

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

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(178pp)

Reduction Ratio:

8 x

1
Diary.
December 1932 - Feb. 1934

It to be made available
because of references
to "... individuals, many
of them very dogmatic
and some perhaps
libellous." Etc.

E.g. 2/1/33.
18/5/33 par 3.

JA

Dalton Diary 15. 1932.

2

December 2nd. Came down 4th & 5th W.L. -
Very bored with London and time wasting
small "appointments" & "engagements" for a
week of country peace before starting for
Italy.

Dill Roman Society from Nero to Marcus
Aurelius p 174. "Seneca and Pliny,
Martial and Juvenal, from various points
of view, lament or ridicule the inanity &
the slavery of city life. — Hence the
rapture with which Pliny escapes to the
stillness of his Laurentine pine woods,
or the pine cold breezes that blow from
his Apennines over his Tuscan seat. In
those calm solitudes the weary advocate
and man of letters became for a little
his own master, and forgot the
din and crush of the streets, the
palling ambitions, the malevolent gossip,
and silly mimics of the great world,
in some long suspended "liberary task."

8/12/32.

From W.L. with R. Leave Victoria 4 pm.

Not very pleasant crossing, but neither was sick! A second class sleeper, from Calais, to Berke, is as good as a first.

9/12/32.

Leave Berke 6.45. Snow & dark rain on ^{Swiss} side of Alps. Sunshine in the Ticino. Arrive at Bolzano 4.40. Stay at Stella d'Italia. Very good position in main piazza, off side palazzo built a lateris. ~~at~~

10/12/32.

Sign seeing in Bolzano. Plenty of character.

Arcades. Towers. No foreigners. University buildings not very distinguished - abutting on streets. But very frank & amusing signs on new graduates plastered on pillars of arcades in central piazza, - men escape with virgins, 2 men drunkenness exposed.

La cucina bolzinese has character. Tortellini (in soup), forcelloni (a form of pasta asciutto),

certosino (a rich cake with candied fruit). Food & rather strong local wine. Museo Civico contains Etruscan remains. Felsina was an Etruscan city on the site. Large bas-relief on Saturday of elements ~~in~~ Campagna, very picturesque in blocks. Pinacoteca full of Holywood school painters, (Carnacci, etc). Not good. But Guido Reni better than usual. Arcades everywhere, very distinctive. The Appennines sure and near. Rather cold.

Buy a new Trilussa. The bookseller says that Mussolini allows him to go on. Nobody else would be allowed to write such things!

11/12/32

In train Bologna - Rome 11.5 - 7.5.

12/12/32.

Rome warm & smiling in the sun. Our little hotel contains hardly any Italian guests, but commands a lovely view. We walk through the Forum & the Colosseum & the wonderful new excavation in Trajan's

Form - lunch at the Vepia, moved from west door, since the ^{new} excavation began. Climb the Capitoline before lunch and the Palatine after, & sit in the sun among the ilices & stone pines.

13/12/32.

Two hours in Mostra del Fascismo. The militarist banquet is delightful. But the mise-en-scène is very effective. lofty entrance hall. Good coloring. Skillful use of newspaper cuttings. Pathetic, selected letters from Soviet at the front. "Proud to die," etc. The summiting of the Mauthausen. "Present" in gold on black, repeated many thousand times; the crucifix lit from the roof; a very good looking young militiaman & friend; tattooed black flags on the walls behind. And then the entrance chamber to his, the Duce deified in his lifetime, writing in his own hand,

and a bloodstained handkerchief "Il Sho Sanghe!"

One whole thing rather a copy of Moscow, same lost heart is dead.

And it is difficult, I should think, to stir up so much enthusiasm for the Fascist "martyr" in the ^{sporadic} civil war in those who did it make - real revolution. One little man was walking with a hat on. He was touched on the shoulder by an attendant, and removing his hat, terrified, hurried away!

Lunch at Grotto & Zucco, - first restaurant in the Via Nazionale.

Call in the afternoon at the University of San Saba, & find

Gladwyn, Lambert & later Murray. 14/12/32. ^{Stuffed dinner. Moderately competent.} (But not interesting, nor discussing with Italian.)
A radiant day.

Went to St Peter's, ^{the} up the Janiculum. A superb view of the City & the Palatine hills. Lunch at Scarpone,

Via S. Pancrazio. Good, cheap & rustic.
Then walk, circuitously, ^{from} via
Fornaci, along Mura Vaticane, to
S. Maria del Riposo, & back through
real country, muddy lanes, thru sheep,
back along an endless road, it seemed,
to the Kora & to our Hotel in the
dusk. Perhaps a ten mile walk!

15/12/32.

Morning with R in Foro Romano,
rediscovering columns, etc. of ourselves.
Lunch at the Ulpia. By a
Borsalino, visit the Temple of Vesta
& Portico by the Tiber.

I see Savit at 6 in the Palazzo
Chigi. A smart approach, through
a series of great empty rooms. S is
a Triestine, a little man without
much apparent personality. He says
that Mussolini is really very terrible.
This is the equivalent of the *rodimento*

The Italians are bilingual! S
in the Press & the orations. The Holy
See, on the other hand, he says a very
sly, "you think you have got them,
and then they slip through your
fingers; they have diplomatic
experience of centuries, and they can
afford to wait; if they don't get what
they want in century, they will get
it next century."

We Dine with Gladys & Cynthia at
their flat (9 Via Po). An excellent
meal. Rather an anti-Fascist party.
A French journalist & his wife (pretty
linked in modern decoration) an
Italian - Irish woman, - liberal traditions,
war work in hospital, etc., and an
Italian who has seen in Southern
Italy, & disbeliever in the Fascist.
G gives a good account, before the
other came, of the handing over of the
Riseben at Posillipo. It took 20

in order to read the deed of Bramante
 Italian. The Duke stood at attention
 all the time, thrusting out his propitious
 jaw. A plume stood, looking rather
 knock-kneed. Gladys & the other
 young members of the party stood
 in an intermediate posture,
 looking enquiringly at the ceiling.
 16/12/32.

I spend the morning in the
 Commercial library at the Embassy.
 NOT much time, ably arranged.
 In the afternoon with the
 Senate. A dull day. What was
 a crowd of old cross and reg-boys
 Giustinetti! What they were for
 15 members in one division.

Dine at Ristorante Napoleone
 by Fontana Trevi - lovely
 banquet, wonderfully lit by half-
 darkened lamps. An interesting

Yesh of Water, & Statuary to match.
 Mussolini said the other day ^{only} time will show
 whether the present crisis is a crisis within
 the system, or a crisis of the system.
 Our policy must be varied accordingly.
 One liberal counter, Katzani says he
 is still a socialist, but the Fascist
 leaders keep much to themselves, and
 not the head of people one ^{would} normally
 meet, but all discussion has been
 stopped, & that all the talk about
 "discipline" is humbug, the F's having
 the most unbridled appetites.

He having complained to Gladys about
 the wildly anti-French and anti-Jug
 tone of the press, he said that he thought
 he did a good deal to keep it within
 bounds. In his hour about Train, Cippico
 was going to make a very violent speech
 in the Senate, but he, having seen
 what he was up to, forbade it, &

he spoke only a few humble sentences.

17/12/32.

Received by Guido Jung, Minister of Finance, a business man with a good brain & a sense of humor. We are living in an absurd world, but in this absurd world Italy is not doing so badly as most. In improving our trade balances by reducing our trade, we are achieving the Peace of Death. Speech is silver, but silence is gold, & at present silver is depreciating.

An ~~act~~ agreement, like a marriage, requires the consent of two parties. Bilateral agreements between states are difficult. But a multilateral agreement is like polygamy by consent, even more difficult & frowned on by the world.

He had no idea, until he read it in the press, that he was to be made Minister of Finance. One day before he

had discussed many questions with the Duke, but not the possibility of his appointment. . . .

In the afternoon I spend several hours in his library, shown round by Zello Gungui, librarian & Professor at Perugia. An excellent library, & a ~~fantastic~~ prescriptive librarian. Very Fascist. He hosts me to a party at his house in the evening. Rather fun. Continues conversation & light refreshment till 1.15 am. Sessa, a journalist who spent some years in Russia and brought back an ugly Russian wife. In Central Asia the Bolsheviks have abolished high prices for wives, & distributed women more fairly among the proletariat who are therefore very contented. Great shortage of food in S.U.

13
Spinedi, was lecturer on banking in
Rome & is connected with the
financing of the business. Intelligent
& friendly.

18/12/32

In car with Gladys, Agata & R. Lovey
trip through Tivoli, Subiaco (where we
shall spend Christmas), Bellegra, (high
in Sabine mountains) & Palatrana
(surrounded by the sky). A
beautiful circuit through Sumbalised
hills. Olives & ilexes, cypresses & stone
pines. Hill towns radiant & perched
on steep summits. Picnic by the
roadside.

19/12/32

Call on Amoroso at his ~~business~~ office,
& spend most of the day in the hands
of D'Addario, his assistant, who takes
me to see Spaventa, in the absence
of Dr. Stefan. Also to the University

14

in its old quarters at the Palazzo Sapienza.
(It is morning soon to new buildings
painted out.) I see some libraries,
offices, university & market, &
the house of elephants. 6000
students, whom 10% women in
Faculty of Modern Literature 80%
women. I meet two women
assistants, one in Dr. Stefan's institute,
& one who teaches Arabic & speaks
English. Spinedi calls for me & Stefan.
With R to the Kirkpatrick for a speech.
They have taken over a large official
house, in which the Minister to the
Vatican used to live. She is quite
a good, & not too social, hostess. Talk
to von Kierstein after German Embassy,
see office Shau-deaf Ambassador at
Courtyard in Rome.

The rest are mostly British. Talk
about Mc Lane. Killipat drill-informed.

It could have been ^{one} ~~the~~ Indian ^{and} had 95 men
left on the 7th. 15

Viri) on the 2nd. ~~At~~ ~~the~~ ~~large~~ ~~shell~~ ~~4~~
shells wd have taken the Hermae-
-2 Triak - 2 - - - 1/2 Varo,

Commanding the Corps at Palermo, hadn't
helped the man on his night at the
enforced party on, as ordered by Capello,
on the left. ^{the} ^{great} ^{wound} ^{had} ^{been}
at the time of the ^{Mariniera} ^{part} ⁱⁿ
August 1917, & he should have had
Laird, & - - - He heard Capello
on the telephone saying "Varo, you're very
dead!" & his heart sunk.

He appeared with me last 6 weeks (I came
from ~~the~~ ^{the} ^{Vulturno} ^{valley} ⁱⁿ
the summer 1917) & broken his time &

found both S. Marco & the Casco. - - - ~~D~~
20/11/12. ^{At} ^{Silvano} ^{the} ^{road} ^{just} ^{west} ^{of} St ^{Agata}
^{ahead} ^{at} ^{the} ^{entrance} ^{to} ^{the} ^{road}
^{to} ^{the} ^{west} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Casco}

with N to Ostia. Most attractive day.
Jolly little electric railway from S. Paolo
station. (Arriving too early, we find Keats
& Shelley in the Protestant Cemetery.)

Written to Via Ostiense near, Vignola, &
where in "sistemazione" is proceeding.
Ostia Marina has just seen, & is quite
a pleasant seaside place. The sea
so blue, in cloudless December sunshine.

Then to the Scavi. Very impressive, &
much more to come. An excellent find
book, so need to describe detail.

Then to Via with Marinetti, who is
married to Caffari's sister. A dynamic little
man, now taller very good sense or construction,
& some sense on politics. Youth and la
guerra vinta are the two bases of Fascismo.
Mussolini has accelerated the rhythm of
Italian life. The national Renaissance is
piperia & lampore.

Modern architecture is the functional. He
was saying this many years ago, & his
you can't make a base of architecture!
Parliamentarian affairs & committees.
And then, and that of a case of space

interests. One done from order.

20/12/32.

(Previous day.) Start at 8 am for the
 Rio Pontino in car with head inspector
 of Asinara. Through Valletri. At 10 am
 with up Contradi --, the Modesta di Bene.
 No Litoria. 2000 Strabiles inhabitants, +
 11,000 Roman workmen. (Money of

20,000. Good modern P.O. Many
 trees planted. Drainage & new roofs.
 Municipality from No. Valley. May become
 peasant production. For next school
 Poderi - large & clean, - & a new school.
 Municipality told them "if bad days come, at
 least you will be able to feed yourself."

Through ^{large} gate front to King Sabaudia.
 Pontinia to follow. At 11 finish at
 1935. A minute stop from car. Old
 Capanne. Bed across in a valley
 fringed by melting. No workers. Wood
 fire on house in centre. Kniffle

heads. Up to Mucchi Lepini, - Serze & Wierpa,
 (Very near water, ^{with} 5000 a street slope above,
 ruins overgrown with trees & shrubs, street
 like surrounding town). Drainage
 works in this plain very efficient.

Caffa says it is a defect of the (water) ^{means} but
 that all treatments are done, not by the
 the camera, but in the the camera.
 22/12/32.

See De' Stefani, who says L.S. told him that
 93% of Englishmen lived in towns, & that
 people in London are less tall than in
 the Victorian Age, & Jacopini, a Treasury
 official who talks about the finance of
 public works.

Learn with Kirkpatrick. He tells R
 that, when he wants to ask a Cardinal
 for a meal, he has to send to the
 Vatican a list of those whom he
 intends to ask, & if the list is
 approved, a special department of the

Vatican arranged the table. On this are
the pence of the last & Polish peasantry
spent! Christian humility... Prices of
the Church.

Hear Amoroso lecture on banking in
the University.

Dine at the Embassy. Graham makes
a good impression, very pro-Fascist as one
had heard, but reasonable in his exposition.
TOD R that M had refused to see Uncle 24
hours before his arrival, because Uncle &
Vandervelde had called M a murderer. It
had taken Graham all his time to talk
M round, & he had had to tell Uncle that
the whole success of the negotiations depended
on what impression he could make on M.
Uncle had played up very well, & M
had formed a very high opinion of him. It
was due to Uncle that the negotiations had
succeeded, in spite of the opposition of the
service experts. Grandi had come back

disillusioned from Lamsarone, saying that the
English were now in the pockets of the French &
that there was nothing more for him to do.

At dinner tonight was the German
Ambassador, a sensible fellow with a lengthy
consular career, in Germany now all 3 branches
of the service are fused; spoke moderately about
Polish relations & thought that practical should
be made invisible & ^{not} a general European
scheme, rather than direct German-North
discussion, (should be sought.) Also ~~met~~ Mrs
George Koppel, & her stage coach husband. Mrs
K said that he had met before. I said yes
when we were both very young. She said
"Are you still a Socialist?" I said "Yes. Are
you?" She "I never was." I "I
remember the P.M. telling me once in a
railway carriage that you were 99%
a supporter of him, & that you were only
afraid of the Capitalist class."
had, I met Graham, young, handsome &
kind. Now very pro-Fascist. Thought

party got was the cause of England.
Not very painful. I thought.

