separate sheet), especially the calculation, made by Reddaway for Simmonds, of what it would cost in men and material diverted, and in troops deprived of clothing and boots, to issue one more coupon only to all civilians.

On the whole, quite a successful experiment in propaganda. But it must never be repeated, or it would fail, being stale.

Full  
in  
this  
H.G. says that H.M. wants a square party of him and me, H.G. and his man Leslie. They want to discuss, among other things, my views on Location and Monopolies. Leslie told H.G., quite emphatically, that H.M. would back me on my Location ideas. The emphasis was due to the fact that, after a not very satisfactory talk with him and E.W., I told her that H.M. was much less use than E.B. on all this. This evidently put him on his mettle.

29. 9. 43.

Leathers on Comforts. I undertake to back him up, if he will take a decision and himself defend it in both Houses of Parliament. He agrees!

Visit from Underhill. Dull, slow, little man, but there is no sufficient reason at present to change my solicitor again.

Lunch with Somervell and his wife. She, I think, wears the breeches. She has some very bright ideas on exchange of

/children

"On Reparations"  
2 Security

children between us and the U.S. after the war. I say that I will help by trying to interest others, if she will send me a note.

Ministers' meeting at F.O. on Malkin Report. I thought it not a bad meeting, since all were agreed that we should go at least as far as the main propositions of the Report. Even C.R.A., always apt to be shaky on such points, said that he was in favour of lopping off some extremities of Germany. But Selborne and Cherwell, both probably feeling a bit "left out", thought that we should dismember Germany, and that therefore this plan was based on a wrong assumption. J.A. pompously took the same view. A.E. said that he was still a bit inclined to favour dismemberment, though difficulties had been pointed out. He thought we should at least encourage any separatist tendencies. I said that, even if we adopted dismemberment, there were still many points in the Report which held good, e.g., destruction of synthetic oil plants, loaning of labour service and contribution to cost of occupation and peace-keeping; also removal of machine tools, etc. The two main dissentients argued, however, that the levy for peace-keeping was in any case quite inadequate and should be increased. It was finally agreed that we should leave it over, until a decision had been taken as to whether we favoured dismemberment or not.

y/ G.J., whom I saw later, was horrified at the report he had had from Coulson of the meeting. He said that Selborne and the Prof were both very stupid about this. The former thought of Germany in purely anthropomorphic terms. You kill your enemies and then cut him up into little bits. But this had no real meaning. As to the Prof, he would tell him that he understood that he wanted to be much more kind to Germany and to set up a lot of little Badoglios whom we would have to pet and encourage.

Concert in memory of Victor Cazalet. Very well done, including a speech by Thelma, but a little too long.

30. 9. 43.

Matches. Chapman, my Controller, is getting very old, but I have a better impression than last time of Bartholomew, his No.2. All the troops landing in Europe want lots more matches. Our stocks are only six weeks' supply. If these run down much, we may be in a 'jam.' Therefore, they want a little more labour. I promise to do my best. We must not cut present civilian supplies. At present, thanks to the aid of lighters, the match sector of the front is quiet.

/Frank

-8-

Frank Platt wants to bust the fixed allocations for particular merchants in particular export markets. He wants the manufacturers to be free to deal with whichever merchants they prefer. He wants me to instruct Streat to arrange this. He says you want to "put some starch in Raymond". I always like seeing Platt, and generally agree with him. No doubt the officials will find all sorts of reasons why this common-sense deed should not be done.

*praise*

Lunch at Belgian Embassy, from which I go with Prytz to his Legation. He says Sweden will wish to give great help with Relief after the war, preferably to her near-neighbours, especially Norway, Denmark, Poland and Finland. But she would keep outside the U.N.R.R.A. circle. I ~~press~~ *praise* this, though I make a wry face about the Finns. I say they have not only come into the war on the wrong side, but are being very stupid in not seeking peace from the Russians, while the latter might be disposed to negotiate. Now Russia has passed from weakness to strength, and the Finns will get much worse terms. If they go on waiting, they will get no terms at all, except to be incorporated in S.U. as a Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, and perhaps all be "deported" to Central Siberia. I tell P. that the three Swedish Trade Unionists last week were asked a number of awkward questions by some of my colleagues, e.g., were they still selling iron ore to Germany? P. said that he had advised them to say, in reply to such questions, that it was only thanks to Sweden that Britain was not at war with Russia, owing to the refusal of passage to our Forces at the beginning of 1940. This is a magnificent retort, which in fact they did not make, and recalls a most shocking close approach to a precipice in the days of Chamberlain and Hore-Belisha. (And, indeed, the present P.M. was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time.)

*That's what I got my Dec from*

Another Swede, Hammarskjöld, Under-Secretary at the Swedish Ministry of Finance, and also President of the Bank of Sweden, comes to see me. He looks very young - a bit younger than M. Norman! - and talks very sensibly. I like the Swedish plan of linking the Governorship of the Central Bank with (a) nomination by the Crown, and (b) as in this case, a high official position at the Treasury. We might copy this.

D.J. to see me and agrees to come as A.S. to the B. of T., provided he can be my Post-War P.A. If this last detail cannot be arranged, we will discuss again.

G.J. tells me to-night that Cherwell is very excited about

/the

the monetary discussions in Washington. He was, of course, the principal exponent of the "objective tests" in regard to permissible exchange depreciation. G.J. has heard that the Treasury officials - notably Eady - have got hold of poor old J.A. and persuaded him to agree with their "free hand" attitude. The Prof says that we cannot tolerate a telegram in this sense being railroaded through a meeting of officials without reference back to Ministers, since it is in defiance of Cabinet decisions, G.J. says that A.O. put the B.T. case very well at the last meeting, and that he personally entirely agrees with it.

1. 10. 43.

Tell A.O. to dig his feet in at this afternoon's meeting at the Treasury, and to say that, if Treasury (incited by the always-wrong Bank of England) want to refuse the Keynes-Waley proposal, then, even if they have squared the neophyte Chancellor, J.A., I must insist that the proposed telegram is referred to Ministers. A.O. is quite of my mind on this. I tell him of the Prof's interest.

I also tell him that I want D.J. now, for whole-time post-war, and should prefer him to be my P.A. A.O. will look into this, speak to Watkinson, and to me again next week.

Take out to lunch my Australian "Second-cousin-once-removed" (?) Douglas, whom I met in Sydney in 1938 at the house of his father, who is my reprobate and near-convict uncle's son, "Cousin George". Quite a pleasant lad, now a Pilot Officer in the R.A.A.F., but not violently exciting. (How seldom one's relations are!) I put him in the train to Datchet where he will pay a dutiful visit to my mother.

*y*  
*The German shot him now.*

Bateson calls, nominally to discuss one or two licensing cases, but really to try to dispel my impression that he is unfriendly and disloyal to the President of the Board of Trade. I have only seen him once before, quite early on, at a Conference of all local Chairmen, when I had the distinct recollection that he was impudent and unhelpful. Thorpe has since been talking to him, and I say, since he denies it all, that, of course, I accept his statement and that somebody must have misunderstood something he sometime said.

To W.L.

DIARY

2 & 3. 10. 43.

At W.L. More than 800 American soldiers are now billeted in the villages round here, and -

4. 10. 43.

- as I am getting up, half a dozen of them perform manoeuvres, doing no damage I think, in front of the house, only frightening Mrs Shepherd's two goats, which leap about excitedly. These American troops are very well spoken of and look very fit and decent. Mr Dew says that since they have been here, not one "rough word" has been spoken in his pub.

Returned to London, the chief interest is post-war rates of exchange. As I think I recorded last week, all those who know the subject are keen on pulling something off with the Americans, are now in Washington - notably, on the monetary side of things, Keynes, Waley and Meade. (P.L. also reports that on Commercial Policy we have also had an unexpectedly good opening, and that the Americans are by no means against the multilateral approach, nor pressing to complete bilateral treaties.) Meanwhile, at this end, while the cats are away, the mice, led by the Rump of the Treasury and the bloody Bank of England, who have been always wrong on policy, for an even longer period than Montagu Norman has been Governor, are trying to play. In particular they are trying to play the new and untried Chancellor. A.O. went to two meetings last week, at the first of which, according to private information which reaches me, he made an excellent statement of the B. of T. case, carefully agreed with me, and put in writing by him to Eady afterwards, emphasising our interest in preventing exchange depreciation by foreigners, and urging that the Keynes-Waley proposal - which allows everyone to depreciate 10% "unilaterally" within ten years, and the second 10%, provided the Board are informed, with the penalty that if the Board don't approve, either the second 10% must be reversed, or the country in question leave the Board - is quite reasonable and should be supported. But now the rump of the Treasury, plus the Bank, want a policy of no commitments. They want, in short, to sabotage the Clearing Union plan altogether. At a second meeting held last week, the Treasury produced a draft telegram urging that for a "transitional period" of five years (!) everyone should be free to do anything they liked. This is said to have "received the approval of the Chancellor". Hearing of this beforehand, I tell A.O. to dig his feet in and to say that, if it is

/desired

*Indica*

desired to turn down the Keynes-Waley proposal, the matter must go to the Cabinet. He tells me to-day that he attended the meeting, was rather impressed by Eady's arguments, is inclined to recommend me to accept the Treasury telegram, but had no difficulty in getting it agreed that the matter should be considered by Ministers.

Hence a War Cab. at 6 p.m. to-night. Meanwhile, much activity. Harrod comes to see me this afternoon, an emissary from Cherwell, who "is going to take a very strong line" at to-night's meeting against the Treasury telegram. While I am discussing the matter with A.O., G.J. rings up to ask what my reactions are, as he is just going to speak to A.E. He says that not only the Prof, but also Cranborne and, he thinks, with very little pressure, A.E., are against the Treasury. The Prof, no doubt, will have briefed the P.M. I tell him that I think five years is too long.

At the War Cab. J.A. is decisively defeated. He gets no solid support, and there is a strong combination against him on the "transitional period", which I point out is a quite new feature, not included in the previous Cabinet Directive. Those who speak in the same sense include the Prof, Cranborne, A.E., and Beaverbrook! The P.M. half apologises for bringing him into the Cab. at all, but says "I have asked Lord Cherwell and Lord Beaverbrook, as I myself am a complete child in this matter, and they both have great experience of bucket shops." The P.M. protests, almost too much, that he has given no thought to the matter, and doesn't understand it. But, as I have noticed before in previous cases, comes out with a very clear and sensible suggestion, i.e., that we should telegraph to our delegation, saying (1) that we like their plan very much, and (2) that we should like them to discuss further with the Americans and suggest to us any ideas on the "transitional period", not giving them any views of our own on this latter topic or leading them at all. "Quite a short and simple telegram", says the P.M., but to make doubly sure it doesn't go wrong, he confides the making of it to J.A., assisted by C.R.A., who had spoken briefly and sensibly on the subject, Cherwell, Beaverbrook and myself. J.A. had tried, as a last-minute get-out, to get us to agree to a long-winded additional paragraph which he had brought along, "in case the general feeling of the Cabinet should be the other way", but this was so full of calculated ambiguities that it was thrust aside contemptuously. Not a very good debut for the Chancellor!

The P.M. tells us that he, Roosevelt and Stalin have <sup>Signed</sup> sent a joint declaration recognising King Victor and Badoglio as the Government of Italy, as soon as they have declared war on Germany.



All the evidence is that the Russians are now most anxious to get down to detail with us on all points. Meanwhile, A.E. is getting very frightened of the Mediterranean Commission, fearing they will try to do too much off their own bats.

5. 10. 43.

To Leicester with C.W., G.P. and Gray for two days' inquisition into children's shoes.

Lunch with representatives of the Union (Len Smith in the Chair, and all very amicable). Visit Leeder's factory at Barwell in the afternoon, where the company also includes Durston and Bott, the Vice-President of the National Federation, whom I like; he drives a car furiously and we nearly kill a man mending the road. The national press, who have travelled in force with me to Leicester, cross-examine Leeder and Durston at great length in the factory. They are convinced that most children's shoes are shoddy. There has been great exaggeration on this subject. All I saw here looked quite good quality. After a quick tea with Leeder, who has a fine view from his house, I go back to Leicester and address some hundreds of manufacturers and T.U. representatives from the County. I talk to them quite straight and they all say they will do their best to produce good stuff. Some natural grumbles about labour and materials, but on the whole a very good spirit. C.W. also addresses the meeting and then returns to London. Then a Press Conference lasting several hours, and then am entertained by the manufacturers, Newton in the Chair. I make an informal speech and there is general talk round the table about demobilisation, etc. Atmosphere good.

6. 10. 43.

After looking round Board of Trade Offices, now quite comfortably fixed up, leave Leicester for Kettering. Stop on the way at Desborough and go over Toome's factory, making chiefly children's shoes. This is one of the subsidiaries of George Ward of Barwell, who accompanies me in the car. ~~22~~ years ago he was Liberal M.P. for some Leicestershire Division for nine months. Rather a dreary old chap. But the press and I fail to find any "shoddy shoes" in the factory. Really most discouraging! The general suggestion hereabouts is that all the shoddy stuff comes from the Rossendale Valley. Two men from this area were at yesterday's meeting of manufacturers and at the dinner, and seemed rather defensive. As from November 1st, I have arranged that all

/boots

boots and shoes, utility or non-utility, shall have a stamp in them which will enable the manufacturer to be identified. Then, for the first time, we shall know who produces shoddy and who doesn't.

n From Toomes to Timpsons in Kettering. Here we lunch at the Works Canteen and have a quick look round the factory. Here children's shoes are still made, but in a smaller proportion. They too establish their alibi!

Then the meeting of business men and T.U. representatives for the Kettering area, which is rather more talkative than yesterday's meeting at Leicester. Difficulties voiced about switching from adults' footwear to children's, but these, I should say, are much exaggerated. Durston makes a good impression here, as elsewhere during my visit, and it is clear that he is well thought of by the industry. He is probably the best man I could get for his job.

Then a Press Conference over a cup of tea, and then home by train from Kettering.

Put on a boiled shirt and a dinner jacket for the first time for a long while, in order to attend a large party at Claridges, with the P.M. in the Chair, to wish a final good-bye to Wavell, who really is going to India this week.

7[8.] 43.

Receive U.S. Leather Mission, who are going round trying to satisfy themselves that we could do with less leather and they with more.

DIARY

7. 10. 43 (contd.)

Sir F. Joseph and Sir F. Nixon, U.K.C.C., come at last to see me. I have been very helpful to them, not only in getting them money, years ago at M.E.W., to start them off, but more recently in defending them from hostile P.Q.s and paying them a very warm tribute in the Parliamentary debate on Export Trade. Nixon, who is very ambitious and not very attractive, would obviously like the thing to go on after the war for the sake of Nixon. Joseph and the rest of the Board are business men who aren't particularly keen it should go on. Nixon to-day propounds many plausible ways in which, and reasons why, it should go on, and leaves these with me. I would like it to go on, as it is quite a good piece of Socialism. "Not a penny of rent, interest or profit", as I told the House of Commons, arises directly from its operations.

C.W. comes to see me on Restrictive Practices paper, but has only one small amendment to suggest; this, therefore, I accept. He has swallowed a lot, both in this paper and in the other on Location of Industry, where also he only made one small suggested change, i.e., adding an extra business man or two to the proposed Location Board, so that it should more easily win the confidence of the business world.

Machinery of Government Committee, J.A. presiding, with Simon, H.M. and Cripps, - E.B. and myself being this afternoon's visitors. E.B. wants the Ministry of Labour after the war to be what I call a Centre for Employment Intelligence, gathering from all quarters facts and forecasts about employment in this country, and passing this information out to others interested. I support this on the understanding, which he had already given, that what he was proposing was the institution of a new function, and not the transfer of any existing functions from other Departments.

Cherwell rang me up yesterday to say that J.A. had refused suggestions made by him, and also by A.O. on my behalf, regarding the telegram to our delegates in Washington on Exchange Rates. He has already protested to J.A. and had in reply "a pompous letter". I send, at C.'s suggestion, a letter of my own to J.A., to which, two days later, he replies. (Copies attached.)

/This

This incident illustrates several things: -

- (1) Our delegation at Washington is too strong. It includes, both in the Treasury, the B. of T. and the Economic Secretariat representatives, the most intelligent people who have, moreover, the most knowledge of the subject, since they have been shaping policy over here. We have left behind, at the Treasury, Eady plus Sir H. Henderson, who is still trying to wriggle back to his doctrines which were so emphatically rejected first by the Overton Committee and later by the Cab.; at the B. of T., A.O. has to do it all, (and is not by nature a highly pugnacious animal), since none of the underlings in C.R.T. know anything about it; in the Economic Secretariat, Robbins and Meade are both away, and we are left with Dennison, a second-rater, in charge. Therefore, one must be constantly on the watch to see that our delegation out in Washington is not being thwarted and mal-instructed by people at this end who combine, in varying proportions, ignorance, jealousy, and other preoccupations.
- (2) The Treasury are very resentful at "interference" by others, whether Ministers or officials. They try to brush all other arguments aside and to dictate policy even to the War Cab. They have a new Chancellor, who, as an old Civil Servant, is rather amenable to their pressures. They are, finally, very short-handed. Hopkins is ill, Phillips is dead, and a number of their younger people are lent this way and that in the public service.
- (3) I am horrified to find that the Bank of England are allowed in on these discussions. They really can't have it both ways. Either they are Civil Servants or they are rank outsiders. But here we find them trying to edge round to sheer defiance of Cabinet decisions. What a speech I could make on all this, if my lips were unsealed! Having mal-advised every Government for more than 20 years, they are still at it. Now their line is that we must accept "no commitments" of any kind regarding our exchange rates. Let foreigners depreciate as much as they like, so long as we are free to do the same. A.O. tells me that Cobbold, whom he thinks is very clever, came to the last meeting but one, and Clay, whom I was delighted to get rid of to Washington, whence he has now drifted back to London, to the second. But he seems to have said nothing at this last meeting.

8. 10. 43.

To Bishop Auckland.

copy

[New copy - 1965]

Dalton I 29 (100)

Board of Trade,  
Millbank,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

7th October, 1943.

