

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

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Aug 28. (Wed)

leave for Geneva with R & Aunt & Selby by the Golden Arrow. Seen off by Fullerton, several Office Keepers, & Ke. A.F. Good crossing. Met by functionaries at Doria & Calais & at Paris by two Embassy Cars & Holman; enjoyed E. Tyndall's daughter.

Sweden's face has been kissed at a Paris Cinema last night. The Prefect of Police has forbidden its further exhibition.

The X-ray settlement, announced in last morning's paper, has altered the face of my universe for the better, but still leaves a very difficult atmosphere.

Dine out in Bois de Boulogne - at the Armanville - with R, Aunt Selby & Holman. S says that Lloyd sent a message to the Sudan war, on his last visit, he had noticed that civilians did not spring to attention when he spoke to them. In future they must do so. Further, when he passed through villages in the Sudan, all local officials, in full bib & tucker, must kneel, with their wives, & do obeisance. What police de grandeur!

only the night train, with Sir S. Chapman &

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Others.

Aug 29.

Arrive at Queen's am. Met at station by Cadogan, Jebb & 2 delegation cars. And go to the New Rivage, & an ample suite of rooms, occupied last summer by Lord Cushingham.

I am to sit on the League Council tomorrow. Sic itur ad astra!

Warm & hazy. Breakfast on balcony. Official calls on Drummond & Salter & Zilly. All very noisy on the effect of Sweden's behavior. It is being said that the Lab. Govt is being more nationalist than its predecessor, but it has no fear of the general ~~economic~~ international situation. Never glad confident morning again! I wish her recognized, but must evidently soft-soap the French.

Aug 30.

Sit on the Council. Private & public sessions. Small stuff. But very instructive. I intervene once on ratifications. We must accelerate the process, & see that signature here are not mere gestures with out meaning. I am said to have got the

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Council atmosphere pretty grimly. Not really difficult.

May remain, Sunday, with Zilly in the afternoon. ~~Very~~ Surprisingly hot work. Then ice cream sodas & a bath. In the evening to the Wavania. A mixed party - R, Zilly, Shaya, Webster, her wife, Kommet, Eileen Asa, Jebb, Felkin, Walter, Mass & students from Zimmern school. Z & her 7 ladies cheered.

Aug 31.

Again sit on Council. Once intervention today. Intellectual coop, compliments to France; ~~at~~ ~~an~~ ~~am~~ ~~manufacture~~. All sorts. Make friends with more Council colleagues.

Lunch at Henri's flat, with Massign, Commet & Zilly. Goes very well. Tell them funny stories at Sweden's expense.

Uncle & his party, including Phil, arrive at midday. Uncle very tired, but very happy. He has got a great press at last on the political side of the Hague. Motor with him, Hunt & R to tea at Belleve. The talk of the Hague comes out by dribble. Still more at dinner with Phil. Mrs Sweden had to be asked to leave the room by Uncle, because at a delegation

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meeting she persisted in interrupting on P.S.'s behalf. She came late, looked in on them still sitting, and asked crossly "How much longer am I to be kept out of my room?" Afterwards they met in Winston's room. P.S. sat passively, seeing no ^{way} foreignness, ^{but} miserable & obstinate. To the Spaniards (of all people!) when they came to beg him to compromise on the 5% percentages, he said "You are asking me to ^{condone} a felony. I cannot do it." The Treasury officials were saying openly that it wouldn't really matter if the Conference broke down. They could have another six months later, when the French & Italians would be more reasonable. They brought nothing of repercussions at Geneva. Mrs S had written to Cummins, of Information Section at Geneva, saying that "Some people here have no realization of the principles that are at stake. They ask us to compromise, as though it were only a question of a small sum of money. Philip Baker, in particular, has played an unwelcome part. He is always ~~proposing~~ proposing new compromises." She said also to have "we are not in the same boat, you see." Graham had been pathetically weak in his joint conclusion with Uncle & P.S. Sitting

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silent nearly all the time, though voting with P.S. inside and agreeing with Uncle outside but he was pushing things dangerously far. Still riding was quite useful, lazy & over eating, with no grip. Sept 1st - Sept 25th.

Life too full to permit of a daily diary. Three and a half very happy & educative weeks. One small after Happe blew off very quickly. The British delegation took the lead & kept it to the end. We initiated dozens of proposals, large & small, & won great praise even from the enemy press at home, & from the Journal de Genève. All, I think, did well. If we come back next year, practically for same reason, we shall, with his plain stout and experience, be stronger still.

How classify events? The weather was very hot & steamy, - more so than usual. Most people were ill for part of the time. I was one of the few exceptions. There was far too much organized dining & lunching. The British delegation invited the Dominion, & the British Press. In return each Dominion invited us separately. Nearly all foreign delegations also invited us. To accept one, & to refuse others, ^{would have} had an international significance. So we had to

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accept the lot, or nearly so. Each leading official in the secretariat also issued invitations. It was a deadly strain on the stomach! I had a few, but not few, other games of tennis. One with Uncle, Hunt & Cadogan on Drummond Court. One with Jebb, Sherry & the Norton at the Golf Club. ~~For~~ A good week end at Sallanches & Courmayeur, watching the down over Mont Blanc, & walking up above the village to a good height. A fine dinner the night before at the Chaumier at Sallanches. A good trip, too, can with Lily, to Montyon (?), up the valley of the Dranse, a very excellent little hotel beside a lake, & with a good upward climb immediately behind the hotel. A run to Nantua, good food at Hotel de France, but R not very fit & unable to participate. Molly Hamilton a great social discovery, - vitality, & a really good walker.

R deserted me for a week's tour in Hampshire, which she seemed to enjoy, in spite of missing the wine!

And now onto the business. J.R.M., Uncle & Graham all spoke in the general debate in the Assembly, & all made an impression. Graham, was like J.R.M.

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only stayed a day or two, made a characteristic speech about economic questions, which was utterly uncharacteristic of the Assembly. They had never heard so much real economic stuff before.

We succeeded, at last, in signing the Optional Clause. Nine dismitters! I was in doubt, till the end, whether we should really even do it. But Uncle did it, - I forget the date, but it must have been about in 1925, - after lunch in the Glass Room, with a crowd of photographers & journalists & spectators looking on. And South Africa, New Zealand & India did it with him. And so did France & Czechoslovakia & Peru. What a historic moment. Ireland did it a few days earlier, without reservation, all by herself, first lunch to her! Australia & Canada did it the day after, - they had been waiting for instructions - in the same formula as the rest of the Empire, but Ireland.

Her formula was the London formula with a few amendments,

- (1) 15 years reduced to 10.
- (2) domestic jurisdiction added, which means nothing, - to please Australia & N.Z.
- (3) reference to the Council, rather than to the Court, limited & defined - to please Canada.
- (4) intra-national disputes explicitly excluded.

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Our announcement that we were going to sign made a landslide. How true that old tag, of which in my own mouth I had begun to grow a little weary, "a British initiative would speedily decide the day." Scialoja went to Naples for Italy, early in the morning, before anyone was up, a day or two before us. His peace signed a number of treaties, & before next year many more will have done the same. Zaleski was desperately anxious to sign for Poland, but Pilsudski, fearing his Lithuanian and Vilna, forbade him.

And now we must get Parliament to ratify Spain, & then, when the Dominions also ratify, get on with the General Act.

What else did we do? Best take it by Committee.

No 1. legal - (a) we moved to amend the Covenant, to cut out the dead wood, & bring it into line with the Pact of Peace. This proposal, made by Uncle in his Assembly speech, at Phil's suggestion, terrified all the lawyers. Hurst didn't understand what the good of it would be. Vanderson thought it was very dangerous. Others thought it would raise the whole question of sanctions, & Act 16, in an

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acute form. Hurst produced a draft, not to cut out dead wood, but to add a new article; a hopeless proposal, but in the end a drafting office setup.

(b) We supported a Clunan motion about the revision of out-of-date treaties.

2. Technical - (a) Economic. I pushed through, in conjunction with Lanchester, the idea initiated by Graham for a "tariff truce" of two years, within which time negotiations for reduction shall take place. Also for an international coal conference next June, under the I.L.O., on hours, wages, & conditions. A. Dawson & Butler are hopeful of results, on hours.

(b) Health. Molly Hamilton deals with this (I write Intellectual Cooperation.) Sir J. Buchanan, Minister of Health, has been blocking here for years. He tried again his plan, & a long minute came up to me from him. On which I wrote: "The points of detail raised here are for the consideration of Mrs Hamilton. In general, however, it is the policy of the I.L.O. to help, & not to hinder, the work of the Health Orgⁿ. On this, no doubt, a break with recent tradition, & may not yet be fully appreciated by all those concerned." J. B. said to Mr. H. that he hoped I didn't report him. She assured him that I must have meant the Treasury. But from that moment he became quite easily helpful, & ran after me

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one day in his hotel to advise Kaichmann & explain how some foreign delegates hadn't understood the importance of some of his new work, & how he (S.H.) had been able to dissipate misunderstandings & smooth his path. A good illustration of the way in which many an official will turn quite readily when his political chief turns.

3. Disarmament. Cecil was in charge here, & seemed at one stage to have got badly across the French. In the end we got a compromise resolution, giving us in effect all we wanted, namely the admitted right to raise ^{by an} preparatory committee any of the points previously disposed of - especially length of conscript service, size of annual contingent, direct limitation of material, budgetary limitation & international supervision.

My estimate of Cecil fluctuated through his period, first high, then falling, & finally rising again. His presence was undoubtedly a great source of strength to us at home, & a considerable ~~to~~ strength at Geneva, though qualified by the fact that he has often been here before, now for his first, now for his, now maintaining one thesis, now another. I heard that it was said that his presence this year was a proof that our Govt was reasonable of

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itself, & ~~would~~ ^{probably} have only a short life. This can only be disproved, if we all come out again next year. Of my personal brush with him - a silly little affair - I write later.

4. Finance. This was mine. An interesting commission, & some able men, - Mevillan, Van Eysinga, Rappard, & Melthe (the Danish Chairman), & others. My chief job here was to reverse the traditional British attitude of previous years, to give general support & not ^{with} criticism on every detail, to have that the old policy of blind economy was dead & that every proposal for new expenditure would be examined on its merits, not rejected out of hand. Here last year Locke Humphreys made a sheer ass of himself & was completely isolated, even from the Dominions, in refusing to vote for the Budget as a waste.

President of the Treasury hovers around a good deal. Having known ^{him} at Cambridge, & called him "Jerry", I am able to handle him with firmness & a dash of friendship. "My dear Jerry," say I. "You have made a public fool of two British Ministers on this Commission. You aren't going to do that with me." He had offered, at the start, to sit as my deputy on the Commission, if even I couldn't attend. This had been

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the matter last year. I found that it never happened
this year. He waste stream of minutes, opposing all
expenditures, or supporting them with grudging qualifications.
In the end, I told Jett to collect those minutes &
sit on them till Piuscat had gone home. And he
went a week before the end.

I had also, on Nov 4, to propose a Ctee of Enquiry
with the Secretariat & ILO, on recruitment, promotion,
pensions, etc. This too was in Uncle's Assenting
speech. Suggested by Phil. It caused a great
commotion. Paslucci thought it was aimed at him.
Drummond thought he should have been consulted first.
The Small Powers were excited at the prospect of a
large share of the bigger jobs. The Italian press thought
it was an attempt at British hegemony at Geneva.
Osuski & Reveilland, of the "Favorable Comm", thought it
was a vote of censure on them. That the staffs of
both organizations were delighted.

My speech in support upset a lot more people.
Drummond said his position had been rendered very
difficult. He would hardly be able, he thought,
to propose now the ~~good~~ renewal of Avenali's contract,
just retiring, & if so much, he couldn't force
himself. He felt, he said in Uncle's room, in

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the presence of Uncle, Cecil & myself, that a great
strife had been caused. "Well," said Uncle, at his
last, "the waste place has been stagnating for
some time. It will probably do it good to be stirred
up a bit." The small powers, Drummond thought,
had got above themselves, & lost all sense of
realities. ~~He thought~~ They thought that England was
leading them, & they could defy the Great Powers,
now were the real backbone of the League. The
Woman Howard, his secretary, had been rushing about,
I heard, saying how terrible it was that I get all
my information from Phil & not from Drummond,
& how awful that I had said that ~~all~~ all the
chief jobs should go to the small powers!
What I had actually said was that the small
powers had a genuine grievance, so long as all the
chief jobs were reserved, as at present, for
nationals of the Great Powers.

In the end a large Ctee of 13 was appointed
to enquire & report. Cecil for us.

No 526. Social, Humanitarian & Political.

The chief thing here was Opium & Drugs, a
subject of which I knew nothing before, & little now.
But Phil made a long speech, & it was agreed that
manufacture should be limited.

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Other points worth noting? Just a few.
 I found myself getting on extremely well & easily with foreigners. Having his gift, on the Saturday Review put it in a laudatory article, of being able to meet them "on a basis of equality." Uncle, too, got on very well with them in his own, rather different, way.

Dominion delegates dull, on the whole. R was strongly attracted by Miss McPhail. Macdonnell has a sense of humor. Myric was a real character. Arguing for a Supervisory Commission of 5, not 7, he said "I've always found a small Ctee's the best, whether going through a cricket match, or a horse race, or a dance. It's the same in politics. When I was a candidate ^{in one place} in Australia, they found a very large Ctee, to support my candidature. They kept me in a very long bill for liquid refreshments. But on the polling day I only got one vote there, & that was the scout-meer I took out with me. So I'm always in favour of a small Ctee." And Sir James Mackenzie of No. 2, said "Of course I'm not a Socialist, but I don't think Henderson is the sort of man to let the Empire down."

well, & even

Our officials, from the U.S., showed up, better than I expected. What a pity Cadogan always takes such a sad stick. But Jett was very ornamental, & quick, & useful. Long news, one feels, quite full of it. St. Willett was really excellent. One Mass had never been done so well before. Strong reasonably confident, but a bit squirming, & said to have been seen laughing, (with Clutterbuck, Jett's own Englishman from the Dominion office) quite openly at foreigners in one Commission. Fullerton has good manner, ~~but~~ could be useful to have with one, but a little soft & fat, & a R.C. convert! Kirkpatrick is R.C. from birth, capable, brown eyes & a sense of humor. But the League isn't really what it ought to be under the organ. This must be done with later.

The Simpler is a good restaurant, especially if you order beforehand. Lunchmen gives his parties there.

My silly lunch with Cecil was over a meeting to be held to exchange ideas on the last day, after Uncle had gone. Phil suggested it to me by remark, & I told Cadogan to summon it in my name. Cecil cut up rough, & wrote that, if I desired it, he would summon a Delegation meeting, but ~~that~~ it should ~~be~~ be held & sustained. I also cut up rough. On the ceiling or in the cellar? What an issue to fight on! I must remember, in future, what he has the spiritiveness of the aristocrat.

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William Martin of the Journal de l'œuvre, reputed to be anti-English, soon yields to information & courtesy. He has never had either from the English here before.

I addressed Timmerian students, & some others from the U.S., one evening. I spoke as I should have lectured at the School of Economics, with many jokes. I even laughed at American & British jokes, by way of a respectful criticism of our giving the D.C. well received by the great body of the audience. That some were incredibly shocked. One man wrote to the Times, hitting heavily at me, but not mentioning my name. Some Americans went away wondering whether I was really a Minister, or was I drunk? My god! The next next joke in public was in office. Wilson Harris, too, was indignantly shocked. Next day, at the Cambridge lunch, three clergy sat ^{in a row} eyeing me & twittering among themselves, hoping I wasn't going to make another speech like last night.

I had to do rearward, as I had done Vancouver. Uncle went home to see the Russians. I had to stay for the last Council, & before that for the Bureau. Nothing much happened, but it was all very instructive. Next year, if

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We come again, we shall all, I hope, do better still.

I should have made mention of a very successful dinner with R & I gave, towards the end, at the Simplon. (Fullerton, who came to Geneva to learn French, had always been told it was a knocking shop.) Our party consisted of Dandurand, Prof. Bonnet, the two Bonandous, Jelt, Bantlett & Molly. Dandurand looked very scared when he first came in. A small looking little man. No evening dress, some obvious looking ladies, etc. But they all soon warmed up. Oh! for if we return next year, we must repeat.

In England.

I have just finished my last volume of domestic diary. So continue here.

November 23rd - 24th.

went to Oxford to spend a weekend with the Funnisses. He had been expecting a peerage in the summer. He had heard from Lees Smith & Greenwood that it was imminent, & had many about London waiting for a call. He had been told that he was found on a list of 25 possible. Rather pathetic, though Fawcett was King. in the Commons, though blind. From London call at Kerkin & find young Maddison very radiant & absorbing new ideas.

Nov 25th.

At 10.15 the Rev Under Secretary/State visit No 10! J.M. compared, long winded & hovering about the peerage, & the odd man out. A certain disinclination to oblige was evident in some of his remarks. But Willy Lunn went outside for five minutes & told the P.M. that, if he were given a permanent job with a decent salary etc when he would resign his post in the House & his Under-Secretaryship. This however was not thought to afford a solution. Finally A.H. who is both unhappy & incompetent at his present job,

said he would be quite willing to go to Russell's place at the Ministry of Transport, being dropping £300 a year when from the cure for scum, & allowing, L.S. thought to take his place at the dominion & Russell to go to the Home Office. We left it all in a very undecided state!

Ovey to dine at the House, with his Colonel Mitford, L Phil, Mr. Taylor, Kenzie Smith & John Strachey. I think Ovey will do as well as any man can at Moscow.

Nov 26th.

Tran Jolundia to lunch at 5 P.M. with R & me. Very interesting & very amusing. He hears all the Cabinet secrets from old Wullic. He, G.L. & O.M. presented their scheme for retiring pension at 60 to J.H.T. a week ago, & had an interview & a row with him yesterday. "Great political difficulties" said J.H.T. "What about the man of 59?" O.M. said "Every thing we put up is found down. Our reputations are at stake." It was finally agreed that J.H.T. should put up the scheme to the Cabinet, & suggest that 3 members of the Cabinet should discuss it further with its authors. It would, T.J. says, be more admitted, left 280,000 off the total of the unemployeds at a net cost, after allowing for saving in unemployment benefit & poor relief, of £13 million a year.

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withal cont. & rapidly declining. As R says Truly, his might
~~be~~ mean the difference between life & death for
 his part.

Nov 28th.

Speech at Tamworth by election. Small meeting & little
 sign of interest.

Nov 29th - Dec 1st.

Aldbourne.

Dec 2nd.

Arnold to dinner. He is to lead our team, not a very strong
 one, on Electoral Reform Commission. He says that plural
 voting, business & university, is outside the terms of reference.
 This infuriates both R and me. To abolish plural voting is
 the most necessary of electoral reforms & the most
 helpful to our Party ^{& is a radical project of serious standing.} The only tolerable explanation
 of the omission is that we know our own minds on this
 subject, & are committed by Laura & the Nation. Mr
 Funniss' peerage. A says that it was Mrs F who
 spoilt it by gassing in Oxford & London about it in
 the summer. This upset the P.M.

Dec 3rd.

Will & Ka to dine with R. (1 dine at the French
 Embassy, braided & powdered flourkeys, Sir Austen &
 other adornments, male & female. What a world!)

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Will on Cecil's haversing. He is half inclined to join our
 Party, & half not. He is not sure whether Mr P.M. or
 Uncle really want him to. Will thinks not. If he were
 offered a place in the Cabinet, without post or salary,
 he would join. But it is all very doubtful. R and I
 both rather impatient. Cecil's position is very ambiguous
 & unsatisfactory now. If he believes in our policy, he should
 join us & have done with it, without conditions. His
 office would soon follow, with Cabinet rank. He will
 put it off until we go out, I suppose, & then do it too
 late!

Dec 4th.

W. Benn & Phil to lunch to talk Five Power Confer,
 & Battleships in particular. W.B. is to be our
 former principal delegate, with P.M., Uncle & King Albert.
 We must provide him with a F.O. private secretary,
 probably Mackinnon. R has been pressing me to
 arrange for lunch for sometime. I had W.B. with me
 on side of the Angels. He says Truly that the leaders
 of our Party have talked so long, without having the
 power to act, that now they are excessively kind in
 action. Within their different spheres, the old ways
 were bolder, though habit. Phil & I join in their
 the need to cut down Battleships, was making a

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Peace got me 2 saving money. We must never lay down a battle ship again. We haven't done so since 1922 & it would be intolerable to start again in 1931, even the smaller, cheapa kind such as Admiralty propose. We must mobilise The Chin, Sweden, at the right moment.

At the Office I exercise my veto for the first time on a proposed appointment on Ovey's staff for Moscow. This time on wait, a Consul, who was there with Hodgson, was attacked in the Bols Press when the Mission left, & has a white Russian wife, even though her name is Ostrom, before it was Ostrom, proposed as Counselor, who admitted to having been principally a practice so much with going to Moscow seemed to him a nightmare; Care, also with Russian wife, who was there before, & sees no hope in 5 Year Plan, hopelessly biased; Jewan, who was involved in the "Russian Birds" case, London & is described in the F.O. List as having been arrested & imprisoned by the Bols in 1918! A fifth man was stopping in appointments, etc from sending Hodgson to Minika & Riga, of all places! No objection at all in these suggestions.

On the suggestion of Arnold & Vannittant, I write to

the latter recommending Furniss of a Peerage. His chances seem to have improved.

The reshuffle of Under Secretaries is now complete. Personally to Praeger, Duffin & 300 a year in title of U.S. of State, Lunn to Duns in place of Morrison, Shields to Lunn in place of Lunn. Russell from Tpt to India in place of Shields. Several of these are distinct improvements. But A.P. tells me that the first Morrison, his new chief, knew of it when he read it in Monday's Times (Dec 22nd)! Really J.M. might take a little more trouble.

At Warsaw, & the possibility of an anti-democratic move, I wrote privately to Savary two days ago, asking for a report & inviting him to use his influence ~~to~~ let it be known that Poland would lose all her friends, & they would make many U.M.F.'s supporters of you for France. We have made the Legation in Embassy, & supported her reelection to the League Council, since we came in & it would be a ^{very} ~~political~~ ^{unconstitutional} political quid pro quo if she played to the right. An open letter to Daszyński, supporting him as a Polish leader, was signed by 30 or 40 of our good M.P.'s & T.V. leaders & published in the D.H. of Nov 25th. But this ~~letter~~ ^{signature} in the D.H., the first organ, when reproduced in the Bols Strike was confiscated & censored. I tell Savary that his

has made a bad impression. There is a danger, which I should be prepared to prevent, that British influence, instead of being fairly evenly divided, will become strongly anti-Polish over Danzig, Silesia, Lithuania, Nat'l minorities.

To recap a dispatch, quite well known, from Siskine on Ambassador at Warsaw. I ^{must} say that I have the sensation, as in 1926, that our Warsaw Mission is out of touch with political personalities, that I wonder whether even Daszyński, the most agreeable & handsome old gentleman, has ever been invited to lunch & dine at his Embassy. ^{but as Philip had lately so well done} I dropped to Eugene to cultivate ^{more personal contacts} & report again, that there is still, I think, a tendency for some of our representatives abroad to move in rather narrow social circles, & do not to give partial and incomplete accounts of political situations. Our H. hands will make some of them friends.

Dec 5th

Phil says that King wrote a personal letter to Tom Shaw, & King Albert when they were over there, saying that he hoped they would keep on his side on C.I.S.S. & Madden on First Sea Lord beyond his impending date of their retirement, so as to

insure continuity! And they both did. Madden especially is hopelessly reactionary, & Milne during his post year or two has become more & more so.

Phil also gives me an account, rather more pleasant than with, of Cecil's state of mind. 49% for joining the Party, chiefly to improve freeman. 49% against, chiefly to improve L.M.U. 2% wavering. Doubt, whether J.M. & Uncle really wants him to join. Can't contemplate joining the Party, & later on having Office. Wants Cabinet Rank, Adv. Grant post/step on salary, on analogy of Lansdowne in the war.

I speak to Uncle about his working home at midnight. He is very sympathetic. Cecil should have come over before like W. Keen, if he could swallow his scruples about Co-partnership, etc. It would be impossible for him to have Cabinet Rank, without joining the Party first, & difficult even so. He has the reputation of not being good at team work, & of resigning too easily. Uncle & the P.M. both think he made a mess of the trained reserves point at Geneva & need only outgrowd in French. Uncle isn't inclined to try to persuade him again.

Just before there has been a shocking day in the House. Boudfield at her worst. N.S.-W. Metallic mud,

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Says Uncle. You can make no impression with any argument. Not that the Govt would have been defeated in spite of all objections, by a solid block of T.V. votes, if Clause 2 had not been withdrawn. A wasted day, & a wretched time table. They had Bandaged up in Cabinet, & again before a small Cabinet War, & told her she must be prepared to meet objection, bring Clause into line with party policy. Agree both to work the T.V. groups. But she is apstiff on a job. Uncle wonders, if he had been in the place, J.R.M. would have asked her to resign. The Govt administration would become impossible if amendments accepted. Uncle said then "mayn't you have the reputation of all the women of England in future Cabinets, in your keeping, & I am amazed at your attitude." She is under the thumb of her officials. The Ministry of Labour is running her Govt. But insurance, J.H.T.'s staff on Govt. Extension of hours Convention, now begins in supposed difficulties about the railways. (Maud says that in 1926, Ray Cabinet agreed to ratify. Then 50 leading firms in the F.V.I. met & instructed. Then Cabinet ~~reversed~~ their decision.)

Coal. We are consulting Liberal leaders, e.g., Samuel

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& Simon on draft Bill. Uncle says that tonight they came in, & objected to some of the clauses, & seemed to be anxious to leave the room as quickly as they could. He wonders what's up. Do they think they have a chance to defeat the Govt? There is a dry rot in the Party at the moment. He is heading, he says, for another Campbell case - mis-handling by one Minister, e.g., Handfield, & a general election?

Glenn at midnight on Dec 5th!

But Hankey has complimented Malin earlier wrote Papa on the O.C. & the Admiralty are now said to be satisfied, specially because we have admitted that an enemy State can't take us to court in war time, & that our own Peace Court procedure must be exhausted, before an appeal to the court will lie!

Dec 6th

Party meeting at 10. Opinion after M. Handfield very strong, but still surprisingly kindly, until ~~she~~ she speaks of possibility of having to withdraw the Bill. Then a general outburst. After a speech by J.R.M. on difficulties of time table, & impossibility of sitting over Christmas for Ministers who are up to the neck in preparation of Naval Conference, & by Snowden, who paints the financial situation very

slowly dwells on his coming deficit, wishes it will take large budgets to put national finances into proper order, adds up the new commitments he has already undertaken, estimates the cost of the amendments on the latest new Unemployment Insurance Bill, asserts that he cannot accept any more such increased expenditure, explains that we cannot carry out the words of Lalor and the Nation in one session, & offers to resign in favour of anyone who will take over his crushing burden with a lighter heart, - it is agreed that we must pass the Bill before Christmas, that we will take off the paper all further amendments, cutting money, & that we will sit late, if need be. We want also to read the Coal Bill a second time before Christmas. It is badly

delegated ahead ^{to the Under Secretary} to Cambridge in the afternoon for King's Founder

feast to which I am an invited guest. A very happy bringe, in which, especially in the junior comb's & afterwards, I usually put off the responsibilities of office, & join in hunting Sheppard, our Vice-Master, all over the College, without finding him, & in the end to bed!! (Nightingale went home by

Dec 7th

I wake, rather ^{unpleasantly} at 7.45 undressed, eat a

very small breakfast, & walk in a wet wind along the backs. Cambridge is the most beloved place in the world, & its youth the most attractive. As the gap of years slowly widens between me and them, in their eternal replenishment, my heart softens to them more & more. It seems a long morning, & I call on Goldie. He is impressed by the effect of the Ten Year Period of stunned conservatism after the war, & the signs of its passing, with the flood of war babies & the spreading interest in international relations, & by the immense power of wireless to reach those who read little. He recalls how his bedmaker, a kindly lady, said to him during the war "we always 'ave 'ated the Germans, 'ave't we Sir? I remember my father always used to 'ate them." Also a retired Colonel, who was always saying that there ought to be no quarter, & that all German prisoners ought to be shot, one day he went to see a prisoner's camp, & was seen talking to a young German there. As he came away he said, with a choking voice, "poor boy! poor boy!"

Lunch with Donald & Petica to meet, by request, Harry Dawes, a young North's miner discovered by

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Sebastian Spott, in his first year with a Ministerial Welfare Scholarship. He is a remarkable young man, tall, well-built, good looking, with easy manner & plenty of self-confidence. He seems to fit perfectly though he has only been here one term. ~~but~~ a few months ago he was leaving! His comments on lectures & other phenomena are very apt. He should ^{have a} good future.
Dec 10th

Austria is going very well. Constitutional Reform Bill in progress. Schöberl has been firm; to her dismay, for the Socialists, conceding wisely but not excessively, from the standpoint of democracy & Vienna. The Heimwehr, after much loud talk, have behaved themselves. Their leaders, including Steidle & Pabst, the Prussian Nitschmengen, came to try to intimidate Schöberl, but he threatened to put them under arrest; - good old Policeman! - and they went off with their tails between their legs.

