

Reduction Ratio:

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Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

Volume 26:
January - July 1942
(Folder of Loose Typescripts)

DIARY3. 1. 42

Stirling is not to go to the U.S.A. after all. He is much disappointed. This is because Noel Hall has run to the Viscount on receiving our telegram, and persuaded him to reply that it would be "definitely embarrassing" if anyone else were to come over just now, and that discussions with the State Department are likely to lead to good results regarding policy to Iberia and N.Africa in a day or two.

Medhurst comes to see me to discuss our air facilities. He afterwards writes to C.E.O. that his conversation was "extremely frank". I get him to admit that much must be changed and that the A.M. have the major share of responsibility for what has gone wrong so far. "More than 50%?" I ask. He says yes. "More than 75%" I suggest. He says he is not sure that he would admit that. I say that I would certainly put it as high as that. He says that the difficulty is that so few people in the A.M. know what we do and how important it is. I say that this must be, in view of secrecy, but it is the job of the few who know to impress the importance of our work on the others. He says that he thinks it would be a good thing if the whole question were "given an airing". I say that this could easily be done if I were to send a Minute to the P.M. complaining that the A.M. have hardly begun to give me the services prescribed by the C.O.S., but I have thought hitherto that this would not be a good way. He agrees with this.

C.M. to dine with me. He is rather thrilled by his new job, though there are some things on which he is yet rather fresh and innocent.

4. 1. 42

m Get up late. G. to lunch with me at the Connaught Hotel, on his return from ten days in Scotland. He has been well out of things up there.

I tell him the story of Will Lawther in U.S.A. being asked at some public meeting "Tell us about India. What are you going to do for the Indians?" W.L.: "Which Indians? The Red Indians?"

C.R.A. to dine. I speak to him very frankly about A.E., B.B., etc., and expound my ideas in favour of M.E.P.W. He says that he quite agrees and will discuss the matter with A.E. to-morrow.

He says B.B. "had his head washed by the P.M." before the latter left for the U.S.

5. 1. 42

Cab. Greek Relief again, this time on a paper by A.E. It is not a good paper and contains a number of mistakes. After he has expounded it, K.W. at once leaps in and says this is impossible and has already been decided. C.R.A. then cross-examines him. I later make a statement, substantially repeating what I said before, and the only new support which he gets is from Amery. I offer to consider the matter further with A.E. and through our officials, but without commitment. This is agreed to.

See C.R.A. after the Cab. and ask him how discussions are going. He has seen A.E. and put up to him my proposal, supporting it, according to his own account. A.E. had said that B.B. had proposed that he should take all propoganda and that my other responsibilities should be transferred to the C.O.S. A.E. had not said that he was in favour of this and C.R.A. had said that it was quite impossible, and that the Labour Ministers must have a proper share of the conduct of the war. I said to C.R.A. that of course if anything of this kind happened, I should not regard M.E.W. as a full-time job and should not go on. C.R.A. said that he had told this to A.E. The talk had ended with a suggestion by C.R.A. that the two of them, with J.A., should consider it further in the hope of settling something before the P.M.'s return. The P.M. was very bored with questions of organisation and would not wish to be troubled with this.

6. 1. 42

It is reported, from more than one quarter, that at one of the banquets given when A.E. was in Moscow, Voroshilov got so drunk that he fell across Stalin's knees, but that Timoshenko, on the other hand, arrived at the banquet very drunk but got more and more sober as the proceedings went on. Stalin asked A.E. "What does your Winston Churchill do when his Field Marshals get as drunk as this?"

Gavrilovic calls on me. I should think he has plenty of drive and character. But he speaks hardly any English and the most unintelligible French. I understood him to say that he did not like the Soviet regime, which was very unpleasant for the workers and would not be tolerated in Yugoslavia, that he did not like Vyshinski, and that you could not put any trust in any Treaty signed by the Russians. "Once they get to Berlin, they will repudiate everything."

On the other hand, other people report that Gavrilovic is very pro-Russian, so it may be that either they or I misunderstood his French. I do not think it was I.

Address London Commercial Club Luncheon and tell them that

German soap is now 75% chalk and does great damage to German synthetic fibres. Thus the Blockade makes the Germans both cold and dirty.

P.W.E. meeting, the first for a month. No butter melts in anyone's mouth. We all approve the reports put up by the officials and B.B. is quite oleagiously polite to me. But we have not time to consider my paper, and this, therefore, is postponed. To make sure that I should have no trouble with Bracken, I went in before the meeting to see A.E. alone, leaving B.B. and the officials in the outer room. I said that I hoped he would rule out of order any attempt by B.B. to raise contentious points, or any matter touching my other activities. He said he hoped that this would not be necessary. While we were thus speaking, Lawford came in rather hurriedly to say "Mr Bracken is here", but he had been there before me, so evidently impatience was growing outside. I remained after the meeting alone with A.E. and laid myself out, with a sustained effort, to be nice to him. G. had this morning, on my suggestion, gone round to see O.H. and to explain how much I admired A.E., how baseless, in the present political situation, would be any suspicion on his part that I was after his job, how like-minded we were on all large issues, and how eager I was to work with him. G. said that O.H. had taken all this very well, and it seems that he had passed some of it on before this afternoon's meeting. A.E. spoke fairly freely to me about his visit to Moscow and said that he would let me see the record of the talks, though he begged me to keep this very much to myself as he had refused it to several members of the War Cabinet.

Later this afternoon receive C. and ask G. to come along as well. We speak of Jouhaux, who has now been arrested in Unoccupied France, but whom it may still be possible to extricate, and then of the problem of our communications and the furnishing of papers for Clairvoyant.

Eccles looks in later - he is very anxious to get a job here - and I say that if he will see Lord D. and Colonel V. they may be able to make some suggestions to him for looking after pre-emption and neutral oil.

C.I.G.S. to dine, with C.E.O. and M. (C.D. had suggested that it would have been best to have M. alone, but this reflects, I think, A.D., as usual.) The party seems to go very well. C.I.G.S. is very quick and intelligent. I arrange that he shall see a number of papers and that M. shall be available at any time to give him information. It does not appear that papers sent fortnightly by me to C.O.S. ever get up to him. C.I.G.S. has natural interest in the carrying out of our main directive.

(I get a very friendly letter from him three days later, having read a bunch of papers.)

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Harvey

D. H. Vickers

G. W. H.

Nelson

Taylor

7. 1. 42

First Lord D. and then Foot on Greek Relief. Both opposed to any concession. I am a little fluctuant, being anxious not to have a further row with A.E.

Lunch with de Gaulle. Not a very well assorted party and the whole thing a bit sticky. Lord Cherwell, Sir E. Bridges and Radcliffe (M. of I.) are the other British visitors. No delicate questions are raised, but the thing does not go very well. We lunch in a private room of the Connaught Hotel, where the cooking is generally good, but de G., wishing, I suppose, to seem very English, has ordered some very dessicated boiled beef cooked altogether in the English manner.

Admtve. Ctte. in C.R.A.'s room. After dealing with small business, they skirt round and round the question of "discipline" and Shinwell, who leaves, as usual, before the end. As usual, we end nowhere.

Bruce Lockhart to dine with me and I encourage him to talk. He says that the influence of O.H. on A.E. is very great. They go for a walk together every morning. R.L. lives almost wholly in the country. He generally only comes up on a Tuesday and they spend the whole of that day in their Executive and Ministerial Committee Meetings. Therefore R.L. maintains practically no contacts in London. A.E. often asks "Where is Rex? Why is he never here?" B.L. understands that R.L. may be offered Chungking, and that Clark Kerr is likely to succeed Cripps at Moscow. I say that R.L. is 54 this year and should surely by now be an Amb. The pension will be very important for him.

As for Brig. B., B.L. says that he is "entirely built up on Hollis". This in reply to my ingenuous suggestion that he has many contacts in all the Service Departments. B.L. says no. But he sees Laski from time to time, who, says B.L., "is a great enemy of yours".

B.L. says that A.E. said, after our last Ministerial meeting, that it was "the best we have had yet" and that he hoped that I and B.B. were now prepared to settle down together. B.L. said that he thought this was hoping too much. He added that A.E. had been very much displeased with B.B.'s methods and that his last letter to me had been "the letter of a lunatic". I said that I had not replied to it but had passed it to the Lord Privy Seal, together with other correspondence. B.L. said that there was obviously much to be said for "putting under one hat" all P.W.E. and S.O.E. I said that either I should wear this hat or no-one would. I said that I had drafted the resolution on which the Labour Party had

Dup +

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entered the Churchill Government: "Full share of responsibility as an equal partner", etc.

He said several times that D.B.L. was an ambitious intriguer and was spending much time with B.B. This is a new suggestion. I said that I was sure that B.L. himself and G.J. would always settle matters satisfactorily if not interfered with by others, either vertically or horizontally.

B.L. says that A.E. has referred my propoganda paper to him for a Minute. He will express agreement with it, except that each of the Allied Governments should be treated on their merits. He says that A.E. lives a very busy day. He spends much time seeing the Ministers of Allied Governments and unimportant States. He also makes his own records of these conversations. B.L. says that Sir E.Gray would never have seen anybody less than an Ambassador. (I tell this to G., who says that he understands that A.E. lives in a constant whirl, people rushing in with papers and doors opening and shutting in all directions, like the best French farce. There is no time, then, I say, for deep reflection. G. says that it is because A.E. is constitutionally incapable of deep reflection that he prefers this ineffective way of life.)

It was to-night that Clement Davies was to have given his great dinner party, on the eve of the re-assembly of Parliament, at the Reform Club. This was to gather together all the important opposition elements and make a plan to hot up the Government. I have H.D. in the lounge keeping his eyes open, and he reports next day that only C.Davies and Horabin were there. All the others had fallen out and C.D. said loudly that he was going off to dine with his wife. Shinwell had said in a public speech last weekend that he had heard that there had been stories about a dinner party on the eve of the meeting of Parliament but that he would not be there. There is a story that they all met and dined and plotted somewhere else on some other night this week, and this may well be true.

8. 1. 42

H. of C. sits for one day and C.R.A. and A.E. make speeches. Things go pretty easily and the stock of H.M.G. has gone up again, largely owing to the P.M.'s activities and publicities in the U.S. and Canada and to the fact that people are getting more used to an unsatisfactory situation in the Pacific.

Retinger comes to see me and says that the General has had a most interesting and useful trip. They thought very well of our people in the M.E., both Lyttleton and the soldiers. Some of the civilians, they thought, were less good. The conversations with Stalin started badly but much improved. The Poles are now to be

Dup +

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concentrated in a good area east of the Caspian near the frontiers of Iran and Afghanistan. Communications and climate are pretty good there. The Polish Brigade in the M.E. is to be increased to a Division and the Polish Brigade up in Scotland is to be strongly reinforced. In addition, a large number of new Polish recruits will enter the Air Force. Supplies and equipment are also better arranged and Polish civilians, unsuitable for military service, will be evacuated from Russia. Unfortunately, however, large numbers of Poles are still up in the north of the Lena country in Siberia and also in Franz-Josef Land. These cannot be got away till next spring.

Polish Intelligence anticipates another swift German move in about eight weeks' time, not through Spain. In this event, our role, especially in the Balkans, would be very important.

Stalin, twice during his talks with the General, proposed that the Poles should cut loose from the West. He began with the usual jargon about "plutocracies". But, when the General said that he had been very well received both in England and the U.S., Stalin dropped this language and this line of thought and came down to discuss practical problems. Near the end, however, he suggested again that the Russians and the Poles should get together and make their own arrangements for the future, irrespective of the Western Powers. The General again repudiated this idea.

Dine with Spears, who has got a K.B.E. in the Honours List. He is to be British Minister in Damascus and Beirut. He is accepting this, but not with great enthusiasm. He has now very little use for de Gaulle, whom he describes as "the warrior monk", and absolutely none for de Larminat, "that blue-faced Jesuit". Catroux is a bit better, but no enthusiasm even for him. Charles Peake is taking over Spears' liaison job, and of him he is contemptuous. "The diplomats always stick together and find each other jobs". He is also impatient with Morton, whom he says is "the fifth wheel on any coach". Also present at the conversation is Spears, Junior, very Jewish-looking and, apparently, not physically fit to join the Army. He was at Eton and Magdalen and has now, apparently, been taken on as a temporary in the Foreign Office. He was a ~~First Class~~ Chess Half Blue at Oxford. During my conversation with his father, I also played chess with him, making my moves very quickly without reflection. None the less, I hold out against defeat for a considerable time.

Earlier in the day I had been inclined to give way to A.E. over Greek Relief to the extent of one shipment of wheat from Egypt. This was to be hedged about by various conditions, including prior agreement with Russia as well as with America. H.G., however, comes in and persuades me to change my mind and to maintain my reputation in the Ministry and elsewhere. This will please Lord D., who is therefore to see the F.O. to-morrow and tell them that we cannot budge.

Dpt

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E. H. K. H. K.

9. 1. 42

C.C.O. calls and stays for an hour. (See separate record.) He asks many questions about the origin of my show and its relations with others. He is anti-de G., and anti-F.O. I arrange for exchange between his man Hayden and M. of major directives. Our talk reaches a tremendous finale of enthusiastic agreement on the subject of the French industrial workers, - and the Com e de Paris, Comit  des Forges, etc. I ring the bell for my P.W.E. paper and show him the relevant passages. He says he is astonished and delighted that any member of the Cabinet should hold such opinions. He supposes that he and I would be "the only two out of any dinner party of thirty people drawn from those who were running the war who would hold such opinions. *think like this.*

All this is good as far as it goes and quite amusing, but he may become, or be presented by others as, an uncomfortable acquisitive force.

Lord D. to-day saw Steel and explained our stand pat position. S. said he quite understood and would try "to get through to the Foreign Secretary" who was, however, very busy and hated the whole question of Greek Relief. Later, S. telephoned to Lord D. that he had seen A.E. who had said that he would postpone any further consideration of the question till the return from leave of Sir O. Sargent. He does not, at present, show any desire to discuss this with me. Clearly, therefore, it cannot go up at next Monday's Cabinet and we shall have gained some further time. S. told Lord D. that he had had his head bitten off by A.E. for suggesting that perhaps the question, in view of its importance, should stand over until the return of the P.M. A.E. had indignantly asked "Am I not the Foreign Secretary?"

Visit Lansdowne House and go round the top floor where my Censorship Department is housed. Accompanied by Sir F.L.R. and C.M. I show interest in all the details and shake hands with all the staff, some of whom, I think, are very pleased to be visited. I make a row in a room used as a typist pool, which appears to me to be much too dark, overcrowded and noisy. I say very audibly that I have seen plenty of unoccupied space and that the number in this particular room should be much reduced. Someone says something about the difficulty of getting Treasury to agree to more supervisors, and I say that, if this difficulty is raised, they should refer it up to me.

Return from this tour in time for my usual weekly meeting with C.E.O. and C.D. This goes on for more than three and a half hours, i.e., till about 8.45, and both C.E.O. and H.G. think that I have been tiring C.D. out. He does not look very well and is having further trouble with his tummy. C.E.O. and I are not sure whether,

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Mountbatten

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on physical grounds, he will be able to go on very much longer. In that case, we both agree that M. should succeed him. He would be difficult in some ways, but a great improvement in others, and he has a good deal more political sense.

I go to dine with G. at the Travellers' Club, waiving, for this once, my objection to the standard West-End Clubs. He says "Surely no-one who may see us together there will accuse you of conspiring with me!" The dining room is nearly empty, but Sir H. Wilson is intriguing with someone, and offers a congratulation to G. on his recent tail-piece. I say to H.W. "I am glad that you approve of my nomination."

Yukic, who is apparently a member of the Club, comes across to me and says that to-night Simovic has been put out and replaced by Jovanovic. I ask whether there are any other changes. He says no. I ask whether Nincic is going on. He says yes. I make no comment, but my heart sinks a little, and this is contrary to what had been reported earlier in the afternoon, namely that both Simovic and Nincic were going, to be replaced by Jovanovic and Gavrilovic. Talk, before going to bed, with G. and H. and agree that the best way of tackling O.H. would be for G., and not me, to ask him to lunch, but to ask me and H. as well, and then to say "Ha, ha, now you are in the lions' den!"

A.E. has sent me a very intimate account of his talks in Moscow. I only take a quick look over it to-night.

D. p. +

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Slavko
Savitsky
Hankov

H. p. 9.

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MOST SECRET.

The C.C.O. came to see me to-day and stayed for an hour. I said I was glad to hear that there were good contacts between his Show and S.O.E.; I wished for full co-operation with him. He said that he had already had valuable help from us in his Norwegian raids.

He asked me various questions about the origin of S.O.E. and its relation to other bodies, particularly S.I.S. He said that he had the impression there was rivalry, and some difficulty as regards signals. He did not think that Gambier Parry and AD/Z would ever get on together. He wondered whether he could not help here. Perhaps his Signals Officer might be chairman of a Committee on which both 'C' and ourselves would be represented. I said this was an interesting idea which I should be glad to have explored. I added that we were on the look-out for a new Signals Officer of our own, who would be able to deal with Gambier Parry. I said that my chief preoccupation was to make sure that we had a system of communications which would not only work well now, but could be relied upon to work when the balloon went up in Western Europe.

The C.C.O. then spoke about the directive which had been given to him, to be ready for an invasion of Europe in the Spring of 1943. There had been some reference in this to patriot forces, and these, he understood, were my concern. He asked what we were doing in this connection. I then told him of our directive from the Chiefs of Staff and of our paper dealing with secret armies, etc. He said he would very much like to see this, and I said I should be glad for him to do so, on condition of our seeing his directive. We agreed that such papers as we interchanged should be seen by very few people. He asked whether I would agree that his Brigadier Hayden should get into direct touch with M. I said that I should be very glad.

Reverting to Intelligence, he said that he was puzzled by the many bodies at work, S.I.S., S.O.E., and J.I.C. I explained to him that S.O.E. was not supposed to collect intelligence. He said that we must get a good deal anyhow, and what did we do with it? Could he have it? I thought we were here getting on to rather dangerous ground and said that I was sure arrangements could be made for us to keep him in touch. I then expatiated on the relation of M.E.W. to the J.I.C., and on the growing importance of economic intelligence and the valuable work done by Colonel Vickers.

The C.C.O. then praised 48,000 very highly. He was a very good man and he had the great advantage of representing both 'C' and S.O.E. in New York. He then spoke ill of the Foreign Office, not, he explained, the present Foreign Secretary, whom he knew very well, but "the machine". They were adepts at passing the buck and hindering action. I said that under my Charter I was required to get the consent of the Foreign Secretary to any operation affecting F.O. interests and that, although we often had differences of opinion with the Foreign Office, and sometimes suffered great delays, I owed a very great deal to the activities of the

C.E.O./-

through

C.E.O. in breaking or finding ways round P.O. objections. But in many cases I would often have liked to go much faster than the Foreign Office agreed to. The C.C.O. said he thought we should have given Petain an over-dose of sleeping draught six months ago. It would have been easy to put this old 'ga-ga' out of the way and the results would have been splendid. He was not sure that it would make much difference now.

He then spoke ill of De Gaulle, saying that there was very little difference between him and the Vichy Generals. What we had to tell the French, he said, was that they had to get rid of their French Fascists, who were in league with the Germans. He hoped that we were in touch with the French workers, from the "pink Trade Unionists" to the Communists. I said that I had insisted, in recent discussions with General de Gaulle that we must have the right to co-operate with any group of Frenchmen in France or outside, who were prepared to work for the common cause. He said that this was quite right, and that he hoped that General de Gaulle was not told too much about what we were doing. I said we had various agents in France, who were in touch with the French workers, and that I myself strongly held the view that it was the French industrial working class on whom we must count. This pleased the C.C.O. very much. He said that he thought that he and I would be almost alone in holding these opinions at any dinner party of 30 people drawn from "those responsible for running the war". I then rung the bell and sent for a copy of my paper on "Propaganda Policy. P.W.E." I drew his attention, in particular, to the references to France and to the quotation from Sir R. Campbell's despatch from Lisbon. He warmed up more and more over this, denounced the followers of the Comite de Paris, the Comite des Forges and the 200 Families, and expressed great delight in finding that I shared his views; even, if I would not misunderstand him, great surprise that any member of the Cabinet should feel like this. I said that this was partly explained because I was a Member of the Labour Party and had had many acquaintances in French Left circles, both political and industrial. Our conversation thus ended in an atmosphere of enthusiastic political agreement.

He highly praised David Keswick, whom he said he knew very well, and whom I should find most valuable in my French Section.

The C.C.O. then praised the great advantage of representing a very good man and he had the great advantage of representing both C and S.O.E. in New York. He then spoke ill of the Foreign Office, not he explained, the present Foreign Secretary, whom he knew very well, but the present Secretary of State, who he said was a very good man and he had the great advantage of representing both C and S.O.E. in New York.

9th January 1942

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DIARY10. 1. 42

Tilea to see me. He says that he has sensed for some time that I have been bored with Rumanian troubles. I confess frankly that this is so. Unless and until the Rumanians in England can agree among themselves, we must just get on with the war, and, I add, it seems to me that the Russian forces who are defeating the Rumanian allies of the Germans in South Russia are making the best contribution now. He tries to enter into long explanations, but I do not pursue any of his points. He says that he has had nothing to do with Carol since the latter handed over Bessarabia. (Carol has just raised a commotion by announcing from Mexico that he is going to head a Free Rumanian Movement which has the approval both of H.M.G. and the U.S. Government. This is being repudiated. There is evidence from other quarters that Tilea is mixed up with this, though he does not admit it to me, and I do not charge him with it.) T. says that he is not willing merely to work as an agent of the British Government, which had been suggested to him and to several Rumanians; after the war he would not be thought well of if he had only played this role. I say that, after we have won the war, it will not be held against any man, but rather in his favour, that he worked with us and for us to help to gain the victory. T. said that this might be so at first, but "a little later on" opinion in the various countries might change. I say that this is altogether too remote, just now, to be worth taking into consideration.

David Keswick to lunch. C.C.O. had praised him highly to me. I draw him as to where and why he feels frustrated. It turns out all to be a question of air transport, and nothing, as I had thought it might be, to do with the F.O. He knows that I too am much concerned and active over this. Indeed, soon after I get news that Medhurst has not only put a paper up to Freeman, but got the latter's agreement. So we will give them until the next ~~page~~ before raising a row. mccr

A very friendly letter from the C.I.G.S. congratulating me on my "valuable organisation". He is to see M. next week.

C.E.O. is concerned as to what story we should tell about F.Po., if it fails. But we must hope it will succeed.

11. 1. 42

Work in the garden till it gets too dark and then come in and am surprised to find that it is just on 6 p.m. There has been no cloud in the sky all day but hard frost on the ground.

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12. 1. 42

Stalin
 C.E.O. and D.C.D. come to see me about Performance, which is still sticking. I tel them to go to the F.O. and urge immediate action. C.E.O. returns A.E.'s paper (on which I made a manuscript note last weekend and left in the country). Clearly there was not much preparation for these talks on our side, and, if A.E. was only to say that he didn't know the answers to S.'s questions, or would have to consult his colleagues, or that H.M.G. hadn't yet considered any of these things, it is doubtful whether it was worth while to go. Moreover, A.E. does not seem quite a match for S.

Isola Belle
 Take H.G. off to lunch at the I.B. and get him to talk to me about Queen Elizabeth and Neale's book on her which he has just been reading.

Ly Helta
V. Wood
 Cabinet, again on Greek Relief. O.L. has sent a most terrific telegram and it is clear that the resolution of many of the Cabinet is crumbling. The only diehard left, apart from myself who repeat the reasons why I cannot recommend the Cabinet to enter upon the slippery slope of this concession, is K.W., who, in the end, "regretfully accepts" the view of the majority that we must concede one single shipment of wheat, without any commitment to make either further shipments to Greece or any shipments to anywhere else. The Greek Government and their emissaries have, most naturally and properly from their own point of view, been most active. A.V.A. has been seen by a Greek Admiral, who has stressed that the Greeks are still hiding, and feeding, out of the all but nothing which they have, British soldiers. E.B. has been approached about the morale of Greek merchant crews; L.S.A., of course, is all for doing something, and wonders whether this is really "a slippery slope", as I suggest; A.E. goes through the form of largely agreeing with me but still thinking that something should be done. This, then, is the first voluntary breach - apart from our few concessions to Roosevelt on unoccupied France - in the Blockade which has been agreed to by the Cabinet since I became Minister. That is twenty months ago and, if I had followed the advice of many of my own officials, or yielded to the pressure of colleagues, the whole Blockade would be in ruins long ago. I think I can claim to have held the fort pretty well and stubbornly, and, I hope, in the long run to have shortened the war. But now we may slide a good deal further.

Bine with Lie, the Norwegian Foreign Minister. He is a cheerful, simple soul, but bothered because the Russians keep on asking him for Norwegian ships to be chartered direct to them. Obviously all shipping should be in an allied pool.

13. 1. 42

where
 Another relatively peaceful Peawit meeting, ~~where~~ I think B.B. is finding it irksome not to be rude. At my request, we three Ministers take first, without the officials, my paper on Propaganda Policy (P.W.E.) first circulated as long ago as December 6th, when A.E. had just left for Moscow. A.E. says that he is "in broad agreement" with it, though here and there he is not quite sure whether he agrees with my emphasis. B.B., obviously wanting to disagree a lot, contents himself with saying that he thinks most of it is being done already. He says that Family Allowances are not approved ~~with~~ by the Trade Union leaders here; and that we don't want to set up another "Front Populaire Government in France", and that it would be disastrous to tell the Allied Governments in exile that we have no confidence in them. But he isn't biting to-day. I mention that the C.C.O. agrees with me on France. It is agreed that the officials should be asked to report how far the policy at present being carried on is in accordance with the proposals in the paper.

by
 Go again, with other Ministers, to the F.O. later in the afternoon to hear A.E. give an account of his visit to Russia and talks with Stalin. I think he tells them rather dangerously much, including the substance of all the conversations on which I had seen the fuller record, even to the particulars proposed to be put into the secret Protocol on new European frontiers. Voroshilov, he says, "had to be helped from the room" at 4 a.m. Timoshenko was most impressive to look at; he looked like a huge Mongolian peasant. Stalin is quite a small man, no taller than Beaverbrook; his physical movements are rather like those of a cat. A.E. tried hard to think of him as dripping with the blood of his opponents and rivals, but somehow the picture wouldn't fit. A.E. couldn't quite make out why S. was so insistent on getting a Treaty reference to the Baltic States, for, when we had won the war, the Russians would be in possession of them, he said, and we shouldn't be in a position to put them out.

I think, on the other hand, that it is natural, particularly in view of the long haggle over debts, gold, ships, etc., connected with these three potty little places, that S. should want it cut and dried at last. A.E. was most impressed with the good clothing and equipment of the Russians, and its great superiority over that of the Germans. S. said "The Germans don't surrender much to us." A.E. went out to Klin to the scene of recent fighting. The road, one of the big broad highways of Russia (Moscow-Leningrad) was littered with broken tanks. The scorched earth policy had been applied, in some places quite completely, in others not. Klin was about two-thirds destroyed, but they had lunch at a large house which did not seem to have been damaged at all. They asked him if he would like to see some German prisoners. When he said yes, there was a great scurrying about, and it was some time before they could be produced. They then said "We were keeping these for identification

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Mow-Halk

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-4-

purposes". He saw no cages, such as we keep for prisoners, near the front. They insisted on his being photographed beside some frozen German corpses. Everybody crowded round and took great interest in this photograph. It made him wonder whether there were quite as many German corpses as they all alleged, e.g., 12,000 German dead in Klin alone.

Stalin did not seem to think much of the British Army, though he had a great respect for our Navy, Air Force and equipment.

It was very difficult to remove the suspicions. S. could not be got to see why he and A.E. could not just sit down and sign a Treaty. On the second morning A.E. found him sitting with a newspaper cutting in front of him; this reported the Anglo-Turkish Treaty. S. said "If you can sign a Treaty with Turkey, why can't you sign one with me?" A.E. explained that this had taken months to negotiate and had required the concurrence of the Dom. Governments. Next day, S. having thought more about the matter, said "If you don't think I am the sort of person with whom you want to sign a Treaty, why don't you say so?" A.E. found him very straight, direct and reasonable. He never raised his voice or harangued, as Hitler and Mussolini used to do. Altogether, if I may summarise, the general impression, quite a nice gentlemanly fellow!

H.G. says that he asked Postan whether the Russians of to-day were really like those in Tolstoy's "War and Peace" and in the plays and novels of the Czarist days. P. said no, they were quite different; the Russians who counted to-day were very like rather tougher Americans. P. was inclined to take a Marxist view of "national characteristics", which were liable to be modified tremendously and, as in this case, very swiftly, by changes in economic conditions.

Having a heavy cold upon me, I go to bed early, to the great rejoicing of my staff.

14. 1. 42

Stay in bed all day and read Guedalla's "Churchill". Interesting, though not first-class, and with ornate patches which the ~~subject~~ of this study does better than the author. Some familiar political lessons - Randolph's too frequent threats of resignation ending in his political ruin; W.C.'s views on India coloured by his first and only vision of it, long ago, as a cavalry subaltern (who tried, however, to educate himself on Gibbon and English translations of Aristotle and Plato during the hot afternoons at Bangalore, where also he continued the siesta habit first learnt

in Cuba); the cruelty and speculativeness of the political career and the relative fortunes of politicians, abundantly brought out by not only W.C.'s experience but that of others touched on in this book.

15. 1. 42

Convalescent pose. Sit in the office but see no-one from outside except I.T., who has still got Nuneaton and Keighley as possibilities. He thinks his chances are better at the second, but the first will be settled sooner.

Ivor Thomas

DIARY16. 1. 42

Weekly meeting with C.E.O. and C.D., who tells me that he thinks we are making good progress with the Air Ministry. Postmaster also seems to have come off. (He did, - just damn.)

J.C. L.H.P. - L Two inebriated newspaper men seek an interview with me to tell me that the most tremendous changes are about to be made in the Government. M.E.W. is to be abolished and a War Cabinet to be constituted from which all Ministers with Departments are to be excluded. Thus, e.g., Eden and Bevin are to be pushed out. Tom Johnstone and Duncan are to enter the War Cabinet without portfolios and, of various alternatives, rather cloudily exposed, the most likely seems to be that I may succeed Lord Halifax in Washington! This conversation lasts too long and was not, says H.G., who finally is most helpful in breaking it up, at all a good show. These journalists seem not to have any sense of the political limitations on Ministerial reshuffles.

17. 1. 42

I was hoping to get away to W.L. by a morning train, thus making a rather longer weekend of it and getting rid of the remains of a cold. But I am rung up on the scramble by Bridges, who says that the P.M. is expected back at 3 o'clock this afternoon at Paddington and the L.P.S. thought that as many Ministers as conveniently could would like to meet him. So I postpone my going till the 4.45 and take C.M. (rather thrilled) round with me to the station after lunch. A considerable crowd, including most members of the Cabinet. As the train draws in, B.B. is seen rushing about, part lunatic, part showman and part bell-hop. A policeman, who seems to know no-one by sight, advances upon us and says "Only Cabinet Ministers allowed on the platform!" He then descends upon the Lord President, of whom he demands "Are you a Cabinet Minister?" J.A. says that he is the Lord President. The policeman then hustles Lord Simon, not even asking whether he is anybody, but repeating raucously "Only Cabinet Ministers allowed here!" Lord S. replies very deprecatingly, "I am the Lord Chancellor". The policeman then withdraws. The P.M. emerges from the train looking a little pale and very cheerful. With a number of others I shake him by the hand, and also his wife, who is looking very radiant.

Then, having had tea with C.M. in Paddington Hotel, I escape.

Dalton I 26 (25) Dup^t
Cancel L.H. Dan^y

DIARY

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M.K.
Maughan

-2-

18. 1. 42

Heavy snow still lying. Run about in it for half an hour with my shepherd's crook and spend the rest of the day indoors. Frozen pipes to be re-thawed, etc.

19. 1. 42

Back from W.L. by a later train which gets me in in time for lunch with Mrs P. alone with three Frenchmen, Comert, Hauck and Labarthe. They all say de G. and all his principal associates are deplorable. Listening to Frenchmen in London, it is hard to foresee any future for France in our lifetime.

Stuart
Sir C.S. to see me this afternoon. He has nothing much to say, and does not ask for a job. I repeat to him that I handed over B.B.'s correspondence to C.R.A. and that since then there has been an improvement. He speaks ill of R.L. and asks whether, if he could be got rid of, G.J. would not better represent my interests on the triumvirate of officials. But, he adds, this should not be mixed up with B.St., which, he hears, is going very well. This non-mix-up idea has, no doubt, been put into his head by B.B.

A.D.H. comes to see me and we talk at length on his zones and their problems. Quite an easy conversation and I have the impression that he is doing pretty well. He is inclined to be pompous, they say, with his subordinates, but has been spoken to about this by C.D.

Crossman to see me about German Workers' talks. He has seen B.B. to-day, who has pretended to be very friendly and has said that he is not going to let him down, in reply to a Parliamentary question by some Tory which picks a phrase out of its context and suggests that our broadcasts are pro-German. B.C. is not, at this moment, a great favourite of mine, and he talks nonsense, as I find out when checking up afterwards, about the German Workers' talks. He says that they are entirely addressed to the old membership of the S.D.P. But this is quite untrue.

Spearman to dine with me. He is not very exciting but is a friend of Sir J. Hawkey, who, he says, thinks that only two of the P.M.'s Ministers, besides the P.M. himself, are any good at all, namely the late George Lloyd and myself. The chief use of Spearman is to keep my link with Hawkey polished.

20. 1. 42

P.W.E. meeting this afternoon is again uneventful. We are still in the era of Precarious Peace. A.E. is delayed and does not get back to the F.O. till 3.20. It is hinted several times by O.H. and others that we might like to begin, but B.B. and I both say that it would be much better to wait for the Foreign Secretary. The point, of course, is that neither of us is willing to let the other take the Chair.

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Party Meeting unanimously elects old Pethick to succeed Lees-Smith. Ellen Wilkinson says to me that strong pressure was exercised by "the machine" to prevent any other nominations. I say that, if this was so, I took no part in it, either way. She says that she nominated Jim Griffiths, and was rung up by Scott Lindsay and tremendously bullied. In fact, he seems only to have asked her whether she had J.G.'s consent, and the answer was no. I am glad that Pethick has been given this job, for it is mostly honorific and ceremonial and is best held, at this stage, by an old man who will not make a personal challenge to members of the Party who are Ministers. J.G. might have been quite awkward, being ambitious, effectively rhetorical, and with streaks both of slyness and of innocence. Nor would it have been very convenient to build him up too fast on the National Executive.

Old P., however, having been elected to the Chair, makes a frightful mess of it when we come to discuss whether the P.M.'s speech in the House next week should be recorded and broadcast the same night. This proposal had been turned down by the Cab. while the P.M. was in the U.S., but has been resuscitated, largely, I hear, as a result of B.B.'s officious activities, and the P.M. has been persuaded to put down a motion permitting this to happen. It has aroused a lot of criticism, some stupid but on balance sound. It would create a precedent which might be dangerous; it would either eliminate all interruptions, or reproduce them; in the former

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Wilkinson
Brook
Jebb
Cairns
Mackenzie
Harrington

Hancock

case it would not be a Parliamentary record, in the latter case it might create an impression of factiousness, opposition and discord quite out of scale with reality. Moreover, the sort of speech that goes well in the House is quite a different thing from that which goes well on the air. I gingered up the A.C. yesterday to take a strong line against. They were inclined to be hivvery-havery, but S.L. mentioned that the Cab. were against it and B.B. had dug it all up again, and, being the only Minister present, I told them that this was true. This morning the D.H. says that the A.C. will advise the Party to vote against, and the Times and News Chronicle are also hostile. On the other hand, the Telegraph and Express are in favour.

At our Party Meeting the debate becomes quite disordered and Pethick does not seem to understand the elements of Chairmanship, namely the need to put the question straight away: "Those in favour Those against". Instead, he asks plaintively "Would you now like to vote on?" The result, of course, is a mixed yell and a general atmosphere of excited disorder. He surpasses himself, before putting the final vote, asking "Does anyone else want to raise any point of order?" But no doubt he will improve with practice.

The P.M., having sensed that there is a lot of opposition, merely rises to say that he does not propose to move the motion.

I sit myself near the steps of the throne but out of sight from the Chamber, though well within hearing, - this hidden nook is rather a discovery! - in order to hear, without being seen, B.B.'s replies to questions. But he is not reached, standing at No.91 on the order paper.

Earle Page addresses an E.P.A. meeting in a Committee Room upstairs. He is dull and slow and has nothing to say except that the Dominions, and particularly Australia, should have a means of influencing policy and strategy while "the situation is still fluid". I am asked to move a vote of thanks to him, which I do in a few hearty sentences which are applauded by the audience.

Thence to lunch with the Turk, "Aras in Wonderland", as G. calls him. A swarm of guests, including the Chinese Amb., the Lord President and his new wife, and Mr and Mrs Richard Law. The last named female is planted opposite to Aras between Anderson and myself. She is quite quite frightful, an account which I had had of her from G. being much below the truth. She is, I understand, an American, but I hear her getting completely bogged regarding her legal status and nationality in a conversation with the Lord President, who finally asks her "But surely you have not got a Nansen Passport?"

My conversation with this woman begins very inauspiciously. I said across the table to her husband "In a moment I must introduce myself". He replied "She is an extreme Socialist". I, therefore, taking this gambit, said "Your husband has just told me that you are an extreme Socialist". She said "How can he possibly have told you that? You could not have heard anything he said across the table." I said "Well, are you an extreme Socialist?" She said "Oh no, I am only in favour of a slight change." Her idea of conversation seemed to be to contradict anything I said while it was generally clear that she was completely ignorant of the subject. Thus, when I remarked that it was extraordinary that the Russian Army seemed to be so much better equipped than the Germans, she replied that it was not at all extraordinary because they had been preparing for war for such a long time. I said that I thought the Germans had been preparing for longer. She told me this was not so. I also suggested that the Germans had a higher level of industrial efficiency and organising power. She replied that this was not so. When I said something about the Poles in Russia, she said that it would never be possible to get them to fight on the same side as the Russians against the Germans. The Russians, she said, had driven them from their homes and this the Poles would resent much more than being murdered by the Germans. I asked her whether her husband liked being at the F.O. She said that it was better than the W.O., where, though she had supposed that he would get to know something about the war, he had been told nothing. But she did not think she really liked him being in the Government at all. "The Foreign Office must be very stuffy", she said. "Do you mean the atmosphere or the people?" I asked. To this she replied "I suppose they must all be great experts in their own subjects." A quite deplorable female!

Of the Lord President, as we left the dining room, I asked that he should present me to his wife. He did so and we sat in a corner for a quarter of an hour. We both praised the Prime Minister and Lady A.'s first husband. She said - really much too obvious - that he had had a very high regard for me and he so well remembered a visit which A.H. and I paid to Paris in 1931. His death had been hastened because he felt that he had failed to make successive Governments realise the coming German peril. The difference between him and the P.M. was that W.C. felt that it was they who had failed, and not he. She then said that she remembered so well going to tea with my mother, and overdid this theme a good deal. She thought that as a small girl she had seen me as a large schoolboy. She asked whether I saw much of Sir F. Leith Ross. I said "Why, but of course, he is my principal adviser." She said "He thinks that I have made a marriage de raison". I said "Would you like me to speak to him about it?" She said "Oh no." I said perhaps, none the less, I could rebuild a bridge between them. A very false and unattractive woman!

Talk to X.U. on Workers' Talks, French and German. Clearly I must go into this further and prevent any precipitate scrapping of these.

Look in at a squash given by the Cazalets for Sikorski, whom I see for the first time since his return from Russia. President Raczkiewicz is present this time - on the last occasion, immediately after S. had signed the Soviet-Polish Pact, he was notably absent - but now he is crawling around with delight at the success of S.'s mission. Zaleski is also to be seen drifting about in the background. I am told that three new Polish Ministers have just been appointed, Seyda returning with a N.D. colleague, and Kwatynski, a good Socialist who is returning from Russia. The latter will replace the late Lieberman.

G. and I dine with the Cazalets and a few others and hear V.C.'s account of his trip with S. He tells the story extremely well, beginning with the misadventures of Litvinov and his plane. The tale of the Polish camps in Russia is quite incredible. "Nothing makes sense out there". He says he has written, for private circulation, a slightly expurgated story of his tour, and promises to let me have a copy.

C.R.A. has got a chill and will be away for a few days, so, I suppose, there will be no movement on the M.E.P.W. front for a day or two.

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A.D.H. to see me again and explain his set-up, with the aid of several charts. This all seems quite competent.

I have invited Jovanovic to come and see me and bring in A.D.3 (who C.E.O. thinks is much more intelligent than most of the others, with which I agree, though adding that he is not a very strong character and cannot draft) after a quarter of an hour. They get on very well together and will maintain liaison. Poor little J. is rather negligible, I feel. Old, physically frail, high voice, no great political experience. But General S. kept the secret very well. J.H. had no idea that I was anything more than "a very good friend of our country."

C.E.O. has seen A.C., who reports that A.E. is being very silly and difficult again. Everything seems to be going on well and then suddenly he pours out deep suspicion of me, my functions and intentions. "Who is Foreign Secretary, I or D.W.?" He is

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Dalton

constantly afraid that I want to "control foreign policy". He seems to fear that at some moment some great movement will start in some foreign country, Italy or Germany, and that I shall say it is all mine and that therefore I must run the Peace Conference and he be elbowed out. Which is really all too childish and silly, as A.C. agrees. Moreover, the little man will never face up to it with me. Last time I saw him I asked him whether he was quite happy with the way in which our affairs were working. He said yes, quite. These outbursts only occur when I am not there. A.C. thinks that O.H. may have been hotting him up, which, if true, is disappointing after the trouble taken by C.E.O. - and me - with him. He is in a great fuss about my communication regarding the Turks and the desirability of doing things without K.H. knowing, or in the alternative going to the Defence Committee. I must say that I am very bored with all this. One can't even begin, much less get on, with some of these people. C.E.O. says that A.C. quite shares this view and is putting up a paper to A.E. seeking to define our respective spheres. He has shown A.E. my charter.

Dine with R. at Royal Court Hotel. She seems to be thoroughly enjoying her work in the N.W. though it means a lot of travelling and awkward hours. She hates Manchester, particularly the centre of the city. It is frightfully black and sordid, and the Lancashire people are all undersized and wizened, the offspring of our Industrial Revolution. She likes Nottingham best of all the towns which she has been to, though Leeds is Paradise compared with Manchester. In the North one has much more the sensation that every one is engaged on war work. In London this is not so.

Complete final draft of letter to P.M. reporting on Postmaster. C.E.O. is particularly good at drafting this kind of document, and he is the only person who can do it. The rest are incredibly bad at drafting, even for lesser people than the P.M.

DIARY

23. 1. 42

Lunch and speak at the Guildhall on the work of M.E.W. Not a bad audience and fair publicity, chiefly on the death of Lati.

Reception at Soviet Embassy for Russian T.U. delegates. I find the hall in darkness, the lights having fused. A tremendous crowd of Labour people, including London Mayors and their wives wearing badges of office.

Weekly conference with C.E.O. and C.D. at which I urge them on in various directions. I say that I am not satisfied about the Income Tax, nor about the French T.U.s. Great waste of time on this and arguing back instead of getting on with the job.

A.D.P. to dine. He thinks that we are now on an improving wicket and that our stock is pretty high. I am interested to find that he is anti-A.D. though pro-C.E.O. and C.D. - or so he says.

The transcript I heard Lati, but I was going to pick him off. I had no such intention. I like his company & would be employed by him. C.D. says he has a lot to say. Salary means a lot to him.
24. 1. 42 Staying in London this weekend.

Write to Citrine about the German talks.

Kalina to report on Czech affairs. He is still very vexed with the old men who won't learn English. He is seeing the President in a day or two. He regards himself as much the best contact between the Czechs and the British Labour Movement. In this he is quite right, but I don't want to intermeddle too much in Czech affairs. *Personal relations.*

To lunch with Nathan He asks C.M. on the telephone whether I prefer lunching in a Club or a hotel. C.M. says that I am not very keen on Clubs and therefore Nathan has chosen the Carlton Grill. But the reason why I am not very keen on Clubs is because I don't like it being observed who I am with, nor my conversation overheard. These objections apply even more to the Carlton Grill than to most Clubs! N., of course, wants to put in again his claim to a post in the Government. Now that we have more Labour Peers, he thinks that we should have more Labour Ministers as well. He merely wishes me to know that he is willing and available to serve. He suggests to me that I should move to the Dominions Office.

G. and D.F. discuss with me the question of Income Tax on our staff. I am not quite satisfied with the present arrangements,

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Elsa Wilmot to lunch. She says that John is getting on slowly but is pretty weak and won't be able to return to duty for about a month.

Discuss C. organisation later in the afternoon with C.E.O. and Vickers. There is a case for one member of the new proposed board jointly representing M.E.W. and S.O.E. I am attracted by the idea of A.D. being this representative.

