

a

Wellington House,

Buckingham Gate,

London, S.W.

26th September, 1916.

Dear Mr. Buxton,

I wonder if you could give me any rough idea about what demand there will be in the United States for our volume of documents bearing on ~~the situation~~ ^{what has happened in} in Armenia which I have been editing for Lord Bryce, and which is now on the point of being published as a Blue Book. (I think we gave you a copy in proof).

We want to arrange for an American edition, and I also want to get the American Relief Committee, if they will, to take it up. I cabled to Dr. Barton some days ago asking an estimate of the number they could use, ^(apart from the question of cost, in which we could meet them) but have so far had no reply. Have you any idea yourself what the number would be? I know they have a "publicity" manager to do things on a fairly big scale, but it is difficult to estimate for them without some guidance. We are anxious to fix the total number required before printing off, and as the book runs to about 700 pages we want to begin printing off as soon as we possibly can.

Hoping you will be able to give me some advice on this point.

Yours sincerely,

Arnold J. Doxbee

Noel Buxton, Esq.,
"Green Lanes",
Burnham,
Bucks.

Pedd 1508
KENSINGTON 398.

PC

New address: -

3 Melina Place,
St. John's Wood N.W.8
16, CARLYLE MANSIONS,
CHEYNE WALK,
S.W.3.

24.12.22

Dear Buxton,

So very many thanks for
sending me a copy of your
book. It is very timely in
its publication, & I hope it
will have a wide sale, for
it puts together things which
people ought to know but
which are not easily to be found
set out in the proper connection,
as you have put them.

I wonder if there is any
faint chance of this project for

What does he mean ??

Turks grant an Irish freedom!

apply in the Dominion formula
to the Armenian National Home.

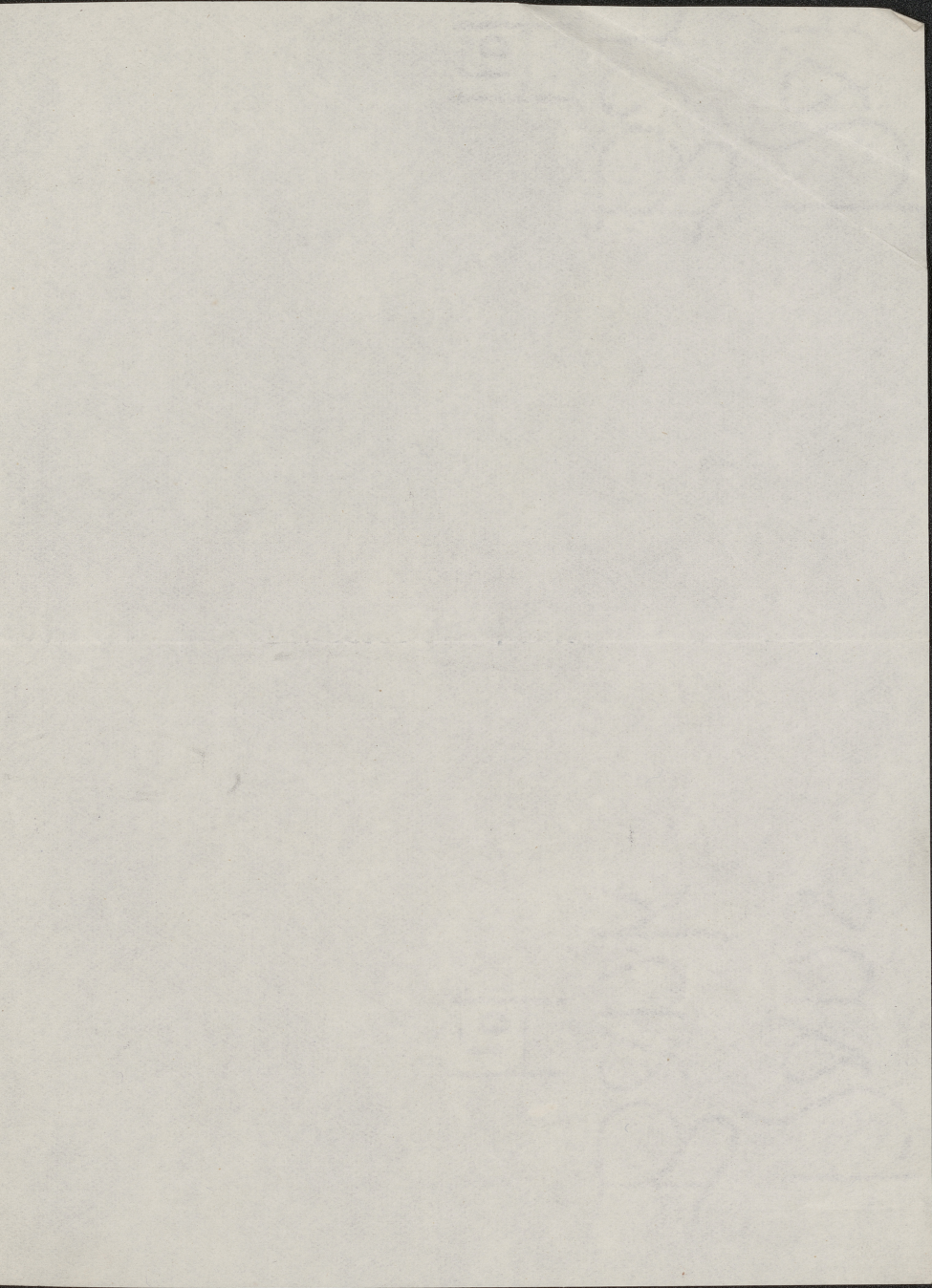
If it were realized on the
^{Turkish} Turkish side, it might eventually
coalesce with Erivan as a
sort of joint dominion of the
two Powers Russia & Turkey.