My dear Anderson,

I was sorry not to be able to be available for consultation on Tuesday, following Monday's discussion in Cabinet on instructions to our delegates in Washington on exchange rates. I had to leave early for Leicester to keep a long standing engagement with the boot and shoe industry. I left a note, however, for Overton, asking him to represent me at the meeting which I anticipated would be called that day, in accordance with the Cabinet decision. I told him that he should support a quite short telegram to Washington, limited to:-

- (1) provisional approval of the Keynes-Waley proposals in Abide 4174, and
- (2) a request to ascertain American views on special arrangements to be made during an initial period, to which the proposals in 4174 would not be applicable.

y This, you will recall, was how the Prime Minister summed up at the end of a lengthy discussion.

I only returned to London from the Midlands late last night and then saw the text of your 6702. I did not feel that this telegram was at all what the Prime Minister and the Cabinet intended. It was certainly not "quite short". The first seven paragraphs appeared to me, for the most part, to be redundant. They followed closely the original Treasury draft, constructed to lead up to the rejection of the Keynes-Waley proposals. The retention of these paragraphs, I felt, was indeed, at some points (e.g. in para 6) inconsistent with the Cabinet conclusions and likely, on the whole, to blur the outline of the instructions contained in the last three paragraphs. I supposed, however, that the terms of this telegram had been carefully considered at a meeting of the Ministers named in the Cabinet conclusion.

This morning I was most surprised to hear that no such meeting had been held, and that, without a meeting, suggestions made both by Overton and by Overton, acting as instructed by me, had been brushed aside

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson, C.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.S.F., I.P.,  
Treasurer, S.W. 1.

/Treasurer

Dalton

I 29

(101)

Treasury. I do not know whether Attlees and Beaverbrook were consulted or not. But certainly the telegram was not "agreed", as the Cabinet directed. I do not think that this was a very fortunate procedure.

To give our delegates at Washington a clear view of what the Cabinet, in fact, decided, I suggest that it might be helpful to send them a further short telegram, using the exact language of the last three sentences of "X" in the War Cabinet conclusions. Cherwell concurs in this suggestion, which I hope you will accept.

Yours ever,

(Sgd.) HUGH DALTON

Dalton I 29 (102)

[Xerox copy - 1965]

C  
O  
P  
Y.

Treasury Chambers,  
Whitehall, S.W.

9th October, 1943.

My dear Dalton,

I am sorry to see from your letter of the 7th October that you feel dissatisfied about the telegram 6702 which went to Keynes in Washington following on Monday's discussion in Cabinet.

I am afraid that quite apart from your own absence it would have been quite impracticable to hold a meeting of Ministers to discuss the matter on Tuesday, and, as you will recognise, it was extremely urgent to let the Delegation know what our views were. I was able to show the draft telegram myself to Attlee and Beaverbrook who agreed with it and I discussed it with Eden on the telephone and obtained his agreement. Your own agreement and that of Cherwell was sought through official channels and the suggestions made by Overton and Cherwell were in fact reported to me. On the question of the length of the telegram I did feel it highly desirable that Keynes should be told merely what has been decided but should know something of the considerations which had been before Ministers in reaching their decision. I could, of course, have sent a short telegram containing the operative paragraphs and put the rest into a separate telegram, but this is no more than a matter of form and I decided that a single document was less likely to be misleading to the recipients.

I am sure that it would not be wise to send a further telegram on the lines suggested in your last paragraph. It would merely repeat in slightly different language the operative paragraphs of 6702 (except for the variation in definition of the length of the transitional period, the reason for which you know) and would surely be confusing to the Delegation.

However, as I have told Cherwell, I do not think there is any cause for concern. I hold myself responsible for seeing that the Cabinet decision to which I was a consenting party though I would have preferred something different, is carried out in the letter and in the spirit.

Yours ever,

(Sgd.) JOHN ANDERSON.

Ht Hon. Hugh Dalton, M.P.

Dalton I 29

98

(108)

P.S. A further quite unexpected development has just occurred which makes me at any rate feel very thankful that the initial period which has been specially safeguarded has been put tentatively and provisionally at 3 years.

(Init'd.) J.A.



DIARY8. 10. 43.

To Bishop Auckland.

9. & 10. 10. 43.

Usual routine. Three hours at the Lightfoot receiving constituents and hearing their "cases"; then a private delegate meeting, which I address at length and am unanimously supported. Next day a public meeting, this time at Coundon, with Stanczyk, who has been speaking to a D.M.A. Conference at Durham. Will Davis looks much better than when I last saw him. The poor chap has been having a lot of teeth out. He and I confer with Joe Foster on Redistribution, and, whatever else may be right or wrong for the rest of the County, we are all agreed that Foster's proposals for Bishop Auckland are the best, namely, that, while losing the little strip, including Byers Green and Middlestone Moor now in Spennymoor U.D., we should take on the whole of Barnard Castle R.D. and also Barnard Castle U.D. This would give us a clear-cut area, consisting of four Local Authority areas, bounded by the watershed between Tees and Wear and by the Tees itself. A very lovely district, with voters very thinly spread, would be added to me, normally with an anti-Labour majority, but not so much as, in any normal election, to endanger the Labour majority in the new constituency as a whole. W.D. says that he is getting thoroughly fed up with the Council and, at the right moment, will resign from this and devote himself to organising the new constituency. There is very little mining in the new district, except at Cockfield, but this is not wholly disadvantageous, since it will make the constituency as a whole more independent of the D.M.A. influence. This has never yet been used against me, and I have no reason to think it will, but it is best not to have all one's political eggs in one basket. Sam Watson is a great adherent of mine, and very loyal and constant. Lawther has fits and starts.

11. 10. 43.

Back from B.A. See A.O., who is inclined to be obstructive over D.J., putting the blame this time on G.L.W., who, he says, is not quite sure how it would work. I say that I will discuss this direct with G.L.W., but, as recorded in my next day's diary, praise my own judgment of persons and remind him of some past events.

/Dine

Dine with Vienot, who is now getting quite well established, but not, I am afraid, carrying very great weight, in London. He talks rather anti-American, which is a pity.

12. 10. 43.

*in letter for Wain 2 Lee*

Write to Duncan confirming his agreement, made orally after a Ministers' meeting, to give me D.J.

Then discuss with G.L.W. how the latter would work. There has been a good deal of obstruction and reluctance at my high-official levels, with a fear that D.J. and I know each other too well, and that, if he becomes my P.A., the others would be by-passed and squeezed out. Therefore, G.L.W. having a bad cold, I give him tea with a lot of rum in it, and then another cup, and assure him that all will be well - and, indeed, much better than well - and that, as I told A.O., "I am always right about personnel". I tell him that I said to A.O., when he was being a bit difficult about D.J., "Do you remember how you obstructed me when I wanted to promote G.L.W. to be an Under-Secretary?" G.L.W. then says that of course I have put it all so clearly that he no longer has any apprehensions. H.G. had also told me earlier in the day that he had already mentioned the matter to A.K., who said she was most delighted, and so they all ought to be, for the reinforcement of a first-class brain can do their team nothing but good.

*Miss Kilner*

I then write to D.J. (copy attached) and send a copy of this to A.O., asking him to push it through with M. of S. In this letter I have told D.J. that he would (1) be only on post-war, (2) work to me, (3) co-operate harmoniously with the rest of the team. I also told him that I have now discussed and settled all this with A.O. and G.L.W.

13. 10. 43.

George Ridley gives a pleasant little party at St Ermin's - C.R.A., H.M., P.J.N.B., J.W., Ellen Wilkinson and myself. We discuss the Party Secretaryship, but not names of candidates.

Returning to the office, I dictate until 1.20 a.m. on L.P.'s International Post-War Settlement.

14. 10. 43.

Lunch with Bill Chappell, once a Yorkshire miner and Labour Party Agent, now in charge of all A.R.P. at Hawker's Works. Very cheery and pleased with himself. He wants to bring a deputation to see me about uniforms. Since he insists on paying for my lunch, and only raises this point at the end, I cannot resist too much!

Dine with H.G. at Hampstead. An extremely nice party is collected, including Bob Fraser, whom I had not seen since his silly little Betty came back from her travels, Douglas and Peggy Jay, Jennifer Hart (now at Home Security and very intelligent as well as attractive, with whom I swap stories of the relations of Civil Servants to each other and to Ministers), and Raimond, H.G.'s step-son, a nice young man now in the Air Force and obviously liking it very much.

15. 10. 43.

Molson to see me to explain his apprehensions about Lend-Lease. He thinks that Keynes is selling everything to the Americans. I tell him that this is not so, and let him a little way into the secret and send him away with a cutting from Drew Pearson, "anti-British columnist", charging us with making many demands on the U.S. which, I explain, are not wholly out of line with truth.

War Cab. on Agriculture, where Hudson finally gets authority to open discussions with the farmers, and to tell them that the present "system" will go on, not for one year after the war, but for at least two. The silly fool never knows when he has won a victory, and thought he had been turned down. My officials are always inciting me to oppose Hudson's agricultural policy. This I have steadily refused to do, both because I think it has many good general features, especially if the continuance of various controls is associated with it - the revolution wrought by machines on the one hand and County War Agricultural Committees on the other is most astonishing - but also because - and I always try to make the officials see this, but not very successfully - our post-war balance of payments will be so difficult to establish that we must strive to grow as much, and import as little, food as possible. The "transitional period" is already taking firm grip on the P.M.'s mind, and, though inclined "both as a consumer and as a tax-payer" to be

/against

against "quartering the farmers" on the rest of the community, he justifies two years as being the natural length of the transition period.

Warter, Fletcher and H.G. confer with me on ceilings for A.B.C. They think they ought to have the same as Rank, i.e., about 600. I, on the other hand, offer them 500, on the ground that I stopped Rank in his tracks, when he had already reached 600, and that I should do the same to them, since they are the only other non-dwarf in the field. They have 450 now and Fletcher admitted, in a careless moment, that they could not hope to reach more than 500 in the next two years. But, when I then offered them 500, they backed away.

To W.L. in the evening.

16. & 17. 10. 43.

At W.L. composing more than usual, (a) a long screed on W.A.F.'s Atlantic Charter Commentary, and (b) my own sketch for International Post-War Settlement, which I improve a good deal. I also write letters, among others, to my three soldier friends in North Africa, whom it occurs to me for the first time might be brought together. I therefore commend each of them to the other two.

L.B.N.  
M.W.T.  
C.M.

DIARY18. 10. 43.

My train from Hungerford is an hour late, the engine having broken down at Westbury. Talk with an American soldier, very friendly to this country, though he has only been here a month. He says "Pity you haven't got more land. Then you could feed yourselves, instead of having to import all this food." He explains that in the U.S. they have got plenty of land to grow their own food. Then, reflectively, "But haven't you got a lot of land out in Australia?" I say that Australia is a Dominion, that is, practically an independent State. He is much surprised at this, and asks whether the Australians don't pay us tribute. When I explain no, he says "So they are just like the Canadians." At least he had grasped what Dominion status meant in Canada.

At War Cab. the paper on Disposal of Surplus Stocks, etc. is accepted and I am authorised to make a public announcement on it soon. Practically no discussion.

With H.G. to dine with H.M. and his man Leslie at the P.E.P.Club. There we discuss Monopolies, etc. H.M. is interested in my paper.

19. 10. 43.

L.P. International Sub.Cttee. I succeeded in killing the project of W.A.F.'s Commentary on the Atlantic Charter being published officially by the Party. I had already written him a letter (copy attached) which I thought was very friendly, followed by eight sides of detailed comment in my own scrawl, composed last weekend at W.L. The other members of the Committee agreed, I having expounded briefly my reasons, as in the letter, except Phil Baker, who squeaked that we ought soon to publish something on the Atlantic Charter. W.A.F., however, took it very ill, and even suggested that he should resign his post and repay the salary he had drawn from the Labour Party during the past few months, while he had been working at this document. He is rather a silly little man. His Commentary was full of the most egregious impossibilities for a Party document, though legitimate enough for an individual contribution. He wanted, e.g., to commit us to giving Massawa to the Ethiopians; Gibraltar to some undefined international body;

/Formosa

Formosa to China, while denying in advance Greek claims to Northern Epirus, Polish claims to East Prussia, and Russian claims to the Baltic States.

Further delaying talk over the projected British delegation to Russia, wherein I tell them something of what Maisky said to me at our last interview.

Bob Fraser sends to see me Major Kenneth Younger, grandson of a famous Tory Chief Whip and Beer Baron, who was at Winchester and Oxford, but who has joined the Labour Party and been most assiduous in attendance at the meetings of the South Kensington D.L.P. He speaks Russian and has been in M.I.5. He would like to run for a hopeless constituency. This can always be easily arranged. I liked him.

*He ran  
for  
Labour*

War Cab. on U.N.R.R.A. O.L., I and Law submit a joint paper, which comes through quite happily. Law, who dines with me afterwards, and is rather new to Cabinet discussions, was very shocked because clearly hardly any of our colleagues had read the paper, and there was no real discussion on it. I told him that what mattered in Cabs. was not the discussion but the conclusions. If these were right, the discussion didn't matter at all. Following his talks in Washington, it emerges that the Americans are now in favour of the "narrow" interpretation of U.N.R.R.A. If this is so, there is no reason why anyone over here should advocate the "wider" conception, though some of the Allies may kick a bit. At the forthcoming Conference, Llewellyn is to be our representative, with Leith-Ross as "alternate". The Conference is expected to last some weeks.

To-day at Questions I was heckled, both by Hammersley and Hogg, and by Shinbad, on the Commercial Talks in Washington. I spoke afterwards with Hogg and learn that he had heard from "someone on the fringe of official knowledge" that Keynes had been bargaining away both Imperial Preference and our right to do bulk purchases. I assured him that this was all nonsense, and spoke of Liesching and other personal factors, including my own prejudice in favour both of the Dominions and of Socialism, and I think re-assured him. But it is clear that someone has been leaking, and I divide my suspicions between Sir H. Henderson, who, like Hogg, is a Fellow of All Souls, and Balogh, who also hangs about the fringes of Oxford and is one of Shinbad's drainpipes. This is rather irritating.

20. 10. 43.

Leith Ross to see me and to say goodbye. He is leaving for the U.S. tomorrow and, unless he becomes an international official, comes now under the Foreign Office and no longer under me. He has taken it all very well and I hope will fix something up with Lehman, though Law says that he bearded Lehman in his office and asked him whether his intentions towards L.R. were honourable, to which Lehman replied that he did not think L.R. at all a good administrator, rather a muddler indeed, but that he would like him as his financial adviser, to live in Washington. Law hoped that L.R. would not be dashed at this, and thought that I might break it to him. But I thought it unwise to go so far as this, and only told him how important I thought - and he agreed - the finance of U.N.R.R.A. would be, and how it would need most skilled handling.

Labour Party Finance Sub Cttee. meets in my room and I get it just where I wanted it. That is to say, I arrange that H.G. and D.J. shall between them make a paper on post-war employment and finance, and E.D. one on post-war international Economic arrangements. They will make use of any or all of the material already collected and we will have a meeting on their draft in due course. This was the whole purpose of the meeting. The rest of the time was filled up with discursive observations by all on a large variety of papers. This did no harm and kept them happy.

D.J. remains to tell me that he is to change over at the end of next week. I have been stirring up the M. of S., partly by poking up A.O. to follow up his first formal letter to Sir W. Douglas, following my confirmation to Duncan of his agreement now to let me have D.J.; partly by inciting G.P. to warn Tippetts that, if something wasn't settled soon, I would raise hell. D.J. reports that a few days ago he was summoned by Sir W.D., who said that he had ~~been~~ told his Minister that he considered it most wrong for Ministers to make arrangements between themselves for swapping staff, without consulting the officials. To this Duncan had replied, "Well, we agreed to it, didn't we, when the President of the Board of Trade gave us Weir and Lee?" On which Sir W.D. had said to his Minister, "You may have agreed; I never did." D.J. then said that anyhow it seemed all settled now. "Not necessarily", said Sir W.D. "If you were to tell me that you were unwilling to go to the Board of Trade, I could re-open it." But D.J. said that he did not feel able to say that he was unwilling. "And then", he said, "Douglas became much more formal." This, G.P. says, when I relate it to him, is the old-fashioned Treasury approach to Establishment questions

/D.J.

D.J. anxiously asks me whether, having been imprisoned for some time in a cell looking out upon a well, he could have here a room, no matter how small, which faces the sun. He also hopes that any lady attached to him will be able to type. He does not even mind if she can't do shorthand, being quite willing to dictate straight on to a typewriter. At the M. of S. they gave him a lady attendant who was very agreeable but could neither type nor do shorthand. Therefore, he always depended on the pool.

J.W. and Ivor Thomas to dine. The latter, I am afraid, has not got much political common sense. I fear he may damage himself, e.g., by over-running Sunday opening of theatres in Non-Conformist Keighley, or by too whole-heartedly espousing the Italian cause, just after their surrender.

21. 10. 43.

The officials have made a mess of Surplus Textiles Corporation, having allowed a Council to be elected consisting wholly of London merchants. But for a salutary P.Q. by a Scots M.P., asking why, I should not have heard of this. I explain, with some emphasis and reiteration, that it is my firm resolve that all this blood sucking by London of the Provinces is to be checked as far as possible. It is fantastic that textiles manufactured in Lancashire, Yorkshire or Scotland should have to pass through the hands of London merchants, either physically or in the form of bits of paper, - the usual rake-offs being taken all the way - and then returned for sale to the neighbourhoods where they were manufactured. I tell G.L.W. (1) that Hoskin is an old fool and (2) that the Board of Trade has had for 20 years a very bad record in this connection, reminding him of all the trouble and obstruction I have had, in order to get the officials here to accept my views on Distressed Areas, Barlow Report, etc. I am afraid this age-long failure in this Department to understand this point is still very deep-rooted.