26. 1. 42

Ivor Thomas has got Keighley! I wire him my heartiest congratulations. This is my first real success in getting into the House of Commons one of my protégés of the next generation. It will be a nasty jolt for R.L., Brig.B., etc.,

Lunch with John Carvel at the Charing Cross Hotel to meet Harvey Watt. This has taken the hell of a long time to arrange, but now, at last, it goes very well. Also present Captain Ian Harvey, a friend of C.M. at Oxford and a rising young Conservative politician. I tell H.W. that P.M.'s solidest support is in the Parliamentary Labour Party. We first shed I.H. immediately after lunch, then proceed to a wine shop in Villiers Street, where we drink some port and discuss the problems of Party machines, and I then take H.W. back to No.10. While we are still with J.C., H.W. says that Duncan is being talked of more and more as a possible Conservative Prime Minister. To follow the P.M., he says, it is no good having a "cheap imitation Winston".

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Going back in the car, he says that people are saying Of course we have confidence in the P.M., but not in all his Ministers. "We may not have much confidence, for instance, in Grenfell, or Attlee, or Kingsley Wood." I don't rise to any of these names, though I am interested that these are the ones he mentions to me. If there is no reorganisation, there may be serious grumbling soon, He thinks E.B. is doing much better now in the House.

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27. 1. 42

Make my announcement in the House in answer to a question on Relief Shipment of wheat to the Greeks. All sections of my answer are applauded, first the reassertion of our general attitude on Blockade, and second the announcement of the exceptional concession to the Greeks. The latter applause is the louder. The Supplementaries come out well, especially the question by Jack Lawson as to "what guarantee" there is that the Germans will not take the food. I reply "None."

P.M. speaks for an hour and a half. It is not one of his best speeches, but it is, on the whole, a pretty convincing statement. He is insisting on a vote of confidence. He says at the end that

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he feels the weight of the war more heavily now than in the summer of 1940. There is a great deal of criticism about, partly directed at him for doing too much and, so it is said, interfering with decisions of Chiefs of Staff, etc., and partly at his colleagues, or some of them, not generally very specifically named.

The muddle over the German Workers' broadcasts is considerable. The decision of the Ministers was never conveyed to those concerned by Stephens. Arrangements seem to have been made in defiance of this decision. Lockhart gives orders that this is to be reversed.

I make, I confess with deep contrition!, a frightful row with C.E.O. over the French T.U.s. First this morning I send ^{draft a} cathartic ~~message~~ and ask H.G. to take it round to him. Having complained of the slowness of response and the stink of Mr Marriott's corpse, I demand that I should get to-night copies with dates of all messages sent in pursuance of my order to get these two men out. Nothing has been done and there is the usual misunderstanding based on my having said to H.G. that I thought R.B. should go down and collect the papers. C.E.O. says he thought H.G. said that R.B. had already been told to go. I say that clearly C.E.O. neither read what I had written nor listened to what H.G. said. I then said that he and all the rest of them were being perfectly bloody, that any of my political colleagues to whom I related what had happened would think that here was a Labour Minister being treated as of no account by a gang of people all of whom were peace-time profiteers plus one F.O.official. I say that I suppose they think this interest in French Trade Unionists is just a foible of the Minister not to be taken seriously.

*of my "proposal" being committed, & H.G. decided to... hand... to... the...
a...
...
...*

C.E.O., as usual, takes all this very calmly and coldly. H.G. thinks I treated him very badly on this occasion and says that he shows great devotion to me, though sometimes this may run counter to his F.O.interests. But H.G. admits that his "coldness" may have advantages as well in such situations.

28. 1. 42

Party meeting decides, by 53 to 16, in favour of supporting vote of confidence in Government and against allowing members a free vote. Pethick in the Chair shows greater firmness than last week, or than L.S. used to show.

Ivor Thomas to see me. It is very satisfactory that he has got Keighley, and he seems to have worked it very skilfully. He heard from Jim Milner, whom he met in a railway train, that Tom

Snowden was the real king of Keighley. He therefore went to see him and, he thinks, made a good impression. Snowden, without giving him any promise, worked on many key people and withdrew his support from Titterington, a well-known local man who had been expected to win. In fact, he only got four votes - "and his face was a study when the figures were announced", said I.T., - Will Henderson only two, Rennie Smith only five, D.T. Jones 8, and he was second to I.T., who got 22, almost a clear majority on the first count. There were one or two locals who picked up a few each. The second vote between I.T. and D.T.J. put the latter up to 12 and I.T. between 30 and 40. He says that in Keighley they aren't keen on the war and don't want him to go abroad. The prospective Conservative candidate has already been killed in action.

Lunch with Sikorski (see separate note).

Visit M.'s war room this afternoon, complete with maps, telegrams and indications of the whereabouts of persons and of dropping points. Quite impressive, but, as C.E.O. says, rather like a departmental store waiting for customers.

Binnley
(8/11/41)
(K. Binnley)
Have a word afterwards with ^{Sparks} D.C.D. on George B.'s latest telegram, which seems to me a frightful farrago of irrelevance on legal, psychological and political matters quite outside his scope. It looks as though he feels he cannot pull the thing off after all. He has been sent a telegram urging him to concentrate on fewer ships and a speedier exit.

Dine with Pooley at the Saville Club. We hear the Beaver on the 9 o'clock news. Laudation of P.M. and announcement of many figures of production. Allan Barlow, of the Treasury, asks "Why must we listen to that bastard?"

Further talk with G. about failure to get a move on with the two French Trade Unionists. I make another Minute on this subject, following the discovery that the first telegram sent out from our people is dated only to-day! It is from J. to J.Q.

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JKM
Santhill
Brook

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28. 1. 42

Lunch with Sikorski. The only others present were E.B. and Retinger.

S. seemed in good form and, as usual, most friendly. But there was, I thought, rather more of a trace of vanity in his talk than I had noticed before. Before the others came, he told me that Sosnkowski had wanted to be in command of the Poles in the Middle East, but that he had refused this and offered him instead the post of Polish representative on Wavell's staff, to which he could add, if he desired, the diplomatic representation of Poland at Chungking. Sosnkowski had not yet made up his mind.

I ask Sikorski about the closure of his Legation in Madrid. He said he had taken a firm line with the Spanish Government and this would not happen now.

There was some conversation during lunch, in the intervals between the Minister of Labour's anecdotes, on political and military subjects. Sikorski thought that the Germans were retreating on the Eastern Front in very good order. He thought they would stand east of Smolensk and, in the south, along the Dnieper. He doubted whether they would be forced out of the Crimea. The great mistake of the Germans, through their under-valuation of the Red Army, had been to make major attacks, not only in the south, but on three other important sectors, against Leningrad and against Moscow, both from the north-west and the south-west. He thought that in spring they would concentrate everything they could in a big push in the south only, aiming at the Caucasus.

He had found Stalin very reasonable in his talks in Moscow, but since then the Russian successes had made Stalin more imperialist in his demands. Sikorski said that Stalin had offered him the line of the Oder, but that he himself thought that this was too far to the west. He did not want Frankfurt-on-Oder or Breslau, though he certainly wanted East Prussia. E.B. said that he too thought the Oder was too far west, and asked what Sikorski would do about the land in East Prussia. He hoped he would not hand it over to Polish landowners. If taken from the Germans, it should be publicly owned. S. hastened to agree with this and said that the large Polish landowners had been a great source of weakness to Poland. On the other hand, the Poles did not want collective farms on the Russian model. He said that he had told Stalin that he could not agree to the Curzon Line; nor could Poland surrender Vilna. I said that I thought he would be wise to accept something not very different from the Curzon Line, on condition that he got East Prussia and a satisfactory western frontier, coupled with the necessary movements of population.

MEMEL

E.B. then asked him what he thought about the Baltic States, and added that in his view we should let the Russians have control of the coast line but try for some "cultural autonomy" for these three small States. He thought that we must be prepared to let the Russians have more warm-water ports. S. said that he could not agree to the whole of Lithuania being absorbed within the Soviet Union. Part of it at least should be joined to Poland, which in turn would be in a bloc with Czechoslovakia and, he hoped, other elements, Hungary, etc. E.B. said that he would like to make Memel an international port, and also Petsamo. S. said that he was sure Stalin wanted not only Petsamo but northern Norway, down to and including Narvic, in the U.S.S.R.

Sikorski spoke rather ill of Cripps. He said that he was "fantastic" and a theoretician.

Leaving with me after lunch, E.B. abused Beaverbrook and said that he was the source of most of our troubles. One idea which had been going about was that Cripps should become Minister of Supply and Beaverbrook Minister of Production. He did not seem enthusiastic at such a possibility.

Dalton I 26 (45)

Not much in this.

But you may see some.

No circulation to FO!

H.A.

3/11

Many thanks.

I don't know why S.
doesn't want the order

S. J. J.

29. 1. 42

Lockhart to see me. Full of apologies for the muddle about German Workers' Talks. Crossman, he says, has no sense of procedure I impress upon him the great political delicacy of the whole thing and that I have already received a letter from Laski about it. I am seeing Tewson - Citrine thinking himself to be much too busy to attend to it - on Monday next. Bowes-Lyon, L. says, has put his foot in it by trying to secure the services of Major - once Colonel - G. for work in Persia. First, there is no work in Persia and the F.O. would be furious if it were attempted, and, second, Major G. is quite unsuitable. C.E.O. has already told L. something of his record and I tell him a bit more. Here, also, the F.O. would be furious if it were sought to employ him at all.

Lunch at the House, where it is thought that there will be not more than 12 votes against the Government, though there will be many abstentions. P.M. makes a most masterly speech in reply, hinting that he is giving way about a Minister of Production and telling a pretty full story of the Prince of Wales and Repulse, and denying the story that he himself overruled the Naval staff in sending these ships out without an aircraft carrier. (This accusation was made yesterday by Southby and also by Chatfield in the House of Lords. The latter has been running round a great deal in the last few days trying to undermine the P.M. and the Government. He was, when in office, the most frightful appeaser of them all.) The final vote is 464 to 1, two of the I.L.P. telling and the third walking through by himself. The Government vote is very large and abstentions few, though they seem to include Shinwell and a bunch of others.

Rumours run round that Cripps and Citrine are even now joining the Government. (Next day it appears that this is true of Cripps though it remains to be seen just how duties will be divided between him and others on the Production Front, and, still further, how things will work out in terms both of output and politics.)

Dinner to Kendrew, who is leaving for the Ministry of Labour. He has been a very good Establishments Officer, popular both with us and with the Treasury and, moreover, very efficient. This is a rare combination.

Conference later with C.E.O., C.D., A.D.Z. and K. III on S. America. Rio has not, on the surface, been a great failure and it is difficult to sum up on probabilities. B.N. is very gloomy and sensational and A.D.Z. reflects him. C.E.O. and C.D. are to produce a draft for me to-morrow.

*I finally agree it after a few
days of hesitation on details, with
C.E.O. on the morning of 31/1/42*

Incredible stories of the behaviour of the Beaver in Moscow. He took possession of Cripps's office in the Embassy and turned him out of the room. When he wanted him, he opened the door and bellowed "Cripps!" When dining out, he demanded that an orchestra should be produced, and two rather decayed musicians were discovered. He demanded that they should play the Volga Boat Song but was told they couldn't; they were "only a Caucasian band". He then ordered that they should go away and learn it and come back again and play later in the evening. Once he tried to take them with him in another car behind his own, but when they reached their destination they had disappeared. They had been arrested by the police.

DIARY30. 1. 42

A.D.H. comes to say goodbye.

With Perkins, M.X. and C.M. to see some Polish friends. Quite an interesting visit and a good demonstration in the afternoon of action against a railway bridge.

Weekly conference with C.E.O. and C.D. The former is almost speechless, having an attack of laryngitis. I tell him to go to bed for several days.

Leslie Nicholls to dine with me. I also ask the L.P.S., who likes men in khaki. We get on very well and the latter reminisces about his old batman.

31. 1. 42

L.R. is going away for at least a fortnight's holiday on his doctor's advice.

To W.L. by the 12.30. Still some snow. Run round a bit and find myself locked out, my key of the front door breaking in the lock. I therefore have to walk up to Irene's cottage to get a duplicate. She has suddenly ceased to be shy, which much eases things. Her key works, so I don't have to break the glass as I feared might be necessary.

1. 2. 42

Snoodle till lunch and after lunch take a short run round in the snow. It is very cold and some of our pipes have burst. Sit up late to-night reading stuff on South America. It is all very dramatic - perhaps unreasonably so, but can one be sure and is one not running great risks in doing so little?

I must counter-attack the F.O. with a well prepared dossier if they try more interference (but a few days later, when I demand such a dossier, very little is forthcoming).

2. 2. 42

Lunch with Phil and Irene to meet the King of Greece.

Dalton I 26 (49)

Dup +

DIARY

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2. 2. 42

Lunch with Phil and Irene to meet the King of Greece.

-2-

As Kings go, he is fairly intelligent. Gilbert Murray, looking very ancient, and a Greek A.D.C. make up the party. Irene says in Greek, when the King arrives, that we will not talk about food till after lunch. He and I then sit in a corner, and I speak particularly about parcels for Greek prisoners of war and the evacuation of Greek children to Egypt, etc. On the question of direct wheat shipments to Greece, I tell him that H.M.G. has decided for only one shipment. The King said that he heard that the German Governor of Athens, when called upon by a Greek lady responsible for organising Relief, who asked for food to be supplied, treated her with great rudeness, did not ask her to sit down, and said "We want you Greeks to die. At present we have to keep a large garrison here. When there are fewer of you, we shall not need so large a garrison, and there is the door." He spoke also of the shocking and quite needless cruelty of the Bulgarians and of the massacres perpetrated by them against the Greeks.

Tewson to see me at my request about broadcasts to German Workers. He is not at all excited about this, as some others are, but gives steady support to the continuance of these talks and likes the idea of using John Price as a sort of liaison officer.

Harry Lucas to dine with me. He looks extremely ill. He gives an amusing account of his visit to Lisbon and of the life in the Embassy there. He says the staff all work peacetime hours, coming in half way through the morning, taking two hours off at lunch time, and finishing the day between 5 and 6. The ~~Name~~ ^{Am} Attaché, who, he says, is much too rich (Jack Schreiber), gave a five-course dinner with too much plate on the table and too much preserved fruit, etc. All rather nauseating. Our Amb., he thinks, is a lonely man and easily frightened. H.L. had a great time bullying Espirito Santo, but was horrified to find that the Amb. had immediately asked this miscreant to luncheon.

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3. 2. 42

Brackley

P.W.E. meeting. B.B. back towards his old form - reckless rudeness. He is, as G. says, simply a guttersnipe. Two rows, the first on Aspidistra, where he launches an attack on me and complains that the B.B.C. were never consulted. I say that we consulted the Wireless Telegraphy Board but he says that they are not represented on that. I say that it is extraordinary that he should not have seen to this before. I say that many experts, including Cherwell, have approved the project. He says that it is "fantastic" that Cherwell should be described as an "expert" on wireless. The second row is over Rumanians. He complains that there has been "propaganda" for Davila in the U.S. and connects this with the agitation for the Mackellar Bill now before Congress. In both these cases he says that these matters should be brought before the Cabinet. This is a variant from the old cry that they should be taken to the P.M. I say that I am astonished at the manner and tone of these interventions, and A.E. is obviously disconcerted. I report on my talk with Tewson regarding German Workers' Programmes and there is no opposition to my suggestions here.

Jovanovic to see me at his own request. I bring in also C.E.O. and C.G. J. is very vague and I arrange that C.G. should see K. to-morrow on the various Yugoslav claims, to control their own ^{communications} and their separate Naval and Air Forces. There is evidence that others will resist this too.

Rolin to see me. He looks tired and ill. He has lately come from Belgium. He is anxious that the Belgian Forces in this country should be well equipped and used in the war effort, and also speaks about the food situation in Belgium.

Vickers and Lawrence come to see me with a paper for the A.M. on Economic Targets.

G. dines with me. He has had a bad cold, but, after two days in bed, during which he has continued to deal with all his papers, is reasonably fit again.

4. 2. 42

Long meeting of National E.C. lasting into the afternoon. Chiefly on much too long document, "the old world and the new society" which is written in Laski English and very remote and unprofitable.

After the meeting, a short talk with Phil, Laski, Jim Griffiths and Middleton on B.B.C. Workers' Talks, especially the German. I urge them to keep me informed and write to me direct and not, as they had first thought of doing, to the B.B.C. But they must only tell me what is definite and really true. Mere vague complaints and suspicions by emigrés are no use. I welcome this interest as building up my position still further with my two Tory colleagues. I explain that it will be best to work through the T.U.C.

Lunch at H. of C. with C.R.A., to whom I say that the effect of the washing of B.B.'s head is now fast wearing off and that it will have to be done again. I ask how he is getting on with M.P.E.W. project and he says he will try and get a meeting this week. I repeat that I think it would be best for them to see me and B.B. separately.

Call on S. of S. for Air, infinitely charming as usual, and leave with him an aide memoire provided by my E.R.D. The point is that, if we strike out a new invention, making it easier to bomb a target, say of 10 square miles, even without moon, it would be a disastrous mistake to repeat what we did last war with tanks at Cambrai. We should save up the use of the new weapon - which, after an interval, the enemy will discover and counter - until we can use it as a massive surprise. My advisers strongly hold that economic targets, notably in the Ruhr, could be suddenly devastated by a series of really massive attacks under these new conditions, but that to let the thing go off at half cock would simply fritter it away. In the former case we might decisively affect the issues of the war; in the latter case, nothing important would happen.

I put all this to Sir A.S., who is most sympathetic, and says that this point of view is well understood at the A.M. They attach great importance to this argument. They have Cambrai always in mind. On the other hand, from the military and political, as distinct from the economic, point of view, there is very much to be said for acting as quickly as we can, while the Russians are still pushing the Germans back, and while Germany is still in the grip of winter, so that the effects of air bombardment on morale are correspondingly large, and while the war moves so ill for us on all fronts other than the Russian. These considerations have to be weighed against each other. He adds that training has been lengthened, in order to give more weight to new methods of navigation. We have now to make dog legs round the most formidable flak which defends most interesting targets. The development of German defensive power in this way has been very great, though they have not, happily, countered, as we thought they might have done, directionally, etc. There is no shortage, as I had heard, of trained crews for Halifaxes, but only of crews

trained with the very latest. There has been great disappointment both over the weather, which, according to their records, has been the worst for 15 years - the whole period during which accurate records have been kept - and over the delay in big output of heavy bombers. These last had severe teething troubles, but these are now over and the Air Staff are very pleased with the results. The Lancasters, the latest, are the best of all. Soon, aided by the latest developments, we should see some really formidable results. K.G.100 practised fire raising by a few well directed leaders, and then the rest just came in and bombed the ~~place~~. *blaze* We should be able to immitate these tactics. Our latest incendiaries should make a greater blaze than ever, and the fear of being misled by a decoy fire is thought to be small. On leaving, I say that ~~A. G. G.~~ is being very helpful, but I do not take it any further than this, since we still have great difficulties.

(Medhurst)

Phil is to come to this building and live upstairs on the fourth floor as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport. I hear a rumour of this from H.G. this evening, and ring up Phil to ask whether it is true that the Beaver has been fired and he is taking his place. Phil says "Not exactly". I ask what then, and he says that he is succeeding Llewelin. I say that I am very glad and that he is clearly right to take it. He says he has had great doubts. I am sure he has, but it is a first-class thing that he has now been put into a Governmental job far removed from the Foreign Office. It will do him a ~~great deal~~ *lot* of good.

The gossip is that Cripps originally as good as accepted the Ministry of Supply but that E.B. then worked upon him and told him what a dreadful man the Beaver was, so that Cripps then said that he would only take it on if he was a member of the War Cabinet. This was refused and the P.M. is said now to be very angry with Cripps. It is said that E.B. saw the latter three times; also that Cripps made a great row with Maurice Webb and the "Herald" and demanded that they should publish a denial of the statement that he had been offered a job. He said he had an angry telephone conversation with M.W. and said "The press are trying to hound me out of public life again". M.W. said "If you will authorise me to publish a statement by yourself, in inverted commas, 'I have not been offered the Ministry of Supply', I will do so." Cripps then climbed down. H.G. says it looks as though he is just as big a fool as ever in domestic politics.

D.B.L. to dine. For more than a month he had not heard of any suggestion, till yesterday, that he should go to the U.S. He talks a great deal, without any incitement from me, against B.B. He is particularly vexed about the outburst over Aspidastra. He

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M. Webb

Fairbank

Beaver's Log

D.B.L. to dine. For more than a month he had not heard of any suggestion, till yesterday, that he should go to the U.S. He talks a great deal, without any incitement from me, against B.B. He is particularly vexed about the outburst over Aspidastra. He

everything → says it is just B.B.C. jealousy. He has long taken a great interest in this particular project. B.B., he says, is just a very small man who hates me personally and is therefore prepared to sacrifice to scoring off me. He has heard from Hood to-day that B.B. has just received a very severe snub from the P.M. and has been told to mind his own business and not interfere in other people's. D.B.L. says that he has only seen B.B. once since last November (this is quite contrary to what B.L. . . . t told me; he said he was always in and out with him.) The only time he saw him then was when he went over to see Tree, whom he says is a very stupid man. D.B.L. further adds that B.B. has been a Minister for P.W. for six months and has never been down to C.H.Q. nor got to know any members of his staff. He has seen D.C. once for five minutes in connection with the P.Q. Stephens, he says, is perfectly useless. Brig.B. is realising that he is more and more out of his depth. To R.L. D.B.L. remains curiously loyal. He says he is much the toughest and best of the three. D.B.L. now says that they all feel the lack of Ministerial control at C.H.Q. I say that it was to get rid of this that the whole intrigue was worked, but that I remembered he had been very vexed with H.G. when the latter had brought out this point. He does not deny this. He says that he has got into trouble for suggesting the name of Grand to do something for us in Persia. I ask where he got it from. He says from the "planners". I say from whom? He says Barry. I had quite forgotten - so far away is my mind - about this Barry, and thought he meant the planners under the C.O.S. I tell him that Grand was a friend of B.B. I also tell him that I handed B.B.'s letters to C.R.A., who showed them to the P.M. I am inclined to think that D.B.L. is, on the whole, honest and that the charges against him, of intriguing with B.B., are not true. He asks whether I will go down and stay a weekend with him at Paris House. I say that, in principle, I should be quite glad, but that I have no free weekend for a long while.

There comes in to-night a letter from A.E., polite even to the point of being greasy, enclosing a memo by A.C. which makes me very angry indeed. A most graceless, clodhopping document. I make a short note on it for C.E.O. for to-morrow morning. I am too angry to do any more work to-night!

5. 2. 42

C.E.O. comes to see me this morning and makes excuses for A.C.'s gauche and graceless document. I say that it is not to be seen, at present, by anyone, not even by C.D. I should have a collective resignation if they saw it. I also say that I don't know why "they" are now described as the Board of Directors. I do

not care for this language drawn from peace-time profiteering. I have never authorised this title. They may be called the Council, as when they met daily. C.E.O. persists in believing that A.C. is really only trying to get a frank discussion. I recite the case against him; his draft, quite contrary to our decisions, when first it was under discussion how U.W. should be organised (I had said to him, after the first meeting with Hfax., etc., "this draft of yours is not at all what I meant", and he had replied "It was only meant as a basis for discussion"; C.E.O. on that occasion had been the secretary taking notes); his conduct regarding Loxley and his gauche letter stating that "charity begins at home"; his gauche response to me when I had first put up C.E.O. for a C.M.G. and had written him, as I thought, a friendly and intimate letter, in which I had called him by his Christian name, and his clumsy reply beginning "Dear Dalton"; I said that I thought if a No.1 Minister unbent to this extent to a Civil Servant whom, after all, he had known on and off for years, the latter should know how to return the service; finally this graceless screed; I said that if I showed it, as I was minded to do, to C.R.A., he would be sustained in his view that A.E. was a weak and charming character, being manoeuvred by his F.O. officials. C.E.O. said that he was sure that A.C. was not really double-crossing, and that he himself was to blame for having told the latter that I should not seriously mind a paper of this sort being put up. I said that the paper reduced me to the status of an Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office and was quite intolerable. Meanwhile, I would put all these complaints at B.St. up against the buffers and require them to produce for me chapter and verse for F.O. obstruction and delay. I would then use this in a conversation with A.E. soon.

C.E.O. says that it is going round that Phil told Lord Hyde this morning that he was not really interested in transport but only in getting a ship to take food to the Greeks. I told C.E.O. that I had told Phil on the telephone last night that this would now be his chief preoccupation, and so it all goes round!

To lunch at H. of C. M. Webb very busy and full of himself. He says he has seen the three letters which Cripps wrote to the P.M., the first accepting Ministry of Supply, the second and third raising difficulties. The second only reached No.10 Downing Street after the P.M. had made his final speech in the Vote of Confidence debate, having thought that everything was settled. It was written with the advice of Aneurin Bevan who, with G. Strauss, is Cripps's chief adviser. A.E. had thought it very clever to send the letter so that it reached No.10 only after the P.M. had spoken. Now the P.M. is ramping round denouncing Cripps with every kind of imprecation. E.B. had fixed things up, he thought, with Cripps so that they should show a united front, and was quite surprised when the latter cried off. On the whole, M.W. says, the press to-day is critical of Cripps, except The Times.

In the letter with
Worship

Dupte

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News from U.S.A. through our channels is disconcerting. It is said that they are more anti-English in many significant ways than before they came into the war. Strong pressure, e.g., against our publicity. C.E.O. writes a Minute urging again, "at the risk of boring you", that unless this country can take the leadership of a Western European bloc after the war, we shall degenerate into a rather miserable outpost, whose chief aim in life will be to keep Europe divided. The alternatives are to be dominated by the U.S.A. or Russia. U.S.A. after the war will take charge of S.America, Far East and perhaps Australia and New Zealand as well. A West European Federation, on the other hand, might exercise dominant control over most of Africa, the Middle East and perhaps India. All this, he thinks, will become very clear in a few years' time, and those who can foresee it now should be thinking ahead. I reply that there is much force in this argument, but that Western Europe just now is an unappetising platefull. By all means, however, let us think ahead.

Rather a boring evening meal - in any case I am feeling weary and discontented over many things - ^{will} by Sir A.M. Livingstone. Also present the Dutch Prime Minister, the Chinese Ambassador, the Lord Chancellor, the American Admiral Ghormley, Air Marshal Peck, the American Colonel Green (who is very critical of our failure to produce A.F.V. of the right kind or in the right quantity), Harvie Watt, and a few more.

It is only anger that kills me.

DIARY6. 2. 42

Lunch with C.R.A. at his Club and then take him on to see our Ops.Room. M. is most adequate and produces, as advised by C.E.O., a number of young officers in khaki to explain. C.R.A. stays for an hour and says practically nothing, as is his way, but I think is pleased and interested.

It is said that a frightful telegram has come in from the Auk explaining Libya and attributing the enemy's success to better Generals, better tanks, more of them, and no spare parts on our side. He hopes to hold a line a good deal further back.

After the regular weekly meeting with C.E.O. and C.D., the latter and I dine together. I think I leave him purrier than I found him. He gathers from Conservative country circles, Carlton Club, etc., that the P.M. is riding for a fall. C.D. wants me and C.R.A. to assert ourselves, though it is not clear quite how. He has also got quite keen on uniting us, although operational, with the I. side. He speaks again of the possibility of his own resignation, not through discontent but because he thinks a younger man should soon take it on. I say that I suppose M. would be the natural successor. C.D. says that M. would be on his merits the best choice, but not a fortunate one, for he is difficult personally and likes only to work with people whom he himself has picked. Also he has no No.2 who could take over. C.D. thinks that it would be best to seek some young man, preferably from the North of England, a civilian with great energy and no politics. He thinks there must be many such. He says that C.E.O. and M. are the two outstanding people in our show, but goes on to speak well also of C.G. I say that A.D. might perhaps succeed A.D.H., if the latter doesn't last, and C.D. thinks he won't. Then C.G. could succeed A.D. and perhaps, after an interval, succeed C.D. himself. He does not react too badly to this idea.

Later this evening G. reports that he has had Retinger to dine and the latter has been much concerned at hostility to me in the P.M.'s entourage. What we are doing is either suppressed or misrepresented and described as "inefficient, amateurish, etc." G. is inclined to think that R. gets some of this wrong, and has told him that my position is politically so strong that there is no chance of my being shifted. None the less, there is, of course, much truth in what R. has heard.

G. also tells me that there has been a further fuss in the F.O. over his seeing Departmental Secrets. A.E. said they

should not go outside the office and finally A.C. only got the present arrangement continued on the basis that G. showed them to no-one else at all, unless permission had been got on each one separately.

Going to bed, I think that we just don't deserve to win the war. We are all fighting each other instead of the enemy, and with such zest. P.M.'s entourage.....Mr Bracken.....Eden and his telegrams.....!

7. 2. 42

To W.L., but before leaving I ask Retinger to come and see me. He gives a very Polish and political interpretation of affairs. His account is that I have many enemies, partly because I am a Socialist and partly because I am known to have courage and energy and am thought to be personally dangerous. Therefore, he says, there is sabotage of my work in the A.M. and W.O. by all the Blimps, and the P.M. is just not told of what I do and no reports are passed on. I have, he says, many enemies in the P.M.'s entourage. I ask him who, and he says the Beaver and B.B., both of whom are always speaking ill of me, and General I. (This last one is a bit surprising, but he says it comes through Zamoyski. I connect it a bit with C.D.'s rather unfortunate appearance before the C.O.S. some time ago. He has never been a second time, leaving it now to M. This, however, I don't tell R.) On the other hand, he says that the Prof. is friendly to me. D.M. he doesn't know anything about. Eden, Monckton and Lockhart, he says, are friends of mine (he doesn't know quite all about that!)

Randolph Churchill, who he says is going back to the M.E. in a week, talked to R. and then to the P.M. about the Polish planes. The P.M. sent R.C. to see A.S. about them.

I tell C.E.O. later that this kind of intervention with A.S., while I am being advised not to push on them for planes, is liable to put me in a rather tiresome position, making me to appear inert.

8. 2. 42

Very cold, but read a lot of papers.

9. 2. 42

Harvie Watt to lunch. We talk very freely and I like him. He doesn't know much of what I do, and I just mention it in passing. He describes how packed the P.M.'s days and nights are, and I say that I think Ministers ought not to bother him except on big questions. H.W. says that most are very good that way, but a few aren't. We speak of possible Cabinet shuffles and he says that there are some who want to see Attlee, Greenwood, Eden and Kingsley Wood all out of the War Cabinet and replaced by Cripps and Duncan. I say that, as regards A. and G., this would lead to a riot in the Labour Party, and they would no longer support the Government. A. and G., whatever others may think of them, happen to be the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, from which Cripps was expelled four years ago. There is particular feeling, I say, against him still, in many T.U. circles. H.W. says that the argument for getting him into the Government is that otherwise he may become a focus of opposition. What kind of office do I think he might be offered? I say that he made quite a good Law Officer in 1931 but I doubt whether he would be willing to be S.G. again. H.W. says perhaps a sinecure office, such as Postmaster General. I say that C. told me, four days before the German attack, that Russia would only last four weeks and that it was a great misfortune for us that they were being dragged into the war in 1941 rather than waiting till 1942.

H.W. likes A.G., chiefly, I gather, because they often have drinks together. He doesn't think much of C.R.A., who, he says, cannot effectively lead the House in the P.M.'s absence. But who could? Herbert Morrison, he gathers, is very unpopular with his own Party. In the various changes which have been discussed, no-one, he says, has suggested that I should lead the Government! If anything happened to the P.M., he thinks there would be a strong feeling that Anderson should succeed, at any rate for a time. I say that this does not inspire me at all, and that the Labour Party would expect to be consulted, not as to who should be Leader of the Conservative Party, but as to who should be P.M. He says that for the succession to the Leadership of their Party, there are groups supporting Eden, Stanley and Margesson. Kingsley Wood has completely passed out and has few friends and little influence.

H.W. says that he had a great admiration for N. Chamberlain, who, though he had a bad exterior, was a most honest and decent man and really keen on pushing young men on. S.B., on the other hand, though he talked much about this, did nothing for any young man, except Geoffrey Lloyd! S.B. only once spoke to H.W., and that was

when he came and stood next door to him in the lavatory and, laying his hand on his shoulder, said "Young man, adjust your dress before leaving." But S.B. was wonderfully shrewd. I said that I knew he had made a parting speech to Under-Secretaries, etc., in which he said "Never be rude or sarcastic to the Socialists; never score points, however inviting, at their expense; one day we shall need them." I contrasted this with N.C.'s reception of me and others on Air Force deficiencies, when he had opened by saying "I suppose I can take it for granted that you come here not for Party but for patriotic reasons." I also gave H.W. an account of the proceedings immediately before and at our Bournemouth Conference in May 1940, which led to the change of Government.

We discuss possible new recruits to the Government. He doubted whether Phil was very well placed at War Transport, though I thought he was. As I knew, he said, - though I didn't, but only pretended to - it had been proposed that he should go as No.2 at the Board of Education, but C.Ede had not been willing to shift. Colonies had also been spoken of, but, I suppose, Phil was a bit too viewey for that, as for the F.O. H.W. said that Grenfell and Montagu were talked of as two Labour Ministers who were not worth their places. I praised Griffiths, who, I said, had come on very fast and had, I thought, considerable further powers of growth. Also J.W., whose praises I sang and whom H.W. seemed already to think well of and to have in mind. I also said a little on behalf of Garro Jones, but to this he didn't respond much. Turning to his side, I praised Harold Mitchell (bearing in mind the off-chance that he might fit in with me in a new situation). This went very well indeed. H.W. said he knew him very well, thought very highly of him and sat with him on the Boards of several Companies. But he was terribly shy. I said that I thought this would soon pass. H.W. spoke well of Jack Lawson and I agreed, but hinted that he was already fully occupied.

W. G. G. G.

*Regional Commission
to N.E.*

Just as we were leaving the Connaught Hotel, where we had lunched, I said that H.W.'s duties, which he had defined as being to keep the P.M. in touch with feeling in the House, were very different from his predecessor's. He said that this was so, and that B.B. hardly ever used to go near the House. He said that he was not at all happy at the M. of I. and had been talking of giving it up. I made no comment on this, and H.W. said that this was a Ministry which had become a graveyard of reputations. It was left that H.W. and I should meet each other every few weeks. This may be a very useful contact, particularly if I appear primarily as an authority on Labour Party affairs and personalities.

-5-

A long string of interviews in the afternoon, ending up with a visit from Lockhart. I show him my draft letter to A.E. on Aspidistra, which H.G. and C.M. think I ought not to send, because too polemical and unnecessary. L. thinks it would be very useful, since it includes much which the officials ^{cannot} put into their paper. He says, without any pumping from me, that B.B. has been in a very curious mood for some weeks. Neither Radcliffe nor his other officials can do anything with him at the M. of I., either on P.W.E. or anything else. It is said that yesterday he put in his resignation to the P.M. (We often used to hear this about Duff-Cooper, but in the end it happened!) L. thinks that B.B. is very disappointed. He always used to be seeing the P.M. but doesn't do so now. When he writes the P.M. a letter, it goes down to the bottom of the tin. The P.M., he says, gave him general assurances of backing, but has not carried them out.

C.E.O. has "Simon" to dine and reports that he is a very nice man, talking a lot of sense and asking for no assurances.

Cynthia Jeff C.J. dines with me.

10. 2. 42

P.Q.s. I give two, for which I particularly wanted publicity, to M. Hughes, but the silly blighter wasn't in his place. He is a worthless Welsh waffler! One on German starvation of Greece - famine as an instrument of German policy - was just caught on the second round and put by Evelyn Walkden. It was answered by Foot and made, I am told, a considerable impression on the House.

Donovan G. brings Whitney to see me. He is just back from the U.S. and has an interesting tale about the Washington War. He thinks that Colonel D. is likely to hand over some of his functions, unwillingly, to General Marshall and the Army, and others, willingly, to McLeish. The Colonel would then concentrate on Intelligence. B.N. has put all his shirt on the Colonel, and it would be useful if some high up officer of mine were to go over and look into everything and make contact with the Army as well as the Colonel. The Army might be willing to hand over to us large quantities of equipment, including transport aircraft and radio sets. G. says afterwards that W. understands our politics pretty well, and that my position in my own Party is much more formidable than that of B.B. in his. But, says G., W., like Retinger, would naturally think that it would be much better if I "cut more ice" at a certain other

(with P.M.)
 point. There is reason to think that a joint paper was made in Washington which we have not seen - and this is rather suspicious - containing some reference to our kind of work. When Sam is firmly installed at the C.O.S. office, he may be able to get it out of his friend Price.

Lunch with Ellen and Araquistain and his wife.

I get away, after much confabulation with C.E.O. and H.G., my reply to A.E. - (1) a most honeyed personal letter, and (2) an argumentative, though not unconciliatory, enclosure on modes of co-operation and demarcations of functions. I am to have a discussion with him on Thursday (the day after to-morrow).

I also take some pleasure in writing to A.S. explaining that Hood, who A.S. complains has been guilty of leakage of projected operations, and attributes to me, is not either an official of mine or of P.W.E., but of the M. of I., where, I am afraid, this leakage must have taken place.

Alan Brooke
 Dine with C.I.G.S. in his ground-floor flat in Marsham Street. Also present Findlater-Stuart, thought by many to be one of our very best Civil Servants, Weekes, a General on the Q. side, and two junior officers. F.S. speaks slowly with a Scots accent, but has, I should think, a good clear judgment and co-operative capacity but not, perhaps, much energy. C.I.G.S. is, I still think, pretty quick and good. A good deal of talk is about tanks and the difficulties of design and output. The Beaver vehemently denies that there are no spares. He says that, if there are none in Libya, that is not his fault. C.I.G.S. says that he has been having a bad time in the Cabinet lately, and adds, "I don't get too much support from my Secretary". I think he means his Secretary of State! He says that the P.M. carries an amazing mass of detail in his head. He knows where every battleship and every cruiser is, and their capacity and endurance, and where most of our destroyers are. He knows a great deal about aircraft and often puts the C.I.G.S. to shame by knowing, quicker than he, where particular brigades and other units are. But it is a little disconcerting when he telegraphs direct to Commanders in the field without consulting C.I.G.S. - and, of course, I suppose, without consulting his S. of S. for War. Sometimes, C.I.G.S. says, the P.M. is just like a child who has lost its temper. It is very painful and no progress can be made with the business. One feels that a nurse should come and fetch him away. But this is when he is very tired. He has tremendous powers of resilience and recovery, particularly if he gets his sleep in the afternoon.

The Russians are doing surprisingly well, but he does not want to send quite so many tanks, etc., to them, for we don't really get an exact account of what they have got, what they are producing, and how they are using them.

11. 2. 42

Lunch at H. of C. and tick off Moelwyn Hughes for not being in his place yesterday to put my two important questions. I add that I shall not give him any more. He takes great umbrage at being spoken to bluntly in front of a number of others and threatens afterwards to raise the matter at a Party Meeting! He then goes to the Library and writes me a letter, which he shows to Haydn Davies, demanding that I should "withdraw" something or other. H.D. tells him not to be such a silly ass and he afterwards comes into the bar and consents to have a drink at my expense. I see no reason, in this incident, to vary my judgment on him noted a day or two ago.

At lunch reference is made to Ivor Thomas. Arthur Jenkins knows and likes him very well and describes his early days. Milner claims credit for having got him the seat, through having told him to go and talk to Tom Snowden. I say it is a great thing that he is under 70, and, indeed, under 40. George Woods, who is sitting opposite, says sourly "Then he has still got a great deal to learn". This comment is, I am afraid, very typical of the outlook of too many Labour, and indeed other, M.P.s.

Retinger to see me this afternoon. (Separate record of our conversation.) He is very pleased at the luncheon at the Air Ministry yesterday and sends me, by Zamoiski, who makes great secrecy over it, a copy of an aide memoire left by Sikorski with Sinclair. There is to be a conference on Friday (day after to-morrow) at the A.M. and I take steps to see that we are represented there. Some of the Poles are playing rather a circuitous game, as is their habit. Some of my officers are afraid that Sikorski is taking the lead in an attempt, through the Right-Power group of "Submerged nations", to get an organisation of his own which would, in effect, supplant ours. This is not likely to be agreed to by high authorities here, but it would be a vexatious claim. I think I have squared Retinger on this, in the sense, at least, that Sikorski will have a talk with me on his return from Scotland before taking any further action.

A. Boyle

I confer later in the evening with C.E.O., M. and M.X. on all this and say that I must now go on record on paper to Sinclair in support of better facilities to the Poles. Otherwise, having been advised to leave it all for so long on the sub-Ministerial plane, I shall be accused by busy-bodies and those whom they influence, of inertia.

See C.R.A. at No.11 and show him the correspondence between A.E. and myself on co-operation and demarcation of functions between him and me. The essential point is that I must have a right of appeal, in the case of disagreement with A.E., either to the Defence Committee, or, in very important matters, to the P.M. direct, or to some other Minister conversant with the issues, and I have added in my letter that the only one such is C.R.A. The latter says he is sure the principle I am putting up is right. Clearly he has not been getting on very well with A.E. lately, for he says that "He's a funny little bird. He's got no status of his own. He's only a Private Secretary to the P.M."; and again, when I tell him that A.E. objected to my taking to the Defence Committee a difference of opinion between him and me on Turkey, because this was "foreign policy", although my proposition for dealing with certain Turks was supported by the Commanders in Chief M.E., "Questions of foreign policy often come up on the Defence Committee, particularly as regards Turkey; that's the only reason why he is allowed to attend the Committee."

My reply to A.E., to which I put the finishing touch last night, has gone off this morning, which will give him 24 hours to think it over before seeing me to-morrow afternoon. G. is to come over with me and "hang about" until such time as A.E. and I want him and A.C. to come in and join us.

I tell C.R.A. some of what Harvie Watt had told me, including the notion that C.R.A., A.G., A.E. and K.W. should be pushed out of the War Cab. and replaced by Duncan and Cripps. I said that I had told H.W. that this would lead to withdrawal of Labour Party support from the Government. C.R.A. sniffed and said "No doubt that is the sort of thing that some people are saying." I asked whether personal relations in the War Cab. were good just now, and he as much as said they weren't. But I didn't press him any further.

Crossman to see me about the squabbles of German emigrés and the article in last week's Sunday Despatch which, he says, was inspired by Loeb, attacking, incidentally, D.C. himself and the whole of our propaganda to Germany. I said there should certainly be a D notice on all this. I am much disinclined to

be drawn very far into these squabbles, and this is the only reason why I am not quite whole-hearted in putting up a claim for M.E.P.W.

Pearson to dine. He is very much a God's Englishman, but very keen and industrious, I am sure, and I quite like him. He does not seem to have had as much to do with P.H. as the latter alleged the other night.

Xc/6.4.

Dalton I 26 (69) (50; 47)

Retinger came to see me this afternoon. He said the lunch yesterday - Sinclair, Bottomley, Sikorski and himself - had gone very well. Sikorski had handed Sinclair a very stiff aide memoire, of which he would send me a copy. Sinclair had declared that everything possible must be done to help the Poles. Bottomley had not been quite so forthcoming. He still clung, Retinger thought, to the idea that the only use of bombers was to drop bombs. Sinclair had reacted very well to references to me and to S.O.E. I said that between me and Sinclair there were no personal difficulties at all.

It had been arranged at the lunch that a party of 4, two from the Air Ministry and 2 Poles, Colonel Rudnicki and another, should go down and inspect the aircraft and the arrangements on the spot. I said that I thought it would be useful if someone of ours accompanied them. Retinger quite agreed, but said that he thought this was a matter which I, rather than the Poles, should raise with the Air Ministry. (I rang up C.D. immediately after this conversation and he is handling the matter.)

Sikorski went yesterday to Scotland and Retinger hopes that he will stay there until the 24th. He hopes to leave for the U.S.A. on March 15th. I said that I was looking forward to his dining with me one evening soon after his return from Scotland.

Retinger then himself introduced the question of the 8 Power Group, and said that Sikorski wished very much to discuss this with me. He said that there had already been several meetings. First they wished to make a start with declarations regarding post-war Europe and with setting up Committees to study the possibility of .e.g. a joint General Staff, joint Economic Planning, the practical application of the Atlantic Charter etc. There were also, Retinger added, certain much more difficult questions about joint action during the war, and some of these touched S.O.E. But the General

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Beltinger came to see me this afternoon. He said that he had been very busy yesterday - Beltinger, Bortolotti, and himself had gone very early in the morning to the airport to meet the Belgian and Dutch Governments, which had both been very backward, had been further educated. Moreover, he would wish first to discuss it with me. I said that I should of course be delighted to have an exchange of ideas on this subject. I said that, at first sight, it seemed to me that there was danger that the Poles, who were so far ahead of some of the other allies, might find themselves in the position of a fast ship in a fleet, the speed of which had to be adjusted to the slowest. I thought that our immediate task should be to get things right with the aid of the Air Ministry, as regards facilities for our work in Poland.

I conclude from this that there is probably no imminent danger of an approach by Sikorski, without previous discussion with us, to the Prime Minister for an Inter-Allied S.O.E. But it will be desirable to keep close touch with Retinger while the General is in the North.