The Italians have been intriguing violently, but with no great success. They tried to persuade Schöberl to make a ^{public} statement of protest upon which answered questions in the House. But S said his job was to make peace in Austria, not to declare war on the Great Powers. Mussolini is now

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trying to get Schöberl to visit him in Rome. (One psychological effect of the Fascist state on a good policeman might be formidable!) He is also threatening to make his consent to a new Austrian loan dependent on the non-disarmament of the Heimwehr. We must here play precisely the opposite card, & Plüß has done so with great skill. He has congratulated S on his great success, & expressed the hope, unofficially, that the dissolution of the illegal associations will pass for ever, hinting that this will be one condition for the new loan. S thanked him very much, & said that it would help him to have his made official later on. The French Minister said the same ^{to S}, but for him only a non-committal reply was returned.

The Vienna Rothschilds, headed by Baron Louis R, on behalf of the Bankers' Union & Baron Schaudt, on behalf of the Industrial Union, are still financing the Heimwehr. Probably also the Italians.

This has been, so far, a resounding triumph for the policy of judicious interference. (My minute).

Poland is going fairly well. No Conf'd'at yet. Eschke, our Ambassador, said to be lacrimose. His despatches are not illuminating. See my note

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of a few days ago. A hint was sent to him in a letter drafted by Oliphant & signed by Uncle to cultivate all sections of significant opinion, & to report again soon. He has sent now something a little fuller, but complains of the collective letter of British Labour M.P.'s & T.V. leaders to Daszyski as ill-judged, & likewise of certain comments in the D.H. that some French Parliamentarians have sent a similar letter to us. I mention that the D.H. has expressed accurately the ^{feelings} of the supporters of H.M.G., but of such collective expressions of opinion on the letter to D there are many precedents; that the Labour Party favours democracy & dislikes political dictatorships, & that foreigners must be prepared to hear this said from time to time, it is a political platitude which can't be worked up. Further, what of the effects of the "interference"? Evidently they haven't precipitated a coup d'état; possibly they have helped to prevent it. One Milsandhi man is furious, & so are the colonels, no doubt. But they won't all such crackpots as I myself, & they may well have been subdued.

From our Anglo-American view we're trying to abolish the inter-departmental Ctee sitting on it. Treasury are obstructing. Morrison, representing F.O.,

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spends more time arguing against abolition, which H.O. & H.T. want, than for reduction. I put a faint minute on his papers & spoke to Uncle ^{about} ~~about~~ ^{about} it. On his instructions, I send in a note to Jett saying to speed things up, & advocating abolition, not mere reduction as a mere expediency. Also expressing S.Y.S.'s surprise that he hadn't been told before that the inter-dept Ctee hadn't met today as arranged, owing to Treasury's obstruction. This minute has upset Lindsay, with whom I have a mutually disagreeable conversation. He writes me minute "most unfair", I want the procedure with his business "very slow." L says that no doubt, if he hadn't been dilatory with his papers, he would have mentioned it to H.S.Y.S. last night. I say that we have to answer a question in the House tomorrow, & that from the Parliamentary point of view there are great advantages in postponed delay, we then go on to discuss the secret service. A lot of Messrs & Messrs about his subject. L says that "No Embassy or Legation of our would do his work." But they must have "love." This is provided, it seems, by the post-~~office~~ ^{control} officers. That with the general abolition of V.B.A., his system, it seems, will collapse. But L is now prepared for his.

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I think again, after his rather sharply conversation on both sides, that it will be a good thing when L goes. But to each his due! Mind says when I tell him of his incident. "He'd be a good man to be with in a pinch." And his, I think, is true.

December 11th.

American not to have hurt Morrison's feelings, I wish him to come & see me, & say myself out to be friendly. I gather that he was more vexed with L than with me. He felt he had been put in a very difficult position, but that L had let him down by suddenly withdrawing his Secret Service agreement against abolition of visas. He can hardly bring himself to say "Secret Service." It is like an old lady trying not to say "W.C." - He calls it, in a hushed voice, "certain arrangements." He had, he says, always been Protestant, while he was in the Treaty Dept. to regard the maintenance of these "arrangements" as then his first duty, ~~to be kept~~ ~~at~~ ~~with~~ everything should be subordinated.

I told Jebb, after his talk, that I did not wish to run him with a S.S. agent, but that I did not wish, either, to cause needless offence to anyone in his office. & should be glad if he would report to

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me from time to time what he heard said, so that I shouldn't be reading on people's toes without knowing it. He ~~said~~ ^{told me} that he had heard it said yesterday that I was the first Paul's Under-Sec since Curran who had shown any capacity to let myself disliked in the Office. But that several, who had begun by disliking me, had come to like me very much when they knew me better. So if the last part is a polite P.S., in first instance, is a compliment!

Cecil talked to Uncle yesterday about Balkanization, urging their abolition. Without his, there will be nothing dramatic in the Fore More Conference, & no large savings to the Exchequer. Uncle listened rather well. He didn't see either, why we need ~~to~~ large ships & expensive ships. If all would agree to abolish them, he would be ready to be for it. He should have had Snowden would too. But it must be remembered that we were a minority first. We couldn't do all we wished.

On Friday me & Blue. We must try to get the Liberals shouting to sink Balkanization.
Dec 15th.

Late in the evening to Alderman.

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Dec 14th.

She wants to buy a cottage or a farm in Wiltshire! She has been bottling her up for weeks! She wants Mere Farm. We go to see it. It has a lovely position, & would just fit many of our conditions. But it has no communications, & is too far from accessible stations. But we will go on with our search.

Dec 16th.

Uncle & I & Selby receive Sokolnikoff & Bogomoloff. S speaks Russian & B translates into English. S is small, dark & very reserved. B is one long grin. They are squibbling over the terms of the propaganda pledge to be given to the Doms. This is to be discussed further between B & Selby. For the rest, little ^{useful} nothing. Uncle remarks that we have had various difficulties in the past, but he trusts we shall have no more. Credentials are to be presented the week of Whales on Thursday.

Dec 18th.

Sokolnikoff back again. He squibbling over the pledge to the Doms is quite interesting. When speak 3/4 hours with Selbyman (yesterday). Today we spend another 2 hours. There is a good deal of amusements. Uncle

tells S that this is not a good start in renewed relations. If agreement can't be reached, the presentation of credentials will have to be postponed. S looking rather like a hunted animal, says he would be very sorry if a postponement takes place, but he can't do anything to any change without the consent of Moscow. He is very frightened of Moscow. I had B set to spy on him & report. Probably some junior spies on B and reports. We must do some negotiation with S. Wilczak B, & see how we get on. S speaks very good French, having taken a degree at the Sorbonne. Once, when we are all very irritated, I speak to him in French, rather violently, "Voyez ne voulez pas changer un seul mot!" Finally, it is agreed that the officials shall discuss an alternate formula. The handshakes at parting are very frigid.

This afternoon the first meeting of the C.I.D. Sub-committee on Drazan & Kubiak, with ourselves & the Services. Uncle in the Chair. Cecil explains the "Model Treaty" & the Treaty of the 1st November. Meet again, after studying papers on Jan 6th. De la War ~~se~~ asked me, a day or two ago, "Who speaks for the W.O. under the 1st of the Brigadier Tempelley?" (They were both members.) I said "That depends on the relationship which you have

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Established at the W.O. between the politicians & the officials. No P.O. official will speak for the P.O. This, all round, is the weakness of our Ministers. They don't stand up to their officials. Especially at the Ministry of Labour. Jack Lawson is treated with ^{supreme} indifference. No outward signs of courtesy ^{is shown} are shown to him in public by the officials. A deputation was received in the day. Beadfield & 4 officials sat at a table. Lawson came in late, & had to walk all down the room to fetch a chair, & then had to come & sit behind the officials, none of whom moved an inch. He is left sitting by himself in his room, seeing no papers, writing letters to his constituents. Similarly even Graham, at an interview with me over ^{reached} a connection Treaty with the Soviets, allows all the talking to be done, in ^{an} emphatic voice, by Fountaine. And yesterday I found three of them shouting at him in his room at the House that no further concessions should be made to the Liberals under Coal Bill. And so on, from left to left.

One Treasury said, when he came in, "We have moved up from the servants' hall to the drawing room", & Eva Graham Murray told the last, when

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she tried to tell Snowden that some ill-feeling seemed to have been generated at the House, the latter had replied "NOT in the least. We parted on the very best of terms. Mr. Briand put a red rose in my hair." Sky and Gaffer! But Austin was trapped by Morrison, when the Fountaine gave pleasure to had? C! How easily we English fall to the foreigner's simplicity!

Thought a new formula on Soviet & Dominion independence a pledge is brought along by Seymour. It is, from our point of view, an improvement, & we agree to accept. So the credentials need not be held up!

Five Admirals - Kitchman, Webb, Mark Kerr, Allen & Drury Lane - were on the point of issuing a joint manifesto in favour of abolishing battleships, but were nipped at the last moment.

Dec 19th.

Today the Govt all but fell. Majority of votes to 8, - 281 to 273. - on Second Reading of Coal Mines Bill. If defeated we should have resigned. No early for a dissolution. But W.W. one sufficient would have refused. I could hardly have had the ^{session} of Mr. So it would have come back to J.P.M., I think.

Mr. Sheppard never gave up, without the coal bill. But it would have been a bad fall.

In tonight's division 44 Liberals voted with the Tories against second reading, 6 abstained through protest, 2 voted with us (Gid & Mander). One Tory was much above their usual or expected strength. Lately their attendance has been very slack. But their wives put forth all their efforts today, & they returned from the ends of the earth, by ambulance and aeroplane. Our party polled within 10 of our full strength, & each of those 10 were unassidably away & paired. A fine achievement by the wives!

Ly made a vicious speech today. A very clever attack on the bill, but ending with jeers at Graham, Jowitt & Ken Purser. His bitterness against us grows ever greater. He desired to bring in demon, & his speech was designed to make all accommodation impossible. ~~So~~ He had been in conference with Winston & Auston for hours. They are still dreaming of another Coalition. Baldwin either deliberately deceived Graham, or didn't know what was going on. Almost certainly the latter. For he said, early in the evening, "I suppose you will take the Creech, & on the floor of the House. Of course you will win

easy." And so most of his language. Uncle thought the majority would be about 50. He counted on fewer Tories brought up, & more Liberal abstentions.

But, though Ly desired to bring in demon, Samuel had been seeking for days to find a bridge, & I think we were at fault in not responding better before things grew finally critical. The rest of the difference was on the compulsory amalgamation. We were needlessly stiff on this. It was part of our immediate programme for the Ministry. But the Vowels is that this bill, largely on a result of Thomas' influence, is a deal with the coal owners, & they have compulsory amalgamation. But it will pay us better to do the right thing in consultation with the Liberals, than the wrong thing in consultation with the owners. And a "Dear Coal Bill" will be a bad slogan against us.

Uncle & I walked back together after the division, very slowly & very tired. To me the emotional strain was very exhausting. Suddenly all our work in foreign affairs, & all the personal interest, even increasing, of my work at the F.O., seemed to hang by a thread. It would be very bitter to see it all fall with a crash. The precariousness of the life of the Govt. & of all parties, is very live to night. Shall we go to

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the next League Assembly? Or will the foreigners say "We always knew they wouldn't last. They came here & made a few speeches, & went away, & were soon kicked out. Labour fights are not real things in England." Shall we last out 1930?

But, on the other hand, we have beaten the Tories & Liberals combined. All the Powers of Hell have not prevailed against us, - though they come bloody near it. We have time to write & talk things over before Parliament meets again. Then the Bill will be in Ctee, & nothing need be a question of confidence. And, with the five year Conference sitting, there will be a disinclination to turn us out.

Dec 20th.

Down to Adbourn in the evening. On week-end, a little shaken in our financial prospects, we go on with the horse hunt. Sheep drive cottage, - a lovely place, - turn out to be a lump of splayed uplins and ploughed fields.

Dec 23rd.

Debate in HC on Egypt. Austen, opening, very moderate. Uncle very solid and as effective as usual. Winston speaks early, to catch the press, & reacts

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wildly. L.M. decides, early in morning, that he won't speak, so I wind up, after a long series of backbench speeches. I go for Winston, & score a debating point over him regarding the Egyptian battalion in the Sudan. He looks pretty drunk, but rising at the end, ^{after} in the House & breaking up. has been adjourned, says to me "good speech." To which I reply by saying "cheers!" with a wave of the hand. He was heard outside saying "That fellow Dalton made quite a good speech." Uncle congratulated me quite excitedly. "Very much better than your speech on Kassa," he said. "You dealt with every point they raised. That expository style you adopted tonight went down much better than lecturing in the House, or appealing to emotion." He is off to Brighton, pretty tired.

Dec 24th.

First Christmas Eve sitting of the House for forty years! Tories rather indignant, but they asked for it, demanding a discussion on Singapore.

I write a minute on battleships, urging that we ought to have a five-year, & not simply echo the Admiralty. Our policy should be the maximum disarmament, consistent with the general condition of security. One should include the abolition of battleships, for without this no appreciable reduction of naval estimates is possible. Heaven

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remains to the P.M. Mr. Washington's earlier subject seemed very promising. Now they are not being followed up on our side.

[I am discouraged at the situation of our back benches to cotton to the battleship abolition, or anything else that is in the way of practical progress. One formation of the sort has sucked in the talent, I fear, & the residue is very weak.]

In the evening to Windsor. Incessant evidence of the cumulative weight of age & weakening intelligence.

Read Krassin's life by his wife. Evidently a fine woman, & an interesting story. He would have dealt with realities, if his crew in command at Moscow had allowed him.

Dec 27th

From Windsor to Aldbourne. Pursuing the horse hunt, with two visits a week to the office. Wet most days.

Dec 30th

At the office. Talk to Cairns about battleships, arising out of my remark, & to Lindsay about Austria, arising out of question of my minutes. Cairns doesn't believe, in spite of Hoover's remarks, that the U.S. are willing to abolish battleships. He quotes the arguments of the present board of Admiralty in favour of keeping

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them. These are very unconvincing. It is said that only a battleship can have a deck so thick as to resist a bomb dropped by aircraft, & battleships are ~~not~~ ^{more} immune than smaller vessels from submarine attack.

There is also a political danger that, if the purpose of abolition in sea hands would result, & we should be defeated, with reactionary effects on the prospects of disarmament generally. My opinion of Cairns has fallen ~~some~~ in recent months. An essentially over-cautious & conservative mind, though a very hard & conscientious worker.

With Lindsay I discuss Austria, & financial pressure to be exercised at the Hague to secure disarmament. It has been proposed, by Sargent, that we should require Scherzer to make a declaration that he intends to proceed with internal disarmament. I agree with him, in favor of it, but am inclined to think it doesn't go far enough, & that we should hold on to our power of veto, through the Reparation Commission, on any new Austrian loan, until disarmament is an accomplished fact. If on part of the general settlement of non-German Reparations, we lose his veto, we have away a card which might be decisive. Lindsay opposes opposing him. I admit, Cairns, one of the

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seriousness of keeping the Reparation Commission in being, & leaving German Reparations still unsettled, in order to exercise his formal veto. Other former promises should be enough, he thinks, & Schuster really wants to do it. Subject to Muffs being consulted, I agree.
Dec 30th.

We see the New Year in at the Beveridge - Mein breakfast. Rather a dull show, & the rumour not up to much! And so back in Beveridge's car to Aldbourne rather late, missing good sleep.

And so we enter 1930.

1929 has been a historic year. R's election to Parliament, the General Election, & 6 1/2 months at the F.O.

How long shall we last? After the shake-up on the Coal Bill one feels pretty insecure, but, though we might go out at any time, it is possible how we might get lost two years. Stamfordham had caused him the King, wasn't joining from London in the New Year for fear of an early General Election. What would happen at an election? Have we become markedly unpopular yet? I think not, but even a loss of 20 or 30 seats (net) would upset the

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Parliamentary position pretty fatally. Issues, however, rise & fall, & we may do well in the New Year. Unemployment will fall, at least seasonally, for a month or two, & some of our votes should be popular, - Housing & Stumm clearance, & the Budget, for instance, - & should also afford a basis for Lab-Lib cooperation in the House.

The Lab Govt, as a whole, is already ~~the~~ pretty disappointing, with bright patches. Uncle's star has been very much in the ascendant, both in the Party & in the House for that C.T. is terribly disappointing. This is

and G.L. is trying to brighten Pop's lives, & let in more sunlight, & Morrison is very competent, & T.J. very persistent, & A.G. is firm.

a bitter discovery, after our good political comradeship. But he is almost incredibly stupid, & is said always to put his case badly in Cabinet, & can't even see what he ought to carry in the House. Leaving the Bill this session, so as to let it safely passed, while there is yet time, & make the L.E.'s realize the need to get schemes ready for 1931. The effects on unemployment, with all, I believe, be very striking, can't, in any case, come till the autumn of 1931. And this may be too late for us! And pensioning off the old is hung up too! Damn!

Mcmanus & Maggie Bradford are the two most obvious failures of the job. Few have anything good to say of either of them. J.M. has been messing about again with the idea of an Economic General Staff, & having elements to lunch. That nothing concrete comes of it. Maxwells is weak & in the hands of the Admirals. Buxton is only half alive. And so on, through the list. And they will all be a lean rida next June when they took office!

Our back benches are weak, as I have just said, on practical points, - except on Unemployment & on war. But this may improve, on some of the new recruits, from ^{more} experience.

As to Foreign Policy, I am not ^{so} unhappy, though my hopes of any big achievement on naval disarmament are rather dim. But Vucelja has asked, Jan 27th for the D.C. in the House, & we should make another good show at Geneva, if we live so long, next September. Our human hands, will be very treacherous, the new C.P. party in London is quoting stuff from the third International already. And the Egyptians & the Chinese will be very easy. But they aren't really stupid, especially the Chinese.

India, - watch freedom! - with our pigeon, & the recent

Proceedings of the National Congress, with their outcry for "independence", are not exactly comfortable. But, if the Simon Commission produces a good report, & we act on it quickly, things may brighten up. "Storm over India" is a dramatic capital, & some say the job will fall over India. But I doubt this.

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The chief interest of the first days of this year is a change of plan, from house hunting to house building. R spotted a site on the Baydon Road, just above the 600 foot contour, ^{halfway} ^{of} ^{the} ^{downland,} two cottages & a beech clump, on a ledge, sloping sharply to the south west, with a glorious view of the ~~down~~ there was no reason to think it had any bearing on reality. ~~the~~ Surprising, however, about sites in general, from Lawrence, a solicitor at Kewbury, she found that this was the very site he first suggested. It belonged, he said, to a Mr Pembroke of Reading, who would sell an acre, he thought, for £500 for building. Speaking last evening to Miss Maudslayi, she found that the latter knew the Pembroke well, & liked him. One old father lives at Reading, & two sons have farms at Baydon & at East lease just below the chosen site. All this is very promising. We spend a lot of time walking round & round the site, & measuring, & planning. We think of an estate of about two acres, a small house with all modern conveniences, a hard tennis court, & a gradually ^{to} ^{be} ^{established} garden. I want to plant a lot of trees. The estate would be carved out of the fields; - one

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Quite immense, which would be an unofficial park.

So passed the first ^{day} ~~week~~ of the new year!

Jan 6th.

Back to London.

Jan 7th.

Lunch at Vansittart's with Japanese delegates to Naval Conference, Wakatsuki, Takaraki, & Matsudaira, with interpreter Saito, - Sir C. Madden & Craigie. Rather heavy going! No shop. After the Japs have gone, Madden says that so cruises is "simply starvation" for us. We ought to have 70, as we said in 1927 at Coolidge Conference, but the Admiralty have agreed to this big reduction, because they have been told that, from the political point of view, the international situation is good. If it should become clouded, they would go back to the "Bible" of 1927. A stupid man, but a gentleman of the jellive school, as he tells me, but personally he had always got on well with Beatty.

In the morning a Cecil Cree, with Lunn & Baltabee from the Dean office. They are against bilateral treaties, because they fear that the Deans might not agree to sign identical treaties. And then we should have, if, e.g. the F.S. refused to sign such a treaty with Switzerland, "different arbitration commitments for different parts of the Empire." And this, they think, would be a

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a very serious situation, which might become a dangerous precedent. Ration a cademic? Kant his attitude has an important offshoot. One D.O. one very keen on the General Art. & wish us to push on with this. So, Uncle & Pasfield having talked it over, it is decided to send a telegram to all Depts. - well in advance, I think, of any Cabinet decision. - Saying that we are examining the S.A. with a view to its ~~early~~ acceptance as an important step forward in arbitration policy, & would like their views on this, & also, on a secondary issue, on the idea of separate bilaterals.

In the afternoon a C.I.D. Sub Ctee. Model Treaty for strengthening means of preventing war. American quite incredible. Doesn't understand the case, & can't read notes unwisely passed to him by Admiral Anderson & Commander Dillon. Sea lanes & belligerent rights everywhere. ~~That we make progress.~~
 Vassilant took over from Lindsay today.
 Jan 8th.

Another Cecil Ctee on Model Bilateral.

Uncle beginning to move against battleships. Asks Cecil for a minute, when will drafts. Uncle seems to have given Craigie a bad time. Craigie says to me afterwards "I am sorry his S of S seems

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so pessimistic about the prospects of the conference. "But I know that you are too." I reply that, if they would do something bold on battleships, the rest of the programme would look all right. But, if not, it will certainly cause disillusionment. Craigie says the Admiralty were very suspicious at first, but have come a long way & meet us. & are now eating out of our hand. He fears that, if we push them too hard on battleships, there may be a crisis, & the Sea Lords may resign. To knock off a few battleships, moreover, will upset the ratio of 5:5:3.

Pauwels told Cecil today that Snowden had said to him that J.R.M. wasn't doing so badly as P.M., but added "I should like to have a shot at that job before I finish." Cecil was delighted, & amazed, at the frankness of both Snowden & Pauwels.
 Jan 9th.

British delegation for naval conference met from 9-45 to 1-30. Uncle made a fight against battleships, but, I gather, found J.R.M. & King Albert sticky. I don't know what Beira did. Uncle then a good short brief from Cecil, based on Will. He is taking it to Geneva to discuss further. Uncle said tonight, after putting, as his opening

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habit is, the points on the other side, which the enemy has been putting up today." after all, I have to remember that I'm only the second delegate. I may have to choose between going on with the others, or dropping out & leaving them to it."

Phil's mother died yesterday, aged 80. She is being buried tomorrow & coming out tomorrow evening, picking up at Paris.

Jan 10th

Off to Geneva by 11 am from Victoria. Uncle R, Jeff & I with Gordon & Mrs. with Cadogan & others with most men.

Arrive at Gene du Nord ^{with Tynell} & go to British Embassy, where dine & sleep. A too vast building, with steps being swept, or even comfortable, on the second floor. Bed rooms unimpressive, & lifts very primitive.

A jaw, in Paris, with Uncle & Tynell between tea & dinner. T says that Morley always loved John P.O., & when occasionally he sat in John's chair with her was. During the latter absence, he was always very visibly happy. It was a lie that he didn't know about the war commitments before 1914. He was at the C.I.D. when there were most critical discussions with

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place. When Gladstone retired, Morley supported Buxton as a sort of counter for the succession to the leadership, not only because he hated it, but because R. promised him the P.O.

^{T said that} Morley was always pressing Asquith in later years to give J.R.M. a post in the Govt. He said that ^{Asquith} once, shaking his finger at his rabbit was, "You make a great mistake not to include MacDonald. He has the finest brain mind." (Terrible man!) One suggests that J.R.M. would have taken it. I remember Ken Keeling about 1911

saying to me that J.R.M. would bolt for the Treasury bench like a rabbit for its hole, if he got the chance. ^{T said that J.R.M. was to shake in London at Asquith's (Saturday)}

^{second} Uncle related, how in 1911 there was much talk of a new ^{British} ^{Government} ^{Liberal} ^{Government} ^{to} be created to settle the Irish question. It would include ^{Walsham} & some of the younger Tories, & J.R.M. would be Chief Secy of Ireland. J.R.M. was very anxious to go in. He asked Uncle to come & have a talk, said that he (J.R.M.) would be in the Cabinet, but that no other members of the Lab Party would. Uncle, however, might have any job he liked outside the Cabinet, if he would put the Party machine at the disposal of the new Govt.

Uncle refused, & strongly advised J.R.M. to drop the whole idea, where he did, or perhaps the idea dropped him!

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Tyrnell spoke strongly to me after dinner in favour of abolishing battleships. He could see no real argument against it. The Admiralty always tried to have a foreign policy of their own. Madden after a c.i.d. case at north Ronald McNeill, ^{alone against the rest,} had advocated a policy of less belligerent rights, ~~and~~ had said to T "I hope you didn't agree with that man." T replied "I have been urging his policy upon him for months." He said "You are no better than a Pacificist."

The proposal to abolish battleships, T thought, would create an excellent impression in Europe & might move the French from their position on submarines. The idea that it might offend the U.S. he thought should not influence us. My only criticism of T's talk would be that he is inclined to be anti-American.

He had a Hinduo grand mother & grand father like a Frenchman. ^{Wife was intelligent,} ^{He & T both say that they}
 Jan 11th. ^{gave me a picture of his French "delegates" coming to London.} ^{in the morning}
 leave Paris in the morning & arrive at Geneva at 8-30. Uncle performing his O.C. speech in the train.

Jan 12th.

Tyrnell leads on battleships inclined to favour if not

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abolition. men very large reductions in size.

Walk with Uncle in the morning. I suggest lunch for the Assembly delegation. Uncle tells me about the Dolman. So his falls! Then I suggest Walter Smith, how is doing very well in ~~the~~ Coal Conference. We need another Trade Unionist. anything happened?

Frank talk about leaders. If J.R.H. was there would be a clear division, we agree, between Uncle & P.S. But Uncle, who had begun by saying, on my quoting P.S.'s recent remark to Paumotu, "well, my chance of that is gone now," went on to say that he wouldn't want it by a narrow majority. His chance, he thought, would have come if J.R.H. hadn't been elected leader in 1922. Clydes could have been P.S. ^{especially} with J.R.H. always not signing on his flank, & Uncle's chance would have arisen to come in between them. But I doubt if he realizes how quickly his prestige has risen lately above what it was in these days.

Dine with Drummond. All - British.

Cook came in during the afternoon. Wonderfully moderate! Doesn't want the second half hour off!

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Jan 14th - 16th.

Council - Talashi Monday. Uneventful. The Secretariat has prepared everything so well that there is nothing to do except compliment the rapporteurs. Certainly the reduction of Council meetings from 4 to 3 a year is justified on this showing, allowing for special summonses in urgent cases.

Uncle goes home on night of Tuesday, 14th, and 15th in his place on 15th & 16th.

Some useful contacts with Walter Smith, representing Hays, & Richards, both of Richardson of the Mines, who are at the International Coal Conf. They all dine with Uncle, me & Phil on Monday, 13th, & we have a good talk. Agree that the right thing for us to pay for is 7 1/2 hours bank to bank. But Smith has instructions. Beyond a general meeting, carefully. So he rings up Graham at the Hays for my name, gets message in 5 minutes, & obtains assent. One British mine owner, always blind to their own interests, are trying through Lee to offer "bank to bank" measurements - we are the only country in Europe that measures in another way - & against anything less than 8 hours anyway.

It is an extraordinary thing, in discussion of any international project, how people look at the benefits, real or imaginary, which it will bring on themselves, & not at the benefits which it will bring on others, on competitors or rivals. The benefits of work to ourselves often outweigh, many times over, the benefits, if any, to ourselves. So it is with coal. So with disarmament, in all its details, & in many other cases likewise.

Poor old Richards goes home with Uncle on Tuesday night. We have booked him a sleeper on the train. He has never had such a lay before, & is as pleased as a child. He asks Willie Richardson to come in & look at it.

The Coal Conference ends in indecisive confusion. ~~Nothing~~ No majority for anything, but some clearing of the ground has been done, & the difficulties have been located.

Butler, after train coming home, says the Ministry of Mines officials are reactionary & ignorant to a degree. They can't tell us how many ^{British} mines have working mines of over half an hour, though the District Mining Inspectors must have complete records.

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W. Swinton tells me that he, Petrich & King Albert were the force of 3 appointed to make the Retiring Pension Scheme of T.J. & the other WS. above supported it, & the other two were against!!

Jun 16th.

Last day of town. Very successful piece of hospitality at the Simpson. Lunch to Massip & Comert & dinner with H. L. Davidson, Procope, 2 Beauvais, Barret, Jett & Bartlett. The Simpson means are becoming, with us at least, a tradition. Very good & very cheap.

Jun 17th.