With J.W. to lunch at High Duty Alloys Research Station at Slough. The B. of T., of course, saw nothing wrong with the Slough Trading Estate when it was being built, and made no effort to have it put anywhere else. It fills me with deep horror. On the other hand, we both thought well of Devereux, the chief man, who has risen up from nothing ~~xxxx~~ and is full of very good ideas (a) on the value of research - I looked over his Research Station but it meant nothing to me, though I am told, e.g., by S.Cripps, that it is the best of its kind in the country - (b) on the location of industry - having every intention of continuing at Dissington, —

/and



and even liking the notion of acquiring the United Steel Works at Workington, rather than let them be closed by the Iron and Steel Control, as he says is contemplated. He also has a Works in S.Wales and has written an excellent pamphlet on the problem of Location in that area. He says we can make aluminium from our own slag and don't need to import bauxite. He is also very keen on the production of magnesia from sea water.

The famous Mrs Maxwell, with Warter, her son-in-law, to tea with me. A most agreeable party and we all get on very well. They are prepared now to make me an offer not to go above Rank's ceiling. I say that I will discuss this with J.A. I am not quite sure whether to accept it. I take Mrs M. in my car to No.10 Downing Street, whence she drives on to wherever she is staying. I think this last gesture will cement our alliance.

A most remarkable and surprisingly good and important Cabinet. The P.M. has issued a short Note on War - Transition - Peace. In this he argues that we should fail completely in our duty if we had not got ready, before the German war ends, complete schemes for the Transition Period, during which we should ensure for all our people Food and Employment. The Transition Period, he proposes to define as either two years from the defeat of Germany or four years from January 1st, 1944, whichever ends first. He is anxious to speed up all preparations now being made. There is also circulated a paper by the Prof, listing a large range of topics on which decisions will be necessary. Quite a surprising number of them fall within my Departmental field, either wholly or partly.

Very great credit is due to C.R.A. and, in a lesser degree, to H.M. for having brought about this remarkable change in the P.M.'s attitude. They have both been having a great go on him, and to-night the P.M., who is in a very good temper and great spirits, says that he has now been led to see this question quite differently. He says that this is because he has been "jostled and beaten up by the Deputy Prime Minister". For this, he says, he is very grateful. The Transition has now taken a very firm shape in his mind. We shall not pass direct from war to peace, even apart from the complication of the two-stage ending of the war. Between these two there must be a transition for which it is our duty to make most careful preparation now, and we should rule out nothing important for the simple needs of the Transition, merely because it is controversial. He then elaborates, with great dramatic detail, how we should prepare a great book, the Book of the Transition, like the War Book, running to perhaps a thousand closely printed pages, or taking the form of a number of Reports and precise plans contained in

in drawers, one above another, so that, if any amateurish critic says "You have no plan for this or that", it would be easy to pull out a drawer, bring out a paper, and say "Here it all is." All Parties in Parliament, the country, our returning soldiers, the whole world, would be filled with admiration if we were able to display a series of such plans. And so, he thinks, there might be a whole week's debate, or longer, in Parliament, and one day it would be the Chancellor of the Exchequer, followed by the Minister of Labour, who would expound in detail their part of the Plan, and next day, it might be the President of the Board of Trade, followed by the Minister of Agriculture. And so it would go on ..... They would be spellbound!..... And even if we made a few mistakes, as we should, for after all, we are all only simple people and not archangels, we should at least have got great credit for our Plan.

So now he will spend the week-end reading Reports of all that is in hand, and considering how our machinery should be improved. There follows a good deal of chitchat on detail, e.g., as to the future of agriculture, the relation of efficiency to exports and to the needs of the Transition, etc., and there are a few casual references to the next General Election, whereon the P.M. is a bit cautious, saying it all depends on whether the Parties break up or hold together; that if we hold together, we shall be more masters of our fate, but that if we break up, he, assuming he continued P.M., would not feel able to delay more than a month or two an appeal to the country, particularly as we should then all be getting into training for a good old dog fight and he would, no doubt, be accused, if he postponed the election, of clinging to office rather than testing the opinion of the electors.

It also emerged very clearly that another factor which had made him change his attitude was a considerable optimism regarding the duration of the war. "I don't think it will happen", he said, "but what would be said to us if Germany were suddenly to collapse now, and we had nothing prepared?" He thought the odds were about 6 - 4 against a total German collapse within the next six months. He was sure that when they went, they would go completely. As to how long the Japs would go on afterwards, he was not at all sure. The psychological effect on Japan of the fall of Germany would be tremendous, and already there was much evidence that the Jap will to war had greatly weakened. Moreover, with Germany out of the war, the Russians would want, he thought, to join in the war against Japan. Stalin had never concealed his hatred, and distrust, of the Japs. The Russians, moreover, had various ambitions in the Far East and there was no reason why we should thwart them. As to our own contribution, time and distance were limiting factors, and the U.S.A. would naturally take the principal part in the war

-7-

against the Japs. Both we and the U.S. had an enormous preponderance now in battleships and aircraft carriers. Admiral King, when the P.M. had told him that, now that the Mediterranean was clear, we could send him some heavy ships to help him in the Pacific, had received this offer coldly. He had gone on to tell the P.M. that already the U.S. had two battleships to one against the Japs in the Pacific.

*Jan H*

This Cabinet, in short, went very well. I spoke afterwards with C.R.A. and congratulated him on the success of his efforts. He said there had been a frightful row last week, and loud explosions from the P.M. But now that the smoke had cleared away, the P.M., having invited various Tory Ministers, including R.A.B. and Crookshank, to this meeting - they had both been dumb throughout - had now led the Tory troops through the breach which we had made in their defences. I told C.R.A. that it was nonsense for Ministers without departments or staffs - notably W.J., but others also might be named - to try to deputise for or try to compete with people like myself who had large staffs working on these post-war problems. I therefore counted on being effectively in the picture when the new drive began. He expressed strong agreement with this view and asked me to send him a note on the whole matter.

22. 10. 43.

Pakenham to see me on behalf of Sir W.B. and his work on Full Employment. I make various tentative arrangements for, as I think, harmless contacts, e.g., between Beveridge and Harcourt Johnstone.

Warter, Fletcher and H.G. discuss with me the form of undertaking which they might give for their cinema ceiling. They are to work out something definite, and let me have it, I not committing myself to accept it until I have discussed it with the Chancellor.

To Newcastle this afternoon, arriving late and staying at the County Hotel.

DIARY23. 10. 43.

*Myers; Lewlock is ill, flabby & "part it"*  
 quite a successful "secret Conference" of more than 400 Labour women, and four or five men, from Durham and Northumberland. I make a long speech, principally on clothing and other shortages. They take it very well indeed and ask a lot of questions.

*Mance*  
 Then to Shildon, where I spend the night with Mr and Mrs Myers, and have a meeting in the Council Chamber, attended by a number of Councillors and a few more, ~~Horris~~ Morris Mason in the Chair. There has always been more tendency at Shildon than anywhere else in the constituency for people to think for themselves in politics, and to make a certain amount of difficulty. So, a little, to-night, M. Meehan has been making a good deal of trouble with his O.A.P. Association. He recently held a meeting at Shildon and stirred up a lot of these poor old people to believe that the Labour Party, and I, had never done anything for them and was against them getting any more. Some take a serious view of this agitation, but I don't think I do. Sometime some statement will have to be made about it, but this is a troublesome phenomenon found just now in a number of constituencies. It was a good thing that I looked in upon the Shildon people.

24. 10. 43.

Travel back from Darlington, sleeping most of the way in the train.

25. 10. 43.

Tomkins to see me. A very nice sensible little chap. He makes some points about Australian timber, utility cots, etc. He is now one of the most useful and industrious members of my Advisory Committee. We then touch on politics, and he says that he is quite clear that we must "get the spot-light off Churchill" before we have a General Election, or we shall certainly be "out for another five years". He adds that he thinks the only people in our Party who want to have an election soon are people who joined the Party only the day before yesterday and have got themselves adopted as Parliamentary candidates. This is rather a simplification, but it has merits!

/Lunch

Lunch with Dunbar, who thinks that H.M.G. has heard of something really serious in the way of German secret weapons and, for this reason, is pushing on with preparations to invade Europe across the channel.

Ridley put

Meeting of N.E.Sub.Cttee. on Party Secretaryship. We recognise we are divided on the Parliamentary bar. J.S.M. is then asked to leave the room, which he does with a very bad grace, and one or two of us then have to push hard to make sure that on Wednesday, two days hence, the N.E. takes a definite decision on his resignation. G.R. had proposed a slow procedure which would have pushed this off for another month. But we all agree that we should back each other up on the E.C. in support of the proposal that he should go at the end of March and his successor be in office for a month before this. G.R. is to see J.S.M. and put this bluntly to him and offer him £500, in addition to his pension, to write the History of the Labour Party.

26. 10. 43.

Lunch, alone with H.M. and E.B., with Mikolajczyk, Kwapinski and Retinger (I don't know whether this last has now got tacked on to M.). Not a very useful gathering, for poor little M., though he speaks English fairly well, isn't impressive, as Sikorski was, or incisive, and nothing much comes out of it all.

J.W. has been telling Saper, Stanczyk's Man Friday, that the Poles are still very stupid with their propoganda. They keep on over-cultivating one or two people, and don't stretch out. J.W. recommends that Stanczyk should invite half a dozen sensible Labour M.P.s to go and have light refreshments in his flat and have a talk about Poland, and then invite another lot, and so on. This is to be done.

Take the Chair at Policy Sub, and we get through quite a lot of business. This is now becoming quite a good show.

27. 10. 43.

National Executive from 10 to 12, when I have to leave, before the end, for the Cab. A most blush-making business over Middleton. First, quite a good discussion on whether we should seek to lift the "Parliamentary bar" on his successor. All the argument is against, by me, Walker, Laski, Shinwell and B.Gould -

/a most

a most powerful and unwonted coalition. But we only get our way by one vote, 11 to 10. Still, that suffices. Then G.R. from the Chair asks the staff to withdraw, so that he can report what happened at our Sub.Cttee., after J.S.M. had withdrawn. All the staff troop out, except J.S.M., who sits, flushed and immobile, in his chair. There is an awkward silence. Then G.R. says "I think, Jim, the Executive would wish you to withdraw." J.S.M. sits tight and then snaps, "Have you tested the Executive?" G.R. says "I think it would be kinder to you, Jim, if we were to discuss this when you have withdrawn." J.S.M., getting more worked up, yaps "I want no kindness". Then Laski says that in University circles, anyone whose position is affected by proposals regarding appointment or reappointment always withdraws. They find this much the wisest way." No response. Then Walker says "Well, if he wants to stay, I'd let him stay. We can all say what we think quite frankly in front of him, though he may not like it." And Shinwell adds to the sweetness of life by remarking "I am supposed to say offensive things sometimes, and I may say something offensive in the course of this discussion, and if Jim cares to stay and hear it, he can please himself." After this, it is generally agreed to let him stay. He then asks, "May I make a statement?" G.R. says "Certainly". J.S.M. then rises from his seat - normally we remain sitting - and, gulping at first with emotion, though gradually recovering himself, and flushing ever redder and redder, says that he has been more than 40 years in the service of the Labour Party; that he began at 9d. an hour, part time, the same as he was earning at his trade; that he has been conscious ever since he succeeded A.H. that the Executive has never given him the confidence which they gave to his predecessor; that he could tell them how A.H. managed to do the two jobs, but that he himself has never had, as A.H. had, an Assistant Secretary; that he has never claimed to be "a big man", nor a Knight, nor a K.B.E., nor thought of a salary for himself of £1,500 or £2,000 a year (this in response to remarks made in the discussion on the "Parliamentary bar" that we wanted to have "a bigger man next time" who could deal with Sir Walter Citrine on an equal footing, and who ought probably to be paid this higher salary); that he had done his best, etc., etc.; that he thought he was at least entitled to fair play, and courtesy, etc., etc.; that it was only two days ago that he was faced by G.R. with the prospect of retiring next March; that this had come to him as a great shock; that anyhow he should go on till the Annual Conference, since no-one else would be able at short notice to make all the necessary ~~Parliamentary~~ arrangements; that he was not going himself to resign, but that, if the National Executive desired him to go, it

preliminary)

/was

was for them to take the decision; that he had already had three offers to write his autobiography and therefore he did not propose to accept the suggestion, made by G.R., that he should receive £500 after his retirement for the writing of the History of the Labour Party. All very small, and pitiful, and typical! However, we moved on, through a rambling and not unkind discussion, to the unanimous view that he should go next Whitsun, and, as I understood it, that a successor should be appointed, Secretary Elect, subject to confirmation by the Conference, a month or two before this. No-one said that he should stay on beyond Whitsun.

From this sensitive plant to another! W.A.F. is very "hurt" because we recommended that his long pamphlet on the Atlantic Charter should be published by himself. But here again ~~this~~ it is agreed by all that the Party cannot possibly publish this as it stands, and it is left, I gather, though this was settled after I left for the Cab., that one or two members of the International Sub. should go through it and suggest revisions, after which it should be published by W.A.F. through an independent publisher - thus saving our paper - and with some vague sort of blessing by somebody.

Cab. on Lend-Lease and communications with Washington. J.A. takes a gloomy view of present American tendencies. The Administration, under fire from their political opponents, are moving away from the old conception of L.L. and tending more and more to treat it as commercial lending. Also they are constantly taking, often at quite low levels, arbitrary and troublesome decisions to restrict our supplies, or impose new conditions on our use of them. The question is: shall we publish now, though the U.S.G. don't want us to, a White Paper setting out the facts on Mutual Aid, and should I not make a statement, simultaneously with any statement on our giving them more gifts of Empire raw materials, to the effect that we are now negotiating to supercede the W.P. of September, 1941, which was a unilateral declaration by us, by a joint declaration, whereby we should get away from this tiresome U.S. policing of our exports. It is left that the P.M. shall communicate "at the highest level" the substance of our case and ask whether objection is really taken to our publishing. Meanwhile, it is thought that the draft W.P., though good enough for persons steeped in the technicalities, is not good for the general public. It is agreed that it must be revised.

Lunch with the National Association of Outfitters. Though frightfully bored with the prospect of it, I get through pretty well, going out of my way to give high and jocular praise to Leonard Lyle, who says that he is now regarded by all as a

/permanent

permanent official and stooge of the Board of Trade. He is a very good chap.

I should, with H.G., have dined to-night with Rank, but the fog is so thick that we dine in instead.

There had been a row earlier this evening in the H. of C. over H.M.'s wretched Workmen's Compensation Bill. A. Bevan had been more than usually hysterical and abusive, and 40 members, mostly ours, had gone into the Lobby in favour of an amendment to improve the position of the single man. Meanwhile, the whole Bill had been agreed with the T.U.C., the M.F.G.B., and, within Parliament, with the A.C. and the Party Meeting. But this did not prevent several members of the A.C. from breaking loose to-night! We are an undisciplined rabble!

28. 10. 43.

Party Meeting, where Garro vainly tries to get reversed the rule arrived at amid much confusion months ago, whereby for the Administrative Committee, only three Ministers, in addition to C.R.A. and W.W., should be elected. A.G. rules from the Chair that this cannot now be re-opened. I don't much mind. It is a silly rule, but, as I don't intend myself to stand again for the A.C. anyhow - in view of N.E. Committees on top of the B. of T. - and as this new rule increases the chance of J.W. being elected, I sit tight and say nothing.

Beaverbrook has made a flutter by showing an interest in "Black Spots". (see next day.)

I receive Vincent Auriol, Blum's ex-Minister of Finance. He was not good at this, but is a decent little man. He has just escaped from France, by aircraft, and is going on to Algiers. Gradually, he thinks, enough experienced men are gathering round de Gaulle to make the latter incapable to doing harm. He knows we here have found him difficult, but repeats the story, which I had heard from Vienot, that Vichy and the Germans represent de G. always as the hireling of the English and, therefore, he had to give some proof that this was a lie. V.A. gives nauseating details, not to be set down here, nor easily to be forgotten, of how the Germans torture Frenchmen to obtain confessions and information. All this, when told in detail, strengthens my view that a very large number of Germans, for very many co-operate in these practices, are just not tolerable except as corpses. V.A. escaped with nothing on save /what



what he stood up in, and with no overcoat, with a false passport, having grown a beard, which he only shaved off on arrival in England. His wife is still in France, liable to the worst horrors if caught by the Huns. I had already sent, at Vienot's request, 150 extra clothing coupons for each of a list of Frenchmen recently escaped. V.A. asked whether he might have an extra 50. I let him have them gladly.

29. 10. 43.

Durston to see me. Not really very pleased with the result of my visit, or with the Answer I gave to a P.Q. on children's shoes. With the latter he is still being pelted by the hundred. He thinks that I have publicly undertaken to do the impossible, e.g., in my Parliamentary Answer. When I take him through this, he can only point to the sentence "I shall do my best to keep the manufacturers up to the mark". I press him again on wooden soles. He would be in favour of my down-pointing these, but admits that there is a mulish resistance to them in the trade.

Go to see J.A. and talk to him on Films. He is not at all well briefed on this and agrees without difficulty (a) to my proposed exchange of notes with A.B.P.C., and (b) to my proposed line with the Films Council, against an Enquiry. I also concert with him the lines of the returns which we shall respectively make to the Cabinet Office on Work for the Transition. He has told Hopkins that the Steering Committee must not try to reach agreement at all costs; it is better to present to Ministers clear statements of opposing views than some ambiguous verbal compromise. I say that I have said the same thing to A.O. I mention Beaverbrook's interest in Black Spots. He says that we must not make things too hard for the P.M., who is conducting the war with great skill. The P.M. was very unhappy during the period when B. was not one of his colleagues. He is a sensitive artist, attaching great value to "presentation" and the quality of the spoken word. He likes to have around him certain people, whose responses will not be jarring or unwelcome. He has valued B. for this for many years. We must not, therefore, be too particular, even if things are sometimes not done in quite the most regular or orderly way. On the other hand, he adds, "I should take the very strongest objection" to any interference by B. in the work of Departments or of Ministerial Committees of which he was not a member.

By lunch time, on my return to the Board, G.P. had sent to Peck my two personal papers on Location, with a hint that B. might

*Peck*  
/find

Dalton 1 29 (121)

*Peck had very little to say & said 29  
Low B has been talking to the P.M. about  
-7-  
Knox Staff & P.M. would like to have  
something to read on the*

find "useful background" in the Barlow Report. If he now comes back with some tale about everything being stuck, nothing being done, we can rebut him, with the strong aid of J.A., by telling him that a policy is being recommended to Ministers next month.