My hear Smith at lunch said to R.
"Kommunisti better. To have a few Professor
put away in the Liphari Island & the
people employed developing their Country,
or to have all the Professor at ~~the~~ ~~the~~
& all the people out of work."

Shades of Lisanel, etc. St Helena or
Falkland Islands?

Kirkpatrick's ^{food} ~~and~~ was better than the
Sambory. Mrs K is a good hostess,
& not too hardy "Social." She should be
mentioned.

23/12/32.

Wrote R to Subiaco for Christmas. A most
successful few days. Stay at the Pensione
Belvedere on the mountain side of the
town. Simple, but quite adequate. MRK.

For future reference, that there is central
heating in the annex where our
bedroom was. And a magnificent view
of Subiaco, spreading downward from the
castle onto the rock summit, and of course
of Sabine Hills behind.

From R's view of Subiaco one changes
Klein at Mandela. Going, we walked
up to Sarcinesco, a proven parcelto.
Say the guide book, with a striking
position on a mountain top. Very good
looking, dark eyes, children & women
(men more ordinary. R has seen the
point out.) Funny little cobbled
stairway streets, up which some of the
climb with their burdens. We buy
in the street some hot - gran tunc
bread, & meet the lady doctor of the
place (only 3 towns in Italy have lady
doctors.) She took her degree at Bologna.
She must find it rather a one-eyed place.
She gives us some apples.

23
Walk down again to Mondella station and
Arrive at Subiaco in the dusk. Walk
through the town and the road beyond to the
Hotel. Hotel empty except for one
Italian. (He left next day.) But in the
kitchen are 10 children, 6 women &
2 men. One bedridden widows face
two ways. & there is a matron. One
Lijak of Subiaco shining on the hillside look
like fairyland.

24/12/32

In the morning walk up to Santa
Sobottina and the Sacro Speco of S.
Benedict. The former is not interesting but
the latter is very remarkable, with its
series of cave chapels one above another
in the rock. And what a position!
Shown round by a German monk, now speaks
English. Rather an engaging character, who
feeds the ravens and smiles at the old
miracle stories.

A magnificent avenue of great ilices

24
Leads up to the Speco. But I am
very sad & angry to see a new
avenue, mostly dead, in continuation of it
down the hill. Each dead, or moribund,
tree was planted in memory of a
dead Italian soldier, with the place &
date of his death on a ^{small} metal plate
attached to the iron stakes which are
supposed to protect the tree. But
they are planted too large, and very
scanty among stones.

In the afternoon walk past Campo
Santo, where many have gathered
single or in pairs and lighted candles
by these gravesides on his anniversary.
On beyond to a small hill top, where
we watch the end of the sun. & pick
out patches high villages but first
escape being rocks.

25/12/32.

Walk to Cervara di Roma. Clouds

blue sky. Follow a "ridge way" among the vineyards & olive & cultivated patches, with the bare mountain above us, & have lunch under a beautiful great ilex, looking up at Cervara and down at the valley. Even the winter sun is quite warm. (In London today, we read of a in an Italian paper, there has been a "fitta nebbia"!)

Reach Cervara, by rather an unnecessarily squawky route through latins, etc. and wander up and down the little streets, (as at Sanacinesco, Subiaco, etc.) sit in an osteria with a superb view, (as at Sanacinesco) & drink vinello.

Try to come back along the top of the mountain. But this is much less flat than it looked from below; and we have to go up & down & round edges of Chavum a good deal. But the

are, even up here, little cultivated outposts of the Battaglia del Grano, and little tracks, traces of cultivation & some small strike down into the track that leads to St. Calvo, - we were near the summit of this, but it's a dull walk - & dense the mountain side. Subiaco ^{is} stands up in the dusk, looking no distance away! But it's a long & very stony path along which we stumble in the dark....

26/12/32.

Along "new road" to Jenne, some stops short on mountain side. Workers on holiday, but one intelligent fellow from Pistoia in charge of explosives. Big things once done look nothing. (So with all human achievement!) Pure mountain roads illustrate this, started along steep drops and securely walled up from below.

The two ends of the Subiaco-Jenne

road are finished, but there is a gap
of 2 or 3 kilometers in the middle.

Through ilex scrub & trees across the
gap, to the astonishing little monastery
of S. Lorenzo. What a view!

Jenne is not so picturesque as Scaccivisco
or Cervara. (To all these three little
^{hill} ~~the~~ villages, new roads are being driven
from below.) Walk back along the
bottom of the valley, almost an Alpine
effect.

27/12/52.

Walk up to a remote little house, half
from half villino, - in an olive grove
on a plateau. Perhaps close to Subiaco.
Very peaceful & remote.

After the early lunch run for the
train, & just catch it. Get out at
Tivoli and spend a lovely hour in
the Villa D'Este; "Solea Vegetation"
says the guidebook. The tallest & most

cupressus in Italy, & Fontanai overgrown,
always springing surprises on the woodsman.

And back from Tivoli to Rome in an
immense & crowded bus. So ends a
perfect Christmas holiday.
28/12/52.

Looking out of your window at the Hassler,
we see grey clouds &, soon after, rain.
The first rain since Kolofne, 18 days
ago, & the first day since then when
the sun hasn't shown cloudlessly.

We both caught pellets with us at Tivoli.

And today is 1950.

I search the Ministry of Finance Library in
vain in search of positive ^{subsidies} ~~subsidies~~
Conferenza State. But the Mostra
Benefica is more attractive, especially
the part which deals with trees.

29/12/52.

Visit ~~London~~ Office of Lavori Pubblici in
the afternoon. Bringing away some more

Citrotrone. Hunt for Roberto Schauer in
a room. Conclude that he is in flight
from creditors! In the evening took
to Cecchi's flat. Found his wife & daughter.
Both very charming. He is in Sicily
supervising film production.

30/11/32.

Trying in vain to establish contact with
Ministry of Corporations. Very inefficient.
My letter of introduction from Grandi to
Aspirini was never acknowledged; the
Embassy was kept waiting a week for a
reply to their request that I should be
received; then I was told by the Embassy
that De Sanctis would see me any
morning; when I rang him up, I was
told he was out of the telephone and
what I wanted, & whether I was a
journalist; then a telephone message
came that he would see me this
morning between 9 & 11; then, when I called

at 9.30, I was told that he was not
in, but was expected about 10; then
I went to Schanze's brother with a letter
from Roberto, which at 10, I waited till
10.45 without result, & left!!!... The
Ministry does not seem any other, & is the
only one which is really incompetent
& disorganized. But there is a
rather fine new building, not yet occupied,
at the bottom of the Via Vittorio Veneto.

At 10.45 call at the Embassy, & go in
to see Graham. A quiet, decent, not too
protectorial Ambassador here. He says
that the Duce starts work at 8.30 &
finishes at 11. But he takes exercise,
unlike most Italians of this era. He
rides, fences & after lunch plays the violin.
Quite badly, but intensely enough to take
his mind off the troubles of the moment.
Presumably he was a very sick man, & today
he is quite fit. Spreads like Simoni

leave Rome. Uncle's visit was a great success. The Duce can't leave Italy. He would probably be assassinated. The assassins would count on a spectacular political trial & a great frontal assault on Fascism. And in Italy there would probably be massacre.

The Italians, I think, are more genuinely friendly to England than any other country except, perhaps, the Greeks.

I ask about the succession. I think he has made a political statement. There are versions of his in Ludwig's book; different versions in different editions. The King might reappear on the stage. He has great physical strength, owing to his short legs. And he is full of wisdom & experience, says. Perhaps he can be used to a remarkable extent. Badoglio, Grandi & Ciano have been mentioned. Balbo is a very dangerous

man. The Duce would like to rent him. The Duce is much steadier than he was. But there is still a danger that he may go off his lines. He has the country behind him now, or he had not a year or two ago. His recent reception in Milan & Turin have been more demonstrations of enthusiasm.

Then a lesser figure, perhaps, without capital. He is full of interest in things, & his specialisation on economics & finance has been good for him. His introduction to the so-called Commerce Secretary's report is a good bit of writing.

Walk with the Duke of Montemar & down, through road, to the Foro Mussolini. Immense Stadium, with bas-relief carved statues, & Accord with the birth of white marble.

Traffic in the Uffizi. Rodd. D'Abreu & others. D'A says it is a little unnecessary. A controlled inflation

would let us all out of it. Ruthen front
 & Rod, though his brain is still clear.

McClure & Rodd tell R about W. Speed
 & S. Watson. In 1917 the New Europe
 published a violent, & harmful, attack on
 Sumino. McClure wrote to Speed, who
 replied "I neither wrote it nor saw it in
 proof. ^{I was ill in bed at the time.} Some time afterwards Speed,
 Watson & McClure met, & he remarked
 Speed of his reply. Watson said "Yes,
 but you didn't tell him that you dictated
 it to me as you lay in bed." I have a
 German wife, "Madame Rose". What
 disproportionate influence is allowed to
 irresponsible scribbles!

6.15 see Mr Duce. Approach
 through a long series of rooms in Palazzo
 Venezia. Many plain clothed detectives,
 including one who was sitting opposite me
 while I am waiting.

Finally ushered into an immense room,

with marble walls. At the far end Mr
 Duce, standing, with upturned eyes reading
 a book. He advances to meet me,
 when I am half way across the room,
 "with a friendly smile", as his journalists
 say.

We stand half an hour together. I had
 I succeed in keeping my end up. My
 Italian is better than usual. He has
 charm & intelligence. Very small
 brown eyes. He turns then up to
 the writer's shop, like a clown at a
 circus. Has told him I expected.
 But strongly built. Evidently, as I
 had been told, he likes seeing people.
 He adjusts ^{himself} well to what he conceives
 to be my prejudices.

Where did I learn to speak Italian?
 In the war - on the Italian front. He
 recalls that I have written a book about
 this. How long was I on the front?

After a while. From May 1917. on the
 course under the Duca d' Aosta. He has
 kept the war on the course from 1917.
 Was I an officer?

I am interested to see Rome again
 after 14 years. What a change! Here
 & in the rest of Italy. It is fused
 of the embellishments of Rome.

~~It is~~ I refer to Vucchi's visit
 & thought he returned much impressed
 with Rome & with his contact with
 it. He doesn't rise at all at her.

Then I made the same &
 Europa where I find in Italy. I
 wonder whether in England, where her
 voice is so much important in present
 economic crisis, we could, by way
 of our traditions & institutions in D. H. C. C.
 catch something of her spirit.

He is very pleased at her & smiles
 sweetly. "Yes, very good for?" "Puh"
 At the end
 caressingly, he asks

because we have too many old men
 in high places. "Ma, bisogna
 svecciarne l'impicciatura, e gli
 altri paesi." .. Pitt was his
 name at 22 . . . "

Then I ask him about the
 problem of the corporative state. What
 corporative actually is? Or
 meant only one, for the spettacolo.
 Not very far they will exist also of
 name & seta. But perhaps next
 year siderologica. How long
 before corporations are in working
 order in all industries? He, several
 years. We are not in a hurry.
 We are going slowly & judiciously.
 We are empiricists. We have no
 dogmas. We feel "il massimo
 benessere del popolo". That is our only
 principle. We adjust our policy to realities,
 & choose our means accordingly. W.D. D.

Capitalism has completely broken down. We reject both. State Capitalism, as in Russia, where even writing paper (he picks up a sheet from his desk) is sold by the State, we also reject.

But all Passats are equal. Work for the State is a duty. One State Union has the right to interfere in any branch of your own life. It has just been decided that no new undertaking may be started in Italy without the permission of the State, & a new law on the expropriation of private property is being prepared. A big conference has just been held. Like me, he wears a Passat badge. I have told him that he must conduct his business as a social function.

In his school you may see his children who pass the time with sitting side by side, & eating the same (Stazione,

even though the children of the rich may come in better cars.

1. Comment on his violence in educational expenditure in the next Budget.

2. & a reduction in armaments. This had to be imposed on the fighting services. To the Minister I said, as I said to the Ministry of Marine when Mussolini came to see me, "Riduzione o demissione!" They like reductions.

What a pity, I say, that he could be said to all the crowd at Geneva at the conference that days and on.

If it drags on much longer, he says, without result, it will end in war not peace. The door of peace will die of ~~starvation~~ from lack of nourishment.

Grandi (I heard him, & I agreed) has just forward practical proposals for disarmament. One abolition of expenditure & offensive weapons. But France stands in

the way. They have made a very bad
impression, especially to J. S. about paying
their debt to America, though they have
so much gold. If France agrees only
to a small disbursement, her financial
position will become very serious.
The gold is leaving Paris for
America, when a crisis will
come. (Here I work in a reference
to the gold in S. Maria Maggiore, the
first brought from America by
(Columbus.) There will, he thinks,
be a big story of peace gold in America
(This is the hope in the press his morning)
that the American debt ~~undoubtedly~~
Europe. They are very far away. I
say that Sullivan is often brought out to
undoubtedly and to be removed from it
but we ^{undoubtedly} ~~have~~ ^{are} ~~been~~ a little more
from America. He agrees.

And then we come back to Rome,

its establishment. One Via dell'Impero
will be made. Two more have just
been decreed in the Centre of Rome, to
improve houses, much better, in the
outskirts. I speak of the Foro
Mussolini. He says they are going to
build a new hall to be all on the
right of it. The all on the
right - the door. Where have I been?
... Subiaco. He has never been there.
That is when S. Kenedik went into a
cave.... When next I am in
Rome, I must be sure to come to
see him again. And he walked me back again
^{in our} ^{Voiced} ^{Romantic}, ^{which} ^{is} ^{very} ^{strong} ^{and}
- G. Cham, intelligence, energy,
who play acting. That is for the
Jalley.

There is no other living man whom
it would have killed me more to
meet. R. knows he has captured
my susceptibility for much, but
(I could have held him to one side,
Kato stress! O Kypria!)

31/12/32.

Finally succeed in getting some literature from the Ministry of Corporations!

Went R to tea with Signorina Sergio. Very attractive & intelligent, though today rather tired.

Lunch with Murray. R very pleased with him. And he has a charming top flat, with a ^{little} flat roof ~~space~~ outside his window, in Palazzo Caetani.

She tells us about the excavations, - Isola Sacra at Ostia, where the poor were buried, & Minturn where the Roman ships were built, & of shepherds in the country south of Terracina who ^{still} speak an old tongue, perhaps Etruscan but no one understands.