Hilly & Spengler & Kd 1. Master to Sallanches. Found in ~~the first~~ Thursday (16th) ^{on Wed (15th)} ~~the~~ a statement by J.K.M. & journalists in it exciting about battleships.

Times report says "in the opinion of the staff the battleships, in view of its tremendous size & cost & undoubtedly the power of attack in the air & under water, is a very doubtful proposition, & they would wish to see an agreement by which the battleships would in due time disappear altogether from the fleet, & the world. Until that is possible the staff would like the Comptroller to consider whether agreement cannot be reached with no

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immediate replacements should be made and the life of the existing battleships extended. One general agreement would run possibly until 1935 or 1936, & it is suggested that during that period there should be no battleship replacement. If after that it is felt that replacement is necessary, then the new vessels should be of a lower tonnage & lower gun calibre."

This is a tremendous improvement, & indeed a complete volte face from the doctrine of the Blue Print, where the ~~stated~~ policy of no replacements till 1936 was treated as an American objection to be strongly opposed by us, with ground that it would "cause dislocation in the dockyards"!! More of his later.

From Sallanches we went up to Megève & I fell about on skis. Horch, Sunstein, & wide snowshoes. ^{named} Hotel du Mont Blanc at Megève.

Jun 18th.

Walk on from Geneva, without skis, up to the top of the Mont d'Arbois. Lunch in Challet at top. Pictures view of Mont Blanc, & indeed of wide circle. R. number of spending a week at Megève next September.

Catch night train home. R.d. 1 would have liked another few days up here.

Jan 19th (Sunday)

Home in the afternoon.

Jan 20th.

To the Office. The battleship ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~line~~ ^{line} has
 passed through rapid changes in the past five
 days! on Wed J.K.K. made his statement
 to the journalists. Something had made him more
 sharply to the left on ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject}. ^{What was it?}
 Cumulative encouragement in the Press. A strong
 memorandum from Snowden. A petition signed by
 77 labor M.P.s. Pressure in the Cabinet etc.
 with Snowden at the Hague & Uncle at Geneva.
 What else?

Anyhow he knew over the Admiralty, & the
 Blue Print doctrine: without a word of warning or
 consultation ^{of all the nations.} And he plunged before the assembled
 journalists. Phil gave me tonight, in a hour
 betw the K.O. & S. Eaton Place, a sketch of
 events. Uncle on Wed saw J.K.K. for a few
 minutes before the latter's meeting with the journalists.
 He said to Phil afterward "now we've got them
 under our feet!"

One Admiralty was furious, not without reason.
 There was a completely new policy, or reversal.

They prepared a violently argumentative document. They
 had gone on for an hour ~~happily~~. Not another ton
 could be surrendered. If there was a war with
 Japan they would need all their Capital ships to
 beat up the Jap fleet, & leave some to
 control the ~~situation~~ ^{situation} in Europe: etc.

One American was, it seems, slightly peeved,
 again not without justification, in view of J.K.K.'s
 attitude at Washington three months ago.

But Phil has come into his own. ~~J.K.K.~~
 has been urging him up to produce counter arguments,
 & to demolish the Admiralty case. He has been
 round to No. 10 in conference with J.K.K. & King
 Klobat, who doesn't quite know where he stands!
 & Craigie. And tonight he is laboring late
 preparing an urgent memorandum of No 10.

And tomorrow the Conference opens.
 It is Phil's great hour & he is ~~doing~~
 playing his part very well indeed, though he
 admits to being terribly tired. He has won his
 way to J.K.K.'s confidence, as well as Uncle's & with
 Uncle steps justifying, with both Snowdens!

But what a strange animal is this Prime
 Minister of ours. It ^{is} almost too late, ^{but} he has taken
 at the eleventh hour the simple course!

Jan 21st

Conference opens. Everyone in morning coats & top hats. I succumb to the fashion made but not the latter. Vast crowd in Royal Gallery. The King's speech very commonplace, without an arresting phrase or any wounding greeting.

Other families good. Difficult to believe the thing can really fail. ^{What hope is there with it success?} Lunch with ^{Palastina} Wrench of Spectator, whom I

congratulate warmly on his papering Munch, Danish Foreign Minister, who says Denmark will sign general act in a month's time & carry disarmament next year; Colban, delighted to have been invited here as observer.

During the day I piece together recent facts, much assistance from Will KF. The Blue Print was printed & circulated to ^{President} Dominion! before it had been seen even by Uncle, only Snowden, through a Cabinet Minute of last June had laid it down that all matters pending should go to Treasury before Cabinet. P.S. was naturally very opinionative. It was a Memorandum by him, very good & directed chiefly against currency programme, which had really swung J.M. over with thanks. I get hold of his & other papers, later in the day from Phil. P.S. Treasury shows that even assuming no capital ship replacement.

Blue Print programme will mean an increase of naval estimates by £2 m a year & then permanent stabilisation

at £58 m a year, on a point present of 56. Capital ship replacement would add millions a year more! What fort, let alone a land fort, could suffer this? "Foreign Office" said P.S. in a covering note, "desire agreement; Admiralty desire limitations; only Treasury desire reduction."

At a Cabinet Meeting on Tuesday, (P.S. & Uncle away at the Hague & Levee) J.M. had read out his proposed new policy, & it had gone through. Phil writes that Stimson had had some words with him on his arrival, which had also moved him...

Tombur J.M. & Uncle, Tardieu & Briand, have gone with him at Stimson with Stimson & used his colleagues. I think that if U.S. ourselves & France agree, we can settle the Conference.

Phil is to breakfast on day soon with Maurice. Hubert Henderson & Cole are to become the nucleus of an expert staff on unemployment. I am not sure that Hubert isn't too negative. But he is keen on national development.

I recall here a few incidents. It was on Jan 1st that Uncle made his stand for a bold policy in his Naval Conference. It was to Marking that I said "never forget that we are a F.O. & not a

were basement to the Admiralty." Cecil's original minute to Mr. May ^{expanded} said was the one word "Alas!" that he uttered ^{expanded} in his suffrage. Cecil sat next Mr. Bean the other day at lunch, & tried to push him on battleships. But the latter said that he didn't feel that he could take a strong line about anything in the Conf. He was only 8 of 5 for India. In other words, he wants to begin with J.M. & is quite willing to be a passenger. Phil, I fear, has been taken in by his budget man!

"One sure way of ensuring security of sea passage is to remove that which threatens it" (Sir C. Madden in "Very Secret" document prepared for the Conference.) ∴ seek to secure drastic reduction of other fleets? Oh no! ∴ we ought to have 70 cruisers as a minimum! The "Very Secret" document contemplates a simple combat betw. the B.C. & Japan by the most serious of naval possibilities. How long this should last is not discussed. It is argued that a disproportionate reduction of capital ships would make it very difficult for us. Now we have, under Washington Treaty, 15 to Jap. In case of trouble we could send 14 East to defeat Japan. & keep 1 in

Europe. But if we reduced to 10 & Japs to 6, we should need 8 ~~East~~ East to beat them up, & this would only leave us two, of whom one might be undergoing repairs. This would only leave us one, with which "to control the European situation!"

Today I sat behind the Japs & the Italians at the Conference. The latter are very faintly tipsy. I know where I am with them. But the others are strange, inscrutable beings, as from another universe. Kirkpatrick tells me that, at the Guildhall the other night, a Jap picked up a list of the guests & pointing to the name of "Mr King" said to his neighbour the one was "Queen". This was his striking utterance all night.

Cecil, & Salter, at Geneva, & Tynell in Paris, have all said to me recently that, until the Sea Lords are allowed to resign, we shall never see the politicians really on top of the Admiralty. They have always been allowed to bluff to sea, & they have learned to calculate to a nicety, just when & how to threaten resignation. They are gallant fellows, in the simplest sense, but they are, for the most part, weak in logic, when it threatens the foundations of their traditions.

but less weak in certain kinds of political & press
intrigue.

Jan 22nd.

Dine with C.T. to meet Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond.
N. Angell also present. It is significant of our almost
"too late" way of doing things, & also of poor C.T.'s lack
of sense of urgency, that, although H.R. is his brother-in-law,
& an important ally in the anti-battleship fight, he has
done nothing hitherto to introduce him to our leaders,
& now introduces him first to me, who was not outside
the conference. (I am rather acutely conscious of
this last fact, & find it galling.)

H.R. is not a pacifist, nor an internationalist.
But he is a high naval authority, with a first-class
intellect, & plenty of courage. He says that we
warship need exceed 6,500 tons ^{weight} to do all necessary
tasks, provided there are more big guns. The modern
battleship is a hopeless attempt to make an "immense"
ship. His letter to the Times called down upon his
head a shaft of reproach from the Admiralty. He is
pretty annoyed with the sailing press here. He gave
me a large lump of memoranda, etc., setting out his
point of view, & answer to criticism. He thinks we
could reduce naval estimates to between 720 &

230 m., & still have the strongest in the world,
provided others snatched big ships too.

Spent the day in Paris, hearing that we propose
to take the Optional Clause debate next Monday
(27th) ~~start~~ make representations for
postponement. ~~The~~ Arthur says not to vote, but
to J.K.M. - a breach of courtesy, - & Mitchell
Dunsmuir tackles me. He is the Tory expert on
blockade, he explains to me, & he fears that once
the D.C. is signed, we shall never be free to blockade
again. They may have to say things in the
debate, which will be very embarrassing to the
Naval Conf. It might even be a disaster. Even
though he will speak with moderation from the front
bench. There are some naval officers behind -
Saulsbury, Kellian, Kammish, - who will let
themselves go. It would surely be better to wait
till Stimson is on his way home. I don't enter
vile the merits of the D.C., but point out that we
can't delay any longer without serious loss of
international prestige. But Uncle gave an undertaking to
the League Council that we should ratify within
a fortnight or three weeks, & that, if wild things are
to be said from the Tory benches, it is much better

that they should be said while Stimson is here, so that we should be able to explain to him how little they are worth.

Vande is very firm on sticking to Monday, 2 J.N. says he will "leave it to the F.O." Jan 24th

Lunch with Sokolnikoff & Bogomoloff at Vettner's. Talk slightly revised. They want a Commerce Treaty very badly. They have made no reply from Moscow of Jan 6th for the detailed negotiations, but are replying tomorrow. They say Ovey is making a good impression in Moscow. (A court official says that some Sokolnikoff is "just a common pick-up, not his legal wife. Ovey, on the other hand, is reporting well & interestingly on the Five Year Plan.)

Jan 25.

At Alderman. One hedge is on Woodland's land. This may be a bad snag!

In the afternoon a meeting of C.I.D. Sub Ctee. Ammon speaks himself in support of unrestricted import from Russ. "A cracked grammophone record of a naval band" says R. He fears, on regard to the Model Treaty of strengthening economy preventing war" that the Council, apart from the Disfranchisement of women we might be one, would unanimously make an unresolvable order against our fleet. This means, I think out, that our British diplomacy is too weak & in conflict to influence even one member of the Council, Tompkins & W.D. speaks with me.

Jan 27th.

Optional Clause ratification approved by the House of Commons in a division, after defeat of a Tory amendment proposing to add a further reservation on belligerent rights. This is the result of 2 1/2 months' labor, and opposition from many quarters. My 7 months baby is now delivered!

Vande makes a solid speech in morning in resolution. Samuel & Maude support us from the Liberal benches. The former declaring that this is a contest between two centuries, 1930 and 1830. Jewitt works up very well for us. Phil speaks admirably. Angell & Symonds both make their maiden speeches. On the side Austen is very moderate, & Mitchell-Thompson very laboured. One debate goes off very well; we have a tremendous impudencia in argument; nothing is said from the Tory benches but is in the least embarrassing; all fears of a bad repercussion on the naval conference are shown to be quite groundless. It is a great & historic day!

Jan 28th.

Krusid wants to resign, because, he says, we have agreed to accept a Lord's amendment to the Unemployment Insurance Bill within time limit. I tell him that this is not a big enough issue. That he is in a possible position.

Jan 29th

knowd miss up, write I am having breakfast, and sup but things are not as bad as he thought, so he is not resigning!

Lord Oswald, however, tells me in the course of the evening, that he is seriously thinking of resigning, because such a man is being made of unemployment. We are faced, he thinks, with three years of rising prices, & all his proposals for bringing them down have been rejected. I express sympathy with him in being confronted with such a combination of stupidity & cowardice. But I don't

in fact believe that he will resign in a hurry!

Jan 30th

(D.C. Kellip has now gone to Sandringham. Officers suspected hearing it up till all Deans were ready! But I implicitly vetoed him.)

To the School to hear Lionel's inaugural, - rather delayed. A good performance.

Jan 31st

Today a British Delegation meeting was held under Naval Conference. Madden put the Admiralty case, & Uncle the F.O. case, for vigorous reduction, on which Paul & I had done a good deal of work. Then King Albert spoke. Wilford, the New Zealander, is in the pocket of the Admiralty. He was rude about Uncle's statement. But Halston, the Canadian, said to Uncle at the end "You have made at least one convert this morning. I was against you at the beginning but

you have quite convinced me." And Kenton, the Australian, said "I will follow you all the way." I had his account from Paul.

R & I lunched with Vansittart to meet Senator & Mrs Reed, & other not very important people. Reed showed up pretty well, but told R that his view of the future was that Britain should keep order in Europe, the U.S. in America, & Japan in the Far East as against China & the Soviets!

Feb 1st

At Aldbourne.

Feb 5th

C.T. to dinner, to meet Keith Manning & Mrs Lowe. They two & R & I all hammer him to get the school leaving age Bill through this session. He is awfully stupid & irritatingly complacent. Quite oblivious of problem of training teachers, etc.

So at the Admiralty House, where King Albert is giving a reception to the Naval Conf. delegates & a host of conventional others. A sense of atmosphere, sailors with open faces, saluting & leaping to attention. As a Sunday paper says, there is nothing much changed here. No sharp discontinuity. No collapse of society, or even of "society!"

but terribly boring. I have seen most of these people before, & there is nothing new to say to them. Small talk, & intimacy with the ^{Japanese} ^{particular} had work. The ^{Times} has fathered again, ^{but} ^{the} ³⁰⁰ ^{naval} ^{ships} have been shot ^{by} ^{the} ^{Japanese}. It is amazing that Feb 7th. (Friday) ^{many} ^{shall} ^{be} ^{held} ^{for} ^{their} ^{souls}. It appears to Aldbourne. They have ^{been} ^{sent} ^{up} ^a ^{list} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{office}, ^{about} ^{from} ^{the} ^{Naval} ^{Conference}. P.P.'s have diminished for the moment; Sokolnikoff is referring our last note back to Moscow; Nahan isn't coming till March; Cecil is at Geneva; so, by near, is the King's ratification of our signature of the O.C.

A pretty good meeting of the British Empire Delegation was held today. The final declaration on piracy, to be published as the American has been, won't make anyone know his hat up in the air & cheer. But it is much better than it might have been, & in its first draft was. Uncle has had misgivings, at Phil's suggestion, the statement of the P.M. that we look forward to the abolition of the battleships "in due time." Also a reduction in aircraft carrier tonnage. Wilford, the staffed New Zealand, alone opposed the hope that battleships would go.

Tonight's Evening Standard contains a ^{gram} ^{obituary}

H.N.W.

put out by Lord O, was G.L., he & T.J. were on the verge of resignation owing to J.H.T.'s turning down of all their plans. Feb 8th.

See Lawrence at Raurberg at noon, & keep him I want the hedge. He sees Woodland on Tuesday. He tries to turn our minds onto a suburban site just outside Raurberg.

Today's papers & word Feb 9th.

have varieties of opinion about the ^{three} ^{land} ^{resignation}. I must find out tomorrow.

Today & yesterday have been very sunny & cold. We have looked at various other sites, but with a ^{hedge}. But clearly the hedge is so much the best that it is worth of time looking of others very seriously till we know what the decision here is. Has reading Luceat on the new edition of ^{the} ^{construction} given by ^{cinemat} ^{arrange}. Feb 10th - 12th.

Excitements in, and on the outskirts of, the Cabinet over the "leakage" of Lord O's ^{minutes} ^{memorandum}. Lord O sent copies to 8 selected Cabinet Ministers, before it became a Cabinet paper. The rest are furious.

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Also alleged that Strachey gave a copy to loads of all people. This is denied. Heard of Allen Young was seen sitting with Mark Wheatley's Jim Scantlan in the Strangers' Dining Room. I fear they are more concerned with tracing the leakage than finding some new ideas for dealing with unemployment.

R is very helpfully active over the School leaving the Bill. But J.H.T. was heard ^{in a corner of the lobby} telling Campbell Stephen that in a working man's case "a woman wd find that his maintenance allowance of 5/- a week wouldn't keep 'er boy in bread". C.T. is hopelessly stupid in all this.

Feb 14th - 15th.

Bishop Auckland. Some improvement in employment & trade. People wonderfully patient & easily satisfied. Only persistent demand is for better pensions for old people, especially in the mining industry. Stay Friday night with Hodgson. Meetings at London, New Gildon & West Auckland on Friday, & B.A. on Saturday. All about half full. Not bad for this dreary interim. Hodgson says of J.R.M. that "he is a frightened man", & of Vnile that he "has the vision murderer's stroke." Both showed comments. He wants the vacant Deanery of Lincoln. He showed sp a slightly better living in a Durham colliery village.

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Feb 17th.

T.J. says he thinks they are making progress with pensions, but O.M. says Cabinet Committee hasn't met yet! Unemployment is now 177,000 more than a year ago. It is rising week by week at a season when it ought to be falling. Our situation is incapable of defence. The recent success is in cotton & wool, but there is nothing big enough to offset this.

Feb. 18th.

Feetson of Australia to lunch. Not clever, but all the same strong about electing us as we have here. And very sound, in a simple way, on disarmament.

"Religious persecution" stunt is working vnicle a great deal. Orley & the officials want us to do nothing. But the Wesleyan & the politicians combine to ^{to make} ~~the~~ ^{the} Union & Party to do something. In the last resort, he & I agree, we may have to choose between sending Sokolnikoff away or seeing his feet go down. If that wretched choice comes, we shall willingly choose the latter. But we must wait yet!

Adison rages to me about the weakness of Buxton. J.R.M. gave Adison an undertaking, when the fact was proved, that Buxton would search appointed to a

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Colonial Government, or Don Gov-Generalship, & Addison would take his place. What such jurisdiction implies. I like Addison more & more as a politician. He is one of the live wires.

Feb 21st.

A letter arrives by first post from Lawrence of Kumbung saying that Woodland will sell us 2 acres of hedge for £200! A great surprise that he will sell at all, but a fantastic price.

R goes off to Adhson, via Swindon, where she is to see a solicitor. Great travels!

I go to a boring official dinner & levée at the Speaker's. All very bloody colleagues in a crowd. Willy Lunn says to me of Lord Oswald: "if I had legs like that, I wouldn't wear knee breeches!" & says something was plain evening dress.

Feb 22nd.

I also to Adhson by an early train. Meet Lawrence "on the site" in the afternoon. We can't have the entrance by the cottages, nor push the cart track further down the hill, but he thinks we can have two acres bounded by the cart track & the Bydon road, approached from the latter. This is really better in several respects. He thinks

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Woodland would take £150. I write later 2 Mar. Wm.

Feb 23rd.

Again visit to site, now much nearer to reality. Wm. not yet ^{safely} realized. Read with K "The Honeywood File" by Mr. Caswell. Very topical.

R persuades me that I give way much too early to nervous irritation, & tire myself needlessly. At 55, she says, I shall not, at this rate, be an efficient Cabinet Minister!

Feb 27th.

Critical Division on the Loan Bill Part I, Gustas. Govt wins by 280 to 271. For Lituals vote with us, & 8 abstain. A great victory. If we had been beaten, we should have dropped the Bill, but not either resigned or dissolved. Wilkie Graham made a very fine speech, & Anselm Keran did well. Long Government amendment.

P. Ken lobbying against the ~~Part I~~ ^{Part II}, writing in the Times, calling on Austen, Stimson & Uncle. Cecil with at Geneva with neuritis. Phil in a fuss. France still without a Govt.

March 3rd.

Oveig's Report on Religious Persecution has come. A first class document, blowing up all the atrocity stories.

but allowing that priests, like Kulaks, have a time.
 A first class despatch, balanced, well-written & sometimes ironical. I want to publish it, & Uncle would like it, but Vansittart is strongly against, & convinces us. To ^{publish} would set a very bad precedent, & would make Oveij's position at Moscow almost untenable. Oveij himself in a telegram which comes in while we are talking it over, expresses a strong wish that it should be published. Laka the King, through Stamfordham, ~~express~~ pleads heavily against publication, unless ground that nothing should be done to shake Oveij's position at Moscow, when Sir Edmund Oveij would be irreplaceable. Pretty good, but particularly Royal intervention. Vane knows it cuts Austen & Kipling wood. The Labor front, sheltering behind the Prime, against the attacks of the Tory Party would make a good cartoon.

The barage about R.P., interspersed with similar barages about intercession services for his troops, shows some signs of weakening.

But it is very vexing.

March 31st 92.
 Meanwhile there is general misery &

stagnation in week. The Naval Conference in a bad rut. Uncle, however, is to take on more of the negotiations with the French. Bismarck is coming back to London; Tardieu, ~~but~~ Premier again, is visiting the flooded Dept of the Seine. A certain drive in the political & press background for more decisive results. But only the Admirals are really hanging on. Everyone else is losing grip, or courage, or interest, or all three at once. There is a cut of nearly £ five million in the Naval Estimates this year, & no new construction. But there is a threat of supplementing if the Naval Conference doesn't turn out well.

The Russian negotiations are sticking. Sokolnikoff comes & talks for an hour & a half in Chancery, & then goes away after exchanging 2 Moscow. Literally no progress at all. Will talk about ~~the~~ order & credits, but nothing materialises there. The Export Credits Act will give no credit beyond twelve months for Russian orders. And Fillett won't seriously buy more men.

Domestic legislation is sticking. Coal drops

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Wearily on. Another 4 1/2 days out of the
 of the House. Graham broke down the other night,
 is obviously under a heavy strain. V. Turner
 is utterly useless, I can't even move the House
 in the correct formula. In another month
 the Budget will be here. Housing & Slum
 Clearance Bill next. That will be a good
 Bill anyhow & a change from coal.

School Attendance Bill. Pressure very
 persistent from a number of our M.P.'s; from the
 Press, Liberal as well as our own; from the
 teachers' organisations. That E.T. can't do
 work. Put up a decent case in the Cabinet.

Denman, who is working very hard at this,
 saw the P.M. alone one night this week. Our
 P.M. said he didn't think there was time for the
 BTU this session; that it wasn't really practical
 to raise the age by April 1931, or the Bill

proposed; that he had met a lady - ^{some} ~~very~~
 feminist, social worker, ^{very young} ~~and~~ suppose, like ~~she~~
 Keppel in the old Capital Levy story! -
 who was a member of the Great Education
 Ctee, & had told him so. That it wouldn't
 make ^{any} sense about 20,000 difference to

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unemployment - (he'd forgotten a number!) - that
 he had met a business man who had said
 that if he couldn't get boys of 14 to 17, he
 wouldn't employ anyone, & that anyhow
 the bill's effect on unemployment would be
 limited to the first year.

Perfectly thoughtless!!!

~~Denman~~ He also told Denman, who suggested
 sitting with August to finish, that his was actually
 impossible, & that if Parliament didn't rise at
 the end of July, he & Stuart would resign.

A tired, frightened snob, our great
 Prime Minister.

One despair of politics in each day in
 these. Cotton for you had to work. In
 Mossley, Lancs, 80% of Gibson's constituents are
 out of work. ^{totally} The ~~year~~ month month week by
 week, just when the seasonal decline should
 be operating. ^{overworked}

One Cabinet is full of men, growing older,
 more tired and more timid with each passing
 week. Pressure from below & from without
 is utterly ineffectual. High hopes are falling
 like last autumn's leaves. There is a wonderful

of Spring in the air, but none in the political atmosphere. One franking the public platform, & one wishes we had never come in. We have forgotten our programme, or been bamboozled out of it by the officials. Our aim is to keep for an early & crushing defeat. ^{March 9th} ¹⁹³⁰ ^{with K.F. ^{with}} ^{now} we have tea after seeing "Methu", "you had led me to water". He has (other) wit, & higher hopes than most of us.

But I recall, on a fine piece of comfort, that last August I enumerated all our efforts, at the F.D. & nothing done, & was on the point of resigning - at least I thought I was - & then the wire broke, & we did it all.

So many to be a pain!
 It is forty years old today. It is, at any rate, a fine perfection in our private life! We may be able to retire to the hedge soon! or go to the ^{Marathon}.

Lunch with John Strachey, now always just fails to be interesting, & a young woman, sec 4-29, & living with J.S., usual wife in America. Private view of Mother, organized by Allen. Fine technique, here

history of British Russia. Incredible ^{that} it should be banned! Some say it is ^{the} American interests have intervened against his competitors.

But Fraser acting as leader writes on the D.H., on subject of Laski & Meller. A hopeful adventure for him. But R. finds him rather heavy & humours him evening. He came to D.3.00 on his floor with us. March 11th.

Govt defeated by 8 votes on amendment to Coal Bill to strike out levy for export. Great excitement. All Liberals present vote against us, even Mander. Three Ministers unaccounted for, - Greenwood was in attending an official dinner; Trevelyan was in dining at home & whose Division bell failed to ring for the first time in 20 years, & C. Nicholson, whose it is said, was lying drunk at his Hotel, in an uncommon condition. Earlier we were in danger of defeat on a vital amendment, but had a majority of 30. This defeat is not vital, but it is an awkward knock. It will, however, emphasize the fact that we are a minority party to our supporters. Liberals sat, looking glum, while first the Tories & then our own crowd rose & cheered

Edward side paper. FISH were shaken at the Liberals
 for an hour, & insults showered. Some of
 them went to J.M. afterwards, & explained what
 they really did because it wasn't an essential amendment
 and Isaac Foot told Graham that night, & Maude told me
 next day, but on any vital vote at least a dozen
 of them would always ^{at least} abstain, & some perhaps
 vote with us.

March 12th.

J.H.T. addresses a Party meeting & says that he's only
 carrying out the policy of the Cabinet. The Party
 meeting is an unorganized rabble. - he gets away
 with it. Rumour in Fleet Street that Lord O has
 resigned. But G.L. says he has dissuaded him.

March 13th.

T.J. to lunch. Always very refreshing. T.J. & Maude
 Lord O is on the point of resignation. But G.L.
 & T.J. are both doing good work, apart from Vintages,
 while Lord O has nothing else. T.J. has a
 good Land Drainage Bill through the House, & will
 for his Lancashire children a National Parks
 in the offing.

Mrs William Ellis, just back from Moscow,
 tells Uncle & me about it at tea. She too,
 just fails to be interesting, though she comes near

to it than her brother. She looks very over his
 luxuriously, & doesn't move about enough. She
 head of a little Russian girl now sent her
 mother "Mummy, I can't bear to hear you laughing
 at the Five Year Plan."

... The Naval Conference is sticking badly
 in these days. The French clamour for more
 security pacts, and we seem to run away even
 from the implications of the Locarno & Locarno.
 Uncle has struck a bad anti-sanctions patch,
 & suspects everyone, including Vansittart, Craig &
 that, was first "find a formula" to satisfy the
 French. J.M. seems a little more pliable,

& for the first time, I am rather glad to
 see West end (March 15-16) & J.M. at the mess,

know Uncle, who has just returned, but is
 to talk to Tardieu & Briand. Tardieu is
 always on the point of falling in Paris, but is coming
 over for 36 hours. The Italian won't mention
 any figures. The American are terrified of
 their Senate, & Hoover is being weakened by trade
 depression, etc. It's a bad ~~to~~ show just at
 present.

March 16
 into it to a Wagner concert in the Albert Hall. Rather
 Rosemary with V.O. personnel and
 waiting for an answer about the hedge.

March 18th.

Uncle sees L.G. twice. On March cabinet meets. Literals will abstain on Thursday on Coal, - nominally because there is a Naval Conference on. Electoral Reform Party in the air. Uncle leans towards A.V. This is very ticklish. I think we should only agree to this, - & in no case, or in any degree to P.V. - if we abolish the Business & University votes in the same B.V. & also ^{limit} the use of cars. I don't know what the Lords would know out of this. The idea of another two years of this Parliament fills me with mixed feelings. I should like another two years at the F.O. And no doubt a certain amount of solid stuff would be put through the legislative machine. But what will the State of the Party be at the end? And the State of public opinion?

March 19th.

Uncle speaks frankly about Vinton. He can't see a successor. I make addition. He disagrees & thinks he has no voice. He is aware of losing W. Norfolk, even to get rid of Vinton. J.M. asked Vinton whether he would go to Australia as Governor General. Vinton thought it over very carefully & discussed it with his wife & finally said Yes. Now J.M. ^{has} told Uncle, ~~but~~ now asked whether he realized that this would mean the loss of a by-election, that he

hadn't. And now poor Vinton doesn't know where he is!

March 20th

Dante.