*W. Watt*  
C.W. feels very strongly against B.'s interference. He hopes I will speak also to C.R.A. and E.B. about it. He has himself been speaking to James Stuart and Harvie Watt. None of them have any evidence yet of any other raids by B. It is hoped by all - except the F.O. - that he is soon leaving for Washington, for a long stay, and thence to Moscow. *Ch. says no more gets to 6 P.M.*

*Staff B & Bricker*  
See C.R.A. this afternoon and speak of B. He says it is very difficult to know what is going on, with B. and Cherwell always hanging round the P.M. I said that J.A. said, when I asked him whether the present untidy arrangement of Ministerial Committees was now to be modified, that "this depends on personal matters, on which the P.M.'s mind is in a state of flux." C.R.A. said this was certainly so. Evidently Jowitt is part of the problem. C.R.A. said that the latter had been a damned fool to accept such a rotten staff, all other people's rejects. C.R.A. is seeing the P.M. on Monday, and will repeat that we must pull things out of the hands of officials and hurry to Ministerial decisions. On the other hand, he was against making too much difficulty with the P.M. over B., just at a time when the P.M. was beginning to take a really live interest in post-war.

More than one and a half hours with Carpet Manufacturers. Some of them ask, as other business men do, for the most impossible precisions of the Government's post-war intentions.

Sir S. Beale wants to show some of our Steering Committee papers to Sir W. Monckton, who is to be the unpaid Chairman of a new Committee of Business Men, including Beale, MacGowan, Benton Jones, Francis Joseph, etc., to make the new Industrial Policy. I say that this won't do. These are Cabinet papers and the P.M. would certainly object. On the other hand, Beale can talk generally to W.M. and say that he is inclined to think the sort of thing the Government might do is so and so. But nothing on paper. He readily agrees to this. But he doesn't like Low's Blimps. "I never think it is funny to be rude." This very revealing remark suggests that Sir S.B. sees himself to-night, rudely caricatured in this one (attached)!

# LONDONER'S DIARY

OFF WITH CONTROLS  
AS QUICKLY AS  
POSSIBLE  
(just like last time)

DON'T YOU KNOW ME, BOYS?  
I'M WHAT YOU'RE FIGHTING FOR!

Liberty

The Blimp Summary



LOW

EGREGIOUS IMPOSTOR

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DIARY30 & 31. 10. 43.

With J.W. in the New Forest. We stay at the Crown Hotel at Lyndhurst, with Sir Roy Robinson, Chairman of the Forestry Commission, and his P.A., Wynne Jones. We also see a good deal of Young, the Divisional Forest Officer. A most delightful and instructive week-end. We drive about a good deal and are shown many different parts of the Forest. It is much more coniferous than I had ~~known~~ remembered. Indeed, many of the finest old trees are conifers, chiefly Douglas Firs. The trend now is all towards mixed stands rather than pure, and towards natural regeneration rather than planting. Also against clear felling and in favour of leaving a certain number of "mother trees", even if not more than 15 to the acre, from which natural regeneration can proceed. We saw many examples of mixed natural regeneration - beech, oak, holly, birch, Douglas fir, larch, Sitka spruce, Corsican pine - all growing up together. Gradually, of course, there must be thinning. They have killed off all rabbits in the New Forest and so don't need to wire. There are a certain number of pure coniferous plantations, but gradually these will be interspersed with hardwood. Robinson makes a very good impression on us and makes a very good case against his Commission coming under the Agricultural Ministers. He is rather disconcerted by all the Whitehall rumours of intended changes - it all reminds me rather of the rumour world I used to live in at M.E.W. - but we encourage him to give more publicity to the work of the Commission and to interest more journalists and M.P.s in it. We come away with a much clearer view of what they do and with even greater confidence that the job is being done well. The New Forest, of course, is rather exceptional, dating back to before William the Conqueror, and I must go some time to see some of the really new forests which are springing up in many parts of our little island. R.R. said that even at their low rate of pre-war planting, they were planting every year an area equivalent to one and a half New Forests.

1. 11. 43.

Back from New Forest by lunch time.

Long meeting of Cab.Cttee. on Indian Finance. The Prof. burning with indignation against everything and everybody. J.A. has been encouraged by the Treasury to think that our debt to India is not as bad as it seems, because it is owed to the Reserve Bank and not the Government! The Treasury are guilty men in this, and my

/wretched

wretched officials in C.R.T., in the absence of Liesching, are much too subservient. I have now concocted quite a good paper on the sterling balances and their relation to our future trade. The whole thing has been a most shocking performance. As to Indian taxation, I point out this morning (1) that all "agricultural income", including apparently income from money lenders' mortgages on land, is exempt from income tax, (2) that, on taxable income, the rate of tax, particularly in the range from £500 a year up to £5,000 a year, is less than half what we pay, and somewhat less on all ranges except the very lowest, (3) that there are no death duties in India, and (4) that their E.P.T. is only 80%, as against our 100%, with a prospective refund of a quarter. Whatever may be said of the great mass of the Indian population, it is most evident that the wealthier Indians are getting on much better than their opposite numbers in this country, particularly when account is taken of the complete failure of the Government of India to control prices and profits.

P. / Lunch with Southwood, who makes himself very affable. We speak of the succession of Middleton, and he more or less offers Maurice Webb, though adding a warning that we should have to chain him down to his office chair, prevent him from appearing frequently on the public platform, and make sure that he did not try to run the show too much as a personal venture. I told him of the rumours about Beaverbrook and post-war, and he said that he was quite sure public opinion would not for a moment tolerate this. I said that he might have to come out with a strong blast in the "Herald". He said he would certainly be prepared to ~~do~~ do this if anything came of it, but he could not believe that it would.

Make my first call on the new Soviet Ambassador, Gusev. I liked him. He is much younger and more typically Russian-looking than Maisky. To be exact, he is, and looks like, a native of Leningrad. These North Russians have a special look which is not easily defined, but I think I recognise it. His English is fair and his general attitude most friendly. He obviously feels very new to it all, and we don't get into any deep waters. He says that Maisky told him that I was one of those whom he saw most, and I expatiate on ordinary lines - my long desire for Anglo-Soviet co-operation, the apparent great success of the Moscow Conference, the need for them and us to be the two great pillars of post-war security in Europe, etc. I must see more of him and find out how far he is more than a pleasant diplomatic robot.

War Cab. Mention of Indian sterling balances. I tell the P.M. he under-stated the gravity of it and that these are now

/increasing

(What bigger we say.  
It is £12 +)

increasing not by £1,000,000 but by £2,000,000 a day.

Leaving the Cab., I have a word with E.B. and ask him whether he knows that Beaverbrook is taking an interest in post-war matters. He says "I know things have been going on, and I told the Old Man I wouldn't stand it, but the Old Man said 'He won't interfere with you.'" I said that this was all very well, but that if he began interfering with anybody, you would never know where it would stop, particularly as a number of these problems were of joint concern to several of us, e.g., Loc ation to E.B. and me. But we had now reached the door and he went grunting off into the dark.

Dine, together with C.W. and H.G., with Rank, who is accompanied by his two chief myrmidons, Woodham Smith, a Solicitor, and Farrow, an Accountant. When we get down to business, Rank wants to be allowed to buy 37 more cinemas, but I am very sticky on this and my two companions back me up well. Rank then raises, for the first time, the question of A.B.C., and says that, if he doesn't buy these cinemas, they will. I had been prepared, if things went suitably, to tell him of the agreement which I had with A.B.C., but judge that this would not be wise, in front of his two associates, so merely say that I am in touch with them and recognise that they must be controlled. Rank will be easier to handle in the absence of his associates, and I decide afterwards to ask him round to see me ~~and to~~ and to tell him what I think I could get from A.B.C. I don't think he wants a stink and a row, and we three all emphasise to-night the likelihood of this arising unless we hold him firmly to the agreement already reached.

2. 11. 43.

At question time to-day there is quite a blow up over international cartels and the not very interesting or new American book "Germany's Master Plan". Many on both sides want an enquiry. I resist this, but am anxious soon to announce a policy. My principal arranged Answer on Disposal of Surplus Goods and Factories goes over very well, much better than I had expected. Now we must make machinery to carry it out.

Lunch with Newspaper Society, i.e., Provincial Editors. A very good bunch, and, without much preparation, I talk to them off the record. It seems to go quite well.

-4-

Tell C.R.A. that I have been thinking over the threat that Beaverbrook might be put in charge of post-war plans, and that I have quite definitely come to the conclusion that, if this is done so far as the Board of Trade plans are concerned, I shall ask the Prime Minister to relieve me of my office. I will not work to Beaverbrook, though of course I could not object if the P.M. put him on some committee merely as a member. But I will only work either to the P.M. himself, or to such trusted and experienced Chairmen of Committees as C.R.A. and J.A. I add that C.W. is also much upset at these rumours, and that, though he has not said quite so much to me, I should not be at all surprised if he was prepared, as I was, to resign rather than be put under the Beaver. Conservatives in general feel even more strongly against the Beaver than our own Party. C.R.A. knows, I say, that if decisions have been slow, as they have, this is not my fault, and I have constantly pressed and badgered my colleagues and my officials to get on with it. The fault lies with the procedure whereby everything is considered by inter-departmental official committees, instead of being handled by Ministers themselves. I add that an additional reason why I won't serve under the Beaver is because I know, from three sources, that he has been doing his best to damage me personally and that he used to incite his staff, day by day, to "down that bugger Dalton again to-morrow". C.R.A. says that he entirely understands and shares my point of view and that when he sees the P.M. on all this - he is seeing him to-night, instead of last night - he will put the case very strongly. I say that, if he cares to do so, he can tell the P.M. what I have said about myself and C.W.

I go on to H.M. and tell him the same. He said he hadn't heard that the Beaver was being run for post-war Controller. On the other hand, he thinks that E.B.'s remark to me is the best evidence he has had so far of this. H.M. himself is having rows all round just now; with a section of our own Party over Workmen's Compensation, and now, he tells me, with the P.M., incited by Bracken, over his recent speeches. Hitherto the P.M. has not minded his speeches on post-war control at all, but now he is angered by them. H.M. wonders whether the Beaver's interest in "Black Spots" may not be because the P.M. wants something on this for an Allocation programme. H.M. is a little suspicious of the P.M.'s intentions over the next election. He thinks we should have this out with him, and that C.R.A. ought to insist on knowing more.

election

3. 11. 43.

C.R.A. whispers to me at the Party meeting that he saw the P.M. last night and they had "quite a row, as we usually do", but that the result was that Beaverbrook is not to have anything to do with post-war. I thank him for his intervention but get no chance to pursue it to-day. I tell this to C.W., who says that Stuart has heard no more, but that there is a rumour that the Beaver was trying to "supervise" W.S.Morrison at Town and Country Planning!

Lunch with U.K.C.C. and a few others and make an informal speech. The plain truth is that the business men now on the Board aren't very keen for it to go on after the war, but Nixon is, since it is his career.

A.O. wants me to try to winkle Beer out of Duncan to act as P.A.S. on Disposals. I will try, but not very hopefully.

4. 11. 43.

Industrial firemen want uniforms, and in the fifth year year of war too! I shan't agree.

D.J. to see me. He will start here next week. He says that, taking his leave of various people at the M. of S., he sensed a good deal of hostility to the B. of T. He thinks Lord Portal is behing a lot of it; also the I.C.I. men, who swarm at M. of S. (he mentioned one Bain, in particular, of the Chemical Control). But much the worst seems to have been Turner, the Second-Secretary under whom he has been working. This man spoke most indiscreetly, as it seems to me, and said that, of course, the B. of T. was trying to get hold of all post-war policy, but that the Treasury would certainly not permit this. He said the Treasury took a most unfavourable view of the B. of T. activities. He hinted that the P.B.T. was thought to be personally responsible for the quite unnecessary hustle which was now going on, and that "the other Departments wouldn't stand for it". He then made derogatory observations about Watkinson. He "makes a great noise when he is swimming with the tide and mistakes this for constructive effort." He abused Pares and H.G. and said that here were two men who knew nothing whatever of industry and yet who were trying to carry on negotiations with business men. The latter, likewise, "simply wouldn't stand for it". It was quite different if they had trusted and experienced people like Sir W.Palmer. D.J. asked about Lintott, and Turner said that he supposed he was doing pretty well.

/D.J.



D.J. deduced that there was strong hostility (a) to me, (b) to temporary Civil Servants as such, and (c) to the waxing of the B. of T. and the waning of the M. of S. Also they are still very sore at my having done a direct deal with Duncan over D.J.

Rank calls, at my request. C.W. is with me. We tell him that I think I can get an agreement by A.B.C. to a ceiling equal to Rank's. He argues against this, saying it is quite unfair. Finally, C.W. makes the bright proposal, which Rank, to my surprise, accepts, that, if A.B.C. would keep their two circuits separate, particularly as regards booking arrangements, the larger of the two should be frozen where it is, i.e., at a higher figure than Odeon, and the smaller not be increased by the Gaumont British. This would mean that in the total they might have more cinemas than Rank. But he agreed! H.G. will now have to try to negotiate this with A.B.C.

Give tea to my Industrial Clothing Officers. They are good chaps and have done a good job. Many "Iron Rations" are being returned by Works Committees. We have had no clothing coupons strike anywhere yet.

Confer on men's clothing restrictions. The wholesale manufacturers are desperately against their removal, and contemplate their going on till 1945. On the other hand, some of my advisers think that we might take them off quite early. My own view is (a) that we should take them all off at once and not piecemeal, and (b) that we should not take them off too soon, certainly not unless I am quite sure about the civilian ration. I must also consult the L.P.'s Cttee., since the removal of them might weaken the war effort, by making everybody think that it was almost over. In the last resort, austerity suits can all be used for Relief, but there will be some tricky problems anyhow in the removal of these particular restrictions, e.g., as to giving notice, privately through the trade (which would almost certainly leak), and publicly, and as to differential pointing of austerity and non-austerity, and simultaneous manufacture.

J.W. and E.D. to dine, chiefly in order that we may see whether the latter would like to be a candidate for the Labour Party Secretaryship. In view of the Parliamentary bar, he is pretty definite that he doesn't want it.

After this meal I hold a Symposium on the Labour Party's future foreign policy. (See separate note.) The company fitted in very well together, and all made useful contributions, two of the best by two new arrivals, Wells and Younger. Much less real difference of view now than just after Munich!

[Xerox copy - 1965]

Dalton I 29 (129)

28th October, 1943

Immediately after Munich, I asked a small group of people to a symposium on our future Foreign Policy. I would like to repeat this, after five not wholly uneventful years, next Thursday, 4th November. I am asking all the same people, and one or two others. It will happen in my room here at the Board of Trade at 8.30 p.m. There shall be some "light refreshments". I hope very much that you will come.

also sent to:-

(Xerox copy)

- J. Wilmot, Esq., M.P., Board of Trade  
H.T. N. Gaitskell, Esq., " " "  
Douglas Jay, Esq., 42, Well Walk, N.W.3.  
E.F.M. Durbin, Esq., 41, Downing Street  
Leonard Woolf, Esq., 37, Mecklenburgh Sq  
W.C.1.  
W. Arnold-Forster, Esq., The Labour Party  
Transport House  
Robert Fraser, Esq., Min. of Information  
(*& Kenneth Younger*) *fraser* Malet St. W.C.1.  
Mrs. M. Hamilton 4, Richmond Tce,  
S.W.1.  
Kingsley Martin, Esq., The New Statesman  
and Nation,  
10, Gt. Turnstile  
W.C.1.

*Wells*

*Laurie*

*Ivor Brown*

DIARY5. 11. 43.

Receive a report from P.L., Meade and Shackle, on their Washington discussions. They have done well and were a good combination; P.L. very clear-headed, incisive, firm but friendly; Meade very expert on all points of theory, able to hold his own, and a bit more, with the American theorists, and most ingenious in devising new formulae; Shackle an immense repository of dry knowledge of all detail, past and present, relating to Commercial Policy, our own and everybody else's.

The next thing is to try to get something soon to Ministers. Meade says the Prof says that it is important to get this in while the P.M. is in this country.

Then to W.L.

6 & 7. 11. 43.

At W.L. Spend a lot of time on my Labour Party draft on Post War International Settlement. Each time that I spend time with it, I think that I improve it a good deal, but I am anxious not to spend too long improving it, but to put up something, in simple terms, to make a basis for general discussion at the International Sub. (attached; this draft as, a few days later, I send it in to Transport House.)

8. 11. 43.

Sir F. Whyte and Sir W. Citrine - the latter arriving very late - come to see me on behalf of the Films Council. C.W. and H.G. are with me. I put the familiar argument that there is no need for a pompous "Enquiry", such as the Council suggest, into the "conditions making for monopoly", the present facts, and the "necessary measures", in the film industry, - with power to put witnesses on oath, etc. I say that all the facts are quite well known, and that I shall be glad if the Council, acting as a Council, or through some sub-committee of their members, e.g., excluding the trade representatives, would make practical proposals to me. Whyte is frightfully slow and boring. But we get them both more or less to accept my view.

/D.J.

-2-

D.J. to see me on arrival. I hope and think that he will fit in well. I give him, to begin with, a few odd jobs and urge him to make the acquaintance of the various people concerned. He is still inclined to niggle a little on his personal position, and I tell him that I will look after this so long as I am President, and he adds that, when I cease being President, he will probably want to leave anyway!