I have just got a third son,
a stout fellow. He and his
mother are getting on well, I
am glad to say.

With best wishes for James,

Yours sincerely,

Arnold J. Doynbee



Telephone No 710 Oxford.

44 Oakley St.
S. W. 3.
5, Park Crescent,
Oxford.

29th April.

Dear Mr. Buxton,

I have never managed to reply to your very kind letter of the 7th of last month - I have had a rush of work and in the intervals have been moving house.

In suggesting that one might solve the strategical difficulties raised by an "ethnographic" Poland by neutralising certain territories, so as to obtain a more defensible line strategically, I had in mind the case of part of Savoy, which was "neutralised" (and also made a free trade area) at the Congress of Vienna, and still, I believe, has this status, even since its cession by Sardinia to France in 1859.

Since I wrote, trench warfare seems to show that a line of almost any shape is defensible

- e.g. the German west front for two and a half years has followed a line which one would have previously thought hardly possible for a strategical frontier. But then trench warfare may be breaking up, and I suppose it is too early to prophesy what geographical conditions will be considered necessary to strategical security by the end of the war.

My general feeling is this. Strategical considerations will always cut across the economic and national considerations by which the demarcation of political groups ought to be determined, if it is going to be satisfactory and permanent. One aims, therefore, at making the strategical motive less urgent - say, by limitation of armaments or the League of Peace - meanwhile, one has to find some expedient for satisfying strategic demands, because, if they are not satisfied, they are strong enough, as things are, to wreck a good settlement.

With many apologies for my delay in answering.
Yours sincerely,
Arnold J. Doube

Toynbee,
How how
"public opinion
originates?"

18th Sept, 1937

GANTHORPE HOUSE,
" TERRINGTON,
YORK.
TEL. CONEYSTHORPE 32.

Dear Noel Buxton,

I am so glad you
think the draft is all right.
For "substantial equality"
what about putting "something
like equality" or "something
more nearly approaching
equality"? I agree that
"substantial" doesn't fit with
a proposal to put some and
not all our crown colonies
under mandate. Personally,
I am in favour of doing

it with all of them, but I was afraid that, if we put this into the letter, it would overshadow the question of Germany's claims and would introduce an irrelevant reason for rejecting the whole of our proposal.

I like the covering letter, and I am sure it is better that it should come from you — I have one other suggestion for a person to send it to, and that is J. L.