Retinger then himself introduced the question of the 8 Power Group, and said that Sikorski wished very much to discuss this with me. He said that there had already been several meetings. First they wished to make a start with decisions regarding post-war Europe and with setting up a Committee to study the possibility of a Joint General Staff, Joint Economic Planning, etc. of the practical application of the Atlantic Charter etc. There were also, Retinger added, certain major areas in which joint action during the war, and some of these touched S.O.E. But the General

11th February, 1942.

DIARY12. 2. 42

In Chair at Policy Committee, where we decide the subjects of seven resolutions for the Annual Conference. This will reduce Shinwell's share to something quite small.

A rather embarrassing Anglo-Greek lunch at the Savoy. Sir G. Talbot, who has a grievance against my organisation for having dismissed him, is the host. I sit between Tsouderos and Mavromichelis. Of course their minds are all full of Greek relief. I say that we are carefully considering conditions and try to be as sympathetic as I can.

In the afternoon see A.E. on the relations between him and me. He is anxious not to commit himself in detail. A.C. and C.E.O. are called in at the end of our talk and it is agreed that they shall make a draft. Before their arrival, A.E. begins by handing me the latest telegrams about Tangier and the bomb. These don't make a good start! But he is quite reasonable and says that no doubt I shall order an inquest and that he leaves all this to me. He then goes on to say that of course he has no secrets from me, and that, if he had been Foreign Secretary at the beginning of the war, he would have objected to M.E.W. being an independent department. He would have kept it under the F.O. Likewise my other activities. But "Edward always wanted to get things away from the F.O." This perfectly illustrates again how A.E. is like the little boy trying to clutch all the toys. Edward used to give his toys away to other children. When I tell this to G. afterwards, he says "And he doesn't even play with his toys, he only fiddles with them."

We have news now that the G. and the S. are out in the Channel. Oh all those bombs! Meanwhile, Wavell has reported that we should have enough troops to hold Singapore but that their morale does not seem very good.

13. 2. 42

By morning train to Darlington and address inaugural meeting of Warship Week in Town Hall. Not at all a bad audience, mostly our peacetime opponents.

14. 2. 42

Lunch with Mrs Roberts - they having popped up again after a long interval - and have coffee with Dr Agnew, who has succeeded Dr Fisher as Headmistress of the Girls' Secondary School. Then take the salute in front of the Town Hall for the Warship Week parade. Make a short speech of a few sentences afterwards and then to tea with the Prouds and to a private meeting, lasting three hours, at the Lightfoot, of delegates of the D.L.P. It all goes very well except that I find them most conservative and hesitant about Family Allowances, on which I invite them to express their views. Dine with Lewins.

15. 2. 42

Return from B.A., getting in in the evening and reading a mass of papers before going to bed.

16. 2. 42

Spend most of the morning at International Sub-Committee of the Labour Party. A long discussion about German refugees and who has said what about whom. Many people get very excited about this, including Phil. It is even suggested that Mrs Belina should be summoned before the Committee to give evidence as to what W.Loeb said to her on the telephone about F.Stampfer! I hope that Phil will soon be sucked into the operational whirlpool at M.W.T. and be giving his energies to things that really matter.

Meeting with C.R.A., J.A. and A.E. to discuss M.E.P.W. is off. Many meetings on secondary questions are getting put off just now.

Cab. Greek Relief again. A.E. and I are left to fix conditions to be put to the enemy.

G. to dine. He started off very early this morning and is sleepy. He heard from R.A.B. over the weekend that the Beaver, B.B., Horeb and his immediate followers, Lord Winster and one or two more are going to form a Centre Party. R.A.B. disapproved of this very much. I told G. that Harcourt had said the last word on this sort of thing. "I know the Centre Parties only too well. All centre and no circumference."

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17. 2. 42

Several P.Q.s., including one much-too-long-for-the-House answer on Anglo-American co-operation in E.W. Not a happy atmosphere at the end of questions when P.M. adopts a rather too firm tone. There will be a debate next week. There is a general sense of irritation and unease. All Governments are judged by success, and we aren't having much at present. Many accusations are being made, behind the scenes, of undue interference by P.M. in naval, military and air movements. W.G.Hall, beside whom I sit at lunch, says "The P.M. was quite rattled this morning". In fact, his epithet perfectly fits W.G.H. and some others. He says he hears that the P.M. goes late at night, having drunk a lot of whiskey, into conference with the Chiefs of Staff and that anyone who reads the Admiralty signals from about midnight will realise that it is the P.M., and not the First Lord or the Admirals, who is directing the fleet. Next morning many of these signals are reversed. I say that I think this is quite a fantastic story. W.G.H. then goes off on to dive bombers, but I can't pin him down. George Hicks says that the P.M. will have to get rid of some of the burden he is now carrying or "he will get into bad odour". I try to encourage people to attack the Beaver, but not with much success, though I hear that E.B. was "most indiscreet" at the A.C. this afternoon - I couldn't go - and denounced the Beaver vehemently. An inconclusive, rambling debate on

~~the Navy's operations in the Middle East~~ B.B.C. Overseas Services, which goes near to touching P.W.E. Most of the critics cancel each other out. B.B. replies in a scrappy but fairly conclusive fashion. Now Parliament will, I expect, be content to leave P.W.E. matters alone for a bit.

Jovanovic to see me. A ridiculous situation has arisen in the Middle East. J., with the authority of the King, has dismissed Ilic and installed Lozic in his place. But first Ilic refused to give up his functions and later handed over, not to Lozic, but to Bora, Mirkovic, who J. says, has a most attractive personality and has charmed the British High Command. J. wishes me to instruct my officers to give their support to Lozic. I say that I will pass on what he has told me to them, which is not exactly the same thing, though I doubt whether he notices the difference. There are said to be only about 60 Yugoslavs in the whole of the M.E.

Mayhew
C.M. to dine with me at the Viking. He is rather engaging, and I talk to him very freely. He says it is a great experience to work with me, but that I suffer fools most impatiently.

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He thinks that if I had suffered them more patiently, I might now be Prime Minister. I say it is much simpler than this. Everything would have been the same, except that if I had not lost my seat in 1931, I should now be Leader of the Labour Party with whatever that implies. For many years, I tell him, I exercised the most tremendous control, even in the presence of the greatest fools. Only recently have I allowed myself the luxury of showing some of them - and by no means all of them even yet - what I think of them. I say that in my Utopia we should wash out old age. Everybody would die young, perhaps never later than 35. I praise energy and enterprise. He is inclined to favour a sort of stationary state, with a Chinese streak - tolerance, contemplation, etc. But he realises that this does not appeal much to me. I say that, on the other hand, I can, when required, and out of war time, sit and relax quite completely in the sun. Phil Baker, who C.M. thinks has a Chinese streak, can never do this.

We work out that Ivor Thomas, who took his seat in the House to-day, has by his arrival reduced the average age of the Parliamentary Labour Party by two months. He is 36 and Lees-Smith was 62. A few more such by-elections will get us down quite a lot.

18. 2. 42

For a few moments at Party Meeting. A good deal of excitement, but C.R.A., who speaks at the end, does not do at all badly. I see him later alone and tell him that Swinton is trying to stage a come-back and is talking about "co-ordinating" everything and everybody. C.R.A. takes very ill to this idea and says that he would never be acceptable, having been one of N. Chamberlain's men. (I had heard this morning that Swinton had come across to C.D. at the Club and said that he was just the sort of man to co-ordinate my show and C.'s and M.I.5 and everything else. He knew it all, he said, and knew all the people, and got on with everybody - "I get on very well with Dalton", he had said - and did not trouble himself with detail but only exercised high executive power. This, of course, is a throw-back to the attempts made long ago to give him all the works. It was also being said by D. that there must be a complete divorce between us and C. The idea seemed to be that we were getting too powerful.) O.L. is on his way home.

E.P.A. lunch to Cripps, who makes a short speech - he made a very long one this morning to an all-Party meeting and apparently impressed them. He goes out of his way to pay a

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compliment to me, saying that, when in Moscow, he found both the F.O. and M.E.W. most helpful and quick in giving decisions - "especially M.E.W.", he said, inclining towards me. Sir O.Sargent was among the guests and no doubt noted this.

Afterwards I asked Cripps what he was doing now, and he said "Answering 2,000 letters which I have received". I said I would like a talk sometime and left it that he would get in touch with me.

Gullings C.E.O. brings me the collected grumbles of my Council on the F.O. Treaty. I will masticate these before to-night. He says that C.G., on the other hand, to whom he showed the text but whom he did not lead in either direction, thought it was "quite wonderful" to have got so much out of the F.O. C.G., C.E.O. says, does not suffer, like the rest, from claustrophobia.

DIARY18. 2. 42 (contd.)

Invite my Council to dine at the Lansdowne. They all come, several putting off engagements. It goes very well, and G. afterwards tells H.G. that I was in very good form and "dominated the meeting." I talk to them about the Treaty with the F.O., pointing out that, once A.E. had asked for something of this kind, I could not refuse. They agreed to this. I then discussed, broadly, the terms proposed, and told them that I would take account of what they had all said, while making it clear by implication that they would not be consulted any more but that I should now do the rest of the negotiations for myself. I said also, quite truly, that I did not know where any Minister would be next week, since many changes were impending. Therefore, I thought, we should postpone further negotiations of the Treaty till then. A good evening.

19. 2. 42

A bad Parliamentary Party Meeting. C.R.A. is there, but rather smaller than usual. Great desire everywhere for a small War Cabinet of members without Departmental responsibilities. This has become a mere tin can formula. Someone even tried to move that the Labour members of the War Cab. should be "instructed" to present this view to the P.M. This was, of course, ruled out. But it showed the tone. Shinwell said that the trouble was that C.R.A., A.G. and E.B. were all playing for position and could not agree who should go out.

Lunch with Winster. Very anti-A.V.A., who, he says, is a mere office boy and laughed at by all the Navy. Thus he went out of his way to praise Pound at a luncheon, which was very irregular and undesirable, and Pound felt that he had to praise him back. And so he said at some public function that "We have got a very

good First Lord. He always takes the bump for the Navy." W. said that the true story of the P. of W. and Repulse was the following. The proposal to send them out without an aircraft carrier was minuted against right up through the Admiralty, including the First Sea Lord and the First Lord. The P.M. then summoned the First Sea Lord down to Chequers and poured forth upon him a great flood of political arguments, as a result of which the lame, deaf, sleepy old gentleman returned to London prepared to say that the ships should go. This was what was called "getting the approval of the Admiralty."

Later in the day there is much gossip about imminent changes. It does not occur to me that I am likely to be involved, but there is a grand rumour going round that the Beaver is out (this turns out to be true and is by far the best of all the changes. That he should be a good deal in America would be better still, and that would be best of all). I saw C.R.A. twice and H.M. once during to-day, "to maintain contact". On the former I pressed once more the desirability of M.E.P.W. and the value of linking this with S.O.E. H.M. seemed to have no scouts out at all. He just didn't know a thing about what was going on. And I am pretty sure that this was genuine and not put on.

Late to-night the new War Cab. is known. The entry of Cripps as L.P.S. is very interesting. If he has grown out of being a bloody fool, he will be first-class, and, in any case, if things go badly for a few months, his stock, now artificially inflated, will fall heavily and he will have to bear a large part of the responsibility.

20. 2. 42

Catch C.R.A. after a lunch with Mrs P. I say that I suppose there are going to be a few more changes. He says "Oh yes, we are going to get rid of

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some more of these bloody Tories". I ask him whether I am likely to be affected. He says "Certainly not", and I therefore go, as arranged, to the North for Shildon Warship Week.

21. 2. 42

A very good show in Shildon. It is snowing, but I spend two hours going round the Shops this morning. They are doing a great deal of important war production work. In the afternoon we have a procession headed by myself and a Police Sergeant, followed immediately by a very good band from the Loyal North Lancs. and large detachments of Army, Air Force and various Civil Defence Services. This is perfect electioneering, for all come to their doors and windows as they hear stirring music and the first thing they see is their own Member heading the procession. In addition, considerable crowds line the route. When I first asked the Sergeant at the starting point who would give them the step and show them the way, he said he would. I said "I will march with you." He was rather taken aback and thought that perhaps he had better ask the Inspector. I said "You need not ask the Inspector. He will not stop a Minister of the Crown, who is also the Member for this constituency, from marching at your side." He then said he hoped that I should keep step. I said that I was well used to marching in all situations and at all paces, and that in the last war I had marched some of my troops right off their feet. So all went well.

I then took the salute alongside of Captain de Burgh and afterwards proceeded to the Hippodrome, where I made a short and urgent speech. I had just sat down when I received a message saying "Den't interrupt your speech, but as soon as you can, ring up Whitehall 4464 Chequers". I rose and left the meeting, saying, with a wave of the hand, "I have got to go and telephone to London about the war." I went to a

telephone in an A.R.P. shelter close to the U.D.C. offices. After some considerable delay, I got on to Martin, the P.M.'s Private Secretary. After a moment, The P.M. himself came on.

- P.M. "Are you alone in the room?"
 H.D. "No, but I soon can be." I signal everybody out.
 P.M. "I am making, as you know, some changes in the Government, and I want to change your office."
 H.D. "Where do you want me to go?"
 P.M. "I want you to take the Board of Trade."
 H.D. "This is a bit of a surprise. Do you want an answer now? I am coming back to-night and shall be in London early to-morrow morning."
 P.M. "I should like an answer soon, because I am making a number of changes which all go together and one depends on another. Can you give me an answer in an hour?"
 H.D. "I suppose the Board of Trade is a very full time job."
 P.M. "Yes, quite full time. You will have many important duties and you will have to do what you can with what remains of the trading community."
 H.D. "So that would mean that I should give up all the other duties which I am now doing."
 P.M. "Yes, you would."
 H.D. "Very well, I will take it, but on one condition. Can you tell me that you have confidence in my capacity to do it well?"
 P.M. "Yes, I have complete confidence in you, and after all, much of the work will not be very different from what you have been doing at M.E.W."
 H.D. "Very well. Thank you very much. I accept."

I could not, of course, tell either Frank Addison, nor the Myers', nor any other of my good friends at Shildon what had happened. But many knew that I had been having a conversation with the Prime Minister, and some guessed that it had something to do with the Government reshuffle.

22. 2. 42

Having travelled through the night, I arrived at King's Cross at 3.30 a.m. and slept a bit in my shelter at M.E.W. But not much, because I was revolving many problems. Handing over S.O.E. twangs my heart strings and I shall feel very desolate and unfriended if I lose the daily presence of those who have been for twenty-one months my trusted inner circle. G. and I lunch at the Gourmet and that evening he and I dine with C.D. and discuss future possibilities and arrangements. I am to be succeeded at M.E.W. by Wolmer, who has been out of politics for many years and has never held any office higher than Assistant Postmaster General, from which he had to resign because he made a public speech saying that postmen were thieves, slackers and liars and that the Post Office should be run as a private Company to earn a large dividend, presumably by charging a lot more for the stamps and having much fewer deliveries. He is also said to be very religious, High Anglican, and was associated with the P.M. in the latter's die-hard opposition to the India Bill. He is thought not to be very clever.

I propose to H.G. that he should come with me as Principal Private Secretary to the B. of T., and I also arrange (next day) with J.W. that he should come on as my Parliamentary Private Secretary. I hope his long period of sickness is nearly over and that he will once more be available next week. H.G. wants to think it over, particularly as L.R. had talked to him about promotion to the rank of P.A.S. in connection with Surpluses and post-war food relief. It has long been understood between H.G. and me that, having done 21 months in my Private Office, he shall have whatever good chance of promotion comes along.

23. 2. 42

A day of good-byes. L.R. wants to come on with me, bringing his Surpluses with him and resuming his old role, though he has never lost the title, of Economic Adviser to H.M.G. This could most easily be held at the B. of T. He tells me that I shall find the machine there good but slow. This is rather flattering to me, since, at the beginning of my time at M.E.W., he and I had quite a sharp exchange which resulted in his offering me his resignation. But he is not too bad at certain jobs and I should be quite glad to have him at the Board.

At noon Wolmer comes to see me. He seems a little deaf, but shows great keenness and interest in the work. He begins by saying that he understands a ~~gr~~ great part of it is very secret. I say yes, our economic intelligence is very secret, and I talk a bit about Vickers and his chaps. W. says "I suppose you get a lot of it from spies." I say "Yes, some". Then, after I have given a long lecture on food relief, and control of imports into European neutrals, and Navicerts, and Anglo-American co-operation, he says "But there are some other things you do, aren't there, which are very secret?" I ask "What did the Prime Minister say to You?" He says "Oh, he told me that you had lots of Agents in Europe, and that you blew things up, and dropped people from parachutes, and he asked me, before he gave me the job, 'Would you be prepared to assassinate Hitler?'" I ask "Did the Prime Minister tell you that you were to take over all that side of my work?" He says "Yes, the Prime Minister said I was to take over all your work." I say "In that case I can tell you a good deal, but it will take some time and we had better have another talk to-morrow."

Afterwards I break this news to G. who is quite dumbfounded and thinks there must be some mistake. He just cannot conceive of Wolmer running S.O.E. I say

that, at any rate, if Wolmer has it that will eliminate a number of the worst solutions which we have feared, including (1) Morton getting hold of it, (2) the Foreign Office running it, and (3) the Chiefs of Staff running it. At any rate now it will continue to be in charge of a Minister of the Crown.

Later in the day I speak to C.R.A. about this, and he says of W. "He is not such a fool as he looks; he is very tenacious, and he is quite close to the P.M." I repeat this to G. and to C.D., whom I see together, and they both think that this is a pretty shrewd comment. A.E. had put in a hurried Minute to the P.M. asking that no decision should be taken about S.O.E. until he had been consulted. He had not been consulted. The P.M. had just acted on his own and plunged. Never having focused very clearly what I did, he just thought of it altogether as "M.E.W.", and so, as G. said, "He had poured out the baby with the bath". But having done it, he won't budge. He will say "I have said it and I stick to it". He won't let Wolmer down. There will be frightful consternation in many quarters which were intriguing against me. They won't be sure at all that they have gained by my translation. And if Wolmer gets keen on it, he may do it rather well. I arrange with G. that he should seek out D.M. and congratulate him on having advised the P.M. to make such a good new Head of the show, assuming that D.M. had been consulted. (It is really a great joke when people who are always boasting of their influence with the P.M., and using it for wrong purposes, find that at critical moments things are done without any word with them and in a way that they dislike.) When this conversation took place a day or two later, G. found it impossible to sustain, as D.M. from the start made a wry face and made it pretty clear that he thought the P.M. had made a gaffe.

At B.T. Talk with my predecessor. I say I will take P.Q.s to-morrow. There are three, and simple. Sir A. Overton is then brought in and introduced. He

makes a bad start by suggesting that it may not be in order for me to answer the P.Q.s since the Order in Council confirming my appointment may not have gone through. "In any case, I shall answer the P.Q.s", I say, "and you must look after the Order in Council." The first problem here for me is Abercarn v. Avondale. Which shall be taken over for M.A.P.? Llewelin last Friday gave a "decision", which has not yet been operated, that Abercarn should be taken. This will please Arthur Jenkins and upset Richard Thomas and Aneurin Bevan. My predecessor now passes it to me. I say I will look at it again to-morrow, but it is pretty clear to me that I can't upset this decision. I am to occupy the suite designed for himself by Sir Henry, now Lord, MacGowan. It is on the sixth floor. The panelling in the principal office is such that Oliver Lyttleton, when installed here, said "I feel like a lonely cigar in a cigar box." There is also some funny business about the lighting. But the whole thing is, as Lord Curzon said about his wife's bedroom, "of unexampled magnificence". There is a large room opening out of the office which was previously used as a sitting room, which I shall make a bedroom. There is a bath room just down the passage and the most superb lavatory, although one of the windows is broken and therefore it is very cold, in black and gold.

H.G. comes with me, having signed with me a Treaty. I am not to keep him needlessly too late at night and he is, after a month, to be considered for promotion. This completely suits me and I now contemplate that he will be of very great use to me at the B.T. in a high post with a roving commission on policy.

In the afternoon I take the oath. This is a quick and simple business. I say nothing but merely hold aloft a red testament.

I have my first talk with Overton alone this afternoon. But I tell him that I have the impression that there are too many permanents and too few good

temporaries here, in contrast with M.E.W. I say that we must push on with various policies.

See C.R.A. late this evening. He has had great difficulties about A.G., who is now to be out altogether. But there was nothing else for it and C.R.A. says that A.G. has no great support in the Party.

24. 2. 42

To-day I formally hand over M.E.W. I say many farewells to officials, who, nearly all of them, are rather sorry that I am going. I have chased and hunted them about and shouted at many of them, and written splenetic Minutes, but, faced with the possibility of a Minister who may be more inert, I think they are inclined to regret the change.

I appear in the House at eleven to answer my questions, but all three are missed on the first round. D.F. arranges for two to be asked on the second round, and I get a reasonably friendly cheer on making my bow. I am making great efforts to get Harold Mitchell to come to the B.T. as my Parliamentary Secretary.

Wolmer comes at six and stays for over an hour. I expound S.O.E. on the basis of my latest report to the P.M. Towards the end I call in my C.E.O. so that W. may get used to his face. He asks me afterwards whether I think he made a good impression, and I say "Yes, not bad, but you mustn't mumble or talk too fast." W.'s tempo isn't quite mine. G. dines with me later at the Viking and we talk of many things. At the end of these nineteen months, when he has been the strongest and firmest of all my personal supports, I have never felt uneasy when he was handling any negotiation, however tricky. Sure-footed, quick as a needle, industrious almost to a fault, sitting up much too often much too late, always able, as when we were together

twelve years ago, to put me out of a bad into a good humour, a wonderful scout, a most pleasant companion, a joy to have about the place, whom I shall miss sorely, for there is no pretext under which I can take him with me to the B.T. I gave Wolmer a copy of my "citation" of him for his C.M.G.

I gave to-night my final decision on A. v. A. M.A.P. are to have all, or such part as they want, of Abercarn. I was first told by some of my officials that "Richard Thomas would not agree", whereat I said "Then I will put the Police on to Richard Thomas". There is much too much weakness here, but in this particular case Sir Cecil Weir, one of my business advisers, is on my side.

25. 2. 42

All the morning at a National Executive.

Mitchell to see me at my request in the afternoon. I tell him that I want him to come as my Parliamentary Secretary. He likes it and is flattered but doesn't jump at it as quick as a young politician should. He has just been made Vice-Chairman of the Tory Party organisation. I say that so far as I am concerned, he can go on holding that as well, and that I don't think it means much work. He says he will consult the Whips and tell me again. That evening I meet him again, as one of his guests at a party which he gives for Jovanovic and Gavrilovic. I gather that the Whips have said that it is a matter for the P.M. now, though I don't think that they are very keen, either at his holding the Vice-Chairmanship as well, or giving it up.

C.D. to see me in my cigar box. He says again that he thinks he will soon give up and that a younger man should take over. I say that he should keep on for

a bit with W. He said of course he will do this if required to do so. I give him the hint that it would make things go better if he moved out A.D. and put Glenconner in his place.

To Liverpool Street Hotel to meet J.W., who, though still hobbling a bit, seems to be nearly able to return to duty. He quite realises the much greater scope he will have as my P.P.S. at the B.T. and has arranged to spend more time in London and would like to sleep at the premises. I shall arrange this.

I sleep to-night for the first time at the B.T.

26. 2. 42

Introduced to the problem of clothing prices by Overton and Nowell, Waterhouse and H.G. sitting in. I think things have gone too slowly here.

I make an order for concentrating China clay. Who talks about post-war reconstruction? The interest here is in during -the-war reconstruction.

This afternoon my first experience of the Lord President's Committee. It is awfully slow, and Ministers talk much too long and say the same thing one after another. A discussion on future quotas of trade, labour for the malting industry, our future import programme, and - and this is the only point that closely touches me - oil imports. I say that I am in favour of stopping the basic ration for motorists. A great quantity of cars now on the road should be laid up and stripped of their tyres for other and better uses. Several Ministers at once assert that they have long been in favour of abolishing the basic ration and that these ideas are not new. Lloyd puts up a most feeble paper by one of his officials, long, inconclusive and unclear, and attaches to it a note of his own. Very feeble. I

am keeping fairly clear, both of Lloyd and Grenfell, until the weekend, when we know who is to be where.

G.J. calls on me at my Cigar Box at 5.15. I tell him that I have spoken to A.E. in the House to-day and said that I had hesitated much to go to the B.T. because it would mean that I should be so cut off now from A.E. The latter had said something about B.B. taking P.W.E., but I had reacted most adversely to this, saying that one could not confide such tasks to a street urchin, and recalling Jos Wedgwood's famous saying, "If a man must be a Tory, at least let him be a gentleman" A.E. had said "Just like old Jos."

To Baker St. for a farewell, first to the Council and then to some two dozen others down below. It goes off pretty well, and I think most, here too, are sorry to lose me and much more uncertain than M.E.W. of what the future may hold for them.

Dine in my Cigar Box with H.G., food being brought up from the Canteen. I think it will be convenient often to dine in here, for there is nowhere very close and very convenient.

Dalton I 26 (87)

DIA RY

27. 2. 42

Geoffrey Lloyd is sure that he is going out, but asks me to lunch and shows me round his Chart Room at the Petroleum Department. This is pretty good. He says this Government is a racket and that Bracken decides everything. I say not quite everything.

I am keeping out of Grenfell's way till things are settled.

Most unwillingly I go to Manchester to-night for a weekend arranged long ago. I stay at the Midland and have on Saturday and Sunday, 28th and March 1st, three conferences and one public meeting. The conferences are with the Executive Committee of the Regional Council for the N.W. and with two bodies of delegates from affiliated organisations in the N.W. at Manchester and Liverpool. The public meeting is at Bolton. Only this last is rather embarrassing, the local innocents seeming to think that it would be a good opportunity for me to attack all Tories and repeat the familiar general arguments in favour of Socialism. But the other three meetings are useful in many ways and not least as canvassing excursions for National Executive elections at Whitsun.

28. 2. 42 and 1. 3. 42

See Streat, the Chairman of the Cotton Board. Not a bad chap, and I should probably keep him on. R. is staying with me these two nights and is still deeply absorbed in, and, I am glad to think, standing well up to, her work.

-2-

2. 3. 42

Back in time for lunch, wishing that I had not been away. A great mass of problems on my plate.

Import Executive in the afternoon with Duncan in the Chair. Leathers is good and not so long-winded as Woolton. Long wind is the great offense at these meetings of colleagues.

Dine with Hyndley. H.G. has arranged this. We must move fast over this coal business. I find H. most satisfactory, but he takes a most grave view of the prospects and insists that we must get men back from the Army in substantial numbers. Compared with this, nothing else matters much. D.G., he says, is frightfully conceited and really does not understand what it is all about. He has been very difficult to handle by my predecessors and there have been scenes in public. H. hopes he is going. Sir A. Hurst, he says, is not at all a good Head of the Office. He is an individualist, both in outlook and in methods of work. I hear from other sources that he is openly disloyal to his Minister. H. shows me a copy of a letter which he has written, but not sent, to D.G., with copies to P.M. and myself, saying that he must resign unless something is done about man-power. He agrees now not to send this.

*After 2
Duncan
with 4/20
Hurst.*

3. 3. 42

Ask C.R.A. at the House when the changes are coming out. This constant delay, so that I don't know who is to be either my Parliamentary Secretary here or the three Heads of my satellite Ministries, makes it impossible really to get down to work. C.R.A. says plaintively that the P.M. and the rest of them have had so much to do, especially on India, that it has not been possible to finish the list. He hopes it will be out to-morrow. He says that he has put his foot down against

the P.M.'s wish to shunt D.G. C.R.A. told the P.M. that he just couldn't stand a second row about firing a Labour Minister just now, after A.G. I said that I thought this was deplorable, and that D.G. was no use. If he stayed, it would mean that I should have to spend infinite time humouring him, and then do most of the job myself. I would much have preferred, if it had to be a miner, Jim Griffiths. C.R.A. said that he did not think any other miner would be willing to take D.G.'s place. They would all stick together and say he had been victimised. He begged me to do my best to work with him, and, if I found it was impossible, we could consider it again after an interval.

Cripps said to me that he understood it had been decided to pass the buck to "the dynamic Doctor" and that it would be up to me to say, a little later, that D.G. must go. I said to both of them that I thought the solution was that D.G. should be made Postmaster General, which would look like promotion. To this C.R.A. replied that D.G. was too proud and suspicious to be taken in by this and would refuse. Cripps said that he thought all such transactions were quite wrong in principle and should not be encouraged.

Lunch with Duncan, with whom I think that, over most of our common field, I can do business. He too thinks D.G. quite hopeless, and is horrified when I tell him that he is to stay after all. He said he had to take the whole thing out of D.G.'s hands. His advice on personnel is that I should fire both Hurst and Nott-Bower, and ask H. Wilson for some bright new No.1 from outside. For No.2 he would move up Fulton. He would also promote Wilson to be Director of Programmes, and bring in Young, of Bolsover, as Adviser on Production. I said that there should, I thought, also be a T.U. adviser high up on the chart, and he thought Lawther might come in on a level with Young. I draw him on Hyndley and he is very favourable, but he did not suggest him as No.1.

*Horace
Harold.*

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In the evening I have a preliminary coal talk with C.R.A., E.B. and D.G. Two frightful long-winds out of three. Largely it is atmosphere making. I say that we must have more men, and have to keep dragging the subject back to this, E.B. and D.G. wandering over the whole thing. I get E.B. to say that he would be willing to release, e.g., 50,000 men from the Army for the pits on a period of leave, and bring out 20,000 from the pits to the Army to be trained. This won't quite do, but it is progress. Much talk on the psychological value of a National Board, and E.B. offers Emerson to discuss this with our officials. I raise the point of firing Hurst and he has no friends here. D.G. says that he thinks he has brought him to heel lately! C.R.A. long ago advised that he should be got rid of. D.G. says that he thinks Nott-Bower would make a good No.1.

J.W. reappears after his much too long absence through illness and seems reasonably fit. He dines with me in my office.

4. 3. 42

J.W. goes to Party Meeting, while I do some work. He says later that there was a long discussion, adjourned till next time, on a motion to exclude Ministers from the Administrative Committee. The silly chumps were not compelled to vote for Ministers last time, but did so, and that was only a few months ago. They also insisted on taking nominations and a ballot for the post of Chief Whip in succession to Charlie Edwards, who has at last been pushed out at the age of 75! This makes C.R.A. look a fool, as he had as good as promised the job to Whitely, who will no doubt be elected after all this paraphernalia. A large number of private members of our Party have nothing to do except to belly-sche, and they are not being at all well handled by anyone.

Pay my first official visit to His Majesty as

President of the Board. He does not seem to focus my new problems particularly, though he takes an interest in overalls. He asks me some questions about S.O.E. and what sort of people they are whom we use, and about Fernando Po, and the bomb at Tangier. He says that David B.L. is going to America and told him that I was the first person to give him the news. "What was Leeper doing?" asked H.M.

I summon Sir Horace Wilson to my room this afternoon. We do not discuss Munich, but I tell him that I have decided to get rid of Hurst and that I am minded to put Hyndley in his place unless H.W. can produce for me at once a first-class man from outside. He says there would be difficulty in this, as anyone who would be good enough for the Mines Department will already be holding down a good job somewhere else. I tell H.W. that both Attlee and Duncan have advised me to get rid of Hurst, and that no-one has spoken to me in his favour. Nor does H.W., though he says that he had hoped that he would gradually improve, but evidently this has not happened. I leave it that I will get Grenfell's formal approval and Hyndleys, and then, this done, will let H.W. know so that he can put up a Minute to the F.M. on the change. He also offers to save me and Grenfell the awkwardness of seeing Hurst and breaking it to him. This I agree to.

Evershed to see me about price-fixing. He is full of grievances against the Department, but I think he has some right on his side.

Have Grenfell round and spend more than an hour with him. Most of the first part I have to let him talk. The real purpose of the interview is to get him to agree to Hyndley in place of Hurst. This is quite easy. It is also convenient that he regards H.G. as an old friend and comrade.

I send for Hyndley, who is not finally tracked down and collected till 11.30 p.m. I then press him - this has been H.G.'s idea, which I accept, as the best

-6-

available to take Hurst's place. He is a little reluctant, saying that it is not his job to be a regular Civil Servant. I say I think this can be managed by letting Nott-Bower do a lot of the routine. I press H. hard, in the national interest, to accept. He would like to sleep on it and tell me to-morrow.

5. 3. 42

I tell H.G., when I go out this morning, to get on to Hyndley and get his reply to my proposal of last night. The answer is that he will take it provided certain not difficult conditions are made.

I then send H.G. round to see Sir H.W., and he afterwards reports to me almost amusing conversation. I told him to tell H.W. that I wanted Hurst out of the office to-morrow. This message profoundly upset H.W., who said that Hurst was a distinguished and honourable man who could not be treated just like that. H.G. said that he only just refrained from reminding H.W. that there was a war on and that unsuccessful Generals were fired even quicker than this. A question was raised by H.W. about Sir E.Gowers coming in, and though I was a little irritated at this possibility of new delay, all agree that E.G. is a first-class man, though unlikely to be available. H.W. asked H.G., rather indignantly, "Are you a Civil Servant?" H.G. then gave an account of himself and H.W. a little cooled down. But he had been very hoity-toity. He knows what I think of him, for some of it I have publicly spoken and written. H.G. says that he has two enormous photographs in his room, one of Baldwin and the other of Chamberlain!

Later in the day H.G. went round to the Mines Department and ran into a room in which Hyndley, Hurst and Nott-Bower were confabulating. Hurst was in a great state of indignation. H.G. quickly withdrew. Hyndley later told him that Hurst had taken it very badly.

See Mrs Churchill to try to dissuade her from asking for more wool for clothes for Russia. She says that Madame Maisky is very acquisitive. But clothes are needed, not so much for the general population in Russia, but for the re-occupied territories, where the Germans have stripped them almost naked.

Meeting of Ministers in P.M.'s room to discuss draft declaration on India. A good deal of Conservative opposition to going as far as is proposed.

Lunch with T. Levy, M.P., and afterwards inspect some of his "Cela fibre fabrics". They look and feel all right, but I don't know whether all his claims are justified. Anyhow, it is an important industry just now and he promises to use up all the straw and wood-shavings in the country if he can be given enough orders.

Meet Evershed and the Chairmen of all his local price-fixing committees. They all say they are suffering from "frustration" and from procedural delays at the Board.

Dine with Campbell Stuart. The old rascal is anxious to gather up some gossip, and I give him a good deal. He wants me, as President of the Board of Trade, to travel round the Empire with him in attendance, but I do not feel that the moment is quite ripe for this!

He thinks, as Levy thought at luncheon, that Cripps is playing to be, and might succeed in being, the next P.M. (I shall need a good deal of convincing on this, though E.B. said the other night that he felt the present set-up could not last very long and that the P.M. in Cabinet now seemed to alternate between being "a beaten man", sitting collapsed in his chair and plaintively saying "I suppose this is another of the concessions that I must make for the sake of national unity", and a violently aggressive, resentful, man. There was no doubt, he thought, that the P.M. felt the

loss of Beaverbrook very badly. C.R.A., on the other hand, thought that things were not as bad or insecure as they seemed, and that the P.M.'s attitude was due to the fact that we have taken a bad knock, worse in some respects than many people guess, at Singapore.) C.S. said that the Beaver was not going to America and that he thought he was genuinely ill. He said, what I well knew, that Bracken hated me quite exceptionally and he was sure that the manoeuvre by which he had first worked in Brooks was suggested by the Beaver. C.S. said that Brooks frequently stayed weekends with the Beaver, and the story was the more likely because, when Bracken first made the proposal to me, he could not even get the chap's name and title right but spoke of him as "General Brook".

Lloyd is now in favour of abolishing the basic ration and puts up a paper through me for this purpose. This must go before the Lord President's Committee on Monday, and so must my two papers on clothing coupons and coal. This will make a busy day, and I may soon begin to feel that I have started some balls rolling.

DIARY6. 3. 42

Woodcock and O'Donnell to see me on rationing, etc. They would like someone more important than a Mr Welch to take the Chair at their Rationing Committee. Prestige again.

Lobby lunch with P.M. at guest and Maurice Webb in the Chair. The latter makes a pretty good and most self-confident speech, well-turned but asserting the right and duty of the press to criticise helpfully. P.M., who has sat looking depressed - and Harvie Watt, who sits next to me, says that he has been in a state of frightful gloom and has unloaded on to him half an hour of "most awful stuff" - is clearly feeling the burden of our misfortunes. But, towards the end, he lifts the audience and sends them away feeling at least braver, if not happier, men.

To Durham in the afternoon. Stay at Waterloo Hotel with Lewcock and M.Phillips.

7. 3. 42

Conference with a few members of new Executive for North Regional Council of the L.P. Sam Watson in the Chair. He is very good but has been, and still looks, ill. I hope he won't go down. He is much the best of the D.M.A. officials.

8. 3. 42

Conference at Newcastle of representatives of D.L.P.s from Durham and Northumberland. Quite useful. Travel back through the night and arrive -

9. 3. 42

- at 3 a.m.

Meetings with Fulton, who is most anxious that I should take charge of the Coal Production Council - he says Grenfell thinks that he is going to take the Chair and I shall have to disabuse him.

Meeting of Ministers - C.R.A., K.W. and Law - to discuss tobacco preference. F.O. want it reduced to appease Americans.

-2-

But rest of us decide not to move for a year. We think American minds will be elsewhere then on this.

Lunch with Conley and Tracey. The former has a series of grievances against the B.T. regarding non-consultation on clothing, designation, etc. He does not feel that Trade Unionists are welcome at the Board. They have to get all their information second-hand from employers. I say that I will look into all this. (When I do, it seems that he has been given large facilities but has not taken advantage of them. I must arrange for him to come and meet, in my presence, the officials concerned.)

To my second meeting of the Lord President's Committee. I have quite a field day and get four measures through:

- (a) To get men from the Army to the pits - Grigg says that, excluding Field Units, there are nearly 13,000 ex-miners and I may have these; this seems a good instalment and I agree to it.
- (b) Fuel rationing. My simple scheme C to come into effect at once and the more elaborate scheme A to be prepared as far as it is possible.
- (c) Clothes rationing. Agreement on my proposals, but further discussion with the Treasury as to possible additional pressure for postponement of consumption; I throw out a bright idea to K.W. on P.T. to be remitted on U.C. after an interval.
- (d) Petrol basic ration to be abolished; this is amusing, for I am sure that this quick proposal by G.L. is only due to the fuss I made last time.

*Am. Mon. for
V.R. 24 (1941)*

Lord

Not a bad afternoon's work.

J.W. tells me that he met a Tory business man who said "You Socialists are getting in everywhere. I must say I do admire you. One of you is Deputy Prime Minister, and you have got control of the Navy and the Police and Scotland and all our Trade, and now you have worked in one of your members as Archbishop of Canterbury."

Temple

10. 3. 42

Answer Some P.Q.s rather successfully.

Meeting of Ministers on India in P.M.'s room at the House. The proposed declaration has been modified a little and Cripps is to take it out with him to India and try to get all to agree. Meanwhile, it will not be published. P.M. says that Cripps has volunteered to go on this most thankless task and that this has deeply moved him. A threat of resignation from a high quarter out there will just not be accepted.

See Sir A. Page, Chairman of C.E.B. I tell him that I have always been in favour of electrifying the country and have read all his reports. He goes away very pleased.

11. 3. 42

Party Meeting is a frightful exhibition. Attempt by A. Edwards, supported by the usual crowd - Shinwell, Bevan, etc. - to remove Ministers from Administrative Committee, which has been subject of debate for two meetings, is finally terminated by the previous question being moved and carried by 50 to 3. Pethick has ruled that no change can be made during the currency of the present session.

Lunch with Maisky, who complains about delay in our agreeing with them about their future frontiers. They want their 1941 frontiers, subject to a Curzon Line frontier with Poland, whom they would be glad to see take East Prussia and up to the Oder. He says there are still doubts in Russia about our sincerity and determination to fight the war to a finish. I say that he himself must know better. He says he does, but that some like Stalin, have never been out of Russia and find us more difficult to understand. There is still great suspicion, he says. Meanwhile, we are too subservient, he thinks, to the Americans. We should, no doubt, consult them, but "consult" is not the same as "obey". I say that Litvinov in Washington should be able to do some good. M. says he is sure he will.

We then speak of military events. He thinks that the Japanese are not good, but that we are "much worse than I expected". He cannot think that an Empire such as has been seen in Malays can ever be reconstructed in the same way. I cannot honestly dissent from all this. He does not touch any of the matters covered by my new Department.

2.30 to 5.30 p.m. in the Chair at the Coal Production Council. This is a most impossible instrument. But H.G., who comes with me, is quite thrilled by the proceedings, and Fulton afterwards said that he found the meeting "quite inspiring". What earlier ones must have been I can't think. The Miners' leaders unload great quantities of complaints and Horner makes by far the most effective speech, summing up a series of practical proposals to increase output. For the Owners there are only Evan Williams and Lee, as for the past 20 years. E.W., H.G. thinks, is a pure Galsworthy type. Lee is clever, sly, and obstructive. The Miners like having me in the Chair, and we wink a bit at one another. Lawther, ~~not~~ generally very complimentary, tells me afterwards that I have done very well. In particular, they were delighted because at one stage I said "There is no difference of status here", i.e. between owners and miners, and "Everyone is equal on this Council." I have to carry Grenfell with me all the way with compliments and encouragement. He is my Calvary! No decisions emerge from these three hours. I arrange for the Miners' leaders to come and see me to-night at 9 p.m. I then go across and have a word with Lee, so that he shall not think I am too one-sided, and say that I look forward to a talk with him soon.

Feed in with J.W. and H.G. Later, ^{Edwards, Lawther,} E.E., W.L., Ernest Jones of Yorkshire, and Arthur Horner turn up. Jim Bowman is the only absentee. These five carry the Federation. They encourage J.W. to stay and we have a two hours' seance, from which J.W. goes early, wanting to get to bed, and A.H. passes out in charge of Grenfell, who takes him downstairs and puts him in a taxi and then returns. A.H. is apparently quite incapable of carrying even a small quantity of whiskey. But, at an earlier stage, he is most lucid and most determined to do all possible to win the war.

The points discussed are

- (a) Supplementary clothes rations for the miners, which they wish to be equally distributed between underground and surface workers, even though this should mean a considerable cut in the total allocation to the industry, and
- (b) the future handling of the National Authority Plan passed by the N.C.L. As to this, Ebby urges very strongly that the next step is for me and D.G. to meet the owners and see how far they can be moved in our direction. Meanwhile, no further talk on our side alone will advance matters.

I get the others to agree to this and, next day, I write a letter to Lee inviting the Mining Association Executive to meet us next week.

So to-day I have spent five hours on coal and am pretty tired. Much the most tiring experience, as I used to find when Chairman of the National Executive of the Labour Party, is to have to sit in the Chair for long periods patiently listening to rotund rubbish and knowing that from all this will emerge no decisions. But at least I have created a good atmosphere to-day and to-night with the Miners' leaders.

12. 3. 42

With C.R.A. to speak to Stokes on his letter to me on S.O.E. He says he has since Selborne, who has promised to see his informant, with a promise of no victimisation.

Stokes is, as usual, cheerfully truculent. C.R.A. tells him that he has throughout been cognisant of all that is going on, and that he knows S.O.E. was a good show. I say that very few Ministers know anything about it and that it is a most secret branch of the war effort about which nothing should be said publicly, since the lives of men and the success of operations are in the balance. I also ask him whether he really thinks that I, with my political outlook, should allow a state of affairs such as he alleges to exist. The statements of his informant are quite fantastic but show, none the less, too close a knowledge.

Beveridge to see me. I have decided this morning, on a suggestion made to me yesterday by H.G. through Fulton, to offer him the job of making my Fuel Rationing scheme. He is, I think, inclined to accept. He will tell me definitely to-morrow. He wants to bring with him Stephen Tallents, with whom he worked on all this in the last war. I say I will agree to this, though I make no commitment as to keeping Tallents when Beveridge moves on after having launched the scheme.

N.C.L. deputation on Purchase Tax on household goods. They come at the unearthly hour of 2.15. I give strict instructions that no engagements are to be made for me in the afternoon before 3 p.m., except with express authority.

A good talk with Bevin, who is disposed to be quite friendly. I think we can co-operate well now. He thinks it would be wiser for him not to be in with me and D.G. in our talks with the coal owners. He thinks the miners would dislike it.

-6-

He suggests the title of "National Joint Council" for the national body. He will direct youths into the pit, as my agent, if ever I request it, but he thinks we should first have a further go with both sides over the Youth Charter for the Mines which he prepared, but to which both sides returned "most fatuous replies". He had told Evan Williams the other day that he would no longer allow the mine owners to call themselves "employers". "In this war", he had said, "you are not employers any more; you are only agents of the State." E.W., he said, had taken this quite well.

Next to see Anderson, on his invitation, to discuss a prodding letter. N. Brock sits in with us and is quite useful. We go over a good deal of ground and I think that relations with J.A. should also be quite easy. At one stage he suggests that, on advertisements, the Ministry of Information should be consulted. I say that I hope not until K.W. and I are agreed. Then perhaps J.A. would summon the Minister of Information to attend his Committee. I add that one of the great pleasures of my new job is that I no longer have to see the Minister of Information. J.A. says, with a smile, "My Committee is intended to be a forum, not an arena!"