Immense Reception at the Soviet Embassy. The invitation is from 4 to 6. I arrive soon after 5 and find the place quite packed, and hundreds of people pouring in and out. I am seized upon by Kuimov, a little man in the Trade Delegation, whom I met with Holmes and Dobbie months ago. He says "Vodka at 6 o'clock. You must wait." But, in fact, bottles of Vodka appear about 5.45, and we all begin to drink, including a rather reluctant Sir George Nelson, whom, however, I overbear, urging him only to eat between his drinks. I ask, as usual here, for Major Lebedev, who appears, magnificently arrayed in uniform, with heavy red epaulettes, looking very pleased with himself. Many representatives of the Red Army and Red Air Force are here to-day, and all most impressively dressed. But the Red Air Force, to my surprise, has blue and white round its collar. Soon after this, I am taken down to a lower room, where the only other Englishman is a British Officer, a Major, very full of Vodka already, rather excited and loudly shouting sentiments of undying friendship. The rest are Russians, about two dozen, including Gusev and his wife. She speaks now just a little English. It is all most friendly, and I feel, and shall, I think, still feel the same to-morrow, even when the Vodka has worn off, that the Moscow Conference has made a real difference, and that the feeling is now soaking through to these Russians that we are prepared to play in the same team with them, and that there is no reason why we should have serious quarrels now or in the future.

9. 11. 43.

Parliament, in the last week before the new session, is getting slack. Many Questions are missed. Indeed, I only give two oral answers, though there were nine on the paper.

Lunch at Mansion House - annual event with pikemen (they look much more impressive at a distance!), etc. The P.M. makes a speech in which, for the first time in public, he elaborates his theme of Food, Work and Homes in the Transition. He says that all

/Ministers

Ministers are now giving close attention to these preparations. This switch-over has not yet been fully appreciated or seized upon by the press. It is much more remarkable than they yet apprehend. He hinted also that the enemy might have new and powerful weapons, but that we should be ready for them and they could not affect the outcome of the war. (There is a lot of talk just now about a new German Rocket Bomb. Various committees are sitting to consider it, and what it might do, and what we should do if it did. A speech by Ley the other day was noted in which he said that Hitler had a tremendous Secret Weapon, but that the wretched English, by their "terror bombing", had interfered with its production and postponed the day when it would come into use. It is said that a certain raid ~~on~~ a relatively small target on the Baltic lately had this in mind, and that it succeeded. Others are sceptical about the whole thing. They ask why, if the thing is any good, it hasn't been used long ago, in the hope of doing at least something to counter the ever-increasing Anglo-American air attacks on Germany, and old Dunbar, it will be remembered, said that he understood that plans for the Second Front across the Channel were being speeded up, in order to forestall the Rocket Bomb, capable of being fired from a range of 150 miles, and liable to do great damage on impact. So they all say! And others add that, at the rosiest, such a projectile at such a range could not be ~~made~~ aimed with any great exactitude, and that, e.g., a strong wind might blow it far from any intended target. New weapons often go awry. R.R. told me that, when at the beginning of the war some - including myself and Amery - wanted to set the Black Forest alight, he always said that this was practically impossible. And then some clever chap, in some hush-hush back room, invented a balloon which was supposed to blow from here over Germany and then descend and burn their forests. But some of these wretched things, he said, got into the wrong air currents, and blew back and dropped in some of R.R.'s nice new conifer forests and did a little, but not excessive, damage, so that he had to ring up the hush-hush man and say "Hi, you damned fool, your bloody balloons are blowing the wrong way to-day".)

Dallas and M. Phillips to see me on another aspect of forestry, namely Jowitt's letter strongly urging that the Commission should not be placed under the Agricultural Ministers. Agreed that we three shall discuss this with W.J. next week. (Later it is agreed that this shall take place in C.R.A.'s room. *But G.D. May writes an adverse letter, which is to come. He is ill, poor old man.*) General talk with my post-warriors on the Return to be made by to-morrow to the War Cabinet Offices on our Plans for the Transition. Quite a useful, though a little desultory, talk.

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(Next day G.L.W., D.J. and I finally go through draft. ~~4~~ Copy attached.)

Look in at meeting of Polish Socialists in London at Stratton House. They are celebrating their Independence Day. Rather a moving sight, some 100 of them in a long, low, half-lit room, most with sad, worn faces. No-one here but has relatives and friends already massacred, or in course of being tortured, or missing and undiscovered, in their native Poland. Stanczyk in the Chair. When I arrive Kiolkosz is making a long speech. Thereafter I speak shortly. Words are worth so little at such times.

10. 11. 43.

The election of our new Administrative Committee has gone astonishingly well. H.M. has a very good vote and is top of the Ministerial list - now stupidly separated from the non-Ministerial. Phil and Tom Williams are the other two. Westwood and Garro are defeated. I didn't stand, nor did A.V.A. There had to be at least two new non-Ministers. In fact, there are three; J.W., who gets a very good vote of 69, Woodburn with 61 and Parker with 55. Then followed Daggar with 54, the last elected. Shinwell had 53, and so was off, by one vote! This is a great rebuff, much better than I had hoped. He takes it very badly, left the Party meeting in the middle after the figures were read out, and told the press that "This is the worst day's work the Labour Party has done for a long time. I don't intend to take it lying down." This will now be ~~an~~ altogether different A.C., with quite a different balance of opinion and temperament inside it. J.W. will have a great opportunity of improving his Parliamentary reputation. There are now three P.P.S.s on the A.C., Creech-Jones, J.W. and Woodburn.

I saw C.R.A. for a moment later in the morning. I had not had time for a word with him since this day last week, when he whispered to me at the Party meeting that he had seen the P.M. and that the Beaver menace to Reconstruction was off. To-day we discuss this a little further. He says that it was clear that protests came in to the P.M. from many quarters at the bare idea of letting the Beaver loose in this field. It was hoped, by all except the F.O., that he really was going off soon to Washington. C.R.A. said he had told the P.M. very frankly that he received much false information from the two B.s. C.R.A. had been much annoyed because the P.M. had told him that he had heard that C.R.A. was very unpopular with the Tories in the House. C.R.A. said he knew

/that

Dalton I 29 (35)

*One of us had also said that he heard that I was  
Very unpopular in my Dept. C.A. said that was  
all right, though he said Macilla was even  
more unpopular with all his staff*

that this was not true. On the other hand, the plans now made for Reconstruction, etc., were, he thought, quite satisfactory.

Dine, along with Tom Johnston, with MacGowan, to meet a number of industrialists who are, or may be made to be, interested in Scotland and in extending, or beginning, production there after the war. The party includes Courtauld and Val Crittall. The latter would be quite prepared to start something in Scotland. Agreed that T.J. and I shall send a further communication to all these people, putting them in touch with those of my officials who can advise them as to possibilities. T.J. tells the assembled throng that there has never been, from the point of view of Scotland, such a good President of the Board of Trade as I!

11. 11. 43.

In the House to-day A.E.'s statement on the Moscow Conference and J.A.'s on Mutual Lease-Lend both went very well. J.A. is gradually acquiring a Parliamentary manner, a gift which A.E. has had for many years. The Moscow proceedings are all made to sound most friendly and important, and I have no doubt that so they were.

Lunch at No.10 in small downstairs dining room looking out on the garden. P.M. says he has a bad headache and is rather glum and relatively silent. Mrs C., however, fully makes up for this. She is a very first-class hostess. To me she talks a lot about Russia, and I to her about Sir James Hawkey, whom she is seeing to-morrow. Other visitors are old Garvin and his much younger wife, Mr and Mrs Harvie-Watt and Sir E. Bridges. The P.M. is obsessed by the tendency of Indians to breed right down to the margin of subsistence, and often below it, as now in Bengal. He does not see what we can do to stop it. He is also, very naturally, furious with de Gaulle - "that is a bad man, most unfriendly to this country" - for his coup in the Lebanon, to which the French had promised independence but where they have just kidnapped all the members of the new Government!

I went off with H. Watt, with whom I had a very frank talk. The new Cabinet shuffle will be announced to-night. Woolton, as expected, will be Minister of Reconstruction. Jowitt, who has an unflinching capacity to accept impossible jobs under undignified conditions, is to stay on, in effect as his Under-Secretary. Ernest Brown is to be dumped down to be Chancellor of the Duchy. This, with the withdrawal of his "speaking part" from Mabane, now

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that Llewellyn is to come back to be Minister of Food in Wobblton's place, is a nasty blow for the Simonites. Duff Cooper is to be an Ambassador somewhere to the French, and Ben Smith is to go to America in Llewellyn's place. He did very well there lately. The P.M., H.W. says, would also have liked to get rid of Simon, Amery and Grigg. But, since it is now desired to send back as many war criminals as possible to the scenes of their crimes, there is no longer ~~any~~ much of a job, as was at one time expected, for Simon as President of some great International War Criminal Tribunal, and so, for the moment, he sticks on. The P.M. is fed up with the other two, but won't get rid of either of them while so many people are gunning after them.

I speak very bluntly about the influence of Beaverbrook and Bracken, and tell H.W. my own reaction and C.W.'s - which he had had direct already - to the suggestion of any interference with us. H.W. says that the P.M. knows that practically everyone hates the Beaver. He said the other day "I know that if I put it to a vote of the Cabinet, at least three-quarters of them would vote against my ~~taking~~ Max back. But that is not the way things are done in this country. The Prime Minister still has the right to choose a few of his own colleagues." I said that I was much irritated by the dropping in the P.M.'s ear of tales, nearly all lies, (about, e.g., internal relationships in the B. of T.). I said that C.R.A. had told me that, when the P.M. had referred to one of these tales the other night, C.R.A. had told him that it was quite untrue, and that he supposed the P.M. had got it from Beaverbrook, who had long been running a personal campaign against me in his papers. Whereat, C.R.A. had reported, the P.M. had made a loud snort and said that everybody was always against the Beaver, and changed the subject. H.W. said that he frequently told the P.M., both orally and in written minutes, that I was one of the most successful Ministers in the House, and that only a few very reactionary Tories objected to my being where I was. A much larger number objected to certain other Labour Ministers. H.W. also said that C.W. was always exceedingly loyal to me in conversation in Tory circles.

Dine with Garro, who got into very hot water with the P.M. the other day, because he had made what I frankly thought was a most stupid speech about the future of our relationships with the U.S.A. The P.M. had said "Under-Secretaries, when making speeches, should confine themselves to platitudes." Garro likes C.L. very much and is clearly rather fascinated by his job. We gossip a bit about the old topics of Party Leadership, etc., but I

/formed

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formed the view that, though he is a nice chap, and a good friend of mine, his judgment isn't really very good.

12. 11. 43.

Give Underhill instructions to make a new Memorandum, replacing an out of date request by an extension of an old and limited request.

Dine with Bob and Betty, who now have a top flat with a very fine view in East Heath Road, Hampstead. Bob says that Dick Crossman is very ill indeed, having neglected phlebitis, which is now showing signs of spreading up his legs. He had been a crashing success - with occasional crashing indiscretions - in North Africa. Eisenhower thought the world of him. But he was so ill out there that he was flown home with a doctor in a bomber, and then, instead of going into hospital here, worked for two days in the office and then collapsed. He will be a great loss if he dies. A most powerful, though not a very lovable, character.

Bob now wants to be a politician again, after a long fallow period. But when he talked to Hinkley Atkinson the other night, the best offer the latter could make him was to fight Pritt at Hammersmith! I had not seen these two together since 1940, nor their 6½ year old daughter, Rosalind, since she was a baby.

13. 11. 43.

P.L. reports that the Treasury are at it again. Eady and Co. are trying to hold up the Report to Ministers on the Washington Talks, and Eady even suggested to A.O. that there should first be a meeting of officials "to brief Ministers". A.O. replied, P.L. being in the room, that "this would lead us into rather deep water". P.L. thinks that such a meeting was designed to give Hubert Henderson an opportunity to wave his arms about and reopen many old closed questions. P.L. hears that Keynes has not seen either J.A. or Hopkins since his return. This suggests a high-powered intrigue to lessen his influence. On the other hand, he has been very slow in preparing his own part of the report to Ministers. We have done ours. I shall write to buck up Law, who led the Delegation and is putting in a covering note to the Cab. on the Report. I also incite Meade to speak to Cherwell.

Robin Brook to lunch. Very quick and keen and amusing

/as

as usual. He says Gubbins is a very bad judge of character and has been making frightful trouble by appointing and dismissing large numbers of people in Cairo. He has been stupid enough to appoint Spurborg as his No.2. The latter is, of course, the stooge of C.H., whom G. only recently succeeded. He will certainly be disloyal.

DIARY14. 11. 43 (Sunday)

Spend all day indoors, sleeping, reading and making minutes on miscellaneous papers.

15. 11. 43.

Hopkins, it is understood "under Ministerial direction", has written to all Permanent Secretaries a quite Henry James letter, the point of which is that "private conferences" with Sir W. Beveridge on his plans for full employment should not be attended by officials, temporary or permanent, lest they might say, or imply by what they did not say, something which would give Sir W.B. an inkling as to the Government's own proposals. This is rather a blow for Watkinson, who enjoys sitting round with Sir W.B. and his economists, and has done so with my full authority and approval. But I am rather glad the thing has been brought to a head, for I have been getting uneasy, particularly since B. has been publicly attacking H.M., who, he ought to know, is the best friend of his old plan in the War Cabinet. D.J. tells me that Kahn, now at the Ministry of Supply, met him at the Reform Club the other night and, pointing to Beveridge sitting alone at a table in the corner, said "Look at that old chap. Everybody has been forbidden by the Treasury to speak to him. If ~~we~~ we were seen sitting at the same table, we would be dismissed from the Civil Service, I suppose." I wouldn't wonder if we hear more about this. But, in that case, I think Anderson will have to answer any public queries.

Dine with Tom Marshall, whom I had not seen for a long while, and E.D., who now live together at 20, Princess Road. T.M. is now working in the new Historical Research Section of the F.O. under G.J. He is still both intelligent and charming. We have a sweepstake on the liklieliest month for the Germans to fold up. I say July, 1944, but most of the others put it a month or two earlier.

16. 11. 43.

International Sub. I put over my first sketch of the Post-War International Settlement. It is extremely well received, much better in some quarters than I had expected. Poor little

/Gillies

-2-

Gillies is terrified of my Palestine paragraph, and thinks this should be referred to a separate committee. I say this is all nonsense. He likes all the rest. Dallas, Walker and Burrows are all very complimentary, but the most surprising case is little Laski, who, looking rather ill and telling us that he has had a heart attack, takes half an hour to go through my draft point by point and express complete approval, except, perhaps, on Basic English, which he thinks we should get someone else to propose. He is deeply touched by my Palestine paragraph and also by my earlier reference to the German atrocities. He, like most of the others, are quite prepared for the transfer of population. The more I think, and speak, on this point, the more firmly am I persuaded that, amid the immense inevitable movements for repatriation and resettlement of prisoners -of-war, slave labourers and exiles, the deliberate transfer of some few millions of German minorities back behind the new German frontiers would be a relatively small addition to our problem. This, moreover, would be the unique moment for carrying out this movement, and, once it was done, it would take the sting out of Labour agitations for frontier revision.

The most critical of all my colleagues, and the only one who really argues back against some points in my paper, is Phil. He is a terrible old Genevan Tory. He bothers on for a reference to Mandates, but gets no support on this. Mandates were no longer mentioned in our Old World and New Society, nor in the document presented to the last Annual Conference, which Phil moved, and seems to have thought that Mandates were still in it. The exposure of this puts him rather wrong with the rest of the Committee this afternoon. He promises to let me have some notes in writing.

The next step is to meet the Allied Socialists and talk to them on broad general lines, and get their reactions. After that I will make a draft, suitable for publication, for the International Sub. It is all going along quite nicely and I have got things pretty comfortably in my own hands.

Have a word with A.O. on the Steering Committee. He is finding it a frightful drain on his time, since they are meeting practically every day. I gather also that he is frequently practically alone against a combination of three Treasury officials - Hopkins, Barlow and Eady, but why all three? - and Robbins. He says, however, that Hurst has given him fair support on Location. Old Phillips seems a bit of an old buffer, and not much use for this purpose.

/George

*of Ministry of Labor*

-3-

George Ridley dines alone with me. It is very obvious that he is not physically strong, but, though his mind moves rather slowly, it is clear and good and he is taking a lot of trouble in pre-arranging sub-committee meetings.

17. 11. 43.

Visit Bryant and Mays Match Factory in Bow. Lunch with the Directors, address the workers, and inspect some very ingenious matches. *Machin.*

Meeting of sub-committee on L.P. Secretaryship. J.S.M. is much calmer now that his date of retirement is decided. We plan to get all nominations in by the end of January and then, through this sub-committee, to make a long Short List and finally to bring, say, the six strongest candidates before the full N.E. for interview. The salary must be increased, but the general feeling is that we should not offer more than £1,000 rising to £1,250, or resentment will be caused. Most T.U. General Secretaries, I gather, get £1,000, but not a pre-determined incremental scale.

Call on Duncan, really to try to get Beer back from him to the B. of T. This man is well spoken of here and is wanted to work with, and even to be a buffer between, Watkinson and Warter. Duncan doesn't say no, and will write about this. I also ask him to let me have the fullest and the earliest information possible both on (a) Arms Factories which he is pretty sure won't be wanted after the defeat of Germany, and (b) those which will be wanted permanently in peace time. He is more forthcoming than I had expected on both points. I hope for more detail soon.

D.J. to see me, having read through minutes and papers of the Steering Committee. It seems that on Location there is much opposition on the Committee to our proposals and a good deal of concern among my post-warriors. I must have a conference on this next week. D.J. says that Robbins is talking too much at the Steering Committee and put in a most preposterous paper - a copy of which I saw - on Location.

Dine with Sir A.M. Livingstone and sit between Rieffler and a very nice American named Bucknell (?), who has succeeded Freeman Mathews as Counsellor at the Embassy. R. says that the American Leather Mission were very favourably impressed with everything they saw here, except our use of rubber. They thought

/we

we did not know how to make the best of this, especially for soling. R. thought that, if we wanted it, we could get a good deal more rubber from the U.S.

18. 11. 43.

*Arnold Fursk*

*W.A.F.* to see me about his Atlantic Charter screed. I seem to be giving a lot of time to this affair! He is very insistent that he should be allowed, somewhere, even in a note at the end, to give some facts, even if no opinions, on disputed frontier questions, and also that the N.E. should, in their Forword, at least say that they are in favour of the A.C.! He agrees at once, however, to cut out the footnote saying that the cession of East Prussia to Poland would be "a major infraction" of the A.C. and is reasonably receptive to my doctrine on transfer of populations. I will take his screed away with me this weekend and prepare a revise of the passage in dispute, to propose next week to the Sub-Committee.

