py. Letter supplied by Churchill Cuttelight.

August 51st 1914.

(hippened by frey).

My dear Buxton,

It is of the utmost importance to the future prosperity of the Balkan States that they should act together. This is the hour warm the metal can be cast into the mould. It is only by reclaiming from Austria territories which belong naturally to the Balkan races that the means can be provided to satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of all the Balkan States. Without taking Austrian territory, there is no way by which any Balkan State can expand except by intercine war. But the application of the principle of nationality to the Southern Provinces of Austria will produce results so advantageous to the Balkan States that the memory and the consequences of former quarrels could be assuaged for ever.

The creation of a Balkan Confederation comprising Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, and Greece, strong enough to play an effective part in the destinies of Europe, must be the common dream of all their peoples. The result of this war is not doubtful. Sooner or later, Germany will be starved and beaten. Austria will be resolved into its component parts. England has always won in the end- and Russia is unconquerable. England has been the friend of every Christian State in the Balkans during all their years of struggle and suffering. She has no interests of her own to seek

in the Balkan Peninsula. But with her wealth and power she will promote and aid every step which is taken to build up a strong union of the Christian peoples, like that which triumphed in the first Balkan War. By acting together in unity and good faith the Balkan States can now play a decisive part, and gain advantages which may never again be offered. By disumion they will simply condemn themselves to tear each others threats throats without profit or reward, and left to themselves will play an utterly futile part in the destinies of the world.

I want you to make your friends in Greece and in Bulgaria realise the brilliant but fleeting opportunity which now presents itself, and to assure them that England's might and perseverance will not be withheld from any righteous effort to secure the strength and union of the Balkan peoples.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) Winston S. Thurchill.

August 31st 1914

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Churchill

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Yours very sincerely,
Winston S. Churchill

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WESTERHAM 93

CHARTWELL,
WESTERHAM,
KENT.

9th August 1931.

Mydear Burton,

I have suggested the only alterations which seem to be required in the T.S. you have sent me. It would never do to include my two casual references to Turkey and Persia, apart from the whole conversation in which you say they occurred. Otherwise I have no comments, and shall be most interested to read the book when it appears.

yours smil hristorel. Churchell

N. Buxton Esq.,

10 Prime minister 1942 (1943?)

Draft Letter to the Prime Minister

Dear Prime Minister,

We beg to write to you in regard to your broadcast on March 21st in which, speaking as "a good European", you outlined the revival of the genius of Europe through a Eusopean Council, in which all the main members of the European family must some day be partners.

Your words met with enthusiastic approval, but we, the undersigned, desire to urge that they are entitled to still more attention than they have received. We trust that your allusion to the European Council will recall the public to the fact that the establishment of a durable peace is the true aim of the war. hope that it will dispel the fantastic victor, which ins ires a section of the public, of a post-war settlement in which Germany will be held in subjugation, and German youth will have its aggressive inclinations exercised by British and other foreign teachers. We are glad, in this connection, of your reminder to the public that the Council must rest on the partnership of all the main branches of the European family. As this obviously includes the German nation, it appears to us to imply the desirability of the formation, as early as possible, following upon the military incapacitation of Hitler and Nazi Germany, of a democratic anti-Wazi Government, with whom negotiation would be possible.

The Foreign Office has from the first days of the war directed to Germany a propaganda which, if it means anything, aims at this the fire City creating of a democratic pover much in Germany), end. If our propaganda successfully supplements the military

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To The Right Hon. W. S. Churchill M.P.

Dear Prime Minister,

We beg to write to you in regard to your broadcast on March 21st in which, speaking as a good European", you outlined the revival of the genius of Europe through a European Council, in which all the main members of the European family must some day be partners.

Your words met with enthusiastic approval, but we, the undersigned, desire to urge that they are entitled to still more attention than they have received. We trust that your allusion to the European Council will recall the public to the fact that the establishment of a durable peace is the true aim of the war. We hope that it will dispel the fantastic vision, which inspires a section of the public, of a post-war settlement in which Germany will be held in subjugation, and German youth will have its aggressive inclinations exorcised by British and other foreign teachers. We are glad, in this connection, of your reminder to the public that the Council must rest on the partnership of all the main branches of the European family. As this obviously includes the German nation, it appears to us to imply the desirability of the formation, as early as possible, following upon the military incapacitation of Hitler and Nazi Germany, of a democratic anti-Nazi Government, with whom negotiation would be possible.

The Foreign Office has, from the first days of the war, directed to Germany a propaganda which, if it means anything, aims at this end. If our propaganda successfully supplements the military measures by political action, and thus creates an anti-Hitler revolt, it will not only produce the greatest assurance of peace in the future, but it will also minimise the destruction of human lives and material treasure which must inevitably accompany a war pursued by military measures alone. Among our reasons for hoping that you will vigorously pursue the policy of encouraging the formation of a democratic anti-Hitler government, with which negotiations could be carried on, are the following:-

- I. The lack of fundamental unity between the United Nations on anything beyond the aim of defeating Germany; and the danger of a conflict of rival ambitions once this has been achieved:
- II. The imminent danger of widespread anarchy as the result of chaos and despair:
 - III. The loss in lives and treasure:
- IV. The fact that a peace based on consent would be its own guarantee while a peace of subjugation would involve the burden of an Allied occupation, which would become intolerable to the British and other troops involved in it.

It is not irrelevant to recall the history of the last war, because in a great measure a comparison can fairly be made. In

the spring of 1916, President Wilson attempted to bring about a settlement, but met with insufficient response from Sir Edward Grey. Writing ton years afterwards, Grey reflected on the results which might have accrued if he had followed up the President's offer. He wrote:

"Two years of war, in which expenditure of life and national strength and treasure were at their maximum, would have been avoided. European markets and trade might have recovered quickly, for the impoverishment and exhaustion would have been much less. The future peace of Europe, with the unsevered co-operation of the The future peace of Europe, with the unsevered co-operation of the United States, might have been safer than it is to-day. Prosperity United States, might be to-day more fair in prospect for us all than and security might be to-day more fair in prospect for us all than the victory of 1918 and the Treaties of 1919 have made them; and there would have been a peace with no noxious secret ideas of revanche."

(Grev: "Twenty-Five Years". Vol. II)

In view of these considerations, we desire to urge the importance of furthering, by a more definite statement, the opposition in Germany, which is already causing great difficulties to the Nazi regime. We are convinced that in such a policy you would receive strenuous support.

Carlton Hotel,
Pall Mall,
London.

My dear Buxton,

Some discussion will no doubt take place tomorrow on the subject at the Cabinet. For the result of this you must wait.

All our affairs are in suspense and yours among them.

Yours sincerely,
Winston S. Churchill.

WSC

Private and Confidential.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall. May 8. 1944.

Dear Noel Buxton,

None of these matters can be debated in public at the present time. They must all be decided after victory is won.

You will see that Mr. Hull confirms what I said on February 22, and you may be sure there is no difference between the views of His Majesty's Government and those of the Government of the United States. Your letter gives me the impression that you have not the slightest conception of the perils which lie ahead before we can establish a world peace order.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Winston S. Churchill.