

Thank.
Hans

HURWOOD HOUSE,
ALBURY, GUILDFORD.

EWHURST 74.

28th July 1938.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

I was very sorry to treat you so rudely yesterday evening, but so many people seemed to want to be talking at the same time after the debate was over. I should have valued a talk with you.

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I think that Runciman's appointment proves that the line of policy advocated in the proposed joint letter to "The Times" was sound. Both his appointment and our letter believe in the value, for the moment at any rate, of getting a third-party opinion or intervention. It is quite true that this may prove of no value in the long run, and that both sides will remain intransigent, but at this stage I think it was the wise procedure. We of course shall not send our letter now.

Have you thought any more about your deputation to Halifax? Please do realise that I admire so much what you are doing in this complicated problem and that I am willing to help in any way.

Yours sincerely,

Allen.

18 COWLEY STREET
WESTMINSTER.

22nd. July 1938.

My dear Allen,

Thank you for your kind letter about my proposed deputation, and also for the invitation to sign the letter to the Times.

With regard to the deputation,
(in getting answer)
I have not yet progressed far enough to be sure whether the plan will be worth carrying out. If a suitable group of peers can be got together, I will approach Halifax in such a way as to find out whether he would only accept a deputation out of courtesy, or would really welcome one.

You suggest, both in regard to the deputation, and also in your letter to

the TIMES, that third party settlement would serve better than a plebiscite as the line on which to fall back if the Czechs and Sudeten Germans fail to reach agreement by themselves. Without, for the moment, entering into the respective merits of the two courses, I do see that your proposal is somewhat more likely to be acceptable both to Beneš^V and also to our own Foreign Office. (~~If I were sure that my proposal had been definitely rejected, I would certainly come in on yours;~~)

but as I have already suggested the plebiscite to Halifax, ~~and I find some difficulty in suddenly shifting my ground.~~ *I think on the whole my proposal is better. & the two somewhat conflict.*

~~With regard to third party mediation or arbitration, I think we should be clear what sort of third party we have in mind. It would be awkward if this question~~ *mediation is of course bound in principle, but the Supreme*

Ewhurst 74.

Hurtwood House,
Albury,
Guildford.

20th July 1938.

My Dear Noel Baxter.

Sir Arthur Salter has been discussing with me whether any helpful contribution could be made to the solution of the Czecho-Slovakian crisis by means of a jointly signed letter to "The Times". We are submitting for your consideration the enclosed letter together with the list of those to whom we have sent it. The list is of value in so far as it unites many schools of thought.

We very much hope that you will sign, and that you will be good enough to let us have an answer immediately. Naturally we also hope that you will not feel it necessary to make any textual alterations.

Yours sincerely
Allen

say if 0th agree

Allen

HURTWOOD HOUSE,
ALBURY, GUILDFORD.
EWHURST 74.

19th July 1938.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I am grateful to you for writing to me, and will naturally do anything I can to help.

I agree with your general line of approach, but I think it will be better to press for an agreement that the Czecho-Slovakian crisis should be referred to some form of third-party judgment rather than to favour exclusively a plebiscite. Both sides would find it difficult to reject a proposal for third-party judgment, whereas a plebiscite favours the Germans and is an unfavourable procedure for Benes^V. I fear he is entitled perhaps to say that he will agree to a plebiscite ^{only} if we and others would guarantee the results. What I mean is that it is easy to press the procedure of self-determination upon Prague provided ^{on} that the other side Germany is also a faithful adherent to the same principle. It is not easy to press the method of self-determination through a plebiscite if one party to the dispute wishes to use the idea of self-determination as a jumping-off

No. avoid
deadlock

What sort
+ how best
deadlock

Pleb is n/plan
it is only words

for to risk it

ground for ~~more~~^a subsequent conquest, and therefore as a denial of self-determination. It is for this reason that I favour talking of a reference of the dispute to third-party judgment, because this makes it possible for the award to include a dual recommendation: (a) the demarcation of frontiers etc; and (b) the method of guaranteeing the award.

As ~~to~~^{for} going to see Halifax, I should certainly be willing to join you provided I know who the others in the deputation will be, and provided it is clear that Halifax wants us to come to him in order to give him support. I am doubtful of the wisdom of going on a deputation where the initiative is on our side and the Minister is reluctant.

Perhaps you will let me know what you finally decide and what you want me to do.

I am very grateful to you for the valuable and persistent interest you take in this difficult problem.

Yours sincerely,

Atkins

*X or wife a
Plan?*

HURTWOOD HOUSE,
ALBURY, GUILDFORD.
EWHURST 74.

*I was abs.
Letter appeared at
Hurtwood 10*

On Aunties

4th March 1938.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

I am absolutely convinced that some action must
now be taken to make the German Government realise how
profoundly disturbed friendly British opinion is about
political prisoners. Their action with regard to Pastor
Niemoeller makes this more urgent than ever. Those of us
who, like you and me, have been wikki the protagonists
of goodwill have no right to go on with that work unless
we speak on this other subject. I think we must be willing
to take risks, although I personally shall go on with the
work of political reconciliation whatever the German
Government does. I hope therefore you will agree to join
in signing the enclosed letter to "The Times", whatever
your previous attitude may have been. I have already
received the consent of the Archbishop of York, Lord
Sankey and Sir Wyndham Deedes, and I am hoping to hear
favourably from Astor and Lothian. In the event of
their not consenting I hope York, Sankey and Deedes will
agree to act with me and that you will do the same.
The matter is becoming urgent, and I plead with you to

*Impress
at Hurtwood*