Go to one of the Colefax parties, which, at any rate, pulls one's mind away from shop, though the people are not particularly interesting. I say that we are now creating a "Strength through Misery Movement" and that everything is to be cut down.

DIARY13. 3. 42

Meeting at F.O. on supplies of wool, etc. to Russia. A.E. in the Chair. They take quite well my decision to put a stop on Mrs Churchill's Fund, T.U.C., etc., sending clothing to Russia, in view of our own shortage, though at an earlier stage I had had to explode against officious officials trying to pretend that the decision had to be taken by the Ministers' meeting.

Beveridge agrees to make a report to me on "The most effective and equitable methods of restricting and rationing fuel and power".

Visit Sir Cecil Weir's Factory and Storage Control section in Neville House. This is quite impressive. It has great bearing on post-war location of industry, as well as on concentration. I say that I am helping poor old Karl Marx to come true.

Dine with Hyndley. He is still most concerned about the man-power problem, including, as a particular case, D.G.!

14. 3. 42

Conference with E.B. on cotton labour. He is disinclined to use his powers to direct married women in Lancashire, who are no longer working, to the mills. It would cause, he says, "a great upset". "After two years as Minister of Labour, I am still 'uman". I say I will think over his proposal to re-open four mills recently closed, but that it would be much more efficient to direct the necessary labour to the nucleus firm. The policy proposed is a reversal of concentration.

We hold a meeting of our "Small Committee" on coal. It is intended, in general, to consist of me, D.G., Hyndley, Nott-Bower, H.G. and Fulton. ~~Today~~, fortunately, D.G. is in the North. Therefore we meet without him. I make it quite clear at the start that the hierarchy is:

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H.D.
|
D.G.
|
Hyndley
|
Nott-Bower

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It is important for Nott-Bower to hear this.

I decide that we must issue a Fuel Order to prevent forestalling, and it must be out and operating before I make my statement in the House next Tuesday. Therefore action must be taken on it to-day. Ravensheere, a most deplorable obstructionist from the M.B., is called in and says -

Mines
Dept.

- (1) that it is impossible to communicate with the District Coal Officers until after the weekend;
- (2) that it is impossible to make any regulation covering a period of weeks unless the week begins on Monday; and
- (3) that, even if it were possible to get in touch with the D.C.O.s this weekend, we could not issue the order because they would then have to collect, each in his own district, a great number of their subordinates.

It is now 12 noon on Saturday and I say that the thing has just got to be done. The telephone is to be used and D.C.O.s are to be got, if they have already left their offices, at their homes. The weekly period will have to begin on a Tuesday and not on a Monday, even though this may be a major revolution, and there is no need for D.C.O.s to summon their subordinates except to explain to them the arrangements for applications for permits to exceed the standard limitations - e.g., of 6 cwt over three weeks for those having less than 10 cwt in stock. I send R. away with a flea in his ear, and Hyndley is delighted and tells me later in the day that he has already got in touch with all the D.C.O.s by telephone!

Leave with G.J. for W.L. by the six o'clock train. We have a good exchange of gossip this evening. My successor is frightfully slow but well-meaning and keen. He has been edged out of P.W.E. and, since I am no longer on the scene, B.B. has collared it, subject to control of "policy" by A.E. and occasional meetings between the two little people, Law and Thurtle, to discuss secondary matters. I confess I have lost all interest in this particular branch of the war effort, though G.J. puts some malicious thoughts into my head, such as running a whisper that brass hats are in charge of P.W.E.

G. had told Selborne that he was spending the weekend with me, and the latter had expressed apprehension lest I should try to take him away to the Board of Trade. He had told G.,

though in a manner quite friendly towards me, that it was not good for a Civil Servant to be taken round too much from Department to Department by one particular Minister. G. had said that he did not think I had any intention of using him at the B.T. I said that, as I had told him before, this was so. It would not be good to him and it was not clear that there was any particular job in which he could particularly fit at the Board.

He said that many Conservatives thought that immediately after the war, when we returned to Party politics, there would be a big Labour majority and a Labour Government for about two years, but that they would make such an unholy mess of everything that the Conservatives would then return with a large majority. I said that whether a post-war Labour Government made a mess of things or not depended largely on the general situation. We might have luck or not. Meanwhile, an increasing number of our people were getting practice and experience in Government Departments and I thought that we could probably furnish a Government containing four or five good people in key jobs, which was as good as almost any Government could ever show. I said that I did not want to lead the Labour Party, this possibility having passed in 1931, but that on the hypothesis we were discussing I should demand the F.O. I thought that a Labour Government with Bevin as P.M., me at the F.O., and Herbert Morrison at the Treasury, would have the makings of something pretty good. He agreed, and I said that, if I found myself at the F.O., I should want to use him in some very key position. He said he thought that he could ginger up the F.O. and be of service to me, but we both agreed that everything might come out differently. I might get so angry with my colleagues that I might at any time pass out in a flaming apoplexy, and either he or I might, even in this war, be blitzed. So it is all, perhaps, not much more than a rather amusing gossip pipe-dream.

G. said that he had specifically asked Lord S. whether he wanted him to go on, and Lord S. had said "Oh yes, certainly, I like you". He had also sought from A.C. an assurance in writing that the F.O. wanted him to go on. A.C. had given this assurance, though C.D. and others were constantly telling him that A.C. had turned against him. He had heard that A.E. had said of him "He is a very able man". I said that this was very funny, because months ago H.G. had asked me what I thought A.E. thought of G.J., and I had said "The same as the P.M. thinks of me. You will remember that he said to me at Chequers 'I know that you are a very able man'". This, I had told H.G., meant just what it said but not a little bit more. G. said that Bracken was a Firbolg or bog squatter, one of those aboriginal inhabitants of

Ireland before the conquerer came. This was clear, both from his physical features and from his conduct.

Welson

C.D. & Co. were raging ever more hysterical against the F.O., with whom they wanted Lord S. to have a show-down, but G. thought Lord S. was much too sensible to try these tactics, which could only end in his defeat. The "Treaty" which I had negotiated, on the level A.C. - G.J., with the F.O. was much amended by A.E., who tried to put a quick one past Lord S. The new draft would have made it impossible for S.E.E. to do anything, e.g. even to train an Agent, in Europe. Lord S., coached by G., wrote back to A.E. that he "preferred the original draft", which he understood had been approved by his predecessor. But G. was amused when he said "After all, the Foreign Secretary is a gentleman". Little, G. said, did he yet know his Whitehall. He had seen my correspondence with B.B. and had given it back to G. saying "Most deplorable", referring, I understand, to B.B.'s part rather than my own. He was being taken round various Stations and had spent two hours in the Ops. Room. He had said that he was most impressed by the quality of the members of the Council. He, however, went home fairly early and never did any work after dinner, or at least took no secret papers home. This led to a considerable block and many papers were lying for more than a week waiting for him. He had not yet had time to read a single secret telegram.

15. 3. 42 (Sunday)

Take G. for a quick walk from 10 to 2, via Snap, Upham, Sugar Hill, Peaks and the Village, where we stop for two pints of Four X. I make G. walk briskly up steeply inclined Down slope and fairly fast most of the way, but when I suggest that we should jog down hill, as a "substitute for equitation", he shows unwillingness, which I shall bring up in future when I want to rag him.

After lunch we sleep and after tea play chess, I winning two games, and then we inspect the damage by frost. The electric pump is split right across, a number of pipes burst, and a large lump of the upstairs lavatory just fell out. They have not had such frost for a generation.

16. 3. 42

Back from W.L. Conference with Cunliffe and Overton on Jarrow. Malign forces are trying to close down the new Steel Works, but I say that this must not be allowed, and Cunliffe is strongly of the same opinion.

Lunch with Mrs P. to meet Admiral Muselier, Captain Moret, Comert and Labarthe. Great excitement against de Gaulle, who first tried to imprison Muselier "in a fortress" for thirty days, and, when H.M.G. refused to afford facilities, deprived him of his command and ordered him to leave London. Muselier comes with an envelope full of resignations of Free French Naval officers, to take effect if his departure is insisted on. He would like to come directly under the British Admiralty. A French Naval officer, Commandant Fleury, had been summoned by de Gaulle and cross-examined on the private conversations of Muselier. It was largely on what he had said that de G. had based his action. M. had then summoned Fleury and threatened him with arrest for indiscipline and untruthfulness. de G. had then sent M. a formal letter saying that Fleury was now transferred from the Navy to the Army - "affecté à l'armée de la terre" - as from the previous day's date. He is thus removed from M.'s jurisdiction. What a picture of Free France! I have to explain that I cannot take any part in manoeuvres with British Ministers in these matters, as I have no Departmental status. Mrs B. rushes round telephoning to Admiral Dickens and others to arrange an immediate interview between Muselier and the First Lord.

R. and Elsa Wilmot to dine at the Lansdowne. Both very cheerful.

Busy preparing my speech on coal for the House to-morrow, and my statement on Clothes Rationing.

17. 3. 42

A very busy day.

10 a.m. Press Conference at the Board on Clothes Rationing. I am a little baffled by some of the questions, e.g., what is to happen to ladies' handbags, but pass these over to the officials.

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11 a.m. H. of C. Several Parliamentary questions, including one inspired to Ivor Thomas on Clothes Rationing. The answer goes over quite well and there are few supplementaries. (The announcement is very well taken by the press and public, who, I think, agree with me that Ministers are now expected to take effective and equitable decisions and enforce them, and that the time for mere exhortation and propaganda is past.)

12 noon till 8.30 p.m. Coal debate. I sit in the Chamber all the time except for half an hour, 2 to 2.30, when I get some lunch. Grenfell is not so bad as might have been feared, and sticks closely to his typewritten brief. I come in about 5 p.m. and speak for half an hour, painting a black picture of the situation, stating that I and D.G. are in touch with both sides of the industry "to see whether some common ground cannot be found for programme/ action, and change to meet the special emergency of the war. The words "and change" I add, when on my feet, to the carefully prepared official statement, but I am sure it is right to add them. I then announce the decision to impose fuel rationing and my appointment of Beveridge. This is not received with any marked enthusiasm by the House, but quite well, I think, by the public outside.

Work till after -

18. 3. 42

- 1.30 a.m., catching up with time lost sitting in the House, a waste of time which I hope will not occur very often.

G.B.H.Cole calls to discuss relations of Nuffield Surveys and post-war planning with the B. of T. and Jowitt's new Department. I say that I am quite prepared to co-operate with everybody and to leave most of the post-war stuff to others, though there are some things in which I take a very keen interest, e.g., distribution and location of industry. He will put me in a note on how he thinks work should be divided.

A word with Jowitt at the H. of C. Could L.R. go round and see him? I say of course. I ask his view of Evershed; he praises him highly; of Sir Stephen Low, he says that he is good enough in his way, but, as compared with Evershed, he is cart-horse

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to race-horse.

Sir Henry

Clay comes to see me (he is attached to the staff here as Economic Adviser). I say that I hope he does not regard himself as a spokesman of the Bank of England, who, in my view, have always been wrong on everything connected with industry. He says that he himself has always taken the industrial, rather than the financial, point of view, and certainly does not claim to speak for the Bank. On the other hand, if I feel any uncertainty about him, he will be quite prepared to go. I say that I don't want this, but that I take for granted that, before anything approaching a decision is taken, or advice given to businessmen or others who come on deputation, I shall be informed and my approval got. He says that this will certainly be done. He is rather a poor creature.

Jovanovic calls - and again I have to explain that I have now no further official responsibility for his affairs - but he is anxious to get me to speak to the P.M. about the fuss in the Middle East over who shall command the few dozen Yugoslavs in uniform out there. Of course I shall do nothing about it. He is a feeble old gentleman and, according to G.J.'s information last weekend, there is a new storm blowing up in Jug exile circles which may result in his being replaced either by Gavrilovic or Grol.

Beveridge and Tallents call. They are getting on and seeing next week the Gas and Electricity people and also representatives of women's organisations.

A talk on coal with Hyndley in preparation for to-morrow. He says he thinks the owners are divided about the National Board and many feel that something must be done.

Dine with Hambro - Marchbank and John Price being also there - to meet two Swedish Trade Unionists now in London. They are nice people but there is not very much of importance to say. Either Sweden will be attacked by the Germans or not, and none of us can settle that.

19. 3. 42

Visit by Sir Basil Brooke of Northern Ireland, and Sir David Milne Watson, of Gas Light & Coke Co. The former wants orders for his textile mills, and explains how handicapped he is

by the fact that the N.Ireland Government have no powers of compulsion, either for military or civilian purposes, and are attacked and lampooned if they encourage any of their unemployed women textile workers to "cross the sea" (a terrible adventure!) to Lancashire, where there is much need for them.

M.W. wants to claim payment from the Treasury for the money they lost because permission to increase the price of gas was delayed a long time, though it was finally granted. For the first time since 1812, he says, the Company was compelled to pass its Ordinary dividends, thereby inflicting great hardship on many small investors. He is thinking of claiming compensation, and wonders whether I will take up his case with the Treasury. (Not bloody likely! though I do not tell him so.) I ask him to send me the papers and I will certainly "communicate with" the Treasury, though I give no undertaking to press, rather than to pass on, his claim.

Lunch in and get Hyndley across for a few words before I meet the Mining Association.

See full Hyndley

This is an impressive performance in my large Conference Room, from 3 to 5.15 p.m. A whole roomful of coal owners! H.G. says afterwards he has never seen such a collection of hard-faced twisters. I have D.G. on my right (fortunately he keeps silent throughout the proceedings, having been heavily warned by H. beforehand that he should leave this meeting to me). H. is on my left and N.B., J.F. and H.G. are also in attendance.

I begin with a speech of welcome, in the course of which I say that I look forward to discussing with them the way in which the coal industry can make its full contribution to the war effort. I add that I am sure they will not deny that their relations with their men have been worse, over a period of years, than in any other important industry, and that this suspicion and ill feeling must now be removed in order that all shall do their best. I add that it is for consideration whether there should not now be set up some national authority for the industry, on which owners and men will both be represented. I say that, as they will have seen, I told the H. of C. that production was insufficient, and I am most anxious to get back men from the Army, though they know that there are great difficulties in this. On the other hand, it is deplorable that the industry has become so unattractive that youths are not going into it. My speech takes about a quarter of an hour, and I then invite Evan Williams to respond.

He takes an hour and a quarter, and goes over all the old ground from before the last war onwards, of their troubles of 1920, 1921, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1931, up to 1936, from which date, according to him, everything has gone along very nicely. All the troubles in the industry, he says, have been due to "political interference" by successive Governments. If they had only been left alone, all would have been well. They would, of course, have liked to pay better wages, but the money wasn't there. He regards the proposal for a national authority as being politically motived and thinks that it would do no good at all, but only harm, to the industry. He, as hotly as his advanced age and sly temperament allow, denies that the relations of owners and men are bad. On the contrary, they are very good, whenever there is no political interference. The owners will be prepared to consider, on its merits, any proposal put forward for improving the efficiency of the industry. (This seems like a get-out phrase put in to please a minority of his colleagues who do not want to be too negative. He agrees with me about the men from the Army and the importance of making the industry more attractive to youths.

At the end of all this, I thank him for his most interesting historical survey and ask any others to speak. There is not much response, though one or two say shortly that they agree with Sir E.W. I am succeeding in keeping D.G. quiet through occasional references to him in my speech, and occasional whispers with him on the procedure, e.g., suggesting that I should let the coal owners all have their go before either of us speaks again.

It is now twenty to five, and Sir E.W. says that there is another question which they would like to discuss with me, namely, coal prices. He wonders whether we have time for this to-day. I look at my watch and say that I must be away in about twenty minutes, but I shall be delighted if we can open the discussion on coal prices to-day. Thereupon, all the coal owners brighten up and in quick succession say that this is a most urgent matter on which there has been great delay. More than a quarter of the Companies are making a loss and have to be subsidised from a levy - or levy, as they call it - which, I ascertain, is collected and distributed by themselves without the Mines Department having any detailed knowledge of it. We pay them enough "to keep them just breathing", says Sir E.W. of the poorer pits. I say that I am afraid the Chancellor of the Exchequer may not look very kindly on a proposal to increase the price of coal, since

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he is very keen to keep down the cost of living, but I will report to the Lord President's Committee all that has been said to-day, both on organisation and prices, and suggest that we should have another meeting soon with only two items on the agenda, namely, the question of a National Authority and the question of prices. (Sir E.W. had referred in his long speech to the Joint Consolidative Committee set up in 1936, a national body though without powers, except to talk, and I therefore made the point that, in principle, the creation of a national body had already been constituted by the owners.) At this point there are signs of deep concern among the owners. Sir Walter Benton Jones hastens to say that these two questions are quite separate and should not be linked up together. He would be very glad to come with Mr Lee and tell me all about prices. It is most urgent that this should be settled. I feel that I have now got them in a thoroughly uncomfortable position, and say that I cannot say more until I have reported to my colleagues. I then shake hands warmly with Sir E.W., who says "We have only had our first round with you."

From this meeting arrive late at gathering of Labour No.1 Ministers, in the course of which I report proceedings and mention to E.B. that D.G. objected to Emerson being present, as I had hoped, at our meeting with the M.A.

Receive three M.P.s at conference on tin-plate and the closing of Works. These are required for storage, and tin-plate has long been working in a large number of units, each much below capacity. I cannot help arousing many local squeals by these measures, but the squeals would be just as loud, though from different people, whatever one did.

Sir James Hawkey rings up to tell me of a lunch a quatre at No.10, with the P.M. and their two wives. He says that in the course of conversation he praised me to the P.M. as "a man of quite outstanding ability and exceedingly loyal to you." Thereupon, the P.M. broke into the conversation of the two women - he and H. had been talking alone in one corner of the room - and said "Clemmie, I think you will be very interested in something Hawkey has just said to me." Hawkey then repeated his tribute and Mrs C. said "Oh I'm so glad to hear that". Hawkey thought that this meant that someone had been speaking ill of me to her. I said "Almost certainly B.B." He said he wouldn't be at all surprised, and added that he had told the P.M. that the latter had always admitted him to be a good judge of men and that he had told the P.M. he couldn't imagine why he had ever given Margesson

a job. The old boy is being remarkably loyal and helpful!

Dine with Mikolaiczuk. Librach and another Pole also there, and M. G.J. comes in after dinner and the intention of the Poles clearly is to keep friendly touch with me although I am no longer officially responsible for their affairs.

20. 3. 42

A very interesting meeting of the Lord President's Committee. I report the proceedings with the coal owners arising out of a discussion on getting miners out of the Army. The War Office having got all the figures wrong, I am returning to the charge and demanding all ex-miners from Units in this country, whether Field Force or not. The line is taken by my colleagues that they must be assured, before recommending this to the Cabinet, which most of them seem inclined to do, that vigorous action is being taken to make the coal industry stand up to its duty, and I am asked to investigate a number of questions and to report back to the L.P.Ctte. with a scheme for reorganising the industry. This is a perfect remit, given to me and not to D.G., who makes a very poor impression, bumbling on about how difficult everything is. E.B. says to him at one point "Of course, I know you will always defend everything in the industry. You are the biggest Conservative I have ever met." E.B. nudges me at another point in the discussion and whispers "Would it help you if I asked for you to put up a scheme?" I whisper that it would. This Committee, then, is better than usual, but I am told that Oliver Lyttleton said, when he became President of the Board of Trade, and became a member of a series of Ministerial Committees, that he felt that he had joined a lot of second-rate debating societies, and this is just what I have been telling H.G. and others when they have been eager for me to sit in on other Ministers' business as well as my own.

Pass an Honours List put up by A.O. I am horrified to find that D.G. has recommended W.A.Lee for a Knighthood!!! This is how the Workers stand up to the Capitalists! A most incredible performance! I strike it out, having the last word on these recommendations of the satellite Ministries.

Then to lunch with Electrical Development Association. I am in exceptionally good form and make a very good speech, full of impromptu jokes and with much praise of electricity. I always know when I have done very well, but not always when I have done either rather well or rather badly.

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Conley to see me. He has been feeling hurt and neglected and I therefore put him in with Watkinson and Barlow to talk about Utility Clothing, Designation, etc.

Goodhart to see me. He is one of the best of the Chairmen of the Price Regulation Committees. He thinks it might be useful to appoint a small Committee, presided over by the Solicitor General, to advise about the new Orders and whether new legislation is required.

Fulton

Dine with Hyndley. H.G. and J.S.F. also there. The latter disappoints me a little. He is not a real economist and he gives the impression of being rather frightened of everything. But in the Kingdom of the Blind, the one-eyed man is King, and so it is in the Mines Department. I am very pleased with the proceedings of the Lord President's Committee, about which I tell them, and I think they are reasonably hopeful too.

21. 3. 42

A muddle has been made over a special issue of coupons for Bank Messengers. It seems that a special issue has been made to the English Clearing Banks but nothing to the Scots. Hence a row in Scotland. Political ineptitude by officials.

In the afternoon to Watford for a private conference of delegates from the five Parliamentary Divisions in the County. George Brown, one of Bevin's young men, who helped me to hoof Cripps out of the Labour Party four years ago, is in charge. He is an excellent chap and I should like to see him in Parliament. I talk to them quite frankly about current matters.

J.W., E.W. and I dine at Jozef's, where we have not been for some time. It is very crowded.

22. 3. 42 (Sunday)

Overt

Sleep in and get up only just in time for lunch. Spend the afternoon over papers and dine with A.O., with whom I discuss various Departmental problems, including H.G.'s future status and duties. On this I ask him to put me in a paper.

Dalton I 26. (112)

DIARY23. 3. 42

I wake up decided that I must see a string of people in these next few days on coal. I will let them talk and see what comes out. To-day, therefore, I see MacCorquodale, who was Duncan's P.P.S., and did a good deal here, Sam Courtauld, Osbert Peake and Sir E. Gowers. It is wonderful how all the world comes, promptly and without excuse, when invited by the President of the Board of Trade!

Of these, Gowers is much the best. He has a long term of special knowledge, and has no use for the mine owners. McC. is common-sensical and O.P. vaguely talkative. (I have made separate notes, for my coal file, of these talks.) S.C. is a bit shy and suspicious. I had thought of trying to use him here, but give this up. He thought I wanted to talk post-war and leaves me a paper for the Econ. Jour. He is a friend of J.M. Keynes.

24. 3. 42

Answer nine P.Q.s, some of which look awkward beforehand but go off pretty well. The worst, by M.P. Price on Redbrook, is missed. After much fuss and many representations from M.P.s concerned, I am now told that M.A.P. don't want Redbrook after all. This is told me only just before I go to the House, so that the prepared answer to the P.Q. has to be hurriedly altered. Sir C. Weir comes very full of apologies, but I say that his underlings and M.A.P.'s must really do better in future. It is all most explosive, this seizing factories and shifting work-people, and opposition must not be needlessly kindled.

Lunch with G. and C.J., with whom the wife of R.A.B. The two women say that I have given the children too few coupons. G. says afterwards that his own affairs are moving rather better.

*Cyrt. Jeff
Baker*
Sir W. Firth and Sir B. Docker to see me. They are two of Duncan's Fuel Controllers. They are for vigorous measures in the coal fields to boost output, and speak also of invasion precautions.

With Waterhouse I receive Erskine Hill and three other Tories representing the 1922 Committee and the griefs of the small shopkeeper. I make a sympathetic, but deliberately vague, reply and ask W. to hold a watching brief for these unfortunates.

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Orate
 A.O. propounds new devices regarding the Price Regulation tangle. We also discuss H.G.'s duties and status and I stick to my view that he must be my P.A., without restriction of field. I dwell particularly on my coal burden, which he has to help me to carry. A.O. thinks there may be difficulty with the Treasury in sanctioning P.A.S. for this, but I tell him to do his best, looking up precedents beforehand, and proposing a term of six months.

With H.G. to dine with H., N.B. and F. The last three guiltily slip out from the M.D. in N.B.'s car, so as to dodge D.G. I propound my plan, which J.W. has done a good deal to inspire. They are a bit fearful lest there should be no "financial incentive" or effective financial control in separate collieries. It is agreed that H. and I should see Gowers on that.

25. 3. 42

10 a.m. Staff Superannuation Ctee. at Tpt, House. So far we are paying very little out, but there will come a bunch of claimants soon. Decided that we try to get the Annual Conference to authorise an approach to affiliated organisations to pay up the outstanding sum, about £10,000, required to put the Fund on a firmly actuarial basis. This sum was to be paid by annual instalments over 20 years, of which five have now been paid, from Party funds. It would be much better to get the remaining fifteen in a lump sum.

Natl. Exec. is an even worse waste of time than usual. We have a wonderful gift of concentrating at great length on the trivial.

Johnston
 Lunch with T.J. at H. of C. and fix up with him about coupons for Scots Bank Messengers' uniforms. This has led to needless fuss, and almost to a debate in the House of Lords, because some official of mine wrote a tactless letter!

Greenfield
 A good talk with Kingsley Wood, with whom my relations are friendly and businesslike. We discuss P.T., utility clothing, tobacco, exports, and coal. I say I wish we could find another job for D.G.

Drysdale, Chairman of one of my Scots Price Regulation Committees, comes to see me. (Separate note in P.R. file). Then

Air Commodore Harold Peake with Captain Hodges, to tell me about S. Yorkshire. They don't really say much, except that H. says that the miners' leaders are on very bad terms among themselves, notably Ernest Jones and Joe Hall.

Edwards
Lawther
Bowen
Horne

A long meeting, accompanied by D.G., with miners' leaders; E.E., W.L., J.B. and A.H. E.J. cannot be there. I have made a separate note of this. I have to head them off the idea that they will be shown the draft of my paper for the L.P.'s Committee next week! or that we shall see them again before April 3rd, when the next discussion on L.P.'s Committee takes place. J.B. thought that it might be useful if "the movement" were to send a deputation to the L.P.'s Committee before we do any more. But I get this out of their heads. I tell them that I will do my best to get colleagues to agree to a National Authority. I say that we must handle colleagues a bit beforehand and so they must leave the details to us, but I tell J.B., who makes a complimentary speech to me afterwards, that my views on coal have not varied for many years, and I will do my best to get them accepted. E.E. is pessimistic on the whole thing. When I say that on L.P.'s Committee the coal owners have not got a friend, he says that they have so often heard this before that they do not believe it. Such friends always turn up at the last moment.

Helmore to see me later in the evening about slow motion on Press Officer, accommodation - especially for H.G., and canteen.

H.G. who has been dining with Spearman, reports that there is a good deal of anti-P.M. feeling in the Tory Party, but, as usual, they have no answer when asked who they would like as his successor. Spearman to-night, when pressed, said he supposed it would lie between Anderson, Lyttleton and R.A.B.!!! He said that after Singapore it was reported that W.C. had quite lost his head and almost thrown his hand in. I do not believe this.

And so to bed, rather tired.

26. 3. 42

Sir Nigel Campbell on Scots mining. Rather depressing. Fife is pretty good but Lanark bad, especially in spirit at the pits. N.C. would like much greater powers over both owners and men, to be exercised by a District Chief.

Maxwell, Tobacco Controller, comes with A.O. He looks a very sick man and says that he has to have a dressing renewed every day. He thinks he should have been consulted more before I made any proposals to the L.P.'s Committee on tobacco. (If one were to avoid all ill feeling among those who think they should be consulted before action is taken, there would never be any action at all.)

Lunch with "The Times" on the invitation of Sir C.S. Sit between the latter and Sir Harold Hartley, a keen little scientist who has been working for M.E.W. as well as for B.T. on fuel problems. He is now on the Board of the Times. He says that one reason why the Germans don't use gas is because they are very short of clothing, and, if we retaliated with mustard, we should rot so much of their clothing that they could not replace it. I have a word with Barrington Ward, the new Editor. He is the brother of F.T.B.W., which gives me a gambit. I don't like him much, but it is useful to have met him.

Receive a deputation of colliery managers, headed by Mr Charlton, rather a surly brute. I begin by ragging him a bit for having written to the Times and not to me. We then listen to their story, which is not very new, except that several of them put great emphasis on short-shift working by the men, i.e., though the shift below ground is seven and a half hours, many men, so they say, come up after five and a half, or little more, having hewed their bit and earned the wages they are accustomed to. Very often this leads to coal being left on the conveyor face and to delay in later operations, as well as to the loss of additional coal which these men might have hewed.

This last meeting started at 4 and I close it down at 5, having the three Panjandrums of the Mining Association coming to see me at 5.15. (I did not want D.G. to know that they were coming, but Hyndley afterwards tells me that just as they were all emerging, I having left some moments before, from the meeting with the colliery managers, D.G. saw the three P.s coming along the passage. He asked Hyndley "What do you think they are doing here?" very suspiciously. H. said "I really don't know. I expect they have asked to see the President." But H. says

that next day D.G.'s suspicions, he thought, had disappeared.

I have one and three quarter hours with the three P.s, alone except that H.G. is here as a witness and to take a note. They are most shifty, especially Sir Walter Benton Jones. They are most anxious to interest me in their case for a price rise, and, on my request, Lee undertakes to send me particulars of the output produced at various rates of profit and loss and of the distribution of the levy between firms. They say that they would like to discuss with the men the scheme which has been put up through the N.C.L. Could I not help to arrange this? I say that this is not a simple matter. The men, it seems, have said that they are bound by this scheme and can't discuss it. I propose to them an extension of the Kent scheme, whereby boys are credited with £10 a year to accumulate till they reach the age of, say, 23. This would be a solid inducement to go down the pit. E.W. chuckles and says that he doesn't think this would be much good, because, if the boys had the prospect of more money, they would do less work. After they have left, H.G. says that he thinks they will be saying amongst themselves, "Well, he's not such a bad chap after all. Of course he has to put up a show for the sake of the Labour Party, but I don't think he will push it to extremes. I think we made quite an impression on him." But Lee will say "Don't be too sure. We didn't really get anything out of him, did we?"

Chase Helmore again on accommodation and other matters hanging fire.

Hear from H.G. that L. Robbins said of my paper on tobacco, "It is so well written that the President must have done it himself."

H. sends me yet another letter saying that he must resign unless he gets a substantial number of men out of the Army by the end of April.

27. 3. 42

L.P. Committee. There must be a further bias against exports. Turning to tobacco, the general line in my paper is that, unless I can be assured of large and regular imports, so as to keep stocks at or above six months, there must be restriction of supply, and this should, in my view, mean higher tax

-6-

plus rationing. But to ration tobacco alone would at once make an immense and active black market. Therefore, it should go in with other things, either a few, or a much larger number. I would hand it over to the Ministry of Food.

General apprehension at idea of rationing. E.B. says we mustn't push things too far. He thought Cripps in his speech on "austerity" struck the wrong note. We may easily upset people. Others object to rationing because they think the supplies would be too small, e.g., 60 cigarettes, or two ounces of pipe tobacco, or eight average-size cigars, a week. W. doesn't like it at all, and complains that he has not been consulted, though there have been discussions on the official plane. Nicotine, he says, is not an alternative to proteins. Why didn't I tie up tobacco with cosmetics! This indeed is passing back the buck! Finally, it is agreed that for the time being I must have my imports, and that officials shall consider what would be the best rationing scheme if we had to come to that.

A.O., Sir S.Low and Nowell confer with me on Price Regulation. I tell them that Oliver Stanley has created a Frankenstein, and I can't shoot it out of hand. I devise a series of propositions to put before the Conference this afternoon:

- (1) Prosecutions; three months' trial trip in which, if E. recommends, the prosecution shall take place. *Evershed*
- (2) Delimitation between utility and non-utility field; in the former, B.T. to have initiative and responsibility for price fixing, and only to refer to Central Committee any question on which they want an opinion; in non-utility field, "initiative and primary responsibility" to rest with Committees, subject to general policy laid down by me as President; this will mean that I shall use my judgment as to how far I shall consult officials here.
- (3) A weekly meeting to be held with E. and some of his staff and our officials, over which I shall ask Waterhouse to preside, and report to me any difficulties or problems.
- (4) Better accommodation to be got closer to the Board for E. and his Committee.

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- (5) Question of whether I need fresh legislation to be further examined, it being generally agreed that the 1939 Act is no use.

The Conference duly assembles and most of the Chairmen are present. I make a statement on the lines agreed, and say that I want to wash out all the past and disputes about responsibility for delay. The delays are undoubtedly serious and my colleagues, and Parliament, and the public, are concerned about them. We must quicken up. On the whole, my proposals go down pretty well, though at the end an attempt is made by E. (he half complained that he had not been consulted by me before I propounded this scheme, but I replied that much of it was taken from his long letters to A.O.), backed up by Bateson and one or two more, to get me to agree that in the non-utility field the B.T. will act merely as a "rubber stamp". E. half hints that he is prepared to resign if I don't give in to him. I say "Gentlemen, I am not a rubber stamp, I am the President of the Board of Trade. You had better leave it where I have put it, without any further attempts to cross-examine me."

J.W. stayed behind and had a word with E. ^{Evershed} The latter said he was afraid he had a little upset me. J.W. said "You used a rather unfortunate expression when you spoke about a 'rubber stamp'". J.W. also said that A.O. sat looking very dissatisfied throughout the proceedings. A weak and obstinate man. Nor did he much care for Sir S.Low, who he thought seemed the kind of Solicitor one would employ, as a last resort, if one had been charged with some most frightful and unspeakable offense.

I ask Waterhouse to come and see me and first offer him the Chairmanship of this new Committee. This he likes. I then sound him about the possibility of moving his room, but this is very obstinately and ill received. He says, in effect, that since I belong to the Labour Party, it would be a subject of serious comment if I were to shunt my Conservative Parliamentary Secretary down the passage. "As a matter of principle", he thinks that he is entitled to the second-best room in the building. He is an oaf, but I don't want a row with him on this. Therefore, the only immediate solution is to put H.G. into the room from which I am quite determined that Szlumper shall be removed.

Conference on coal with Gowers, Hyndley, J.W. and H.G. The two first are of the opinion that the coal industry should be run on Public Corporation lines. But they are both very doubtful whether this change can be brought about during the war without interrupting the flow of output. Even if one

put in very strong district bosses, they might encounter a good deal of obstruction and ca-canny in a number of pits. It is clear to me, however, though I don't say so at this Conference, that my next move must be to put up a scheme on these lines to the L.P.'s Committee. Gowers is getting a little old, but he is a most able man, with a clear brain, a sense of irony, and has a very low opinion, based on long experience, of most coal owners. In an admirable paper, of which I now have a copy, he says that the men, though they made every sort of tactical mistake, were absolutely right in 1925-6 in resisting wage cuts and longer hours.

28. 3. 42

To Derby for a Labour Conference, nominally on our Interim Report. I have, rather unwillingly, to make my opening speech in front of the press, who afterwards withdraw. So I say little in detail about the Report but do generalities on the war and fortress economics. Harry Russell, Phil's agent, is very friendly and forthcoming, and so are a number of the local people. We make a tour of inspection of the Police Station and are shown some most amusing infra-red and other photographs used for the detection of crime. Back at midnight.

29. 3. 42

G.J. to breakfast at 9.45 bringing with him a great quantity of papers relating to my work with him. We go through them and I keep some and let him keep others. He puts the case, quite truly, that, if the Camarilla got to know that I had taken away official papers, they would raise a frightful stink at No.10. This is quite wise. We go to lunch at the Lansdowne and afterwards walk quickly in the Park - it is a day which whispers of Spring. Lord and Lady Leathers are reclining in chairs beside the lake and he urges me to do something about coal. I say I have a paper coming this next week.

DIARY30. 3. 42

Dr E.W. Smith, my Gas Adviser, calls. Competent, I should think, but rather self-opinionated. Take Nowell out to lunch. He makes a better impression off shop than on.

Griffith
D.G. this afternoon for an hour. I say that I propose that he should take the Chair at this week's Coal Production Council. He seems pleased at this but finds it necessary to make the same long speech about his not being nobody, which I have heard so often before. I then try out on him the general line of my paper. I say that he and I must put in a paper on which, if necessary, we could stand, and even resign. He agrees, though very flatly, as his way is.

Receive my Business Members. Tell them that I hate committees but am delighted that they should all have direct access to me personally and should specialise each in his own zone. I hear afterwards that they are pleased by their reception.

Later see Evershed and say I hope that things are going better now. He says he thinks they are.

Dubin
Dine in with H.G. and E.D., to whom I propose that he should come and sit with H.G. in what used to be Szlumper's room. He likes this idea, but stays much, oh much, too long, so it is late before I can begin the final making of my coal paper. I sit up with this until the small hours.

31. 3. 42

Take the Chair at a long meeting of Internl. and Policy Sub-Ctees. at Tpt. House. All about little Laski's Russian pamphlet. Should the Labour Movement at once get into touch with the Soviet Government? In the end this is postponed pending discussion of it by all sorts of people, including the N.C.L.

Lunch in and finish off my paper on coal reorganisation. I put the chief weight on Regional Controllers with, above them, a National Authority - analagous to L.P.T.B. or C.E.B. - with possibility of fusing with Coal Commission, which takes over on July 1st ownership of all underground coal. R.C.s to have "associated with them"

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a Regional Committee. Owners to be eliminated for the duration of the war and paid a fixed rent, to divide among themselves. Miners, in return for this new order, to agree not to seek wage advances, except in proportion to future increases in cost of living, and to support much stronger measures against voluntary absentees and short-shift working and in favour of moving men freely from low to high production ~~and~~ and for holding men at a pit under an amended E.W.O. M.L. will need to use powers of direction to get boys into the industry, after all possible has been done by propaganda, financial inducements, etc.

Reconstruction Committee with Jowitt in the Chair. A rather servile Jewish-looking man is waiting in the passage to usher J. and me into the Conference Room - I had had a few words with J. first - and says, rather obsequiously, "This is your seat, President". It soon appears that this man is Sir Alfred Hurst! The Treasury and other Departments have circulated an immense printed paper of more than 120 pages on currency policy, etc. E.B. comes in late, gives the appearance of being slightly flushed, and proceeds to denounce the whole paper, saying it is an Anglo-American bankers' conspiracy against the working class; it would doom us to two million unemployed; if it were thought that this was what we were fighting the war for, our people would refuse to go on one day longer; if people outside knew that Labour Ministers were being asked to agree to this sort of thing, it would break up the Government. And so on!..... In fact, the proposals were most enlightened and reasonable - or so H.G. had explained to me at lunch, I not having had time to read them. Why, though, was Russia left out? I said I thought this was injudicious. I then proposed that Keynes and Hopkins should be sent for to explain their paper. This was done. They appeared and sat at the end of the table. The room was full of other Ministers, including K.W., Hudson, E.Brown, R.A.B., Law, etc. E.B. was now much milder, and both expert witnesses dealt cleverly with him. It was finally agreed that this paper, with a mass of other stuff, might be put before the Americans who were coming over to discuss economic questions.

Dine at Paddington Railway Hotel with Sir James Milne. Also present George Hicks, who kept us all in a state of great mirth by an unending fund of funny stories, two blokes from the G.W.R. and Carvell. G.H. afterwards told me that he was very concerned that I looked so tired. He even rang me up the next day to say the same thing and to explain that this was why he had told

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so many stories in order to keep me in a good mood. I said I was indeed a bit weary, but was going away for the weekend. Very friendly and solicitous!

I hear to-night that it is being said in the Mines Department, at least by Wilson and his friends, that my paper on coal is "the best ever". It also has a good reception at the War Cabinet Secretariat, and the economists there are going to press it upon the Lord President.

1. 4. 42

Jowitt comes to see me. He says that Brown and his Ministry of Health, both Minister and officials, are the most inefficient thing in the Government just now. He also senses that there is a feud between F.O. and Treasury, and thinks that he will do best for a while to back F.O. He finds Makins and other officials quite helpful. He says the P.M. has taken no notice of him at all since he has had this job. I say he must not be surprised at this. It is the lot of many Ministers not engaged very directly on operations. He asks whether I have any doubts about the outcome of the war, and about next autumn. I say none, though we shall no doubt pass through some tight places.

Dr Houldsworth comes to see me, Duncan's Controller for Yorkshire. Very good. He could find places at once, he says, in South Yorkshire for 9,000 new men at the face.

Lunch with Sir James Hawkey, as devoted as ever to the P.M. and to me. He repeats himself a bit, including the conversation at No.10 the other day when he and his wife were lunching alone with the P.M. and Mrs C. He says that when he praised me to the P.M., the latter said "Well, I have promoted him", and H. said "Not nearly enough" and made rude remarks about K.W., who, he said, was no better than a country barber's assistant. Sir J.H. had a black outlook on the war. He could never get out of his head, he said, the fear that the Russians might make a separate peace in the East.

Harriman to see me and to ask me to agree to prohibit export of all woollen cloth to U.S.A. other than the specifications imposed by U.S. Government regulations. I said I agreed to this in principle. He then asked whether ~~they~~ could import, say, two million

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-4-

tons of coal a year to enable them to free ~~some~~ some coastwise shipping. I said that this was much more difficult.

2. 4. 42

Kindersley to see me. He says advertisements conflict with his savings campaign. He suggests that all illustrated advertisements should be prohibited. He also wants to prevent women from spending money on hats and cosmetics, and both sexes on tobacco. I try to be very sympathetic towards all this.

C.W. reports that yesterday's Price Committee with E., etc., went very well.

11 to 12.30 with Mining Association. I read them the decision of the L.P.'s Ctee. on coal prices - that no question of raising these can be considered until the Ctee. is satisfied that vigorous steps are being taken to improve org. of industry. They don't like this. "This statement fills me with despair" says Sir W.B.J. But they have nothing to propose on org. Then, when all seems petering out, Young, of Bolsover, suddenly says that by transferring 1,100 men from one pit to another - both pits being equally distant from their homes, but one down one road and the other down another, he could increase output by 400,000 tons a year. General consternation, in which D.G. shares! Lord H., sitting on my left, whispers, when I show interest and begin to ask Young questions, "I think I should get off this as soon as you can." On the contrary, I stay on it, even though risking an explosion by D.G. I say that even if Y.'s figures are exaggerated, this will not be an isolated case and shows how much greater output could be got from the same man power. I thank them for their attendance and the meeting breaks up in great concern. Y. comes along to see me afterwards and says that he has got into terrible trouble with the rest. They say he should not have said that. He says "I think one ought to tell the truth". I encourage him to persevere. I must have a proper talk with him one day soon.

C.M. to lunch. He wants me to write to D.M.I. asking for his return to an Infantry Regiment. I agree to do this after next weekend, which I am due to spend with his family. He says "I know it won't be much fun for you unless I'm there". He is quite right. He says Lord S. at M.E.W. takes everything very

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Dalton I 26. (125)

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Maister

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quietly now. He never offers a drink, much less a meal, to any member of the staff. All very different since my day!

L.P.'s Ctee. Long discussion on alcoholic liquors. Some more whiskey is to be released and some more wine imported.

Barlow says that Levy is a crook and British Celanese should not be encouraged.

Send for D.G. and tell him, in very broad outline, why I have drafted my paper as I have. He raises no objection.

Dine with Lord H., H.G. and J.F. It is now past 8 p.m. and J.F. says that he got at 5 a copy of W.O. instructions on release of men. This is so outrageous a document, we are all agreed, that I blow of J.F.'s head for not telling me earlier, when I could have caught Grigg on the telephone before dinner. Efforts to catch him later fail. I must try first thing to-morrow morning.

3. 4. 42

Ring up Grigg and have a competition with him to test whether he really deserves the title of "The rudest man in London". I ask whether he has seen the W.O. notice about releases. We are on the scrambler. He says he is not sure. I then read him, first the Minutes of the L.P.Ctee., where it is twice stated that I am to have all - I repeat all - coal-face workers from the non-Field Forces. I then read his instructions, reserving some eight other classes, including men "unwilling to be released" and a proviso that not more than ten per cent of any Unit shall go. He says this follows common form. I say it makes a mockery of the whole thing. He says it will be quite a new principle to compel men to leave the Army. I say we can't run this war on the voluntary principle. He says he has already had his head washed by the P.M. for letting any men go. I say that none the less this was the decision of the L.P.'s Ctee., twice over, and that he misled me completely on the numbers on the first occasion. He says that I had better raise this with the L.P.'s Ctee. I say I shall. He says he will be there. I say that I am glad to hear it. We then ring off.

I then ring up poor old D.G. and tell him what has passed.

L.P.'s Ctee. from 10.30 to nearly one. I don't get as much backing as I expected on my bout with Grigg, who says that his reservations, which are common form in such cases, won't lose me more than 5 to 10% of the men affected.

We then get on to my main paper. (On return, I find a Minute from the P.M., addressed also to Lord President and Secretary for Mines, but too late for this morning, saying that my paper raises questions much too important to be "discussed in a Committee", and that they should come before the War Cab., as should also any question of release of miners from the Army. I don't think J.A. much liked this.) Having briefly expounded my paper, I found that K.W., A.D., O.L. and Leathers all in varying degree opposed and made difficulties, and only E.B. was helpful. He said they were much indebted to me for providing a paper which would form a good basis for discussion, and that he thought a Committee of Ministers should now go into it further. C.R.A. only made one brief intervention, criticising the suggestion of A.D. and others that we should be most careful to compensate the owners for any loss suffered by them through "picking the eyes out of a mine" in war time. H.M. sat quite silent and seemed rather under the weather, perhaps as a result of his rows first with the Daily Mirror and then with Warren Fisher. J.A. to make a paper for War Cab. on "the issues raised". (This he does two days later, and it is quite a good paper.) Afterwards he said to me that he was quite on my side about the release of men and thought that I should get my way if I was prepared for a compromise whereby men released were liable to recall from mines on "invasion alert". I said of course I would accept this.