She tells us also of a visit of the Duce to their exhibition, which, unfortunately, coincided with the return

of Grandi from Lausanne and with the beginning of the political ferment. He was, therefore, in a shocking mood; was met, on his arrival, by the shivering ^{& quaking} Minister of Education, to whom he said, loudly & contemptuously, "Well. Say your piece!" Then he rushed at top speed through all the rooms, looking at nothing & giving no opportunity for anyone to explain anything. Paribene ran behind him, vainly trying to stop him at crucial points, gasping breathlessly "Eccellenza! ... Eccellenza! ...". In a room at the end of a corridor, he had to stop a moment, before running 2 to go out again. He saw 3 women (good looking women said he said), two ^{white} blond Americans. "Who are those women?" he asked, quite loud. When told, he said, with a contemptuous snuff "Fafigninzi! Fafigninzi!"

And emerging finally into the open, he took a long breath & ejaculated with delight "Ah, l'aria!" He had looked at none of their treasures, so carefully arranged; where the police had looked inside all the heads of the busts to make sure there was no bomb trace, & had even wanted to lift an immense sarcophagus to see whether it contained some kind of machine! ... Later, when he was feeling better, he had come again, & been quite friendly. ... But his mood was very.

He has still a lovely soft voice, but he has spoiled it a good deal by open air speaking.

He lives, not at the Palazzo Venezia, - but in only his office, - but at the Villa Torlonia. His wife lives there. But she is never seen

in public, or on any official occasion, except at some ^{occasional} charity sale. She has remained simple and quiet in the background. (Wasn't a good thing if some other ruler did the same!) One scoldish daughter has married Ciano, & the Admiral who has still held civil posts. The rest of the family, including two boys who are said to be very handy, remains obscure.

It hasn't done in the evening they & speak & more knotted up than ever. What to do?

Fireworks & searchlights at night, celebrating the Year of the Year.

1/1/33.

We go by train & finally Funicular.
 to Rocca di Papa, - very attractive
 little place, which R loved ²⁵ years
 ago when she was 17. Then walk
 through chestnut woods up Monte
 Carlo, through the fields of Hannibal,
 & get ^{to} a lovely view of both the Lakes,
 Albano & Nemi, lying at our feet,
 & of windy sun on the sea, &
 of Rome, in & out of the shadows,
 with St Peter's shining out for a
 moment or two, & then receding into
 invisibility.

Walk down, again through chestnut
 woods, turning at lower levels into
 oaks & hazels, into ^{unpleasant} air. It
 turns out to be Ariccia, where the
 Temple of Diana stood, & the
 Garden Bridge begins.

Back by train through Albano.

Dine at the Grotta Arcana. (The fish
 soup, R thinks, is not very aesthetic
 or well cooked!) And visit Arapae,
 where I have my first & last
 Zabaglione of the trip.

2/1/33.

Give lunch at Vlpia to Gladwyn, Cappa
 & 2 Spricdis (the two latter very
 delighted at being asked.) Gladwyn
 rather pale & dim. Probably has been
 having a row with his wretched little
 wife. Cappa defended Spira
 against Gladwyn's criticism. How he got
 Monte Nevoso for Italy. Jupp
 demanded that he should write Galitti,
 who replied "Cedo M. Nevoso non
 necessario." Spira produced the
 telegram & read it aloud to the
 Jupp smiling the word "non". The
 Jupp then gave his ^{interesting but Cappa} spoke frankly of
 the ^{in presence of Spricdis} ^{of Forest. of Massia.}
 Tea with Mrs. Heister Skink & a sweet

* On the same hand Zanotti-Bianchi, whom we
 met at Gladwyn's, followed everywhere by detectives,
 even when talking with Mrs. Skink.

Mr Strong, skin very full of life & charm.

Over at Cecchis'. Rather a ruddy party. He has lost life in this poor little man, with his wife or his 3 children. He has an unsuitable & too absorbing job in directing films.

3/1/33.

Leave Rome 9.50 am. To Turin by the coast route. I lose my keeper ticket at Turin and have to pay a second time!

4/1/33.

Back to W.L. by 2.55 from Paddington! A jolly trip, but it's jolly to be here.

5/1/33.

Start finding new paths on lower terrace.

7/1/33.

Walk with R & Marlborough, & find

again after several fruitless searches, Hartigan's Mausoleum. It stands in a beautiful place on the downs behind Osborne, with a specimen all round view, & gallops on two sides of it on the cross, ~~with a specimen~~ carved with a specimen motif, in his view, signed E.V.D.

"Beneath the clean & spacious sky

"Here let the sleeping horseman lie

"Nor from his darlings sunder.

"And, as the thoroughbreds flash by,

"Ours dust may quicken suddenly

"To hear the gallops to under"

R.I.P.

Delightful pagan!

26/1/33.

To Geneva, with no great enthusiasm.

27/1/33

Stay with Zilly at 112 Route de Chêne, a large, rather untidy house. & Very Slav, but very friendly.

Reedman is mixing better than Hughes, but is rather a lump of Yorkshire pudding.

Go up with large party to Sallanches (La Chaumière) on Saturday night (Jan 28th) and ascend, without skis or rackets, through 1 canyon into delta, to the hut on the Col d'Arbois. Snow not very deep. Share a bedroom with Hugh Wilson, American Minister at Berne, a small & unimpressive little man, very cautious & rather pro-Jap, having been ex posted at Tokio and hounded through Manchuria 4 years ago, & judged it destined to become a Jap sphere of influence.

Several nice, keen American journalists in the party, - Clarence

Street from Montana, John Whittaker from Tennessee and Stewart Brown.

Tirana, who is very sure on his feet at Geneva and very quick at all uptakes, has married a very pretty American girl; they are a popular couple. Major Robertson, son of the Field Marshal, but a very dim & correct son of a strong father, was attached to Temperley at the Disarmament Conference. A naval command, whose name I didn't catch. The Sweetsers (he is a good fellow, she rather a gusher.) St George Sanders, an energetic and ultra-cheerful member of the Secretariat. Osashy, the Czech, & his wife; at the hotel, though not in our party. A speechless young Finn, son of

Holsti, the Finnish delegate to the League. Tilly, Shengya & Joe.

These are some of the party, ... little sun, but rather lovely to be 1800 metres up again, above Megeve.

I see a lot of people at Geneva. Uncle several times. He had a bad time sacking people at the Head Office - the economy campaign next staff. Still moderately hopeful, & Phil ridiculously hopeful about the prospects of the Conference.

But while I'm there, both the British & German sports fall in one day. And in Germany Hitler - Heydenberg - Selbst - Papen are a terrifying new set of portraits. Germany might go any which way,

civil war, foreign war, all very grim & tragic.

I also saw Butler, (who would like Hedera on his desk, but it would be hard to get German agreement for him), Westheimer, (full of glass & nitro sticks), Madariaga, Rajchman, ~~Wigier~~, Vigier, & many others en passant, including Drummond Walker, Massigli. Eden's successor was played up in very Seattle and fashion. Willett, Caspary, Cur, all haunting the old haunts.

I am also taken to lunch with the Chinese, - the fatted duck, bamboo shoots (rather like fungi) & other Chinese delicacies.

The pro-Chinese passion of Tilly, Rajchman, etc is all absorbing. They speak the Japs

League, a heavy burden
against Japan, even if it meant
the use of the British fleet in
a Pacific battle, & Jap occupation
of Shanghai & Hongkong. Pretty
insupportable! But of course,
there may be no danger of the
Japs showing their teeth at us,
(without inside information one
can't be sure.) And close
cooperation with the Americans, &
boldness from the start (Sept 1931)
would probably have ended it
long ago.

Katsushika, the Jap Chief Delegate,
is reported to have said that
Japan was isolated at Geneva, just
as Christ was left alone on
the Mount of Olives, & Japan was
willing today to follow in Christ's
footsteps. No, after a

visit to Mussolini, but he was a
man who had walked with God. He
had made a pilgrimage to the
graves of his parents. (A new
ritual this in store for diplomats?)
Madariaga says that all parties,
President, Kappeler, etc - in
connection with the Disarmament
Conference should be made
wieldily.

The Germans have only paid
half their League subscription; they
have let it be understood that
they would pay the rest if given
a large enough contract for the
new League Building.
~~between two spectators.~~

Q. (on hearing Matsushika explain that
Japan must take action against bandits
in Manchuria). "Why are all the
bandits in Manchuria on the side of
China?" A. "I don't know. But why

are all the bandits in Europe on the side of Japan?"

31/1/33.

leave Geneva by train night train.

1/2/33.

Very bad crossing in French boat; heavy seas smash the bridge; 3 1/2 hours instead of 1 1/2 to cross; masts on the English side. Boat with a full crew, rum, & brandy, I recline below, & am not sick, though many others around me are.

3 - 6 / 2/33.

Call to Arthur Compton in Lancaster, - Warrington, Wigan, Radcliffe, Rawtenstall & Brunley. Khatin & flu very prevalent. It's a long way to town!

My host at Radcliffe, Taylor a chemist, is an ideal host. I find him reading on Soviet studies. And

he collects books & CD records. And I have breakfast ~~in bed~~ & read in bed each of the two days I'm with him.

8/3/33

see Bernstein at German Embassy & ask for Carsson form documents for my own German trip. I have cancelled my proposed lecture tour for the Deutsche Kulturbund, unless proved that I am a socialist & pacifist and don't wish to claim privileges of speech denied to Germans. Bernstein is obviously uncomfortable. He says Neurath at the German PD, says he'll stay for a while to "watch this circus".

17/3/33

to Zurich for meeting of L.S.I. Exec.

18/3/33.

Arrive in time for breakfast & bed/illness in bed. He & I & Compton represent our Party. No Germans, & only one Austrian. France sent Mme. Renaudet,

League of Nations. Too little a justification of
 exiles, although talk too much, ^{to the} ^{point} ^{of} ^{an}
 impulsive gathering. And a sense of impending
 disaster in Germany. They would ~~not~~ come
 here again, - except an exile. Talk
 of the United Front. No support for it, except
 by some hand. That same, including
 the French, would like to be able to say
 we've offered to discuss, but third
 international would not play fair.

I try to get more personal contacts
 between the sitting, but Gillian &
 Compton generally seem to do.

20/3/33

Back first in time to do a broadcast
 debate on Russia with D. Johnson
 of the English Review. That was an
 unsatisfactory ~~debate~~ performance, but
 some listeners tell me they think
 I put the case well.

21/3/33

Russelli to dine at the Barcelona. He

has the mentality of the Emiré.

25/4/33

Back to London after a lovely period at
 W.L. Sun & happiness in an oasis from
 the world. Have made the acquaintance
 Robert Byron - a nice family. Had had
 the Dublin for a week end. He prefers her
 to him, whom she looks very concerned & with
 an inferiority complex, & names it ~~is~~ ^{is} ^{not} ^{at} ^{all}.

26/4/33

Leave by the evening train for Berlin. I
 have reduced my German trip to a
 visit of 4 days to Berlin, & the visit coming.
 I go reluctantly.

27/4/33

Arrive at 5 p.m. Find letters at Koblenz
 245 - from Dieckhoff & Present, & leave
 them out on my table for the spirit to
 read. I bring a letter from Ka for
 Hahn, to be delivered to Sherman,
 whom I see out to be an American Jew.

Bruiley Thomas comes to my room at 7. I have taken a walk before his arrival. Unter den Linden, through Brandenburg Gate, & seen closed Reichstag, with marks of bombing. B.T. says he does not have planned my visit, & is coming round to see me this evening. At 9.30 he comes, poor man, hoping, I fear, that I have a cut & dried escape, & a job for him in England.

He has arranged various appointments & social engagements for me.

Nazis ransacked his flat. Stole 400 marks & 2 gold watches & some subversive literature.

28/4/33

See ex-bourgeois in Elsass, now had change of Berlin Public Utilities.

Lunch with Dieckhoff at Hotel Bristol. Apologetic & defensive. F.O. officials are accused by Nazis of putting a "non-German point of view." Hitler is his most

reasonable. He is good in the Chair at Cabinets. Moderate men, I think, should join the Nazis to moderate them. Itellusof said a year ago that 80% of his storm troops were ex-Communists. (The Communists have prepared the atmosphere by their endless bitter talk of violence.) Poles had made 200 complaints, Czechs 60. American 20. British less than a dozen. I realize that Clancy has lost, almost certainly, all the accumulated fund of pro-German sentiment in England. "It has been catastrophic," he says, & now old Colonels are emerging and saying "we always said they were Hitler, & we were right."

B.T. says he often feels inclined to come back to England & join the Army.

4-30 See Reed, Junior Times

correspondent. Very bitter about the Nazis. Says
the lists of dismissed professors. Says
English opinion doesn't get reaction in
Frank about these Germans.

5.30 See Piusent & Kreen (then
cultured) at the Embassy. The man
Bell, King's College, was killed, because
he knew how fired in Reichstag.

"Peace for 10 years" they say. And then?
They speak of "revolution", but power
was handed to them on a silver
platter. There was no resistance, & no
need to put on uniforms, & behave
like cadets & murderers. Private
executions are still going on, &
the wiping out of old judges. White
societies were talking about resistance,
to Nazis abroad. In the concentration
camps things are pretty bad. There
have been shootings while trying to

escape." Pacifists are worst treated of all.
One can imagine what happens when
middle aged men have to climb over
seven foot gates, & similar "sports".

Kreen says that Schlessinger, a F.O.
official who was taken apart on Russian
knots, was taken away by Nazis &
beaten, & maybe sacked, through
Nemetski is trying to keep him, because
he was three times wounded in the war.

Schleicher, Brauns, Seveing,
& others were broken in health at
the critical moments. German, eat,
drink, smoke & work for much.

The Nazis say of Einstein "there is
no demand for relativists in Germany."
6.45 see Hales, in Sherman's flat,
at 10th & 5th Avenue. A striking
figure. I deliver blunt message
from Ka & Leffler coming.

Drue with Lederer. She is hysterical.
It is hard to know what to say.

29/4/33.

9.30 See Fwiana Kuisin Scholau-
Krosiff, - a decent fellow, ex-Prussian
Official. He talks optimistically. His
first job is unifying unemployment
insurance.

Then talk with Dom, Oswald, who
likes my P.P.

Lunch at Kristin Gumborg. All
against Nazis. Dom Kumbow says
"we all get about a good deal". I
wonder! He had an invitation, for
which an apology was sent afterwards,
to walk in the May Day procession &
carry a Swastika flag. He is
as a member of a Golf Club. Gumborg
was for pro-Nazi, & has been moved
to Cairo. He included Göring among
his personal friends!

R says it is the German character to bully the
weak & creep to the strong.

Walk after lunch in the Tiergarten, & up to
Siege Klees, & look at the Reichstag!