*W.A.F.*  
*Chick*

Lunch with Street, Holmes and Kuimov. The latter is very friendly and now laughs loudly at my smallest jokes. He says the new Ambassador is pronounced Goosev and that this also means goose in Russian; that "Maisky" means the month of May; that Lebedev means a swan; but that Kuimov means nothing at all! He has only twice in his life been to Moscow. He was born in Kazan and has lived in the Urals, the Ukraine and Leningrad.

Receive a deputation from Rossendale, to protest against the suggestion that they, and principally they, make "shoddy footwear". But their protest is quite mild and good-tempered, and I tell them that, when the new plan for manufacturers' identification marks has run for a few months, we shall see where we are.

With H.G., his wife Dora, and G.P. to a Rank film, "The Demi-Paradise". This shows a Russian arriving in England, being received at first in our characteristically ungracious way, but later being caught up in our Middle Class social life. At first he hates us, particularly our lack of seriousness and sense of humour, but gradually, particularly after we become allies, he comes to understand and like us very much. A good film, though it could stand a bit of cutting.

19. 11. 43.

Hodgson on Patents, etc. I am a bit puzzled about these and am half inclined to appoint a small committee to enquire whether (a) patents are likely to be a post-war "restrictive practice" and (b) any special new steps should be taken on international agreements.

Mr Cooper of Gillettes calls to report that he has been a very good boy and that, without any extra labour, his production is now 6,000,000 a week. Roughly, Gillettes produce half the total output.

In afternoon to R.A.C.S. Make Do and Mend Exhibition, and then to W.L.



DIARY20 & 21. 11. 43.

At W.L.

22. 11. 43.

International Sub, where we make surprisingly good progress with our "Moscow Agenda", but I still doubt whether the desired delegation will ever go!

D.J. to report on various matters. There is terrible delay over Location in the Steering Committee, Hopkins being ill nearly all the time. But some sort of report is thought to be in draft. I am clear that I must see old Bevin about all this and try and get a united front with him.

23. 11. 43.

Dallas and Sir John Orr to lunch. Both decent old Scots, and the latter quite co-operative in our publicity.

In Chair of Policy Sub, where, for more than an hour, there is a row between Jowitt and Dallas on the old point as to whom the Forestry Commission should be responsible. G.D., who drank a good deal of whiskey at lunch with me, spoils whatever case he has by being excited and abusive, accusing poor old Jowitt of going for joy-rides all round the country with Roy Robinson, etc. Finally, to my surprise and pleasure, the Committee decides, by 7 votes to 1, only Dallas dissenting, that we will restore the deliberately vague phrase that the Commission shall "be responsible to a Minister of the Crown". G.D. rises and declares that he now resigns from the Committee and stumps out of the room. But next day he has forgotten all about his resignation.

24. 11. 43.

*Mon. 30* | A bloody awful day! First, from 10 to 1, a National Executive, most of which is taken up to discussing the Mosley case. Little Ellen, who is apt to be much too publicly emotional about her Chief, makes an impassioned defence, with sobs in her throat, but it really isn't very convincing, except to the purists for civil liberty, who like to think that LSB is being administered

/leniently

leniently. Sam Watson wants us to pass a resolution "strongly protesting" against H.M.'s action. We get this toned down to "regretting", and this is the best that could be hoped to do.

Then, following lunch at Admiralty House, I see -

At 3.30, Conley for an hour, grumbling cheerfully about the clothing industry;

At 4.30, McGowan with two crooks of whom one is a Turk, about exporting substitute quinine to Turkey, for half an hour;

At 5.0, Tennyson about post-war Utility Furniture, for half an hour;

At 5.45 with A.O., Street and Platt about Cotton, most wearisomely for one and a half hours;

And finally, to dine, along with H.G., with Rank and some of his minions, when there is a long talk about exports and Anglo-American film relations.

I don't like days like this.

25. 11. 43.

H.M. to-day gets a vote of 51 to 43 in the Parliamentary Party Meeting, as a result of which the Party will not put down anything approximating to a Vote of No Confidence. I don't go to the meeting, partly because I am fed up with the whole thing, partly because I should be much embarrassed in having to defend the way the thing was done, partly because I have lots else to do. J.W. appears to have been helpful, particularly in drafting the recommendation of the A.C. So now, rather to my surprise, H.M. will get away with it after all. With every day that passes, interest will decline.

*Letting out Mosley.*

None the less, I consider that he has made a thorough mess of it. I suspect that he has been badly advised by pedantic officials. Also he is much too inclined to get "upstage" about his "judicial functions" and not to show much resourcefulness in procedure. I am quite sure that it was quite wrong to speak of the "release" of Mosley, and also a pretty bad mistake to do the thing three days before Parliament reassembled, instead of waiting and making the first statement in the House, and then putting out such a jejune press notice. Leslie, I hear, knew nothing about it

-3-

till it had happened. Yet H.M. keeps this clever Australian Jew to advise him on publicity! It would surely have been possible, when these doctors made their representations, to have them up and cross-examine them - and this should have been a good bit of fun in itself - and I would have been inclined to ask them now to go on with the good work and examine the health of all the poorer and obscurer detenus as well - and to make them say just what additional steps and facilities were required. And then it would surely have been possible to say that somewhere, in some prison or other institution controlled by the H.O., such facilities could be provided. And, therefore, all that need have been done, to meet the doctors' case, would have been to transfer this detenu from one place of confinement to another; but, neither in fact nor in name, to "release" him.

I would also have wanted to know, had I been H.M., why these highly paid, fancy physicians, and notably Dawson of Penn, were brought in for this one particular case. Nor can I conceal from myself that, having always hated Mosley worse than any other man in public life - and I don't really hate many of them - and remembering vividly many of his mis-deeds, including the fact that he was married at Berlin, about 1936 or '37, with Hitler and Goering as witnesses of the ceremony, I would not have been at all sorry to let him die, provided there was not too sharp a comeback from anywhere that mattered. When so many millions are dying, including so many who are so worth while, it is revolting to me that any step, however small, should have to be taken to prolong the life of this filthy blackguard, who was clearly marked out to be Gauleiter of this country had the Huns got ashore. I do not think much care would have been taken, even on the recommendation of Lord Dawson of Penn, of the health of most of us under his regime.

And therefore, quite frankly, I am almost wholly in sympathy with all the row. But, on the other hand, it would have been a monstrous thing if H.M. had gone down because of this one blunder. None the less, we Ministers must remember that our political lives hang always by a thin thread!

Streat and Platt and two more come formally to ask for my approval of minimum prices in the post-war cotton industry. I go over all the dates, beginning with September 1st, 1942, when I was in Manchester, and reassured them that I had no plan for the cotton industry, but wanted them to produce one, and so on, through

/all

all the long delays, till now, 14½ months later, when Streat still has no plan except this one isolated controversial and, as some would think, highly objectionable and anti-social, proposal. I say that I must have a proper plan to show me how he and his colleagues now propose that, after the war, we shall not again have the state of things in 1938, when cotton exports had fallen to little more than what they sold at home, when 48% of the operatives were unemployed, along with nearly 40% of the spindles and a like proportion of the looms. A bit abashed, he promises a report by mid-January. I say I will rule nothing out, not even minimum prices, but must see it in a complete picture. Platt does his usual anti-merchant stuff and I ask him to give me, in a separate memorandum, his own views on how the industry should be re-shaped. I hear afterwards that Streat was "very hurt" by the way I had received him and that both Streat and Platt came separately to see my officials afterwards and each said that the other had put his foot in it very badly and been very unhelpful at the interview.

DIARY27. 11. 43.

Bob Fraser to lunch, and Chris Mayhew to dinner. The latter is just back from North Africa. He would like to go back to S.O.E. and I advise him to get in touch with Robin Brook and arrange this. His Unit turned out to be a technical mistake. They were intended to dash ahead with wireless, etc., with the first troops in any landing or important advance, and keep H.Q. informed. But it turned out that their equipment was too heavy and they got left behind. Also they were a very low-powered private Army, no-one above the rank of Lieut.Colonel having any vested interest in them. So now, although they were a most carefully picked and highly trained body of men, they are to be broken up. All this, naturally, is rather disappointing. He is now going to have a week's leave at home and I undertake to go down for some week-end in the New Year and make a speech, probably at some Works, in a war effort exhortation, in the course of which I shall make suitable, though entirely non-political, references to this talented young man who, I am inclined to guess, will play a considerable part in the future in the life of the County of Norfolk, etc.

Gallant  
and

28. 11. 43.

Lunch with Reg McAllister and his wife at the flat which they have taken over from the Fergusons at 28, Tavistock Court. They are a nice couple. He is a very shrewd politician, though the Queensland background is a good deal simpler than ours. I shall arrange for him to meet a number of our people. He is here for five years and might well, I should think, succeed Pike as Agent General for Q. He says that Forgan Smith would like to have taken charge of Defence at Canberra, but that Evatt was jealous of him and persuaded Curtin, who had originally wanted him, to believe that there was some legal difficulty about giving him the post, since he was not a member of the Federal Parliament.

Take these two Australians after lunch to visit the blitzed portion of the City, all round St Paul's, and in the Temple. They are awe-struck.

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29. 11. 43.

Go to see E.B. and raise with him, first the P.M.'s latest Minute on Woolton's functions, which seems to suggest that they are practically nil, the duty both of "formulating" and "executing" policy remaining "with the Department concerned", and, second, the hold-up on the Steering Committee. On the first, E.B. says that he went and made a row with the P.M., in the latter's bedroom, when the news of W.'s appointment was first announced. He wanted to know whether W. was going to take over all his work at the Ministry of Labour, because if so, he would go back to his Union next day. He also wanted to know whether the P.M. had put Woolton in at Beaverbrook's suggestion. The P.M., he said, "took this very badly" and said that he was just off to meet Stalin and that his mind was full of other things, and that it was really too much to ask him to go into detailed questions at this moment. But he assured E.B. that there was no intention that W. should interfere in the work of the Department, except when it was necessary to bring several of them together, and that he would leave a note behind him which could be circulated as a Minute, making this clear to all Ministers. It seems that the P.M. did leave a very rough note, and that this, in his absence, has been cleaned up a bit and circulated over his initials. It was designed to be "a reassurance" to Ministers generally that Woolton would not butt in on them. I then told E.B. that I had told C.R.A. that he could tell the P.M. that, if Beaverbrook were given any supervisory powers over me, I should resign, and that almost certainly C.W. would do the same. E.B. said "We would all have done the same here, me and George Tomlinson and McCorquodale", and he had also let this be known to the P.M.

We then passed to the Steering Committee. He said "Poor Phillips is quite broken-hearted about it. He says they are not getting on at all. He says that your man Overton puts up your point of view, but not with much conviction."

For many purposes E.B. is by far the best of all my colleagues, in spite of his mountainous defects, of egoism, garrulity and peasant-minded suspicion. J.W. said to me the other day "I think E.B. likes you." I said "Why?" He said "Because he is always abusing all the others, but he never says anything about you."

Cabinet Committee on Indian Finance. Long discussion, including my paper on Debt to India and its Effect on Post-war Exports (attached). No doubt there is not much which we can do immediately, but it is a shocking mess, reflecting great discredit

/on

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on all concerned, including the India Office, the Government at Delhi, and the responsible Indians themselves.

See C.R.A. in the evening and discuss Woolton's functions and the delay on the Steering Committee. I am rather shocked to find that he is forming a good impression of that little rat Gorell Barnes, who is apparently drafting part of the Report. A bit which I have seen, drafted by Robbins, is sheer verbiage and generalities.

30. 11. 43.

Lunch at Piccadilly Hotel, on instigation of Shepherd and Windle, to meet a Yorkshire manufacturer named Pickup, who is very anxious to do something in, with or for, the Labour Party. All a bit vague, as always on these occasions, but it is agreed that we will have a further party to which we will ask some other friendly industrialists and consider the possibility of having an industrialists' equivalent of X.Y.Z.

J.W., with whom I discuss the prospects to-night, is rather gloomy about the atmosphere over Mosley. He thinks that if the Party breaks loose, as it may, and votes solidly against the Government on the Mosley amendment to the Address, that the Government may break up and we may all have to go out. I am inclined to think that this is a little over-drawn, but it looks to me quite on the cards that H.M. may feel he ought to resign, if more of our Party vote against him than for him in the Division.

Crowds of people are leaving their work in order to form delegations and deputations to M.P.s and Ministers, and I saw with amusement a large crowd with banners gathered outside the building which I share with Sir S.Cripps, but they were aircraft workers, after him, not me!

1. 12. 43.

Party Meeting. On and on about Mosley. Fifty-five to 38 against allowing a free vote to members on the motion put down, in effect a vote of no confidence in the Government, by certain of our members, including three members of the A.M. This indiscipline and anarchy is preposterous.

/H.M.makes

-4-

H.M. makes a not very convincing speech, as it seems to me, in the House, but we finally, I hope, are finished with this thing now. A majority of Labour M.P.s vote with the Government, and the total Government majority was very ample. But H.M. has made a sad mess of this case.

2. 12. 43.

A day of small things. Lunch with the Worshipful Company of the Makers of Playing Cards. Westall, whom I met the other night, is the Master and in the Chair. He might start a Plastics factory at North Shields. The party at the lunch is rather second-rate. If one must belong to a City Company, why not belong to a good one, as I do? "If a man must be a Tory, at least let him be a gentleman", to quote once more Jos Wedgwood's famous saying.

(Squipping)  
Sir A. Anderson, heavy, slow, pompous, but, on the whole, well-meaning, reports on his trip to the U.S.A. He says that he tried to make them realise that they must import as well as export, and he thinks this is understood in many parts of the country, but not yet by the Congressmen at Washington.

3. 12. 43.

L.P.Cttee., where I seek agreement of my colleagues to making a statement on Retail Trade in the Transition. I am furious to find that Mabane appears, in order to obstruct. He is a frightful man, seeking to exhibit his poor little pseudo-personality for a brief period while he is in charge of his Department pending the return from the U.S. of Llewelin, Woolton's successor. I was not prepared for this obstruction, or I could have bowled him out by quoting all the dates and conferences at which, on the official level, this had been cleared between H.G. and the M.of F. The item coming on at the last moment, when all are anxious to get away, it is agreed that there shall be consultation with a view to an agreed statement on behalf of both B.O.T. and M.of F. I say, rather testily, that this paralysis of the will which seems to afflict us is getting very frightful and that I really hope my colleagues will come to a decision on this very simple point next time.

Weir and Meynell to lunch. They are a nice couple.

/Confer



Confer with Woolton and Lyttelton on next week's Location debate. They came up to me at the end of the Lord President's Cttee. this morning and said they were afraid that I should have a rather difficult job in dealing with this Amendment since so little had been decided, and they would like to do their best to help! Sir A.Barlow is produced this afternoon as Acting Chairman of the Steering Committee. I am a little cold to him and ask whether there is anything on which the Officials have agreed what they shall recommend to Ministers. To my surprise, he says they are agreed on the use of building permits for the Transition. This is a bull point which I must make the most of. W. seems, quite naturally, not to realise much about the detail of any of this, but I think he genuinely does want to help to produce decisions.

4. & 5. 12. 43.

At W.L. Cold and sunny and I take a good deal of exercise, both inside and outside the garden, and come back feeling much less stuffy and paunchy.

Draft a short note on what I could say on Location next week. It comes out fairly well as an essay in bricks without straw.

6. 12. 43.

Conference in Woolton's office, taking H.G. with me, with Mabane and French. Mabane creates the most deplorable impression, and it is evidently all his fault, and not that of the officials, that there has been this fuss about my statement. There is really nothing to quarrel about, and it is left that the officials shall devise a form of words. This proves rather tedious, and there is a lot of telephoning about commas and the order of sentences, but we finally reach a rather exasperated agreement.

7. 12. 43.

Send Woolton my note on Location, on which his Secretary telephones that he has "no comments". So that is established, in case I should have trouble from other colleagues!

Dine with D. and P.Jay. Peggy says that he is now really much better, the transfer plus a fairly easy opening period /having

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having done him good. His naval brother comes in and tells us of his experiences with the Russians. Archangel sounds a bit dreary and slushy, but he says that the Russians, once they start on a job, go full split until they finish it, and their naval people seem to get on very well with ours. They are good at their work and also at drinking.

8. 12. 43.

Three amendments are taken in the House to-day on the Address, and on the second of these, on Location of Industry, I make a rather successful speech (Hansard attached). I go a bit beyond anything that my colleagues have agreed to, but not much beyond the rough note which I cleared with Woolton. The speech gives a good deal of satisfaction in the House and also to some of my officials. We can now go forward a bit faster, I hope, with the industrialists.

Cynthia Jebb to dine with me, and tells me that G.J. very nearly missed the plane for Cairo, being in Lincolnshire for the weekend and the departure having suddenly been accelerated. He had no time to go home, so she packed his bag and met him at King's Cross, whence he straightway proceeded on his journey.

9. 12. 43.

No time to myself to-day!

10.30 to 11.30. See Rank with C.W. and take him to task for allowing Two Cities to hire two studios without seeking my consent. He admits that he finances Two Cities, who could not get on without him, but says he knew nothing about it till the deed was done. This may be true, but I insist that he should give me an undertaking that the hiring shall be only for one film each and that in future this shall not take place without my consent. I undertake, on the other hand, to help him to get Rex Harrison out of the Air Force to play the lead in Noel Coward's "Blithe Spirit".

11.30 to 12.0. H.J. to impress on me the importance of demobilising early key men for exports.

12.15 to 1.15. War Cab. on Demobilisation. C.R.A. begins by saying that no decisions can be taken in the absence of the P.M., but we spend an hour maundering round and discussing

/Age

Age + Length of Service v. Block Releases. Much concern expressed over slow progress likely in house building, and I have to warn them that some building labour will also be required for industry. Finally, Woolton is asked "to focus the points for decision" as regards building. E.B., as usual, is very resourceful and makes various minor suggestions which would help. In addition, he proposes that we should cease to speak of "Demobilisation" until we have beaten the Japs. In the interval there should only be "Releases".