Last incident this morning is with Woolton, to whom I readily throw all responsibility for "cabbages".

Pares to lunch. Able and attractive in a queer ugly way, but very Oxford.

Interview, with Overton, three candidates for post of Public Relations Officer. My very clear preference is for Simmonds, now with B.O.A.

Catch 6 o'clock train to Hungerford.

4. 4. 42

Make a bonfire. Preston arrives in the evening.

*Amber
K. Wood
C. Wood
C. Wood
M.H.C.
M.H.C.*

5. 4. 42

Sun and wind. Walk from 10 a.m. to 6.45 p.m. with short breaks, the longest of which was in the Rose and Crown at Ashbury, where we eat caviare and cheese sandwiches with our beer. P. walks very well. Measuring it on the map, we did 24 miles. I think we made a few deviations on top of this. We went along Sugar Hill, then down to Peaks, cutting across to the Ridgeway, then down to Idstone, and along the lower road, via Ashbury, to the foot of Whitehorse Hill, then sharply up to Uffington Camp and back along the Ridgeway, across to Peaks and down to the village. We jogged a little, but less than with some of my other companions.

Pretty sleepy!

6. 4. 42 (Easter Monday)

Breakfast at 10! Dull and windy and I work indoors till after lunch. Then take P. for a short walk and catch the 4.45 train. The check on public travelling is very remarkable, though our train was crowded from Reading to Paddington.

7. 4. 42

Tell Gibson to go ahead with outcrops, to see Lord H., to get a mining engineer and any other staff required, and generally to get a move on.

Talk with officials on Retail Trade, an intractable problem in which politics fights against economics.

Take Sir S. Beale out to lunch. He is quite useful as Chairman of my Business Men. He says that Sir W. Firth is a scoundrel.

From 3 to 5 p.m. receive an immense deputation from Pontypool, introduced by Arthur Jenkins, including Councillors, Town Clerk, representatives of employers, workers, etc., etc. It seems that there was no proper consultation with the national officials of the Trade Unions concerned (John Brown makes some complaint of this), but we just can't go on fiddling about and, to save their faces, I agree to Jenkins and my regional representative

meeting to-morrow down there and looking at some alternative sites which they suggest to-day. If all took our decisions as ill as Pontypool, we should never get on with the war at all.

Beveridge, with whom Tallents, comes to talk about his fuel rationing. He has made a very clever and perfect plan, though it is administratively complicated and I feel that we should seek some practical simplifications. Overton and H.G. also present. The latter makes some good suggestions. B. says that he has squared nearly all the interests. He will let me have a summary by the weekend.

To see C.R.A. about coal. I tell him about B.'s rationing scheme, and then try to binge him up both on release of soldiers and my plan for reorganisation. I point out the political troubles of delay. He says he told the P.M. that the Daily Mail article on Saturday did not show any knowledge of my plan. This is quite clear, since it did not mention either the high-power Regional Controllers nor the proposed miners' quids pro quo, and these were the two distinctive features of my scheme, as compared with the N.C.L. plan.

C.R.A. tells me the glad news that the paper was signed to-night replacing H.J.W. by Street, who is generally thought to be good and to want action.

Feed in with H.G., who produces evidence of great indecision and slowness over pottery.

DIARY8. 4. 42

Go to see J.A., whom I find rather satisfactory. He has a good brain and, of course, long experience of administrative problems. He is now quite keen on getting miners from the Field Force. Not very friendly to Beveridge, though admitting his ability. His name was mentioned in the Cab. only yesterday as one who criticised the Govt. too much.

Overton, Kilroy, Weir and H.G. on Consumer Goods. Miss K. is to take charge. I say I want a paper on Pottery, as to which there has been great delay, in time for next week's meeting of L.P.Ctee.

Courtesy visit from Electricity Commissioners, headed by Hurcombe, a middle-aged live wire.

Lunch at Spanish Embassy, but the Amb. is ill in bed and the party a bit flat. Kirkpatrick is there and I take him to Bush House by car to ask how P.W.E. is getting on. He says that things are going pretty well, and I gather that Brig.B. is a bit demoted, direct contact now being established with the W.O. How far away it all seems!

Young, of Bolsover, to see me. I am a good deal taken with him, even though some of his estimates of possible improvement through moving men, mechanisation, etc., may be exaggerated. I should like to give him a good chance to prove what he can do. Canvas E.B. and O.L. for to-morrow. The latter is quite sound on release of men, but too much concerned, I think, with difficulties about "picking the eyes out" of the mines. E.B., as usual, talks a lot and takes a broad view of everything. The mining industry ought, he says, to be treating coal as a mere by-product, and to have developed plastics, etc., on a great scale as part of the industry. Instead, I.C.I. and all the profitable sidelines have got financially disengaged from coal digging, and that is why the miners are so badly paid. He wants to set up a small committee to enquire into a Youth Charter for the mines, and we discuss names.

Final rehearsal for the Cab. with Hyndley and H.G. on facts and figures.

-2-

9. 4. 42

Somervell - oh so inert and wet! - to see me on Films. There should be, we think, a controlling Film Commission. I shall write to K.W. about this.

John Brown, who withdrew last year from the Iron and Steel Control, gives the employers a bad name for retaining all their peacetime vested interests.

Cab. on coal is put off owing to India. Cripps has now failed to get agreement with Congress, but these latter are starkly exhibited, especially for American eyes, as mere ridiculous word-mongers.

Special meeting of N.E.C. at Tpt. House which decides to approve C.R.A.'s "decision", in which I and other Ministers consulted concurred, to send some junior Labour members of the Government to speak for Grigg against Brockway in Cardiff East. I say that it is all just too simple. Are we in favour of the Government or not? Are we in favour of the war or not? If the answer to both questions is yes, as it is, how can we refuse to support a member of the Government, who happens not to be either a Tory or a Liberal, against an opponent of the war? I had to leave early, but this view finally carries, though some of my prize colleagues say that they are sure that we shall do Grigg harm and turn votes to Brockway by openly supporting the former!

So don't ask what has been said with the last few words (Kali) with?

I hold conference of my Power and Fuel Controllers, appointed by Duncan last November. A mixed lot, but on the whole pretty good. They have two functions, in relation to invasion and, in coal-producing areas, in relation to that. I shall write to all Regional Commissioners reaffirming their appointment and asking for continuance of harmonious relations.

Then to meet Embroidery Panel and to hear arguments by a not very attractive-looking body of employers in favour of continuing embroidery on ladies' dresses. Conly and Miss Loughlin are also there, at my invitation, and give me strong support against the employers. So I uphold the prohibition, though with a caution as to date, so as to allow stocks to be used up.

Dine at I.B. with J.W., Carvell and H.D. This is really a party for Carvell, but he is most frightfully dull! Later H.G. and a lady friend of his join us. H.D. has now started at B.T.

[Duplicate +]

Dallon E 26 (182)

9. 4. 42

Somervell - oh so inert and wet! - to see me on Films. There should be, we think, a controlling Film Commission. I shall write to K.W. about this.

John Brown, who withdrew last year from the Iron and Steel Control, gives the employers a bad name for retaining all their peacetime vested interests.

Cab. on coal is put off owing to India. Cripps has now failed to get agreement with Congress, but these latter are starkly exhibited, especially for American eyes, as mere ridiculous word-mongers.

Special meeting of N.E.C. at Tpt. House which decides to approve C.R.A.'s "decision", in which I and other Ministers consulted concurred, to send some junior Labour members of the Government to speak for Grigg against Brockway in Cardiff East. I say that it is all just too simple. Are we in favour of the Government or not? Are we in favour of the war or not? If the answer to both questions is yes, as it is, how can we refuse to support a member of the Government, who happens not to be either a Tory or a Liberal, against an opponent of the war? I had to leave early, but this view finally carries, though some of my prize colleagues say that they are sure that we shall do Grigg harm and turn votes to Brockway by openly supporting the former!

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Is. de Belle

H. D. Davis

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10. 4. 42

War Cab. on coal. P.M. contra mundum for one and three-quarter hours; a very remarkable performance. The trouble is the proposed release of 7,000 miners from the Field Force. D.G. says, when asked, that they will produce 300 tons each, i.e., just over two million tons a year extra. (Of course, this is wrong, though I don't find it out till afterwards. Three hundred is the average figure for all workers in and about the mines. For coal-face workers the figure is 800. Therefore, the increment of output in question is over five and a half million tons a year. I send, two days later, a correcting Minute to J.A. on this.) The P.M., however, won't give in and says he will put up a series of alternative ways of saving two million tons of coal, e.g., by harder rationing, lower stocks, less munition production, etc. J.A. and O.T. are particularly vexed at his obstinate resistance. The former gets red in the face and constantly shrugs his shoulders, protesting "all this has been taken into consideration. We have thought of all that.". It is agreed that a small committee of Ministers, including myself, shall make a plan for reorganising the mining industry.

Lunch with W. Street and Holmes, who seems very well pleased with his job under the Regional Commissioner for the Eastern Counties.

With J.W. by the 3.40 train to Norwich, I taking W.H.B.'s draft scheme for Fuel Rationing in my bag.

At Felthorpe, now mostly a military hospital, find C.M. waiting to be called up by the W.O. We walk down the path of a recent tornado which just blew down all trees in a straight line for half a mile, but no others. I tell him about my coal moves, at which he is quite thrilled.

11. 4. 42

Go for a run with C.M. from 7.30 to 8.30 - thus repeating our habits of last Christmas, except that this time the sun has risen. The yokels are amazed to see us running across ploughed fields and along roads. Go in feeling very fit.

After breakfast prepare speech for lunch of Norwich Chamber of Commerce. This is a fair success, some hundred people being present.

Then play four sets of tennis on a hard court, losing the first three and winning the fourth, when partnered by Pat, C.'s brother whom I have never met before. A very well-made, likeable young man who is now a Captain in the Norfolks, guarding the coast some fifteen miles away. He was a rugger blue at Oxford, got a second in History, and then became a probation officer in the East End - following in the footsteps of his mother, now dead, the present Lady Mayhew being the step-mother of all these; Sir B.M.'s first wife must have been a most remarkable woman and founded a social settlement in North London. When the war came, Pat was a C.O. and joined the R.A.M.C., winning the M.M. at Dunkirk, and then decided to join a combatant unit. He has never met a prominent politician until to-day, and has hitherto believed that all politicians were a bad lot. C. tells me that he has now modified his view! C., having been over-exercised since early morning, is withdrawn from the tennis court looking rather pale after three sets, but revives later in the evening.

12. 4. 42 (Sunday)

C. having been very tired the night before, I do not rouse him for a run this morning. I inspect the Felthorpe Home Guard and spring a surprise upon them by suddenly, as I draw to the end of an allocation on the need for constant vigilance against surprise, spying three German parachutists descending beside a fir tree in the next field. The gallant yokels advance with fixed bayonets and in open order upon these imaginary intruders, and I afterwards compliment them on their performance.

Slow train back in the afternoon and I dine with H.G. at the Marsham Buttery. We exchange views on intimacies and age-groups.

P.S. I should add that C.M. and I went for two hours' quite quick walking this morning, thus raising still further my total exercise for the weekend!

13. 4. 42

Answer a few P.Q.s and then see Beveridge with Overton, Helmore and H.G. B.'s plan is a good deal improved, but he is in a difficult mood, saying that he cannot undertake any work which would prevent him from criticising the Government, and trying to hustle me into accepting Tallents to administer his fuel rationing

scheme. I won't do this, though I might find T. a temporary niche somewhere. O. thinks that Watkinson would be the man to run it, and I agree.

Hear an advance version of the budget; not too bad, with P.T. removed from utility clothing and footwear and substantial concessions on wage-earners' income tax.

Retail trade is a problem. Craig Henderson and Mathias to see me. The R.T. Committee will report soon and probably suggest some kind of levy to ease the exit of many small shopkeepers.

Very vexed at Pottery paper put up for L.P.Ctee. Much too long and very muddled. Cut it down and re-dictate it, and then I find some more delays, in which this lousy Board of Trade excels, over letters about miners' supplementary clothing coupons, etc.

I don't know how to make them buck up. Neither swearing nor suasion seems much good so far.

14. 4. 42

Boots are backward. Barlow, Watkinson, Durston, whom I like, and Lintott try to explain why. I write an explosive minute on sloth.

Budget in the afternoon. K.W. waffles on for two and a half hours. What a fall from the old days! This country barber's assistant, however, gives me two ~~tough~~ references, on un-taxing utility cloth, clothes and underwear, and on talk on post-war with business men. *(Grievance)*

The speech was subjected to a run of utterly inane interjections by Gallacher, Maclaren and Stokes - three of our worst fools. My political friends give me great credit for the repeals on "utility", but the Co-operators, as usual, say that it is not enough.

DIARY15. 4. 42

Meet Regional Board representatives of the B. of T.

Lunch with the Jos. Wedgwoods, Senior and Junior, at the House of Lords. In the afternoon Stanleigh Turner, an intelligent coal owner from South Derby, then call on Lord President about coal, and then see Beveridge.

I am dining to-night at the Athenaeum with Davenport. J.W. and H.G. are also there. This social engagement of mine creates great stir at the Board. First Overton and then Waterhouse come to see me and explain how badly Davenport has behaved, publishing an article in the New Statesman criticising the Board and also intending soon to bring out a critical book. They both urge that I should not allow him to become, what he wishes to be, my "unofficial adviser" on publicity. I agree with both of them that this would never do. After dinner, he asks me for such a status, but I point out that I cannot undermine Simmonds, whom I have just appointed, and that N.D. never showed any inclination to be a candidate for the job. He is rather vexed at this and says that he supposes he had better resign. I say that I think he had. I add that I should like to see him from time to time, quite unofficially, as a friend of mine, and to hear from him, as from anyone else, any ideas he may have about policy and publicity. Clearly, he does not think this is nearly good enough. J.W. says afterwards that he thinks D. has been a damned fool and not made up his mind whether he wants to be in or out.

16. 4. 42

See twenty Labour and industrial correspondents in the morning; lunch at the Drapers'; receive S. Courtauld and H. Williams in the afternoon, and then Beveridge.

17. 4. 42

Lord President's Committee this morning approves the adoption of a Fuel Rationing scheme on the general lines of B.'s report. He himself is allowed in, though not without some grumble by K.W. and others. He does not, in fact, play a very prominent

part in the discussion, as I expound the scheme and all he does is to answer a few questions. Before we get going, there is a fuss over a press leak in the D.T. and other papers on which I have already reported to J.A. that Carter, of my Press Department, has traced it to George Crist of the D.T., who said that he got it from no-one in the B, of T. or Mines Department or from ~~any~~ the H. of C., but from someone "in the industry" which had been consulted, probably gas. K.W. says he doesn't believe this. These things are always "timed so as to put the screw on us".

All Ministers are in favour of the scheme except A.D., who makes a furious attack upon it. His arguments vary from a complaint that Scotland will get too small a ration, to objection to "placing us all in chains", and to the statement that any rationing scheme will check production, and that our stocks at 15½ million tons are grossly excessive, and that 5 million tons, properly distributed, would be quite enough. He gets no support from other colleagues, though D.G. says that it will be a serious thing if people find next winter that they cannot get more coal when the weather is very cold, if they have exhausted their ration.

Lunch with Lady Colefax. G.J. is there, and also the wife of Wingate, now attached to Wavell for irregular activities. She thinks that all prominent politicians are half-scoundrel and half-greybeard. But I get her a little on my side when I tell her that I was in favour of fighting Hitler at Munich and am not at all sure that we should not have done better than a year later.

Receive this afternoon a deputation from South Wales and Durham coal owners asking for increase of prices. They have a certain case and I tell them that, having been born in South Wales and having the honour to represent a constituency in Durham, I am naturally inclined to be sympathetic. But I tell them that they must get output up.

Jowitt comes to see me about his panels of advisers for location of industry, etc., after the war. He again abuses Brown and the Ministry of Health. He is asking, among others, Charles Dukes, Molly Hamilton and J.W. to join his panels, the latter partly on his own merits and partly to be a channel to me.

Daily dose of Beveridge. He is very troublesome.

G.J. comes to pick me up here for dinner at the I.B. He says that, while waiting in the Private Office, he thought that "the atmosphere was quite good" and noticed that both Overton and Sir T. Barlow, on emerging from my room, seemed quite cheerful! I tell

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Gawford

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him that, apart from not having him working with me, I find my present job much more interesting and exciting than my last. He says that the Earl has been instructed, in a minute by the P.M., in response to a complaint by A.E. about activities in Portugal, to act always in neutral countries in Europe under the direction of the F.O. I say that A.E. never tried that on with me, and that my half-bluff, of the danger of a row with the Labour Party, and my playing up of C.R.A. for a bit more than he was worth, did, after all, succeed. He says that the Earl was simply knocked backwards by the members of the Council and kept on saying that he had never met a finer lot of chaps in his life. C.D. is going on sick leave, having had a pretty poor doctor's report, and will be resigning soon on the quite genuine ground of ill health. The question is who shall succeed him? G.J. wonders whether he ought not to move across and take it over himself, but the F.O. don't like this, and A.C. said "That would mean that you would become a regular thug yourself. Other alternatives, from within the present lot, would be either Glenconner or M. I said that I thought either of these would do, and I should be inclined to prefer M. G. said that this would mean that the whole thing would be militarised. I said that this might be quite a good thing in this phase of the war, since I could not believe that we could sit inactive through another summer and, therefore, the moment for more active and widespread operations than ever before would be near. G. said that C.D. favoured Hanbury Williams. I said that I had only seen him once, when he called on me with Sam Courtauld. I thought he was a mere stuffed shirt. G. was inclined to agree.

18. 4. 42

Get up early and catch 8.35 train for W.L. R. has been here since Thursday (16th) on a short leave, and to exchange winter for summer clothes. She has had a laudatory notice in the Starman's Diary yesterday evening. She is said to be "a great factor in maintaining output" in the North, and to be arranging for dance-floors and other comforts in hostels. She says that in fact the hostel building programme has been grossly overdone and that a number of hostels have been built which will never be occupied at all!

19. 4. 42

Make bonfires and mow the lawn.

20. 4. 42

Back from W.I. just in time to change from country clothes and attend the first meeting of the Coal Committee, with J.A. in the Chair. Others are E.B., O.L., myself, A.D. and D.G. We begin with a fuss about a leakage in this morning's Daily Express which states that our Committee has been appointed, names J.A., E.B., A.D. and me as members, though adding a total membership of seven, states that the Miners' plan is being considered by us and that it is likely to be adopted. All this over the signature of Trevor Evans, tacked on to a tale of how Jimmy Bowman is looking after the underground training of lads in Northumberland and how the Government is appointing soon a Committee with Sir John Forster in the Chair to consider recruitment of juveniles for the pit. This is a most blatant and vexatious leak and I have little doubt that it came from the Mines Department and probably from D.G. himself. It is agreed that the rigours of the Law can properly be applied to the persons concerned and J.A. will raise it in the Cab., proposing that the A.G. should interrogate Trevor Evans as to his source, and also George Crist, the D.T. man who got advance notice of fuel rationing.

We then get on to the real business, and it is decided that, in J.A.'s words, we shall approach the whole question "quite objectively" with the special purpose of ascertaining why output is not higher. I say that they must see the miners, and hence also the owners, and preliminary meetings with these two are fixed for Thursday and Friday of this week. I am also to send a questionnaire to my Fuel and Power Controllers.

George Oliver brings a deputation from the National Federation of Newsagents, Stationers, etc., who want to meet the N.P.A. to discuss terms. I say I will try to arrange this.

Take Evershed to lunch at the Lansdowne. He reacts to kindness quite well and I think we are now beginning to get a move on. Portal is anxious to get him to draft the Uthwatt Report, which it seems that nobody else can do, and I propose to release him for this as from the end of May.

In Chair in afternoon at L.P. Policy Committee. Most of the time is taken up with a dispute about the price of milk charged by Co-operative Societies.

Beveridge at 6 for further discussion with Watkinson and Reddaway, whom I like. It all lasts a very long time and B. is very difficult and feminine. "Not really a very nice human being", says H.G.

20. 4. 42

Beveridge, Lyttelton, Dunlop, Greenfield

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21. 4. 42

Make my announcement in the House on Fuel Rationing. Quite short, stating only that I received B.'s report last week, that H.M.G. have decided to introduce a comprehensive fuel rationing scheme on the Points system, that this will begin on June 1st for coal, coke and paraffin, and as from about the same time - by last meter reading before August 15th - for gas and electricity. I add that each house will be rationed by present needs and not by past consumption, and that each person will have a personal ration in addition. This is hoped to save ten million tons of coal a year and I have already set up a department at the B. of T. to administer it.

There is a most surprising uproar of interrogative disapproval from all parts of the House. Some say we should dig more coal, others that the scheme will cost too many officials, others that it is unworkable anyhow, others that the poor will be penalised, others that the B. report should be published, others that a debate should first take place in the House before a decision is reached. I go on to a meeting of the Lobby Correspondents, many of whom think that the scheme is already dead, or stillborn. I do not accept this view and am most urbane, says J.W., for three-quarters of an hour. I expect that my Ministerial colleagues will be in a flutter, but they are much firmer than I thought.

I see J.A. in the afternoon and tell him - following a talk I have had with B. and the others immediately after lunch - that I think I should agree to publish B.'s report. He agrees to this, provided I can square K.W. and Cripps, who is returning tonight. I ring up K.W. and fix him.

Evershed to see me on pottery prices; Hodgson and Lindley on payments to the enemy for trademarks and patents, which excited Sir B. Mayhew and which has now just been stopped. Lindley is now Comptroller of Patents and remembers my uncle who held that office some thirty years ago. I said that I remembered him for his humanity and sense of humour. L. said that the latter did not "come out much in his work at the office".

With J.W. to Overseas Club, where at last I am able to accept one of the invitations of Sir Jocelyn Lucas. This one is chiefly for Americans. Several of their young airmen are there, very keen and attractive.

/Laski

-6-

Laski dines with me alone at B. of T. He says that, during the time that he was with the late I.P.S., he was never given any real work to do. Most of this evening he spends in denigrating poor little C.R.A. But, when I ask him for his alternative for the leadership, he can only suggest - I fancy quite insincerely - myself. Whereupon I tell him that my ambitions lie not along that road but along certain other alternatives. He thinks that our next Annual Conference will be a scene of wild and indignant disorder against the failure of Labour in the Government to get any socialism at all. This little fool lives in an unreal world of his own making.

22. 4. 42

All morning at Labour Party N.E, J.S.M. is 65 on March 12th next and it is decided to recommend to the Whitsum Conference to keep him on from year to year until we see our way clear to appoint a successor, having regard to the fact that there would be an unduly narrow field of applicants. This is rather deplorable, though the arguments for it are strong. (now)

Lunch with Hyndley and my namesake Colonel J.C. Dalton, who is a big noise on electricity. H. very indignant with Duncan for his line against fuel rationing, and his argument that our coal stocks are ten million tons higher than they need be.

Evershed and Nowell to see me before a deputation from the Retail Distributors' Association and the Drapers' Chamber of Trade, and the National Outfitters' Association. They are all concerned about their retailers' margin, especially on utility clothes, which they say won't give them a living. I say that I am pledged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reduce the price of utility garments by the full amount of the Purchase Tax. They say that the articles will mostly be new and therefore no price comparison is possible. This is a bit slim, but in any case they are prepared to go on as they are till September.

Further session with Beveridge - also J.W., Overton, Watkinson, H.G. and Reddaway. I have this morning squared Cripps on the telephone to publishing the Beveridge Report, provided, as I would in any case have done, that I make it clear that we are not committed to the details. This will best be done, I think, by a letter from me to him. We go through a simplified Application Form for a Fuel Ration Book and then consider how far, without exposing ourselves to criticism, we can make minor amendments in the draft of

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MTC

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his report. He is, as usual, inclined to be a little sticky on some points, but gives in on others.

Call on Casey, who hopes to leave for the M.E. this weekend. His Charter does not touch the B. of T. except very remotely. He speaks well of Evatt and urges that we should take a good deal of notice of him. He says that E., whom he flew to meet in California, took the line that he must certainly accept W.C.'s offer, and so telegraphed to Curtin. Casey then held up his reply to W.C. for a week and Evatt sent two more wires to Curtin, but without real effect. Curtin, says Casey, is a nice chap but has got the Opposition mentality, which means that he still keeps on scoring debating points in public. Casey thinks that it takes eight months to a year for a politician long in opposition to accustom himself to the Ministerial atmosphere. Most of Curtin's colleagues, he says, have had no experience of office before. (G.J. told me the other day that he had met Casey and found him awfully stupid; our Embassy in Washington were saying "We have been trying to get rid of this stupid man for two years without success, and now the P.M. has done it in one day!")

The press reception of my Fuel Rationing announcement yesterday is very critical and, in spots, most hostile. It is difficult to explain just why they, and the House, reacted so violently. J.W., who went back there last night, says that some were already having second thoughts. It is, he thinks, because the war is not going visibly very badly at this moment that they have reacted a little against "austerity". If we had lost a battleship, or a colony, yesterday, they would have been quite different. I have not much doubt that we shall get them round. J.W. proposes that, if we get the B. report out next week, we might have a debate the week after, in which I would begin by explaining the scheme in detail, then there would be scope for criticism all round, and then - I add - Cripps can wind up.

DIARY23. 4. 42

Milne Watson calls. I don't much like him. On every ground, including the leading personalities, I prefer electricity to gas. He wants me to lunch with some of his blokes - and makes a great fuss about it - some weeks hence, and also pushes two people for the next Honours List.

Secret Session. P.M. speaks at great length and very well, and carries the House. First a very sombre picture, naming places which may well be lost to the Japs in the near future, and various misfortunes (principally naval, and what a hell of a run of bad luck we have had!) in the near past and present. Enough, but not too much, on Singapore. Events there quite out of harmony with our traditions and our previous experience. Many different persons and sections have been blamed. Meanwhile, it would do no good and would only divert active men from the immediate business of the war to hold an enquiry. Great praise for New Zealand. Their one Division is still in the M.E. with no request for its recall. Japs have choice of many moves by land and sea. Perhaps next into China?

Then to the future, and the grounds for undiminished confidence. American production. Recent consultations; Hopkins and Marshall in London; the matters discussed; their return to U.S.A.; exchange of messages between P.M. and President. This most dramatically ends the speech. "Who wants a public session after that?" one Tory asks me.

Lunch at H. of C. and encourage M.P.s to talk fuel rationing. Chuter Ede says that he has larger rooms than most. Do I take into account the size of rooms? Westwood says that he is in favour of fuel rationing but there will be a tremendous row if we are proceeding in ignorance of the fact that miners get free coal. It seems as though all assume that we know nothing.

Second meeting this afternoon of the War Cab.SubCommittee on Coal. Seven Ministers with Brock and Chester receive six coal owners, including Young. Little emerges. Evan Williams does most of the talking. E.B., characteristically, got on to the Central Council, which distributes the levy, and asked whether the men were represented on this. E.W. said no. "But", said E.B., "the money comes out of the ascertainment, doesn't it?" "Yes", said E.W. "Then", said E.B., "You are taking some of the men's wages and distributing it among yourselves." "Oh no", said E.W., "and anyhow

Handwritten notes:
-2-
L.P.
You say
E
D.M.A.D.
border
reaches
bankrupt
L.P.
"Germany"
"D.M.A.D."
"Security"
"united"

it goes into the price". "Oh", said E.B., "then you are taking some of the public's money as well as the men's". E.W. at this stage became very confused, and others tried to help him out, but not with much success. E.B. said to me afterwards, "I think we can do something for the men there. We can develop this Central Council and the Coal Commission into some kind of National Board on which they will sit."

Call in at the end of a Polish squash to meet ^{General} ~~John~~ Anders. He is over for a short while from Russia and the Middle East. Three Polish Divisions have already been formed and crossed the Soviet frontier and are now part of our M.E. force. More are to come. Retinger says that Sikorski has come back very well satisfied with his talks with Roosevelt. The latter strongly holds that we should not now make a Treaty with Stalin on post-war frontiers, etc., and has so informed not only H.M.G. but Stalin himself. Sikorski also found the war morale in U.S.A. much less good than it should be. He would like to tell me about these matters.

The press on Fuel Rationing goes up and down but on the whole remains sceptical and hostile. It seems clear that the gas people are trying to sabotage the plan and are feeding the press with fantastic figures of officials required, etc. These have now risen, in one paper, to 50,000. I tell one pressman to-day that the number will be at least a million! For the moment there has been a complete switch over in priorities from man power to fuel rationing.

24. 4. 42

L.P.'s Committee take a paper on producer gas. All the Labour members of the Committee, including Cripps, are, for once, united and vocal in opposition to a proposal by Leathers, agreed with the Treasury, to compensate owners of buses and other vehicles which are to use producer gas. This provision, therefore, is struck out.

The proof of the Fuel Rationing White Paper is finally carried away to the printer by Preston, after Beveridge has had a final poke at it this morning. But he has raised no difficulties at this stage, not even, as I feared he might, on the terms of my letter to him, in which I merely say that H.M.G. have decided that there must be a comprehensive scheme of fuel rationing, deliberately omitting to commit myself even to the broad outlines of his plan. I am more and more sure that the right procedure is to get agreement

/to

to the proposition that fuel must be rationed, and then to say that for the details his plan is a basis of discussion, though a very good one, on which we may, but are not likely, to improve much.

I.L.O. lunch with E.B. in the Chair. Jowitt and I and Law are the only other Ministers, the rest of the company consisting of officials and delegates of workers, employers and Governments, including my brother-in-law, whom I have not seen for a number of years. He is as stupid as ever, and bores on at length about his political views, undefined, not being the same as mine. I am inclined not to want to see him again for many years. Burge said, when I came in, "I hope there won't be a scene; your brother-in-law's here." I said "Oh dear no; I will go across and introduce myself to him."

Talk to Cripps about coal. I tell him what has been happening as regards (1) man power from the Army, (2) reorganisation, (3) fuel rationing. He reacts very well. On (1) he thinks we should go on pressing for more men from the Army, on (2) he hopes that I will stick to the proposals in my paper, since this, he thinks, would make a first-class occasion for a show-down with the P.M. on wartime Socialism, and on (3) he thinks that we should put down a motion in the House simply approving fuel rationing without reference to details or the Beveridge plan. He would like himself to wind up the debate which I, of course, would open.

I spoke to Waterhouse before lunch and said I would be glad, if they desired, to speak to the 1922 Committee on fuel rationing next week, as I was speaking to the Labour Party meeting. Promptly after lunch an invitation came for next Thursday afternoon. W. thinks that the fuel rationing scheme is just in the balance. Beveridge, he thinks, is not very popular with my Party, and many in his think that he is "A funny old fellow with his head in the clouds and his feet in the pond." W. says the real question is what shall we do with the munition worker who has used up all his ration before the end of the period and will therefore have to go to bed in the dark and eat uncooked food and have no heat in his house, and who therefore stays in bed next morning and won't go to work? He also says that this scheme is thought to be "a benefit for Grenfell", since he has failed to increase production.

Visit from Lord Dudley Gordon, Sir Guy Loycock and Walker of the F.B.I. Nothing much to say except that they/alleviations of E.P.T. and have made a memorandum on post-war trade, including refer-
/want ences to exports which may upset the Americans. They agree that we shall have a look at this document before it is published.

/Further

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Further meeting of War Cab. Coal Sub. To-day we have the Miners. They do a little better than the Owners, but not much. They draw the conversation on to their plan, though J.A. in the Chair tries to keep the issue to a narrower point. It is agreed, on my suggestion, that they should send copies of their plan to us so that we can have a further discussion with them on it. Both Lawther and Jones emphasise that there is no-one at present with power to direct the industry as a whole, or even regionally, and to compel anyone to do anything. I say that I have seen the plan but that a number of my colleagues haven't, and therefore I won't ask questions on it till we have all read it. Horner is much the nimblest and argues on E.W.O. that, if each region was united, there would be no need to amend the E.W.O., since a man would never be offered a job in any pit other than where he was actually working or was required, in the interests of efficiency, to move to. O.L. has no questions to put to-day; yesterday his questions to the owners only related to damage to mining property through uneconomic development designed to maximise output in the near future. Cripps said this afternoon that he was most reactionary and a bad influence on the P.M.; he was not even interested in mines operationally, but only financially.

Streat wants me to go to Manchester for a day or two and meet the cotton people. I say I will if I can get off coal in a few weeks' time. He says I am very well thought of by the operatives and he thinks that I might help to persuade them to go in with the owners to modernise their wage arrangements.

Dine with Lord H. and E.B. The latter, of course, talks nearly all the time, but rather well, in his large, imaginative, forward-looking, idealistic way.

Lord H. urges that D.G. should be made P.M.G.

25. 4. 42

Hurcombe and Page to see me on their electrical programme. I back them up and get them both to say that they think that if we must have fuel rationing - and they think we must - the B.Plan is the best and fairest that can be devised. He has done a lot of consultation and his scheme is much better than any based on a datum period, such as was proposed and abandoned at the beginning of this war.

Finish off a paper with H.C. and Miss K. on Prohibitions.

Watkinson is doing very well on preparations for fuel rationing. Everything is well in hand and I take away a stack of papers to W.L. this afternoon.

DIARY27. 4. 42

Back from W.L. L.P.'s Committee; coal prices. I say that I think that Durham and South Wales have a case, and propose that they should be allowed an advance, but that we should take over the levies, place them under the Board of Trade, and extend their scope. My first proposal is not welcome to K.W., nor to the rest, who think we should hold up any price advances pending discussion on reorganisation. My second proposal goes through ~~for~~ *easy*. It will be rather useful as the thin edge of the wedge of public control.

Simmonds turns up to-day for duty. I think he will do well. There are tales circulating, both strongly against him and strongly in his favour.

C.W. to lunch with me at the Lansdowne. The two Earls are also lunching there and join us afterwards. My personal relations with C.W. noticeably warm up a bit. He is doubtful of the wisdom, and still more doubtful of the possibility of putting over, fuel rationing.

H.G. says that through the press the vested interests are working like tigers against fuel rationing. He has done his best with several of them.

This too raised at the War Cab. The P.M. says "Don't let them form up on you". He is very friendly. I say I will fight as much as need be for the war effort, but I don't want to fight needlessly or fruitlessly. He says that this is not a central issue in the war effort at present and we should try to avoid any unnecessary vexation. "But", he adds afterwards, "we must all stand together." He wonders whether a broadcast by him appealing for economy would not be worth while. He is inclined towards appeals, with a rationing scheme prepared in the background, to be introduced if appeals fail. I thank him, but say that I fear there are great difficulties, particularly in knowing whether the appeals have been successful or not, and also in losing valuable time. O.L. is working against the scheme. It is he, he himself admits, who put this last suggestion into the P.M.'s head. He says to me that, though I may get away with it for the moment, I shall soon be facing fifteen P.Q.s a day.

"Our business advice" L.P.M.
Calls him, with
an affected tone

[Duplicate +]
Dalton I 26. (151)

DIARY

27. 4. 42

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28. 4. 42.

The White Paper is out to-day. At question time I get a heavy barrage, particularly on the silly point about the number of officials required to run the scheme. It is thought that I face it with good temper! Sir D.Thomson has a question down about the number of officials who were on the staff of M.E.W. when I left and on the staff of B. of T. now, and how many of these were established Civil Servants. I sense that he is trying to get at H.G. or H.D. The answer is "Twenty-nine, of whom five, including Sir F.Leith-Ross, are established Civil Servants". This was carefully drafted by me. The trick works. The introduction of Sir F.L.R.'s name leads my questioner in his supplementary to ask whether most of these are with Sir F.L.R. My answer is "Practically all", and I then add something about the nature of his work and the fact that many have not yet, physically, been able to move from M.E.W. to B. of T. owing to lack of accommodation. This lengthy and conciliatory supplementary answer makes it impossible for him to pursue the subject. I hear afterwards that sometime ago the Tory Head Office were told that at M.E.W. I relied on six men who were all temporary and all Labour candidates, and that all of these I had taken on to B. of T. Therefore, Sir D.Thomson held in his hand a supplementary question, assuming that my answer would be "Six, none of whom are established Civil Servants", "How many of these are Labour candidates for Parliament?":

Harrod to see me this afternoon and I ask whether he would like to join the team for Anglo-American discussions. He would.

B. has had a good Lobby conference. In the afternoon I spend some time and a number of drinks in squaring the D.H. - Cudlipp and M.Webb.

I dine with Platt and Naesmith and talk cotton. The latter is an old pal of mine. We get on very well and, if I can get free of coal, I should like to do some cotton for a change.

29. 4. 42

Times and D.H. better this morning. Others still bad. B.'s work on the former and mine on Cudlipp and M.Webb has succeeded.

Party Meeting, at which I ask A.G. about the rumour that there is a meeting of the N.C.L. to-day. Through some muddle - and partly because silly old Middleton does not "admit" that a

/Labour

-3-

Labour Ministers should be summoned to a committee when they are discussing matters within his Department - I have not been invited. I decide, however, to go.

Fulker, of C.W.S., calls to ask for the appointment of a Co-operator in my "inner circle". I explain that I am revising the duties of the Industrial and Export Council but that I should be very glad, in principle, to have a Co-operator to advise me. He says that unofficially Edwards would, he thinks, be suitable. Officially, he would have to propose to me J.T.Davies, who, he admits, would be very little use. I ask him to leave it alone for the moment and to rest on my assurance. Very friendly.

Lunch at St ^{Erwin} ~~Lewis~~ with Sir S.Beale to meet members of Export Council Consultative Committee. Faced with Lord Hollenden I say "By Jove, you were at school with me. You were at Rawlins' and you had a younger brother who was my contemporary." A most successful shot. Though he is now a middle-aged man, he still looks as much of a bloody fool as he did 35 years ago. Quite recognisable! I am pretty good at this kind of thing! I make a short speech to them, with some jokes about fuel rationing, some compliments about themselves, and some platitudes about the future of the export trade.

Mathias and some of his colleagues of the Retail Trade Committee complain to C.W. and me about the conduct and incompetence of Richards, the official of the B. of T. who is their secretary. I ask C.W. to look into this.

At 4 p.m. attend N.C.L.Coal Committee. Walter Green in the Chair and a mixed bunch, including Horner and E.Jones of the miners, the rest of their representation being delayed owing to the blitz on York and the consequent delay in trains. These two are the best of the bunch and the blitz has, therefore, been beneficial to our deliberations! A.G. is helpful but woolly. Several of those present, including Marchbank, are inclined to say that we will only agree to rationing if the N.C.L. plan is accepted. This will give us the worst of both worlds, and I steadily try to twist the forms of words proposed, so as to avoid it. They are just as stupid now as when they used to vote against arms, which were imperatively necessary, because they could not get also a foreign policy which they thought they liked. Tactically the situation is very complicated and there is little good sense or good will outside a very small circle.

I think to-night that coal will be too much for me, but if I resign I shall have also my paper for the L.P.'s Committee on which to rely.

30. 4. 42

8.30. Shaving in bath-room with J.W. I say that there are only three alternatives - victory, resignation, or some kind of huggery-muggery, which does not attract me at all. There is, I say, much to be said for resignation and regaining freedom. J.W. does not think I should really enjoy this very much!

This is a busy day. First, at 10 o'clock, I meet the L.P.Meeting and expound the case for rationing. I say that it is in line with our policy. Increasing production is important, but not less, cutting consumption and providing that there is equitable distribution of an assured ration to all. If we don't do this now, next winter will be worse than last. J.W. says afterwards that he thinks I made a very good speech. I was not so sure. Next we get a string of questions on pretty obvious detail. I hold my reply to all of these and do not finally deliver it, for then follow a series of speeches and just after 11 o'clock there is an upsurge of loyal, sensible miners - Tinker, G.Macdonald and Jim Griffiths - as well as A.Bevan, who has made a very good speech - all ready to move that equitable fuel rationing be accepted in principle. Others had proposed that the matter should be adjourned, or that we should make our acceptance of rationing dependent on Government's acceptance of N.C.L.plan. I sit next A.G. and keep on repeating to him that we cannot have any such tie-up. He flabbily agrees and, on the whole, gets us through the meeting pretty well. Finally, the acceptance in principle is unanimous.

Return to the office and excogitate my speech for the 1922 Committee this afternoon. I lunch in and H.G. rings up, just as I am starting for the House, to say that he has been lunching with Braithwaite who is very pro-me and wants to come with me to the meeting and make suggestions on the way. We go together in the car and B. says that I shall "get them" if I insist that my policy is to keep the home fires burning next winter and to get fair play for all. *He wants me to put him on a Clee*

There are some 150 present, and I cannot complain of my reception. I speak, then answer a number of questions, and then depart, leaving them to debate. I don't propound the Beveridge scheme but only the broad necessity for cutting consumption, and hence for rationing, with special demolition of the demand to withdraw two Divisions from the Army. Maybe we made a mistake in letting so many miners join the Army, but that was long ago and now they are trained soldiers, and some of the very best we have,

Levy immediately before the meeting urges me to "withdraw"

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the scheme; otherwise, he says, I am committing political suicide. C.W., who before was very pessimistic as to the Tory attitude, tells me afterwards that he thinks I have done very well but that the prejudice is still almost too strong for me. Gridley gets up during the meeting and asks whether I will consider substituting "restrictions" for rationing for ~~coal~~ gas and electricity. I say that I will consider ~~almost~~ anything which gives me both economy and equity. He then asks whether I would agree to the postponement of the debate. I say no.

Later I hear that they were considerably impressed by my statement and answers and have unanimously agreed that there must be a reduction in consumption, but that they want a simpler scheme without coupons, and therefore suggest a postponement of the debate. This is not too bad.

Thence to Lord President's Committee, where the L.P., smiling, says that his scouts tell him that I have made a considerable impression on the 1922 Committee. K.W. also says the same.

1922 Executive have now asked for a further consultation with me. I prepare, with C.W., to receive them, but only Gridley appears. He says that he has a plan. I ask him to produce it. He says it is not ready. I ask when it will be. He says he hopes next Tuesday or Wednesday - the debate is on Thursday - after consultation with the Gas and Electricity interests and the coal merchants. It seems to consist of datums for the first two and control by the coal merchants of supplies to their own customers. I ask him to let me have it, resist a further proposal for a postponement of the debate, and say that I will pay a tribute to his helpfulness in my speech. He then does not press further for a postponement! I don't know how much this man weighs.

Then appear the three coal-owner rascals, who have been kept waiting a quarter of an hour. I tell them that the L.P.'s Committee are refusing to grant them increases in price for Durham and South Wales pending a settlement of the reorganisation arrangements; also that their two levies are to be unified and placed under Government control through a Treasury Charges Order, and the scope of expenditure increased. They accept the second statement without too much resistance, but are very peeved about the first. I say that they had better send me a considered statement in writing. B.J., generally the most talkative, says that they feel they are being treated very unfairly and that the heart is being taken out of the management by the attitude of the Government.

/Dine

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Bewte - Jones

Dine with Maurice Webb, H.G. and H.D. There is a general sense of victory. M.W. says that I have won a most remarkable triumph to-day. My stock, he says, is very high. Then follows the usual denigration of C.R.A.

1. 5. 42.

9.30.a.m. Gibson to say that the Legal Department at the Ministry of Labour is holding him up. He cannot get E.W.O. applied to his men. He hopes within three months to be getting 150,000 tons of outcrop coal a week from 60 sites with 2,000 men. This is pretty good. I shall approach Bevin.

The press to-day is mixed. Times and Herald excellent; D.T., News Chronicle, Express and Mail full of mischievous falsehood. Express excels itself, saying that I got Labour support yesterday by concealing from them the fact that N.C.L. scheme had already been rejected by Ministers, who were negotiating with a prominent industrialist to take charge of the Coal Consultative Committee, and that he would accept the offer only if he was given wide powers over the industry.

I doubt whether these blatant falsehoods cut much ice.

My namesake appears this afternoon with a new proposal for rationing without coupons which at first sight looks attractive. Not much of a departure from Beveridge, but enough to look like something; a half-way house, anyhow, between Beveridge and Gridley, and therefore good negotiating material.

Beveridge reports that he has had a fairly good day yesterday; very good with the women, though the D.T. publishes a most perverse and untruthful account of this, and fairly good, though slow, with the miners, who were inclined to complain that they had not been consulted! On miners' coal, something, though not a great deal in the total, could be arranged.