Naval Conference outlook very ~~black~~. Given a Peace Power Pact in danger, owing to Japanese obstinacy in Tokyo. Jap. Delegation here has appeared. We know from intercepts that French are encouraging Japs to stand out! Tension will only come back if there is something to come for. J.M. has been keeping it all in his own hands again lately. Nobody knows what he has been saying to anybody else. And he is quite worn out. Uncle has asked for a British Delegation meeting tomorrow morning. He won't he says, hang his hat on a weeping willow ~~branch~~. ^{but} he thinks it looks very black.

Colonel Mitford, Over's private secretary & honorary attaché, flew in today. No night life in Moscow, he says. A great work at all locations etc. The mission is living under "active service conditions" in a hotel, largely, I gather, on reports from Fortnum & Mason. He is in favour of the Five Year Plan. The Russians will certainly make good. The strain about religious persecution is all moribund. The priests whom he sees all look fat. They have shut up a lot of churches, of course. But no one ever went to them, except a handful

of old people. Wasn't a lot of City Unions shut up a few years ago? There are no brotherly nor venereal disease. - fucking not being morally prohibited, & marriage easily contracted & dissolved - & illiteracy is being rapidly wiped out. One Embassy man a married beauty, except for Patrick who is a bit of a dickhead.

Mitford ought to run about the West End talking his stuff. It's grand!
March 21st.

After Vivand & Tondien, Pietri & Dumesnil have now gone back to Paris, - leaving the Conference to carry it with. They didn't come back till the 31st, & perhaps not later. What manner!

Vassittar tells me that he wanted all along to make a political formula for the French & to tackle Baldwin, whom he thinks wd have agreed. A member of the Labour, - called Beau (Gilly little chirpy cipher) or King A. I fancy - told him that the country wouldn't stand it. He got. I suspect that Hankley has been active over all this, pulling towards neutralist isolation.

Vassittar from a head of Anglo-French ^{reconciliation and} ^{of the great powers,} ^{only France,} ^{is really devoted to the situation in Europe. All the rest have ambitions inconsistent} ^{and} ^{is} ^{rendered} ^{unworkable.} ^{he says. Baldwin's position,} ^{in Europe.} ^{All the rest have ambitions inconsistent}

with this, which may cause trouble. V is a sound fellow, but not strong in action.
March 22nd - 23rd.

With K at the Bell, Rumburg. The hedge is definitely off the map. Woodland's French won't sell or lease. Talk to J.H. Lawrence about alternative sites. Walk to garden. Clouse, I think, between Peaks down, - magnificent position but inconveniently & expensively remote, - and Southward, above Rumburg on the way to Alderson, - much more accessible & cheaper to run, but not nearly so exciting.

March 24th.
Jello tells me that K-Hugessen, who kissed hands on appointment to Riga, reported that the King had heard that Mitford had been telling everyone at St James' Club that the Bolsheviks were very good fellows. The King was displeas'd at this, ~~but~~ & would have preferred more impartiality. I wonder whether he would have taken the same objection to good word for the German, or Daves. Good old Mitford!

Megan Lloyd George is a very simple little thing - she told Ellen, after the last Mutual Party meeting, that they were all perfectly horrid to Dadda. They said they wouldn't

from the first out. And Dadda was brightly upset about it. So he discovered the Naval Conference!

One Naval Confere is showing more hopefulness. P.O. Officials working hard at a formula which shall satisfy the French. Phil was suddenly rung up by the P.M. after a silence of four weeks, at his house at 9 am this morning. But he was away at Corcair, having been about mainly for four week ends on the charges he might be wanted.

One P.M. he says, always rings up himself, doesn't give his name, but only says "I want to speak to Mr Noel Baker. It's very important." All day since the P.M. has said nothing, & has found Phil uncomprehending in the lobby. A queer man!

Uncle is now willing to try to satisfy the French, but the P.M. is still very nervous about it. March 25th.

Dine with the Dieckhoff. A well chosen party. He pumps me on the status about the Govt's prospects of life, & I take an optimistic line & speak of the Liberts' inclination to hang about in the hope of getting electoral reform. This will go back to Berlin! March 26th.

Egyptian Delegation arrives. Dine with Loranice at Claudis' & on to Egyptian Legⁿ, where

there is a terrific squash & heat. March 27th.

Lunch at Austrian Legation to meet promoters of Austrian Exhibition at the school. Sit next Prof Mises, who says Seipel has diabetes & can't live more than two or three years.

Uncle opens the Exhibition in the afternoon, & is supported by a large rally of the Diplomatic Corps. Uncle again impressed by the extent of self-determination in the world. "All these snuffling little countries!" March 28th.

To B.A. by the 7.15 am. Train. Five Pizzas at Town Hall for B.A. Grammar School. May present me with three books of poems, - Browning, W. Morris & D.G. Rossetti. Boys very good; Staff moderately good; buildings rotten.

Social (D.L.P.) in the evening. Arrangements chaotic, but most people seem pleased. A brighter look about the town, & employment distinctly better. John Murphy said to me when I told him we were having difficulties in negotiations with the Russians, "I should think you would. I was in a prison camp with a lot of them during the war. A very dirty class of people we always found them." March 29th.

Lunch with the Bishops, the Chaplain, Dr Hill, & five or six ladies, - all ugly. One Bishop

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Talks about Council of Action during the 1926 Staff off.
Common work & Capital Punishment. "I hope justice not
going to abolish Capital Punishment." A profoundly
reactionary mind.

March 30th.

R in the North. Dine with Lionel & Lisa & John
Clark. They think trade will begin to improve this summer.

April 5th (Sat)

To ~~London~~ ^{Bayden} by 9.15 am. Very tired after a week of
Naval Conference crises. Outside the Cafe! Peace now
part seems certain now, Japan having come into line. But
P.M. now almost impossible. The struggle to find a
formula "with France has gone on too long; inflexibility has
been exhausted to no purpose; there is nothing left in the
locker" as Vansittart says, & the P.M. has cold feet all the
time. Isolationist & sentiment is very vocal and there is a
stream of tiresome questions day by day in the House. There is
a drift away from Article 16. Some of our own Party -
Wedgwood, Kennedey, etc. - are on bad with Tories. Grand is
in a state of nerves, threatening to blow up the Conference.
Saying that Italy is being left outside, that Mussolini will
sack him if he gives way, that he will be shot at the
first railway station on the Italian side of the frontier, etc.
Meanwhile the Egyptian negotiations have opened well. He

I am inside the Cafe. After preliminary public opening, a
Foreign Office dinner, etc., Uncle was in fine form on
Friday when we really got to business, & agreed on
the first seven articles of the Draft Treaty, subject to drafting.
Uncle frightened all our officials by going so fast, &
refusing to worry about small points, or to read the little
notes they handed up to him.

April 6th.

Immensely rested. What a nerve cure this will be
down me. Looked more closely at Vansittart's
site, for which we are now negotiating.

Nearly missed Rumburg bus, having to run most of
the way from Southwood.

April 7th.

Naval Conference. Stream of Tony questions in the House, &
adjournment moved by Godfrey Locker Lampson to ask whether
we would bring re-interpretation of Covenant" (Art 16)
before Council before agreeing to anything with "another
Power" (France.) Uncle had answered ton bunch of questions
at P.M.'s request, with a reference back plus a bit of ^{stuff} ~~holding~~
for the time. At the Adjournment at 7.30 J.R.M. takes it
over & Uncle's hands at 10 minutes notice; says that if he
had known G.L.L. attached importance to his question, he
would have answered it, but he was engaged at the time (his

was a lie) and, as the Foreign Secretary had had charge of this part of the negotiations (was again, unfortunately, was a lie). He thought it right natural that the latter should answer. Then came a hint that some of the supplementaries had been unhappily conceived, and a little fettle did about Locarno (we could have worked them on this) and finally an offer to talk to Baldwin 2 L.S. about it all. (This is a month too late. Vansittart wanted weeks ago to get in touch with Baldwin over a Mediterranean Locarno, but the hope of this is evaporated now! One isolationist sentiment has risen too high, & become too uncontrollable in the interval.) This is a cowardly & dishonest answer over.

Dine with Amata. He is moving towards some sort of agreement with the Liberals, including Electoral Reform, & but not, he assures me, P.R.

At the Naval Confer, on April says, P.M. has frightened himself, frightened the Cabinet, frightened the House & frightened the Press! April 6th.

Dine with Egyptian Delegation at Hyde Park Hotel. R. in a new dress, looking very pet & talking confidently good French, Uncle & Aunt, Vansittart & Lorraine. Maken & Waring fresh here wives. Very cheerful evening, & excellent dinner. R says Lorraine was rather pained at hearty lunch company of Uncle & me. After Lora in the evening Uncle, Maken, Maken

and I got off into an inner room. Uncle says we have been doing very well so far, but we must try to finish within another week. One round conference is being spoiled by dragging on too long. One Press & the House is getting restive. And Easter is upon us. Nahon appears. Then to the Sudan. Uncle explains that public opinion will let us give more. What is the maximum they will take? Nahon, after thinking for a moment, says "An Egyptian ^{to be} ^{appointed} ^{by} ^{the} ^{General} ^{to} ^{be} ^{the} ^{commander} ^{of} ^{the} ^{force} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{Sudan}." The financial contribution of £750,000 a year from Egypt, which would otherwise have stopped, to go on. Uncle says he will work this over. And so to bed. I feel very hopeful, though I don't think this formula will do. But I feel that they want to settle.

April 9th. Heavy clouds over the Sudan sky! I suggest to see Uncle, has been thinking over the formula, but it won't do. He agrees that more. There is a ^{parliamentary} question done by Grotto for today, asking whether we adhere to our statement on the Sudan in our White Paper. And Scores in the morning Post & Daily Mail. Uncle goes into the Cabinet to get a decision. Telephone a little later that we must say "Yes, in principle." Vansittart, Selby & I to the 17th 22

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Paul Horak to tell the Gippies. I see Nahon above. Show him the daily paper, which he brags as if no importance. Of course, the official will try to pin you down in advance, & prevent you from making a settlement. Similarly, the other question. We should absolutely refuse, he says, to answer questions in Parliament while negotiations are going on. This is the line he would take in Egypt. Baffed, but we point out that even if a minority forbids to read the draft answer. "There is no present intention of departing from the principle laid down in the art 13 of the 1922 paper." He begins quietly, but gradually works himself up. What does "principle" mean? They will not accept the 1899 Convention. If that is insisted on, there is nothing doing. They will accept "l'essence" of the Convention. But this is ^{absolute} joint work. There is no real understanding.

We go back to report, & there is no doubt, after we leave, an ugly row from the wings, & a jangling of monkey's! In the afternoon, Jellicoe is absent & the question is smothered on the first round. Woodrow Wilson asks it under second. But the adjournment of the House, which has been feared, is not moved, & there is only a rumour of supplementary. But I fear we have been manoeuvred into a retro-position. Selby is much the best of our officials on

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but jnr. But some of the rest are terrified of showing the speed of our progress. Some still want to be not civil servants, but Civil Masters. We showed that we had Liberal support & that side down the Tories. I put him through several times. He will take his mule, I think, when he comes to it. Meanwhile Liberals in Tory numbers, lunched with Mr Snowden at No 11 yesterday, & planned a joint Free Trade Campaign. A dangerous drift! But we should, at least, make use of it in Foreign Affairs. There is a little ~~dead~~ die-hard streak in the Cabinet on Egypt. One Mr. Funnell the Egyptian controller of the Canal is still working with the French even in 1924, & still without saying the F.O. have a very bad reputation now, with the P.M. & Chancellor, & Tory Party, & in Fleet Street. They are "the Yes men", always giving things away & making concessions. I assume him that Clubland is not all. In that wider circle, & among "the toiling masses", the F.O. is the only force left worth a cheer. I don't think he understands. How should he?

Russian negotiations held up by South African objection. Grey's sticking everyone tired!

April 13th. (Sunday)

A Day of Peace with R. Visit Jupp's Art Exhibition at the Tate. Sculpture, including work in wood, illustrating

of some very good paintings rather poor. Finish reading Mallet on L.G. A thin tipped whip on an incursive twister. I have little enough sympathy with either. That the job, on an exposure, is pretty well done. I may have to look this record up again if Sweden's Free Trade League continue.

The Naval Conference was, for all practical purposes, wound up last week. The Peace Pact is a reality; the ^{main} elements of the V-Mc - Power are more wondrous dressing. One search for a formula of security has been fruitless, & the isolationist anti-Covenant crowd has made very ugly showing. We must let this wind die down, or it may blow us to shipwreck. The battleship holiday till 1935 is a good thing in a small way. I can't see this holiday ever being broken, unless there is a sharp turn for the worse in the international situation. That we should have got down to 10:10:6, instead of only 15:15:9. We have, however, "carried the Board of Admiralty with us" & that, some timid people think, is the greatest achievement of all. in 1930.

In short, we have succeeded ⁱⁿ a la Fremont's labors, in doing what the Tories failed, with no preparation at all, to do in 1927. That, in spite of that Fremont's labors, we have failed to do more. The Peace Pact awaits

little or let, to diminish, or even to check the growth of navies. That to finish with this wearisome, & often mishandled, affair lifts a weight from my mind, & I feel unexpectedly light hearted, though tired.

The Egyptian Negotiations stuck badly last week, especially with Suez Canal (Art 9) and the Sudan (Art 13.) But Vucelja is a far better & subtler diplomatist than the V.O. Officials. At least, that is undoubtedly. They wanted him to bludgeon the Egyptians all the time ^{sometimes} even on secondary points. But he was firmly, & even jovially, conciliatory all the way. He is making a big effort to settle before Easter. Yesterday he went to see Vahan in the evening. Today he & the delegation have been down to Parmanian's house in the country. Tomorrow Makum is ^{leaving} ^{with} me alone before the Budget. I think we shall pull this off. I sat outside the cafe in the Naval Conference, but I am inside with Egypt, & he makes all the difference. I feel the truth of Mallet's saying "Optimism was the prevailing ^{attitude} of everybody in the war was doing something, & pessimism the prevailing attitude of everybody now watched what was being done." And not in the war only.

My natural impatience is inbred by delays.

April 14th

We end in a late ^{we} sitting with the Egyptians. Begin at 4 pm today. They come in at 5 pm. A lunch, with an interval for dinner from 7 to 9 pm (in room 11 & 12) go to the Strand (some House) we go on till 4.30 am on the 15th. A long stick with the duration of the Treaty (Art 16). This finally settled by a compromise, at 20 years, with power either Party to ask for reconsideration at the end of 10; we go back to Art 13 & Art 9.

Uncle was grand. The Egyptians were in the Ambassadors waiting room most of the night; we in the S.A. room with a horde of officials & the reps of Australia (Casey) & N.Z. (W. Ford.) The latter, however, left early. "Like shaking hands with eels" he said to me after the Egyptian delegation had made the ceremonial rounds. Uncle went out by himself & talked to Nathaniel Matheson in a room at the back of the private secretaries' rooms. He came back & reported, & went out again. He was out more than half the night. Measurably there were biscuits & whisky & soda in the p.s. room. Though the door was closed he could hear him shouting at the Egyptian. Gradually they gave way on one point

after another. Loran's & Vansittart both seemed verified of the success. Loran's to make a new point. Was worth commanding the transfer in the Canal Zone? Should it be made clear that they were the under British command? (The whole thing is a fetish. We don't defend the Straits of Dover by putting in fortifications permanently along the Kent coast. And, when was a similar war. Probably all Australian ships would come to British ports through the Panama Canal, which is a shorter route. The real truth, that we keep troops in Egypt & in future in the Canal Zone, as a source of supply for the war of the Middle East, is never, of course, told to the Egyptians. & Tom Shaw seems only half to realize it, though Thomson & the General do. But, even on this basis, Cyprus would be pleasant & equally effective. Loran's field in a former dispatch has refused to return his stand to Greece it would be as well to make some use of it.) Uncle is conscious of the attitude of Loran's & Vansittart. "They all want to be making up" he says to me afterwards. "They are not so long in the process of doing their work. But they are not to be done with in the same manner of the 15th he shouts angrily at Loran's in front of all our own crowd. It is Art 13 (the Sudan) & Loran's Maffey to be consulted, & his consent obtained to a certain extent they get taken outside it."

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formula before the ~~point~~ in ever mentioned to the Cabinet.
 Maffey was began last summer by being very suspicious
 & recommending in promise to have an Egyptian
 battalion back in the Sudan after the ratification of the Treaty.
 This concession would purchase peace, had his hand
 severed from the Council in the Sudan. Now he is
 terrified of any suspicion of change in the settlement and
 the latter could be prevented. His Council is with
 Dickson & recruits. And because talk of him as if he
 were a Mussolini or a Jesus Christ, which is irritating
 at times. He is, after all, only a Civil servant
 a Civil Master. Entitled to be heard, but not
 necessarily to be obeyed. Discussion is a reactionary
 job. "I don't know what would happen if the League
 of Nations got hold of this article", he said.
 Obviously no faith in the League. And always
 raising new points & requirements. Phil makes his
 in the play of the Permanent Firm, but this is an
 extraordinary application of the materialist concepts
 of history. Tom Shaw, on the other hand, plays
 up well to escape his long sittings. We are joining
 at the end through the physical collapse of the Egyptian
 power we break off at
 April 15th
 4-30 am. I walked & walking home

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round the corner of the Ho. towards St James' Park and
 pursued by two journalists, one from the Daily Mail, (which
 has been attacking us wildly over Egypt), was not sure if
 he has any statement to make. "No", he says, "I shall make
 my statement to Parliament."

Uncle's Cabinet at 10.30 am. Egyptian decisions. Telegrams
 to Maffey.

Restart at 4 pm. Egyptian in at 5. Point No 1. Suez
 Canal. "By they wanted to cut our remuneration" by
 agreement with the P.C.I.'s, & to take into the League at
 any time in the question of fact whether the Egyptian
 Army was now efficient enough to defend the Canal unaided.
 Imagine Hunt & Co deciding this in P.C.I.'s! The
 Cabinet says we are to stand firm on this. Termination
 of Garrison on Canal must only be by our consent. Uncle
 says bluntly that, if no agreement here, "the negotiations
 are at an end". Willard is delighted at this ^{reply} ~~reply~~
 Egyptian depressed & rather reticent. They retire. &
 Uncle goes out to see them. They want to consult
 their Cabinet in Cairo. This would take 2 or 3 days
 & prevent all chance of settling by Easter. This is
 prevented for tonight. Beckett (Legal Africa No 2) is
 to go & talk formulae to them at their Hotel.
 We stop early tonight in view of last night's late

sitting, which they do not wish to repeat.

Jebb tells me that he heard all about the negotiations in every detail from de Tonnelle the French Ambassador, who admitted that he had heard it all from Casag - the little bounder now sits in for Australia. This is a bit thick. I feel much, & also, without mentioning my name, Selby. Casag has been frightening Scullin by sending off me at me telegrams about the Canal, & during his long sitting, produced a written affirmation of his situation to show to Loran. One Egyptian, he had decided, were simply trying to get us out of Egypt, or, failing that, to drag us before the League. A poisonous little object, this! Selby & I refer in kind tones to press leaks in the hearing.

April 16th

Egyptian again. They seem to have given way on everything except the Sudan, on which we have also had a ^{diplomatic} & unhelpful telegram from Maffey, asking incidentally that we shall make it clear that, when we say, as we did in ^{our} last year's proposals, the status of the Sudan shall be that resulting from the Convention of 1899. We mean that word has, in fact, resulted from them. This is a new point, raised at the eleventh

hour.

I personally am still hopeful that we shall finish in time for Vande to tell the House tomorrow before it adjourns, but all is settled. I am all for pushing head ^{to the north} & avoiding a pro-barrage on Egypt during the recess. So is Vande. I draft alternative answers to tomorrow's ^{to} V. Q. (11d++) I can hope to be able to inform the House that I have today signed a Treaty... I don't (41 pg. "I had helped... ~~that~~ certain important points, however, still present difficulty...")

Meanwhile Buckingham Palace has been passing but they aren't kept informed, though they are getting all manner of meetings etc. They seem to be fact strains no doubt!

Another telegram to Maffey suggesting a ^{very} mild formula. (This he accepted next morning.) We ^{all} due by long measurement at the Egyptian legation. R sits between J.H.T. & Hankey, who tutayed one another across all through dinner. H explains how all P.M.'s & Cabinet are really very much the same, though they look very different. Also how at present we have absolute security, which would vanish with the Channel Tunnel.

R says something about an attack, but looks "quite different" from having your country occupied by troops.

I sit next Mr Spender, who tells long stories. How had the very English looking at the ^{King's} Residency was. How in India he would barely consent to inspect Ranji's guard of Honour which had been practising for weeks, how he came down to dinner at 9.15 instead of 8, having missed Ranji's most magnificent banquet meal. & how, during his talk on all the other ladies, he offered his arm to his own wife, leaving a blackness in Indian hearts! on the feast of the King of Egypt being given, the band, by mistake, struck up "God Save the King." It was then necessary, after an interval, to explain the mistake, & stand again for the Egyptian National Anthem.

After dinner Uncle was consulted with H. Samuel's Spender, cementing the Parliamentary position. Later, after J.H.T. had harangued Mahan in private "Lindesay, & an amusing misunderstanding had arisen."

* J.H.T. explaining how he has had to abate his demands in his own necessity. He was once leading a strike, & had to settle. He went down to address a mass meeting of his men. Police were surrounding his car. They were afraid he would not quite understand. ---
Mahan (calling the word "doch") "For you, Mr. Spender, I too have been the prisoner for my principles."

a further meeting of the delegation took place in a side room. ^{at the end} Uncle made a most impressive appeal for Anglo-Egyptian friendship, & for the Treaty. The little interpreter lent his voice some with the ~~same~~ translation. Then we adjourned at 12.45 am. on April 17th.

April 17th.
Morning paper present a settlement today. I too, am hopeful: turning back Uncle's last words, will have sunk in. But when the Egyptian came at 10.30, they say they must consult their Cabinet. so we adjourn over the Easter recess. - Give the Parliamentary answer by! (that we have signed the ^{London} ~~Treaty~~ ^{Agreement})

Uncle ~~is~~ says he is quite exhausted. He goes off to Brighton. And he d 1 to ASD House.

April 18th onward

Days of rest & peace. But on the 22nd a reverse setback with the 500 footer Lawrence & Kirkbray was won't sell any land at Peaks, even if offer him 7 £00 an acre.

April 23rd

But this morning, after an evening of sleep, I go to see Brown of Oldbourne, who won't sell anything at Peaks, unless if he would, there w'd be no access. But he offers a site on the Oldbourne Road, facing South Lane.

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with K & I go & look at what we think is it, & rather like it. But it is really the field next door. Brown will show us the real field tomorrow.

April 24th.

Rapid movement. Brown shows us the real field. It is very attractive. We decide to take it. I see Brown again. We agree on a price for an acre. I arrange with Jackson, the local schoolmaster to come up tomorrow & measure it. And K & I paddle about in heavy rain, calculating with a walking stick & putting bits of stick into the ground. Rather a thrill!

April 25th.

To the site at 10 am. Measure it out with metal chains & red flagged metal posts. Arrive at an area of "5 acres or thereabouts." So over to Lawrence's Office at Kumbungu with Brown at 1.30, sign contract & pay deposit of £12.10.0.

April 26th.

Find men driving stakes along new boundary in Kumbungu Field! Good walk in the sun.

April 29th.

House reassembled after Easter. And Egyptians are due to ~~the~~ reappear. But there is more delay owing to failure of their courier from Cairo to stop them

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up. Has he been drowned? Or slipped off - at Paris to amuse himself? Or not started? Press joins at the Gyps. Charles Robertson comes to see me at the H.C. Very mild & worried, & anxious to put the Gyps' ^(difficulties) point of view to us. I wish could be sure he ~~was~~ & others, were equally assiduous in putting our point of view & special difficulties to the Gyps. May 1st.

F.O. Dinner to Schöber, Austrian Chancellor, now makes a good impression. I have a talk in a corner with Sir Richard Hopkins, once of the Inland Revenue & now at the Treasury, who says that today's reduction of Bank Rate to 3% is only possible, because Norman has spread to French & American at Basle, when the V.L.G. has just been born. Moreover, the Frenchman is the great obstacle to intelligent international cooperation in monetary policy. It is ^{quite} ~~prob~~ ^{quite} impossible of modern ideas, full of national prejudice & personally difficult. 16. However, we can keep the Bank Rate down to 3% for the next twelve months. Hopkins thinks we shall see a big fall in unemployment. One slight reduction in the past three weeks may well mean a real

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turn in the tide. Such an opinion from such a source is very interesting & encouraging.

After the dinner go out a party, with classical music at the Austrian legation. But it goes on too long & I'm not in bed till 2 ^{a.m.} o'clock on

May 2nd.

Then do diplomats sit up doing nothing in particular. Schober comes to see Uncle at 11 a.m. Frankenstein & I are also present. Uncle asks how whether internal situation in Austria is steady, & mentions that he knew Austrian Socialist leaders very well, & that Bauer in particular is a very able man. Schober is optimistic. He will be able, he says, to prevent all serious trouble & to bring about disarmament. His visit to Rome was a great success, & has brought about direct improvements in S-Tyrol. He has warned the Heirwider leader that he will not tolerate disorder. The socialists, though they oppose him publicly, admit to him in private that in some things they have gone too far, & that though they must put up a show of public indignation, they realise that certain changes must be made.

Leave for Durham in the evening for May Day demonstrations. All Durham Labour M.P.s, except the P.M., on the train.

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May 2nd 26th.

Address 5 meetings. Chalk-street Sat morning; B.A. Sat afternoon; London Sat ~~at~~ 6-30, evening Recreation Ground; Sunderland Sun morning; S-Shields Sun night, & back by the mail. Spirits of meetings & in personal contacts very good. Returning to Westminster inspired by contact with our supporters in the "Constituentia" is no idle phrase.

May 5th.

Arrived at flat at 5.30 a.m. Chaired out! Read Slavko's Cement on Staircase seat till 7.

4 p.m. meeting of full C.I.D. on Modal Treaty. go with Uncle who has ^{leave up in middle to} meet the Gyps, with whom, after a week's delay we are now reuniting. ^{divergent} Laurica having arrived with a post-power of opinion in a tin box.

At C.I.D. all, except us two, are opposed to giving up our right of veto on recommendation of the Council, when we are a party to the dispute. All, including P.M., are hearse-stay. They take seriously the risk that 12 members of the Council, considered, some other accorded, would unanimously impose an unreasonable condition. That France & Italy, Germany & Poland, 3 S. American & other oddments, with divergent

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interests & mutual antagonism would thus combine against our will, & that we should be so isolated & so diplomatically impotent that we could not influence in even favour one single Council vote! On the other hand, any ^{single} ~~single~~ state, large or small, is to retain the power of veto which we claim. The M.T. is hardly worth saving on those terms. I wire, rather heavily heartily, to Cecil those decisions.

I only get in for the last 20 minutes of the Gyps conference. I find them sitting in full monkey house, - positively called full session. All on the Sudan & no more. Nahan is flushed all in back of his neck.

Vijayan activity behind the scenes tonight. Just back from the Home at 11 hrs, when Malome rings up from the Hyde Park Hotel, & brings Eben & Robert on round to the flat. They have been with the Gyps who want to adjourn the Sudan Question & can't understand why we object. I try to explain the official point of view. I know our suggestion that if the Gyps will accept the Sudan Article to Treaty, (No 13) in which we have already made several concessions, (notably the intention of the words "without prejudice to Egypt's rights & material interests"), we major states can differences in

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Notes. ~~They~~ that I try then to stress to the Gyps our Parliamentary difficulties, which they seem quite unable to comprehend. They leave at midnight, & I write to Uncle, reporting, & ~~leave~~ deliver the letter at St Ermin's at 12.30 am on May 6th.

Pick up Uncle at St Ermin's at 9.30 & walk through Park to the Office. He sees no way through the Sudan, except by some bridging of the Gyps.

Except for an hour and a half in the afternoon, I visit the Selection Board, to which I had been looking forward for months, on ~~an~~ interesting sideline on recruitment. That I get a good impression during my short visit. Had only 2 or 3 candidates turned down of their own volition, & all justifiably.

Gyps, on arrival at 10.15, send in a message by Selby to the full circus, asking to see me before they come in. Scouts, no doubt, round the circus. Rather a vexing incident. I go out & see Malome, who says they don't want to come in to break. What about my suggestion made to Malome & Co? Is it accepted by Uncle? I say I can't give them any assurance on that. That they had better see Uncle. From this time on

till the end, nearly all the talk is a practice in Numan No. 50. Uncle & I, Mahan & Makroum in Numan 50. I am astonished at the Egyp's slovenly talking about of ever changing & ill considered formulae.

Now by nightfall it seems that we have reached agreement on the Sudan. I go down very light hearted to the House, & a settlement seems within reach.