1.15 to 3.0. Act as host, in the absence of Mrs Phillimore, to six American journalists. I notice, as on previous occasions, that they are tremendous experts at suspicion of seemingly harmless persons and transactions. I talk to them fairly frankly about the Labour Party, and impress on them that it is the Annual Conference of the Party, and not the Parliamentarians, who will decide whether we stay in or go out of the Government later on. I also make the point that it takes two to stay together, and that perhaps the Tories may think, at a given moment, that they would do better if we broke up.

3.15 to 4.0. Mrs Adamson on Corsets.

4.15 to 5.0. Annual Meeting of Party Superannuation Fund at Transport House. (I had thought it was only a meeting of the Trustees, but it was really ~~only~~ the representatives of the Staff, so that I need not have gone, but the fact that I did go was, I think, a good deal appreciated.)

6.15 to 7.45. Lord President's Cttee., where I get what I want on the only two points concerning me, (1) the postponement of the L.C.C. Plan to develop a new Housing Estate, with industrial implications, in Essex, and (2) the agreement with my colleagues to the laboriously reached formula on Retail Trade, on which I shall now answer an arranged P.Q. next Tuesday. On (1) we are "awaiting decisions", first on land policy, which Woolton is to help W.S. Morrison to make up his mind about, and, second, on Location. Here the first and long-delayed stage is to get the Report of that damned Steering Committee. But to-day I speak of it with respect as "this high-powered official committee" whose Report we should await before committing ourselves to the L.C.C. Plan!

H.G. to dine.

10. 12. 43.

Spend morning, and lunch, with Allied Socialists at St Ermin's, seeking their views on the International Post-war Settlement (Questionnaire attached). They don't add much, but they oppose nothing of importance in my plan, which I don't positively disclose to them, only asking them questions. The most intelligent is Brodson (?), the Luxembourg Minister of something or other. He says that an Army can only, in the next stage, become international at the staff level, though, in the light of our war experience, an Air Force can become international lower down. Most are for "decentralisation" in Germany, and it may be that this will prove the magic formula. If you "decentralise" enough, the result will not be practically different from "dismemberment", e.g., if you "decentralise" the right to make war. They all undertake to send particulars of German conduct in their own countries. I am inclined to think that we should make a separate publication of this, collecting also something from the Soviet Embassy. None want German labour gangs in their territory; they think the Russians should have the monopoly of this form of reparation. Most are scared of any European organisation, political or economic, which would exclude Britain and Russia. This, one of them says, would be nothing less than a Greater Germany. But, if you include Britain and Russia, you have already gone as far east as the Pacific and included the whole of the British Empire. In that case, you are already world-wide, and why, then, have any special European organisation? There is some sense in this.

Long argument, supported by C.W. and H.G., with Warter and Fletcher about A.B.P.C. They are very obstinate and argumentative, especially the latter, and at some points I am deliberately rather rude. There are three issues; (a) What should their total ceiling be, (b) What should the ceiling of their A circuit be, and (c) What should their London ceiling be. I tell them that, on merits, I would make (a) rather less than Rank's, since otherwise they will merely be gaining an advantage from my having fixed him first; that I would put (b) at about 350, and that on (c) I would freeze them at their present figure of 82. They, on the other hand, claim on (a) parity with Rank, on (b) 400, and on (c), which they say is a new point, though, as H.G. points out to them, it was brought out very clearly in their own memorandum, they object to any special limitation in addition to that involved in (a) and (b). I finally make them an offer to let them have their way on (a), provided I have mine on (b) and (c). They then make a counter-suggestion that, instead of the limits in (a) and (b), they should

/agree

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agree not to purchase more than, say, 50 more cinemas anywhere. I say that I will think this over, provided I get my way on (c). They are to see H.G. again.

I tell them that they compare very badly with Rank, who settled with me on one interview, and without any trouble at all, whereas they have been arguing on for months. I tell them, further, that Rank is now pressing for them to be fixed, and would regard it as most unfair if I gave them parity with him. I also tell them that the Films Council are disturbed at my not having fixed them and wanted me to appoint a Royal Commission into the whole film industry, with the right to send for persons and papers, and put them on oath. I have declined to do this but have asked the Films Council to make their own enquiries, which they are now doing, and I have undertaken to help them with information. If my talks with W. and F. break down, I shall tell the whole story frankly to the Films Council, which will do A.B.P.C. no good. All the limitations I am proposing to them are subject to the qualification "subject to the consent of the P.B.T.". I tell them that I think they are being unreasonably dilatory and lacking in a proper appreciation of the public interest. On detail I tell them that I think they are opening their mouths too wide. I also say, after Fletcher has been doing most of the talking for some time, that I think if he were out of the way, I should soon get a reasonable settlement with Warter. To this the latter has, of course, politely to demur!

But I would much sooner get a defensible settlement with these people than have a public row.

Rather a disquieting conference on U Furniture. Our production has been very disappointing, many designated firms being very slow to start. Various explanations are given for this, labour seepage, lack of experience of the firms in this line of production, unsuitable timber, or too little timber, or greater interest by firms, who are also doing war work, in the latter. We agree on certain immediate efforts to be made before I take this matter up with Ministers. I am inclined to think that some of my officials are too much inclined to try and make me take things up with colleagues instead of working proper liaison with other Departments. This is quite definitely the view of D.J., who comes to the conference and dines with me afterwards. He thinks M. Williams particularly prone to this, and is rather shocked how little we are working in with the Ministry of Labour. He says that they have many good officials and that at the Ministry of Supply he had very satisfactory dealings with them. He also thinks that our regional representatives are pretty feeble, compared /with

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with those of the Supply Departments, and that I shall soon, when the switchover comes nearer, have to strengthen these and to pay larger salaries. He also says it is being put about Whitehall that the B. of T. has done nothing about the motorcar industry, whose representatives are, therefore, calling in on everybody else, M.A.P. and M.S., as well as Ministry of Labour. And on Location, he says that Warter has Farebrother working on this under him, but that F. admitted that he had no contact with Chaddick, who is working on Location at the Ministry of Labour, and therefore an industrialist calling on these two Departments may receive quite different advice where to locate his factory, and, if Sir Herbert Williams heard of this, he might put down a very damaging P.Q.

11. 12. 43.

To Hampstead in the evening to dine and sleep with Bob and Betty.

DIARY12. 12. 43 (Sunday)

Sleep in most of the morning and, after an admirable lunch, go for a quick walk, with occasional jogs, on Hampstead Heath with Bob and Betty. We overtake Douglas and Peggy Jay, but rapidly out-distance them. A most dingy man, alleged by Bob to be his immediate superior and ranking as the equivalent of a P.A.S., makes a very poor impression on me. He was, I hear, an advertising agent before the M. of I. took him on. His worst break, speaking to a Minister of the Crown, was to refer to "some chap at the Ministry of Supply" when it appeared that he was intending to indicate Sir A. Duncan. This was apropos of the allegation of Driberg that Sir A.D. was going to leave the Government in order to take up a post at £20,000 a year with the British Employers. Following a formal denial of this, Driberg was fired from the Daily Express, so that, though "William Hickey" still writes, it is no longer Driberg.

Rosalind, now aged  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , has a penetrating voice, great self-confidence, and strong character. She was, for a short while, at school with some nuns. Towards these she is quite vindictive. We discuss together how to make life unpleasant for "the silly old nuns". She would like me, first of all, to take all their coupons away, and then take away all their blackouts, so that they must either sit in the dark or turn on the light, and, if they turned on the light, we would take them all away and put them in gaol.

13. 12. 43.

Rather encouraging talk on U Furniture with Weir, Lebus and Hall, the Director of Woodworking. I am strongly of opinion that a great deal can be settled sub-Ministerially, if only the people concerned show a bit of gumption.

Convene a conference with A.O., Watkinson, Warter, Helmore, Miss Kilroy and D.J. to discuss arrangements regarding factories. I am anxious, following some bright suggestions made by the last-named two days ago, (a) to bring Warter and his principal officials into this building, and (b) to unify our regional arrangements, and perhaps in some regions to appoint a better man than either of the two we have now. I float these ideas and invite rumination upon them.

14. 12. 43.

Last lot of P.Q.s before Parliament disperses for Christmas. I announce supplementary clothing coupons, (a) the "Industrial Ten", available as from to-morrow, and (b) the "Iron Ration", to which an addition of 755,000 workers entitled has been made, to be available next April. Also I make my statement on Post-War Retail Trade. This goes over very nicely and has a good press in the evening papers and next day. "Small man to get his shop back", etc.

George Ridley gives one of his Chairman's lunches, at which I make the acquaintance of Carol Johnson, Scott Lindsay's successor, and, between us, we keep Citrine in a good humour. I pay a tribute to all the T.U.C. has done to help me with clothes rationing, etc.

International Sub-Committee. Long discussion on the "terms of reference" of the delegation which might one day go to Russia. Laski is absent, without apology or excuse, and we considerably tone down the draft in his absence. At the end, as Ridley says to me, it is doubtful whether it would be worth while spending thousands of pounds, even if transport were available, in order to send people to Moscow to discuss this - someone suggested a delegation of 10, and someone else thought that it would cost £600 each, even if the Russians paid for everything in Russia, and why should they? - when it could all be discussed by means of a letter. (It may be that the next move will be to send a letter and see what the response to that is.)

15. 12. 43.

Take D.J. to a conference with E.B. and Sir S.Cripps, each likewise supported by an official, to discuss the future of aluminium, with special reference to some steam plants in S.Wales. These seem to be hopelessly uneconomic, and both E.B. and I, after a first resistance, assent reluctantly to their being put on a care and maintenance basis, but we must find some other compensating development in S.Wales, and D.J. is to look into this.

Speak at private lunch of Fabian Society at the Royal Hotel, where the waiting is most frightfully slow - the staff being alleged nearly all to have flu - so that I start late. (Notes of this speech attached.) I talk pretty frankly and I think most of them take it in.

/Very



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Very interesting Cab. on "Demobilisation". E.B. now proposes a quite fresh approach. Is this, he asks, one war or two? If one war - and unless we insist on this, the whole machine will break in our hands and no-one will be willing either to go and fight the Japs or to do anything except what he likes at home - we should consider "demobilisation" as coming only when Japan is defeated. Till then, men should only be "released". On release from the Forces - with liability to recall - they should be subject to direction. They should go, not where they like, but where their labour will be most useful, whether for export, or for re-equipping the home market. Similarly, workers in war industries should continue, during the second stage of this "one war", to be subject to direction. No-one should be able to leave an arms factory, or any other Works covered by E.W.O., without E.B.'s permission, and then only on condition of going where he or she is directed.

I am wholly in favour of this revolutionary proposal, provided it can be put across politically. Age + Length of Service would continue to be the criterion for "release", as it has hitherto been suggested for "demobilisation". "Block releases" would be ruled out for men leaving the Services, though a limited number of specialists, i.e., the old "2% of those demobilised to be key men", would be "released" out of their turn. On the other hand, civilian labour would be dealt with on the basis of "block releases". Thus we would pull out from an arms factory first of all those who were miners or builders or textile operatives or furniture makers, and so build up our "labour allocations" in industries important to be expanded quickly.

There is general support, among others too, though less cautiously than by me, for this idea of "the one war". Evidently also the idea has distinct political attractions for E.B. and me. Some, however, have grave doubts whether this can be put over politically. But the alternative is very bad. Cripps thinks that after a few months, if everyone is free to leave his aircraft factories, he will have great difficulty in maintaining anything like the output required. And I can see large numbers of people, both from the Services and other industries, going into the wrong occupations, and embarking on all the "inessential productions" which we have banned, while production which is really essential is left most ill provided for. It is finally agreed that E.B. shall discuss the matter further with Service Ministers and also with the Supply Ministers and with me. "What would you do about the furlough and the gratuity?" somebody asked. "Oh, that is only a detail" replied E.B. He was a really great man to-night.

/Dine

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Dine with Robin Brook, who has now arranged to take Chris Mayhew on his staff, in the light of his recent experiences abroad.

16. 12. 43.

Lord Templetown, shepherded by Warter, to discuss where in the North-East - and I insist that it must be in that region - the second depot for reconditioning army clothing should now be erected. (The first is to be at Motherwell, an excellent choice on Location grounds.) They begin by favouring Team Valley, but I say that this would really add little and urge in preference either Aycliffe or Pallion. They say that the M.T. & C.P. had been saying that Aycliffe would have to be pulled down on amenity grounds after the war! I explode at this and say that this third-rate Ministry, has no power to decide such things and may be ignored. They think there would be difficulties about Pallion, and it is finally left that they will have a look at Aycliffe, and also the St Helen's Estate, though I explain that, for obvious reasons, I cannot myself push this. The buildings in question will make several useful post-war factories.

I.L.O. lunch with E.B. in the Chair. This thing has kept alive in the most surprising way - in spite of the continual presence of my brother-in-law, who is at the lunch to-day, looking drearier than ever.

Llewellyn to see me, our first contact since he has returned as Minister of Food. He gives the impression of having handled the U.N.R.R.A. Conference pretty well. But he gives a most awful account of Sir George Rendel, "the one diplomat who was there", as he contemptuously observed. It was an Anglo-Russian dinner party, and all was going very well. Successive toasts were being proposed, in the Russian fashion, and they began with such simple ones as "To Victory", "To our Common Cause", "To the Red Army", "To the R.A.F.", etc. And then Sir George, rising in his turn, said "Now I will propose a toast. I give you the toast 'To Hitler's attack upon Russia'" Thereupon a great commotion, and to make it worse, he began to make a speech. "Let me explain. What I mean is that from the moment we were in the war together, all the old misunderstandings began to disappear. Before Hitler\* attacked you, neither of us realised the great qualities of the other....." The translator tried to be diplomatic, but one of the Russians who understood English shouted out "No, he did not say that at all". Whereupon Llewellyn rose and said "I give you the toast of 'The Future'", and the incident passed over.

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Later that evening in the Hotel bar, L. said to Dean Acheson "It was as though I had proposed to Americans the toast 'To the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour'". Whereupon Jan Masaryk, who was there, said "I give you the toast of Munich".

Dine with Winster and a chap in Air Force uniform whose name I don't catch when he is introduced to me, but who emerges, in the course of the talk, as a Peer and the Lord Lieutenant of some County. It turns out to be Brownlow, who was one of Edward VIII's entourage.

To-night the news of the P.M.'s illness appears for the first time in the evening papers. I said that there had been much running about during last night's Cabinet and W. said that he was at Beaverbrook's house - wherever this is now - and that the latter came in very late and looking very white and drawn. Clearly it is serious. (During the next two days the bulletins are much better, and there seems ground for hope that, reasonably soon, he will be back again. But this second dose of pneumonia in less than a year raises some very grim thoughts and very deep queries. We owe this man, as our war leader, an immeasurable debt. But how much longer, at this pressure, can he go on?)

17. 12. 43.

Pybus from the Randolph Colliery comes with a plan for putting up new and improved By Product Works. This would mean some steel and other materials and building labour. I will do my best to push it.

Lunch with the Jebbs, including Miles and Vanessa. Both distinctly handsome, but I hear that Stella is going to be the beauty of the family!

G.J. tells me, while we are alone, some of the smaller incidents at Teheran. The presentation of the Sword of Stalingrad was - up to a point - very impressive. The P.M. made an appropriate allocution, and it was a moving moment when Stalin took and kissed the sword. But then, not being used to handling this kind of weapon, he passed it to Voroshilov at such an angle that the sword fell out of the scabbard and struck the ground. Whereupon Voroshilov performed various drill movements to replace it, and got it in the right ceremonial position again.

G. said that Stalin is very small in stature, smells very strongly of scent - he thinks that this is a Russian rather than a

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personal characteristic - and has a most curious complexion, a sort of greenish-blue hue.

On the occasion when he said "Until now I have always called him 'Prime Minister Churchill', but henceforth I shall call him 'My fighting friend'", the P.M. replied "Tell him that I have always called him 'Uncle Joe' behind his back". But the translator, translating this last sally into Russian, treated 'Uncle Joe' as untranslatable, and repeated it in English. Stalin's face remained completely blank. This was a missed opportunity, for the translator might well have said in Russian 'Little Uncle Joseph'. This would have sounded both affectionate and amusing.

Many of the projects in which G. was personally interested could not be raised, since the P.M. was already sickening at Teheran and wasn't up to discussing them.

He formed a very poor impression of Casey at Cairo, saying that he had "A mind like a snipe". There was a great fuss about his being appointed Governor of Bengal. The India Office said that it was quite impossible for a plain Mr to be Governor of a Province. He must be either a Peer or a Knight. But Casey said that he couldn't become either, or his return to Australian politics would be rendered impossible. (We agreed that it would almost certainly be impossible anyhow, particularly after a term of office in Calcutta.) So a new precedent is to be established. He will govern Bengal as plain Mr Casey.

To W.L.

18 & 19. 12. 43.

At W.L. Daylight at a minimum. Lots of sleep!

DIARY20. 12. 43.

First meeting of Reconstruction Committee with Woolton in the Chair. I am there for a discussion on clothing for demobilised soldiers. Woolton begins by beaming round the room, which contains 16 Ministers and about half a dozen officials, and starts off: "Gentlemen" - we are quite unaccustomed to being addressed in this fashion - "I hope that we shall now soon be able to reach a series of important decisions. All the material has now been collected by our advisers. I do not think, gentlemen, that there is anything more which we can ask them to do. It might even be that a wrong decision would be better than no decision at all." He couldn't have got it better, if I had written his notes. But Portal, with his usual post-lunch manner - it is now 3.30 p.m. - whispers in my ear "The silly b..... thinks he is still trying to sell something across the counter. He has got nothing to sell really at all."

I hear that Norman Brook is determined to make this thing succeed if he can. He is a very able and clear-headed man and his rise has been rapid. If he falls down on this, many will rejoice and he may find it hard to rise again; if he succeeds, he will be one of the outstanding war figures in the Civil Service, of whom in this war, as contrasted with the last, there are damned few.

21. 12. 43.

Ministers' meeting at F.O., where A.E. gives some account of the recent Conferences.