Hammond, who takes a great interest in the question and has written on it in the M. G., besides once writing to the Sims about it.

I am afraid all the bother of launching it is falling on you.

By the way, had ~~John~~'s letter in the Sims the other day suggested territorial revision to which we ourselves should make a contribution - so what about asking him too?

I do hope we may get a
move on.

Yours very sincerely

Arthur G. Douglas

CUNNINGHAM 1430.

Col's debate
toynbee.

Con
In 1 dark
Jan 20
but he is parked
the apt. now
that be lenient
H. Allen.

3, MELINA PLACE
ST JOHN'S WOOD, N.W.18

8th February, 1938.

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I have been waiting from day to day to answer your letter of the 27th January in the hope that the German situation might become clearer, but this does not seem likely now. I do not know what you make of it, or whether you think there is anything in the rumour that one has heard that they are going to make a big push about the Colonial Question.

yes

My own feeling at the moment is that we had probably better let it alone until we do see some further light. It might be unfortunate if we put forward fairly reasonable suggestions from this end, only to have them squashed from the German end as being quite inadequate, and from the point of view of opinion here I am not sure whether the moment is favourable when everybody is in a state of rather unpleasant expectancy about what the Germans may be going to do next. I am really very much in the dark.

1)
better bet.

2)

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Toynbee

CUNNINGHAM 1430.

3, MELINA PLACE,
ST JOHN'S WOOD, N.W.8.

21st March, 1938.

Cunningham

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I certainly do think that this is the time for pushing forward vigorously with the idea of a conditional guarantee for Czechoslovakia, and I personally agree with you that the condition ought to include a plebiscite from which none of the three options which we discussed the other day is ruled out.

As to tactics, though, I think that much the most effective thing is for you to see Lord Halifax about it personally and privately.

*Done in T's
w T's approval* If one puts out the plan publicly, including the option of an Anschluss, the Czech Government is, I fear, bound to repudiate it publicly under pressure of its own Czech public opinion, and this would hinder a settlement instead of promoting one.

I should think that, in private negotiations, with a British guarantee at stake, the Czechs would now be prepared to go very far indeed in meeting Sudetic German claims. I am convinced that publicity at this stage would do no good.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Dawson

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
S.W.1.

CUNNINGHAM 1430.

Tornubel
Gy?

3, MELINA PLACE,
ST JOHN'S WOOD, N.W.8.

24th March, 1938.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

My letter to you crossed yours in THE TIMES. You have called out no public refusal on the Czech side. It may be that they have already begun to contemplate something on the lines of the plebiscite proposal. As to a memorandum from me, I doubt if the Government would pay any attention, as I do not suppose they like me much, in so far as they know of my existence.

Perhaps this afternoon we shall know more of the Prime Minister's intentions.

I hope you did not feel that I was criticising your letter in itself. So far from that, I thought the point was put splendidly.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Tornubel

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
S.W.1.

∞ I did offer June 2 -
done in time

GANTHORPE HALL,
TERRINGTON,
YORK.
TEL. CONEYSTHORPE 32.

7th July 1938,

Dear Noel Buxton,

I agree entirely with
everything in your note.
Could you perhaps concur
with the Sect. for you
to make all these admirable
points in the heads in a
debate in which they, on
their side, might take
the opportunity to report
progress - or absence of
it - in bringing the
Czechs to the point.

This would air the
question and show both

the Germans and the Czechs
that we do mean business.

It is immensely important
to make the Germans believe,
by results, that peaceful
change really is a practical
alternative to blood and
iron. If we can't do
this, then, as you say,
we may have a war
without a war-aim.

I am sure the Govt. would
welcome a chance of giving
Beneš a polite but vigorous
shove. Yours very sincerely
Arnold J. Rosenberg

~~Return~~

Southorpe
Sewington
York

Coynbee

15.10.38.

Dear Noel Buxton,

I shall be back on Monday fortnight and very much look forward to having a talk.

I rather feel that people of our way of thinking about the colonies ought to keep the pot stirring - especially as a section of the left will now take Amery's line, as being the anti-Fascist one!