War Cab. on (1) Anglo-American talks, and (2) fuel rationing. On (1) we accept, as a basis of discussion, the immense Treasury memoranda, though now it seems that the Americans won't arrive for some six weeks. On (2) it is agreed that we shall have our debate next Thursday, and that, if there is no fear of an official amendment, we shall put down a motion welcoming in principle a speedy comprehensive scheme. If, however, an official amendment is to be feared, eg., on nationalisation, we should perhaps do better

on a Supply Day, provided the Chair would agree to rule wide. There is a cramping tendency just now for the Chair to rule out, both on Supply and on the Adjournment, any matters relating to Orders in Council, just as it previously ruled out anything touching Legislation. The P.M. and Lyttelton are still luke-warm about fuel rationing, and the former is anxious that we should not raise much vexation on a secondary issue. (Cherwell has been working on him I suppose. H.Watt says that last night he reported to the P.M. that I had made "a very skilful speech" at the 1922 Committee, and Braithwaite, who was dining with the P.M. last night, will have given him a fairly good story, I think.) I, however, insist that a debate is necessary in order that I may make to the House and the public substantially the speech I made yesterday.

Lunch with Mrs P. alone, C.R.A.'s secretary having made a muddle of his engagements.

Charlton and Captain Walton Brown come to see me on behalf of the Colliery Managers. Their chief concern is that, if a National Board is set up, they should be represented on it. I say that I think they have a good claim, but that no decision has yet been taken. They say they have 1,600 members out of a possible 2,000. They are a stupid pair and I don't think much of their organisation. But it is as well to play them up.

Hyndley reports that his meeting with the coal owners on the Treasury Charges Order on coal levies went quite well this morning and he hopes soon to put me up an agreed scheme. I then ask him to consider how far we should work a rationing scheme without coupons. Would it give me the total cut required and, at the same time, not be too unfair? He is more hopeful on this than H.G. (It is in the midst of this conversation that J.C.D. comes in with his plan.)

It is clear that the coal owners are spending a lot of money trying to get rid of me! *Law is free lunch at W. Savoy*
Robin Brook to dine. G. is on leave and returns in a few days. He is going back to F.O. It is not yet settled what post he will fill there. R.B.himself will return to the pool and no-one will remain at Berkeley Square House except perhaps a quite junior secretary. The F.O. will have a man who will attend the meetings of the Council, but not otherwise be in the machine. It is not yet settled who this will be. He is referred to by Sir A.C. as "the F.O.spy"! H.Williams will succeed F.N., who, as I knew already, is retiring on quite genuine grounds of ill health. He does not know anything about the show, nor about Whitehall.

Hamber

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Hyndley reports that his meeting with the coal owners on the Treasury Charges Order on coal levies went quite well this morning and he hopes soon to put me up an agreed scheme. I then ask him to consider how far we should work a rationing scheme without coupons. Would it give me the total cut required and, at the same time, not be too unfair? He is more hopeful on this than H.G. (It is in the midst of this conversation that J.C.D. comes in with his plan.)

It is clear that the coal owners are spending a lot of money trying to get rid of me!

Robin Brook to dine. G. is on leave and returns in a few days. He is going back to F.O. It is not yet settled what post he will fill there. R.B.himself will return to the pool and no-one will remain at Berkeley Square House except perhaps a quite junior secretary. The F.O. will have a man who will attend the meetings of the Council, but not otherwise be in the machine. It is not yet settled who this will be. He is referred to by Sir A.C. as "the F.O.spy"! H.Williams will succeed F.N., who, as I knew already, is retiring on quite genuine grounds of ill health. He does not know anything about the show, nor about Whitehall.

Nelson

R.B. said that it had been clear for some time that G. and the Earl were not meant for one another. The latter, he says, though he supposes him to be about my age, is old enough in all other respects to be my father. He starts work soon after 10 a.m. and is quite tired by 6 p.m. He takes a little work home, but never deals with more than a small fraction of it. He takes long weekends and takes no work away with him, and in addition he attends many ecclesiastical functions in working hours. Thus, the other day, he was reported at 11.30 a.m. to be attending the enthronement of the new Bishop of Portsmouth. He does not know his way about Whitehall and Government circles, never having been a No.1 Minister before, and is not willing to be advised. He can neither make a good draft himself nor accept a good draft when presented by another. Access to him is now only got by application in the Private Office. He is also almost unbelievably slow in understanding the simplest things. Thus the pace of everything has been almost inconceivably, as compared with my retarded. Moreover, he takes decisions, including decisions to evacuate strong points, quite unexpectedly, and quite without any appearance of principle or of plan of campaign. He has thrown away, notably to the F.O., several such strong points and has been given a few very small sops in exchange. It is always being said that he is very close to the P.M., but so far no advantage seems to have flowed from this.

(any) Foot in Person of ^{2 cont} ~~the~~ Earl's relations ^{dropped - has early} with Bracken were now even worse than mine had ever been! I did not press him for the reasons, but he said that the Earl had completely misplayed his cards and acted in a most irregular and indefensible manner towards this most unlovely colleague.

It would, in any case, R.B. thinks, have been ~~now~~ impossible for G. to continue to work with such a Chief, whom it was inevitable that he must deeply despise. For some time there had been mutterings of a coming storm, but the critical point was only reached last week just before G. went on leave. The Earl then said that he did not want him to go on. G. had for some time found that his access to the Earl was more and more difficult, and his advice less and less heeded. It was clear to R.B. that several people had ~~works~~ been at work on the Earl under G. He thought that C.H. had been prominent in this. I said that this accorded with the notes of my conversations with all the Councillors when they threatened rebellion. C.H., I said, could never forget that G. had been his fag. Moreover, said R.B., the Earl, as a Director of the National Provincial Bank, would look up to C.H. as a Director of the Bank of England. I said

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Dalton I 26

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Gen. Taylor

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Tommy
Davies

DIARY2. 5. 42

I have a hunch that my namesake's plan is the political cat's whiskers. I say this to H.G., who disagrees. I have made no concessions at all yet, he says, and I should go on standing quite firm. The more others propose alternatives, the more the Beveridge plan will stand like a rock. I am, however, planning a little party on Monday evening to which I am asking Mitchell, Hawkey, my namesake (who is a great friend of Hawkey), H.Watt and Hyndley.

Gas has not yet been very vocal, and I therefore send for Dr Smith. He is a stupid, narrow-minded man, though no doubt with technical competence, and he undertakes to ask Sylvester to make an appointment to see me on Monday.

The press is much better this morning, the Times having a really good article saying that the opponents of the Beveridge plan must face very serious difficulties, while the raging critics are slowly piping down, the D.T. now being reduced to asking whether there are not many ex-miners in industry who could be brought back.

I go to West Leaze, once more with a stock of fuel rationing papers, to sketch out the main lines of my speech next week. For the moment very much more hopeful. In the next few days, of course, there may be further backsliding.

DIARY.4. 5. 42

Back from W.L. by the second train. See Sylvester, one of the best of the gas men.

Just before lunch see Anderson, who is still very firm and good on rationing.

This afternoon receive representatives of L.C.C. and Metropolitan Boroughs, who insist on importance of coal distribution in their areas.

Later see representatives of Gas and Electricity industry, who are stupid and inconclusive and much against coupons.

7.30. Sir J.Hawkey calls and I take him on to the Lansdowne Club, where I have a rather successful evening party, including also Hyndley, Harvey Watt, Harold Mitchell, my namesake, J.W. and H.G. J.W., H.Watt and my namesake discuss a simplified plan which J.W. reveals to me next morning in the bathroom.

Just before I go to dinner, Maurice Webb rings up and says that Lawther had made an amazing outburst to a pressman at Newcastle, saying that the miners are all against coal rationing, that there must be no interference with miners' coal, that the Executive of the D.M.A. is so disturbed at his report that they have decided to send a deputation to London to see the miners' M.P.s, and the Durham County's M.P.s and the President of the Board of Trade, to protest. All this is wonderfully helpful! If it appears in the press to-morrow it will create a furore. M.W. says that he is trying to get on to W.L. and to try and restrict him on to miners' coal and not to coal rationing in general.

5. 5. 42

Greenfell
C.R.A. urgently wishes to see me, and I look in on him at 9.40 at the D.O. I had thought - he had been most anxious to see me last night - that it was something to do with Will Lawther's outburst. But not so. It is that D.G. has sent in a letter of resignation, addressed to the P.M., asking C.R.A. to forward it. In this letter he makes complaint that he has never been treated like a proper Minister, and that he has never been properly taken into consultation, that he was always ^{been} opposed to miners leaving the pits for the Army, that he had tried in vain to get them back, that he had had one interview with the P.M. in which he had explained his

"personal

"personal grievances", and that now he wished to resign. C.R.A. says that this is quite the wrong moment for this to happen. I note that D.G. in his letter makes no complaint against me, nor against anyone else personally. I tell C.R.A. that he has never made any complaint to me about his position. On the other hand, I have let him take the Chair at the Coal Production Council partly because it is a mere talking shop and a waste of my time, and partly to appease D.G. I have had him in with me whenever I have had large meetings with miners or mine owners. Also on many other occasions. He has wasted my time abominably.

C.R.A. says that he saw D.G. last night and that he was very difficult and complained that he was "led about like a dog on a string". I suppose by me?

Administrative Ctee. is very good. They are prepared to support me in the debate to-morrow, and to vote with the Government if there is a Division.

A few P.Q.s. on fuel rationing and other matters, but all these go off easily.

Mary Sutherland and three Labour women deputate to me and say they are in favour of the B. plan.

Dine in with H.C. and prepare my speech for Thursday.

6. 5. 42

Party Meeting. A faint attempt is made to reopen discussion on the rationing scheme. Silly little George Griffiths says that, like some others, he had been "home" since last week's discussion and his people were strongly against rationing. The reason is, no doubt, because he was incapable of explaining it.

A word with R.A.B., who says that the Tories are against fuel rationing because they are afraid that it will mean that they won't get enough for their country houses. If I could offer them not only the proposed household ration but also something based on a datum period, they would all agree. I repeat this to H.G., who thinks it is absolutely true, and most disgraceful. If I were to quote it outside, he says, it would do great damage.

Early this morning I tabulate a list of reasons for the resistance, among the Tories, to the B.Plan.

- (1) An instinctive feeling against the rationing of coal.
- (2) A dislike of miners; why can't they work harder?
- (3) A dislike of coupons and "officials".
- (4) A dislike of Labour Ministers in general. (The Daily Telegraph is now daily gunning against one or other of us, Morrison, or me, or, in this same group, Cripps; one of the methods is a selective printing of hostile letters.)
- (5) Some dislike of me in particular, though with many Tory M.P.s I am the most popular of the Labour Ministers, but a recognition that I am rather "clever" and a fear that I am trying to put through nationalisation of the mines by a side wind. (The Labour Party, on the other hand, think that rationing may be a device for evading nationalisation by a side wind.)
- (6) A feeling that this plan is "a benefit for Grenfell" and only necessary because he has made a mess of his job.

Returning to R.A.B., he also spoke of G.J. and said that he thought he had been treated very badly. He understood that "the military" had been making a set at him, thinking that he occupied a position of too much influence. R.A.B. said that G.J. might, he heard, be put in charge at the F.O. of a new Economic Section such as Gwatkin once had. He also remarked that G.'s manner made him many enemies, but we both praised in unison his good qualities.

/Meeting

Meeting of Emergency E.C. of Labour Party. Discussion on Conference arrangements. They want me to move the International resolution. It is not drafted yet, and is left to me to draft. I raise the question whether it is convenient for a Minister to do this. I say it depends a good deal on what sort of resolution it is. Some are too stupid to see the point. We postpone decision until we have settled the resolution.

Gridley to see me just before lunch. Very self-important. I ask him whether he yet has an alternative plan. He says that he is preparing it to-night, after consultation with all the interests, for his speech to-morrow.

Lunch at the House. Erskine Hill is just going off to lunch with the P.M. He is anxious that I should not have misunderstood the attitude of the 1922 Committee. They are still most opposed to coupons. I say that I understood this from their announcement in the press. I suggest that he should tell the P.M. that E.H. and I will be able to arrange it between ourselves.

Further fuss about future procedure. Waterhouse rings up to the Board that the Chief Whip is very much concerned because Cripps was heckled at the end of questions and, in my absence, could not give a clear answer as to what would happen next. He had said that I would explain in my speech to-morrow. They all clamoured for an undertaking that there would be a second debate on the Government's proposals. I agree with the Chief Whip that it may be said to the 1922 Ctee, who are meeting again this afternoon, and also to the House to-morrow, that, having listened to all suggestions which may be put up to-morrow, the Government will publish a White Paper on their proposals, ~~for a further debate on this White Paper~~ and, if there is any strong desire in the House for a further debate on this White Paper, it shall happen.

This afternoon at 3.30, as requested, I attend a meeting of Durham Labour M.P.s to meet Lawther and a "deputation" from the D.M.A. on Durham miners' coal. On this W.L. has sent me a most hysterical letter, as well as having given a most ridiculous interview last week to the press. Hardly anyone turns up to this meeting, only Whiteley, Ritson and David Adams in addition to myself. After an interval, during which people go out hunting for the missing, Lawther appears, but his "deputation" has got lost! Lawther is very friendly and puts across the story that, when he reported to his Executive his talk with Beveridge, they all went in off the deep end and, although he told them that nothing was finally settled, there was a danger of all the pits in Durham being stopped, as a protest against any attempt to interfere in the slightest way

/with

with present arrangements for miners' coal. (Gordon Macdonald told me earlier to-day that the miners' M.P.s had given Lawther what for at a meeting yesterday. "It is deplorable", said G.M., "that Lawther should be our President at present. He always leads from behind; you never know where he is. But you have got 30 good friends in the miners' M.P.s in this House.")

I explain rather patiently that I am surprised at the outburst, because -

- (1) At the only meeting of the Coal Production Council which I have attended Lawther himself said that he thought an arrangement could be made whereby there should be a money payment in lieu of part at least of the miners' free coal. I, therefore, knew that he had this question well in mind.
- (2) When B. presented his plan, I made it publicly clear that the Govt. was not committed to its proposals, and I told B. to get in touch with a number of interested parties, including the officials of the M.F.G.B., and he reported to me his first meeting with them on Thursday of last week, saying that a further meeting had been arranged for May 12th. In these circumstances, I naturally supposed that no serious hitch had yet occurred, particularly as Lawther had made no communication to me, though he well knew that I was always accessible to him and to his colleagues if they desired to see me.
- (3) I had met last week the Coal Sub Ctee. of the N.C.L., at which Horner and Jones had been present, and no point of difficulty had been raised by them over miners' coal.

It is therefore left that there shall be further discussion later, and that I shall see, if desired, a deputation from the miners' M.P.s on this subject. Meanwhile, W.L. can go back to Durham and assure his Executive that no sudden decision will be taken without full consultation with them.

Nearly at the end of this meeting, the "deputation" from the D.M.A. appears, in the form of two large, friendly, stupid miners, both of whom know and like me quite well. They seem quite reassured by my statement. How everyone helps me!

War Cab. Coal Ctee. We discuss future procedure and what I shall say in to-morrow's debate. Agreed that we must come to some conclusion soon, and that we will sit next week on a series of meetings to take evidence - from Young, Houldsworth, Major E. Cadbury, and Sir E. Gowers.

7. 5. 42

Fuel Rationing debate in the House. Start is delayed till 1.15 by long wrangle, and division, on whether or not Ctee. of Privileges should consider a complaint by Shakespeare against MacGovern, that the latter in a public speech revealed something which the P.M. had said in Secret Session. Very trivial. MacG. said that, if the P.M.'s speech had been made in public session, the I.L.P. would have won the Cathcart by-election. Also that sinkings had reached a certain figure - which in fact was inaccurate.

After this prelude, I begin to speak at 1.15 and don't finish till 2.40. Out of this hour and 25 minutes a good deal is occupied by answering a series of questions and interjections. It is generally thought that I make out a formidable case, very difficult to answer. Highlights are (1) my figures of annual wastage in the mining industry and age of men - more than 40% over 40 and more than 20% over 50; (2) my refusal to agree to bringing out of the Army 30,000 men, or two Divisions, of our best fighting men, merely in order to avoid the inconvenience of fuel rationing - how would this be greeted in Moscow, or in the enslaved lands of Europe, waiting in peril, pain and privation for their deliverance, as they hope, by the British Army? (3) my hints in this connection and in regard to probable exports in new and unexpected directions, to Russia to replace exports of Indian coal across the Bay of Bengal, and in other unnamed directions as well, and swift, big new turns in the war.

I spend a good deal of time expounding the main features of the Beveridge report. I make it clear that we are not committed to this particular plan but are inviting suggestions from the House. The only suggestion comes from Gridley. All the rest merely talk about more production, or propaganda to economise fuel. Gridley's scheme is pulled to bits by Cripps at the end, in a rather injudicious, unkind speech, which much worries the Chief Whip who is sitting beside him, as well as Gerald Palmer, Cripps's Tory P.P.S., who sits behind him biting his lips. But by this time the House is rather thin.

J.W. made excellent arrangements for speakers on our side, but George Isaacs, whom he had briefed, rushed away ~~for~~ in a fit of temper because Ivor Thomas was called before him, and he suspected that this was through the machinations with the Chair of me or J.W. Jealousy is the foundation of public life. Green eyes glare from every thicket at every passer by in the political jungle. I.T. doesn't do well, I am told - while he spoke I was having a late lunch

at

at 3.45 p.m., having taken the precaution to have a relatively large breakfast at 8 consisting of two sausages and a rasher of bacon. He seems to be unpopular, partly because thought to be supercilious and partly because known to be intelligent and young. He will get over it in time. He is young enough for it not to matter that he is unpopular now.

Dine with J.W. and H.G. at the Coquille.. General feeling is that we have had a very good day indeed. It has gone very much better than I expected. I thought that there would be much more declamation against coupons. Erskine Hill was going to speak towards the end of the debate, but, thinking the life was all out of it, lurched off, having first spoken to K.W. and asked whether his act would be regarded as an act of "desertion". K.W. had said no.

Always when I have a momentary success in this infinitely protracted business, my close adherents think we have won a final victory. I am always more doubtful. We are not yet out of the wood. We have to-day undertaken to make a White Paper to be issued next week, and then, if desired, for another debate to take place. I am not at all sure how this will go. We are not yet out of the wood.

8. 5. 42

At L.P.Ctee. I raise Coal, first on letter from Sir W.B.J. protesting against our refusal to give an increase in prices for Durham and South Wales, and linking this with questions of reorganisation; here K.W. in particular, and the Ctee. in general, decide to stand pat. Next I raise the result of yesterday's debate. It is generally agreed that we shall now put in a White Paper on the main lines of the B.scheme, though trying to make a few concessions here and there to save the faces of the critics. I ask K.W. who is influential. He says Erskine Hill has some influence. I arrange later to see him on Monday. Meanwhile I am seeing Gridley and giving him what will look like a full dress conference, and bringing Cripps in to talk to him kindlier than last night.

Press Gallery buffet lunch at H. of C. Cripps is the guest. He is most frightfully dull. Never a flicker of humour. Winterton, on the other hand, is very funny, relating how 35 years ago he went with other young Tories to Dundee to try to defeat the present Prime Minister, then a Liberal candidate, at a by-election caused by his promotion. The P.M.'s supporters used to empty buckets of on to the speakers at the open air meetings. These Tories, therefore, went round in a gang and always had one man on guard to warn the others of what was coming. But one of their

/party

party, now a Duke and even then very deaf, did not hear the warning and got a bucketful right on his head. Whereupon, said Winterton, he left the meeting looking and smelling like an amateur sewage farm, while the successful marksman cried from aloft "Thus perish all bloody Tories".

The press generally think that I did very well yesterday and that the battle is as good as won.

Harcourt Johnstone to see me, rather peeved at not having seen me for so long - though I flatter him up and give the reasons why. He thinks we are ~~sufficiently known~~ not sufficiently keen on, or conscious of the great importance of, exports, and I ask him to put in a short paper on the subject which I will send to the Lord President's Committee.

Take a glass of sherry - or rather a series of too sweet gin and limes - with N.Davenport at the flat of Mr Gestetner. I should have gone on with them to a film but, as usual, fuel rationing blocks all my social life. K.Martin is there and says that he is on my side. I say that so is the Daily Mail now, who complain only that the Govt. is not introducing enough Socialism into the mining industry. When the New Statesman and the Daily Mail are both behind me, I begin to wonder what's wrong.

At 6 o'clock I have a conference, which Cripps attends, and also Beveridge, Overton, Watkinson and H.G. Not very satisfactory. B. full of egoism and petulance. He thinks the new White Paper should say that the Govt. has adopted the Beveridge plan, just like that, subject to a few very minor alterations. (He afterwards tells Watkinson, whom I have asked to make a draft for the W.P., that he does not consent to any change at all in the wording of his first report.) He is a most tiresome man! He also wanted to be allowed to begin to broadcast in favour of his scheme forthwith, i.e., before the House of Commons had even seen my White Paper, let alone ~~consult~~ it. I say bluntly that this is hopelessly bad policy and would set everyone against it, him and me. He seems not to understand. I wish these people would realise that I am a professional politician and they are not.

Following this confabulation I am in deep gloom.

Considered

9. 5. 42

Visit K.W. at the Treasury and discuss the prospects. He says he is afraid that Wardlaw Milne and Herbert Williams may divide against our proposals. This might mean 40 or 50 Tories in the Division Lobby against the Government. H.W. by himself would do us more good than harm, but with Wardlaw Milne as well it might be awkward. W.M., he thinks, made a very bitter and unhelpful speech on Thursday. I say that I am seeing Gridley, and indicate the concessions which I think we might make to him. K.W. says that the Chief Whip has rung him up in some concern, and he is seeing him this afternoon. K.W. says "You and I had better do a bit of whispering next week." He seems quite sound on the general question. I ask about Erskine Hill. He says that he carries some weight, but not as much as is supposed. His chief use is to go about whispering, if he can be got to whisper the right thing. He went to lunch last week with the P.M. and they got talking about this matter. P.M. wanted to know all about it. K.W. thinks this is a great mistake. P.M. ought to stick to the war. He doesn't understand these domestic questions. K.W. quite agrees that the matter should come before the War Cab. so as to get a final decision.

Gridley calls at 11.20 and I take him on for a meeting at 11.30 at Gwydyr House, where I take the Chair, with Cripps, Beveridge, Watkinson, Gerald Palmer and H.G. A long and most unsatisfactory meeting. Gridley is very self-important, very slow and stupid, very anti-B., and quite fanatically anti-coupon. He argues back against Cripps' points in Thursday's debate, but very inconclusively. He and Beveridge wrangle together on everything, including what the Coal Merchants think. Cripps suggests that I should get hold of the Coal Merchants on Monday morning and confront them with Beveridge and Gridley and see whether they prefer, if there must be rationing, coupons or marking off. I agree to this. This is as far as we can get.

Reddaway to see me. Very good statistician. Fellow of Clare who spent some time in Australia, where he is remembered for the "Reddawage". He was called in as an impartial arbitrator and gave an award more agreeable to the men than the employers. He produced a scale of fuel rations, which B. had never been able to do.

I send away all my officials and dictate a draft White Paper on fuel rationing for the War Cab. This is very nearly Beveridge, but put freshly and more simply, and with a few new details (e.g., actual rations) and a few faint concessions to Gridley. It is a good paper, very clear and simple.

10. 5. 42 (Sunday)

Erskine Hill has written to all the Sunday papers, on behalf of the 1922 Committee, threatening the Government with serious opposition if they proceed with any fuel rationing scheme with points and coupons. This is very bad form, since I saw this man on Friday and asked him to come and see me, which he agreed to do on Monday afternoon. This will set the cat among the pigeons.

G.J. to breakfast. He brings with him a quantity of papers, which we work through. A lump of these is to be destroyed; a lump to be kept by him; and a lump by me. A particularly key paper, for which I had asked, is to be retyped in riddles with a key to these in a separate envelope.

G.J. has just returned from leave, immediately before which he was "sacked by the Earl". For some fortnight beforehand he had felt that things were not very good. It is clear that an intrigue has been conducted against him by a number of people. He and I agree that C.H. was prominent in this. C.H. "lives by bluff and charm". G. says that the Earl, being a Director of the National and Provincial Bank, looks up to a Director of the Bank of England! The Earl is stupid, slow and - worst of all - quite unpredictable. He keeps no records of any of his conversations, and this lands him in much trouble. He met B.B. at some Club for luncheon and some days afterwards said that they had reached a quite definite agreement on the division between their two shows in Mid-East and elsewhere. When G. raised this question with the Earl, he said "Oh I settled all that with the Minister of Information". He then wrote off a letter, based on his recollection, which was vehemently repudiated by B.B. G. had sensed a gradual cooling off in his own relations with the Earl - I said that I thought the other Earl had also played his part in bringing this about - and things had come to a head when G. had put in a Minute proposing that, in view of C.D.'s retirement, he should himself move to B. Street and should, with M., take charge; he of politics and M. of the operations. The Earl had asked him to come and speak to him and had then said that he had come to the conclusion that G.'s position was too difficult, since it gave rise to divided loyalties. The Earl was in favour of a policy of "complete honesty with the F.O." This was going to operate through an F.O. nominee, or spy, sitting in on the Council. I press G. as to who was intended for this role, and he said O.-M. He and I both agreed that this appointment would be ridiculous. This man was no better than a neutral in the war. G. thought that the Earl had got a child's conditioned reflex: G.J. - trouble with F.O. There had been a violent incident, resulting from Campbell "making a clean breast" to Salazar over S.O.E. The F.O. thought this was right. G.J. thought it was

/quite

Daugherty

Sullivan

O'Malley

quite wrong, and said so in no equivocal terms. This was what finished things off.

There had been much talk about an "enquiry" and vague hints of "corruption". The only sphere where any sort of case could possibly be made was N.America. Here B.N. had perhaps employed some unsuitable agents, notably Coit. The Earl had made his own "enquiry" and had sent in a glowing report to the P.M. of substantially the same material that I had sent in in my final report, dwelling particularly on the high quality of staff over which "Mr J. and Sir F.N. preside". Even after this there had been pressure for an enquiry, and the name of Mr Justice Singleton had been suggested by the P.M. But this had been resisted for some time, and it had then been found that S. was not available in any case.

Hunter H. Williams had now been brought in as No.2 to C.H. He was a complete innocent, both as regards operations and as regards Whitehall. C.J. had been telling him various things which had profoundly disturbed him! I said that I thought he was no use. It was thought that pressure for the "enquiry" had come from A.E. Now in F.O., G. thinks, there is some regret at what has happened. They say now that they have lost the only two people whom they trusted, namely G. himself and C.D. G.T. has changed sides at the last moment, C.H. has told H. Williams, and is now devoted to G.! In the F.O. it is thought, G. says, that he has been badly treated, and it is not yet decided what he is to do. He himself would like to be the F.O. official in charge of relations with P.W.E. and S.O.E. Lockhart would then live in Bush House. G. would then have, as his No.2, Ward, whom I don't know but of whom he speaks highly. This would indeed put him back into a position of great influence, but it seems to me unlikely that this could be arranged. *Calder* A.C. does not wish him to go abroad, but wants to keep him in some job close to the war effort. He is proposing to A.C. that he should have the substantive rank of Counsellor as from the time when I appointed him Acting Assistant Under Secretary of State.

G. asks me, and so does his wife, with whom and him I lunch, whether I think he would do well in politics. I say I think not. He is good at handling small groups of intelligent people, but I doubt whether he could handle large groups of unintelligent people and anyhow politics is a chancy business and he should not forget the failure of that bright boy Harold Nicolson. He says finally that he thinks it might be useful for him to let it be known that he was thinking of taking up politics in the event of the F.O. failing to find him something reasonably good.

Watkinson to see me. He is working out details very well
Dine with Leslie Nicholls, who is soon going to Mid East
and is friendly and sentimental.

Conference after dinner with H.G.

DIARY

11. 5. 42

Beveridge breaks to me the not unwelcome news that he thinks the time has now come when we should divide our forces, at least temporarily, so that he can regain his freedom to speak and write. With an appearance of reluctance and broken-heartedness, I acquiesce.

I then go with him to a conference with the Coal Merchants' Consultative Committee. Gridley is also present with Hyndley and some officials. The Merchants are a frightful looking lot of rascals, but Cooper, their spokesman, is not too bad. He admits that, if they have to choose between coupons and marking off, they prefer the former. But to either of these "rigid" rationing schemes they prefer a looser plan of restrictions, to be operated largely by themselves, on a basic maximum allowance for each household. It is admitted that claims for supplementaries may be made to L.F.O.s. It is clear that these will be very numerous and that "hoardes of officials" in excess of those required under the B. scheme would be needed both by L.F.Os. and by coal merchants. The meeting is long and inconclusive. Gridley appears more and more bone-headed as the discussion proceeds.

2 / Overton and Cunliffe on re-rolling and trouble with the Iron and Steel Control. The latter want to close Jarrow, but C. wants to keep it open, with the other contiguous mills. This is obviously right from a technical point of view.

Waterhouse and Evershed on maximum prices for pottery, furniture, etc. We are making some progress here.

Simmonds to lunch. Quite intelligent.

Erskine Hill calls as arranged. I ask him why, in all Sunday's (yesterday's) papers, an intransigent letter from him appeared declaring against any scheme with points and coupons. I say that I found this rather disconcerting, in view of his arrangement with me on Friday, when he gave no hint that he was writing such a letter, to see me to-day. He replies rather lamely that he thought it would be unfair to the Govt. to leave them in ignorance of the views of the 1922 Committee. I get nowhere further with him.

Coal Ctee. Young gives evidence. But by now I know his tale pretty well.

G.D.H.Cole to see me. He says Jowitt will no longer speak to Sir A.Hurst. He thinks he will soon get rid of him. This is very amusing! Cole seems to have heard, from Cripps, of my paper for the Lord President's Committee. This is rather a leak which may have opened wide. (G.J. told me yesterday that he had also heard of my paper from O.Peake. This also was a bad leak.)

Dine in and go later to C.R.A., with whom I discuss coal rows, including D.G., rationing, and reorganisation. He has had a long talk with Hyndley, who is most anxious for D.G. to be shifted but not sacked. I say that I am more and more keen on the creation of a separate Ministry of Fuel and Power. At present I can't get anywhere near my many other problems at the B.T. C.R.A. wonders whether H. could not become Minister in the Lords, with D.G. as his second-in-command in the Commons. I say I don't think this would do, both because D.G. would be terribly offended and because he would be quite unable to handle the business in the Commons. I press that he should be made P.M.G., in which case W.S.Morrison could become M.F.P. with a Labour Under-Secretary. Alternatively, C.R.A. suggests, D.G. might become ~~Under-Secretary~~ Secretary to the D.O.T. But I don't think this would do; it would be clearly demotion. I suggest again making him Joint Under-Secretary at the F.O., but C.R.A. does not think that A.E. would jump at this. C.R.A. says that D.G. says that, "up to a certain moment" in Duncan's time, D.G. was Minister of Mines. From that time on he has been treated as an office boy. D.G. thinks this is so under me. I say that he has never frankly complained to me about anything. C.R.A. says "The trouble is he never does speak frankly; he only broods. And", he added, "you have got a very quick mind and he has got a very slow one." It seems, however, that his letter of resignation is now more or less permanently held up! It came in ten days ago.

12. 5. 42

J. | A bathroom brain-wave! I am in danger of being isolated and shot up on Fuel Rationing. This, in itself, is not a sufficient issue on which either to resign or to have a tremendous battle. Hardly anyone, pace Beveridge and H.G., both of whom are "too intelligent", as A.W. says, is eagerly behind me, though I am supported pretty well by the Times, Yorkshire Post, Manchester Guardian, Daily Herald and Economist. Therefore, think I, let me rejoin the main body of my natural allies. If we are to have a row on coal, let us have a big row on the thing as a whole, including organisation. Therefore, let me propose to the Cav. that we postpone further consideration of fuel rationing until we can place before the House

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Scrap
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a complete programme of action, covering production, consumption and organisation. This will not be till after Whitsun, but that will have the further advantage of allowing passions to cool. Meanwhile, it can be truly said that we are acceding to the wishes expressed in various parts of the House, both among those Tories who clamoured for more production rather than - or as well as - rationing, and those Labour members who feared that the rationing proposals were a dodge to shelve reorganisation.

J.W., to whom I confide this thought, is enthusiastically in favour. H.G. also thinks it quite bright. I, therefore, proceed to the House to answer my questions at 11, the Cab. being at noon. I canvass both C.R.A. and S.C. on the Bench, and get their agreement. Likewise K.W., emerging from the lavatory, in a walk down the passage. Likewise J.A., with whom I have a longer talk in his room. He has a new coal fear. There may soon be large numbers of American soldiers in this country desirous of heating themselves up to the temperature they are accustomed to in the U.S.A. He says that it is being said by Tories that I only got the support of the Labour Party to rationing by telling them that the alternative was a lengthening of miners' hours, which otherwise the Tories would propose. I tell him that this is quite untrue. (Another rumour running about these days is that I got the L.P. to support rationing because I told them that nationalisation would soon follow!) I also tell J.A. that it really is essential to create a separate Ministry of Fuel. The present task of the P.B.T. is quite intolerable. I propound to him also the idea of moving D.G. to the P.O. He says that W.S.M. has been rather a failure, both at the Ministry of Agriculture (over milk) and at the Ministry of Food. But it is important, he agrees, "to provide for Grenfell". This seems now a major problem of the war. He thinks that Gwilym Lloyd George might make a good M.F.P. His appointment would also appease his old father, which would have political advantages. I also think well of it, since he is neither Conservative nor Labour. He could have another miner as his Under-Secretary, plus Geoffrey Lloyd. But this does not yet "provide" for D.G., who certainly would not be willing to take over No.2 to Woolton. J.A. thinks that the question of M.F.P. might be raised in Cab. this morning, since D.G. will not be there.

At the Cab. we spend an hour and 20 minutes on this one subject. I have never thought so ill of the P.M., nor been so vexed by him before. He talks more than half the time, and has clearly not concentrated his mind on the details of the subject at all. This is another and a worse repetition of our seance the other day on men from the Army. He argues at immense length, almost alone, against a substantial majority of his colleagues. He is

/quite

quite unconvinced of the need of any rationing. He thinks that a broadcast appeal by himself would do the trick, followed up by a press campaign. We explain at tedious length that at this season of the year it is important to stock up and that it is impossible to be sure whether coal goes into the cellars, as it should, or the grate, as it should not. Therefore it would not be possible for months to determine whether his appeal had succeeded or not. And then it would be too late. To this he can only reply that the Air Raid Wardens could carry out inspections of people's cellars to see whether they were storing or burning their coal! He has received a letter from T. Dugdale, Chairman of the Tory Party organisation, saying that the feelings of the Party are very strong against the B. scheme. They think they would lose a lot of votes at by-elections. The Chief Whip, a poor, wispy creature, I begin to think, says that opinion in the Tory Party in the House is very much against the scheme and that at least 60 or 70, and perhaps 100, Tories would vote against the Government on it, and many more would abstain. The P.M. says that last year they were told things would be very awkward in the winter, and yet they weren't. Why should it be any worse this time?

*Wrinkled
J.S. (1942) [initials]*

A.E. is very wobbly, and O.L. significantly silent during this discussion. J.A., E.B., S.C. and I, with faint support from C.R.A., put the other view. A.S., called in to represent the Liberal Party, is also more or less on our side. I, however, present the view, at an early stage of the meeting, that we should postpone the decision till after Whitsun and then do the whole thing in one. This is rather gratefully accepted by most, though the P.M. maunders on much too long trying to get us to agree that we should put all rationing schemes aside and let him go on the air instead. This is finally discouraged on the grounds that it would be unfair to him to risk a failure. I come out from this meeting very vexed. The P.M.'s mind is nowhere near the merits of this problem, and he has been wholly swayed by Cherwell, who will have told him that on the figures rationing is not necessary, and by the Tory Party representations. He does not react at all to my observation that Erskine Hill did wrong to write to the Sunday papers. C.R.A. and S.C. are also, momentarily at least, very furious at the manner of the meeting. I don't think many people realise how well I have now reinsured my political future. Now, a number of us will sink or swim together. Had I not performed this tactical manoeuvre, there might have been some danger that I might sink alone.

The P.M. had been very much struck by Low's cartoon of the meter. As for B., he said, "He's getting very long in the tooth". S.C. thinks that O.L. is the sinister influence behind the scenes in this and other matters.

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Braithwaite on Outcrops. The usual optimistic talk. He will tell everybody that I alone have been doing anything about this.

Fred Gould with a tale of woe about boots and shoes, and Durston and his office, and some "hidden hand" at the B.T. who is against him.

Coal Ctee. Gowers and Major E. Cadbury give evidence. The former is in favour of nationalisation after the war and against it while the war is on, on the ground that it would create too much commotion. He would like Regional Commissioners with drastic powers to give orders for reorganisation, closing collieries, moving men, etc. Any Company which failed to comply should be taken over. He does not think that his Coal Commission would be of any value for any such purpose as this.

Dine with C.R.A. to meet Evatt. Also present E.B., A.V.A. and A.G. The latter is quite deplorable. He arrives half squiffed and constantly interrupts, with a stream of fatuous nothings, the conversation of everybody else. But E. seems to think it is not a bad evening!

13. 5. 42

Evatt addresses Party Meeting and does pretty well.

I give M.W. some background and explain the reasons for my tactical move. I also tell Gordon Macdonald, who quite sees the point. D.H. has had a good crack: "1922 or 1942?"

Conferences on Dunlops v. ^{Bata} ~~Forbes~~ (Forres and Allen being present, the former agreeing with me that B. shall go) and footwear. Everything very slow here, staff and accommodation still most inadequate and prospects of serious reduction in output.

Owen to lunch with me. He has not been long at the B.T., having come from the Assistance Board.

Sir F.L.R. is now wanted by the Americans in Washington. I am quite agreeable to his going if this is thought to be well timed.

S.C. to-day told the House, who were clearly quite taken aback by the news, and not quite sure what to make of it, that H.M.G. would, after Whitsun, make their coal proposals as a whole, covering production, consumption, and the organisation of the industry. Meanwhile no W.P. would be issued, nor debate take place, before Whitsun.

Those relatively friendly natives to whom this is explained take it very well.

14. 5. 42

On Tuesday, the day before yesterday, it was just three weeks since I gave the Parliamentary answer, on April 21st, on fuel rationing which, much to the surprise of most of us, started the storm which has now taken all my time to navigate for these 21 days. And we are not yet in harbour. It has been a most crashing bore, though it may be that we shall get more of our own way on organisation, now that everything is to be taken together, than we would have done otherwise.

This is what is in Pethick's mind, I find, when I raise the matter at the Admv.Ctee. to-day. The Miners' M.P., who are a majority of this Committee, see at once the advantage of tying everything up together. I do not disguise from them that it was the 1922 Ctee. which obstructed, if not upset, my applecart, and I say nothing to discourage verbal reprisals, some of which are promised this weekend. There is increasing evidence of a seething discontent in the mines. Now it focuses on wages. The elderly miner finds he is getting less money than his son and daughter working at munitions, and that they say and think that "the old man's no good." Horner last week, for the first time, failed to get a good hearing in S.Wales. At the end of his speech someone said "Why do you talk of everything under the sun, except our wages?"

m Coal Ctee. this afternoon hears Houldsworth. An excellent witness. He wants a Regional Controller or Director in each coal field, assisted by a committee of four others, two to represent the men and two mining engineers. He should have very large powers to order men about, shut down collieries, introduce new machines, etc. H. thinks that the same man might, in some cases, be Regional Director in more than one region (he is thinking of himself, I think, both for Yorkshire and Notts and Derby). He insists on the necessity of carrying the men with us in whatever we propose.

Dalton I 26 (185)

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Dine with Phil and Irene N.B. and a number of Norwegians.
Norwegians seem rather remote just now.

DIARY15. 5. 42

L.P.'s Ctee. My paper on Exports is agreed. The major proposal is to try to concoct an effective Anglo-American mechanism in Wton. to deal with all exports from both countries, as well as with direct and indirect war needs and purely civilian needs of both countries. Agreed that I shall try for this, taking it up with the F.O. My minor proposal is for an interdepartmental committee of officials at the B.of T. to make and watch over export programmes. This also is agreed, after K.W. and H.J. have pleaded for more exports and I have explained that this is impossible; exports as a whole must fall rather than rise in this phase of the war.

Then a discussion on allocation of building labour. E.B. and P. have a paper on this. A tremendous trundling of departmental wheelbarrows - Ernest Brown, Westwood, Woolton, etc. E.B. says he is trying to infuse an offensive spirit into the people. The phase of defending ourselves and our homes is past. We must move to the attack. We want quantities of 'utments and aerodromes for American forces in this country. If we can get this spirit, it will settle the question of the miners and the rest. I warmly support this, though put in a formal word for electricity and gas.

Lunch with Prytz.

Clean up arrears and catch 6 p.m. train to W.L.

Travel as far as Newbury with Godfrey Nicholson, very stupid but reasonably well disposed. He gives rather a revealing picture of the Tory state of mind. The action of the 1922 Ctee., he says, was "a portent". Never before had they passed resolutions on a matter of policy. They were supposed to be only a forum. He fears it will be said that it was the Mining Association who put them up to it. This, he says, is not true. He says they acted as they did because they felt that the Labour Party in the Govt. was getting too much of its own way. I said that this was not the view of the Labour Party. I asked him what made them think this. He said it was partly Morrison. They disliked him and thought that he was by nature a little tyrant; the Daily Mirror, Warren Fisher, etc. He also said he thought it was a pity that it had been I and Cripps, and not any Tory Minister, who had spoken for H.M.G. in the fuel rationing debate. He complained that on the Lord President's Ctee. there were no Tories. I said they had K.W. He sniffed at

/this

[Duplicate +]

DIARY15. 5. 42

*Here come
to that one*

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this and said he didn't count. I said the "on dit" was that K.W. had tremendous influence in the Tory Party. He said "on" is only K.W. himself. In the old days Hacking and others at the Central Office used to consult him, but that was all. He never counted as much as he pretended, and now he doesn't count at all. G.N. also spoke contemptuously of Eden. "He is just too good-looking and too well dressed!" He believes in R.A.B. and said that he could put it over in the House of Commons. I said this was hardly the job for the Minister of Education. Reverting to the L.P.'s Ctee., I asked whether neither Anderson, Duncan, or Lyttelton counted as Tories. He said none of them, in the view of most Tory M.P.s. Yet he seemed to wish to count Cripps as a Labour Minister.

This revolt of the 1922 Ctee., he said, could not have happened in the days when Margesson was Chief Whip. He treated them all like a Sergeant Major. He would have sent them away with their tails between their legs. But now, under the more benign rule of James Stuart, discipline was much relaxed. At the Tory Head Office they now had Dugdale and Mitchell as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Tory organisation. The former was "magnificent" and "an idealist", and the latter was "awfully nice", but as yet they did not carry enough guns.

He thought that in the next coal debate we should put all the cards on the table and tell the House the figures for man-power, production, absenteeism, etc.

17. 5. 42 (Sunday) [Separate entry for 17.5.42 -
hard written.]
Come back by Sunday evening train. [Inserted after
entry for 22.5.42]

18. 5. 42

C.W.S. send a deputation on requisitioning of Pelaw Cabinet Factory for production of air screws.

Lunch with Mrs P. Also present C.R.A. and two Jugs, Jovanovic and Nincic. Nothing of any note said at lunch. Afterwards I tell C.R.A. that we may be nearing a crash, and that I anticipate some liveliness at the L.P. Conference next week. I said I was quite disgusted at the last proceedings at the War Cab. We seemed to get nowhere and there had been no thought by those not on the L.P.'s Ctee. He said, with some irritation, that it was always like this. I said that something must soon change or we should not avoid a break.

Coal Ctee. I had come back from W.L. in a state of great gloom, and disposed to think that we were on the edge of a major political crisis. Maybe I am still right, but this afternoon's proceedings were strangely easy and optimistic. A paper by D.G., with Hyndley present to help to expound it. General agreement among my colleagues on Regional Controllers, on a National Coal Production Board, though K.W. insists that it should be only "advisory" and presided over by a Minister, and on a National Wages Tribunal with an independent non-political Chairman. This last is E.B.'s idea. I say little, but at the end remark that the real problem is to get output up and we must carry the miners with us, both leaders and rank and file. None of this machinery will be any good unless they agree. To this point of view I shall firmly adhere, and we will see what happens when we next see the Miners' Leaders.

Dine with R., who has just arrived from the North and is having, I am glad to say, a week's leave which she is going to spend at W.L. Molly Hamilton is going down on Friday.

19. 5. 42

Cripps mentions to me on the Bench that he had a very unsatisfactory talk with the P.M. last night. The latter, he says, is back where he was weeks ago and against all real action; against any form of rationing "until December", and against anything that would upset the mine owners or the Tory Party. Cripps says he is prepared to go out on this. I say that we must have a word about it before nightfall.

Communications come pouring in from Durham, by letter and telegram, about unrest in the coal fields, largely due, it seems, to the high wages being earned by workers in munition factories. They are sending a deputation jointly from the owners and the men on Friday afternoon. I am trying to arrange to see Lawther on Thursday morning, i.e., after the miners' leaders have seen our Coal Ctee.

Bored both with Parliament and the office, I go to lunch alone at Josefs, but pick up in the street John Rayner, whom I always find an amusing social companion. He is now in "the country" again. The Regional Directors are now, he says, a very powerful trade union and have not welcomed his return. He was asked for by Bowes Lyon, who, however, is now in the U.S.A. When he returns, no doubt there will be an improvement. Much larger quantities of leaflets are now being dropped. A move from the country to London is likely in the near future.