Having got on so well, Uncle wanted them to sit all night to settle all details, so that he could present a complete Treaty, with notes, to the Cabinet at 10.30 am. tomorrow. But they have a dinner party at their hegation! The best we can secure is a meeting at the V.O. at 8 am. tomorrow.

What was the settlement which we seemed to have got?

The Sudan article to read, leaving out unessential words, "while reserving liberty to conclude later agreements modifying the Convention of 1899, A A, the H.E.P.'s agree that, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~stat~~ without prejudice to the rights & material interests of Egypt, the status of the Sudan shall be that resulting from the said Conventions. The Gov Gen shall, on one of the consequences of the said Conventions, continue to exercise on the joint behalf of the H.E.P., the powers conferred upon him by the said Conventions."

Now we will call Formula A1. The Egyp proposed to ^{call it Formula B.} sit at A A & settling the Sudan question. They frightened Van & others very much, in admitting the existence of a SUDAN QUESTION. They, therefore, ^{demanded} Uncle to resist it. They thought Maffey, away at Khartoum, would hate it like Hell.

We then discussed the note, & finally Uncle provisionally agreed to insert in the note a sentence saying "the H.E.P.'s agree, if either of them should so request, to enter into discussions regarding [the very difficulty which may have arisen out of] the application of Art 13 ~~of the Treaty~~ [or any other Art] of the Treaty."

The Egyp's fought hard for the removal of the two ~~words~~ ^{words} in []. U was inclined to agree to this. Thomson, primed by the officials & others, during an absence in Numan 50, disagreed. Finally Uncle insisted to "submit it to the Cabinet in the morning."

Call Formula A1 + the sentence in the note of Formula A2. It was then A2 that we thought was a basis of agreement. We expected that Maffey would greatly prefer it to B. We wired it hopefully to Khartoum last night. The Egyp begged us to help them to find a sentence acceptable to them on

immigration of the Sudan etc. We had already got Maffey to agree to say "No discrimination betⁿ British & Egyptian in matters of immigration, commerce or holding property." But they said this meant nothing as the British wanted to immigrate. But it seemed that, if this mean^g was settled, this would be secondary & easy.

Before we left the office, a wire came from Maffey accepting Formula B, which we had expected him to say at. But then with the two answers till tomorrow morning on A 2.

May 7th.

In P.O. at 8 am. Wire from Maffey strongly objecting to A 2, which we had thought he would prefer to B! We had sent him, by post, account of discussion before Gordon. From which he will see that we had offered the Gyps at one stage, a "General discussion article saying that discussion should be undertaken within 2 months, if either party desires on any Article." Gyps refused this, ∴ we wouldn't say "in Article B". ∴ offer lapses.

Terrible childish attitude sides. One article in any case means nothing. Of course, in fact, we should discuss. And, if the article is to be in its general form, of course it covers Art 13. And ∴ it is quite unnecessary to say,

as the Gyps desire. And quite illegal to propose to say so, as we insist. And the League Article, which both sides accepted long ago, means that anyhow, discussion or no. Art 13 or any other article, they can take up to Geneva or the I.C.P. But they won't, I think, ∴ they're afraid of being looked at. They are as League shy as the C.I.D! But Maffey won't get back head of the "General Discussion" Article, & is very hazy & he has apprehensions about the League.

Meanwhile, in the light of the Maffey telegram, we postpone the Sudan and content on a long joint with the Military Note. ^{Nathan isn't here yet. So} ^{Make sure Nathan says with the}

At 7.30 the Cabinet suggests Maffey in favour of Sudan A 2, but agreeing to B.

So last night: "settlement goes up in smoke. ∴ we won't undertake to discuss within a year. What a position!

about the region of self sand, & the head of annual "training & manoeuvres"

When U & I meet N & M, & V announce that Cabinet won't have A 2, but will take B, with the details, at my suggestion, & seeking to conciliate them, as the draft they wanted,

There is a scene. N shouts & waves his arms, & cries out "There is nothing more." U, whom they meant break, & comes back with the full circus at 1 o'clock & informs the Assembly that "they have broken. There is nothing left except to say good bye." And, as we are separating, a message comes from Makram asking whether his afternoon appointment with U is at 3 or 3.30!! I go out & see M, & say U understood that N had broken. M, very apitated, says that N never meant war. No doubt it was N's imperfect English which led U to want war. They will come back at 3, if U wants to see them. I say "Do you want to see him?" M says "If he wants to see us." Slightly playing to position! So I cut it short & say "I will tell Mr H that you will be back at 3."

After lunch, at which I hear that they told Petrich & Rennie Smith, & other friends, that yesterday 4 Cabinet Ministers had agreed, but today have gone back on the Sudan settlement, they return. We hear that they wired last night to Cairo saying "Sudan for settled." Rather premature!

We are still aiming at settling everything else, & have wired again to Maffey, pressing him to accept A2. Lorraine has drafted his wire, on his own suggestion,

& admitting that he didn't like the tank. We can't get the answer till after midnight.

Meanwhile discussion of other points proceeds. Shaw, Thurston, Charles & Courtney have a long, & on the whole successful ^{with the Gyps} wrangle over the military & air note. Latta Vack, Lorraine & others do come at substantial agreement over the Capitalisation Note. Makes the little fat "murderer" (I wonder whether ^{there} his is really true) is said to have been very reasonable & helpful over this.

After an interval for dinner we resume at 8 pm. Prepared for an all night sitting. ^{On} ~~the~~ game is to play for time till Maffey's reply comes in. (Though the Gyps are only too ready to join in his game.) Uncle & I ^{checked} with Nathan & Makram bin Nelson so over justification to the Sudan. They ask for complete freedom of immigration, no restriction at all. So that, as ~~on~~ Makram points out, if whole population of Egypt wanted to ^{move} go into the Sudan next week, Sudan Govt wd have no power to stop them. We insist on alternative; ~~freedom~~ "no discrimination" & Governor General "no to use his power" unreasonably to exclude either Egyptians or British. I press upon them that

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his plan the thing on a legal footing. "Unreasonable" could be interpreted, in case of disagreement, by the P.C.I.J. that they were now very keen on the League.

I write some notes of his diary in an interval in Room 50, with the Gyfs away consulting their attorney, & Uncle lying ~~down~~ dozing with his feet up on the sofa. So it drags on, hour after hour. I have tea & sandwiches with Uncle ~~at~~ in Room 50 at one stage, & Champagne with Van at another.

There have been strained nerves & tempers here for days. Uncle has shouted at Van & Lorraine in front of our side of the circus, & has said to me several times that "these officials don't seem to want a settlement. They do nothing but raise difficulties. They have no elasticity of mind." Lorraine took me aside & said that no suggestion would be welcome, & that he felt sure that the Gyfs did not value his advice nor desire his presence. I assured him, as best I could, that his was not so, & that we all had our heads bitten off from at times; that Uncle had many fine qualities, but that superficial politeness was not one of them; that it was a great strain on him & on all of us; etc. I asked Uncle to try to be nice to

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Lorraine. He tried, but not very successfully (in Lorraine's dim, long, small hours). He said "There's poor Van going about too like a bear with a sore head, because I spoke rather sharply to him. He'd make a fine Tory politician, but he's an awfully nice chap."

The talk over Egyptian migration to the Sudan drags on & on. Between midnight & 1 am. on May 8th.

It is reported that Maffey's reply is in, & is being deciphered. I suggest to Uncle & also to Van that, if it is satisfactory, we should press on & squeeze the exhausted Egyptians to agreement on outstanding points before ^{the} ~~the~~ morning's Cabinet; and that, if it is unsatisfactory, we should aim at an adjournment while Uncle is away at Geneva (he is due to leave at 4 pm. today) & get Maffey here as quickly as possible, since it is clear that our best chance will be to talk to him & hear his views rather than go on telegraphing to Khartoum. Uncle is inclined to agree to this, though he has been shocked more than once at Nahas' intransigence over the Sudan, e.g. his indignant shout at one stage of our discussion that "there is no joint sovereignty in

the Sudan; there is only Egyptian sovereignty." Also by the persistence of the demand for uncontrolled immigration, on the ground that E & S are "one" all one country.

At 2.30 am. Maffey is deciphered. Van puts his head round the door of Room 50, where we form one still wrangling about migration, & asks the Vncls. One calls back for me & tells me that Mr Maffey has sent a blank negative. It is so uncompromising, & the Egs also have been so uncompromising, that he thinks there is nothing now left to do but to break. He will send for Nathan & tell him so. I urge, in large circumstances, that he should give them an ultimatum, - a fighting word, with yet leave time for reflection - based on the Cabinet decision of this morning. Formula B or nothing, & in the note "no discrimination" plus the conditional return of the baltarian, which they had cut out. This he does, still in a quaver in No 50, very quietly & firmly & with an expression of sincere regret. Great consternation of Nathan. Shouting & jesticulating. He is, he says, very ill. His throat is affected. They will suggest another formula. But Nathan, now in these closing stages behaves with much restraint & even dignity. Nathan has in hand. They are all very tired,

he says. They will meet again in the morning, 9.45 for home. Uncle goes back into our full circus, & reports that he has delivered the ultimatum very faithfully, & calls me to witness, which I do.

Uncle & I walk home. There is just a chance, but only a faint one, that they will change their minds. If they do, he will just have to leave London till Saturday. But he thinks there is really no chance now.

I am in bed by 4.30.

And, having breakfast in bed at 9.15, am at the office at 10.30. Uncle is just out of the Cabinet. They have unanimously approved his ultimatum.

11 am. A quaver in Room 50. U states the Cabinet decision. Consternation & withdrawal to consult colleagues. After 10 minutes they return. Unanimously unable to accept. U gives them a last chance of delay, would they like to consult their Cabinet in Cairo? No, that would be useless now. He makes a final appeal to them to accept, not to know away in substance for the shadows, to be content to settle one great question at a time. No.

Then very nice speeches, both a quaver & in the full conference for the last time. We have

got to know each other; we have founded personal friendships; the door is still open; we part with very deep regrets, etc. Then, when ^{we} shake hands I said good-bye. U looks into ^{my} eyes & says "good-bye" with appreciation of U.

U speaks in the House in the afternoon ^{in answer to} that, in spite of most sincere & friendly efforts ^{on both sides} to reach a settlement, negot^{ns} had failed. (Tony Chen & crew of "Sham", directed at the Tories, from one side), since H. H. G. could not see their way to meet Egypt's demands regarding the Sudan. Write paper to be published shortly.

V leaves at 4 in Geneva. Very tired, but he has displayed wonderful ^{unflinching} endurance, inexhaustible patience & good will, & supreme negotiating power. None but he could have carried the negotiations so near to victory. Geneva will be a comparatively rest cure!

As he is waiting to leave the House to catch his train, a wife comes from Home in Canada saying that a telegram ^{was sent} ~~left~~ ^{from} Cairo, which must have reached the Gyps within two hours after the break occurred. Saying that all the Cabinet, except Mikoyan, were against breaking at all costs. Bannan & Bentley!

Have a heart to heart talk with Van. What a nice fellow! I spoke of the resignation of U to

Lorain & Murray, I said I hoped he hadn't taken it too seriously. He said that many conferences he had attended had been much rougher on the British side. L.S. had once taken some figures back at him & called him a liar. Then he had protested. And Curzon had always been awful. Nursing grievances for days & weeks. Lorain was too thin skinned. He had urged him several times to assist Murray more. But it would all blow over. If he still had U's confidence, all was well. It was his duty to indicate difficulties fearlessly, & stand his neck out. I said "yes, you have his confidence, though Lindsay hadn't." Willett afterwards said that Van had said that next to say S, & not for down the table. This would have saved half the ^{personal} trouble May 9th.

See Gyps off at Victoria. T. Shaw & Lorain also present. Very cordial. ^{disappointed} Crowds of Gyp students waving green flags & shouting nationalist slogans, including some of the Sudan. Row over unauthorised letter from Howard Smith to Colonial Office asking them to be gentle with the Portugese at the Forced Labour Conf. which has just back & struck. I got him to Van, saying that letter should have been submitted to say S, Van or myself.

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It shd now be withdrawn, & C.O. told that it was sent without authority.

May 10th.

Admittedly

Van appears with my minutes. A letter. I tell them about what I thought he was one of the best / just ones. But the affair essentially a mere hill, because I adhere to the substance of my minutes.

Cancellation of letter sent? Labour & National quoted. Set on with good work.

To Ad Brown in the afternoon. Find it with Tait's plans. Quite charming, but too fast! And, even so, some rooms too small. But a picture before to go.

May 11th.

Tea at Nell, Kamsberg on way home. In walks Casey, who is staying here!! And my diary is in the same room with him.

May 12th.

Taking P.Q.'s. Fear of adjournment being moved on by over Daily Worker article, of last Monday, congratulating Indian Regiment on having met with 2 Indian Regiments to do the same. Fortunately India has been quiet over the weekend. If there had been news of blood & rape the whole show would have been in wild

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Parliament. We prepare a delaying answer "Not yet in a position to announce the ~~final~~ decision of H.M.G. in regard to the subject." It goes off very quietly. In a supplementary to Smith's I say "this is clearly a serious matter & I think it would be best to leave it there for the moment." The House had been very "upset" earlier on ^{about} nothing at all. - the number of copies of the ~~document~~ ^{document} do not report on Part 2 & movement in the Library, etc. One critical question came late, & the House had exhausted their energies.

I talk to Jositt about the possibility of a justification. And listen Van & I have a further talk with him. One memory of the Campbell case is vivid. I feel there should be nothing that could be called "consultations" with politicians by Law Officers or we shall be in difficulties answering P.Q.'s. Jositt thinks we should be sure of a conviction under article. One H.O. officials are unwilling to favour a justification, so is Van; so, a little less strongly, am I. In the end Van & I make it a condition that we should be reasonably certain of winning. One H.O. have suggested an ^{immediate} conference of Cabinet Ministers with the A.G. Van & I were objecting to this, since Uncle can't be there. Jositt objects to it on principle, since it would compromise

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between the house & us

his position. It is finally agreed that he shall speak to the P.M. tonight, & if, as we anticipated, the P.M. holds him to his responsibility, that shall be all ^{along with} on the rest.

Later Jositt talks me the P.M. was very much worried at the incident. Didn't much like the idea of prosecuting, thought it was all terribly like history repeating itself. (Writers of Campbell in the night sky!) That finally led Jositt to do what he thought best. He will sleep on it.

This same evening I have talked to Arnold about Electoral Reform. The Libs, he says, now work hard at A.V., but stick out for P.K. He agrees with no agreement is possible, if his mind persists. Arnold saw L.G. ^{a few days ago} now was vehemently of P.K.

Later I have a word with Mander. He is indignant with L.G. He realizes that P.K. is out of the question for us, though he would like it on merits. He, & a number of other Libs, he says, would gladly agree on A.V., plus ^{all} other obvious democratic reforms, plus three years of solid work in legislation & administration before a general election. He says L.G. has no authority from the Party to take this line. There has been no discussion of this ^{proposal} at a Party meeting. He can only suppose that L.G. has been listening to

a three hour lecture from Murray Muir. May 13th.

Jositt is taking further legal advice on the merits of a prosecution. There will be no decision for several days.

Tait to lunch at 5 P.M. Very competent. Good talk about plans.

Tom Johnston tells me a few things. One of the Authors of the memorandum (he, G.L. & D.M.) saw ^{him} Jositt the P.M. & Thomas. One P.M. said they had before them a proposal from Sweden's Cabinet Ctee. (we had sat on the memorandum & found it damn P.S., Shaw, Broadfield & Greenwood -), to refer the Retiring Pension Scheme to the Cabinet Ctee, which is "surveying the whole field" of pensions, (etc), the "Survey Ctee", as it is called. When Tom T.J. asked the P.M. whether he was aware that his Ctee had met since October 25th, 1929. Sensation! P.M. nearly in tears. Who was the Chairman? Clys. Who else was on it? Thomas... Broadfield... He will raise this at tomorrow's Cabinet. He has been let down. (And so he has, & badly too!) T.J. also ^{in person} ~~saw~~ me that the Unt Ctee, J.H.T. & the three authors, has only met once this year. When they sat in the memorandum, he, T.J., sent a covering

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note to the P.M. just saying that his report should
now be dissolved or taken, as it had long been dissolved in
fact. "If ~~any~~ the party meeting only got to know of a
few things like this", he said to me, "they'd all be climbing up
the walls! It wouldn't be just ^{which-aman} ~~Knoxton &~~ ~~Campbell~~ ~~Stephens~~;
it would be the socialist Trade Unionists in the Party."

Meanwhile J.H.T. says that we can do nothing; we are
in the hands of Providence; in America they have 5 million
unemployed, while we have only 1 3/4 million!

The death of Wheatley will make some difference to the
Left I think. They will be like sheep without a
shepherd.

May 14th.

Made sitting on mental treatment till 4.30 am!
22 Fresh Office questions to answer. One answer is
from a Scandinavian. Tories yelling with passion, &
some responses from con side. It is said by some that
I am "invocative" by which they mean I adopt a superior
tone. I insisted, in the small hours of the morning,
some supplementary. When young Gibson, of Moseley,
rose to put one of these, immediately after Austin had
put a supplementary, woman to woman about to answer, the
Tories started to yell "Answer! Answer!" I said
"If your members of the P.M. will show a little courtesy, I

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am quite prepared to answer the most honorable
gentleman's question. But I am ^{not} prepared for my
honorable friend behind me to be howled down."
Then the row started, & grew, & continued to ~~occupy~~
my attention. And perhaps I might have gone out
to meet trouble a little less soon ^{halfway}! However,
next to me, unimpaired ^{li-m} afterward that he thought I had
trailed my coat a bit too much, but of course, you
can't please everybody, but that it lowered one's personal
status in the House. And some of our former back-
benchers thought, I heard, that I had been ill-advised
& asked for trouble. The ^{stars} ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~ ~~stars~~
Thomas little later, had "Uproar in the Commons." That
it was really Red Ellen who made me do it. For,
precisely today, she had a Bopeep sketch of me,
unusually full of interest, in the Evening Standard, & I had
to live up to it!

Sastri, - was a beautiful face & what beautiful
English he speaks! - spoke most impressively in a
Committee Room on "How India can be saved." An
^{to my nearest} ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~ ~~Room~~ ~~on~~ ~~"How~~ ~~India~~ ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~saved."~~ An
Dominion status. A Stage of Equality....
(But the Simon Report is still delayed, and we are
drifting from depression to depression, and the Round
Table Conference is still five months off, according to
present plans. - ~~decided~~ ~~to~~ ~~consult~~ ~~Knoxton~~ ~~after~~ ~~all~~, & so no
positive has decided ^{action} ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~taken~~ ~~like~~ ~~after~~ ~~Viceroy~~ ~~retires~~.)

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May 15th.

Yesterday's strong breeze hasn't quite died down! on
Party, on the whole, very pleased with me. Tom is very
angry. I had a late question to answer today, &
on rising was greeted with a prolonged demonstration
from both sides after hours, "ironical" from the other
sides, approving from our own.

We had SOK & Bog to lunch at the flat, with
Pelwick, Seymour Loch, Muller & John Morgan. We had
invited SOK & his wife, & they had accepted. We had not
invited Bog. But this morning at the office in which
Sukenny rang up & asked for my private telephone number.
They knew rang up the flat & someone told R that "SOK
had caught a chill at the Court but might & can't
come to lunch, but ~~that~~ Bog can come." ~~It~~ It
~~was~~ appears that SOK isn't allowed to appear
without Bog, who is appointed to spy on him. Mum SOK,
though having been alleged to be an O.G.P.V. agent, isn't
spying enough! The manner of SOK, & Bog's habit of
suddenly stopping in the midst of a conversation, &
listening hard when SOK is speaking, has been noted.
It also helps to explain why Bog, who was invited
at Warsaw, has apparently come down a peg. He has
really been given a very important job here! - To

1930 (Mum SOK's ^{with you} ~~return~~ D. Flomitz!) 135

report confidentially to Moscow via the Ambassador. I
tell this to Susan, who says she will try it by
first asking Bog alone to lunch, & then, after a short
interval, asking the two SOKs alone. What would happen,
I wonder, if one asked the two SOKs away for a weekend
without Bog?

May 16th.

Electoral Reform. Susan has heard that the Tories &
Liberals are now tending towards an agreement in favour
of P.R. in the boroughs & A.V. in the ^{of counties & A.V.} ~~counties~~ ^{of counties & A.V.}
all over the country is dead. This means, if true,
no electoral reform in this Parliament, & an
earlier general election. But it will face
our hands.

My splash of publicity continues. The Evening
Standard headlined today (H. Nicolson) on the same
taken my side. But Jett has for H.N. that
it took my side even more decisively ^{than} ~~under~~ the
Editor cut it ~~at~~ about.

Went back from Geneva.

May 17th & 18th.

Windsor.

May 19th.

They demonstrated at Qm in favour of lunch, &

against me is a bit of a fiddle. The thing has pretty well blown over, as a Parliamentary matter, & in spite of my semi-misgivings I having gone too far, I find the most unexpected help in strong support. McNeill Wein has written, he says, in praise of me in forward. One thing, he says, am angry, because they're afraid of me, & realize that my enemies are not only Smeaton, but also well informed. Don't see it by Chama but in P.M. - smiled at me twice, & spoke to me once. (M.W. is in his P.S.S.!) This has hardly ever happened before.

Jawitt worrying about succession of D.W. ^{Spang} ^{in his own} his position in the Party. Wants Calvert to take his decision for him.

Only a majority of 15 tonight on proposal to reduce J.H.T.'s salary. Liberals abstain, & also 15 of our left wing. P.M. says his long wait not broken, & so could end if all. Liff leaves his telephone number for ^{any} ^{any} tomorrow morning. He wants to know the result of our Nat'l Exec deliberations on Electoral Reform. How did he know we were meeting.

Lady Barber told me that when SSK & his wife came to spend a weekend with her, they were accompanied

by Joelson, their Vice Secretary. This is the little woman of a Press Attaché, who, according to the S.S., is engaged in writing for the Daily Worker. So he is on the list of spy on the Ambassador.

A S.S. report indicates that poor little Sok, - who looks like a hunted hare, - was given a special gratuity by Moscow for negotiating the Trade Agreement.

May 20th.

9.30 am. National Executive on Electoral Reform. Arrived at the rest of our Ulster Ctee team present. No support from any one for P.R., either total or partial. Arrived inclined to favour the offer of A.V. on condition we can get across such democratic reforms accepted, - as a good list of these is put in, - reduction of election expenses; abolition of prohibition of expenditure by political parties outside election expenses; publication of political parties' accounts, nationally & locally; prohibition of use of cars on polling day, except under regulations laid down by H.O. of infirm, sick & disabled; abolition of all plural voting & repeal of business premises & University Qualification of franchise. Etc.

in ensuing discussion in P.M., Morrison & I

speech in favour of his course. G.L., Compton, Macfadden & Susan against. Unlucky, very unfortunately, went out to Buckingham Palace while the critical stages of the discussion were being taken. So he doesn't speak.

Decided by 11 votes to 6 that our representatives should only look up the above mentioned list of electoral reforms, & nothing on A.V.

Of the team, Macfadden is in favour of his A.V. Bennett of course - a talkative & unattractive fool, - audibly half a Liberal now, by his continual intervention creates suspicion against himself. Those now voted in the majority feared ^{in depression} effect on the psychology of our supporters, but immediately under the belief that we had made, a bargain with the Liberals, & were permanently in withdrawal in his speech & at an appeal for Liberal Second Preferences. One is brought in these arguments.

On the other side, a possibility presents itself of inducing this Parliament for another 2 1/2 years, i.e. till 1933, of outstaying the Trade Depression, getting through a good block of social legislation, guaranteeing peace, effecting some real disarmament, & getting through the real electoral reform, & getting coming back with a clear majority of our own, or at least keeping out the Tories for a generation. This possibility attracted me strongly.

Had I doubt now & then, were he settled the position.

Gillies tells me that Breitscheid told him that Howard Nicholson told him in Berlin that he hoped to stand as a Labour Candidate at the next election.

And Breitscheid added that in the German Socialist Party they would never tolerate such a thing. They would require service in the Party for a period of years first. Gillies, rather sure & jealous, has little object & indignation because he has been barred from standing, is strongly in agreement with it. I am more interested in the news item!

Thought Lord Oswald has resigned, I understand that he goes alone. G.L. tells me that he is disappointed by this action, & that the P.M. has done his best to settle the points in dispute between J.H.T. & the Trade Union. Cypriote King Remie Smith took up that Lord O was going, but for the present time remaining he had not been allowed to speak in an important debate. (J.H.T. & G.L. speak last night.)

The recent speech by this resignation will be very interesting. Will Lord O show judgment? He has a very difficult game to play. Macfadden is what he will try to form, & lead, on inside left front front, appealing especially to some of the

young members were not associated with the present left wing group. All the reasons of wealth, flattery, interest, insincerely of his dwelling to the Home, & his wife's beauty to be brought into play. Touch to be kept with Kayser & McKenna. Etc.

But it will be ^{very} difficult for him to steer quite clear of the Southwicks left. How can heately hatred of present of the rest of the Party. And many will say "how could it be played in his hands?"

And he has antagonized, even sufficed, at least ^{nearly} all the leaders.

May 21st.

Lord O reads his letter of resignation ^{at 11.30} to the Party meeting at 1.30 ^{at the} the Home at 4. In the Party meeting he said that it was his duty first to announce his to his Parliamentary colleagues; he ended by giving notice of his intention to move a motion in the Party meeting expressing dissatisfaction with the work of the Party on unemployment, & calling for bolder action in accord with the pledges given at the General Election. He was moderately, but not at all warmly, received. One meeting was held on, afterwards had postponed another meeting to discuss input, ~~and~~ to discuss rules & discipline, & become a steady hearer.

In the Home in the afternoon, Lord O strolled in toward the end of questions, & took his seat in the corner seat of the kind now placed below the gangway, just below the Mountain, not a very happily chosen position, though the traditional place of the resigning Minister. A very quiet reception, neither jeers from one way, nor cheer from the other. He again reads his letter to the P.M. Some applause on one side, whereas said he would remain a loyal member of the Party. Not much at the end.

His voice buzzing for the rest of the day. Lord O has played his cards badly. His motion for tomorrow is a vote of censure on the Govt. The loyal hump will rally against him. A loyal amendment is needed, being drafted in the ~~same~~ Map Room. The Cycle group, as it is still called, is using him, as I suspected, by canvassing for his motion.

(L. & T.) are friends with him. He resigned without consultation. They say that they was just beginning to win on essentials. The P.M. had played a good part in the three meetings with them had had with them 2 J.H.T. Meanwhile his coming on top of the abstention of the 15, & in the middle of the Nottingham by-election, looks very ^{serious}.

There is talk of an Election next week & of an ultimatum ^{Committee} from L.C. based on our Executive Decision on Electoral Reform. Uncle tells me that this is nonsense. They had a long talk with L.C. tonight & he was very much upset about Electoral Reform. But his ghost wasn't yet given up. If the Liberts would frankly accept all our proposals, some deal might still be possible.

May 22nd ^{anticipation of} in ~~preparation~~ for tonight's Party meeting, the L50 in L Smoke Room are ^{agony} ~~agony~~ ^{Strachen & A. Keenan are visible} active on behalf of Lord O. The minority is estimated at 30. Peking thinks it may be as high as 40. Two days ago it was put at 70, but the tide has set the other way. At 6.30 the TV. group meets. I hear, just before 8, that they have decided to "support the Govt". Keenan was vocal on behalf of Lord O, but Elton Edwards went for him & threatened to have him reported to the M.P.s. Ritzon, at one time a little under Lord O's influence, says "we've recruited Keenan". One legal bump in action!

The Committee Room 14 packed out at 8 pm. Lord O ~~made~~ ^{gave} a long harangue, which rather impressed the meeting. A parade of loyalty & no personalities.

"Not a general vote of censure on Govt. but only a vote of censure on its unemployment policy." This doesn't help very much. A year's waste of statistics. Long term reorganisation. Unpaid board. Loans for work. Retiring pensions. Raising school leaving age. All these to cost the budget only £10 million a year. Retiring pensions of £1 a week, then 10/- for wife, at 60 to cost only £2 million a year. (Fantastic juggling!) Abolition of independent transfer conditions to Govt. Present inequality between depressed & prosperous areas. (This passage much applauded.) Govt with a typical Mosley generation about saving Govt & party, £2 million worth we represent. Considerable approval the end. At one point, not quite sure of himself, referred himself in a new sense to an outsider:

Then J.R.K. Not at all convincing or effective. Then Hayden, critical of Lord O. What would be brought into TV. world of an Executive Member was resigning & going to turn membership with Executive. ^{But} ~~But~~ the move an amendment, encouraging the Govt. ^{reaffirming that unemployment is inseparable from capitalism,} recognizing that the present depression is partly due to world causes, but urging a more vigorous policy. Keenan supports Lord O in a speech of savoury egotism. Plays

Davis knows doubt on efficacy of retiring pension of £1 a week at 60. J.H.H., half hysterical, speaks of "we now built up the movement on the soap box, ... and took on a job that I have would shatter my reputation I have always been equal to my colleagues I have always played in the team ... the greatest moment of humiliation in my life."