When I saw Hitler on the 1st March 1936, he said

Ra

to me :-

(i) I am sorry you English
are so friendly to Russia;

(ii) I know the reason: you
want her support against Japan;

(iii) Why shouldn't you accept
Germany's support instead of
Russia's?

(iv) Of course I couldn't give
this as long as you treat Germany
as being unworthy to have colonies.

(v) If I had my colonies
returned to me, I should make
the general interests of Europe
oversee my affairs.

(vi) Should you had trouble
with Japan, I would give you
(this verbatim) "two divisions of
troops, and some workshops,
at Singapore"!

to me :-

(i) I am sorry you English
are so friendly to Russia;

(ii) I know the reason: you
want her support against Japan;

(iii) Why shouldn't you accept
Germany's support instead of
Russia's?

(iv) Of course I couldn't give
this as long as you treat Germany
as being unworthy to have colonies.

(v) If I had my colonies
returned to me, I should make
the general interests of Europe
oversee my affairs.

(vi) Should you had trouble
with Japan, I would give you
(this verbatim) "two divisions of
troops, and some workshops,
at Singapore"!

There is no reason ^{or was it wily,} why ~~that~~ ^{that} should not ~~all~~ still hold good, ² and, if you look into Hitler's argument, you will notice that he has put his finger on a fundamental point: Great Britain can't both deny German colonies and check Japanese aggression in the Far East. We must choose; and to my mind, the choice between a fratricidal European war and a joint European - and American - démarche in the Far East is not hard to make!

My policy now would be: -

(i) Interdiction of German colonies in Africa, coupled with an agreement on co-operation, and on common standards, for all

European administration in
Africa (N.B. no native emirs
- the Germans will be without
at that point).

(ii) Restoration to Germany of
her possessions in the Pacific
which were taken from her
by Australia, N.Z., and

S.B. J.B.

N.B. these make a screen
between Australia and the Japanese
navy.

I should like to couple their
^{restoration}~~guarantee~~ in the Pacific with
a mutual guarantee of their
Pacific Area possessions between
all European colonial Powers
(i.e. Germany, France, British
Empire, Netherlands, Portugal.

(iii) Personally, I should

like to broaden Germany's
 material ~~share~~ ^{share} in this
 region by getting the Dutch
 and the Indonesians to join
 with us - in consideration
 of the mutual guarantee -
 in giving Germany the whole
 of New Guinea, and
 part or all of Borneo as
 well.

Then we could deal with
 China (where the Japanese
 are destroying some very
 valuable German trade) and
 could rescue her from
 Japan's clutches.

— I am suggesting to-day

3

to my colleague both,
of the meetings Dept. at
Chatham House, that we
ought to have an early
meeting on the relation
between the Colonial
Question & the Far Eastern
Question.

If you think this a
good idea, wait you
yourself but put this up to
our Meetings Committee?

Yours very sincerely
Arnold J. Toynbee

When I saw Hitler on the 1st of March 1936, he said
to me:-----

- (i) I am sorry you English are so friendly to Russia;
- (ii) I know the reason: you want her support against Japan;
- (iii) Why shouldn't you accept Germany's support instead of Russia's?
- (iv) Of course, I couldn't give this as long as you treat Germany as being unworthy to have colonies.
- (v) If I had my colonies returned to me, I should make the general interests of Europe overseas my affair.
- (vi) Then, if you had trouble with Japan, I would give you (this verbatim) "two divisions of troops and some warships, at Singapore"!

There is no reason why this should not all still hold good, and, if you look into Hitler's argument, you will notice that he has put his finger on a fundamental point: Great Britain can't both deny Germany colonies and check Japanese aggression in the Far East. We must choose; and to my mind, the choice between a fratricidal European War and a joint European --- and American --- demarche in the Far East is not hard to make!

My policy now would be:-----

- (1) Integral restoration of German colonies in Africa, coupled with an agreement on co-operation, and on common standards, for all European administration in Africa (N.B., no native armies, --- the Germans will be with us on that point.)