Becherate, of Berlin, whom he may
be dismissed soon. (Studenthood was
encouraged to inform against Professors.
Röpke of Marburg, a brand leader,
was informed against, because 2 years
ago he said something in a lecture
about interest which was contrary
to Nazi doctrine. His daughter, aged 7,
was caught by 2 Nazis & had a
Swastika brand on her leg. There
is an amazing studenthood manifesto
in the Vossische Zeitung of 28/4/33, &
which I bring home a copy. These
have been active in the "national
revolution" case to have special facilities
in their examinations. Nazis
enter shops & demand the dismissal of
Brunette shop girls.)

Becherate fears the Poles may attack
Lüben. Jacobson of Marburg committed suicide
last night by putting his head under a train.

In the evening to Hederer's after dinner.
 Sit in a circle of the dismissed, several
 Socialists, one of whom was in the Berlin
 Police, another a deputy for Hamburg,
 Feiler, of the Frankfurter Zeitung, von
 Hofmann-Kampffmeyer. Handwritten in
 only one was still in a job.
 "Only some professors will be
 recognized", says the Student body, "who
 are imbued with the spirit of the
 Storm detachments."

Hederer gives me a list of
 94 professors & other teachers
 who have been dismissed.

In Bavaria children leaving school
 are no longer to be given a copy of
 the Weimar Constitution, but instead
 a selection of extracts from the
 Treaty of Versailles.

B.T. says that since Jan 30th we
 have been living in his words, where

we are always working up to an ever-receding
 climax in an insane symphony.

30/4/33.

With B.T. to Waussee & spend Sunday
 with Helen at the beach in the house.
 Very beautiful wind wood, & beautiful
 water. In the afternoon we much
 takes us out in a motor boat.

But when Helen is speaking on the
 telephone, he suddenly switches from
 German into English, though clearly the
 man at the other end doesn't understand
 English well. He had heard a slight
 click which meant that someone was
 listening in. He is a brave man.
 Trying to get the truth told to Hinderburg
 through the regular services. There may
 be a frame up against him. They
 will stop at nothing, for pay, etc.

Liberty. May Day is a Jewish invention.
 He is contemptuous of the intimidated
 rabbits. He also protected butchers

against the Beuthen murder last July,
when Hitler wired congratulating the
murderers.

He has, too, a sense of humor, & great
personality & driving power. Perhaps
perhaps, very businesslike.

People were kept awake by the screams
of the Nazi victims in their barracks
at night - one was in Kantstrasse!

The victims were buried at night, &
the undertaker dares not mention the
names.

Haken went to Hindenburg's son
dellin latter said "Yes, the first
was her mentioned names." That
making is done.

Haken has a keen opinion of Prussia,
was both Grotz & under home to
N. Antler how Haken was engaging
in political intrigues.

Jäckle, was seen to be seen to

make Wipfanda was Hitler first became
Chancellor, is asked. The Nerventia is
devoting its children.

I bring away letters for Haken & his
sister in law. The ~~at~~ story
conspiracy, & looking over the shoulder, is
overwhelming.

Back to my work with D.T.

"Geistige Gleichschaltung" says the Nazi
ideal in education. There is something
of this, too, in the Economic Dept at the
School of Economics!

The conditions in the two concentration
camps in N. Berlin are said by the
Socialist friend of this to be
fairly decent.

In the Alexander Platz was an anti-
war private museum, showing the
effect of war on the human body. The
Nazis have destroyed this, & turned it
into a barracks for themselves.

One begins an terribly persistent
emphatic beggar in Berlin, - many
young & ~~some~~ bourgeois.

And there was a lad who sang
in a distinct manner going out to
Waussee, & then came forward
& stood with a strained look, not
begging, but waiting to see if
anyone would take any notice of
him. I gave him a mark. Then
he jumped out of his place, & marched
off with splendid shoulders.

I leave tonight by the night train.
No customs or currency examination
in any shape. I wake up in
Holland, with a sense of freedom.
Germany is horrible. It seems
war must be fought now among
the probabilities of the next few years.
We were right out with life on
breeding!

1/5/33.

Put it at 4 grey coat garden, a dingy
but adequate little flat for a month.

2/5/33

Wesley very hot & active to do
something for German academic victims.
His dynamic qualities seem here.

4/5/33.

Have a talk with Griffiths in his
chambers at my own request. That
was depressing! He has no judgment
at all, & over-simplifies everything into
Capitalists & workers. He seems to
be unaware of nationalist positions
on a number of points.

He thinks there is a grave danger
of Fascism in his country; but that - with
the "Justitia" sufficing even to the
Fascists; but Winston with Justitia
defeat him first on India and
Spain & form a sort of a union with

a majority in his Parliament, & then
 "introduce Russian measures" & "there
 will be no more general elections"
 I say that this seems to me fantastic,
 & profoundly undesirable. He says he
 thinks the King will be persuaded by
 his entourage that he would be
 better than a socialist Govt.

Cripps also talks a good deal
 about the League; he thinks that
 Labour support of the League will consist
 in the approval of whatever is decided
 only the word Economic Conference,
 which is "summed up by the League" &
 amount "bolstering up Capitalism"

He always wants us to prepare
 machinery & proclaim its existence
 beforehand, to declare a General
 strike against sending munitions to
 Japan if she attacks Russia. He
 asks whether Germany & Poland might

not join in attacking Russia.

He says ^{perhaps} Kagan ^{is} everywhere in this
 country, in his becoming Ellen Willmer's
 meeting at Oxford, in French's plea
 for introducing an Open Arm into the
 House, in a letter in the Times
 praising Mussolini by Thomson &
 Philip Dawson.

I argue with him a little, but
 without making any impression. I
 think this man is really
 becoming a dangerous fanatic. It
 may become a duty to prevent
 him from holding any influential
 position in the Party.

He never knows a good point
 from a bad one, as Wilfred Deane
 wisely said to Hally.

11/5/33

Lastie says he hears from an
 inside source (he will not be mentioned)

fragments source to tell his name to G.L.,
 (Cripps & myself) that members of
 Govt are discussing the advisability
 of not having a General Election in
 1936, nor till such later date as the
 Govt advises the King that we can
 now safely return to party politics.
 They are sure, he says, that the
 Economic Conference will be a failure,
 & doesn't see the country after that
 with the prospect of "over winning".
 I express a certain scepticism,
 (this is a variant of Cripps' tale,
 which made India & Washington the
 pivots,) and suggest that the
 electioneering should be not yet
 unduly nervous of our strength in the
 constituencies, (2) that, as Mr. P. M. K.
 has still 3 1/2 years to run (he thought
 it was only 2 1/2, but I correct his
 arithmetic), there is no need to take

such a decision for some years yet,
 (3) that, ⁱⁿ ~~as~~ ^{the} King's apt ^{about} ~~against~~ the
 King refusing to play under a Labour
 Govt, so here, he leaves out an
 important consideration, - the
 danger to the person making ^{unconscionable}
 innovation that he will stir up
 sleeping forces of the far right,
 or the other, or the other may be.

He doesn't, I feel, understand the
 English. And his love of
 gossiping, untruthfully & spitefully,
 takes many forms.

12/5/33

Sit mine to lunch, with little Winta,
 the Czech. C is a sensible fellow,
 with a wide range of interests
 in many. He says that in
 Germany the collapse of the Socialist
 & T.V. Movement is the more
 inexplicable, because there were

said to be plans fully worked out, through
 Russian only to half a dozen inside
 people for a General Strike & for
 the destroying power stations, etc,
 if a Fascist Dictatorship was
 attempted. Local Comrades,
 enquiring what to do, were told
 that everything had been thought
 out & that, at the right moment,
 the call would be issued. ---
 had there something went wrong. ---
 Perhaps the leaders felt it was
 too good, after the elections had
 given Hitler & ~~Hindenburg~~ ^{Hindenburg} ~~Hitler~~
 a majority. ~~But before the~~
 Perhaps for Reichstag
 first parallel & fight against
 them. ^{higher on the sky} ~~It is like a~~
 steamroller going over a worm.
 Citron & I both very hot apart
 in culminating latest number of
 the New Union, which is ~~concerning~~

(E. Castro said that German TV leader begged
 him not to attack Nazis: "I would make
 it harder for them to make peace"
 without the consent of the Cavities.)

In the afternoon I see Small Stock,
 of whom in 1926 I have vivid
 memories - a woman flat, once
 myod, President Levitski & his
 Kijivsk, - & the Black Sea Quay.
 I attribute the primary SS in
 London was to that of Kosenberg.
 SS is a typical Slav intriguer,
 childishly unpractical, - ~~and he~~
 paints me a picture that might
 come out of Siegfried's Imperial
 Treasure
 He is an adherent of a Ukrainian
 Social Democratic Republic (President
 Levitski). This would include,
 at least, the Ukrainian districts
 of Poland, & the Soviet Ukraine. But
 he is not without dreams of

"fascating" he will write Kuterina,
Lithuania, the Don & Kuban
Cossacks, the N-Caucasus & Terek.

He wants the Zulusen Party to
suffer, in the name of democracy,
the creation of such a state. ^{He is} ^{the} ^{enemy} ^{of} ^{the} ^{democracy}
The masses have been not so much
in Hitler's dictatorship, because
they haven't destroyed the Communism.
Moscow is confident that when
Hitler fails to deliver Paradise,
then they will be in Germany,
which, disillusioned with Hitler, will
be Communist.

But the SS complains of the revolt
to Levitski. First, the General
Shoropadski, now lives in Berlin
(Wannsee) on a subsidy from
Hitler, doing a Ukrainian
Kingdom, of which he is the King.

and in touch with the Grand Duke Cyril,
also in Berlin, who wants the
Bar of a restored Russian Empire.
S. he says is also in touch through his
agent Korostovits, in London, with
defending & attacking (Peggy &
Lubliner) "The Investigator".

Second, Makolui, an American citizen,
married to an American wife, living in
London in the Ukrainian Bureau.
He is really the son of an E.
Galician peasant, but passes
himself off as Prince Kazimowski,
a descendant of the last Hetman
of the Ukraine. He subsidizes
the Ukrainian University & Museum
in Prague.

SS has been Colonel Crossfield of
Whitby, he tried to affiliate
in Ukrainian pro-Soviet movement
Fidac. And Crossfield thought he
was in Shoropadski's camp! It was
humiliating!

14/5/33.

Wine R to High & Over, Amersham. The best modern house we've seen. The interior, with few exceptions, most attractive. But the site is ~~not~~ suburban, the view, (most part of it remains ^{Windsor}) precarious & in danger of being built over, ~~and~~ the aeroplane wings on the roof neither useful nor beautiful, & much of the interior detail extra-weak. Connell, the young N.Z. architect, was having his first shot here.

But, when all is said in criticism, it is a delightful creation. All the children are being charming, & so is their small daughter. Before catching a train at Baker Street, ~~we~~ took visit Madame Tussaud's; — ~~hideous~~ repulsive & hideous beyond even the muddiest dream, — a fine foil for High & Over.

18/5/33

May Substantiated to lunch. She says

that Griffiths has an adolescent mind in economics & politics.

Personally, when I meet nothing by Westminster Abbey ⁱⁿ the evening in the House, says the fort will be the country on a Nat'l level, with MacDonald on p.m. in a safe Tory seat. It is about 2 years time, unless they become frightened & waiting so long, will come back with a reduced majority, fighting the election on an unprofitable terrain, lack of good names. The discount, the Griffiths' phantoms of a further victory on India next Spring, (2 no election), & still more Hamilton's "Capitalism won't allow an election in 1936" stuff.

The young Mosley has been carrying on with women lately. (Lady Cynthia died in a nursing home yesterday)

including the daughter of Lord Mergal (Prinzen)
who is having a divorce. ---

Kreitscheid told me last night that
it was his heavy Nazi vote in the
election, (marched by the Reichstag
fine), that justified the TV. Leader of
declaring a general strike, for which,
they said, all was prepared.

29/5/33 - 2/6/33.

Conference in London on "One State
Even our life", - Institute of Intellectual
Co-Op., - continuation of last year at
Milan. Better documentation than
at Milan, but the material
importance of these beans is doubtful.

A rather large swarm of foreigners
than last year. Salta tried to
be ineffective, - talk shot.

I make one speech, in the course of
which I warn the Germans that all
aspects of their "national revolution" are

being closely watched in their countries etc,
having praised certain German books
on Russia, "different countries have
different national pastimes. In the
United States they brew the coffee; in
Brazil they brew the coffee; in
Germany they brew the books. Now
I can assure our German friends
that copies of these valuable German
books will still be available for
serious students in English libraries."
This pleases the French! And the
Americans!

June 3rd.

Write R to Paris.

Stay at Hotel Bisson, Quai des Grand
Augustins 37, - a most charming
situation. Looking down on the
bosquists from a kind floor window,
like a René Clair film, - I was
in half of the way to the Palais de

Justice, & down to visit Notre Dame.
Very sunny & hot.

Dine at the Meise du Toulouse, - 2nd in
old mansions.

June 4th.

The Champ Elysees are looking very
beautiful in the sunshine. The fountain
at the formal line of trees & streets,
and give joy & peace.

Lunch at the Colonne. Taken in for
half the meal by the optical illusion
of the mirror. Dine at the Toston, in
Montmartre (Rue Carabotti) out of
Boulevard Cligny. Rognon flambée.
Then to Volpone, well acted. but too
long intervals.

June 5th.

To Cité Universitaire. Dutch
building much the best. One French too
hideous to drink! A mix up,
but a good idea, - provided the

international section don't stay isolated.

This Montsouris Park is attractive.

In the evening to the garden in the night, -
full of colour & vitality.

June 6th.

So round the Chamber with Lezjak.
Feeling in the socialist group is
strained, - visibly displeased.
How steadily shall they support the
Daladier government?

Dine with R at a Greek Restaurant
off the Boulevard. The waiter -
a young Greek woman some might find
attractive, brings me an envelope
note to be deciphered. Address to -
"M?", - "You will think me a
Swine, but the truth is that I am
very ^{impatient} & very sentimental, & when
I ^{forget} ^{what} ^{fact} ^{is} ⁱⁿ ^{its} ^{place}, I
simply ^{forget} ^{it}. O - Price."
This causes great amusement
at our table. & the next.

June 7th.

Lunch with Kappé, & subject to Ecole
Normale.

June 8th.