At Cairo the difficulty was to prevent the Americans from promising the Chinese everything, including several large-scale amphibious operations, so that there would not have been enough left for the Russians! It was rather invidious to have to keep on intervening to counsel caution and calculation. But the P.M. fell for Madame Chiang, and feels now that he likes both her and her husband much better than he did before, never having met either of them. She was a most accomplished interpreter. A.E. also thinks that they both felt better for having been brought in to the Club.

There was also some difficulty <sup>over</sup>~~about~~ a declaration about post-war territorial arrangements in the Pacific. The first draft

/had

had been made by the Americans and shown to the Chinese before they showed it to us. It gave the Chinese everything, including Formosa and the Pescadores, but it was very doubtful whether, on a strict reading, either we or the Dutch would have got back anything of what the Japs have seized. We succeeded in getting a better draft agreed with the Americans, and the final result was not bad. But Dr Wang kept on saying monotonously throughout the discussion "I prefer first draft".

The President also said some most unfortunate things to the King of Greece when the latter came to see him. We had been working very hard, in order to get the Greeks to fight the Germans rather than each other, to persuade the King to declare that he would not go back to Greece, after her liberation, unless and until he was invited by a properly elected national assembly. It was very difficult to get him to say this, but in the end he did. The Americans had been just as keen on his saying it as we had, and both the State Department and the U.S. diplomats concerned had been helping things along, and the President had been carefully briefed on all this, finally by Harry Hopkins. But, says A.E., whenever he meets anyone, he likes to create a friendly and favourable impression, and, therefore, when the poor little King was shown in, the President began by saying, with a broad smile, "Don't let anybody bully you into giving any undertaking not to go back to your country. I am sure they will all be only too delighted to see you again.".....

Teheran. Here again the Americans were promising the Russians everything, including all that they had previously promised to the Chinese, and we again had the ungrateful task of expressing doubts. One day in particular was very sticky, and we had to point out that our resources really were getting very strained and that we could not do all that was being talked about.

Stalin was very jovial off parade. He is very able. He took charge himself of all the military discussions. He brought with him no prominent soldier except Voroshilov, and everything, in the military talks, was referred back to him for his approval. He said that he would keep on with partial offensives all through the winter, leading up to a big push in the Spring - timed to come just in front of ours - which in turn has a fairly wide date range. He realises that the great problem is ships. He will be very tough with the Germans. The President wants to break Germany up into three or four separate States and to join Bavaria to Austria. Stalin is against this. He wants no Germans in any federal groupings of States which may be formed in Central or S.E. Europe. The hatred /of

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of Germans has gone very deep in Russia. A separate peace by the Russians is quite out of the question. Stalin also spoke very ill of the French. He said that they haven't really fought; their whole society is rotten; they cannot be trusted in any strong points and therefore the Americans should take Dakar and the British Bizerta. (The President lapped this up, but we were rather disconcerted. It would shock de Gaulle, who thinks he has been having quite a good flirtation with Stalin, to hear all this.) As to the Poles, Stalin wants the Curzon Line, but is quite prepared for Poland to go as far west as the Oder, with transfer of German populations westward. A.E. said they had some discussion on the eastern frontier, and Stalin said "We regard that as all settled. Here is our line on the map." A.E. said "Do you mean the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line?" Molotov looked rather disconcerted at this, but Stalin said "We generally call it the Curzon Line. It is the same thing, isn't it?" Then there was some discussion about Bialystok, where A.E. said the people were mainly Poles and Stalin agreed and redrew the line on the map to exclude them. We tried very hard to get Lwow for the Poles, but Stalin insisted that, although there were a lot of Poles in the city, the countryside was entirely Ukrainian. Stalin also thought that the Russians ought to have Konigsberg, as a "warm water port", but A.E. thought this was going a bit far. Stalin did not speak very ill of the present Polish Government in London, but complained that the Poles were killing Partisans on their territory, and that a situation was developing very much like that in Yugoslavia.

The President, with his mind full of the elections, did not want to get involved in a discussion on Poland, and this, therefore, was entirely an Anglo-Russian affair, the President sitting in a corner and feigning sleep.

A.E. said he had seen the Poles since he returned, but they were all waffling. They have no successor to Sikorski. But they intend at a certain moment to order a general rising in Poland, and this is a card which may be worth something to them when the time comes.

Stalin was also very hot against the Bulgars.

Finally, the Cairo Conference with the Turks was very heavy weather. We got nowhere at all until the last day, and not very far even then. The Turkish Foreign Minister talked incessantly and was most obstructive. The Turkish President was better, and it is he in the last resort who will take decisions. But whenever anything is suggested to the Turks, they always ask

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for more arms and equipment first.

War Cab. Very brief and satisfactory discussion on procedure to be followed on the Article VII discussions with the Doms. and the U.S.A. Law had proposed that (1) we should at once let the Dominion Governments have the documents and invite them to send representatives to discuss with us as soon as possible, and (2) that he himself should preside over an official committee which should focus the points for decision by Ministers arising from the Washington Talks. C.R.A. in the Chair is very much on the spot. He rules out all discussion on the merits and says that to-night we are merely discussing a very simple question of procedure. Point (1) is generally agreed, and on point (2) C.R.A. says that he doesn't think we want another official committee and it will be much better if Law himself makes a paper for the Cab. which will bring out the essential points. In doing this, he can, of course, consult with any of the Departments interested. This, I hear later, is C.R.A.'s own bright idea. It is accepted, after vain efforts by Amery and O.L. (now tending to be the most serious antagonist of these proposals) to make more delay. Hudson, who had circulated a paper saying that we should enter into no post-war commercial arrangements at all, is reduced to silence by the Chairman's ruling against discussion on the merits. Amery thinks that it would be better for all this now to be considered afresh by the Minister of Reconstruction, with a fresh committee of officials. I at once say that I should not appoint fresh officials to any such committee but should send people who had had experience of discussions with the Doms and in Washington. Woolton also edges away from this new responsibility, and nobody else backs Amery up. Meanwhile, thought to-night's decision is good, we are still losing time hard, and I hear a few days later that the U.S.G. are now approaching the Doms, one by one, for discussions on Commercial Policy, beginning with the Canadians, who will, at any rate, take a good line on this. There is thus a danger that the whole thing will soon appear to be an American initiative. We have held this back too long, in the vain hope that the P.M. would be back and taking a strong line, as before.

McAllister to dine with J.W. and E.D. He talks rather a lot, but much of it is interesting.

22. 12. 43.

L.P. National Executive all the morning. It is proposed to spend a weekend at the end of February discussing with the three

/Labour



Labour Ministers in the War Cab. all sorts of questions.

The talks in Washington over the Lend-Lease White Paper seem completely stuck, though it was as long ago as July 10 that Halifax and Llewellyn first saw Hull and Stettinius about this. I, therefore, approve a telegram recalling Macgowan for consultation and saying that we are very much dissatisfied with delays and attempts at their end to treat everything in a purely legalistic spirit.

Deputise for Sir A.M. Livingstone as host at one of his parties, where, as usual, there is a very pleasant assortment of Americans and English, and also Reg. McAllister, who has been asked on my suggestion.

DIARY23. 12. 43.

Leave by car at 10 a.m. with Philips Price and Wynne Jones to Guildford, where we pick up Roy Robinson and Best, his Divisional Forest Officer for the area, including Hampshire. He seems to have taken Forestry at Cambridge and, says R.R., "is the sort of chap who enjoys being in the forest". And this is a major qualification.

At Petersfield we pick up another Forestry Commissioner, Lord Radnor, and, having had a drink, all proceed to some high chalk Down at Berriton, where we walk about among various experiments. Then back to Petersfield for lunch, and afterwards, till it gets too dark to see much more, walk through other plantations on the chalk. Drop Radnor and drive through the dark to Winchester, where we stay on the outskirts in the Norman Mead Hotel. Robinson expounds, after dinner, in the light of what we have seen to-day, his theory of the Pioneers and Successors on the chalk. Much the best "final crop" is Beech, but, when planted on the open Down, it must have "nurses" from the start or it will "go into check" indefinitely. Good nurses, which we have seen to-day, include Scots Pine (which is generally good for 30 years on chalk but inclined to sicken after that), Corsican Pine, and Larch. Austrian Pine is the best conifer for chalk but very bad timber and very ugly. On the whole, the Scots Pine is most to be recommended as a nurse for Beech. The reason why this nursing is necessary is not only that shelter is afforded against wind, but, still more important, the subterranean operations of certain helpful fungi (Mycorrhiza). The prescribed plan is now to plant the conifer 4 feet apart and the Beech 3 feet apart in alternate rows  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart.

In old woods on the chalk, on the other hand, the approved process is quite different. Here there should be under-planting, which can be done with pure beech, but never any clear felling. The soil in these old woods has already been prepared, and nurses are not generally necessary. We saw some examples of this to-day.

With the new plantations, the great moment is when the canopy forms and you get a "forest floor". Then "all sorts of interesting things begin to happen".

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24. 12. 43.

Drive in the morning to see two other plantations, the first some 300 acres of Beech and Larch, about 12 years old, on open chalk down near Crawley Court - they are doing very well, though patchy in parts, and pit props are already being cut from Larch thinnings - and second, an old wood in parts of which there is some 12 feet of soil above the chalk, though elsewhere the chalk is very near the surface. Here there has been under-planting with Beech, Oak and Ash, with good results. A very pleasant young forester comes round with us, whose father works for the Commission in Thetford Chase. So now we begin to get work in State forests as an hereditary calling.

It has also now been formally established by experiment that open chalk downs should be ploughed, and fairly deeply, before being planted. Ash is not good except where there is moisture, but Sycamore does fairly well on chalk, when nursed by conifers, though less well than Beech.

P.P. and I then take the train from Reading to Gloucester, which is very crowded, and at Gloucester there is a most fantastic congestion in and round the station. He then drives me to Taynton, and, just as we are approaching the ancestral residence, drives me into the ditch. Various members of the household push the car, which was almost on its side, back on to the road.

And here I spend four very pleasant nights and days; sleeping a lot, eating a lot, and spending nearly all of every day plugging about through muddy woods and fields in my very superior leather+ rubber boots. Mrs P., it will be recalled, is a German, who, as a young Communist, P.P. met when he was in Germany as Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian at the end of the last war. She is very definitely a good Hausfrau, but rather a tiresome woman. She still speaks with a strong German accent and never lets one long forget her origin. I don't encourage much political conversation, but, given half a chance, she advocates the total extermination of all "Nazis", both old and young. He, on the other hand, is much more interested in Russia and is very Russophil. He has just published a short book, a potted history, which has gone very well, called "Russia through the Centuries". He argues that this great people did not suffer any fundamental change in 1917, but that everything has been a natural succession for centuries. He still speaks Russian and maintained, he says, an hour's conversation of a sort with Gusev in London the other day.

/He

He thinks Tchaikowski the greatest of all composers, and we listen to a good deal of him on the gramophone.

His other great interest is agriculture and forestry and, in particular, his own estate. I am shown and told a lot about all this and am taken on some very interesting tours of his woodlands, many of which were planted by his grandfather, who sat as Liberal M.P. for Gloucester for 20 years. He is right off the chalk here and Oaks grow the best of hardwoods. He has also planted a great variety of conifers, some of which, particularly the Corsican Pine, have done very well. It is a nice title to be "The Member for the Forest" as he is, living just within the bounds of his constituency. I think this comes second only to that haunting title of "The Member for the Western Isles".

The house is very full of visitors, refugees and retainers of all sorts and nationalities. They have a very good Austrian (Aryan) cook, who is accompanied by her Austrian (Jewish) husband, who helps about the place. There are also three or four English retainers, whose roles are a little obscure. They all come in and sit round on Christmas Eve, when a Christmas Tree is lighted and presents distributed to all. The rest of the party consists of Peter, their rather good looking son, who is physically unfit for the Army and doing Films instead, a young Polish soldier, who has come all the way from Scotland to spend Christmas with them, they having offered to take "one Pole" over this season, and a very wispy and inarticulate little German Jewish refugee boy from Breslau. Their daughter Tatiana was married only a few weeks ago to a young man in the Canadian Black Watch, who has now gone back to Canada to train for a commission.

I find that we last stayed here from June 29th to July 1st, 1928, when I wrote in the Visitors' Book "We have seen the snows of Central Asia, and heard the songs of Kurds and Armenians, and eaten the most divine raspberries and strawberries of Gloucestershire - and all in one week-end!" He put on again, at my request, the records of the Kurdish and Armenian songs. This time I wrote in the Visitors' Book "Since July, 1928, the whole old world has rolled away, but the charm, the friendship and the hospitality of this house remain unchanged."

I meet during these days various other local notabilities, from the bailiff to neighbouring farmers and the Deputy Director of Forestry for the Forest of Dean. It is all very healthy and cheerful and non-Board-of-Trade. Peter, who is rather obviously bored by his mother, talks to me a lot about his future and invents a drink, which I had not met before, of cider and rum, in the

/proportions

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Michael Piotrowski

proportions of 9 to 1. I rather like the Pole, whom they do not take as much trouble as they should to bring into their conversations and arrangements, but who has a very Polish nose and whose father was, immediately before the war, a farmer in France. We go for a quicker walk together one afternoon than I am able to achieve with the rest of the party,

I wish we had more men like P.P., who, in addition to taking an intelligent interest in other matters, can beat the Tories at their own local country game. His wife tells me that what he would really like most of all now would be to be sent on a mission to Russia. But this is not really very practical, for he is getting rather deaf and goes off to sleep at the least excuse, particularly after lunch.

DIARY28. 12. 43.

Back from Gloucester in a not too crowded train. In Whitehall all the beasts and birds are asleep.

29. 12. 43.

No-one much about.

Garro Jones to dine. He has got a queer, half-baked, political judgment. He says that we should not rush, just after victory over Germany, into an election against the P.M., but thinks that "as a condition of maintaining the Coalition", the Labour Party should then claim an equal share with the Tories of seats in the Government. In particular, he thinks we should have either the F.O. or the Treasury or both. This is really very raw.

He is also apt to have strong, but not very firmly based, opinions on matters lying outside his own field, e.g., on price control and location of industry. He is also still very anti-C.R.A. On the other hand, he is very pro-me!

30. 12. 43.

Sir S.Low to see me on a prosecution we are initiating against a firm who have, in defiance of one of our Orders, been making and supplying so-called "fuel economisers". These seem to be bogus anyhow, and were prohibited because they misused metal and labour. But some lunatic called Shelley, a K.C. with a large practice in patent cases, has been inciting them to break the law and may advise them to subpoena me to appear in Court and answer questions as to who was consulted about the making of the Order, and what they said, and so forth, apparently with a view to proving that the Order is ultra vires. I shall have no hesitation in declaring, as a responsible Minister, that it would be against the public interest to give any such particulars. Low says the Attorney quite agrees.

The gossip is that, at the last Ministerial reshuffle, when Woolton was moved up, G.Lloyd George was offered the Ministry of Food and, after two hours meditation, accepted. Shinwell was then invited by the P.M. to become Minister of Fuel and Power, and also accepted. That evening, however, Lloyd George changed his

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mind and told the P.M. so about 11 o'clock. He felt, on second thoughts, that a move now would look as though he had been a failure at Fuel and Power, and he wanted to have one more shot. So he stayed where he was, and Shinwell had to be told that the offer was off, and Llewellyn was fetched back from Washington, and Ben Smith sent out in his place. This is both interesting and amusing. On the one hand, it would have finally blown up any reputation Shinwell has if he were to fail to get the coal; on the other hand, many of the miners hate him, including the Durham leaders, and his appointment would have had a bad reception from them. Equally it would have had a bad reception in the Parliamentary Labour Party, where he has recently been pushed off our Administrative Committee. But the old device of putting awkward people in tight spots hasn't yet quite gone out of fashion.

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Woolton, we know, when the war is over, is to devote part of his time to being Chairman of the British Red Cross. I hear also that he is to be Chairman of the Midland Bank. This explains why they have appointed some old chap of 90 to be a stop-gap successor to McKenna. This, it may be remembered, was the post which Anderson was to have had on his return from Bengal. Indeed, it was being widely put about that, as his private resources were not sufficient to purchase the block of shares in the Bank which a Chairman is expected to hold, a special advance was to be made to him by the Bank to enable him to put this transaction in order. But then N. Chamberlain called him to take charge of our incipient A.R.P.

31. 12. 43.

Lunch with Mrs P. - and C.R.A. Coming away, I take occasion to throw a fly over him to check up the truth of the reported offer to Shinwell. I say that Shinwell and his mentor, Balogh, are telling everyone that he was offered Fuel and Power and was willing to accept it. This, I said, was very stupid. C.R.A., looking slightly defensive, quite agreed that it was very stupid, but didn't deny that it was true. I then said that, if he had taken office, it would have made a very bad impression in the Parliamentary Party and would have upset a number of miners' leaders. C.R.A. again assented and then relapsed into a rather uncomfortable reserve. He did not even say, this time, as he told me ~~when~~ at the time of Beaverbrook's re-entry to the Government, that he had fought very hard against it.

G.J. to Aine. I had not talked to him of the Teheran and Cairo Conferences since A.E.'s official exposition. He agreed

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with me that the Cairo Conference with the Turks had been a flop. Both the Turks - the President and the Foreign Minister - were deaf and neither spoke English, only a very Turkish kind of French. Our own Prime Minister, as we know, talks very fluent French but with a distinctly English accent and often translating faithfully most idiomatic English. It was, G.J. said, the thing that finally knocked up the P.M. having to shout at these two Turks for hours on end in his French. Whatever was proposed, they always said they would like, before considering this, to have some more arms, some more from us and some more from the Germans.

Dixon, he says, is doing quite well as the new ~~Parliamentary~~ Principal Private Secretary. He will make a good Private Secretary of "the nursemaid type", and this, at present, is what is required, as so often with politicians. When H.Seymour succeeded Selby as Principal Private Secretary to Simon, he came into the Private Office and asked what sort of a man this present Foreign Secretary was. When it was explained to him that he was not quite so bad as some people painted him, but that he was sometimes very difficult, argumentative, inclined to tantrums and full of easily injured vanity, H.S. replied "Oh I quite understand. I think I shall be able to manage him. I have children of my own."