J.A., I and D.G. with Lord H. now always trailed along like another little dog - he looks just like one - go over a draft War Cab. paper on Manpower in the pits. Not bad at all. A demand is maintained for men from the F.F., though in moderate numbers. Rationing is kept in as an essential means of economy, and there is a veiled reference to the coming hosts from the West. Also to other possible "operations" which would absorb shipping and railway transport otherwise available for moving coal.

I play for presenting to the War Cab. our proposals as a whole, and therefore ~~to~~ delay my new ration paper over the weekend. It should come to a head about the same time as organisation. These two, with manpower, will make three papers to be bound into one.

After a short interval we meet again in J.A.'s room at the House for Cab. Coal Ctee. Very discursive. E.B. talks nearly all the time. I say at one point, "I want to support you, but you won't let me get a word in edgeways". It is really a disease: perpetual verbal diarrhoea. He has, however, produced quite a good paper on the functions of a National Board, proposing that this should be under the Chairmanship of "the Minister" and that there should be a separate National Wages Body, from which the Minister should keep free. This, therefore, should have an independent Chairman. K.W. is very much on his guard against the National Board being anything more than "advisory", a word he frequently repeats. O.L. is very disappointing in all these coal discussions. He has never intervened at all except to protect the financial interests of Colliery Companies against losses due to working for maximum output in the short run. Judged on this form, - I am sure he is often quite good and much broader-minded on other problems - he has only the narrowest financier's outlook.

Some discussion on how to put our ideas to the men. It is agreed that J.A. shall take the lead and that the rest of us shall not intervene much, if at all. I had suggested, with an air of innocence, that J.A. might put to the men something on the lines of E.B.'s scheme, but K.W., very alert, thinks this would be a very great mistake. We must not suggest to either side that we have yet made up our minds on anything. J.A. thinks that, without so suggesting, he can lead the discussion along the lines of E.B.'s suggestion and see how the men react to this, in the light of their own memorandum.

Dine with Victor Cazalet, who thinks we cannot possibly win the war with the present P.M. He has, however, no good alternative. He has heard that the P.M., acting, as always, on impulse, is always on the point of firing high Commanders in Whitehall or in the field. Thus, he hears, he almost fired Portal

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the other day, and Auchinleck - and everyone but Pound! V.C. is also much disturbed at the prospect of our letting the Russians have the small Baltic States. He hears that Molotov may be arriving here any day now to sign a Treaty. He thinks that A.E. has under-estimated the opposition to this in Parliament, and that some members of the Government, including Duff Cooper, might resign over it. He says that Cripps has been pushing for this and asked him to come and see him about it the other night. He says the Poles are very much disturbed at this. I say they need not be. They are quite in a different class from Lits and Lats. He gives me a copy of his "Private Diary" of his trip with Sikorski to Russia, with an inscription "To a lover of the Poles.... hoping this will blow away some of the coal dust." I had said that I came to him trailing clouds, not of glory but of coal dust. On coal itself he has not much to say, nor, deliberately, have I. This nice little man has no judgment and carries no guns. But he is a reed through which other people's talk blows.

Thence, at 10.30 p.m., to see Cripps in his flat at Whitehall Court. The inevitable Lady Eno sits in. He says that the P.M. on coal has swung back and is now "most reactionary". He would like just to make a broadcast appeal, and have a press campaign, and let things go, without rationing, till December. Then, if we were really short of coal, we could close down several large munition works, since we shall then have produced more shells than we can ever hope to fire. Also we must do nothing that would antagonise the owners or the Tory Party. The 1922 Ctee. have now reported to the P.M. that there should be no rationing but only appeals, and this has influenced him a good deal. Cripps says that this is an issue on which he is prepared to resign. It is essential to requisition the pits. Otherwise our Regional Directors will be thwarted. The question is, who runs the Govt.? Is it the 1922 Ctee.? I refer again to my paper of March 31st, by which, on merits, I stand. I say that I should be prepared for a deal, having a second-rate rationing plan for the time being, provided we got effective reorganisation of the industry. But I shall not at present agree to any concession. I say that we must keep in touch and not act independently. I also say that it is essential quickly to create a Ministry of Fuel and Power. The present position at the B. of T. is quite impossible. I have no time for anything but coal and, even when dealing with this, there is the continual ambiguity and heavy burden of D.G. C. says that

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 the P.M. is now at last quite decided to make this new Ministry. Gwilym is definitely designated for it, with G.M. as Parliamentary Secretary. C. would have preferred J.G.; he is inclined to think that G.M. is "a slack ~~man~~" as an administrator. I, on the other hand, defend G.M. C. says that the P.M. would like to get rid of all our other "proposals" and simply to announce the creation of the new Ministry and some propaganda for economy. I say this is quite impossible. C. says that the P.M. is going to tell C.R.A. that he is determined to get rid of D.G. C. also adds that it is "settled" that the latter is to be Chairman of the Development Commission. This is said just as we are parting, and I think he probably means Forestry Commission. But I am not at all sure that D.G. would accept this. Perhaps at this stage it wouldn't matter much if he didn't!

Thence to call at 11.15 p.m. on C.R.A. at No.11. I have the impression that he is seeing less of the P.M., while C. is seeing more. He gives me the impression to-night of being rolled up very tight in a frightened little ball. He was rather afraid of his followers over coal. At next week's Conference, he thinks, "They might help us a lot, but I am afraid they won't." I say that he must be prepared to spend a lot of time, both in the Conference and in National Executives; also that we ought to have a meeting of Labour No.1. Ministers during the weekend.

20. 5. 42

Wing-Commander Wright, M.P., is brought to see me at the instance of Simmonds. He is a mildly progressive Tory and objects to the way in which the 1922 Ctee. have handled their business. He was not present at the meetings. He thinks that the leadership of the coal owners is hopeless. Evan Williams and Lee should be liquidated. He is prepared for considerable State control of mining during the war.

Coal Ctee. from 3 to 5 p.m. Five miners' leaders - the usual six minus Bowman - sit opposite to us. J.A. begins to ask questions on their interpretation of their own memorandum. What is the relation of the N.B. to the Minister? Would the Board exercise all the Minister's powers? W.L. says yes. But, says J.A., the Minister is responsible to Parliament. W.L. agrees and changes ground, agreeing that, in fact, the Board would only have such powers as the Minister delegated to them, and would be really advisory. At this point E.E. intervenes and says that if we have questions to put to them, we should let them consider these among themselves and reply after consultation. J.A. had also asked their

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E.H. Hills

Gordon Macdonald

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views on District Committees versus a single District Officer keeping in touch with "local opinion"; a national wage machinery and its relation, in personnel and otherwise, with the National Board; and finally, whether absenteeism should not now be removed from the purview of the Pit Committees and handed over to some other tribunals, including, perhaps, courts of summary jurisdiction.

McKendrick, going further than E.E., says that our questions to them should be submitted in writing and answered by them in writing. It is quite clear that each of these five is very jealous of the others; also that they have not really thought out their proposals. Horner then says that he wishes to put some questions to J.A. Are we discussing this matter on the basis that the Govt. will requisition the industry for the period of the war? If not, they will get nowhere. They have to contend against psychological difficulties. He has never been received so coldly at meetings in S.Wales as during the past few weeks. The men must feel that they are not working for the profit of the owners. Asked whether E.P.T. does not give them this assurance, he replies that the men just "won't believe it at all". J.A., answering his main question, says that we have not yet reached any decision, but that we are all quite determined that any "interference" with private enterprise which may be necessary in order to increase output, shall take place. After some further fencing, the deputation withdraws, it having been agreed that they shall consider their answers to our questions on Friday (the day after to-morrow) and let us have these answers the same day.

After the meeting, I have a few words with E.B. and D.G. E.B. says that he is afraid the miners' leaders may miss the chance of a lifetime in rejecting our proposals for a National Board. If this Govt. broke up, if anything happened to Winston; we might get a most reactionary Prime Minister. In that case, the men would get nothing. I tell him that S.C. is threatening to resign unless we requisition the pits. He is very impatient at this and says he has no tolerance for anyone who talks like that. S.C. has found, coming into the Govt. at a late stage of the war, that much more has been done than he supposed and that there is much less scope for large changes now. Just before we left the meeting E.B. had been momentarily indignant with me because I said that nobody knew what "requisition" meant, and that I would be quite prepared, if we requisitioned the industry, to give up coupons and have a second-rate rationing scheme instead. E.B. said "You mustn't let down your colleagues like this." It was he, he reminds us, who used the word "requisition" in the House. As to rationing, he hopes that I shall stick to it. He will make a statement to-morrow in Parliament, in the course of which he will "let out a few figures"

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which will astonish the world. These will, I gather, hint at the coming of the Americans in great swarms. The result will be to widen the coal gap to be filled by increased production on the one hand and rationing on the other. He is very keen that I should stick to a drastic rationing scheme.

21. 5. 42

10 a.m. Young to see me. He had asked me to dine last night, first at the Savoy and then at the Carlton Grill. I declined, on tactical grounds. At the Savoy all coal owners gather when in town. The Carlton Grill is hardly any better. Everything is overseen and overheard. He comes this morning to ask whether I can give him a hint as to a useful line to take this afternoon, when the owners meet the Cab.Sub. He says he is in very bad odour with the others. Evan Williams is 71 and Gainford 84. E.W. has just kindly offered to carry on for another year, and "they" have accepted! I ask why Young did not organise some counter-move. He said that it had no chance of success at present. He added that Benton Jones, who, he said, was a friend of his, had come round to the view that the owners "must put up something". I think to myself that this was partly due to our keeping them on the string as regards price increases, and tying this up with reorganisation. While we were talking, a telephone call came for Young, whose face fell when he heard that 12,000 men were on strike at Bolsover this morning. He had always boasted that everything was very good there. They had had no strike for 17 years. He did not know what this one was about. George Spencer was going up this morning to try to deal with it. If the wave of unrest in the coal fields has now reached Notts and Derby, things must be pretty bad elsewhere.

Haydn Davies to see me. I say that, on the whole, I think he had better go back full time to the Star as their second Parliamentary representative. He will continue to see me at the House and have favoured access to the Press Department here, and we shall thus remove one vulnerable point. He agrees to this quite happily, particularly as I lead in, by a reference to forthcoming by-elections in London, Labour seats and undertake to say word to G.R.S.

Douglas Jay comes with H.G. to discuss the terms of his transfer. We agree to leave it for the moment, until things

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become clearer as regards the new Ministry of Fuel and Power, etc.

Lunch with Sikorski and Retinger only. S. is 61 to-day and I score by knowing this. It was in the Daily Telegraph List of Birthdays, which I always read, since I find that people are most delighted when one knows this detail on the right day. Molotov arrived last night. S. is very much concerned lest the Anglo-Soviet Treaty should adversely affect Polish interests. He might even feel moved to make a public protest about this. I say I hope this will not be necessary. What interest, I ask, has he in the Baltic States, apart from Lithuania? He admits none in Ests. and Lats. Even as to Lits, he admitted that he didn't want Memel, particularly as I impressed on him that he should get the ~~get the~~ whole East Prussian coast and Danzig. "Yes, and Konigsberg", he said, with an eager look in his eye. I said that, as he knew, Stalin had offered him the line of the Oder. He said that that was "only a provocation". He could not take over an area containing so many Germans. I said that he can drive them out, but he still seemed to think that this was too large an operation. In East Prussia there were all the Kashubs. He was also quite prepared to take the whole Silesian coal fields, but not, certainly not, the Oder. Nor could he agree, he said, to surrender any of East Poland. The Russians, he added, were ~~claiming~~ claiming both Vilna and Lwow. I said that I should be against his giving up either of these historic cities, but thought that, in return for satisfactory Western frontiers, he could agree to some rectification in the East. But the picture must, of course, be seen as a whole. He said the Americans would be very much against our signing away the Baltic States. He recognised, on the other hand, that the Russians must have warm water ports in the Baltic. I said that, perhaps, we could make some arrangement for "cultural autonomy". In fact, I think it is too silly for words to boggle over the Baltic States. The Russians will get them when they drive the Germans back and we shall never take any steps to dispossess them.

S. said that at the Kremlin Stalin said to him that he himself would sign the Soviet-Polish Treaty. "This is the first time I ever signed a Treaty", Stalin said. He then pointed to Molotov and said "I keep him to sign Treaties which will never be observed."

From the Poles to the Coal Ctee. Oh God! Oh Montreal! This afternoon we have the owners. They are not quite so frightful as last time and put in a paper in which they support the proposal for a Regional Officer with large powers. They make a great song about men leaving the pits with bogus medical certificates.

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When they have withdrawn, J.A. says that he thinks now our line is pretty clear. We are agreed (1) on the need for a Regional Officer with powers, (2) for some kind of National Body, (3) for some better arrangements for dealing with absenteeism. E.B. then says "Have we made up our minds to reject requisitioning?" J.A. says he thinks we are all impressed with the difficulties of this and adds, looking towards D.G., "I think the Secretary for Mines is against it?" D.G. says "Yes". I then say that I incline to the other view. I put in a paper on March 31st from which, though I hope my mind is not unduly fixed, I have as yet seen no reason to withdraw on any substantial point. Our purpose is more coal. This can only be got if we have the good will of the men. We have been told that they attach great importance to requisitioning. We must take this most seriously into account. Moreover, we are still waiting for the answers of the men to the questions put to them by J.A. We cannot reach a decision till we have these answers. In further discussion A.D. says that requisitioning was tried in the last war and failed, and O.L. raises some point about financial arrangements. (I am coming to take rather a black view of both these colleagues. Often they seem only to be capitalist stooges in our midst.) I say that I think all these objections can be met, and J.A. asks me to make a paper on the subject. This I agree to do. This is to be taken on Tuesday next, the same day as my paper on Fuel Rationing.

Dunia
by Dalton

Later in the evening I go to No.11 for a confab with C.R.A., S.C. and E.B. I give the first two, before E.B. arrives, some account of what has been going on. S.C. is most insistent that we stick to requisitioning. He repeats that this is an issue on which we really ought to fight. C.R.A., still rather frightened of the situation, agrees. E.B. is not quite so sure, but attaches great importance to his own declaration on behalf of H.M.G., in which the blessed word "requisition" first appeared. He hopes that I will quote this in my paper. E.B. did not like the conference with the miners. He wonders whether D.G. is in league with some of them. He noted that D.G. is against requisitioning. "And he is a miner". He linked this up with E.E.'s remark that the miners were not all agreed upon the N.C.L. scheme. E.B. has bad memories of the miners in 1926. "They are very queer people."

Take Maurice Webb out to dine and give him a good deal of "background". He says the 1922 Ctee. are thinking again and are afraid they have made a political blunder. He says that Evatt thinks very badly of C.R.A. but well of me and one or two others.

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22. 5. 42

Ann Can

10 a.m. L.P.Ctee. We start on J.A.'s paper for the War Cab. on Man-power. I had hoped that this would go quickly through, but E.B. is frightfully long-winded, as usual, and just when I am trying to get away at the end of an hour - the National Executive of the Labour Party having been in session since 10.30 a.m. A.D. bursts in with a query "When can we have this subject discussed without impatience?" I was inclined to reply "We have been discussing it with great patience many hours a day for many weeks now, and reaching no hard decisions." He declared that our stocks are much too high and could be cut by a further five millions. In that case, says J.A., we should not need to ask for any men from the Army. A.D. then says that he is very keen on getting men from the Army, but he is against rationing. Our rationing scheme, he says, went through in one hour in one meeting. It was much too rushed. I say that all this has been gone into time and time again and our advisers are satisfied that stocks cannot safely be cut any lower. None the less, it is agreed that decision on this point should be postponed and a further meeting held - also next Tuesday - for further discussion between Ministers and officials.

This palsied delay and single Minister's liberum veto is quite appalling. Duncan as M. of S. has no locus in this. It is because he was once P.B.T. that he is intervening.

At 11.45 a.m. I reach the N.E. They have not done much harm so far in my absence. Immense admiration is expressed for my draft ~~xxxxxxx~~ - or rather Gillies' and H.G.'s - of an International resolution. It goes through almost untouched. On coal it is reported that the miners have been talking all the morning on Fuel Rationing - I hope they aren't going to make fools of themselves, simply because of miners' coal. They have not yet got down to drafting the answers to J.A.'s questions, but M. Phillips says he has been asked to draft the replies and shows them to me. They are quite good, except that they stick to the District Committee rather than the Single District Officer; but this could be adjusted.

It is decided later in the meeting to take the N.C.L. report on coal on the afternoon of the first day of the Conference, i.e. on Monday. Walker will move and Griffiths will wind up, and in the middle Lawther will wish to speak. It is agreed that these three shall concert their line together. Shinwell had raised, in my absence this morning, a question whether Gripps was not now out for some much larger scheme than that of the N.C.L., and whether, therefore, we should support the latter quite whole-heartedly. I

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make a short speech, which is well received, pointing out that these tales about Cripps are only circulated in enemy papers, and we should therefore disregard them. Cripps, I tell them, is not even a member of the Committee which is considering reorganisation. He will have a go at our proposals only when they come before the War Cab. In the present political situation, I point out, it is quite out of the question that any scheme bolder than the N.C.L. plan should have any chance of consideration.

After lunch receive, with D.G. and the officials, a deputation from Durham, owners and men. Both want a higher price for coal, and the men want higher wages, both relatively to munition workers and to miners in other coal fields. There is a good deal of scrapping between D.G. and Ned Moore, and after a time I close the meeting down. Jack Swan, Moore and W.J.Hall are all markedly friendly to me, though less so to D.G. I say that it is my doing that there are munition factories at Aycliffe and Spennymoor. Perhaps I did a bad day's work when I brought them in. They are half inclined to think I did!

Some Thoughts, (better written than dictated.)

17/5/42, ^{spend} I feel almost out of office. It's a mixed sensation, to be free of routine, & responsibility for all things large & small in a Department, & of those boring long-drawn-out Committee meetings with colleagues, & even of the War Cab - how the dream fades when one wakes! - with desultory, uninstinctive monologue, & suggestions that A.P. would be glad to look in people's cellars to see whether they're burning or storing coal! I should be able to spend a week, or even weeks, on end down here in the Summer. (That without R. or other visitors of short spells, it would be very lonely. And arrangements that service & criticism would be tiresome.)

I should be free to speak & write again, as I felt and not as I was constrained by ministerial prudence, & the perpetual pending of undecided, and therefore unmentionable, questions. If I went out the right way, I might greatly strengthen my position in the Labour Party.

On the other hand, I should miss, after a week or two, a great many things. The power to take decisions, a lot of which may make a bit of difference, - some inside knowledge of what is going on; the prestige, & the convenience, including the salary, etc. of being a Minister. I should have to try to find, I suppose, a small service flat somewhere, preferably in Westminster. Or a temporary ^{moratorium} ~~whistle~~ with some one, and there would be a bother about my furniture, and my letters, and the Dean, whom I have now got finally employed at the B of T.

And, on a longer view, I should miss the chance of having anything serious to do with the Settlement at the end of the war.

Or should I? For how would I get out of office, & where should I go? Certainly we are approaching a Coal Crisis. If the Tories come to party-life again over rationing, what will they say to talking over the matter in some form? And what necessary changes. And, if those aren't done, how can some of us, or all of us, or of the L.P., stay in the best? But, the more they prolong the party-life, the closer I must feel to my political friends. ^{Some of us will} ~~lost in a great hurry to win the war effort.~~

DIARY23. 5. 42

Lunch with Sikorski to meet Kwapinski, Polish Socialist leader who has just returned from Russia. He is now entering Sikorski's Government. He will be, with Stanczyk, the second Socialist Minister. K. is an attractive looking person. He was Chairman of the Polish T.U.C. and General Secretary of their Agricultural Workers' Union. He was imprisoned under the Tsar, under Pilsudski, and now under the Soviet. He was at Yakutsk in Eastern Siberia. He said it was a lovely climate, 1,500 metres above the sea, with the most beautiful forests. He was let out when the Soviet-Polish Treaty was signed. Coming out from Murmansk, two ships on which he was travelling were sunk by air attacks - one was H.M.S. Edinburgh, but the third time he was lucky. He still has a piece of metal in his arm from a German bomb. He will be X-rayed in the Polish Hospital in Scotland, whither he is going with S. next week.

S. says that the talks between Eden and Molotov are not going very fast, because the former "is showing a little character". M. came asking for three things: (1) more military supplies, (2) the immediate opening of a second front in the West, and (3) a Treaty on post-war frontiers. (3) is even more difficult than (2), and (1) is not altogether easy.

Later in the day I make my paper on Fuel Rationing, containing the argument against the Gridley plan, comparing it with my own latest proposals in Appendix A and adding, in Appendix B, some very useful comments on the conversations of my officers with L.F.O.s all over the country.

^{after} There has arrived from Selborne his report to the P.M., shortly he took over, on a certain side of my activities. This is the paper which C.R.A. spoke of. It is quite laudatory, as is Selborne's letter to me. This will do well for the archives.

24. 5. 42 (Whit Sunday)

Stay in and compose my paper on coal requisitioning - entitled "Wartime Organisation of the Coal Industry". Not a bad paper, I think.

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DIARY

23. 5. 42

Lunch with Sikorski to meet Kwapinski, Polish Socialist leader who has just returned from Russia. He is now entering Sikorski's Government. He will be, with Stanczyk, the second Socialist Minister. K. is an attractive looking person. He was Chairman of the Polish T.U.C. and General Secretary of their Agricultural Workers' Union. He was imprisoned under the Tsar, under Pilsudski, and now under the Soviet. He was at Yakutsk in Eastern Siberia. He said it was a lovely climate, 1,500 metres above the sea, with the most beautiful forests. He was let out when the Soviet-Polish Treaty was signed. Coming out from Murmansk, two ships on which he was travelling were sunk by air attacks - one was H.M.S. Edinburgh, but the third time he was lucky. He still has a piece of metal in his arm from a German bomb. He will be X-rayed in the Polish Hospital in Scotland, whither he is going with S. next week.

S. says that the talks between Eden and Molotov are not going very fast, because the former "is showing a little character". M. came asking for three things: (1) more military supplies, (2) the immediate opening of a second front in the West, and (3) a Treaty on post-war frontiers. (3) is even more difficult than (2), and (1) is not altogether easy.

Later in the day I make my paper on Fuel Rationing, containing the argument against the Gridley plan, comparing it with my own latest proposals in Appendix A and adding, in Appendix B, some very useful comments on the conversations of my officers with L.F.O.s all over the country.

*When
I W?* after There has arrived from Selborne his report to the P.M., shortly he took over, on a certain side of my activities. This is the paper which C.R.A. spoke of. It is quite laudatory, as is Selborne's letter to me. This will do well for the archives.

24. 5. 42 (Whit Sunday)

Stay in and compose my paper on coal requisitioning - entitled "Wartime Organisation of the Coal Industry". Not a bad paper, I think.

25. 5. 42

Labour Party Conference opens at Central Hall, Westminster. I sit all the time on the platform. We get an early card vote of 2,315,000 to 164,000 against an amendment to the Executive's Victory Resolution, which amounts in effect to a decision to continue in the Govt. In the afternoon there is a unanimous vote in favour of the N.C.L.'s Coal Plan. Only Walker, Lawther, an obscure man from Wrekin and Griffiths speak. There is no sense of heavy pressure behind this, and no sense of impending crisis. It is not, I think, in anyone's mind that any break-up of the Govt., or even resignations from it, are impending.

H.G. and I dine with Lord H. and discuss stocks. He is very anti-Duncan.

26. 5. 42

Give Party Conference a miss, except for a short visit in the luncheon interval to cast my vote.

Three Ministerial meetings on coal. The first at 10.30 with J.A., A.D., D.G. and Lord H. in order to listen to A.D.'s argument that our stocks are too high. This lasts till 11.45. A.D. is excitable and very persistent. Lord H. does not do well. He does not shine in this sort of argument. A.D. is really working to demolish the case for rationing. J.A. points out that, if we end the winter with stocks at so much, this will mean, first, that the risks against which the stocks were collected did not explode on us during the winter, and, second, that the stocks are a provision in case they should explode in Spring or Summer. I express agreement with this view, and stress the additional contingency in hosts from the West. A.D. also tries to put up the industrial fuel saving through Grumell's Committee and Outcrop working (Gibson). Finally, it is decided that Lord H. shall make a new note for 3 o'clock this afternoon on these three points.

Meeting No.2 at 11.45. War Cab.Sub. A.D. arrives ten minutes late and the meeting has to stop at 12.50. We begin by looking at the answers of the M.F.G.B. to our four questions. So much quack on this, including national wage negotiations, Pit Committees and absentees, etc., that it is not till 12.40 that my paper on requisitioning is taken. I expound it rather perfunctorily. A.D. says he is against. E.B. says he is largely in agreement. D.G. says that "this is not the opportune time to make a general requisition" and that we should not "interfere with any mine unless the management is inefficient." He thinks we should say that we will

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"take powers to requisition" but, of course, we have these already. E.B. says he wishes we could get rid of the word "requisition". I say it was he who invented it in this context. O.L. says that he is inclined to agree with E.B., though what he really means is that he is against my scheme. K.W. makes grimaces but is obviously against. I suggest that E.B. should now make a paper. Someone adds that he should do it in concert with O.L., "and they might", says K.W., "consult with D.G." (Later E.B. says that he has no time to make a paper and it is thrown back to J.A. and his staff. It is to be ready for another meeting to-morrow!) J.A. said, before we broke up, that he thought our Regional Controllers could give orders direct to the Managers without having to go through Colliery Companies - and this without requisitioning. This may be a gesture in my direction.

Lunch in with H.G., who produces material for this afternoon's meeting. This is at 3, the full L.P.'s Ctee. We begin by looking at Lord H.'s note on stocks, etc. A.D. is still very excitable and seems to think, more and more, that he is still P.B.T. We do a little marking up of outcrops and fuel economy, and a little marking down of stocks, thus turning the deficit in J.A.'s Man-power paper into a small surplus. But there are still the "contingencies". I am then invited to expound my fuel rationing paper. This I do very well, so much so that, when J.A. then asks for views as to what rationing scheme is best, on the assumption that we are to have one, they all, without exception, support my scheme in Appendix A. Leathers says that, "speaking with a good deal of knowledge of the coal trade", the non-coupon scheme is quite unworkable. O.L. says that my scheme is most simple and ingenious and "makes much the best of a bad job". Even A.D. and K.W., both of whom stress the assumption, say that mine is the best way. So far so good! This is the nearest approach to a "decision" which we have taken since we started.

Then follows a yambling discussion as to whether, after all, we need a rationing scheme at all. On this we are about equally divided. J.A. says that, if we are to ration at all - and he thinks it would be most imprudent not to - it would be well to begin at once, before the situation becomes too critical. C.R.A., S.C. and E.B. are also all for rationing now, though C.R.A. with the proviso that our reorganisation plans will not make a sufficiently large difference in a short period. Leathers says the same. K.W., O.L. and A.D. are against, and D.G. says "I would prefer to get through without rationing". So this Welsh goat has now gone against Party policy both on requisitioning and rationing! This should be let out. O.L. says that he is anxious to save the P.B.T. from the embarrassments

of having to administer a rationing scheme. K.W. says that he thinks an appeal by the P.M., backed up by suitable publicity, would do the whole thing. I say that I don't want to put the P.M. in a bad personal position, if, as seems likely, we get into a jam in mid-winter.

I also draw attention, somewhere in the middle of the yamble, to the fact that, given the readjustment of the statistics, there is now no case for asking for more men from the Field Force. This is the general view and, when put to those present, all except A.D. and D.G. agree. What a bore!

The "whole picture" is to be looked at again to-morrow afternoon by the full L.P.'s Ctee.

Later I go and see Cripps. He is still inclined to think that this is an issue on which we should be prepared to break. He had a word, he says, with E.B., who says that he is embarrassed by the fact that D.G. won't go with me. And he is a miner! S.C. says that the argumentation is very strong on "requisitioning" - or, if you would prefer a new word, "leasing" the mines from the owners for the period of the war. Otherwise, the Regional Controllers' orders will encounter great delays. He says that he has arranged that there shall be a good leader in the Times to-morrow or the day after; also that last week the Statesman, Economist and Spectator were all good. He says that the P.M. is quite firm on making an M.F.P. but that he heard that now the Minister might be H.Crookshank (whose doctor had forbidden him to go to West Africa) in place of Gwilym, who was now likely to be made a Minister of State in that unhealthy part of the world. There would be a miner as Under-Secretary, either G.M. or J.G. S.C. says that C.R.A. says that he too would face a row on this coal business, but S.C. is not sure whether, if the P.M. talked to him earnestly about keeping up the unity of the family, he would persevere. (H.G. says that E.D. says that Morton says that the P.M. cannot "face a row with the 1922 Committee".)

S. Crookshank
J. Marchbank

Dine with John Marchbank in a private room at the Connaught Hotel. He has collected an astonishingly mixed party, including A.G., Benstead, his successor as General Secretary of the N.U.R., the Lord Vansittart, Mr Derbyshire of the G.W.R., who argues for the Companies in wage debates, Ford, the Chief Clerk of Hastings, Nield McLean, M.P. (God knows why he!), Burrows, who has just got on to the N.E., unopposed, for the N.U.R., Frank Hodges, a swarm of Jews headed by David Lannon, and, I had almost forgotten, Lord Nathan.

It seems that the purpose is to celebrate, a bit in advance, J.M.'s retirement next January under the age limit. Almost everyone

/makes

speeches. I propose J.M.'s health and, putting one arm round his shoulder and the other round Van's, I say "If we three had been responsible for British foreign policy and British armaments before this war, either there would ~~not~~ have been a war or we should have won it by now." This is well received. *(no)* - *successfully A.S.*

I remark to J.W. this morning that it would just be perfect if to-morrow I lost my seat on the Labour Party N.E. This would give me my final touch of strength, prestige and influence in the coal talks! He says he does not think this is very likely, and reminds me that this was also my own view a few days ago when I was relatively undepressed.

27. 5. 42

I heard late last night from H.G., who had heard it in the Strand Palace Hotel from George Dallas, that there was no change in our section of the N.E. This is not surprising. The figures were announced this morning, and I was No.5, comfortably ahead of Herbert Morrison and George Dallas. The odd man out this year is John Parker, some considerable distance behind, who polled a fairly large vote by reason of (a) a pre-canvas standing in on a ticket, G.D. tells me, with Laski, Shinwell, Phil, Jim Griffiths, Sorensen and Strauss, and (b) a speech on the first day of the Conference saying that, unless we soon began to get more of our own way, we should go out of the Government.

E.E. gets me in a corner and speaks ill of his colleagues. He says that he has never known wage discussions conducted so badly as this time through the press by W.L. As for the "Miners' Plan", this was originally a plan for joint control by owners and men during the war. But, when it was before the N.C.L.Coal Sub. Shinwell got them to put in the blessed word "requisition", but this word does not make sense with the rest of the document, as was brought out when the Miners' Leaders appeared before the Cabinet Sub the other day. E.E. says that he never believed in the joint control scheme and thinks you should have either nationalisation or nothing. He says that the miners' organisation is in a very bad state. There is certainly a great lack of mental grip as well as of good comradeship among the miners' leaders.

3 p.m. Another meeting of the Lord President's Ctee. to consider his draft of a report to the War Cab. Rationing is not covered, but everything else tries to be. After slowly ploughing through the earlier pages, and making a few amendments and projects of redrafts, we come to the passage about requisitioning. Here E.B. says that he has been thinking about it all night and been

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much troubled, particularly by the differences of opinion between me and D.G. He had drafted, he says, yesterday evening, a statement which then seemed a reasonable compromise, but, "looking at it again late at night", he didn't like it and tore it up. He now proposes that we say that we will take "full control over the industry". He realises that it is very important to give something to the men on psychological grounds. After some desultory discussion O.L. says that he thinks it would be financially silly to "lease" all the mines, since you might often be paying much too much on the basis of pre-war profits, and some much too little if you were working out their coal uneconomically quick. Therefore, he suggests, you should eliminate the Boards of Directors entirely from the running of the mines and lay it down that the word of the Regional Controller always goes, subject only to the right of the Directors, not to delay obedience to the R.C.s' orders, but only to put in a claim, consequent on the carrying out of the order, for financial compensation. Some special tribunal would have to be set up to deal with this. He thinks that it might also be convenient if each Board were to appoint someone, who in some cases would be the mine manager himself, or where there was a group of pits and therefore a group of managers, some one person through whom the R.C. or some person on his staff should send orders to the mine manager. It would, again, be clearly understood that this person would have no right to argue back or disobey. The only difference, therefore, between this and "requisitioning" would be financial. Under O.L.'s plan the Company would continue to receive "profits", subject to continuance of E.P.T., etc., and it might be necessary for finance to be provided for new machines, etc., from the proceeds of the levies now taken over by the Govt. or from some other public source. Cripps argues against this, but, I think, partly for show and partly in order to get the most out of this new line. O.L., who is sitting beside me, looks hopefully at me more than once during this discussion and says that he doesn't think there is now anything much between us. He and I and Cripps remain afterwards and talk further about it, and I try to get O.L. to be quite explicit in the sense summarised above and S.C. to agree. I think I have very nearly succeeded, but we are to meet again at 10.15 to-morrow, by which time J.A. and his scribes will have tried to put into writing O.L.'s proposition. K.W. seems a bit frightened of it, but all the others are reasonably unperturbed (A.D. is missing, thank God!). O.L. also said, when questioned, that of course the R.C. would have the right to fire the manager or the nominee of the Board, and, of course, in suitable cases, to "take over" the mine. E.B. said afterwards that O.L.'s great idea was to avoid a political row and that S.C. was very anxious to get an excuse to resign, because he was already fed up with being Leader

of the House. (This was said in one corner of the room after the meeting had broken up, while O.L. and S.C. were arguing in another corner.)

(Stiffen)
On leaving, I had a further word with S.C. and said I thought we were fairly near agreement on O.L.'s formula. He rather grudgingly said he thought this might be so. We then had a word on rationing. I tried to brighten him and he was not unwilling. He said he thought we should continue to fight for the immediate application of my A scheme, but, if this could not be got, we should insist on a declaration that this was the scheme to be applied and send out, and make people fill in, the form.

Berthoud comes to see me. I always find him both very intelligent and very amusing. He has been back a few weeks from the M.E. When O.L. went back from the M.E., there was great apprehension as to who should succeed him. There had been rumours of Crookshank, G.Lloyd George, Sinclair and Margesson. All these filled them with apprehension. When Casey was nominated, there was a sigh of relief. They thought here was an unconventional Australian. But B. agreed with me that they will be sadly disillusioned. Just a Mayfair meanderer; no smell of the Bush. Morale in the M.E. had fallen rather low after the last reverse in the Western Desert. Our First Armoured Division had been badly knocked about and had had lack of practice in desert fighting. Rommel never expected to come through so easily. It was like us and the Italians over again, with the roles reversed. Our Seventh Armoured Division, known as the "Rats of the Desert", was wonderfully good, but they had come back to refit before the last battle. Meanwhile, we had no longer air superiority in the M.E., having sent many planes further East. On the other hand, one of the best factors in the war was the great decline in German First Line air strength, both in number of machines and quality of pilots. On the Russian front it was thought to have declined by 30% since the beginning of last winter. B. was in favour of being fairly stiff and blunt with the Russians and insisting on quids pro quo, especially in matters of intelligence and facilities for missions to see things. We were now showing the Russians much more, e.g. in the M.E., than they ever showed to Mason Mac. B. did not think that the Russians would fight either one day longer or one day less long by reason of our attitude towards them. They were quite indifferent to us. We had, he thought, shown insufficient strength and dignity in dealing with them.

28. 5. 42

Coal Ctee. at 10.15 till lunch, and again after lunch from 3.15 to 5.30. The chief fight is on the powers of Regional Controllers and their relations to (a) Managers, and (b) Boards of Directors. O.L. continues to be most helpful, though he does not get away with his plan for a post-war tribunal whereat compensation claims from public funds by coal owners whose pits have been worked too hard shall be assessed. K.W. doesn't like this at all, and there is substituted a vague reference to "financial arrangements" being "examined". In the end we get substantially what I want on Regional Controllers. Cripps also is content with the final forms of words, and any idea of his, or any group of us, "having a show down" with the P.M. over this evaporates! K.W. treats poor old D.G. just like his little "dog on a string". He drags D.G. in to support opposition to requisitioning, opposition to rationing, and a statement that in 90% of the mines there would be no need for any interference. He constantly says "I agree with the Secretary for Mines on this", or "after all, the Secretary for Mines has much more knowledge of this than any of us"! I say at one point, "Since we are all making the most of our allies, I think the Minister of Production and I are in agreement about this."

Ly Hobb
Reorganisation having been disposed of, we then turn to rationing, and Cripps takes the initiative in proposing that the introduction of this should be delayed in order to see the effects of the proposed changes on production, and that meanwhile we should appeal for voluntary economy while getting ready the rationing scheme, issuing the form and making the assessments.

I had intended, and so informed H.G., that I would stand out to-day on rationing and only give way to-morrow at the Cab. But, Cripps having jumped in like this - and he was before one of the stoutest supporters of immediate rationing - I don't feel it is worth carrying the fight further to-day. Only C.R.A. and he rather faintly, is now in favour of immediate rationing anyhow. The ground has been largely cut from under our feet by the changes we have now agreed to in the figures of outcrops, industrial fuel economy, and de-stocking. So we are all in accord on this as well!

At the end C.R.A. with a frightened look, says that perhaps we ought to consult some more people before finally reaching our conclusions. He even hints at the possibility of calling in all other No.1 Ministers. This horrifies me, since our reorganisation proposals would be likely to be furiously opposed by a number

of Tory Ministers, whereas it should be pretty easy quietly to square our Labour colleagues.

In the luncheon interval I have a word with K.W., telling him that, if they will all accept reorganisation and my rationing scheme, I might be willing to postpone the operation of the latter. I think this works a bit.

Having got back to the Board, I am rung up by Ebbey Edwards who says the miners are in conference with the owners and that Evan Williams has suggested that both sides should come and see the Lord President and his Committee. They would like it to be to-morrow morning, as Evan Williams wants to catch a 3.20 p.m. train! I ring up J.A. who thinks that it would be best that I alone should see them - along with D.G. - and this I agree to do. I should merely hear what they have to say and undertake to "report it to my colleagues".

29. 5. 42

War Cab., nominally all on coal, from 11 a.m. to 12.30. P.M. in a very expansive and agreeable mood. The Libyan battle is said to be going well (we have heard this before; I hope this time it is true). Willie Whiteley is also summoned this morning as well as Stuart. This is because yesterday I said in the L.P.'s Ctee. that I thought it most improper that the Tory Whip only should have the secret papers and attend the Cab. Either both Whips should come or neither. Bridges bridled a little to me afterwards, thinking that I had been tilting at him. He explained that he did nothing by caprice, but all on instructions. I explained that I wasn't getting at him but had previously mentioned this point to the Deputy P.M.

forms

This morning J.A. gives a lengthy exposition of what we propose, to none of which does anyone raise any important objection. I make a statement on rationing, explaining, but not over-emphasising (H.G. and Watkinson are inclined to get this a bit out of proportion), the difficulty of starting rationing later in the year, when stocking will have gone so far that perhaps a quarter - though I think this proportion is too high - of the coal to be burned next winter will be already in people's cellars and, therefore, out of our control, so far as its distribution is concerned. But I press for the issuing of the ~~boards~~ and the making of the assessments now. This is not objected to. The P.M. makes quite a speech at me, expressing great appreciation of my accommodating spirit in regard to this scheme on which, as he knows, I have spent so much labour.

-10-

"Don't work out of sight of the sun"

He goes on to praise the miners. He is sure something must be done to improve their wages. Perhaps some special war allowance could be given. The Treasury must not be difficult about this. It is agreed that we should have a draft White Paper ready for the Cab. on Monday evening. This should be in the Vote Office on Wednesday. The "two sides" should be met and told immediately beforehand what we propose. The following week there should be a 2-days' debate, with the Government putting down a resolution.

And so we all separate purring!

H.C. said this morning that he thought "It would all look very queer when it came out". I said I didn't agree. Nor do I. The great focus will be on reorganisation, and an increase in the miners' wages will create a general spirit of good fellowship. I shall also have a certain success in getting my points and coupons scheme adopted and the initial steps taken, even though its application is, for the moment, postponed.

DIARY29. 5. 42.

Cab. in morning. We present the W.P. J.A. says that he and I take responsibility for it. A number of satisfactory decisions are taken on the main points of principle involved, and it is decided that a "final" revised W.P. shall be prepared for the Cab. at its meeting on Monday (this is Friday). I am to be responsible for preparing it.

In the afternoon I, along with D.G., receive the miners and the owners on the former's wage claim. Thereafter I make a Minute to the P.M. (see separate record) with copies to other Ministers concerned. It is amusing how both sides are now talking of an output bonus. I originally put this idea into Young's head when he came and asked me what I thought they could suggest. It is obviously the right method of payment.

It goes over the air that I and D.G., at the request of both sides, appeal to all men on strike to return to work, while negotiations on wages are still proceeding.

Spend the rest of the evening composing the W.P.

30. 5. 42

Working on the draft W.P. Cripps comes to see me, being most anxious to see the draft. He makes some useful suggestions. He is anti-American. He says they have just stopped all supplies, a quick and sudden decision, which destroys our plans for 50 new squadrons of the R.A.F. Everything is now being kept for the American Army and Air Force which is coming over. When they arrive in great numbers, there will be great ill feeling because they will have so many dollars to spend. They will demoralise everything and everyone. They are always telling us now just where we get off. They are treating us like a poor dependency. Lyttelton has gone to Washington because F.D.R. summoned him. He now is sending for Leathers and Bevin. It is as though we were all his servants. The P.M. has always gone in for appeasing the Americans, letting them have whatever they like. S.C. thinks that he ought to go over again to Washington and say "This must stop."

I finally finish my redraft, and so to W.L.

3/15/42.

A fortnight ago I thought I was a fool in court, & was thinking of details such as when to put a Service Flat, what to do with my furniture now in B of T, how long a break I could take at W.L., what book I should next write - with how much scandalous & inner disclosures.

And now I feel almost triumphant - things were not right though yet. In a short time I shall get rid of my responsibility of coal, but before I let it go, after 3 1/2 months, I shall ^{have} laid the foundation of a New Order in the coalfield, & a more sensible wage system, & make a push to increase production. On rationing, I make to accept points & coupons, but not for immediate application - a reserve first. On release of more men from the Force, we stand first.

All this, assuming that my W.L. goes through the Cabinet tomorrow, & the scheme through Party conference & Parliament.

Cripps has been a good ally, & Kevin pretty useful. Cripps is a double-headed & a displace. Lyttelton at the end played up very well.

And now for a further spell at B of T in my coal.

What new twists & turns of political fortune?
It's up & down, same enough!

31. 5. 42 (Sunday)

I garden and play patience. I mow till midnight by moonlight. There is a bright orange full moon.

1. 6. 42.

Go over the redraft of the W.P. with J.A. and Brook. He has been working on my version and has, on the whole, concocted a number of improvements, largely by transpositions. A new proof is to be run off in time for to-night's Cab.

After lunch, L.P.'s Ctee. considers Home Front problems. R.A.B. wants to set up a Committee on how the Public Schools can be brought into proper relation with the rest of our educational system, or, in other words, how a number of boys from Secondary Schools, or below 11 plus, shall be woven into the boarding school system, and how State grants shall be made for this. Much to R.A.B.'s surprise, as he told me afterwards, there is no opposition in principle to this. He had expected Duff Cooper and others to explode at the mere idea. He thinks that it would be best to have as Chairman someone who was not educated in England and therefore will have no biased experience. Various names are suggested, and E.B. asks "What about Beaverbrook?" The talk then drifting on to the old subject of religious education in the schools, and R.A.B. having said that he hoped to get a final answer from the C. of E. within a few months, E.B. makes a great oration in which he declares that ever since he can remember, we have been "baffled by the Bishops" whenever we have tried to open the gates of education to the children of the poor. "All these Bishops", he says, "have had all the education there was, and now they are denying it to the children of the masses". I suggest that a time limit might be imposed on the Bishops, and R.A.B. tells me afterwards that he will find it very helpful to tell them that his colleagues expressed impatience at their delay.

Cab. at 7.45 considers the "final" redraft of the W.P. It goes through pretty easily, though a few further bright ideas are thrown up by my colleagues which Bridges and Brook undertake to put into shape for next day. It is left in the end to J.A. and me to settle "without further reference to anyone" the "final" version. The P.M. only asks on what page it is stated that rationing will not be introduced at once. When satisfied that this is in, he takes no more interest. They all swallow Reorganisation without any effort at all. This is most remarkable, though, as H.C. says a day or two later, it would be quite possible, if you had the wrong kind

of Minister and the wrong kind of Regional Controllers, for the scheme to make no difference at all.

Bridges says next day that it was remarkable how quickly it went through the Cabinet. He then shows me, at the P.M.'s request, a draft announcement on the new Ministry of Fuel and Power. In this there is a passage to the effect that this change "will relieve the President of the Board of Trade" and reference to the "many industrial adjustments due to war conditions" with which he has to deal. This is all right by me.