Talk with Renaudel at the Chambre. He
claims so supportively out of 130, ~~40~~ ⁴⁰ are with
Moulin & so doubtful. He has always been
for participation; failing this, for separation
for Daladier. Although to force socialist
Minister would impose much policy; outside
they can do much less. But to fall of
Daladier would mean a movement to
the right. R. Blum's "the officials"
is exciting feeling against the party
pursued by the majority of his defectors.
And he blames Blum for pursuing
a doctrinaire policy of unreality. There
will be a new set to the next party
congress, in July, & if they vote to
expel one or two, all the majority
will stand together. Communist. In Sept.

is anxious for conciliation, because, if he
loses the Radical vote in his constituency,
he will be "on the stones."

Done with Lambert. He states "the
French case" with so much emphasis
as to be irritating. Why do we, the
Americans, visit Paris every few weeks
& ask France to disarm? Look at
Hitler. One German on his legs;
millions lying in ill. France has
a war lasting in 2 or 3 years. They
don't believe England or America will
help them. They can deal with
the situation in case of any peace
treaty arrangements. America & England
are mystical about disarmament.
The Japanese affair has shattered all
faith in the Covenant.

A German ^{socialist} woman defected from the
Swiss in a bus after the last
Reichstag meeting; why didn't she
die in the Reichstag? Her socialist had

been warned beforehand, that, if any of the
 of the against Hitler, he would not ^{leave} the
 Reichstag alive.

C speaks of the memory of the German
 "civil" air forces. Ray (said) during
 London & Paris in a report. And
 the German in the same capable of
 this. But, in a few years time,
 especially in the relative quantity
 of the German & Japanese. France will
 be stronger. (I say this is contrary
 to the view I have ^{often} heard but that
 Germany is seeking a delay of 5 or 10
 years, because she will be stronger then.)

C talks on, at tedious length,
 though not quite witlessly. Democracy
 must have itself more capable than
 dictatorship. --- If the Government
 participated, there would be a dictatorship,
 of the left in the Chamber for some
 years. (How we misuse words!) ...

France marchant vers le (it would be easy,
 & no one would ^{so boldly} ~~not~~ stop us, though they
 might abuse us.) but would mark the
 end of Democracy in France for half a
 century. Daladier says he can only find
 time to work when Parliament
 is in vacation. ^{is in vacation. but a condemnation}
 June 9 of ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Parliamentary} ~~method~~!

Hear Debate in Chamber on foreign
 policy (from the same part) and on
 world economic conference. The first
 has a large majority, - the Socialists
 voting for them. L'objet explique t me
 that the votes are given by the Secretaries
 of the each group, on behalf of the whole
 group, including members now are absent.
 (G. M. was absent today, & would
 at the group meeting would decided
 to support the first. But his vote was
 given with the others. Harvey says
 that deputies often write afterwards
 to "rectify", i.e. to reverse their votes!)
 Daladier, son of a historical baker,

makes a good impression. He is clear & concise, without oratorical pretension.

Flandin is a good debater, with a fine presence & a neat wit. He said only speaks very shortly, rather embarrassed, promising his support of "my party", - a phrase here repeated. Very vain, but say. Frossard puts in Socialist case, also shortly, & with great vigor & much counter attack.

Louis Marin, small & old & plain, with a white mustache, & Franck Brullon, also small & with white mustache, speak interminably, in do one or two stories. Not all these have the French sense of form & order. I am surprised how bad & how little better than English "oration" the worst are.

There is no respect for the chair. One Chairman (Kruissen) rings his ^{bell}.

2 raps his gavel, 2 raps, 2 shouts, 2 (articulate) or interupts. That with little visible result. (That Louquet says he is considered a very good President.)

The uninteresting speaker are heard by a continuous buzz of conversation.

Applause is by clapping of hands.

One gallery are full. (I have a good place in the President's gallery in the Centre.) Many women in the gallery.

Dine afterwards with Louquet. He says they had a very noisy Party meeting. One Resaudel section very aggressive, alleging that attempts were to be made to victimise one or two of them, & that they would all stand by one another.

June 10th.

The card of Alphand, rather good looking young man set Ministry of Finance, & spend an hour or two in the library.

Lunch with K with Oliva Harvey, Campbell,
 Leaking ill & tired, & Peake, Snow
 & another exp. & intelligent, I think,
 with a wife not too expensive or not
 different. Her Campbell very standard.

All praising Daladier, & denigrating
 Boncompagni. ^{Can't see why the French would say}
^{that have the idea of destroying any governments.}
 Dine with Bonnets at Restaurant

Chauland, Place de la Valade. Food
 awfully good. Also present ^{Deltos} ~~del~~ base.
 Radical socialist deputy, vice President of the
 Chamber; now represents Périgord. He was
 in Russia last summer, & hated the food
 & the dogs! "Le maximum de désordre
 avec le maximum d'organisation." No
 fear of Fascism in France he says.
 (Lamar had said that any attempt at a
 private army would be instantly
 suppressed. If Hitler & Mussolini had
 been suppressed at the beginning, neither
 Germany nor Italy would have gone wrong.)

The Bonnets are both charming, but, perhaps,
 K says, one soon comes to work on the
 other side. Bonnet has to read
 danger & war is in the Far East where
 the Japanese have their eyes on Vladivostok
 & the maritime provinces.

June 11th.

Very jolly day at Fontainebleau.
 Out by excursion train, crowded with
 cheerful people, some dressed like
 the facade of the Palais is good, particularly
 the lower part of the staircase. Inside
 it is less ornate & opposite to
 Versailles. ~~There is~~ The rooms are
 smaller, & there is much good woodwork
 which softens the effect of Empire
 style.

We take our lunch with the forest.
 Wood is very attractive, - birches,
~~cedars~~ pines & junipers & flowering
 plants. We liberate some young
 pines from their wires which they have
 outgrown. (See forestry!)

June 12th

[It is significant that the French have no word for "efficiency". It is an English conception.]

As to Planning, the Arc de Triomphe, begun in 1806, though not finished till Louis Philippe, was said to be "right out in the country." People laughed at Napoleon, & said no one would ever go there. But it fixed a line & a plan, & now they propose to continue a straight avenue for two miles beyond it.

P. Morand in his London speaks of Wren's plan for London, which would have turned its back on the river or north.

10.30 See Pierre Cot, Minister of the Young, (36), energetic, internationally minded. But we are still pessimistic today! If the disarmament conference really starts, it will be a catastrophe. Their formula is disarmament, by stages & with control.

He does not lack Germany has, at the moment, an air force capable of taking a serious offensive. What in a few years? It has the intention of control. ^{But France} They are willing to stop all new construction of forbidden weapons, & to consider destruction of a large part of their existing stocks, in proportion to the success of control.

Then to Parodi, - Catalan Salvador's assistant at the Council Nationale Economique. Intelligent, & clear in his exposition of the Council's duties. - Salvador is largely responsible for its success so far. He has removed mistrust between the two sides, & also the fear of Parliament that the Council would claim too great powers.

Lunch with force. The officials at the Unai d'orsay are terribly slow, & uncooperative of any change of policy since

the victory of the left last year. At the Ministry most are military. The heads are always threatening to resign. "Chamberlain perpetuated."

See Seydoux at head of Sciences Politiques. Rather a dead alive institution, I think. Membership of preparation for Foreign Office, & some membership for Ministry of Finance & Conseil de Etat. Cost high. Few scholarships. Some women, but not good at general ideas; only at memorizing. Most of the teaching economics done by part time people engaged in public service, banks, etc. (Naudin says teaching is old fashioned liberal.)

See Valensi, Marseillais Chef du Cabinet at the Ministry of Public Works. I gather not little is being done. & that of his little, he knows no detail. But he is anxious

to assist me.

Dine with the Cher Renault & Cher la Citoyenne Renault. Plenty to eat & drink. She is very nice, like a ^{typical} "habron" wife, but with no sense of constraint. He is less attractive. He has a case for substituting the job, but he doesn't also, I think, because he wants office before he is too old. He defends France, rather unconvinced. He is "happy", he says. Elective seeing stories, etc. He had tea today with the Peabody. Awful picture of 5 tea parties in one afternoon with diplomats wives with whom must attend. French ^{social} women talking endlessly about clothes. English talking to each other in a corner. A futile life. Meeting no one new matter, or is interesting. Rather life. Selling little food out of Paris. Moving in a silly little groove, & living

too extensively.

June 13th.

9.30 See Keedman.

10.30 -- Maisencelle (Post-Unionist)
Old man with white beard.

11.30 .. Sir R. Cahill. MR &

scallan & very reactionary. I don't believe he ever meets anyone with left. He says he left ^{really} without inflation. (This, I think, is just a lie.); there is no will to govern at present; they should have reduced the pay of functionaries; the reaction have to pay more to their lords, etc. Had importance

of banking contracts heightened!

1. Delightful lunch with Vieuchet in modern studio flat (5 Rue Cognac-
Jay & Vieuchet) here just also there.

and Habs, near an ^{university} ^{university} ^{university}
Vieuchet is very intelligent & right minded & friendly individual
German. Very shocked at British

left, refused to agree to nationalization of manufacture of armaments.

5 See Baunoy, - roads & electricity based on water power. A Communist official. They are gradually electrifying railways, & making a grid.

On last evening in Paris. The Union of the Unions! R. has invited to Ambassade du Navigation, close by. Cost 35-40 francs a day for a double room.

Drank a glass of Muscat de Sémus with my dinner.

June 21st.

Tea with Phil at New University Club. He is clearly near to parting from Uncle. The adjournment of the Disarmament Conference for 3 months, which Uncle has been persuaded to accept. (His presumed talks with foreign P.M.'s at the Economic Conference having come to nothing.) he looks
disheartened.

July 14th - 16th

Silly at W.L. Very eager & affectionate, but talks too much about Japan & his inevitable failure in Disarmament Conf. Has been seeing ^{London} intellectuals of various sizes in London, how well his talk have "dropped out", "ceased to count", etc. My work, apart from with father to himself, may mean that I've refrained from taking part in these silly copy-messing publicity & vote-scaring hysterics about "Dictatorship", etc. I tell him where my strength lies in the Party, & where lies weakness.

July 17th - 20th

Walk with R through the Cotswolds Cirencester - Bourton - Bibury - up Coln Valley (Abingdon - Coln St Denis) to Fossebridge (Sheep). Then through Compton Abdale - Salpetera - Guiting - to Ford (Sheep 2 in pub at the place)

Then over Sudeley Hill to which come to back. Then to Chipping Camden, & through Broadway to Worcester to stay two nights with the Reeves.

One Cotswold country has some lovely villages, but disappoints me a little. No wide views coming down, & the trees are almost too fat, & Broadway an aesthetic horror, - with a hand weaving shop which I mention "Sunday's Home from Home". But Chipping Camden is a place & there are lovely gardens at Abingdon & Clarks.

August 18th

To Paris for L.S.I. Conference, returning till August 22nd. Rather a sad & intellectual affair. One German Socialist collapse in the program. I speak for our delegation, & am tempted to have done well. I claim that democracy isn't

beaten yet - not even seriously threatened
in his country when it was before
war. Disarmament plus control.

Hitter should be handed before the League
for conduct towards Austria & Soviet
Rearmament. Economic sanctions

against aggressors would ^{make} ^{with} ^{criticism of opinion} ^{practical} ^{united as with} ^{Hitter.}
sanctions unnecessary.

How old G.L. feels he's too old man
out in our delegation, & for how
early. He says he'll like me to go
to Vienna for Hitler, & relations with the
old man of ~~the~~ value non-resistance.
No fear!

Lunch with Renard, and Henri
Hauk, & visit Communist Club at
Villajoy.

August 23rd.

Speak for Vuch at Clay Cross.
Havin is making a ridiculous fuss in
the back row, because the Smiths want

the candidate.

Sept 18.

To B.A. Stay at Glendon with ~~Bevan~~.

Philip Bevan, wife & wife.

Sept 2nd.

To A. Sala with Tom Williams.

Sept 3rd.

Leeds. Youth demonstration with Maurice
Wells. Very good stunt.

Sept 4th.

Spain article at Daily Worker. This
impression is for a fortnight.

Sept 16th-17th.

Mendelssohn at W.L. Very nice &
intelligent.

Sept 29th.

I start for Hastings. One long summer
is over, & I've written for long time I'd
hoped. One Island beach is indeed, family
well on. But I've done terribly little,
except in rough sketches, & my own best.
But the sun has shown pleasure early, & I
have stood up mental & physical failures.

Sept 29th - October 6th.

At- Hiking. The devil of a week! I am right in everything, including the preparatory work with the groups & standing orders etc.

The Conference is very healthy, & no first class discord develops. Some critics to E.C. is weak, & too conciliatory, or too "opportunist". And if he had taken the other line, some of these same critics would have called us reactionaries!

Like Jellison at Jutland, we turn away from the amount of the Socialist League, E.C. undertaking that he will consider their ideas & report next year.

My luck was in this year, & I had a great success. I was continually in the picture, & scored practically full marks, in the sound judgment of the delegates, every time.

I came in (1) with Maltcotti fund, (2) in reply to an unexpected attack by

Ellis Smith of the Parliamentarian, on my speech in August in Paris, (3) moving second half of S.C.P. report, - on ^{N.1.1.1.} banking, raising standards & planned development, - and in conciliatory handling of amendments, votes, (4) accepting anti-war resolution.

My popularity ~~is~~ is rather surprising. I come out top of my lecture to E.C., with a record vote.

Dalton	2,097,000	
Dallas	1,619,000	
Murphy	1,477,000	
Table	1,171,000	
Trevilgan	946,000	
<hr/>		
Hill	744,000	Addison 393,000
Jenkins	657,000	Stevins 381,000
Morgan Jones	451,000	& 5 others.
Raynes	441,000	
Markham	437,000	
Mills	408,000	

This is only one change. Traveling for Jan. 3.
 In the TV, 2 Women's sections no change,
 though Footwipe now has been half right
 at some Ed. meetings & delayed
 & disturbed the proceedings, is only just
 in 1 - Sarah & Collick running up.
 In the other section

William	1,459,000
Lashi	748,000
Kirkwood	141,000

This is one in the eye to ideology,
 (Eileen's patent.)

We elect Footwipe vice chairman for
 the coming year, but his future is a
 little precarious, I feel.

During his week I sleep short,
 never getting to bed before 2.30 &
 being called at 8.

On the last night, I sit up all
 night & get up at 6 am. So eat with

3 young Jews, - Dan Franchel, Steve
 Jeger & Leslie Levin of Manchester, -
 to climb the hills beyond the
 town. We see the ^{down} ~~sun~~
 over the sea. Symbolic?

I have a sense of strength on
 a summit of this conference.

 Schaefer Team peaceful coming to awareness
 of genocide in U.S. Finishing off
 Voluntary Reports, - mostly at W.L.
 set young Policy Sub Committees,
 & members of persons making
 memoranda.