Uncle at 10.30 rises to wind up. A difficult atmosphere, not very friendly to the Govt. Best P.S.T. manner. Congratulations all on high level of discussion. Critical moment in history of Party. ~~Lord O~~ ~~resignation~~ of Lord O. He also has had to face resignation. Not true that principle of retiring pension has been abandoned. It couldn't be. We fought last election on it. If it were to be suggested that his post would never, at any time or in any form, bring in such a scheme there would be at least one more resignation. (Mild sensation.) A vote tonight would be disastrous, whatever its results. ^{Appeal to} ~~but~~ Lord O & Trenchard to withdraw their resignation & amendment. Then a further discussion on unemployment, can follow at another party meeting. ^{Situation has changed} P.M. has been released from heavy work of Naval Conference. He is now taking charge of unemployment discussion. Let us not give any

comfort to our enemies. Let us do this by doing. He is the oldest Labour member here. 27 years ago he entered this House. He has never made an appeal in all this time more earnestly, or more convincingly, but he is right, than tonight.

Lord O rises. He wishes to make a few observations. He noticed that Uncle said nothing because scheme was not abandoned. That Snowden in his report of Cabinet said Cree had said that ^{the Govt} should repudiate loan scheme, & provide loan plans. Snowden, who had sat silent all the evening, snaps "That's not true." Lord O says "Then will you ^{please} ~~say~~ what you did say?" "No" snaps Snowden. Lord O, very ruffled, then says that he has been appealed to by several members of the Party to withdraw. He wants a decision now would be more convenient than postponement. That - he is seeking an accommodation - and he will be willing to postpone a decision till after further discussion, & to make that discussion be adjourned. Uncle jumps up & says that this is not what he meant. We must decide tonight. Lord O says, if this is so, he must ask for a decision on his resignation tonight. An amazing blunder! He had the ball at his feet. He might have left the meeting a

Here, the darling of the back benches, a moral victory. Now his last words were a flood of surprise & indignation. One can feel votes running away from him. Quintle withdraws his amendment. Then one shouts for a straight vote. On a vote Monday gets 29 votes against 210. It is a crushing defeat.

One left her sat all night, drilled & silent. Lord O has for safeguarded himself, with after much preparation clearly, from their direct embrace. But not many votes from men in the vote, - Clarke Eds, Haylock, H.S. Morgan, Keynes locke, & a few more.

And so we go from at 10.15 into a passage hindered with waiting passengers. Lord O is the worst politician of the age! "Woman in food with the delivery..." ^{to head swollen to the size of an elephant.} ^{with Lord O & Captain...} ^{...cursed}

Reverie Smith tells me afterwards that, while Uncle was making his appeal, Strachey & Bevan were in consultation with Lord O. Lord O said "How many can we count on?" "K.H." said one of the ministers. "Men will go ahead," said Lord O. ---

Early today the Velwater Club met. All

The Tories have been round to P.R. and the least of evils. One people talked & delayed a vote till next week. Monday.

And next Wednesday there will be another debate on unemployment. That night we may fall!

May 28th.

We didn't, however, except it was a humiliating day. We had a majority of 29 at the end. & on May 26th.

R decided that we should call it "West Lease". This is local, legitimate & apt for the watering Sun & Seaside Memoirs at the Home of Sunset! from 18th.

Colin Clark to dine. The Economic Advisory Committee has just begun to work. All its proposed enquiries have been turned down. It wanted, for instance, to enquire into Free Trade as an immediate policy in S. B. That Snowden wouldn't have his. No would be agree to an enquiry into monetary policy, since the Macmillan Committee was sitting. No into the functions of the State in relation to unemployment policy, which J.M.K. wanted, - the business men have backed up P.S. So H.D.H. has written a memorandum for the Cabinet Ministers, deprecating very ^{J.M.K. wants to P.M. is feelingly disliking} ^{himself at our meeting, as his only source} ^{of P.S. is}

solely his idea that unemployment could be cured by public expenditure, but imposing a tax of import duty on all manufactured goods, the proceeds of which should be half to national development & half to the unemployment insurance fund. This piece of folly is neither French, nor Liberalism, nor practical politics. I always doubted Stubbs' positive side.

There is for an export duty on goods - a much more practicable proposition.

Mr. Hankey sent for him the other day, & said he wanted some material for a paper on Unemployment he was writing for the Cabinet. It seemed to him that the French had no unemployment because they worked longer hours for lower wages. I had some arguments, (Urbanism, etc) & didn't give all those expensive social services which were seemed to appreciate in his country. O Hankey here is my head problem, & his office grows too big for him.

A rather pretty little incident. Uncle wants a paper for the Cabinet on the General Act. Howard Smith told me to prepare it. His draft begins with a quotation from "Labour & the Nation". Very good discipline but that Uncle cuts his name from it. "It puts them off," he said, "to be told that anything is in 'Labour & the Nation'!"

Shades of Them! Amended, his memorandum is passed by the Cabinet!

June 7th - 15th.

At Addoborn. Meeting with site with Little Macmanus & Strubbsing.

Ran with Revenue, then then, P.M.G. & then with at Polky's on the 14th. Walk to Avebury with R on the 15th. Has Smith been relaxed the road work at the P.O. Historic if two employees of the P.O. are caught fucking, they have been dismissed. Now they are ^{merely} separated, & transferred to other localities. "You have reversed our traditional doctrine," says Murray, "hitherto a P.O. employee could sleep with anyone, provided the woman was a P.O. employee."

July 8th.

Telegraph to Homeine that change in electoral law would be a violation of the Constitution, & we could not assent to it. Uncle very firm on this, & officers rather reluctant & unhappy. Especially poor Van, whose feet are getting colder & colder, - waf, & Bob in particular upset him nowadays!

July 1st.

We only escape by 3 votes on Liberal amendment to Finance Bill exempting sums but to reserve from income tax. Liberals mostly voted against us & were

travelling up the north of them, at having come so near to defeating us. L.G. had been in an intrigue with the Tories to put in out, & had told his Liberals that there was no danger of our being defeated.-----

Lady L.G. told J.M.K. that he hadn't spoken to Baldwin for 6 weeks. (Liar!) He also told Hore Belisha, that now passed it on to some of our disgruntled people, that he, L.G. knew up his hands in despair over the fact of unemployment. Whenever he suggested anything, "up jumped some scabby-faced civil servant & said it couldn't be done. And that was always that!"

Lady Astor has been tittle-tattling all round the Libs about J.M.K. & Lady Londonderry. And Virginia Woolf - with whom K.A. dined on July 11th - supported L.G., describing a dinner party she had been at, when J.M.K. & Lady L. had withdrawn after dinner with a half-darkened room & sat by themselves, the women had been headed with candles, more brightly lit. Chamber.

What easy social prey some of our people are! And how they are laughed at behind their backs, & ignored when they are out of office! And what would the loyal comrades say if they hear! Lord Oswald, incidentally, is putting about the

story that when he told J.M.K. to dine at the best restaurants in Dublin & elsewhere, J.M.K. always asked for the most expensive wines. No abuse in the Laddish now.

A Creed on L.G., Lord O & J.M.K., composed in a lucid interval by Philip Price, is circulating in the Libs.

Virginia Woolf (quoting Hore Belisha) with on having said to her, "Marriage is the waste-paper basket of the country." July 15th. ^{improvement in these.}

Wanda to see me in (There was a row at the Liberal Party meeting. One number who are determined not to be led into voting against the Govt. except on some really grave matter, is steadily rising. It has gone up from 12 to about 20, nearly half the Party. L.G. said "I hear that a dozen of you are planning to form a separate group to support the Govt. I advise you to do nothing of the kind. And, even if you do, there aren't enough of you to keep the Govt in." Wanda thinks he is simply out to smash, but he has practically no funds left, - a million pounds were lost in the Inverclyde smash, - & the Libs would have very few candidates if a general election came now. In short, make L.G. simply work a Coalition - with anyone who

will join up with him. An old man in a hurry, with his dusk falling. He will try next to break in on India.

July 16th

A Lubron ^{participation} ~~participation~~ order for ~~participation~~ to Egypt! Yes, but the ^{participation} statement on a work is good. It will not be used as an instrument to attack the Egyptian Constit. They can be no parties to any alteration in the electoral law. (Then the calculated indiscretion of the Under-Secretary last August at Welwyn, because after eleven months, the declared party of It. S. ^{enunciating} the P.M.)

Loraine has been very slow to act on his instructions to speak sharply to Knud & Sidky. He has argued against his instructions, & been patently anti-wafd. (So is poor Van, who is getting cold feet all over his body!) I organize in the D.H. a resident anti-Knud leader. Loraine's instructions are

emphatically repeated. One promise of the British Community & the Timp Club must be pretty strong. The Henderson Party is a Tory ^{at heart} & a gentleman at heart & honesty. The Lady Nodd, his mother-in-law, was flattered & won over by Knud, & has imposed her view on P.P. He called me ^{one} in the ^{Parliamentary} ^{under} ^{the} ^{sun} ^{of} ^{Spain}

July 17th

talked straightly, but in a most friendly way, to Van

about "in Foreign Office view" with reference to the C.I.D. on the Channel Tunnel, & telling him of Lindsay's performance on the O.C. last summer, which he accepted as most improper.

That Marine Colonel overplayed his hand in adding "diplomatie" to other arguments against the Tunnel without proper consultation with the V.O. Van ^{says he "is"} ~~is~~ ^{going} to speak to him about this. ---

The state of the Party & the Cabinet is pretty bad. Party meetings every day, & Cabinet, & fast (then almost every hour). Ourselves the Lord the session is ~~not~~ nearly over. Everyone is tired & helpless & angry.

Hubert Henderson says unemployment should reach its peak, well above 2 million, about November, & thereafter gradually decline. And then will be created deficit, owing to unemployment charges, in this year's budget, & a still larger prospective deficit next year!

If we can ride out this economic storm, & stay in for two or three years, the situation, and unemployment, might improve substantially. Otherwise we shall have a shattering defeat.

(It occurred to me in a cool hour at Marlborough some weeks later that Hubert had left out £11 million from German Reparations loan - this should cover any probable deficit nicely!)

July 29th.

Uncle went few days ago to Champney, Tring, to do a three weeks' course of orange cure & irrigation. No solid food, only orange. And 16 gallons of water a day. Some, I think, must be squirted up from behind.

Memorandum today is for vote. Egypt & Russia. J. K. K. rules Egypt, following one of Winston's reckless rants. He doesn't do badly, but slips about over the electoral law. (Lord, however, early in 1926 had advised that the present electoral law should be maintained, that the Egyptians would win under any electoral law. This is only revealed by Murray under the gallery during Winston's speech.) I went up on Russia & amendments. It is thought by all, including Tories & P. O. J. J., that I did well. Courtesy, light handedness, etc. One phrase of contrast! But in the House ^{one phrase} muddy-mouthed & muddy minded. As Kellogg said to me long ago "see ladies no more make a good speech in such a place than sing a good song in it!" The session drags to a weary end. All are tired, ragged, disappointed.

There follows the wretched Sandham incident, inexplicable except on the view that someone

is both organising & paying for the destruction of our party. W. J. Brown tells me after the violent scene in the House, that he has material against Tony M.P.'s, implicating them in taking bribes from armament firms. But his account of evidence is not yet complete.

Right at the end of the session there was a scene of a first defeat on India, - 2-3. & the Tories combining to push Simon into the Round Table Conference. A general election in August? A Tory Govt in time for the Imperial confere?

But it blew over. The Libs decided unanimously at a Party meeting to abstain: Simon said he didn't want to be a cause of 'contention', but a mean, ill-tempered, conceited little letter. So we disagree for three months, till Oct 28th or Aug 18th.

And not a day has been. The thing was becoming utterly unendurable! On the first day we debated the Amendments to the Covenant on the Adjournment. I spoke very wearily, but dropped no brick, I think.

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On the same day Snowden announced our Agricultural Policy - an agreed Cabinet statement - at great length. Addison has fought well, & done wonders. He has found his colleagues helplessly slow & stupid. Their unwillingness to take a decision is the veritable bane. (H.D.H. said just the same thing to me last month. They run, after a long discussion, & say helplessly to civil servants, "Well, what can you suggest?") Trevelyan, A. S. says, has been very busy, & floundering opposition to everything constructive. But we have a very good little agricultural group in the House. They have plodded along loyally & have kept in touch with the situation & been persistent behind the scenes, & here it is. Not the usual posing peacocks, & professional soreheads. Next time we may be in the industrial centres, & win in the agricultural areas!

One Consultative Committee elections were interesting. 230 odd members voted.

Elected.	Snell	138
	Baro	111
	Hayday	111
X	Thistle	105
	Greenfell	97
	Scarr	88
	T. William	84

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C.R. Uscher	86	
X Molly Hamilton	82	X new members
X Dukes	81	
C. Wilson	79	
X Dallas	70	
<hr/>		
C. Ede	67	
Ray Davis	66	
W.B. Taylor	63	Ellen Wilkinson 25
Compton	56	+ Kenworthy 24
Mosley	54	P. Turnbull 24
Cape	52	Shepherd 21
+ G.D. Hardie	52	James Wilson 20
E. Lang	51	Romeril 19
Hudson	50	McEntee 15
D. Graham	46	Maulay 12
Sexton	38	P. Freeman 10
T. Smith	38	Church 8
Gibbins	36	H. Knight 8
R.E. Morrison	36	
Evans	33	
Beatham	29	+ 50 members defeated.
Tillett	29	
Dennan	28	
Albert Law	27	
+ Wedgwood	27	
Melone	25	

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How sensibly the Party vote! Puntke, Kelly & Duke were all very nominees. A sound, good & varied vote. One full of Wedwood & Kenworthy was catastrophe. At the beginning of the session they were moderately known names to a mass of new members; at the end crashing bang, & a bit digital too. Lord O astonished me, & himself too. I'm sure, by not getting on. It was being given out by his friends that he was unwilling to stand, & would only do so if overwhelmingly pressed to come forward. And he polled 54, & ~~that~~ was 1/5th of even the last place! Leaving out his own vote, & Lady Lyndal, & John Strachan, & Servant, he only polled 50, or ~~less~~ less than 1 in 4 of ~~the~~ ~~votes~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~club~~. And each had 12 votes to give away. And what wisdom it was that sat Church & Harold Knight ^{collectively} side at the bottom, with only 7 votes in addition to their own.

Phillips Price, in a lucid interval, composed a creed on Lord O's resignation, copies of which were typed & circulated pretty widely. (I had six typed in the P.O.) P.P. showed a copy to Lord O, who seemed to think it rather a joke, & to Lady C, who ^{he said} seemed to think it less of a joke. Here it is.

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On the Resignation of Sir Oswald Mosley, May 1930.

New Left Wing Creed on Unemployment.

(Appointed to be said at all meetings of the Left Wing - open or secret.)

I believe in one Lloyd George, the Father of his People, the giver of political wisdom, in all his promises, possible & impossible.

And in one Lord Oswald Mosley, the only - the only - the only son of the Father, from whom all Yellow Beards emanate. Whom for us rank and file and our Salvation, came down from the Birmingham School; and was incarnate of the spirit of Karl Marx and of the Virgin! L.P.

He was made Chancellor of the Duchy and was crucified for us under Jimmy Thomas; he suffered and was buried on the back benches. And the third day he rose again from below the gangway, according with Hansard.

He ascended into the Constitutional Left Wing and sitteth on the right hand of Lloyd George, from whence he shall come to judge our theories on unemployment; whose number shall have no end.

And I believe in one J.M. Keynes, the Lord & giver of Inflation, who with Lloyd George & Sir Oswald together is worshipped & glorified; who spoke the word of the Nation.

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- " And I believe in one Catholic & Apostolic Labour Movement (without Marx, Sweden & other deflationists.)
 I acknowledge one Mosley Memorandum for the springing up of policies.
 I look for the Suppression of the Front Bench and the life of "Socialism in Our Time"
 (if history does not queer the pitch meanwhile.)

Beckett - Sunday - Mosley. One Posing Peacocks and the Booby. But against the Tired Timidity of leaders, not a quite unnatural foreground.

A rumour ran round the kitchen and the front in the first days of August that there was a move on, organised by Mosley, to substitute Uncle as P.M. & get rid of J.M. & P.S. In one version, which, however, didn't get into the front, Phil & I were also mentioned. Lord O to be Foreign Secretary with Phil as Under Secretary, & I to be Chancellor of the Exchequer!

Childish ^{my 2nd} & silly boomeranging!
 August 5th. To Marlborough.

Come up from Marlborough & call at Tait's office. After long delay, due to Quantity Surveyor,

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Tenders are in for West house. Counting fittings & terrace, they are all over £3000. Stacey of Hobson is the lowest, but only £20 less than Hoskings & Pond of Newbury. In view of their previous experience with modern building (see Symonds' house at Newbury) & of Tait, we decide to give the contract. Their tender is £3027, but some reduction will, I hope, be possible.

Aug 6th.

Meet Hoskings & Pond "on site". He is a comfortable, high class gentleman with a grey beard.

Aug 7th.

Meet Hoskings, and also Tait, "on site." Discuss the drive, etc. Also the time of completion. We plan for 4 months. He speaks of 6. Delays have lost a large part of the building season.

Aug 8th onwards.

R having a lot of trouble with jaws ache, after pulling out of 3 teeth. Operate Mearns Cottage a great success. Healthy & restful. Walks & tennis with local fiji. (I have joined the Tennis Club for a month.) But not much sun or use of back garden. My appreciation of Savanaka Forest & its beeches, grass with the ^{abundance} of planting trees of my own.

1930.

Swan visiting me at the V.O. on Aug 5th said that Cole had told him of a talk he recently had with Mrs Snowden at No 11. ~~first~~ She asked him to help her to get rid of Sir J. Reith from the B.B.C. now, he asked, would she suggest as a successor? I would gladly take it on myself. ^{she said... One} Suddenly she pulled him back ^{in the room... some time} from the window. She said "we are always watched by spies from the windows of the V.O."

Aug 16th.

With N to the site, on which we have a substation, - in the Dell. No real work begun yet. But a metal tank, to catch rain water, has been deposited, upside down, on the ~~at~~ ground, with a number of pieces of wood, (to be put between into a shed for the foreman). And the wire has been cut at the bank dug through, at the point ~~where the~~ ^{entrance} from the road, as a first drive is to begin!

Aug 18th.

I visit the site, & find work really beginning today. A young foreman named Abraham - from me, 3 from Aldbourne. I cut out some dead wood in

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Western hedge & make acquaintance of Gentry's ~~specimens~~ ^{market} now and worked for Mrs. Knud Foster.

Aug 21st.

Went to the office by request & sat for 3 hours with Cecil, Henty & officials. S.A. is sticking to the General Act & Amendments of Lovén. A horrible fellow named Bodenstaat (?), Henty's chief official, argues interminably & offensively on legal quibbles. Henty himself, away from his officials, will not, I think, be difficult to handle.

Cecil tells me afterwards that he has had a letter from the P.M. saying that we must not discuss too much, & that in France the opinion is held that we have ceased to count in Europe! Henty & the Service have got word of the P.M. & discontinued his international outlook.

Aug 26th.

My birthday - 43 is a great age! - and the beginning of Summer coincide. Really hot: To Chertill by bus, & then walking by the Lundenia Monument. ("This Monument is Dangerous" already 2 great lumps of stone falling from its base, which it only held in the Edwardian Age, at the commemorating ~~the~~

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Victorian success in at last being a son. And so
 over new dunes, walking with my stick in my hand,
 & Sunbathing for hours, down to a cowboy's cottage on
 the High - Lochside road (New Town), where, very
 kindly we drank tea, & so by foot to work
 oration along the Ridge Way, & back to Marlborough
 by bus, looking out at a fine sunset.
 Aug 27th.

Another radiant day. Visit in site with R. Real progress
 visible. Three or four rows of bricks have been laid.
 one can delineate the rooms. One slope that north
 & south is steeply down the height, and earth dug out
 is being thrown out in great - to the south, - forming
 the paved terrace of the future, & others unpaved, as we
 shall hereafter decide. To the north it is clear
 that there will be a steepening bank above the
 drive, & that the house will sit down very well
 on a ledge, artifiicially made.
 Aug 28th - 29th.

I come back to the F.D. & L.P. Exec Committees.
 R comes back on the 29th. She has had a (STY)
 trouble with her teeth at Marlborough, which has
 spoiled her holiday. But she has had four out now,
 & is past the immediate trouble, I hope. It has been

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a damned nuisance for her. I had found her having
 a good restful & interesting time at Ardrossan
 next month. One wall of the house should be
 leaning up by then.

Uncle seems very fit after 3 weeks at Tring
 & two at Llandudoch wells. He has lost a stone,
 his face looks thinner & he is very much calmer & fit
 in handling business. He is going to tell
 Drummond to speed up the Assembly, & he has
 to back of the opening of the Imperial Conference on
 Sept 29th. To the Assembly only starts on the 10th,
 this will be difficult. Meet Sir R. Borden in
 consultation with Cecil. A nice, old man, & a
 good 76, though not really enough inclined to be
 prosy. Keen on peace.

N. Executive decide to set up Committee of 15 to
 to enquire into Sandhu's charges, - Susan,
 S. H. St. L., me & Uncle.
 Aug 31st.

Arranging to leave for Paris tomorrow morning. I
 find that my passport expired on July 18th! So I shall
 have to do an undignified & hurried personal call
 at the passport office in the morning, to get it extended
 before catching the 11.15 train. Very inconvenient!

1930.

I have been looking back tonight at my diary of a year ago. Then the hectic happenings at the Hague were still so hardly over. We were within earshot of the Assembly, which the Genevaans regarded with apprehension. But it succeeded very well, & our team gave a very good account of itself. I wrote then that, if we come again, substantially in the same team, we shall, with experience gained, do even better. It seemed a big 'if' then, & at moments since, at Parliamentary crises, it has seemed like a dashed prospect. But the uncertainty of politics is one of the chief sources of its fascination. We have survived, & we are returning the second time, practically in the same ~~team~~ team, but, on balance, strengthened by the changes (Susan & Charles Rodent for Stuart & Mrs. Swanwick) as well as by last year's experience. We shall have a great opportunity to dig in our international institutions more deeply; to strengthen the self-help, and ~~the~~ ^{the} traditional of the League. . . .

Twelve months ago, I little thought that I should be a Wilshire Landowner, building for the future in the ^{national} ~~national~~ & ~~domestic~~ ^{domestic} sense, as well as in the international.

Thus pass the months. Not without reflecting, as in gently moving water, the shifting colours of hope

1930

and effort and change.
 Sept 1st - 5th.
 In Paris with R. Exploring modern furniture & interior decoration.
 Sept 5th.

Leave Paris with Will Henderson & Gladys in the latter's car. Lunch at Amere; stop at Verelay; dine at Saulier & a little tea (Blanchette & nouveau wine); sleep at Beaune (Hotel de la Poste.)

Sept 6th.
 Lionel & his Mother staying at our Hotel, with latter's artist brother. Visit Hospice. Superb lunch at Hotel de la Poste. Start after lunch in car. Arrive at Geneva about 8.
 Sept 7th - Oct 1st.

At Geneva. I wrote some fairly long letters to R, but otherwise kept no diary. ^{Comp. given about 1930}
 Knowing the ropes in ^{year} ~~time~~, I found everything less spectacular than last year, & in some respects a disappointing one. ^{But} we made no new first-class initiatives. ^{But} we did two definite things. (1) We finished off & signed the new Treaty of Financial Arrangements, which is dependent for all operations on the coming into force, & maintenance in force of the General Disarmament Convention. 27 States signed, including Australia & the I.F.S. (2) We carried through the

1930.

Reorganization of the Secretariat, which we initiated last year. This was my special job on No 4 Commission, a very prolonged & arduous it was. In the end we secured both Pension & Permanence & emphasis, by a new ^{unduly} ~~order~~ to be accepted by all new comers, the internationality of the Secretariat. Various minor & improvements of conditions were also obtained, some of special value to the I.L.O. The only major point in the majority Report of Sokal's Committee of 13 (which had been working on his since last Assembly,) to be proposed was the suggested increase in the number of Under-Secretaries General. This was opposed by the Germans, who didn't want Rajchman promoted, & by "economists" generally, who didn't want to pay more high salaries. It was, ∴, referred to a public examination by a new Ctce. What was achieved, however, was a solid & very valuable bit of work, which will have important effects in years to come. The Italianism was the chief opponent's management, but we had substantial majorities on all the main questions, & defeated an Italian proposal to set up an Advisory Council of Under-Secretaries, which would have seriously undermined the authority of the S.G.

We had two major disappointments at this Assembly,

1930

(1) failure to get agreement in No 1 on Amendments to the Covenant. Cecil & Phil didn't perhaps play their cards very well here. In the end only Cecil & the Ukrainian voted against postponement for further examination. But, from the point of view of home politics, we shall avoid some tiresome opposition, based on the alleged "insecure commitments" under Art 16 of the Covenant, (2) failure to announce our intention to accede to the General Act. The Doms were not ready for this, & at the important conference soon meeting within a few weeks, we couldn't easily refuse a request for postponement. But if we persuaded them at the I.C., we shall not have lost much time, if any, & we shall perhaps be able all to accede together. But we have lost an opportunity of being in the Pacific limelight at the Assembly, and of following up last year's official League initiative, which has already been so widely followed that only a small, & dwindling, minority have not signed.

Britain's European Union proposal is to be examined, within the League & with the aid of the League Secretariat. This was insisted upon by Uncle against the wish of Britain, who wanted to keep it in the hands of European States only & normally to have it handled by Quai d'Orsay officials, & of the Drummond, who wanted it to be bound to

come to nothing, & doesn't want the discredit to fall on the League. There is a good deal of defeatism & demoralization in the Secretariat at present. Several recent ^{international} conferences have been complete or substantial failures (Treaty of Commerce, League of Nations, Coal & Cadiz, etc. of International Law). We have undoubtedly struck a bad patch. How the discussions ^{in the Secretariat} about the Reorganization of the Secretariat have had a bad effect on all these things.

On Disarmament. Uncle made a good & strong speech (I put in the strongest paragraph) & made a marked impression. That the German Election, with Nazi & Communist success, came just afterward, & upset the French more than ever, & the Franco-Italian Naval discussions are still sticking pretty badly. So the atmosphere is not good, even for the Preparatory Commission, and such an Air Ministry are opposing budgetary limitations, - & even more for the Disarmament Conference of next year.

Our Delegation as a whole did well. That Koster was rather a nuisance, - always wanting delegate meetings, & very tiresome about minorities, wanting the plan vainca (the des vainca), & with difficulty

controlled by Cecil, Kurt & me. Susan enjoyed herself immensely & did well. That was rather put off by Rajchman & wanted to start a new economic party of her own on M.F.N. & Tariff Union.

Present was very tame, compared with last year, & personally friendly.

I played a fair amount of tennis, sometimes fairly well, on the two early morning matches with Gladys against Bea & Fischer, who, however, defeated us. I don't play my best tennis at 8 am!

Two very good Sundays - one with G & C to Geneva & then a walk up Le Pichon to the Chalet where "Sligger" Urquhart was born 63 years ago & has reading parties of young men from Oxford, - another, the last Sunday of all, G & C with Betty, Sheya, Mully & Gladys to Mejeva & back over the Col des Aravis (- a good little chalet on top, worth a week end), & a time or so of the Mont Joly. One top was in cloud & only G & I reached it. That the view below the cloud was very fine. Then a swift drive through the dark from Mejeva to Sallanches, & an admirable dinner at La Charmie, where we all got slightly drunk, & so back to Geneva.

Notre éminent collaborateur M. André Maurois a passé à Genève une partie du mois de septembre, et il publie dans l'*Europe nouvelle* des aphorismes dont quelques-uns intéresseront nos lecteurs :

L'Assemblée annuelle est plus une cérémonie religieuse qu'un débat parlementaire ; les orateurs y prennent sans le savoir le ton du prédicateur ; le mot « paix » revient ici dans chaque phrase comme en d'autres temples le mot « Dieu » et il est prononcé de la même manière.

Chaque année, la première semaine de septembre, un grand orateur sacré (le Père Briand, le Révérend David Henderson) prêche dans l'Assemblée des nations un sermon solennel sur un texte du Covenent. Puis la congrégation chante les psaumes favoris : Psaume 159, Désarmement-Sécurité ; Psaume 163, Sécurité-Désarmement ; Psaume 137, Faut-il, messieurs, donner le pas à la politique sur l'économique ?

Il est excellent, pour le mécréant, de se plier à la discipline des Eglises ; toute cérémonie endort et apaise les passions.

L'institution de Genève n'aurait-elle d'autre utilité que d'amener des hommes d'Etat hostiles à se rencontrer, que déjà elle serait indispensable. L'image d'un ennemi inconnu se forme à distance de traits odieux. Mis en présence, un Roumain et un Hongrois s'étonnent de trouver des hommes, et qui plaisent.