G.J. to dine at the Coquille. He says there is nothing for him yet at the F.O. He wonders whether they are really trying. He was very indignant at Sargent having said the other night, "Oh, I thought we had disposed of you now and that you had joined the Treasury." G. says that when Sir H. Wilson heard that he was available, he asked for him to replace Playfair "for a few weeks" while the latter was advising Hanbury Williams! He relates that, at a party given the other night by Mr. Whitney, who has now chucked Donovan and gone into some private business of his own, Sir W. Jowitt was present. G. thought him "very decayed". The only other man was Major Morton, though there were several women present who were "quite out of it" when the conversation turned in certain cryptic directions. But Jowitt seemed to have no mind of his own at all and spoke ill of the Prime Minister as a strategist. This, in front of Major M., was incredibly indiscreet. None the less, it seemed, after G. and I had talked a little further, that there was a good deal to be said for him succeeding Sir A. Hurst as Sir W. Jowitt's Principal Assistant. I told him that the latter had said that he had "sensed" a certain antagonism between the F.O. and the Treasury, and that he thought he would do well for a while to lean to the side of the former. G. would be able to assist him to do this. I said that I promised to take this up with Jowitt.

2. 6. 42.

A bunch of P.Q.s go easily. M. Webb, to whom I give a faint adumbration of the coming W.P., says that Strauss has been giving a series of lunches at which he has been puffing S.C. and saying that he is the only person of any decision on the Left in the Government and that all our scores are due to him alone. M.W. was asked to such a lunch the other day.

N. Brook, who has a very good mind, brings me the veritable "final" revise of the W.P. It reads pretty well. J.A. is on the

/telephone

telephone endlessly to Ava. She just won't stop talking. He is much embarrassed when N. Brook and I are in the room and says "No, I am not alone". He sounds very cooing and endearing. This was in the morning. When I look in on him after lunch, to re-arrange the next day's timetable, he is still talking on the telephone, and I gather that he prefers to be left alone. The conversation goes on for quite five minutes longer, and then I go in to see him.

Arthur Jenkins gets off his Adjournment squeak on Pontypool. I said that if we had had as much resistance in all the thousands of other cases of requisitioning for storage as at Pontypool, the whole war effort would have come to a stop! They don't like this.

At L.P.'s Ctee. I raise the question of the miners' wages. What are we to do next? It is agreed that J.A. and I (with D.C.) should see both sides the day after to-morrow and promise them an immediate enquiry into the wage claims and a less hurried enquiry into the wage structure generally. K.W. is a bit frightened of proceeding quickly, though he realises that he will have to fork out most of the money for the wage advance. It is also agreed that the question of an output bonus shall be put into the terms of reference to the Committee.

3. 6. 42.

Wakened by an Alert just before 3 a.m. It is long since the last. I half expect the Huns to come in great and desperate force. But the All Clear goes after 20 minutes, and I to sleep again.

Get up rather late and attend a Reconstruction Committee, with Jowitt in the Chair, where the first item is a paper for which I take responsibility on Post-War Relief. But I frankly tell them that I have been so thick in coal that I have had little thought to give to this, and ask Leithers, who is with me, to expound. I find myself in a coalition with the F.O. and the Ministries of Food and Agriculture against the Treasury. K.W. wants to make no commitments on anything till the war ends. It is finally agreed that we should have a small Committee of officials to try to reach agreement.

Maisky comes to see me, ostensibly to ask me to reopen my decision not to permit more clothing, in excess of a final £10,000 worth, to go to Russia. But we only reach this after half an hour of gossip, in which he says he is now very hopeful about the war. He likes very much our latest air raids, is fairly satisfied with

/Libya

Libya, and very pleased with the Russian success in checking the German offensive. I don't ask about Molotov, who, I heard from G.J. two nights ago, had been "hiding in a suburb" but had now gone home.

*The suburb was the palace
He had really gone to U.S.A.*

Lunch with Iranian Minister, where I am the principal guest, sitting on the Minister's right with Sir A. Cadogan on his left and opposite Richard Law and Dingle Foot! Some 30 other persons, mostly from the Near East, are also present. The Iranian Minister was teaching Persian at Cambridge until very recently, when he was made an Envoy. He knew Donald and Petica Robertson well and was in Cambridge when the latter was killed in an air raid. He does not like the Russians much and says that in Persia no-one speaks Russian, although they are next door. French, and then English, are, he says, the most favoured foreign tongues.

Cadogan says, when I tell him that I hope soon to be rid of coal, "You are very good at knowing when to give things up." I give him and Law a lift in my car and, as they get out, ask him when he is going to make some provision for G.J. He says it is rather difficult. He could easily make him a Counsellor in Latin America, but this was not welcome. He was minded now to make him the head of a new or refurbished Economic Section at the F.O. G.J. thought he would not like this, but A.C. thought, after he had been doing it for a short while, he would get quite interested in it, as people always did in a new job. A.C. was quite surprised to find how unpopular G.J. had made himself with so many people. The Service Departments were very much opposed to him and therefore it had not been possible to put him on Joint Planners or anything else very close to the war effort. G.J., he said, was always writing him letters about himself and this was becoming rather a bore. His unpopularity had taken A.C. quite by surprise. I said that he and I, who both knew G.J. so well, did not notice the "off-hand manner" complained of. But in any case, it was a great pity that he should be wasted. I then said that I should be reshaping C.R. & T. but that I did not think it would be suitable to bring him in to that, since it would be off the line of his career, though I was sure he would do it very well. A.C. agreed that this would hardly do. I then sounded him on the possibility of giving G.J. Hurst's place with Jowitt. This, I said, would have the advantage that he would be a good trade union with the F.O. and also with the Treasury and with me in the B. of T. I thought that possibly Jowitt, who knew him already, would like him. Would he like me to see how Jowitt reacted? He asked me not to do this for a few days, when he will communicate with me again. I may, therefore, have stirred him up to try to find something for G.

The rest of my day is full of conferences on the White Paper, which is being issued in the Vote Office at 5 p.m. to-night. At 3 p.m. J.A. and I receive the miners' leaders, about a dozen of them. J.A. expounds the W.P., especially on Reorganisation. Most of them look as though they are taking it pretty well, though someone raises the point as to how E.E. could get on the National Coal Board since he would not get on regionally. I said this was a detail which could easily be adjusted. Probably the best way would be for the Government to nominate one or two people on their own. Bowman makes a very wry face about the powers of the National Board. He wanted it to be executive and not advisory. I say that the words used were taken direct from the miners' answers to our question. He is not satisfied with this and says "It is a question of principle". In fact he was absent from the meeting when the miners gave this answer.

3.30 p.m. J.A. and I receive the mine owners. They obviously do not like the plan and Evan Williams begins asking questions about the finance and whether we will be prepared to consider further any representations which they may make. J.A. says that the Government have made up their minds, but will be prepared to discuss questions of detail with either side.

4.15 p.m. J.A. and I meet the Lobby Correspondents at the House in a Committee Room upstairs. He again expounds the plan and then we take turns in answering questions. A number of these are quite acute.

5.30 p.m. I receive a roomful of Labour Correspondents on the press at the B. of T. I expound the plan and invite questions. This also goes pretty well.

6.30 p.m. I attend a meeting of Labour Ministers - of all shapes and sizes - at No. 11 Downing Street. E.B. talks for three-quarters of the time. Nothing is said about coal until right at the end, when I am asked whether I would like to make a statement. I say I hope they will all support the plan, which I am to expound at the Party meeting to-morrow. I then fix up with E.B. that he shall wind up the debate to-morrow and deal in particular with the complaint that we are not requisitioning, which, he thinks, will certainly be made by Shinwell.

When all the rest have gone away except E.B. and I, C.R.A. says that it is now all fixed that Gwilym is to be the new Minister of Fuel and Power with Tom Smith as Under-Secretary. (I had met the latter coming out and he seemed very pleased. I had asked him whether he was taking it and he said yes. I

/congratulated

congratulated him. He despises Grenfell and is also a good sound fellow in himself.) D.G., said C.R.A., is going right out. He has been offered several jobs but has refused them all. He is in a very black mood and says he is "being sacked" because he is thought to be inefficient. This is just about it, but of course everybody is having to deny it. C.R.A. asked Hyndley to try and get him in a better mood, and the latter reports he has made some improvement. D.G. was also to see the P.M. this evening, and perhaps he will be able to charm him. He is threatening, I hear, to "defend himself if attacked". I said I couldn't imagine why anybody should bother to attack him; we should all be much more eager to forget him.

4. 6. 42

10 a.m. Special meeting of P.L.P. to consider the W.P. Not at all a good atmosphere. No-one says this is a good scheme. Only the critics are vocal. I begin with an exposition of the scheme. Then Gordon Macdonald, obviously speaking from a prepared statement, says that the miners have not yet taken any decision on the scheme. The present position is that they do not support it and accept no responsibility for it. The Miners' M.P.s are meeting the Miners' Executive officials later on. Then come a stream of critical questions, especially about para.16 (e) - relation of pit manager to Colliery Company, etc. It is finally decided to have another meeting next Tuesday for further discussion of the scheme, and a final decision on Wednesday.

At the end of the meeting C.R.A. gets up and says that he wishes it to be clearly understood that the replacement of D.G. implies no reflection whatever upon him. Thereupon, D.G. gets up and makes a very painful speech, complaining that he has not been consulted before being removed, that he is confident he has always been right in everything he has done at the Mines Department, and that one day he will speak out and tell the full story. With this the meeting somewhat unhappily adjourns.

The impression created is very bad. I say to several of the miners that really they should not once more miss, as so often in past years, the opportunity of making a solid advance, even if they do not get all they want at once. If they were to swing the Party against the W.P. it is difficult to see how I could continue in office. Nor, for that matter, would it be at all easy for other Labour Ministers to go on. And if I went out on this, I should go out in the worst way possible, having failed to carry the

/L.P.

L.P. with me in this particular compromise. It would be a much worse personal position than if I had resigned a little earlier because I could not get as much as I wanted from my colleagues.

12.15. Meeting in J.A.'s room on miners' wages. C.R.A., E.B. & S.C. are here as well as G.L.G. listening in. We discuss the personnel and procedure of the Board of Investigation to consider first the immediate question of the wage increase, and second the "permanent" machinery for national settlement of wages. We decide to go for Greene, the Master of the Rolls, as Chairman.

Lunch at H. of C., where some of my friends say they think the Party meeting this morning did very badly. It is hoped that next time more non-miners will raise their voices and that some will say what a good scheme this is.

2.15. G.M. comes to my room for a few minutes before the Admtve.Ctee. He thinks that "it will be all right", but this morning the atmosphere was disturbed because they had all read in their newspapers, without expecting it, that D.G. was out and Tom Smith was to be the new Under-Secretary at the Fuel Ministry. This upset both D.G.'s friends and G.M.'s, because he had been told only yesterday that he was to be the new Under-Secretary. Indeed, G.L.G. had asked him yesterday afternoon, "Have you heard anything yet?" and when he had said no, had expressed surprise and said that he himself had been asked what he would think of G.M. as his Under-Secretary and had replied that there was no-one in the world whom he would prefer. G.M. hints that T.S. is not the kind of man who will "stand up". G.M. says further that there is a terrible lack among the miners of willingness to take responsibility, both on the industrial and the political side. Each is trying to pass the buck to the other. There are some, even, who say that it would be a good thing for all the miners to vote against the W.P., if they could be sure that it would go through, and then afterwards saying "Well, we tried to get you a great deal more." He does not think that this tactic will prevail. We then go on together to the Admtve.Ctee., where Shinwell and Daggar speak against the W.P. and a string of meetings next week is arranged to consider it, with every possible permutation and combination of self-important persons.

Thence to meet, with J.A., miners and owners together on the wages claim. We inform them that the Govt. have decided to set up a Board of Investigation into (a) the wage claim, and (b) the permanent machinery. We undertake that any wage advance shall be made retrospective to June 1st, and that we shall press for a quick decision. The two sides desire to confer separately, and, when we return, the miners accept both parts of the terms of reference, though one or two, including Joe Hall, say that they had hoped they would go back to their districts with the wage advance already

/announced

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/announced

announced, as otherwise it will be very difficult to hold the men. The owners, on the other hand, object strongly to the second half of the Board's terms of reference. E.W. protests at great length that there is nothing to investigate in their wage arrangements, which are as good as in any other industry, but J.A., to whom I deliberately leave most of the talking, bears him down and insists. Finally both sides say they will assist the Board to the best of their powers.

Much desiring a break, I go with J.W. and H.G. to the London Fire Brigade H.Q. whence we proceed to the Caledonian Market to see some boxing between a Polish team and a team ~~and a team~~ from the London Fire Service. The Poles do very well and win by four matches to three. We then return with Major Jackson to dine at the Fire Station, where I press the bell and give an alarm which results in the very rapid manning and going into action of a number of fire engines. After dinner we look in at the tail end of a Discussion Circle, attended by some 60 firemen, in a school in St Pancras. They are discussing Parliament, and I have the impression that they are a very bright and thoughtful lot. I make a short speech, which is well received, and then go home to bed having forgotten, for a brief two hours, about coal dust.

5. 6. 42

Get hold of Beveridge, in order to make sure that he is not writing embarrassing letters to the Times. But he shows no sign of any intention to do this. He has now almost forgotten, I think, about fuel rationing, and got quite absorbed in his report on Social Services, which he says will be "quite revolutionary". He is a little vexed that in our latest White Paper we make no reference to him or, explicitly, to his previous plan. I promise to say a nice word about him and it in the debate next week.

Gwilwym Lloyd George comes for a preliminary talk. He is for the moment out of office, a successor having been appointed to him at the Food Ministry and no Fuel Ministry yet being in existence. It will not be created until after next Thursday. Then an Order in Council will be issued. He is, however, already thinking about "a team" and Cripps has already put into his head the idea that Young of Bolsover might be his Controller General. I support this, and he knows him already. I also suggest that Horner might be made a Regional Commissioner and that some other of the miners' leaders might be made his Labour Director at the Head Office.

Lunch with Mrs P. Also present C.R.A., Benes and

/Raczynski

Raczynski. I have to leave early for an N.C.L. Sub-Ctee. on Coal, but not before Benes has expressed the view, which he says he has steadily held and expressed for a long time, that the Germans cannot stand more than one further war winter. He does not think they will last beyond May 1943. He says that in October 1918 he saw Foch, being engaged in a negotiation on behalf of the Czechs in exile with the French authorities and, subterraneously, with the Czechs in Prague. Foch said that all this was quite premature, as there was no chance whatever of defeating the Germans until well on in 1919, and further that there was no chance whatever of any Czech or other rising within Austria-Hungary till Germany was defeated. Benes got back to London a few days later, just in time to hear of the Czech rising in Prague, and the Germans had signed the Armistice within a month.

Raczynski said that the Germans were very slow and stupid in their dealings with the Ukrainians. Many of the latter were pro-German but they were not being effectively used either against the Poles or the Soviet authorities. They had committed many atrocities but the Germans had not formed them, in either area, into an effective Quisling Government. It was very difficult to understand why not.

N.C.L. Sub-Ctee. on Coal is attended by the five miners' leaders - W.L., J.B., A.H., E.J. and E.E. The atmosphere is all most placid. Morgan Phillips winks and nudges me and says "It's all right". W.L. explains that at the meeting of their full Executive this morning they have decided that, though the W.P. falls short of their desires, they are prepared to accept it and work within it, though seeking various amendments. The others follow in the same strain. A.H. says that their decision must depend on whether the choice is between this and something better or this and nothing at all. I then speak at some length on various detailed points which they have raised. I say that the choice is between this and nothing at all, and that it is quite impossible on any question of principle to get any further, notably as regards ownership. On the other hand, most of the points which they raise are questions of detail, though many of them important details, and I am prepared to state in the House next week that on all these, under para. 21 of the W.P., there can be further discussion with the Govt. I say that, on the other hand, if they oppose the W.P., they will not only get no further but that there will be a serious risk of the break-up of the Govt. and the withdrawal of all Labour Ministers. This is all taken very well, except by Shinwell, who is obviously deeply disappointed at the miners' attitude and quibbles characteristically at great length. At one point he says that he hopes he does not understand aright that the miners accept the W.P., whereat

E.E. says "Our position is quite clear. We accept the W.P. We should like to get some amendments made in it, but even if we get no amendments, we still accept it." Marchbank also talks a certain amount of long-winded truculence, but Jimmy Walker at the end says that of course you can always look at a thing from either of two points of view. Either you can pick out all the things you agree with and make the most of them, or pick out all the things you disagree with and make the most of them. Most critics at the moment are doing the latter with the W.P. Barnes is very friendly this afternoon, since I have said that there will probably be a Co-operator on the National Coal Board and that para.25 of the W.P. was drafted by me entirely as a result of his speech! Finally a resolution is carried recommending to the full N.C.I. that the W.P. should not be opposed but that amendments should be suggested in debate and that, if there is a division, the Government should be supported. This is very satisfactory and, I hope, clears the air "finally" for next week. But there are a series of further meetings still to come which will want some manoeuvring.

Just catch the 5.49 train from Liverpool Street for weekend with J. and E.W. This train goes round about, via Cambridge, to Norwich, whither I book - having missed the 5.12 train which would have stopped at Diss - but at Cambridge station a man appears with a message to P.B.T., alleged to be travelling on this train, to get out at Harling Road, next station after Thetford. This I do, but find no-one there except the Station Master, who says that J.W. left five minutes before for Norwich to meet me there, having thought I had gone through on the previous train, which didn't stop at H.Road. I, therefore, proceed by local car, provided by the Station Master, direct to Diss, where I find E., J. returning some time later from Norwich.

6. & 7. 6. 42.

Lovely weekend of sleep, sun-bathing, select food and drink, and a trip to the Forest on the Sunday afternoon. Return Sunday evening, with a sunburnt face and large new reserves of energy to face next week's final phase - as I hope - of coal.

DIARY8. 6. 42.

2 p.m. National Executive meets on Coal. Shinwell wants us to reject the scheme, in spite of the miners' decision. He gets no support. I speak at great length expounding the scheme, and thence adjourn, at 4.15, to a joint meeting of the full N.C.L. and the Administrative Committee of the Labour Party. This lasts till 6.30. I make my speech again. Arthur Horner has concocted a long list of amendments to the White Paper, and I am anxious that we should not slip into the position that our support in the Division Lobby is dependent on the prior acceptance of any of these. The miners' leaders are vague on Parliamentary procedure! Lawther is very definite, when challenged by Shinwell. He wishes us to "vote in favour, if challenged."

The conclusion of this meeting is announced to the press, but deliberately not the previous proceedings of the N.E., when Laski suggested that we should record, in addition to an intention to support the scheme, our regret that there was no requisitioning and no rationing now.

9. 6. 42.

10 a.m. Special Party Meeting to discuss the W.P. further. There is a better atmosphere than last Thursday. (They will have had three Parliamentary Party meetings on the scheme before reaching the "final" decision to-morrow!) Walter Green and A.G. Walkden speak well this morning, the former reciting all the various decisions of various bodies on the subject. I make a short statement and answer various questions.

12 noon. Confer with J.A., S.C. and N. Brook on J.A.'s speech for to-morrow. I tell him of the various "amendments" proposed by the M.F.G.B.

6 p.m. Meeting of the Admtve. Ctee. to take a "final" decision on its recommendation to the Party Meeting to-morrow. After much talk, and no real opposition except, rather half-heartedly at this stage, by Shinwell, they take the right and obvious decision. Shinwell pays me unexpected compliments and says that he wishes to testify to my pertinacity, patience and courtesy. I wonder what he wants now. We delay our "final" decision until we have a report of the "final" decision of the miners' M.P.s now meeting upstairs.

/Their

Their meeting, G.M. tells me afterwards, was "a bear garden", Mainwaring, N. Edwards and Bevan having been in a minority, 23 to 3, against accepting the advice of the M.F.G.B. Executive.

Dine with Robin Brook at 10 Devonshire Place. H.G. accompanies me and we find P.H. also there. We discuss problems of quite another world, that of military and diplomatic operations. I tell them that I haven't read a Foreign Office telegram for weeks, if not months. R.B. is now "Policy adviser" to M. The latter is to be promoted. He had an offer to go to Russia in succession to General M.M., but declined, perhaps mistakenly from the point of view of his career, though, on the other hand, it may be that no-one could have made anything of a mission to Russia just now. The "investigation" is still going on, not leading anywhere much. The worst they can say is that there have been rather a lot of cars and Secretaries and that, perhaps, in the U.S.A. everything is not quite as clean as it should be. I ask who has been pressing for the "investigation". R.B. thinks it was A.E. The latter has several times squashed the Earl. (On the other hand, when he and the Earl put up to the Cab. a proposal to let milk through the blockade for Belgium, there was an explosion from the Chair and it was said that the Earl's predecessor used not to take such a line! The line was rejected.) R.B. thinks it clear that C.H. has been getting hold of everything. It was certainly he who manoeuvred G. out, though it was quite clear, after only three days, that G. and the Earl were not made for one another. Miss O. reports that, when the Earl was dictating something to her in G.'s presence, the latter, after one or two vain attempts at intervention, flung himself back in his chair and threw his handkerchief over his face.

*Saving
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in*

R.B. nearly got an interesting job with D.C.O., but, having been offered this, it disappeared again after R.B. had been away for a week's leave.

10. 6. 42.

10 a.m. Party Meeting to decide ~~the~~ "finally" their attitude towards the W.P. Jimmy Walker makes a very good speech and, in the end, the decision to support the Government in the Division Lobby is taken by an overwhelming majority, only 4 or 5 voting against. This morning there is no need for me to speak.

J.A. opens the debate pretty well. Slow but sure. At one point he says that the Government will not introduce any

/rationing

Mackinnon
 Their meeting, G.M. tells me afterwards, was "a bear garden", Mainwaring, N. Edwards and Bevan having been in a minority, 23 to 3, against accepting the advice of the M.F.G.B. Executive.

Hancock
 Dine with Robin Brook at 10 Devonshire Place. H.G. accompanies me and we find P.H. also there. We discuss problems of quite another world, that of military and diplomatic operations. I tell them that I haven't read a Foreign Office telegram for *four* weeks, if not months. R.B. is now "Policy adviser" to M. The latter is to be promoted. He had an offer to go to Russia in succession to General M.M., but declined, perhaps mistakenly from the point of view of his career, though, on the other hand, it may be that no-one could have made anything of a mission to Russia just now. The "investigation" is still going on, not leading anywhere much. The worst they can say is that there have been rather a lot of cars and Secretaries and that, perhaps, in the U.S.A. everything is not quite as clean as it should be. I ask who has been pressing for the "investigation". R.B. thinks it was A.E. The latter has several times squashed the Earl. (On the other hand, when he and the Earl put up to the Cab. a proposal to let milk through the blockade for Belgium, there was an explosion from the Chair and it was said that the Earl's predecessor used not to take such a line! The line was rejected.) R.B. thinks it clear that C.H. has been getting hold of everything. It was certainly he who manoeuvred G. out, though it was quite clear, after only three days, that G. and the Earl were not made for one another. Miss O. reports that, when the Earl was dictating something to her in G.'s presence, the latter, after one or two vain attempts at intervention, flung himself back in his chair and threw his handkerchief over his face.

R.B. nearly got an interesting job with D.C.O., but, having been offered this, it disappeared again after R.B. had been away for a week's leave.

10. 6. 42.

10 a.m. Party Meeting to decide ~~the~~ "finally" their attitude towards the W.P. Jimmy Walker makes a very good speech and, in the end, the decision to support the Government in the Division Lobby is taken by an overwhelming majority, only 4 or 5 voting against. This morning there is no need for me to speak.

J.A. opens the debate pretty well. Slow but sure. At one point he says that the Government will not introduce any

/rationing

rationing scheme until there has been intimation to the House and the opportunity for a further debate. S.C. passes a note to me behind his back asking when we had agreed to this? I reply, "We did not agree. I am surprised." When we mention this after to J.A., he says that the Whips had told him that it would help a good deal if he could say this! Also he felt that we could not, in fact, refuse a debate if it were asked for.

While I am sitting on the Bench at 2.30 p.m., expecting soon to go out and get some lunch, Willie Hall runs in and says that Lawther must see me on a most urgent matter and that a "major crisis" has arisen at the Miners' Federation Executive Meeting this morning. Going out a little later, I find W.L., J.B., and A.H. in the Whips' Room. They want to know whether the Govt. has really decided in favour of a National Wages Board. I say "Of course". They say that E.E. has told their Executive this morning that if the Board of Investigation reports against it, it will not be done. I read them the relevant passage from the White Paper and also from the Minute of appointment of the Board of Investigation. Reassured, they depart. But how many more "final" flurries are we to have!

Twenty-eight speeches are made to-day and we let all the would-be orators exhaust themselves. Cripps and I, with G.L.G. and T.S. and two Whips, sit on the Bench till 9.20 p.m., listening, for the most part, to sheer rubbish.

Then I go back to the Board, dine in and prepare my speech for next day.

11. 6. 42.

I open the second day's debate. There is not much excitement in the House. All moves peacefully to its appointed end. I give various assurances, principally to the miners, of further consideration of many points, particularly 16(e) if any evidence comes that this is interfering with maximum production. A vote on an I.L.P. amendment in favour of nationalisation is defeated by 329 to 8, and all is over - in that chapter. Gwilym has to-day been sworn in as Minister of Fuel and Power. I wish him joy of it!

Lord H. comes round to see me after the debate. He is staying on as Controller General and Tribe is coming from the

/Ministry

Ministry of Labour to be the principal Civil Servant. The idea now is to make Young Production Director. I say that I think the Labour Director should be offered either to Lawther or Ebby Edwards. Otherwise there will be a grievance, even if neither accepts. Also I think there should be offers of at least two of the Regional Controllerships to miners' leaders. I would prefer Horner and G.Macdonald. Probably each should stay in his own district, though, as H. points out, this would mean offering them, say, a 5 year contract at least. But all this is none of my business now.

H.G. says that what strikes him about the coal debate is that all the Government spokesmen's persuasions are addressed to the Labour Party. The Tories, he thinks, are at a very low ebb and almost apologetic for their existence.

Dine, with a great sense of weary freedom, with J.W. at Josefs.

12. 6. 42.

I wake to-day with no responsibility for coal. A most happy sensation! The press is pretty good, except the D.T., which has a most malicious write-up of the Parliamentary proceedings, designed to discredit the P.B.T. This coal owners' paper has been consistently the worst since we had our first brush on rationing.

Looking back, there were two crisis peaks; the first when it seemed that I, and some others, might have to resign because we could not push our colleagues far enough on reorganisation, and, second, for a brief period when it looked as though I might have to resign because I could not carry the Labour Party, and in particular the miners, in support of the Reorganisation section of the W.P. This last crisis was resolved last Friday, a week ago to-day, when the Miners' Federation Executive came down in favour of the scheme. The miners' leadership this time has been good. They have learnt the lesson that their traditional policy of "all or nowt" always ends in nowt. This time they have gone to the other extreme and followed the advice once given by the Rev.W.Hodgson: "Keep on nibbling at the cheese, boys."

Now, after I have had three nights away, I must look again at the B. of T., both persons and problems. But this can stand over now. Meanwhile, I have a rather unsatisfactory conference about rubber, concentration, etc., in which various officials appear dilatory and indecisive and Bata seem to have much too much the ear of the Board.

/H.G.

H.G. went off last night for five days' leave, which he has well earned. He has been most valuable to me throughout my coal phase and will, I know, be not less valuable in the next phase, however that may shape itself.

DIARY11. 6. 42 - 15. 6. 42.

At W.L., putting all thoughts of coal quite out of my head. But it is rather cold and rainy, and -

16. 6. 42.

I go to bed early with a cold, having begun to pick up various non-coal problems, including L.R.'s visit to U.S. and his instructions, on which K.W. is apt to be very sticky, but A.E., W.J. and I are united against him, thinking it not enough that L.R. should sit and listen in silence to what the Americans say and then leave the room, but rather that he should be forthcoming up to the point of undertaking that we will maintain the rationing of food, clothing, etc., after the war until the most urgent needs of distressed allies have been met; furniture, hollow-ware and rubber footwear, etc.

17. 6. 42.

See L.Cadbury and arrange with him for the re-transfer to the Star of Haydn Davis. I will write him a very good testimonial.

Molly Hamilton to dine at the Coquille. She says that Jowitt is frightfully innocent and has never had anything to do with running a Department before. He has no idea how to use Secretaries or officials. He and Hurst are on very bad terms and neither ever shows any favour to the other. She is No.3. in the hierarchy, after Hurst and Quintin Hill. Jowitt is also very vague indeed on policy and anything which is happening. I say that I think I must begin to take more interest in Reconstruction now and give her some account of the kind of life that I have been living with Coal.

I am much amused to-day to find that G.L.G. has been telling the public that we may have to ration after all, and that it is now being said, both by the press and by the Minister of Information, that the summer is a very awkward time to begin a campaign of sustained publicity in favour of fuel economy.

18. 6. 42.

Meet Mr Yandell, lately one of the Big Five at Scotland Yard, who has now come on to my establishment to enforce the law against the black market.

Lunch at Drapers' with the Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs, one of whom is De La Bere.

Calls in the afternoon from C.M., who is now training with an H.Q.Liaison Unit at Richmond and is very keen to get a Parliamentary By-election; Sir A.Page, of C.E.B., who comes to say good-bye on being transferred to the new Ministry of F. and P. - I say "I am glad to lose gas but quite sorry to lose you"; Low, on how to draft an Order on Margins.

Dine with Sir A.Mackenzie Livingstone, whose chief guest to-night is General Cheyney, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S.Forces in this country. This General is awfully dumb, but he may be quite good at his job. He says that in the U.S. they regard the "British Isles" as one small place, and it is then said that their troops are arriving in great numbers in these islands. We, on the other hand, have so far always spoken of "Northern Ireland". In the U.S.A. they don't distinguish one from the other. Other members of the party are Trenchard, who sits on the other side of the American General and talks incessantly, various other Generals, including Wemyss, who sits on the other side of me and is ~~in the~~ now Military Secretary to the S. of S. for War, having just returned from Washington, and George Hall and Arthur Henderson.

I am very voiceless and full of cold when I get back to-night and probably it was rather stupid of me to keep all my social engagements.

19. 6. 42.

Stay in bed to get rid of my cold.

Long talk with H.G. on our future activities, particularly external economic relations. I have a locus here which I have not yet exploited through lack of time and also because it is a little bit Economic text-book, and this still repels me.

Meanwhile, I have a note from G. saying that he has been offered by A.C., and has accepted, the headship of a new Economic

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-3-

and Reconstruction Section at the F.O. This will be good in many ways, but may be tiresome in others, if A.E. has it in mind to try and snatch more influence over external economics. And I hear from other sources that there is talk to this effect.

20. 6. 42.

Stay in all day and do nothing, seeking to rid myself of the remains of a cold.

21. 6. 42 (Sunday)

Get up late just in time to receive G.J. at 12.30 for lunch. We find several of my haunts closed and end by going to what is now called the Cigale in Romily Street. Under the new 5/- regulation the food tends to be everywhere the same and less in quantity. This is, no doubt, wholly right. (Just before going out I make a minute on Exeter - damage to shops by air raid - and the frightful delay here in dealing with it. My Private Office fell down very badly, neither having shown me four important letters received at the end of May, nor trodden on the tails of those officials to whom these were confided, so that I see the whole wretched file for the first time yesterday, June 20th. It appears that at one point Mr Somervell lay down upon it for eight days!)

I warn G. that there must be reciprocity between the F.O. and me over Economic and Reconstruction questions on the one hand and political questions on the other. The purpose of his new Department can, no doubt, be very innocently and plausibly stated but, in the light of my previous difficulties with A.E. and the latter's tendency to an unpleasant-childish acquisitiveness, I shall be rather suspicious.

I ask G. how my coal adventures had looked to him. He says that he has the impression that I have had to retreat a bit, and that I have been left to do most of the fighting on my own. He says that Winster, who always professes a great admiration for me, says that I was left in the lurch by my colleagues, E.B. ostentatiously walking out of the room in the middle of a difficult Parliamentary Labour Party meeting. (This last is not quite just.) W. says that he thinks my short-term credit with the Labour Party has been lowered, but not my long-term. O.Peake and others say that all the Committees in the Reorganisation scheme are mere eye-wash and will make no difference. G. senses that I am "not

/popular

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popular" with J.M.K. I say "I know that. It is because I have always refused to sit at his feet." In fact J.M.K. was much against the Beveridge rationing scheme.

G. thinks that I "might do worse than Nowell" for Head of C.R.T. in succession to old Wills. He has not met N. for some years but thought him distinctly intelligent. He praises H.D.H. who, he says, is now quite definitely a planner. I think that he and G. will find some ground of agreement in an anti-American bias. G. quotes approvingly H.D.H.'s statement that to join up with the U.S.A. economically would be to play the part of a British Mussolini to an American Hitler. G. says that a number of younger people, both at the Treasury and at the Bank of England, are also very much in favour of controls. On the other hand, Robbins is still very anti-control and has "great influence" and D.H. Robertson is a last-ditcher against all controls. He, however, has been very ill and is practically finished as a personal force. He is buried somewhere in the depths of the Exchange Equalisation Fund.

I spend the evening finishing Rowse's "Cornish Childhood", a charming book of which he has sent me a copy. With this his publishers enclosed a letter to H.G. Wells, and a few days later I received from the Secretary to Noel Coward an apology and a letter addressed to me, with the further statement that Coward had now received a letter addressed to him by Rowse which had been enclosed in a copy of the book sent to Bernard Shaw! The publishers must have had tremendous fun mixing up all the letters.

22. 6. 42.

See Haydn Davies and complete with him arrangements for his return to the Star.

Conference on clothing and footwear - Waterhouse, Overton, Barlow, etc. In clothing we shall be rather tight and it will not be easy to "honour the ration"; we must, therefore, be austere about supplementaries, etc. Knitted hosiery is likely to be especially short.

The fall of Tobruk is in the papers this morning and this will make it easier, for the moment, to take stern lines.

Jowitt to lunch with me. He is very vague and lacking in exact conviction. He seems to have practically no staff and has, as yet, no official car. He asks me how one gets one. I

/suggest

suggest that he should get his Private Secretary to enquire. Though vague, he seems very co-operative.

"Colonel" Louis Franck comes to see me to announce that he is shortly going to the U.S.A. to take charge of all activities (of a certain class) in North and South America under B.N. He is taking with him a good staff, including Sweet-Escott and Robin Brook. This is an interesting appointment and may succeed. He is a very clever fellow, though I would not trust him far. He paints a gloomy picture of the possibilities in West and South Africa, in neither of which, he thinks, if a crisis developed, would there be any better results than further East. In W.A., he says, there is constant intrigue between the ineffective military on the spot (General Gifford) and the Colonial Office at home. I say that at any rate they will soon have Swinton there and he should not be unsympathetic to a certain point of view. In S.A., Franck says, all hangs on Smuts. He has no successor. If he disappeared, no-one could count on the future.

C.D.H.Cole to see me and I guide him, as agreed with Jowitt at lunch, towards Post-War Location of Industry and away from Industrial Surveys, except in so far as these bear on Location. He is quite agreeable to this and says that is what he is doing already. I then hand him over to Overton, who thinks this a good modus vivendi.

23. 6. 42.

In P.M.'s absence, C.R.A. makes statement on Tobruk. The House is uneasy but less difficult and excited than I had expected. Wardlaw Milne gives notice that he and some of those with whom he has been consulting will put down a motion of No Confidence in the central direction of the war. He will not, I think, get many to support this and he is really an unwilling ally of the Government for his stock stands very low with the Labour Party and not high with the 1922 Committee.

Meeting with A.E. and W.J. on instructions for Leith-Ross in the U.S.A. They swallow my draft with only one minor amendment. All very affable. We are a combination against the Treasury.

Dine with Lord H., J.W. and H.G. I rag Lord H. about the press attacks on him. "Banker-Peer to control your coal", and "The miners' friend" followed by a long list of his Directorships. I say it is high time that G.L.G. announced his other

/appointments

appointments, both at H.Q. and in the Regions. Lord H. says that he is being pretty slow about all this; his old father, with whom he spent last weekend, has advised him not to be in a hurry; he is consulting, Lord H. thinks, too many people; he is also much bothered about accommodation, having failed to get the house in St James's Square (Norfolk House) which is empty but reserved for the F.O. in case they are blitzed. I mention that E.B. has been telling G.L.G. that he should not appoint a miners' leader to be Labour Director at H.Q. but, instead, D.T. Jack, on the ground that a miners' leader couldn't "build up a new Department". E.B. says that he saw David Shackleton, David Cummings and Bill Bruce become Civil Servants and fade right out. Also, says E.B., the miners will say to one another that their leaders are just getting jobs for themselves. I say, and the others agree, that this is all nonsense; E.B. has an anti-miner prejudice dating from 1926; if not enough of these new posts are given to miners' leaders, it will create a very bad impression. Lord H. says that if Young were to be made, as is possible, Production Director, and Jack Labour Director, he would himself resign, for it would be thought, especially after the press attacks on him, that he was responsible for keeping the miners out. We can't think why E.B. thinks anything of Jack, who is a most second-rate provincial academic economist.

He has, it seems, been trying to undermine Young with E.B., and E.B. has been undermining him with G.L.G. because Jack reported that E. Williams, giving evidence before the Greene Ctee., quoted from a paper marked Bolsover!

I asked about Regional Controllers. Even if only a few names could be announced now, it would be better than waiting on for a complete team. Lord H. said that he had recommended Horner for S. Wales and G. Macdonald for Lancashire, etc., with Houldsworth for M.A.D. and Drummond for Northumberland. These names, he said, had not been "very well received". He doubted whether G.L.G. had much power of decision. Lord H. himself had sounded E.E. as to whether he would take Labour Director. He had also sounded the Treasury as to giving him, or any other miners' leader, a contract for a term of years. The Treasury were sticky about this, but we agreed that it was essential. (Next morning the press is full of statements that E.E. has been offered a post. I meet him in the street in the morning and he is most indignant, saying that he had just mentioned the matter to his E.C. in confidence, and quite provisionally, and that they had at once said that the day after he left they would fill his post. W.L. coming up at this moment, the conversation faded a bit.)

DIARY24. 6. 42.

N.E.C. meeting at 9.30, a good arrangement, since many members arrive late and the business is all over soon after 12!

2.15. Admtve. Ctee. discusses whether we should demand an enquiry into Libya. Most are in favour, but not Shinwell, who says he doesn't wish to embarrass the conduct of the war!

6.30. Sir E. Hodgson comes to explain all the difficulties about doing anything to check nominee shareholding, on which J.W. is so keen.

Evershed comes to see me at 10 p.m. and stays till midnight! There was nothing much to discuss except whether I would release him either to be a Regional Coal Controller or have Maxwell's job in Cairo. I tell him frankly that I don't think the latter would suit him. He doesn't know how to get out of a room. He has some defects. J.W., on the other hand, thinks he is the cat's whiskers!

25. 6. 42.

A confused Party Meeting which ends in the defeat, though only by 33 to 30, some 6 or 7 Ministers voting in the majority, of a proposal to put down at once a motion demanding an enquiry into Libya. The matter is now adjourned till next Tuesday. I was myself not clear whether such a motion would be either good or bad. H.M.G. could hardly have treated it as a vote of no confidence if it came with the support of the Labour Party, but it would have done something to undermine C.R.A.'s position, since it would be known that he had tried to dissuade the Party from such action. Now pride of place will remain with Wardlaw-Milne's censure motion, which is subscribed to, up to date, by some 20 members, of whom 7 or 8 belong to our Party.

R.S. Edwards to see me. I have not seen him for a long while but he makes a good impression. He is still only 37 and was the youngest Director of the C.W.S. ever elected. He would like to come in with me in some capacity. I will consider whether or not to appoint him one of my business members.

/Waterhouse

Waterhouse to see me on quite a long agenda, beginning with his successful visit to Exeter, going on to the griefs of Mrs Tate on the Retail Trade Report - all this pretty plain sailing - and ending up on his objections to our policy of prohibiting inessential production and to insufficient coupons for growing children. On this last point I quite definitely refuse to vary the policy, and on the first I only agree to look again at some of the points and get the total saving more closely analysed. He is very persistent on prohibitions and finally, though he seems to admit that I treat all his ideas with consideration, denounces the officials and says that in future he will never give them any decision on anything, since when they get the decisions they want from him they take them, but when they don't, they come to me to get him over-ruled. There may be some truth in this but it is a relationship often apt to arise between the No.2 Minister and the Civil Servant.

T.Sharp to see me at my request. I consult him about my Advisory Panel on Utility Furniture. He makes some useful suggestions. He thinks the I.C.I. taste in wood panelling and ceiling lights in my office quite appalling. He is now with M.W.B.

A wonderful comedy over the Retail Trade Report. Mrs Tate has written to me protesting in the strongest fashion against the action of the Chairman, poor old Craig Henderson, who, she claims, has obtained her signature to the Report on false pretenses. I then send for the Chairman, who is in a great state. He has been ~~chafing and frowning and they all agree that if I will authorise it,~~ the Chairman should refuse to print the adendum by Lyle. This I agree to do, though making it very clear that I do it not on any initiative of my own but solely at the Chairman's request!

Sir T.Barlow dines with me. He is quite good fun.

26. 6. 42.

L.P.'s Ctee. agrees, almost without debate, to my paper on Furniture. Then follows a long discussion on shipping and import cuts. I have to leave before this is over, in order to meet a deputation from West Wales, including Sir W.Jenkins and Jim Griffiths. This goes slowly but pretty well, and I reveal to them that American troops are on the way in large numbers and that many of them, with much equipment, will come to South Wales, where, since they will bring much purchasing power with them, they will not be an unmixed nuisance.

conferring downstairs with 3 or 4 of his colleagues, Mrs. T., Mathias, Shaw and S. Florence, and they all agree that if I will authorise it,

DIARY26. 6. 42 (Friday) - 29. 6. 42 (Monday).

Weekend of sun and solitude at W.L., except that E.D. comes over to lunch on the Saturday and talks rather intelligently. He thinks the Germans, having lost two big wars, won't be able to try again. The Russians have done so marvellously in building up their industry in a short time that they will soon, after this war, tower over Europe. I ask him whether he still thinks the Russians are as bad as the Germans. He says yes. I argue against this. I say the Russians are indifferent to the individual, whereas the Germans like concentrating, with sadistic glee, upon him. I think the Russians are callous rather than gleeful over human suffering, and anyhow they are further away from us.

I was in a depressed mood about the war, which, when I had heard on Monday morning last about the fall of Tobruk, seemed to extend itself immeasurably. I had not liked the large surrender at Tobruk. E.D. said that the attraction was all into the Air Force and the Navy, and the Army got what was left, on all levels. He thought the war couldn't last beyond next year. He said "victories" were no use to Hitler. The only thing that is any use to him is "Victory".

Mrs Emily Lowther has her husband home on leave, but she leaves plenty of food in the larder. I mow the lawn a lot and trim my trees and make a bonfire and play my hundredth game of Triangle Bridge. (I have got it out 26 times in this 100.)

29. 6. 42.

Still deaf in one ear. Lunch with Holmes and Bill Street.

Deputation from Shildon about the Food Office. Very strong local feeling has been aroused by the suggestion that Shildon people should have to travel to Bishop Auckland, or even that their office should be a sub-office to that at B.A. On the other hand, the Ministry of Food are anxious to do some concentration, and I can't blame them.

War Cab. Discussion on joint paper of A.E., me and W.A.J. on instructions for Sir F.L.R. in Washington. Everyone is tired, garrulous and inconsequent. A most deplorable discussion which goes on for an hour and a quarter. But in the end we get the instructions through substantially unchanged. C.R.A. in the Chair, in the

absence of the P.M., is frightfully slow and obstructive.

30. 6. 42.

Party Meeting on day before debate on Vote of Censure motion rejects, following appeals from C.R.A. and E.B., proposals to put a motion on the Order Paper demanding an enquiry. Thus the Admtve.Ctee. is over-ruled. But I don't think most of them are sorry!

Lady Reading to see me. She impresses me as very competent. She runs the W.V.S. and quite understands the importance of demanding coupons for all clothing, including gifts from U.S.A. and Dominions.

H.G. to dine. We talk of Retail Trade. Also of the slowness and obstructive obstinacy of some people.

1. 7. 42.

Vote of Censure debate begins. Wardlaw Milne proposes that the Duke of Gloucester should be made Commander-in-Chief. This is very ill received, particularly on the Labour Benches, and quite upsets the speech. The general view is that this Duke is the least mental member of the Royal Family.

As I am still tiresomely deaf, my Private Office gets in touch with Duncan's and are recommended Dr Trapnell, who arrives with an immense apparatus, inspects and syringes my left ear - rather an unpleasant though not exactly painful process - whereupon my hearing is completely restored. He seems quite a good physician.

Sir Raymond Streat to see me, very pleased with his Knighthood and anxious to arrange a week's visit by me to Manchester and district. I suggest that this might happen in September.

Take Robin Brook and his wife to a concert at the Wigmore Hall and afterwards to Jozefs. They are both relatively musical. Jarecki conducts the London Symphony Orchestra - three Vilanelles by a 16th century Pole, a concerto by Chopin and Dvorak's New World symphony, which Mrs Brook says it is quite wrong to decry as "sugary". This much encourages me. This young man is not going to America.