Long correspondence with Zilly, who
 is trying to persuade Uncle to
 attend the Disarmament Conference.
 But he is still undecided when
 R & I start for Sweden on December
 9th. She having planned, the day
 before, a lake cruise of 1000
 & Skumb from Seattle in very cold weather

their development programme. Pres of
 the Director of State Bank, elected
 by Riksdag, are socialists. They
 get \$400 million in foreign \$ 1800.
 First Chamber, chosen by local
 authorities, retires one eighth every
 year. He & Vangt have tried to
 get A-H. to work here, 2nd try again
 next year. He wants to show go
 on to the bitter end with the conference.

In Sweden traffic keeps to the left.
 the only country with European road
 to keep in step with us! They have 28
 socialist papers, 4 more 20 dailies. The
 Ny Tid in Stockholm has a circulation of
 30,000. Norland Krampin is
 a snapper made from pine wood
 pulp. (Generally snappers from
 potato) ~~starch~~. Few working class
 children go to university. Free education,
 but no scholarships subsidizes the rich.

without helping the poor. No drive to
 raise school age above 14. They
 have ^{part-time} continuation schools. This plants
 the edge of the demand for continued
 full time educⁿ.

No Catholicism in Sweden. Just as
 Vasa standard them all. Therefore
 Protestant pastor can be socialist,
 & church not antagonistic to socialism.

Several Swastika flags flying in
 street Göteborg. They are stronger
 here than anywhere else in Sweden.
 But even here, not strong enough
 subsidized from Germany. There
 are several sections now for each
 street. One first has forbidden them,
 a few months ago. to wear uniforms.
 No objection raised to them in
 Parliament by other parties.

Communists not in parliament, large
 number L.P.H., large number of members

Parliament, 7 national movements (not affiliated to Russia) & 2 major Communist. Socialists have majority in all towns of any size. Under Communist electoral system, they would sweep the country. Royal is socialist & so is Johanna, a young economist.

In Sweden no man can buy spirits (without paying 1.50) without a ~~license~~ ~~book~~ of ration book. And no man can get a ration book, unless he has paid his income tax. Same revenue office controls both. (Great a good idea for Korea!)

Radio partly under state, partly under them. Workers Educ' Assoc' has an hour on radio every Sunday. ~~Workers~~ People's High Schools in country, about 50. Workers for Peace for 6 months or more.

December 12th.

Leave Göteborg 8.52 am. by electric

main line to Stockholm. Very good & comfortable & rising carriage. Pine & birch woods nearly all the way, ^{many} lakes, & red wooden houses. Nearly every village seemed to have a factory chimney, but what a decentralized industry!

Arrive at Stockholm at 2.50, - a perfect approach, across three bridges, with the City Hall standing, very Venetian, on our left. No slums, no sprawling ^{suburbs} suburbs, & no smoke.

(No city of more than a million inhabitants should exist anywhere.)

Then Scandinavians, especially in woods, are civilized Norwics. Something like the the Germans might have been, if not diseased with dictatorship, & militarism, & plants, & farms & mountains.

Hotel Stockholm, in Norrmalmstorg, is the 6th 27th floors of a tall building. Very

Jolly view
modern. Glass. Fitted cupboards. Hummable
quads. Good to live in. And only
5th in day each. with own own bath room.
Two restaurants, one on the top floor, &
kitchen store down below, helandus.

Prices of meat, even here in the
Capital, are only 1.50 to 2.00 for
three courses. (Even on the main
lunch was only 2.25 to 2.75). The
cheapness of life here is astonishing.
Partly it is because few are rich.
to bid up standards.

December 13th ^{outside} to depend of first.

Look at City Hall. Quite as good
as I had imagined. Lovely loggia with
view out over the water.

Talk to two conservative journalists,
with Vanner. Well informed on
British position.

Dine at ^{modern flat;} Myrdal's; charming &
intelligent couple, & a nice party,

(Maria-Maurer)

including Wiggens, Wshlin, Heckler (old
roy economist, historian) & others
(Wshlin is daughter of Capital)
of the etc. Myrdal has succeeded
Cassel; Ohlin has succeeded Heckler,
but as an economist.
December 14th.

knave to spend Christmas at Getz,
recommended last night.

Call on Sandher at P.O. had a
good lunch there. Socialist Minister
are! Immediately in front of me
was Kollontai, still Belshin
Minister here. He looks well
should go on a bit longer at
Geneva. He is afraid of the weakening
of the league by the such ideas as
Mussolini's. He thinks the present
British government is very backward
about the league. He knows how
MacDonald dislikes the small
Norway. He fears we shall make

too many conscientious Germans.

Lecture in the evening on "Political
Economic Conditions in England" to
small but select audience of workers.
Lecture translated (but is rather slow
later in the evening.) Very sympathetic
audience. Many of them "solid & stable"
Trade Unions. Chair taken by a
big fair Viking of a man. At the
end they all rise & give four
cheers for me & the British Labour
Movement. Rah-rah-rah-rah.
Very hot!

A Nazi meeting is being held in
Stockholm tonight. It is said to be
crowded. I am not quite happy
about this.

Earlier in the evening a note is
left on me at the Hotel from the
Swedish Hotel & Restaurant Employees
Union, Branch No 2 Stockholm.

stating that "the Hotel Stockholm at which
you at present are staying, is declared
in boycott & blockade, because the
management will not admit to the
demands of our Union & rights. we
request of you the Dalton, our
representative of the British Labour
Party to respect our demands and
after taking part of this note you
will not remain at the Hotel any
longer."

This is a bore, for it is a
cheap, comfortable & modern place.
December 15th.

see Pauli in his office, & hear
after the Party difficulties with the
left wing. There is a certain
right wing emphasis in much
of the official talk.

Lecture in the evening at the
University on "Some Thoughts on

Economic Planning: My audience includes Wiffers & Sundler, & the Kritisk Minin (Umb Kan) with Sitta & Altsche. Now the Secretary to the German Legation, whom I met in Moscow in the summer of 1932.

I talk part theory & part practice, with some dig at individuals and Marx, - & some compliments to Sweden.

Then adjourn to an economists' supper. Presided over by Ohlberg who is, like the rest of them, young & self-armed. But a little out to make, I think. Much less sympathetic than Myrdal.

O & M both smile at our little gang in London. They have both passed through the B-15, Ministry of Finance, & come out on the other side; they have had their "meat", when

young. This, they now regard as one of many schools, whom it is interesting to take account of, but silly to accept so wholeheartedly.

December 16th

sleep late. With R to City Hall at 12 o'clock. Even Lovelia inside town out. Marble, wood, mosaics ---- painted concrete even color ~~not~~ very effective.

Lunch with Wiffers. He is disappointed at the effect of the Public Works Policy, so far, on the Private Market. But the building strike, lasting some time, has upset the programme. He will have to improve more variation in housing (see). He is working of a graduated property tax (for which the assessment already exists.) The rate is low on Capital valuation.

which is psychologically important.
 What will be future British trade
 policy be? I say that it is difficult
 like me, - free trade is dead, but
 I hope we may have regulation on
 a quantitative basis - but expanding
 system.

He is a mobile, academically
 minded little man, teetotal, - a
 little like Wally Graham or the
 Riley in face. He shows me
 a passage from Engels, - after
 expropriation of the capitalist, we
 shall have freedom & be freed from
 the bondage of necessity. Oh, he
 thinks, bears on my lecture of last
 night. It was a passage they often

quoted when they were young.

He is in evening with R to the
 pictures. Swedish film. Rather
 unattractive, but attractive type &

Scenery. Good looking people there! The
 film, - ^{the} scene of course is in the Swedish
 countryside, - is preceded by jolly
 pictures of skiing & ~~the~~ forests.
 And the cinema is lit by a moon,
 over the arched line, & stars, & the
 balconies covered with lovely red gay
 embroidery on ~~the~~ faded red background.
 December 17th.

Sunday. I yesterday was interviewed by two
 officials of the Hotel & Restaurant
 Employees Union & myself interviewed
 the Manager - wrote to the Lady, Van
 Arpi - that she is responsible for my
 decisions! It seems that there have
 been various rows between the
 management & the Union, - over the
 dismissal of two left men, over
 wages, etc. I don't want to
 move until I have to leave
 Stockholm, & I would like to help

the Union. So I threaten the
 Manager, who is rather patriotic &
 has no power, with the new
 Minister in London, & the British
 Minister in Stockholm, & many other
 penalties of obduracy.)

For the R to SKansen. Very
 attractive under snow. Kiosk &
 cafe, wooden dwellings, &
 lovely lunch at Stögylstet. -
 two helpings of julbord - sat
 part among other delicacies. Then
 reindeer sauti, with cream
 sauce, - but the reindeer is not
 very interesting without the sauce.
 It lives, R says, only on moss.

After lunch walk through
 park like country beside the
 water. - Sunset clear at 3-30! -
 to Djungelundströmen. Moss on
 way back in the wood, & some

back to Stockholm by bus.

Within a few minutes bus ride from
 the centre of the city you can
 lose your way in a little pine
 wood! One definite optimum
 size of a town.

I am much impressed by the
 sense of social equality here. Waiters
 are as well dressed as clients, & some
 sometimes take off their hats when
 leaving restaurants! Good manners.
 Women neither powder nor paint, but
 many succeed in looking very
 attractive. Many of the exercises
 fall, & standard of physical health
 seems very high.

I wish there were 60 million
 Swedes in the world, & only 6 million
 Germans!

Myrdal & Dnie, Rik-à-Rik,
 at ~~Hotel~~ Restaurant Freden in

the Old Town, - the property of the Swedish Academy. Next door they printed the first bank note in 1530.

We dined & talked till after midnight. He has been a member of the Socialist Party for two years. The young in Sweden have few outlets. Hence a spirit of jealousy. The old are in danger also of being jealous of the young. Carl was a great exception to this. He is so self sufficient that he is jealous of no one.

Sweden should join more closely with Norway & Denmark, though his word only give 12 million population (60% + 40%), & have a foreign policy of peace. A small power can say things that ought to be said, but that great powers cannot say.

We talk on economic theory. A planned economy could be better, avoid serious fluctuations, - though it

is important
 proportion to its external trade it would be handicapped by the existence of an unbalanced outer world. The immediate policy, however, must be to create a stable situation, & a stable financial is not enough for this. There must also be stable relations between savings & investments & control of short term, as well as long term, capital movements.

He saw Vrede once, & admired him because he was so obviously uninterested in a mere official reception. Good

It is best, he thinks, to stabilize money on a fixed base, as naturally inevitable, of money wages & retail price level. One letter is better than a hundred, but is by nature unstable, long better than an international standard.

May Maxwell be some recovery from his work, but not on his

Indignities of unflamed capitalism will
increase. - permanent recovery. There
will be another, & perhaps a worse
collapse after a few years.

The Swedish left will probably last
for some time. The key is its relations
with the peasant party. "Oskarsson"
is a simple man, but a political
genius. He has shown great skill in
allocating posts in the party. His focus
is much the most academic of all
socialist leaders, "much more
academic than for some". Moeller
is interested in drink, women &
the political machine. Breathing,
now built the party up, was a
wealthy man, friendly with generals,
etc., unscrupulous socially. Those
whom he patronized round him were
young. Hence the present young
Ministry - practically all under 50.

But how old will they be in 10 or 15
year time! There will be a danger of
stagnation at the top.

Sweden is inclined to look eastward
well as west. Her relations with
Sov. are very friendly. If England
breaks her badly in trade, she may
turn to Sov. & Germany. This would
be a great pity.

In U.S.A. no Englishman is ever
quite natural, nor an American natural
in his presence. But for a Swede it is
easier to be at ease, & to appreciate
the Americans. Oskarsson was kind
to each other & he liked the
atmosphere of his Faculty Clubs at
Uppsala University. But here, too,
it was a young generation whom he
was loving, he is growing old. There
was a bad case at Harvard in 1920
day when his faculty was asked to

YDc between a 150% cut in all their
 salaries, or the dismissal of 20% of
 the junior staff, & unanimously voted
 for the latter. I sent his words
 happen in England. It is very keen
 on young men getting responsibility
 early, both in academic & business
 in political movements.

He is a great character.

We drank two little bottles of
 iced punch to end a good meal.
 December 18th.

Visit the Party Office. But we
 converse under difficulty, none of them
 speaking much English.

Call on Moellen, & find Under
 with him. ~~The~~ Reference to the
 latter's case stand at Geneva
 1926. "England expects every Swedish
 Lord his duty." Under says Austin
 has now been making some good

speeches against the Nazis.

R meanwhile has been having a fine
 run round with socialist women in a
 municipal car, seeing schools, houses,
 old people's homes, etc. She has
 of lunch with a Russian ~~then~~ now
 organizes dramatic art societies, &
 coffee with Mrs Lindy, wife of Charlie
 Lindy, a well known figure in the
 International Transport World, whom
 I have met in London & now is
 an old comrade of Ben Tillet, Jimmy
 Sexton, etc.

In the evening R dined with Mrs
 Atkey, Clark-Kerr's sister, & part of a
 Swedish film, Charles XII. I dine
 at the legation to meet economic
 cafes. An extremely good dinner,
 with big pipes to season it, &
~~meets~~ all the best people, - Misses
 Rosta & Luman of the Philharmonic, Wallaby,

Oleiv. Kyrdal, (leaving at D.S.T., Væker, (recently arrived from Warsaw), B. Thomsen, looking very pleased with life, & Arntley, nephew & honorary attaché of C.K.

R & L of the Riksbank are old hands in economics, & don't think they are really making any very great experiments in managed currency. The latter is the Directorate of the Bank, nominally appointed for three years each, is generally renewed indefinitely. Most are members of the Riksdag. The Banking Committee of the latter is not a very important check on policy. It is a junior committee in the hierarchy, & members expect to be promoted to other posts. The constitutional office of the Riksdag is more authoritative, but very lax. They, & not the Banking Office, have to agree to any change in the constitution of the Bank, & I found several

a proposal some years ago to add 2 members, one an economist & one an industrialist. (Oleiv was disappointed at this!) They said they saw no need for any change. December 1945.

In the morning with Kyrdal & Thomsen to the Trade Union H.Q., and spend some hours with Sigurd Hansson & Johansson, explaining the relations of Trade Unions to the Socialist Party, & State Enterprises. Now to the Adult Education, in which they are very proud of their achievements.

Call on Lindly, - very hearty greetings, - just before lunch. With R to lunch at Sandberg's official residence. Present P.M., (Per Albin Hansson), ^{the} Sandberg, Modder, Unden & 3 Sandberg sons. What a good lot they are! Per Albin is very impressive. Skrey.

rather heavy face. Said to be a popular leader, liked by all. Very good judgment. Was on affairs & men, plays cards with generals & bowls with the Comrades. They report that he & King & the Poles are pretty easy to get on with. But there are hang-on & Comrade flunkies who are less easy.