A Genève, les décisions doivent être prises à l'unanimité. Il est donc nécessaire de trouver des formules qui semblent vides (ce qui permet à tout le monde de les voter) et qui pourtant contiennent, bien caché, l'engagement que souhaitait le Secrétariat. On y arrive.

A Genève, un orateur parle pour son pays comme, à la Chambre, un député pour sa circonscription. Tel discours qui paraît vain, telle phrase qui semble ambiguë, sont merveilleusement calculés pour assurer la solidité ministérielle de celui qui les a prononcés.

« Abêtissez-vous », disait Pascal. Les pratiques dévotes mènent à la foi. L'homme d'Etat hostile qui vient à Genève et vit parmi les croyants, sent déjà chanceler son mépris. Tout politicien souhaite plaire. Malgré lui son ton n'est plus celui de Berlin, de Londres, de Rome, de Paris. Il soutient encore ses hérésies, mais c'est avec l'onction de Genève. Bientôt il chantera au lutrin.

Couloirs de Genève : première esquisse d'une opinion publique mondiale.

Les amours et les haines des peuples sont fondées, non sur des jugements, mais sur des souvenirs, des craintes et des fantômes. Il y a des psychoses collectives. Un peuple, comme un individu, peut être atteint d'un complexe d'infériorité, qui le rend timide, craintif, irritable. Ainsi les Allemands se croient incapables d'être aimés, les Français d'être organisés, les Anglais d'être logiques. Il faudrait étudier et mettre à nu ces idées obscures et fausses.

Le Chinois qui occupe en ce moment la tribune est sans voix. Au public, qui ne l'écoute pas, il paraît maladroit, malheureux, opprimé, image d'une Chine décadente. Mais l'agénieur chargé des arrangements sonores appuie sur un bouton. Voilà le Chinois pourvu, par des appareils invisibles, d'une voix merveilleuse et forte. Les auditeurs somnolents se redressent. Dans leur esprit, la Chine ressuscitée devient une menace pour l'Europe.

On reproche souvent à la Société des nations la lenteur de ses méthodes ; je serais tenté de l'en louer. Toute civilisation doit amortir les réflexes de la bête humaine, par un jeu de rouages multiplicateurs. Dans l'ordre des revendications territoriales, toute question ajournée est souvent plus qu'à moitié résolue. « Il est urgent d'attendre », disait un diplomate ancien modèle.

La plus grande erreur que pourrait commettre la Société des nations serait de se croire obligée d'avoir tous les ans quelque grand dessein, pour occuper ses hôtes. Le devoir d'un écrivain n'est pas de publier un livre chaque automne, mais de ne publier que de beaux livres.

La Société des nations ne peut pas plus garantir la paix que le médecin la guérison. Est-ce une raison pour se passer de médecin ?

Que les peuples le veuillent ou non, leurs destins sont maintenant si bien mêlés que la Société des nations ne peut plus disparaître. Si demain quelque catastrophe l'emportait, elle ressusciterait sous un autre nom. « La Ligue, dit très bien Gilbert Murray, n'est peut-être pas efficace, mais elle est certainement indispensable ».

André Maurois.

R sent me snapshots of W.L. rising and scaffolding. Very thrilling!

I found myself sleeping short at Geneva, - but feeling quite fit in spite of eating & drinking too much. I walked with Vack from 8.15 to 9³⁰ mornings. Mander & Frank Owen were among the visitors, & I took a good deal of trouble with both, especially the latter who is apt to be "held" long. Gair's susceptibility to social approaches!

Oct 2nd

Back in London.

Oct 3rd

To London of Labour Party Conference. Was at a joint & a joint Conference. Very loyal & sensible on the whole, but not contented with the Govt's record on unemployment. Lord O did a dramatic piece of filibustering late on Tuesday afternoon.

Queen was led by Strachey & A. Keenan. On Wednesday the vote of the Executive was taken. I was collected & stayed pretty comfortably, though if I hadn't got the Minister for the French zone in succession, I might have come off. Lord O got on a jangle, but he let me, in spite of much canvassing. I was very passive, having a cold in the head. Myer's team went off in our section. One sensation was

in defeat of J.H.T. who was bottom of the poll in the TU. Section J.H.M. made a good conference speech, but really sad noting, & was quite controlled by Thomson's death was 12 101 two days before. Susan did extremely well in the Chair.

Executive list (Lansdown)

Section 1.	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4
Clynes 2,042	Jewell 968	Lansdown 1,916	S. Lanson 2,297
Latham 2,010	Small 829	Morgan 1,730	Beatha 1,821
W. Smith 1,869	New 654	Dalton 1,431	Scud 1,814
J. Jones 1,850		Mosley 1,362	Adams 1,808
V.O. Roberts 1,777		Dallen 1,209	Langhams 1,065
Campbell 1,772		M. Jones 829	Carlin 813
S. Hunt 1,753		Kenworthy 547	!
Denman 1,671		:	:
Kayser 1,648		:	:
W.A. Robinson 1,576		:	:
B. Turner 1,263		:	:
Brother 1,052		:	:
F. Taylor 1,026		:	:
J.H.T 836		:	:

Oct 10th

Back to London.

Oct 11th - 13th

at W.L. death about 10.30 in the room which is very well placed & just above the sun is very distinctly visible all round.

Oct 14th - 17th.

In the constituency. I had some apprehensions, but these are soon dissipated. The spirit is surprisingly good, though pits have been closing again, - some say in order to create an atmosphere for wage reductions when the ^{Spoken Day} comes into operation in December. But the ^{Executive and} ~~market~~ ^{control} of production begin next month, & much faith is pinned to those by whom entitled to be heard.

& good public meetings & a frank & friendly talk with the Executive. A plain narrative of what was accomplished, in face of great difficulty, in our first session is very well received.

1000⁰ grants to local authorities are ~~not~~ much appreciated, & rates are down, by 2/- in the ^{North} ~~North~~ Auckland & lower amounts elsewhere, chiefly as a result of the Unemployment Insurance Act which put men back from poor relief onto unemployment benefit.

Oct 21st.

Attend a meeting on Disarmament, Arbitration, etc with Dominion Representatives, - a Committee of the Imperial Conference. This began its sittings last week, but hasn't made much progress. Dupre, Canadian, in the chair, - terribly stupid & slow, though well meaning. Uncle Reid for us; Brennan for Australia, always good & to the point; Head

for Canada, good on the waste, but very cautious on details; Sidney for New Zealand, a thin & inaudible voice and a patriotic refrain, "New Zealand is not entirely enamoured of the General Act (on Disarmament, on warships etc.) and wishes that there is a danger of going too far, but she will stand out, if all the stars are in favour", - a faint little die-hard; Ke Walker for South Africa, good looking but wooden & always bound tight by instructions with no authority to argue or explain; Shafi for India, nearly always in some agreement with Mr. G., but sometimes passing about verbal points.

And the Fighting Services. Army & Navy now pretty well in line. But poor old Amalree!! Completely in the hands of his officials. And no second votes. Raised in full Committee his objection to the ~~proposed~~ ^{proposed} limitation for the Air. Reminded by Uncle that there was already a Cabinet decision in favour of no limit. Yes, said he, but it was "impossible to apply it having regard to national security." Uncle jumped on him, & he said that ~~it~~ "it would be unseemly" to continue the discussion here, and asked for further consideration by a sub-committee.

Our Imperial Conference makes slow, but not negligible, progress all this week.

Oct 23rd.

Lunch with Rajpai at the Carlton, to meet Sastri, Sanyal, Jayakumar & Haksar. All ^{complaints} ^{of} ^{accommodation} ^{provided} ^{to} ^{Indian} ^{delegates} [&] ^{inadequate} ^{allowances}. Not a word by any!

Dinner with Lionel at Reform Club. He has had a very stiff time with Green's Committee appointed by the E.A.C. But he has done very well. Keyser, Stamp & Hubert Henderson have all gone justiciant, - 10% General Staff. Plus special duties for Brown & Steel & Phipps & Resulting, plus a lot of position addition, report committees, wage subsidy, etc.

Pijon has been against all the justiciant papers, but won't join Lionel in writing a minority report. Indeed he says that David Deane Melrose have been employed to prevent his writing such a report. First they tried to make him believe that it would be ungentlemanly. "One never does that," said Pijon. "One tries to reach the greatest possible measure of agreement and then, if necessary, adds a minute of dissent on particular points." "If you want to make a row outside," said Pijon on another occasion, "could you find some other way of doing it." Then Keyser said that he had consulted Humberly &

but there was no precedent for a minority report by one member. Lionel asked "What about the Sanyal report?" Some one said "It was signed by Sanyal with a minority report of one." Lionel asked for the files. They were brought in, of course, he was not. Then they said "Oh, a minority report by the Chairman is a different thing." Then he was referred, with authority, to the Chancelor's report, where Lord Esher had added a dissenting minute in favour of the Kentish fruit prices. Lionel said this seemed more important than that. Then he said that the Lord Chancelor (Sanyal) had expressed his view that a minority report was perfectly in order. Humberly, Humberly's friend in command, wrote on a piece of paper "I know the Lord Chancelor didn't mind much of that." Humberly, looking a year or two older, had previously tried to bully Lionel in a corner. Lionel said he would be quite willing to refer the question to the P.M. with the Cabinet. That they said there was no precedent for this.

In the end he said he would send in a short minority report, and if they didn't print it he would send it direct to the Chancelor.

of the Eschscholm. He then left the room. Pison bowed his face in his hands; he then said goodbye.

His report, both long & short, are excellent. The tariff staff is pitiable. I was thought to despise protectionists at Cambridge. I do so still.

Lord Oswald is much with Keynes at present. That, of course, is ^{an} only take in the Cander arguments.
Oct 24th.

Cecil, praising Vucelja's ^{last} willingness to let me do the talking with the Duns, contrasted me with Austen, who will never let anyone else do anything, & with Austen, now combined vanity & diffidence in a most surprising way. When Austen went to the F.O. & in 1924, Cecil was asked to do league work for the Govt. He wanted, as at the end of the war, to have the status of Assistant Secretary of State of F.O. But Austen was quite against this, ^{as against his} ~~or~~ even having a room in the Office (hence perhaps the instruction to him last suggestion when we came in.) Austen said to him "Oh no! You are a strong man. You would be running the Foreign Office behind my back."
Oct 25th.

Met Vucelja at King's Cross on his return from

Newcastle, where he has been receiving his Freedom of the City. Important to get off tonight & re-join Tynnell & R. Graham Kelley Men to join, with American & Japanese, in representation to France & Italy to compare their naval differences before the Preparatory Committee meets. Vucelja was unwilling yesterday, but the Americans are very excited about it and express great disappointment at our unwillingness. It is better to offend France than the U.S., & important that, in the future, if our efforts fail, the U.S. should not be able to say that we would not back them up. Vucelja agrees, though Tynnell has been against it.
Oct 26th.

Rd & I dined with the Carrons, whom I met at Llandudnod liked. Very genuine converts & a very nice looking & attractive couple.
Oct 28th.

Parliament reassembles.

In the evening Kebley & I talked to the Royal Institute about the Assembly. Sit next Ken Snowden at dinner & praise, quite sincerely, P.S.'s Free Trade speech at Manchester. In face of his protectionist wave, & some of its adherents, - economists & politicians, - I am quite a keen anti-protectionist now. She says

but she hears that Lord O has been spending week-end with Weaverbrook.

Mander tells me, after the meeting, that a small minority of the Liberal Parliamentary party want to turn out at once. But most of them would like an excuse to keep us in. I say I hope they take the referendum Electoral Reform in the King's speech. But they really shouldn't jump on P.R. He says that he thinks, if we introduce a Bill giving A.V., they will vote for it.

Oct 29th.

I see Snowden & tell him of Lionel's experience. A very friendly interview. He has ^{just} read the report. He speaks with withering scorn of Keynes & Stamp. The latter was very soapy just before he made his Manchester speech, & said he was very glad that he was going to make a free trade speech; people were beginning to forget the force of the free trade case; his only doubt was whether, perhaps, a temporary tariff on iron & steel would not be wise. P.S. said "but you know that no tariff ever is temporary." Stamp said "Yes, but's unfortunately."

Snowden had liked Lionel's report. He brought it "a most trenchant reply."

(Lionel told me that I had a ^{very} bad press with the Stamp's. Lady Stamp had heard that I had said once in a lecture at the school "Sir Josiah Stamp is one of our greatest contributions on public finance. And he knows it.")

Lord O made a speech in the House today in defence of protectionist patches, "insulation from the shocks of the price fluctuations in the outer world." E. Hunter tells me that there are many rumours of coming reforms & a new group forming. Lord O is said to be in touch with Weaverbrook, who claims to have tried to dissuade him from resigning when he did urged him to ~~make~~ "rain hell inside" instead, when with Tony Blair, - Beatrice O. Stanley & Walter Elliot, - also with ^{some} ~~the~~ King. Edge being a job between for his ^{own} ~~the~~ party he carries only Lady Lytton, A. Beveridge & Strachey, & perhaps V. Jones & John Baldwin. He holds himself rather aloof from the Manchester. That he has accepted, (some suppose) the Presidency of the new Trade Union Club in H. U. B. M.

Stanshew is bitterly protectionist rather badly. That he has done good work in preventing ^{the} ~~the~~ Victoria from agreeing with the ^{Manchester} ~~the~~ party on the Committee of 500 to put the ^{Manchester} ~~the~~ Fund on "an inhuman basis" perhaps.

Vaile, with some hands, says Hawksdon is a difficult colleague - very snappy & self-satisfied - we may get regret J.H.T.
Oct 31st.

Budgetary Limitation again. ^{Agreement circulated &} ^{how received and} ^{substantive.} "The advice which I am bound to follow is that, having regard to the national security", Haggley's limitation in this is impossible to apply in practice. King Albert & Tom Shaw against him, as well as Vaile. Vaile says "it is clear that one of the fighting services is determined to defy a Cabinet decision." So it must go back to the Cabinet.

One idea that proposals should not be subject to B.L. either, & that his would involve the national security is an amazing one. No limit to H.P. of machines (I'm his Ministry object that too), & no limit to the number of spare parts that may be kept & put together in a few hours. It is a night mare! For there is admittedly no defence yet against air raids! And what about economy?

Bellicosest reports, but are still causing trouble. The Admiralty want to reserve them in any trade restriction Treaty with the U.S., through a majority of the

~~Cabinet~~ under the late first both in Stan View, including Hester, Strickland & Coshendon. Hester is working like a black to secure reservation. He has written a long letter to Vaile about it. (I have kept a copy & the answer, which is admirable.) One thing still unsettled.

But his advances we made need judgment in our Imperial Conference. Practical unanimity in favour of the general text (S. Africa reserving her attitude for the moment, but not objecting to them going ahead; Cecil rep. stated his cleavage with Hester), complete unanimity on Cecil's instructions to the Preparatory Commission (Budgetary Limitation in this still to be referred back to the Cabinet) and complete unanimity on Amendments to the Covenant. A good bit of work!
Nov 1st - 2nd.

At Abbeville. One Horn is ~~getting~~ getting to a very interesting stage. It is just possible he may get in by Cecil's men!

Lunch at Ugham. Cecil says that Hester is emphasizing his permanent objection by the postponement of his money. Good! That is the sort of Cabinet spirit I like!

Nov 3rd

Arising out of his last remarks, have I any more records the story of Winston, who as First Lord of the Admiralty, had trouble with his sea lords? Something he wanted to do was said to be contrary to all the traditions of the ^{British} Navy. The Sea Dog sat in a row with protesting chairs. Then Winston rose from his chair and said "~~first~~ The traditions of the British Navy, gentlemen, what are these traditions? Run, lice, sodomite the last!"
Nov 4th

Looks A bad Parliamentary day. Day ~~with~~ amendment to the Address on unemployment defeated. 5 Liberals voted with the Tories, 4 with us & the rest abstained. The 5 included Simon, who tried hard to get Simon to go with him in spite of a Party decision to abstain, & that ^{was} ^{an} ^{abstention}, ^{was} ^{for} ^{abstention}, ^{was} ^{an} ^{abstention}. On majority was 31. Monday, 2nd we had a dozen or more of them were "standing by", ready to come into our Lobby if too many went the other way.

But it was a bad day by reason of J.K.'s unconceivably bad speech at the end, - no policy, no sense of the importance of the problem, important & irrefutable. We can't go on like this ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{country}.

Monday tells me that Simon has left ^{with} ^{his} ^{Party}. He is obsessed with vanity & injured dignity over his damned Indian Report, its cold reception, &

his exclusion from the Round Table Conference.

Nov 6th.

A Cabinet at which Amundson was finally brought not perfectly round on budgetary limitation of his Forces. One decision was ^{again} in favour of acceptance of the Ministry, "having regard to the extent to which the Govt was already committed to it, but asking the Foreign Secretary to draw the attention of our delegates at Geneva to the objections & notes set out" in the Ministry's paper on the subject. Peace for!

Uncle raised Palestine urgently. One Jew all over the world, & in Switzerland in particular, where a by-election is pending, are off their heads with indignation. Panfield, Uncle & King Albert are appointed on a Committee to go into the question & if possible meet the Zionist leaders. One Cabinet also decided that, in future, all League Office pronouncements on Palestine must be submitted to the P.D. before publication. But this is shutting the stable door after the horse.

Minister's battle of "abuses" in unemployment insurance. Uncle "wallow into them" in his own person. I reminded them that even such Keir Hardie, we had stood for work or unemployment. Will Henderson tells me that a certain Labour

candidate, one of the best, had been told by Mr. [unclear] that his
 position of membership is greatly exaggerated, on
 the other hand, these conferences, - Imperial and
 Indian Round Table, - "will live in history." One
 candidate was inclined to retire from the field!
 Nov 7th

We have lost the Shipley by-election. Only our
 second in 17 months, but everyone is in a temper
 or a panic. "We can't lose more than three more,"
 etc.

Vance, reading the news, nearly blew Craig's head
 off on the eve of his departure to Geneva for the
 Preparatory Commission. I ~~had~~ Van later in the
 day ~~just~~ when Craig had had experience of the
 man. Van said no. Therefore, perhaps, he
 took things too hard, & didn't realize the ^{contingent} pressure upon
 all spokesmen, which made them jumpy.

To Alderson late last evening.

Nov 8th

In Moon evening to Shipley, & a tale of an imminent
 split in the Cabinet led by the News Chronicle, - afterwards
 officially denied. Political life hangs by a fragile thread.

Nov 9th

Walk 23 miles with K. & feel better!

Nov 10th

Plotting proceeds apace. W.J. Brown wants Vance but
 he & O.M. want to see the latter, privately and away
 from the House, to discuss the affairs of the Party.

Ernest Hunter tells me that the article in the
 News Chronicle on Saturday, & another in the Daily
 Express were I didn't see, were practically word for
 word the same. Both contained the reference to
 O.M., & his resignation & to his ^{undoubtedly inspired by O.M.} ~~resignation~~ ~~resignation~~
 and the News Chronicle says that "dramatic developments
 will take place this week." (O.S. In the end they
 didn't!)

It is being said, says E.H., on the one
 hand that a group of 30 or 40 ^{of our Party} ^{supporters of the} have
 signed an ultimatum ^{to the Government} demanding Swaine's
 resignation, ^(I doubt this) & on the other, with
 of a "National Party" is far from finished.

Scott Lindsay says that he spoke candidly to
 J.M. on Sunday, & told him he ought to prepare
 his speech, if he was going to make any, and first to
 do something about membership. I said that I
 had told Vance that his first ^{speech} ought at least
 to try to look as though it was doing something.
 S.L. said "no good saying that to him. He is
 watching every mistake J.M. makes with a microscope"

smile. One more thing for the more likely he is to get the leadership. I said "You're not in the Parliament and at the rate things are going, there will be no Labour representative from Lancashire in the next Parliament." Sir L. said "I had not thought things were quite so bad as that." But I fancy I had put a new idea into his head!

He went on to say that Huddleston, when asked to tell the Consultative Committee what he had been doing about unemployment, said "How can I tell them anything? All my proposals were put in last August, & no decision has been taken on them yet!"

W. Newbold - dirty bore, - said that he had had a conversation with Allen Young - Lord O's ^{brother} - & had asked whether Lord O didn't think Morrison & I were serious rivals for the future leadership, & how H.Y. had replied that Morrison had been completely shown up by his failure at the Ministry of Transport & that I was submerged at the P.O. & out of the picture. I only said "Really. Did he say that?"

Lord O has no sense of the ^{great} transitions of great life. Having joined the Party last week, he wants to lead it tomorrow afternoon.

A good Armistice Eve meeting with Vicar in Willerden.

Nov 11th.

Armistice Day. It is passing peacefully traditional. Had some smells of a smoulder, even though it ^{was} 80.2. We fear from a flaming explosion.

Money Resolution for Proliferation Bill passed by majority of about 30. Libs decided to abstain. 7 vote with us & 6 against!

Nov 12th.

10.30 I found Vule checked with Weismann, ^{Neuman}. He has taken charge of the Cabinet Committee on Palestine & is negotiating with the Jews, who will meet Webb on C.O. officials.

10.50 One Jew is in the Ambassador's waiting room accumulating a suggested formula. I am with Vule - Ronald comes in & says that Panfield wants to see Vule incidentally before the opening of the India Round Table Conference at 11.15. Vule says "Well then I will meet him in the Court outside at 11.20 & walk down to the Home into him." Obviously he meant to come here & run into the Jews in the passage.

10.55 Ronald returns & announces that "Lord Panfield is here." Conversation! One Jew is 8 PM in the waiting room, but many emerge at any

minutes. Pamphlet is put in Selby's room on the
side passage, to wait till they have gone. French
false story! In the end no ~~meetings~~
collection occurs.

Round Table Conference Spent in a good spirit.
No ^{formal} meeting of British or Party delegation has
been held. This is deliberate. "We don't want
to go in as a united bloc," Uncle says. "If all
the Indian units are asking for Dominion Status,
it can't be refused, so far as the post are concerned.
I'm not going into this conference with an open
mind. I have been saying for twenty years that
India ought to have self-govt & I'm not
going to change now. Now I can't be
able to carry Samboyan with me, & J.N.M. can't
be able to carry Thomas. Even if ^{still} ~~we~~
to carry him in some way, we shall be 3 to
2."

Charleton, with whom I dine, says that he has
thought it his duty to start alluding in TV. group
again in the House. He ^{is clear to put} ~~is clear to put~~ they are quite
sound against Protection. He has been speaking
to J.N.M. about the need to do better on unemployment,
to keep in touch with the Party. One Party

was very much upset when it was stated that he
could not attend a Party meeting because he had
to go to Victoria Station to meet a Japanese
Prince.

One T.V. Group, says Charleton, would not be sorry
for A.H. as leader of a ^{Committee} ~~Committee~~.
Nov 14th

At lunch W. Keen was in very high spirits about
the India Conference. (A little while ago, even he was
very depressed.) He hopes it may be over by
Christmas, & that we may send ^{good} ~~good~~ ^{men} ~~men~~ ^{away} ~~away~~ with
Mervyn's ^{Constitution} ~~Constitution~~ and a ^{treasure} ~~treasure~~ to ^{the} ~~the
reform, the details of which they will work out
in India at their leisure. There are his
factors, but they seem optimistic. From another
point of view, we want to conference to last
a long time, for we shall, I think, have an
election while it is still going on.~~

Colin Clark comes to see me in the afternoon,
& gives me a Calcutta paper prepared by ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{office} ~~office~~
last July. ^{It is not a very different kind of instruction, but} ~~It is not a very different kind of instruction, but~~
it recommended that a committee
of inquiry should be set up to nationalize on
socially sound lines, - aimed with considerable
power. One only result has been that there

Wilson (of all people!) has been set up as industrial
Hercules, to nationalise, who in person!

C.C. says that the job seems to have made
up its mind that nothing can be done, or should
be attempted, to deal with unemployment ~~by~~
industrial action. At the unemployment panel meeting
spent all their time talking about "abuses" of
the unemployment insurance system, & asking the
Civil Servants what to do next.

In the evening to Ardara.
Nov 15th - 16th.

A historic week end! 114 hawthorn planted by
Mr James W. J. Smith, R & L, - 107 along the outer
boundary on the road, - a few more will be needed here
& 7 along the inner fence. What a
deep joy, spiritual & physical, comes from
afforesting one's own land!
Nov 19th.

National Executive on East Renfrew. Endorsement
to train refused by 11 to 3. (Minority Jewell, Lord
O and I.) I wanted to send him a letter which
would give him a chance to climb down. But
the majority were for rigid discipline. The I.L.P.
have brought him on themselves, by twisting &

delaying tactics. But we can't, in my opinion, afford
a serious breach at this stage.

Nov 20th.

Party meeting. Case of W.J. Brown brought up.
He ^{had} read out a private communication, which had
gone out with the weekly wrap, on pre-war
pensioners, & told the House when it came from,
& spoken disrespectfully & publicly of the Chief Whip!
But it was almost settled at the Party meeting,
& ~~at~~ he had more sense & dignity, when
Kennedy & Lord O placed the whole thing up by
two provocative speeches. The meeting was in an
uproar - I have never seen it so agitated. Kennedy
mechanically demanded that the case should go to
the National Executive. Lord O, apparently quite
out of control, bawled in a shout that "if there
is no place in the Party for a good Socialist like
Brown there are many others of his name who will
have to reconsider our position." Then a
denunciation of the party - (quite out of order.) Then,
in response to rising shouts of opposition, ~~that~~
a threat that, if there's to be a snap, he'll
be in it. "But it will not be fought out
in the Parliamentary Party, but will be fought

the Annual Conference." When he sat down, it was
Carroll's 116 1-38 with the com to the
National Executive (where he dismissed it a few
days later.)

Allen's comment got into the press, deservedly,
"Why does Turkey always speak to us, as though he
were a feudal landlord abusing tenants now as
in ancient times then rent?"

A bunch of M.P.'s, will go north, unpaired,
to speak for Irwin & embarrass him for his
absence.

That night Morrison, G.L. & I went to see
him room, & compare a report Paton.
Kirkwood also is to hear a message to members.
But no way out was possible, & Irwin was,
in due course, beaten by more than 7000 ~~major~~ votes.
Meanwhile the coal situation is becoming
like a dark cloud. Only 10 days in which to work
Nov 21st.

Colin Clark to lunch. Deponing account of
unemployment discussion. Time wasting, wandering
from the point, no grip, no comoff, no policy.
Went to see ^{littered with} ^{deceit &} ^{parliamentary}
Nov 22nd - 23rd. ^{He has written} ^{an} ^{admirable} ^{paper} ^{on} ^{the} ^{subject} ^{of} ^{the} ^{coal} ^{industry} ^{and} ^{its} ^{future}.
Week end with Crittalls. Visit Sir Wm End.

Should be much better known. Crittall is very
wherry & contrary condition. And his business,
quite naturally, depressed. Gives a pessimistic
account of British industrial method, especially
iron & steel. He gives an amusing account of
receiving his knighthood. A crowd of recipients,
including old George Edwards, & several very suspicious
characters, who kept asking questions such as "Am I
to understand that I do not back out of the
presence of His Majesty?" & getting snubbed. Jack
Hager much ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~most~~ ~~stout~~ ~~senior~~ &
most impressive of the court officials. Clapton,
"Come in" looking like the man who had come
to see about the gas. Crittall congratulated
George Edwards, "Very old & deaf - was shocked
very loud." "Oh yes, but I could have had
the ^{whole} thing." Crittall. "What ^{whole} thing?"
Edwards. "Yes, I could have had the ^{whole} thing.
The Banquet. But my Union wouldn't put
up the money."
Nov 24th.

Alexander Nevins tells me that he stopped here
o from forming a National Party. There would
have been members of all three parties in it, it

would have had 2 national newspapers behind it, and a fighting fund of £250,000 and could have put 400 candidates into the field at the next election. So this was the game! Lord O. has never understood modern political mechanism.

Party meeting. J.P.M. talks wobbly notes & gets a good reception from the majority. C.T. gets an overwhelming majority, - only 10 dissentients, - for his compromise with the Liberals over the Education Bill. Post-ponement till Sept 1932 and a local meeting to be. Surely this is the easiest Party ^{work} leader even had to lead, if it is treated frankly!

C.I.D. Sub-Committee in my room on instructions to Cecil at Geneva on publicity regarding armaments. Art & para 6 of the Covenant is quite explicit, but the Services won't have it. (And next morning they win in the Cabinet!) This will be more good to the Manchester Guardian Mill, - Dell & his two German pen pals, Veritt & Siepmann.

National Executive in the afternoon. Lord O. had ^{even hinted} a motion ~~draw~~ drawing attention to the failure of the Govt to deal adequately with the economic situation, & urging that the N.E. should send a

deputation to Cabinet. But, instead of a row, the withdrawal, after Uncle had stated that he had sent the J.P.M. a statement from various constituents of the reasons for recent setbacks at municipal elections. Lord O, however, is going to speak at E. Keefers in favour of the mentioned candidate. Nov 26th.