(ii) Restoration to Germany of her possessions in the Pacific, which were taken from her by Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain. (N.B. these make a screen between Australia and the Japanese navy.)

I should like to couple this restitution in the Pacific with a mutual guarantee of their Pacific area possessions between all European colonial Powers (i.e. Germany, France, British Empire, Netherlands, Portugal.)

(iii) Personally, I should like to broaden Germany's material stake in this region by getting the Dutch and the Australians to join with us --- in consideration of the mutual guarantee -- in giving Germany the whole of New Guinea, and part or all of Borneo as well.

Then we could deal with China, (where the Japanese are destroying some very valuable German trade) and could rescue her from Japan's clutches.

CUNNINGHAM 1508.

3, MELINA PLACE,
ST. JOHN'S WOOD,
N.W. 8.

3rd November, 1938.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

Many thanks for your letter of the 28th about mine reporting what Hitler said to me about Russia and Japan.

At the time, I did write a minute on the whole of my interview for Tom Jones, who sent it up, I think, to the Cabinet Secretariat, but no doubt it is long since forgotten and I never had a copy of it myself. So if you think that it would be any good passing on the information to Lord Halifax now, please do so. I think he would be more likely to pay attention if he had it from you than if I wrote a memo on it.

I gather we are perhaps going to meet at your house in the near future to hear about Berber's postponed visit.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Toynbee

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

(5)

C. H. B.

3, MELINA PLACE,
ST. JOHN'S WOOD,
N.W.8.

February 23rd, 1939.

Handwritten note:
R. H. B. 1/24/39
The Colonial Office

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I was interested to get your letter of the 21st. My own feeling is that nothing effective can be done about the Colonial Question at present. I feel that the opportunity was snuffed out by the outbreak against the Jews in Germany after Munich and that it is not likely to arise again unless something like a general peace conference can be arranged to break the deadlock of the present intense competition in re-armament. I am not very hopeful about this. I feel that things have now come to such a pass that there is bound to be some kind of show-down - not necessarily a war but possibly some kind of cracking-up of the staying-power of one or other of the two parties to the competition. This is a pretty bad look-out. Do you yourself think that the colonial question can be raised again now? If you do I would gladly have a talk about it, but I am not very hopeful at present.

Yours very sincerely,

Arthur J. Roynbee

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street, S.W.1.

Handwritten mark

AR

Telephone: WHITEHALL 2233.

Inland Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, PICCY, LONDON."

Foreign Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, LONDON."

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Patron:
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

Presidents:
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL BALDWIN OF BEWDLEY, K.G.
THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, K.C.
THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, O.M., M.P.
THE RIGHT HON. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

Honorary Presidents:
THE VICEROY OF INDIA
THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN
THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA
THE PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA
THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Chairman of Council:
THE VISCOUNT ASTOR

Vice-Chairman of Council:
THE RIGHT HON. A. V. ALEXANDER, M.P.

Honorary Treasurer:
SIR JOHN POWER, BART., M.P.

Secretary:
IVISON S. MACADAM, C.B.E., M.V.O.

All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

~~CHATHAM HOUSE,~~
~~ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,~~
~~LONDON, S.W.1~~
BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

September 29th, 1939.

x CRB's

Dear Noel Buxton,

I have just got your letter of the 28th with the enclosure. It reached me just after I had heard on the wireless the joint German-Russian demand on Great Britain and France.

Speaking purely personally, I think your terms contain the essence of what we want in order to make a better Europe, but at the same time it looks as though neither Hitler nor Stalin would consider them.

I am trying to make as large a collection as I can about ideas for a peace settlement, official and unofficial, British and foreign. I hope we may be able to keep in touch about this.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Dymally

Director.

The Lord Noel Buxton,
18, Cowley Street,
London, S.W. 1.

Lyubee 3, Ship Street,
Oxford,

November 30th, 1939.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd November,
with the enclosed notes.

My own feeling is that a patched-up peace with
Hitler is not really practical politics, and that, supposing
that we did, after all, manage to make one, it would be
incompatible with disarmament. We should then, I am afraid,
revert to the competitive re-armament which led up to the
War and we should merely have an armed truce, pending a
renewal of hostilities.