Hansson, Sandler & Modler all joined the Party by the way at the end of 15. L have been good friends ever since. They have 80,000 members of the heaped sort & 30,000 members of Party. (Some duplication in these totals.)

I go round with Modler afternoon to his office. & receive a lot of interesting information on Public Works, Housing, Socialized Schools & Income from State Property. (These are separately noted.)

Parliament only sits for 5 months

a year (Jan - June). Apparently there is no very bitter opposition, but a spirit of give-a-take, and aptitude to work ~~in~~ representative institutions.

In a sense, these people are all very moderate. But ~~they~~ ^{they} are realist & good at ^{Band & Politics} team work. On Party, from a distance and by comparison, looks a ragged regiment. It is, perhaps, the best national fate to be a citizen of a good small town.

Dine with Clark Kerr, his sister Mrs. Ashley & the young attaché. R likes ~~the~~ CK, who is sister, & do

1. CK wants a more active job. He was Allenby's first secretary in Cairo, & loved the old man. He came under a cloud at the time of the Stack murder, after which Allenby assigned ^{CK} ~~he~~ was thought

to have investigated this. Austin suddenly told him, some years later, that there had been a black mark against his name in connection with the incidents of this period, but that this had now been removed. "Not only in my own mind, but also in that of the Working towards the Private Secretaries' room. CK asked on what the black mark had been founded. & Austin, after some hesitation, said, among other things, upon some remarks made to him by Lord Oxford, who had been staying at the Presidency at Cairo. At this CK flushed indignantly & said "What an intolerable thing, that the career of a hard working civil servant should be liable to be blacked, merely by stray gossip carried by a twaddling ~~journalist~~ ^{journalist}!" But he brought his black mark

had from the time we came in in 1929. I said I thought something still lingered. Otherwise there wd not have been an attempt to send him to Tunja, after Santiago. I had succeeded in getting him changed to a choice between Tunja & Stockholm. Selby had told him that there would be more work to do in 1933, when the big change round was due. But nothing happened.

CK is a charming & energetic fellow; his energy has no doubt upset him with authority. He hates Tyrnell. We gossip about many things & people. He thinks Van has become rather wretched & "scratchy" lately, but he is not surprising. C.K. ~~is~~ ^{is} supposed that Van will succeed Tyrnell in Paris, unless Lady Henderson still wants it. C.K. wonders Miles Lampson would be

the best Permanent Under-Secretary. I
 can't think he'd be Dickson? Ck. says not at
 all. And even he had been in the
 be, he would have been cured by
 contact with the Shanghai ladies.....

Allenby was a big man. When he
 came into the room, one knew it by
 he said nothing. Algod had always
 scream but he had arrived, to make
 people notice him. Is he a Jew or a
 Greek? Maybe a horrid little
 brunder, with a ~~thin~~ mind
 working along a thin beam line.

Ck. was Allenby's first secretary.
 Allenby said to him "I know nothing
 about politics. For that I naturally
 suppose - and you can rely on me if
 you want very heavy artillery." That
 was for the moment. Allenby named
 down all Ck's suggestions. Then he
 said "What now I've been feeling my

way." And after all he accepted practically
 every proposal that Ck. made.

There was trouble over the ultimatum
 to Zoghr. They could not agree on its
 terms with the P.O., who wanted, under
 pressure from Dickson, in Cabinet, to
 make it very stiff. ^{Solomon would have} left some looking
 marks of agreement. The Residence
 party want make it stiff in form,
 but not to leave anything looking.

They had no final draft from the P.O.
 & they heard that Zoghr was resigning
 at 5 pm. So they had their own
 draft ready & presented it at 4.55.
 At 5.30, the P.O. draft arrived - too
 late. The P.O. then sent "the
 concern & delay wire", rebuking
 them for precipitancy. Then a
 fellow called Henderson (Neville
 Henderson now at Belgrade) was
 sent out, & put over Ck's head,

Minister Manipulating. C.K. went back
 London, having much leave due to him,
 & galled in Scotland. He thought
 seriously of resigning from his service.
 He had been appointed Commissioner of
 but was dissuaded to take this,
 regarding it as a home-duty. Later
 he became Minister in Guatemala (for
 the work of Central America) & then
 went out Chile, where he married
 his little Chilean wife. He is
 sweet about her. "You need someone
 for love ---- I had no idea marriage
 was such a full time job. I haven't
 got a son yet." He is an expert,
 & refuses to follow Kennan's example
 of going regularly to his hideaway
 English Church next door
 over at first pleased his
 Russians very much. But later
 made a great fuss about his

diplomatic staff. & his expertly objective
 but. & annoyed them by always talking
 about Mexico. "The Office has to deal
 with a situation like his in Mexico."

In his months over his Moscow post,
 he lost his nerve, & so, it seems, did
 Strong, now, according to the Office,
 with better dispatch than Ovey, but
 now advised, ~~even~~ first on Strongly
 on Ovey, "Vijovon advice" & Thatcher
 was more to his confession, because
 his Russians knew that he had sold
 some secrets of his firm to the
 German competitor. C.K. doesn't
 believe any of them were spies.
 December 20th.

Had lunch with the Cabinet at
 Opera Källare. Very charming
 function. They meet once a week
 for lunch. A light meal, in a
 private upstairs room. Many talk

English. We ask them about the Nazis.
 (Noted on separate sheet.) Sandler says
 it is well known that the Macdonald
 Plan was really the Eden Plan. That
 Macdonald hadn't read it or understood
 it before making his speech to the
 Conference. Sandler & Under both
 against the begotten German food. It
 has been suggested by the Trade Union,
 but not by the Party. It is ineffective.
 In Denmark it is not even advocated.

One of the girls on one. A wonderful
 leader. I should think. Making
 the Prima Donna, & good at keeping
 the foot of the Party together. He is
 the son of a workman, & rose from
 being a clerk in the Party office.
 Had what a good plan to lunch
 together informally once a week.
 He lives in a small very modern

house. His wife doesn't go out.

He gives me two photographs one of
 the Cabinet in evening dress, - the
 other of himself being cheered by his
 supporters, immediately after taking the
 oath of office, outside the Royal
 Palace.

Correction. The Cabinet lunch
 is taken every day. Under says that
 when he had been absent for
 successive days from the lunch, the
 PM. walked into his office &
 demanded, with a frown, an
 explanation.

R the first woman ever to be
 admitted to Cabinet lunch.

Very nice dinner with Under,
 Pauli also present. V is very
 distinguished & intelligent.

They are very moderate & serious
 & compromising. Like Swedes.

No Substitution in Parliament. No one has ever been suspended. One two chambers often vote together, than joint Commission. Parliament sits two days of the week in plenary session, 2 from days in Commission.

If Budget not passed by July 1st, Govt may introduce a Provisional Budget which has the force of law. December 21st.

By Carl Wilk and Ernst Wahren, a retired business man, to Hallstätt ^(Hallstätt) 24 hours north of Stockholm. This is a big modern paper mill in the middle of the forest, on an arm of the Baltic, opposite to Åland Island - Also in Finland. It illustrates the decentralisation of Swedish industry. The mill employs 300 men, a reduction after nationalisation. The total population of the place is 2500. The

houses, mostly built by the company, are built according to an advanced type of open development, scattered about among forest patches. One house is already clean but absurdly small. In one we look at only two large rooms & a kitchen.

The paper mill is fed by ~~the~~ rafts, drawn up by an arm of the Baltic from the open sea. The trees having been felled in Norway and put onto water nearby. We watch all the processes, cutting & banking of the logs, their entry into a compressor, their emergence as bubbly fluid which flows over a succession of rollers conditioning into paper, & gradually drying. This is for the most part the world, a poor, far-way ending!

E.W. is a great character, wonderfully well read & well informed in English speaking.

I note the country vit work in 2 all the
workmen take off their hats to one
another whenever they pass. The
Communists, I am told, are specially
proud in this feeling. It must
blunt the edge of the class war!

But the Communists noted ^{the} ~~of~~ ^{being}
of a local church. (We looked at a
remarkable church on our way to
Stallstadt, the Reformation, ~~with~~
built of huge stones, 2 inside covered
with frescos, with windows at side of
Reformation, now in covered.)

A very good lunch with E.W. & his
nephew in the company's mess, a
comfortable little building, - of wood
of course, - with hand-painted panels
of lay design. This is very common
in Sweden - a handicraft which
has continued through the century.
A good school. George R says it

is not so good as I am usually imagine,
except for the gymnasium.

On our way back stop for half an
hour at a ^{small} country house. An
English country gentleman would feel
quite at home here, - furs, antlers,
the great head of an elk, crowded
furniture, book-shelves, easy chairs, old
family clock, etc.

Then back to Sticksdalen. The country
is not exciting. Conifers, - undulating -
little lakes, - scattered houses, ~~wood~~
mostly stained red, & painted white round
the windows, steep sloping roofs of red tile.

E.W. is very charming. Like a many
Swedes he does not mean kindly, but
is a most adequate host.

Mr Sticksdalen found a letter from
the Home Solicitor, not offering to see me
at once, but not to meet the Union
representation, but suggesting a ~~conference~~

Christina with me & Mrs Bevil. Five minutes after getting in, ring up by TV-Official. This is becoming a bloody nuisance, & a daily event! I tell her I have had an unsatisfactory letter, but I am leaving the Hotel tomorrow (wasn't incidentally for the date as when we had always intended to leave, that I shall report the case to the Swedish legation in London & that if I return to Stockholm, I shall stay somewhere else. He expresses gratitude.

I spot in Soviet on letter to Lyud, saying that in these parts we don't have a sufficient defence both against Communists & Conservatives!

December 22nd

Leave of guiding train for Jern.
(Klarvickstran.) Put luggage at Eden Hotel. A bore to have to

2nd
Leave the Stockholm, which is admirably modern & cheap. Got a strike breaks bore to stay.

Find the TV-Official outside the Hotel, as we tell him we mean to drive to the Eden. He again expresses gratification, but breaks to come & see me again when I return from the country!

Arrive at Klarvickstran, little country halt at 3.30. Already darkening. Met by Chairman here, Caspersen. His wife also in good looking & charming. Again not too much pressure. Got always available & asking what one wants.

Load of food, & a clear time table.
Breakfast 9.30, or on Sunday - 10.30
Lunch 1. or " " " " tea coffee 2-30
Midday (main meal) 5.30, or " " " " 6-30
Tea 8.30, or " " " " 8.

December 23rd.

Breakfast by request, at 9, walk
 taking our lunch with us. To Hög-
 berg showing bus + took bus + walked
 up by C in his car & taken, he
 leaping in front like a mountain
 goat. In a high view in the middle
 of forest, just above an ^{old} isolated
 factory. Then, leaving him, we
 walk from Hög along the old
 Stockholm road, inland through
 the forest. The Salvation Army
 & Temperance dominate here - All
 left leaders, with photographs, join
 in advocating Temperance. Socialists,
 Socialist Youth, --- National Communist,
 Communist Communist....!

Later look our way in the woods,
 & wonder at nature. But when
 a small boy, half understood in
 answer, & suddenly find a self

Pensioner's report. Snow in view of
 the Kräviken, in time for a sunset
 after tea, beyond the water, ^{close to}
 frozen shore, lasting nearly two
 hours after sunset. No sudden
 dark here -

December 24th.

Walk again, up through forest across
 a frozen lake. To Skivviken, &
 hearing Oscar Hill, - a grand
 view over the forest - back in time for
 our Christmas Eve Kudda at 4-30!
 (Loddy spiked drink called glögg.)
 The birches bark here so white,
 even to the ^{tips} ~~tips~~, & with sweeping
 branch tips, are Betula odorata
 or Betula verrucosa.

(heard of in Hillia & Osterm.)
 5.30 Hear the bells of Betlehem on
 the wireless. Prefaced by singing of
 Winchester Cathedral Choir "Come
 let us adore him!", & explanation

by a slug "speaking from within
 few yards" of the other member -
 for the custodian's work. I recall,
 the crimean was very faint.
 What a strange mixture of science,
 superstition & impulse to make
 the world better!

December 25th

Walk northward from Abz, past
 several long lakes. To a point a
 little north of Vätkva, up to a rocky
 hillock in the wood, from which
 close to a grove of juniper, growing
 like cypresses, we have a lovely
 view of the head of one of the lakes.
 Ronds slipping walking back from
 Abz to Seta, a moose deer. Back
 lake to 4.30 pm. midday. -
 find everyone, except a boatman,
 in evening dress!
 Talk afterwards to the boatman

about his travels - S. America, USA,
 Sumatra, Italy, ... - His of
 regulation. ~~the~~ What nonsense!
 - small farmer to decide what, to give!
 How can he know? One should form
 large associations, & see the production
 of food. He says serious hypermedia
 December 26th with much food in Sweden.

Walk to Kollmänder Quasors.
 Women came on Swedish green
 mantle in W.L. Dining room.
 Wonderful situation, overlooking the
 harbor. Huge piles of green &
 grey slabs. Quasors not working,
 as it's working day. Bring back
 few small pieces in my pocket.
 Colder than yesterday. All loose
 water having frozen. 2 slight falls
 of snow on top.

see Skate-sailing on a frozen
 lake on way home.

A charming evening entertainment at the hotel, - two Swedish singers, ~~and~~ Glutanna, sing student songs 1827-40 by Wernberg, who at Värmland became a respectable civil servant - brought up all outstanding topics. What by her. My own will know. Then our good looking host makes up an old maiden lady of Alg. & has a great success. Most of all with the small boys of the party.

Talk at some length with Dr Björn Palm, much travelled Swedish botanist - his wife. He says that in Umeå is not much respected. The position is paid by the state, ~~but~~ ^{and} he performs many civil functions. - registration of births, deaths, marriages, etc. He is, however, regarded as ~~an~~ ^{as a} civil servant. Many of them are jurists & ~~work~~ ^{work} freely. There are building no new railways or

churches in Sweden." The students are not concerned with religion.

December 27th

From Umeå to Norrköping by car & walk round textile & paper mills, belonging to Wahren family. In textile mills (^{all steam} wool & cotton combined), many, particularly women, look ill, poorly paid & discontented. Bad atmosphere in every place, including humidity & noise. But in paper mills everything is better.

Lunch in house built by Tengstrand born by Marin to Stockholm.

Norrköping looks well enough, wide boulevard, trees, parks, municipal building, schools, technical college. Playing fields, no smoke pollution, no bad houses. But Kjeldahl says very bad overcrowding.

Kjeldahl, B.T. & Mr. Buren to dinner in Eden Hotel, where we now stay.