More National Executive! This alone is a full time job at the moment.

There was a bad ruddle & fuss in the Cabinet over Puthitz. Uncle was broken out, & very angry with me for a moment afterwards, because in my N.P.C. speech ^{he wanted to} ~~should~~ have as short as possible, I hadn't mentioned one rather important telegram which Cecil had sent, seeming to accept a Service Dept proposal.

Spoke at two meetings in Swiss Chapel by-election. Disorder & chaos caused by Communists & Zionists. Half a poor candidate.

Lord O. had addressed a meeting of members last night ^{on} his views on employment. Some 60 were present, largely p.p.s.'s (including my own Thomas Smith,) who were listening on by invitation. Today Joe Tule brought out a good skit. (Copy

attached.) Computer will, perhaps, still exist. Plant
them in "rattan street".

RS reports that last night he was
home & academe & sweet tempered

Nov 27th

Los to lunch. As for my own. Rather uneasy
about recent troubles in Eastern Galicia.

China Committee in the afternoon. Sir A. Balfour,
Kegon, A. Kerr, & Graham in the chair. Dixon
Midway Bill will be subjected to some opposition.
Nov 28th - 30th

Admission. It has been raining all the week, &
not referring with outside work. But the House is
getting to a very interesting stage. I walk about
the first floor for the first time. And the
new lawns are all planted, & the old ones on
the road heavily pruned. A jolly beginning
of frost, to be!

Dec 1st

House of passing with Uncle over Russian P.O.'s! What
a pity he won't take them more easily & more
quickly. One hit back take no account of his tiny
trifle, & would always back us.

Van shows me a letter from an Egyptian
to Russell saying that Hamed Mohamed has been
subject round that he has been hearing from

I. Makin

me, & that I have been advising the Wafdists to do the
same. In view of the fact that Makim was
over here for ^{some} months, & that I never saw
him, or wrote to him, & he is a very funny lie!

The prospect of an election has receded again.
New news are proceeding again. 29 in a good
temp. Samuel very keen not to have an election.
Electoral Reform Bill & Trade Dispute Bill to be
introduced in January next week.

A proposal is to be made to the Cabinet to
introduce a Bill to extend export credits to
export of munitions by private firms! The
Service Dept. are getting bolder & bolder. Has
fired, timid political chiefs! I speak
Uncle about this. He appears but it would be
utterly indefensible.

Dec 2nd

Skirmish calls, after a long interval. Very
pious & apologetic. I made an ^{outline} note of the conversation,
& showed him photographs of ruins & wounded limbs.
Dec 3rd

Russia is a bloody hair shirt! As Uncle said,
"if only it wasn't for Russia, we should be having
quite a good time at the V.O." As it is, following

up a protest by Ovey at Moscow on Monday on a ~~fact~~ ^{allegation} ~~fact~~ against fact & protest fact in Sabstare fact.
 (Hansard is worth reading these days!) We bring in
 another today. Stimulated by a private notice fact
 by O. Locke L. fact, on a fact fact fact.
 addum in English from Moscow. All my time
 from 11 am till 3.45 pm is taken up with his
 not today. P.O. Littered in last night at three
 stations, & men come in taxis to Fed. his morning
 being separate sheets. One woman is rushed, &
 swilled down in Uncle's room at his house. He
 "have words" in front of P. W. Selby & Seymour.
 I say "you are giving an answer that will please
 the Conservatives." He says "Can't you look at the
 position from a wide point of view & fact?" I
 say "When are you letting these Tories lead
 you? They will lead you on from point to
 point with their fact, until you find you
 have nothing left to do but break." He says
 "Can you deny that his is fact? I can't
 understand why you always want to shield these
 people." I say "Not one listener in a
 million will have heard this. You want a
 set with £100 to let Moscow." He says

"Oh no, that is denied." I say "Well, I believe it's
 time never fails. I wish it is a great
 mistake to make such heavy weather over
 such trifles. You will get a private notice
 now every day fact after a Moscow fact
 talk." — — — The officials, I want, all
 agree with me in not wanting another protest. But
 while you get a Soviet complex at the moment,
 we shall see the result of giving way to it!

Oliphant said to me this morning that Geoffrey
 L-L, my predecessor, always seemed to him in
 his efforts to be "x the unknown".
 Dec 4th.

Meet von Neurath, the new German Ambassador, at
 lunch at Vaux. Not an interesting, nor ^{an} able, man,
 I thought, & speaks poor English. Von Schuber
 would have been much more fun, but to meet
 to deal with, & he wanted it. But they have
 sent him to Rome.

Dec 5th.

To Cambridge, to give a report to the C.U.L.P.
 on fact & incidentally also on Geneva and
 the recent politics. A speech about 20.
 Evening Paper contains a speech by 25 to the

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liberal candidate, practically saying that if he got the
A.V., they will keep us in being enough to pay it;
during the Tories & also, for John's sake, jelling
it in. Very deservedly! "Post-bond" meeting. Taken
out in frames by their departmental nurses. Very
funny & very first. (Attached!)

But it puts the election well away, if he means
business. Uncle, Snowden & Arnold were in the
negotiation for us. 2nd of Samuel & - 1 visit know
the third - for them.

Rumours in the Press that J.M. is to be the next
Viceroy of India. Uncle is inclined to think that it
is a Rite, but not by J.M. himself, & with the
expectation that Buckingham Palace may take the
hint & press him strongly to take it. Of course,
he would fill the part splendidly, & be free of
Party worry, & "go down to history" more than
ever, & enjoy every moment, especially of the
Palace. His going, I think, would be grand.
Uncle is puffed about it. J.M. he says has never
said a word to him about it, but has dropped hints
once or twice. "If I ^{am} ~~not~~ here when his comes
up", etc. Uncle says he would not take the
succession if it were offered him. There would

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be great rivalry between his supporters & Snowden's.
And some would push for Clynnes, who might seem
in as the compromise kind. If the Chama had
come to him ten years ago, it would have been different
or even a year ago, before all the splits in the
Party. But there was shouting for J.M. by
now, would be shouting for him to go a year hence.
I will ^{not} refer to it, if it should come. He
has the qualities, I tell him, to pull the Party
together & to push policy through. I speak
bitterly of J.M.'s vanity & his habit of bounding
personal grudges. Uncle agrees that there are two
great defects.

One Monday Manifesto is promised for
his week end. Five dictations & on Tues!
Dec 6

At Cambridge

Miss Kachhan is to be on the new Royal Commission
on Unemployment Insurance. A very good choice.
She will keep in touch with me, & will be
monthly into reactionary proposals.

Lunch with Edwin, now installed as a Fellow
at The Hall. He wears very well. His two
years in America haven't been too long. He

is struck on his return by the nature of American criticism of our ways which he had thought were banal. Eg. that we are a feudal society, but the gap between the 2 his gyp is far wider than between an American millionaire & poor black. Their society is far more mobile than ours. We are post-bourgeois & our nation pit-bound. But our position is more mobile than theirs, & is superior. Their Senate is ^{deplorable} deplorable. Young men can't get past the geographical limitations of the machine. With us at every general election about a dozen exceptional young men, of all parties, win surprising victories & make their names permanently known, even if defeated later. They can work a comeback. Our exceptional case of great ^{character} morality with us known with their reinforcement in benefits of mobility in general.

Elwin finds our doors ^{in their isolation} provincial & provincial of his grain over world. JMK & Petrus Lucas equally in their federal sphere. Sad Custodians of a little oasis of culture & wisdom, outside the deserts of the Philistia. Contemptuous of the "men of action" (here I exclude JMK); believe in the ^{and} low "nobility" is any good. And Ramsay & Magdalene sent down Eufson, a G. P. fellow, because his bed makes ^{and can} (unwed), French letter in ^{his} ^{future} Medical? ^{that} ^{Plimpton}

Dec 7th.

The Mosley Manifesto is featured in the Sunday Press. It differs from the earlier Mosley Memorandum in that social services, & especially retiring pensions, are cut, & tariffs, under impossible administrative conditions, are in. It is a more Howard's Treasury. And the five dictators are new too!

(It was subsequently applauded by Amey, Sir William Morris & other Tories! But it fell flat on the whole. It was a forty eight hours wonder.)

Dec 12th.

Talk with Neville Henderson, our Minister at Belgrade. Very two-ling. Uncle looks he has more vitality than most of our Ministers abroad. I agree. I also think he has more intelligence.

Dec 17th.

National Executive affairs by 16 votes to 3 (Compton, Jewett & Barbara Gould) in inclusion of the Alternative Vote in our Electoral Reform Bill.

Lord O. challenged our participation in the E. Reform Bill election on behalf of the I.L.P. candidate, whom the Executive refused to endorse as promising his "contempt" for the Govt and says that he considers that the Govt does not get a bad deal if

he refrains from voting against them in the House, as he has
in the past done, while reserving his right to criticize their
policy in his speeches. One matter was then
allowed to drop!

Trevelyan was in a mess again with the Bill at
today's Cabinet. He wanted authority to bring in another
Bill on the religious question on ^{some} ~~some~~ ^{mathematical}
House next again. He said he had ^{not} reached
an agreement with the Catholics, but he was
incapable of explaining clearly what it was. So
the Cabinet asked for a further memorandum on the
subject!

Dec 18th.

The Party Meeting by 133 to 20 followed the lead
of the National Executive over the Alternative Vote.

The Electoral Reform Bill & the Trade Disputes Bill
were introduced before the House this morn

Dec 19th.

Out evening to Adborne.

Dec 24th - Dec 27th

At Windsor.

Dec 27th.

Back to Adborne.

Dec 29th.

R. Links & I can't disagree with the last three

months I have been intellectual & not sufficiently
pushing outside the narrow confines of the K.O.

The gloom & the sense of futility & dissatisfaction
have been awful. The black cloud of the
Unemployment Figures has overshadowed everything
& robbed all the political field of every
glimmer of light. Tired & tired spirits.
Discouraged private members. Depressed rank
& file in the country.

Coal troubles over the new conditions of working ^{but}
Sessions Act.

A gleam of hope in the rumour that J.K.M. might
go to India as Viceroy has been dashed by the
appointment of Willingdon! We shall never get
rid of J.K.M. now. Uncle will never be Premier,
I fear.

The economists can't yet make a prognosis
when the world faces will reverse.

I am going to B.A. in the first days of
January and hate the prospect of meeting my
constituents again. It is all tragically different,
so far as economic questions go, from what one had
hoped & dreamed a Labour Government would be
like. And, even in the international field, there

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is seen in Europe. & Old Adam stalks in the snowday.
We go on signing new bits of paper, but now believe
in the undertakings they enforce?

My considerations are only in my private life. West
heaze is promised to be handed over by Jan 22nd, having
imposed delay. There will be peace, & beauty, &
wide skies, and all the sunshine that England knows.
And I have read, since coming down here, Peter Lucas' Eight
Victorian Poets and Sasson's Memoirs of a Fox Hunting Man,
a lovely book, & the third volume of D'Abernon's diary.

But what are private considerations to get back
a sense of public justice, & the inevitable work of
human effort & happiness on the grand scale!
Dec 30th.

Walk to Arbury, through Oxbourne & Rockley, in 4 1/2 hours.
Raining nearly all the way. Reverend & his man, who
have recently been to Clun, report that L.G. is
in favour of keeping us in for quite a long time,
but very vexed at our inaptitudes on unemployment.
Dec 31st.

Healthier & happier after yesterday's exercise. Go up
to West heaze & find that there is unexpected muddle
over the pipes to feed the tank from the roof. We
are not really catching water yet, though we hope to
move in on January 22nd.

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January 1st.

The year begins with a glorious morning sky,
a sun that can be felt and no clouds (till
about eleven o'clock -) There has been a hundred
feet. He and I walk along Sugar Hill,
cross the cottage Road and so up to Peaks, & back
down to Aldbourne. This is one of my most
favourite walks. One passes through jolly
beeches, & yet, a succession of fine, variegated,
Wiltshire down views.

Call at West heaze in the afternoon. The
mantle round both fireplaces is fixed. But there
seems to be still an awful lot to finish, if we are
to be in by the 22nd or 23rd.

A superb sunset, visible from the drawing room
windows, over Stock Lane. So we are not pointed
too much away from the west, at any rate in
white, as I feared we might be.

Jan 2nd.

To London.

D'Abernon in vol III of his Diary has a very good
character study of J.M. And a good saying on
German-^{Continental} British relations. The German has to be
"the unradically large ultra-participate contrast of the boss
for the fear."

1931.

Jan 3rd.

Mr. Kachhan to see. How write she is, but want a job on the N.C. on Unemployment!

Jan 5th - 8th.

In the constituency. Feeling still surprisingly good. £16,000 in the constituency in hundred per cent grants. Reception of Dean & Chapin Collection likely to reach £200. Some speaking on County Council candidates.

Speak at Toft Hill, Kilmington & Greenwood on 5th & 6th at Wilsington & Kilmington on 7th at Kilmington, Middlestone Mead, Newfield & Northwick on 7th & 8th, after walking round Courton with St. John in the morning, at Northwick, Kilmington (member meeting) on 8th.

Jan 10th.

To Birmingham to represent National Executive at Annual Conference of Guild of Youth. Travel with Maureen Stockett (President) Miss Francis a little girl from "The Patterdale" N. York. Good spirit in the conference. My remarks very well received. "For him a jolly good fellow!" Sing with acclamation when I leave.

Talk to Willey & Alfred Whitledge both anti-ILP and anti-Trade. Willey says our Party should

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him, when he went to Smithwick, "Now that I am leaving, you might become the leader of the movement in Birmingham!"

Jan 15th.

Went to Geneva for Council meeting. A difficult subject with Disarmament Conference & Little, with German & Ukrainian minority complaints against Poland.

Jan 20th.

Have been reading Bertie Russell's Concept of Happiness during the week-end. He is better on the causes of unhappiness than on the causes of happiness.

Publicament re-arranges. Clydesdale at lunch is pessimistic. Says the Liberals are being bribed by the Tories with promises of straight jobs at the General Election if they will vote against the Second Reading of the Trade Disputes Bill and that 28 have taken the bribe. If so, we are probably out next week.

I move the Second Reading of the Civil Indemnity Application Bill. Little criticism, except from Lambert & Maude, & no division. So Addis & the Consortium-Walletts have failed to mobilize their cohorts.

SCURR MEMO MONT

Jan 21st

Members of the Cabinet on their amendment to the Education Bill. 36 Labour members vote & tell against the Govt. & 10 or 12 abstain. A bad business! There is always trouble when Uncle's way. We could have done any of three alternatives, I proposed further consideration of the Bill till a decision had been reached, (I planned for the majority view at the recent Conference). This would have rallied the Church & the Catholics; the Tories could not have opposed us in the Lords, I fancy. But we should have left the Liberals, & that might have been looked at this moment. (I planned to) deliberately let the Catholics, & some joining the Church & the Nonconformists. This would have been a loss some majority but, I think the Catholics can bring heavy pressure on British Govt. & many of our people. That I think we should have got through.

But what we actually did was worst of all! C.T. has no brains & no negotiating skills. There can be no more discipline in the Party after this. At any rate in U.P. & the Post Office, have defeated the Govt!

In the afternoon sat in Uncle's absence, on a Cabinet Committee on Subject of Arms. Hawthorn in the Chair.

Shaw, Hoare, Amulree & Graham. It is complained that private firms subsidise their armament firms in various ways, and that our own, therefore, placed at a disadvantage. The Admiralty had first suggested that we should extend the Export Credits Scheme to armaments. But Uncle had come down heavily against this. It would need legislation, the Tories, when the original Export Credits Bill was going through, having accepted an amendment by Kennedy excluding armaments. We should have an impossible task proposing such an amending Bill. ^{many of} Our own people & the Liberals would oppose it, & it would be flatly contrary to our principles, & put us in an impossible position over Geneva. Uncle has been very emphatic in a Cabinet memorandum on all this.

At today's meeting only Amulree pressed for his policy. He thinks it is not really contrary to our principles. Pending disapproval, which may take a long time. But the others see it is in fact, a fall back on getting our armament firms to discuss cooperative rendering, & unofficial talk with the banks about credit. Not much smell of internationalism in the air!

Jan 22nd.

The Party very demoralized after last night's division.

A lot of talk about it's being better to go to the country, but to continue to be humiliated. Silly nonsense really, especially for those with rocky skulls, some of whom ^{immediately} have the hen, are joining in the cry. But the political future looks very unsafe today!

Jan 23rd.

Visit the office of Mr. Marsden Popple, Secretary to the National Building Society, & come away with £1994. 19.7. So the promise of West Leaze is assured for the time being!

TO Albourne in the evening & sleep at Miss Maudslayi's for the last time.

Jan 24th.

Move up in the morning to West Leaze, & sleep there for the first time in the evening. Very exciting but a sea of muddy chalk surrounded the house. No parking, nor a drive yet. Will A-F assemble in the evening without having given notice with Kate & Maudslayi.

Jan 25th.

But he works out some good ideas about Peas & Shrubbs.

I go back to London ~~to~~ tonight.

Jan 26th.

Answer a lot of P.d.'s, & get through pretty early, even on Russian Rouble, the very start of the moment.

Uncle is due back at 5 pm. But Hanky, (trying to rush his part here in his absence,) has called the Fighting Services Committee of the Cabinet ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ this morning! I am summoned in Uncle's place. Present J.R.M., Snowden, Shaw, Alexander & Amulree, - Hanky & 2 clerks. One psychological case for one Ministry of Defence, instead of three heads of Fighting Dept's, is far stronger than I realized from outside, - in addition to all the technical case, which is very strong also. The three each stand up & ~~make~~ ^{make} a majority impression in such a small circle, - even if no king is forced to a vote. We must discuss the Naval ^{construction} programme. King Albert wants to build up to the London Naval Maximum. This would mean a small increase in 1931, & compensation increase of several millions in the two succeeding years. King Albert says the Admiralty only agreed to the London Treaty on condition that we built up to the maxima allowed. One new fleet the Lord is even more insistent on his than Maudslayi was. We owe the Admiralty a debt of honour in this matter. Further, we must show a bold front to Europe, & teach France & Italy that we are not to be trifled with.

One Caravan - charming, good looking & sincere both of them - sat all through from 2.45 to 11, with two finey breaks, in the gallery.

Jan 30th.

To W.L. of the west end. R has been working like a black, with the workmen in a suit & no maid. Very kind, poor little object, but she has made a great improvement inside. Outside all is still a chalky mess, & there is much to do. Hot water catchment, & pumping, are problems still. But inside is very charming, & we have delightful peace, & great fun. Arranging books, in particular, is fun!

Feb 2nd.

~~Defunct~~ A glorious sunrise at W.L., ^{defunct} as we sat after our week end. The view from the spare room, into Adbourn Church town in a mist, & we seemed above it - is even better than from our room.

Feb 3rd.

Pilot the Cunza Indemnity Bill through Committee unamended.

Feb 5th.

Sweden tried to persuade the Cabinet to agree to reduce the rate of unemployment benefit! They declined, though some were much inclined towards it.

I needn't say yet.

Uncle has secured Cabinet approval for a plan to invite the other two parties to cooperate in preparatory work of the Disarmament Conference.

Cadogan & Howard Smith suggest, that in minutes, that way is a reason for delaying the accession to the General Act. Check! I write a word about "Hudson's little halt would it do us any harm?" I have heard this "siren" song before. Sir R. Lindsay & others sang it at us in 1929 over the optional clause. But we stuffed our ears, & sailed on to sign it in an United Empire ship. ... to the D.O., they are always in favour of a kind party of Dilly-dally. ... Thanks one member here drifted by since to L.P. fought & won a General Election on a policy one of the immediate objectives of which was accession to the G.A. ... Recently an Imp' Conference was met, which brought it ahead on this, if on little else. ... "Down with your coach, & instructions!"

Uncle had a great personal triumph at the last Council meeting. A wonderful Chairman. Disarmament & Minorities. Poland rebuked by a unanimous Council including France, for election practices in V. S. S. R., & Ukrainian Petition the Liverpool Feb 10.

1931.

Electoral Reform Bill read a second time last week.
A strong sense of Lab-Lib cooperation in the air again.
People told today of our lasting 2 years & ditching the
Tories at the next election. That ~~effort~~ ^{effort} may see
right round again tomorrow!

Heath Manning at East 18th St has a Empire League
Candidate to help her after all. Heavensbrook speaks
publicly that he is out to break up the Conservative
Party. More power to his elbow!

March 6th.

It is a month & a day since my last entry. Rich
is sufficient proof that there has been a lot
going on!

Heath won by 2000 in E. 18th St in a few
cornered fight. To have lost would have been a
bad show. She should be able to dig in there.
S. Baldwin said to Ammon, the day after she took
her seat. "I have seen your new lady member.
She reminds me of a line of Thompson 'Broad based
upon the people's will!'"

One Liberals treat pretty over the T.O. Bill &
^{changes} amended, with Tony and in Committee, so as to make
illegal any strike which endangers the health
or safety of any substantial section of the community.

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This would illegalize any national strike in an
essential industry, - main railways, docks, banking,
electricity, etc. What price slave labour?

The Bill is, - dropped. The T.V.C. is joining
with the Liberals, & not too trusting of us. But
on the whole, Josiah has done well, & won their
confidence. The Lib-Lib agreement is
a little shaken, but Electoral Reform looks like
going through. And we are joining external
justice, in Europe & India. And the Liberal
poll is slumping very badly in by-elections.

The Lords have thrown out an Education Bill,
& are mauling the Land Utilization Bill.

The Tories are squabbling badly about their
leadership, but I don't think Baldwin will be
dislodged yet awhile.

Vatic has followed up the Geneva Council
success, by his trip with Alexander to Paris
& Rome, which has settled naval competition
in the Mediterranean. This is a tremendous
success. The World Disarmament Conference
looks as though it might really succeed now. And
I hope A.H. will be President.

Yesterday (March 5th) Kellum announced the

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Return of the "Surrender to Gandhi". Irwin has worked a miracle. One result, - for peace & world harmony & trade - may be immense. One river of history may now flow along quite another channel.

Meanwhile Pritchard has resigned with a poor sort of letter (his stock has fallen there), & Arnold on grounds of health, & Russell has died, & Wesley with 4 others has retired, & proposes to make a New Party. But the D.L.P.'s are sound as a bell. We shall

have made the transition complete from the D.L.P. to the new party. They have made the transition complete from the D.L.P. to the new party. They have made the transition complete from the D.L.P. to the new party.

were defeated in the Z.C.C. This will illustrate how much R & I did for them!
March 6th - 9th.

At W.L. Frightfully cold. We had hoped for a week end of planting, but this is quite impossible. The garage is full of the bundles of trees & shrubs. Temper winds from the East & North. John Morgan comes over to lunch on the 6th. He is going on to the D.H. staff to push him sales in the country districts, & run "hill" and "omit" on seasonal slogans. R is staying down for fortnight. The paving is nearly finished, & for the first

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time a car can drive up to the front door.
March 9th.

It's birthday. A year ago we were still counting on the hedge, & a motion later still negotiating for Peakes. Things have marched!

Today the General Act.

The debate is a success for us. Uncle deliberately gave them little to take hold of in his opening speech. Arthur is ponderous, suspicious & ineffective in reply. It's amusing. Maclean & Menden support us warmly from the Liberal benches, & Trill, Phil & others from our benches, & a Bishop very poor in winding up for them, - pressing the optional clause, & lecturing us heavily - & Jesuit Centre inadequate in the final speech. They announced defeat by 231 to 139, & then appealed without a division. A historic event!

The French have got in first in front of us, by four days. But now we shall suggest to them that we should accede together at the May Council, with some formality & with as many other states as can be persuaded to join with us. If we and France & Italy act jointly in this, it will keep the atmosphere sweet, & be a good follow-up from the Naval Agreement.

Now we have done everything in London at the National (International) except what should be done.

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March 10th

Meeting of National Executive at No 10. Resolution expelling Lord O for "gross disloyalty" carried unanimously. Also New Party placed under notice.

It is a queer thought that this hateful fellow, whom I have always bitterly disliked, should win favour from our Party, from our Conferences & Party Meetings, & from our platform. One can see a cleaner already. But what amazing folly & miscalculation & mad pride! See Maurin's Dizzy p 94 (French edition).

March 11th

Alexander puts over his Navy Estimates. Very successfully. He has done well lately. He is beginning to be spoken of as a future P.M. By no means impossible.

March 12th

India Debate. Baldwin & Churchill, an open duel. Tories sit dumb & bewildered. Baldwin is his best form. Winston inconceivably dishonest & mischievous.

March 13th

Hear from K that the frost having abated, planting began yesterday. There is now a grove of mountain ash to be seen from the drawing room.

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"Large & handsome trees." What fun! I shall see it all next week-end.

Meanwhile I leave for Home at 3.30

leave Euston at 4

arrive Manchester at 8.7

motor to Blackburn, arriving at 9.10

Speak till 10.15

motor to Preston, arriving at 9.40

leave Preston 9.50

arrive Euston 5.

NOT a number of useful support at Blackburn! A fair meeting, with Mully in evidence.

March 14th

None in the flat all day. Clean up a lot of paper & correspondence.

Vernon Harcourt died suddenly yesterday. I have, after reflection, no ambition to succeed to a Cabinet job on the economic front.

Meanwhile Snell is to have a Coronet, & Ponsford is to be Chancellor of the Duchy, & Chancelton a Whip.

March 15th

To Birmingham. Speak in W. Birmingham & Handsworth. Talk to O.G. Willey before & W. Whiteley after. First a small meeting; crowd larger & more animated.

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No sign of support for motion at either meeting, & my attack, deliberate, but not overdone, with or without this policy (latest version), well received at both. But, behind the scenes, the

local movement is rather perturbed, I think, through the D.L.P.'s in Sutherland. The Labour are quite sound & solid. Dan Davis, Strachan's agent in London has gone with him, but he is about the only renegade.

March 15th.

Back from Glasgow by midnight train.

Out at Rugby at 1.30 am, & have to wait in the waiting room till 2.45! Extra 5 am. Went a journey!

Had mess on Electoral Reform Bill. Beatings 4 votes (246-242) on abolition of university seats & 2 of our members, Wedwood & Clunch (15-50 Extremist!) vote against, & about 20 are away unpaired - some sick & unpaired, some slack, some at by-election & unpaired through middle with work done. Liberals let us down badly, nearly on many with a pair against on first & many unpaired. General feeling. By having voted with us, some have a kind of regard & judge sitting in front of

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William had voted

the fire in the pyjamas! It is said that he spoke the men both. Sullivan, Liberal Chief Whip, resigns as a protest against indifference.

Their crisis is worse than ours. The Simonites have come very near to parting. The Tories are again, in fact before the Trade Disputes Bill Second Reading, offering not to run candidates against those who will vote steadily against us. But it will always mean sailing. Overhead in the lobby.

Sir K. Hutchinson: "Well, I think our course is quite clear." G. Lambert: "Yes, that's all very well, but the Tories have put up a candidate in my constituency!"

Lunch today with Uncle, to meet Drummond. Uncle wants in latter has shown some lack of judgment in not realising that he would like to be President of the Disarmament Conference. He is still talking about that, though it is clear that he is unacceptable.

March 19th.

Arthur Robinson to lunch, to discuss the possibility of his becoming an F.O. Economist, - if we can get him unattached. Very pleasant & pretty capable, but not much character.

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March 20th.

Man with Van & Paul last Uncle should tackle
Krisind next week in Paris about the Presidency of
the Disarmament Conference. I write him a letter
urging him to go ahead & ask for friend's support for
his candidate me.

~~Next~~ Talk to Dana at lunch about
Mearns (at least) & Delino way. One need to
carry his own life in simple heart of a child.
To report to W.L.

March 21st.

I see the newly planted groves! A jolly sight,
at the beginning, I hope of wonderful crops.

Peterson with us for the week end.

March 23rd.

Two international Conventions, - a birth in the
drafting of the Franco-Italian naval agreement, and
the breakdown of the German-Austrian Customs Union
project. Uncle in Paris for friend's conference
So I have to answer P.Q.'s & say little.

Tom Johnston is to be Lord Privy Seal. He was
my choice (see my letter to R on Harkness's death.)
Graham, sitting beside me on the bench during debate
on Russian timber, asks me whether I have wished

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Uncle to pass my claim to a Cabinet rank. He wants
now I should have been considered before Morrison
& Johnston. I say I have no desire to shift from
my present job. He says "no, but it is important to
be in the Cabinet, & have a share in directing policy."
He adds that there is a feud between Uncle & J.H.M., & that
he himself is not one of the latter's favorites. This
is a human understanding of W.G.! He adds that he will
naturally speak to Uncle next week about his point.
March 26th.

Liberals rank Disarmament, desiring to select a subject
with which not embarrass us. They are, in fact, very
friendly, - & in turn not unfriendly. Quite a love
feud!

March 27th.

To V.S. to speak in V.D. election, - V.S. children
& St Helen. Back by night mail.