The Prussian Government and General Staff of
November 1917 were, I feel, much less awkward customers to
deal with than the Nazis.

I am afraid this is rather a negative opinion.
Perhaps we shall have an opportunity for a talk later on.

Yours very sincerely,

Amal J. Lyubee

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

~~CRN~~

Toyubee. ^{publ. concession}
~~take back~~ by ab

3, Ship Street,

OXFORD.

December 21st, 1939.

x Save his face.
a mily 93

Dear Noel-Buxton,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 18th December enclosing the confidential draft. My own difficulty about such a proposal would be this: All I hear from Germany suggests that at present Hitler is not prepared to concede more than a show of autonomy to the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, and therefore, unless one did lay down formally and clearly - and I should also say publicly - that the restoration of the non-German nations conquered by Germany is an absolute condition of peace on our side, I think any negotiations would lead us up to German proposals in regard to the subject peoples, which would prove, on examination, to be unacceptable to us, and that in the end we should be driven to break the negotiations off. If there is anything in this expectation of mine, it would surely be better to state our conditions in advance.

(save what
we break down)

By hand
privately
copy

Again, thank you so much for letting me have a copy of the draft.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Toyubee

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street, Westminster S.W.1.

Toynbee

3, Ship Street,

Oxford.

December 9th, 1939.

*See trim.
What conditions will most
affect for mental policy
Gods peaceful*

Dear Noel-Buxton,

Many thanks for your note of the 8th. I should like to have a talk and will suggest a time when I get the chance. My trouble so far has been that, when I have occasionally come up to London it has been for committees and other business which have kept me on the run between arrival and departure by the present very slow trains.

*no
no
no*

On the question, which you raise, of making peace with the Germans without defeating them, I see - this is of course simply my private opinion - two rather serious difficulties: (1) this would necessarily mean leaving the Poles and Czechs under German rule, even if some formula were used for covering up this fact; (2) there would be no possibility of a sincere and secure peace accompanied by a reduction of armaments and a re-organisation of the relations between the states of Europe; we should merely, I fear, revert to an aggravated form of the conditions existing during the two or three years preceding the outbreak of war; it would be an armed truce which would be bound to break out into war again in the near future.

I wonder how you feel on this point.

Yours very sincerely,

André J. Toynbee

The Right Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.

3, Ship Street,

Oxford,

August 12th, 1940.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I have studied your note for Lord Halifax with interest. As I daresay you rather expected, I decidedly disagree with it. Let me try to say why.

What you are advocating is a peace which would leave Germany's military power intact and would also leave her dominant over Eastern Europe. You might advocate this on the ground that a continuation of the war to the bitter end is in itself a worse evil - certainly for the world and perhaps even for Great Britain herself - than Great Britain's ceasing to be a Great Power. But I cannot follow the argument that our ceasing to be a Great Power is a means to the end of preserving intact our independence and freedom from foreign control. That you do contemplate our ceasing to be a Great Power on the basis of a settlement such as you suggest, would seem to follow from your saying that America offers the only possible guarantee for a lasting peace in these conditions.

On a secondary point, I am not sure what status you contemplate for the West European continental countries as to whose independence we ought to make no concessions. If Denmark, for example, is to be set up again as a nominally independent state, then, after her experience of being conquered by Germany in one night she will de facto remain a German dependency out of terror unless British troops step in as the German troops step out. In this latter case you would have a continent partitioned into a western zone of British, and an eastern zone of German, influence, but it would obviously be almost as difficult to persuade Hitler to agree to this, short of a German collapse, ~~than~~ as it would be to persuade him, short of a collapse, to evacuate all his conquests, east as well as west. In your heart of hearts, is your first concern peace or is it the maintenance of the independence and freedom of Great Britain and the Western continental states? If peace comes first, then I think one ought to face the fact that it has to be bought from Hitler at the

Tony Bee

No. Why?

W

? British troops stay

W!

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHATHAM HOUSE,
10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

OXFORD 47471
WHITEHALL 2288.

All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."

PRIVATE

Together
Marr
March 14th, 1940.