December 28th

Lunch with Glenn, Commercial Secretary,
Bureau, Times correspondent, a sharp little
fellow, & Swedish editor of the Index.
Bureau says that in Finland there is
a student movement, claiming large
annexation of Soviet territory, that
a Finnish officer recently disaffiliated
with Soviet territory carrying all the
Defense Plans of Finland, but that
the Govt is trying to keep him up so as
to avoid a popular demand for strong
measures against the S.U. & that
Estheria is rapidly going Fascist.
Met Deumant, when he gave me
some address in S. Finland, Old
Stanning is losing his grip, but has
assumed the Office of Ministry of Defense
& is probably smuggling through some
new defense appropriations under
another name. One Daner, he says

have not been so badly hit by Russian
restrictions, as is commonly supposed.
For they are getting good prices for what
they do export, & the volume of export
though reduced below recent peak
level, is still up to that of a few
years ago. He thinks the
Scandinavian countries, if unconditional
NATO would be modified, would be
glad to come in on a sort of
second floor of Imperial Preference.
He fears that the Times, from a strong
anti-Nazi position, has now worked
into a dangerous half-sympathy with
Hitler.

R 21 Dine at Wiggari's little
house at Appelvik. Two Treasury
officials, one with wife & Pauli also
present. W is very charming & very
quicker at the uptake. He has a
wonderfully full library of Swedish

books on economics & politics.

December 24th.

A day with the bankers. 1/2 hour in the Riksbank with Governor & Deputy Governor (recorded elsewhere), & in the afternoon an hour with OJD Wallenberg & his son at Stockholm Guskilda. An OJD dictum in economics, how ^{low} the ^{low} income is very low unless he has been in business, & that the State can do no right, & that the public works policy is a complete mistake.

In the evening with R to the Opera, - Anna's 1st. One Swedish one rather stiff in opera, & in ballet, & the barbaric music & when schemes seem a little uncomfortable to the Swedish ~~actress~~ actus.

Have a dim2 afternoon with the 2nd Mrs. Brown.

December 30th.

Walk round Kuddanholm with R, & revisit Rana Hall. Kullen 10:30.

Dine at Legation, with Kullerai & Chinese Minister's wife. R says K is like a cat, ~~putting~~ curling her back to be stroked. Twicked OJD long, & very barbaric. CK says K's OJD is conjuring with the possibility of admitting women, & is visiting views from our representatives abroad. His own view is that there is no difficulty at the top. Kullerai's Swiss on the top like the Loch Ness monster. But the difficulty would be great in joining ^{difficulties - women} to women, unless very exceptional, & combining great mental & physical gifts with an unusually strong personality. Would not succeed or be happy. That of course, she would be all right in the office. The American have women in

active Henry George Party in Denmark, a typical product of P.K. It is introduced & advocates only to Single Tax as a panacea.

Socialist leaders are older in Denmark than in Sweden, & getting less efficient. 8 Socialists & 3 Radicals in the Cabinet. Cooperation with Radicals very smooth. He likes the idea of my going to S. Jutland. No separate women's movement; no left wing; a ^{Party} conference only every fourth year. As in Sweden, no anti-clericalism, no real Marxism.

But their foreign exchange control, operated by Bank of Denmark, is important. It is used to deflect purchases to Germany from Germany.

Socialist majority, 35 out of 55, in Copenhagen City Council. Continues control since 1917.

January 5th.

Evening. Just before going to dinner at legation. Dances are B.G., & Speedy, & emphasize little things too much. I am quite tired!

That I have seen a lot of them. Krausmaas, now one of the managers of the Bank, previously Socialist

Minister of Finance, is the worst. The Valuta Control is a most interesting experiment. See separate note. (Purchase of foreign exchange & foreign securities may only be done through banks & dealers, licensed by Exchange Office, in bank. Weekly reports to be sent in; directions issued. Import licenses. Purchases deflected to England. Customs enforced. 3 men in charge, headed by Cohen, Jewish official. Very interesting experiment of new control 2 years. Foreign selling of Danish bonds, must withdraw money. It's hard with blocked accounts.)

Lectured last night to 4 or 500 people
 on British Labor Party Policy. One
 socialist said to me before hand
 that if we ^{in England} carried pacifism too far,
 Hitler & Mussolini would unite
 against France, & make war on
 democracy everywhere. I said we
 were in economic & financial
 straits, but would prosper
 more. If U.S. would play ^{in Europe} even
 a part sanction wd suffice to check
 any aggressor. ^{At least} Non-aggression
 pacts for 10 years were an implication
 & a repudiation of treaties. One
 Kellogg Pact was ^{unimportant} a non-aggression
 pact for ever. (And so, in a slender
 sense, one to 20 came treaties.)
 We dined one evening with Cable, to
 whom I had introduced Scott, whom
 we had met & liked in Danzig
 in 1926. He has since been rather

& stupid. An enigmatic figure,
 David Boyle, was also present.
 Rather good looking & charming
 in evening dress; came in
 day clothes on the next day,
 spoke in favor of the North London
 & against the amendment firm.
 Doubtful if anyone who really
 took up the cudgels against
 them would live two years. Said
 Schneider would attend Humbly Grove
 in London. Spoke with self-
 conscious knowledge & personality
 in F.O.

One reception dinner was a show
 case affair. Gummy has a stammer,
 & very little personality. Max
 makes a bad impression, both on
 R & me, by criticizing Simon &
 sneering at F.O. officials generally.

to my friend "Owen" (O'Malley) & "Don"
(Jensen) of Grand frame. Diabetic
demonstration partly account for his, but
not wholly.

January 6th.

R. leaves by morning train for Esbjerg.
I lunch with Munch, talk to Pedersen,
to economist, and to Stauning (see
separate note.) & dine with Axel
Nielsen, before leaving by night
train via Copenhagen to S. Jutland.

Andersen told me that uniforms had
been prohibited since Jan. 1933. Before
they had been becoming common. In
Nov 1932 a young socialist had
been murdered by communists in
Copenhagen. This had given a pretext
for prohibition. It has been enforced,
with fines for infraction in a few
cases.

Since 1919 a party of settling small holders
on state land or tenants, has been
formed. Local committees have been
advising on acquisition of ^{state} state lands.
Rechts based on wider number of agricultural
kings.

In Denmark, as in Sweden, the Conservatives
have no leaders.

Braunsnes insisted scientific. Danish
budget system, - with ordinary & capital
budgets probably separated.

Days in S. Jutland were interesting.
Separate note on those.

January 9th.

Leave Esbjerg on Danish boat.
Comfortable. Moderate passage.

January 10th.

Arrive London.

January 11th.

Lecture on Planning at the School.
(Scandinavian was a jolly party.)
NW. L. in the evening.

January 17th.

International Sub Com. Row with
Mandley, by correspondence. Accusations
against Gillies. Awfully boring!

January 19th, following on meeting of January 16th

With notes given at the Constitutional
Sub Com. Cripps' speeches, - &
a few less important speeches & meeting
by others, under consideration.

Cripps seems quite unable to see the
argument that he is damaging the
Party electorally. It is all

"unreflexive", or picking skeletons
out of their coat. He has
become very vain & thinks that
only he & his views know
what Socialism is, or how it should
be handled. His gaffes cover an

immense range, - from the High
Church, ... League & others, ...

"compelling" Union to declare a

General Strike - Justifying Parliament
beyond 5 years, unless ... "slize"
land, former & industry (without
compensation?) - Emergency
Power Bill in order, giving all
necessary powers - - - -

Attlee defends him, & so does Leitch.
Other members, Cripps, L. Lees, G. L.
Dallen, - (a little Upton rather
negatively in the Chair.) ^{Widdicombe}

I make a violent, - perhaps
horrid - speech, - asking for
his stream of oratorical ineptitudes
should now cease, & some who
~~do~~ are very reluctant to enter on
public controversy with other
members of the Party, will have to
be tried of your tolerance. It is the
number of those gaffes which is so
unfalling. Our candidates
are being stabbed in the back, &

pushed onto the floor. Roy H. regard him as the greatest electrical artist. Many of the speakers are simply incompetent presentation of a good case. But remember Jensen spoke me out in praise for members of the Historical Society, how would it deliver his own section of the Working Class on the battlefield. --- And so on ---

Atlee says I can take a pedagogue addressing a pupil. I wish the pupil were a bit braver!

Citrus said he had been urged to say publicly that Criff had no authority to speak for the TV's, had no knowledge of the TV's, & no standing in the TV world, but had his inhibitions repressed.

Leas Smith told Criff that he was a poor witness, & had it really

(R. H. H. I've been "contradicted" too much, I have made some enemies. 168

announced among the present made against him. ---

We passed to a consideration of the proposed statement on democracy & dictatorship, rewording statements out of line with party policy.

Larkin objected to any reference to "individual statements", even if names were given. Criff suggested that he himself should be named. I asked "How would you have changed it?" Larkin ended with a polysyllabic threat to diminish his interest in the work of the Party if such a rephrasing were proposed. We decided to refer the matter back, with a verbal report to the C.C.

It was a bad business.

Fundamentally so sorry!

Jan 22nd.

Report of the Committee on the Speech

By Cripps. saying that if, under Hoover,
there were a capitalist war, in
the ordinary sense of Hoover, the Labor
Party would resist it, & organize a
general strike if it could." !!!
Every word wrong!

Jan 24th.

National Executive decide, after much
debate, by 18 votes to 4 (Uncle, Pringle,
Susan & I vote, Lady Mabel Stuart) to
publish a statement on "Democracy &
Dictatorship". I have revised the draft,
putting in a positive sentence on our aims,
adding a few ^{strongly} epithets, & putting the
"refundation" in the final sentence, conditioned
by "in so far as". My revised by
arrangement is followed by A.F. who
shows it, at the table, to Upton & P.,
who approve it.

Uncle wants to issue nothing, but
to have it all further discussed at a

joint meeting of the 3 National
executives. (Our board, however, happens
until the end of February, but Cripps wants
more earlier.) But the feeling is
strong & distinct, (except Curran's
energy from Morrison who thinks he
should not interfere with the
elections) in favour of publishing
now, without essential modifications.

Pringle & Susan try to get the
refundation out, but unsuccessfully.
So it is issued to an expectant
world! I vote for it without
any hesitation.

Uncle is very vexed. I lunch
with him afterwards. He seems to
have told A.F., when he brought
Went's stuff - in - the - wood pile, that
his written note to Curran might be
shown to N.E. has made during the

171
 past 25 years. ^H He fears ^{unintentionally} that he has been away & hasn't felt too rising pressure. Now he is unhappy, because many of the people won't follow his guidance. HE says accept

he will resign soon if his fears are to prove to cause his death. He is feeling bad about Disarmament, & especially on other things. Now he wants a short & simple election programme drafted by the Party office. He doesn't really mind the other Party Reports!

Atlee mentioned the possibility of resigning at our club on Sunday, if there was any "refutation" which might move him. This was mentioned at the N.E. & Dalton said audibly "well, let him. If he does, he'll never get anything else!"

Jan 29th - 30th

At Cambridge to Cong. election. Wood is a strong candidate. Two small meetings - schools on the first night; (3) & Keen Goodhall Kelly on the second. (with Wood, John Wilentz ^{off the door but} & Ken with chair. Wood, has written Cripps telling him that he'd rather he didn't come & speak during the Cong. election. ^{without very much notice} ^{about his speaking} ^{at the door step!} Canvas North Road, but no sniff of dictatorship, bombs on the door step!
 Jan 31st.

Furman & Prud' Ure on compensation. Mellor incredibly tedious & un-Suffolk!

Cripps has been complaining & Ure about being harassed off Cambridge during the Cong. election. Ure says that he had to do the same with Ken Hardie in 1902 at Bournemouth

Castle, with Witt's complete misunderstanding

Lausanne.

Feb 17th.

Constitutional Committee. A real beginning
of progress with Parliamentary Procedure.
A good start!

Feb 28th.

Sail for U.S.

Special Note

**All of the pages between
the two shown here are
blank and have not been
filmed**

174

Money taken out on 26/1/33

English	2	1	0
French (66 fr)		15	4
Swiss (90 fr)	5	2	4
	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>

Money brought back on 1/2/33

English	1	3	0
French (85.10)	1	0	0
Swiss (57.95)	3	7	6
	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>

Received from Zilly &
reparily chopin

French 185 fr	2	3	0
---------------	---	---	---

175

Geneva ~~partly chagn~~ £ 5 02nd Return (1 Mon bank) 14 5 0
without Geneva

Jan 26th
Taxi (Hôtel to visit) 2 6
Taxi (from Paris) 2 6

Jan 27th Taxi Geneva 2 8
Jan 30th Taxi ~~Geneva~~ 2 8
Hôtel to visit

- sleefa Paris (type)
- Geneva

and back

sleefa Geneva &
Paris (type)Feb 1st Taxi 2 6
from ParisTaxi 2 9
V.W. - return

Done clear 24/13/8

Italy.

176.

Lesson. by Roberto Schenone.
Via Fulvio Misa. 190. Rome.

S.E. Lib. Fulvio Suvich

Sothepetad or di stato per li A. V. Esten.

write to Prof. Lello Suvich.
in Trieste. Min. Fig.
about his visit to London from
end of April to end of Sept.
library facilities etc.
lodging.

To rec'd Italy 177 2 50

Dec 8th 2nd Victoria - Rome 12-3-1
 (2nd sleep Calais - Rome)
 Taxi (Padd - Vict) 3-0
 Taxi (Rome - Station Hotel) 3-0

Jan 2nd 2nd Rome - Victoria ~~8/18 50 line~~
 (2nd sleep Tunn - Paris) ~~at 65~~
 Taxi (Rome Hotel Station) 3-0
 Taxi (Acorn Paris) 3-6
 Taxi (Vict - Padd) 3-0

25-11-3

Maintenance (14 days)

3 at 23/6 3-10-6
 4 at 21/- 4-4-0
 7 at 20/- 7-0-0

14-14-6
 + 25⁰⁰ 3-13-7

18-8-1

Total claim 43-19-4

Copy to ... 14/6
 H ... 4/2
 P ... 3/3
 P ...

Money taken ^{to W.L.} to Italy 8/12/32 178
 2 50

Italian lire (610 at 61) 10.0.0
 French francs (160 at 79 1/2) 2.0.0.
 Swiss francs (16.30 at 16.30) 1.0.0.
 English 6-8-7

19.8.7.

Dinner in Rome 14/12/32 20.0.0
 22/12/32 15.0.0
 28/12/32 40.0.0
 2/1/33 5.00.
 Paris 4/1/33 5.0.0

104.8.7 - (a)

Breakfast back to W.L. 4/1/33
 English money 3.10.0
 French francs (56 at 80) 14.0.

4.4.0. - (b)

Entered in December accounts 40.0.0