Dear Noel-Buxton,

I was much interested in your letter of the 8th March and I wish I could do what you ask, but as you know, I and this temporary Oxford Branch of Chatham House are now in a sort of semi-official position, and this makes one a good deal less free than one is in ordinary times. For this reason I fear we could not give you anything here for your own use in talking with Lord Halifax. By the terms of our Council's agreement with the Government about the scope of our work, we have to work exclusively for the Government and Government Departments in response to definite requests from them. Of course, if any such request were to come to us from Lord Halifax himself, we should not only be free to carry it out, but that would be our first duty, but we cannot anticipate official requests or, unfortunately, meet requests coming from outside "official circles". I am afraid this may seem rather Byzantine.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold J. Toynbee

The Rt. Hon.
The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18 Cowley Street,
S.W.1.

*If we just peace first we shall have
like cheer!*

price that has been paid by Czechoslovakia since 1938; if on the other hand our first aim is to liberate ourselves and the states of Western Europe from German domination, then I think we ought to make up our minds to persist with war until Hitler collapses and the non-German peoples of Europe are everywhere liberated from the German yoke.

No doubt anyone who decided to carry on the war is exposing himself to the risk of defeat and loss of independence. In the present case, however, I think the risk of this would be far greater if we were to make a compromise peace.

I believe if I were in your place I should be inclined to come out boldly for letting our position as a Great Power, or even as an independent state, go hang and should in fact advocate peace at any price. Unless one is prepared to do this - as I am not - I do not think one is in a strong position for advocating a compromise peace which would leave Hitler dominant unless America were to step in - which she is most unlikely to do in such circumstances.

Yours very sincerely,

Amelia J. Ryan Bee

The Right Hon. The Lord Noel-Buxton,
18, Cowley Street,
Westminster, S. W. 1.

Terms Toybee

I have studied your note for Lord Halifax with interest. As I daresay you rather expected, I decidedly disagree with it. Let me try to say why.

What you are advocating is a peace which would leave Germany's military power intact and would also leave her dominant over Western Europe. You might advocate this on the ground that a continuation of the war to the bitter end is in itself a worse evil - certainly for the world and perhaps even for Great Britain herself - than Great Britain's ceasing to be a Great Power. But I cannot follow the argument that our ceasing to be a Great Power is a means to the end of preserving intact our independence and freedom from foreign control. That you do contemplate our ceasing to be a Great Power on the basis of a settlement such as you suggest, would seem to follow from your saying that America offers the only possible guarantee for a lasting peace in these conditions.

On a secondary point, I am not sure what status you contemplate for the West European continental countries as to whose independence we ought to make no concessions. If Denmark, for example, is to be set up again as a nominally independent state, then, after her experience of being conquered by Germany in one night she will de facto remain a German dependency out of terror unless British troops step in as the German troops step out. In this latter case you would have a continent partitioned into a western zone of British, and an eastern zone of German, influence, but it would obviously be almost as difficult to persuade Hitler to agree to this, short of a German collapse, as it would be to persuade him, short of a collapse, to evacuate all his conquests, east as well as west. In your heart of hearts, is your first concern peace or is it the maintenance of the independence and freedom of Great Britain and the Western continental states? If peace comes first, then I think one ought to face the fact that it has to be bought from Hitler at the price that has been paid by Czechoslovakia since 1938; if on the other hand our first aim is to liberate ourselves and the states of Western Europe from German domination, then I think we ought to make up our minds to persist with war until Hitler collapses and the non-German peoples of Europe are everywhere liberated from the German yoke.

No doubt anyone who decided to carry on the war is exposing himself to the risk of defeat and loss of independence. In the present case, however, I think the risk of this would be far greater if we were to make a compromise peace.

I believe if I were in your place I should be inclined to come out boldly for letting our position as a Great Power, or even as an independent state, go hang and should in fact advocate

X 20. peace at any price. Unless one is prepared to do this - as I am not - I do not think one is in a strong position for advocating a compromise peace (which would leave Hitler dominant) unless America were to step in - which she is most unlikely to do in such circumstances.