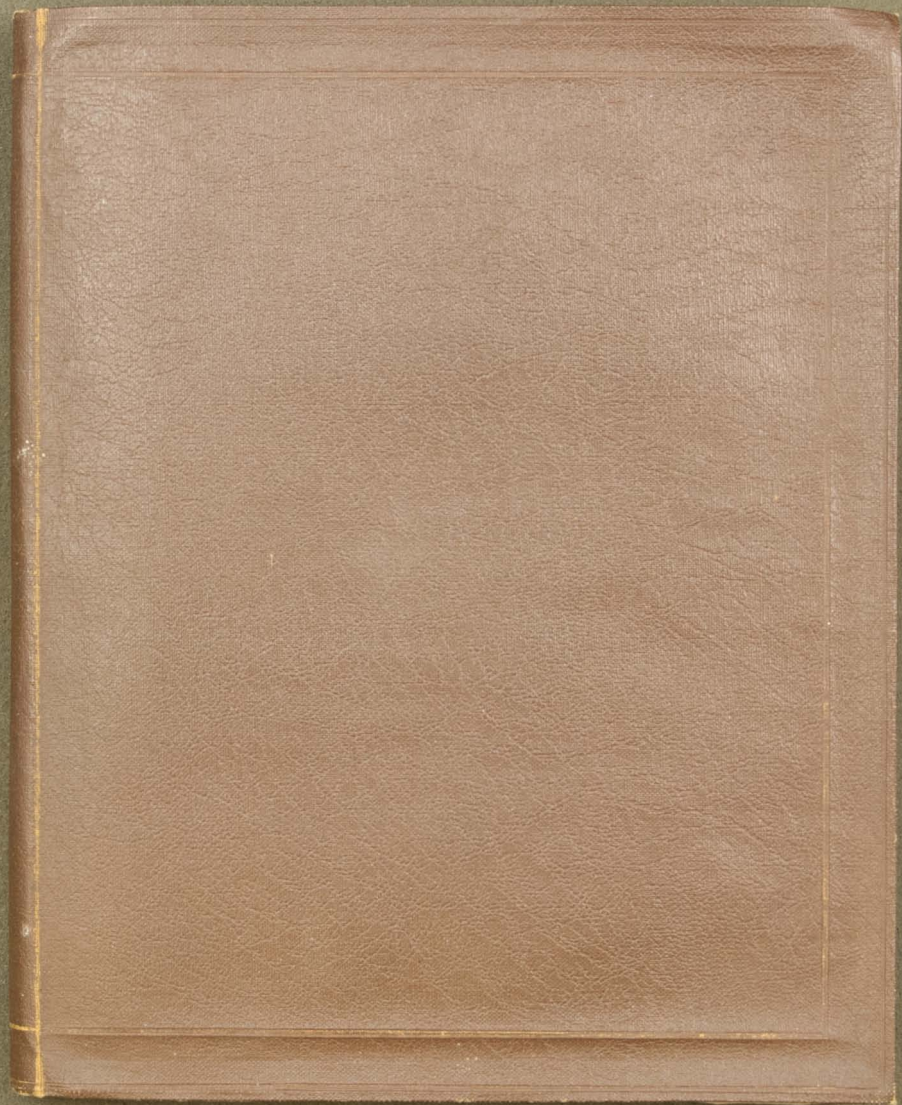




IE DCUA C1/9

Seán Lester Diary - PDF

August 1940 - April 1941



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No. 100			
THE "KENILWORTH" SERIES			
NO.	INCHES	M/M	PAGES
101	3 x 2 1/2	76 x 57	96
102	4 1/4 x 2 1/2	104 x 67	96
103	5 1/4 x 3 1/4	134 x 86	120
104	6 1/4 x 4	162 x 109	144
105	7 x 4 1/2	178 x 114	160
106	8 x 5	203 x 127	160
107	8 x 6 1/2	203 x 165	160
108	9 x 7	229 x 178	160

MADE IN ENGLAND



China - 1931 - 1933 P1/9 (1)
Germany leaves 1933

Abyssinia - 1935-36

Italy leaves League #

Rhineland

conscription in G.

Austria

Sudetenland Sept 1938

Czech "Remains"

Memel 1939

Albania - Easter 1939

Poland - Sept "

Finland - Dec - "

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania
Denmark

Norway } April 1940

Belgium May 1940

France June 1940

Bessarabia July 1940

Estonia - Latvia - } Aug. 1940
Lithuania

10th - Septembre 1940

V

S U I S S E

GENEVE, 31 août. ag. M. Joseph Avenol, secrétaire général démissionnaire de la SDN, a quitté samedi ses fonctions, qui seront exercées provisoirement par M. Lester, secrétaire général adjoint (Irlandais) de la Ligue.

lagi 10

Institute of Advanced Study,
Princeton, N.J. 25/8/40.

My dear Jack,

It has been horrid thinking about you all alone in the Geneva trap and I was very much relieved to hear from Sweetser this morning that you sounded not too gloomy. I hope that reflected a state of affairs and not simply your characteristic courage.

Where am I to start with this letter? Last Sunday we were in Cintra: to-day we are living in Aydelotte's house which he kindly lent us for a week while he is on leave.

Our departure was unbelievable. I phoned P.A.A. on Monday about means of payment and they said "Hullo is that you, we think we might get you 4 berths tomorrow if you run over and get the tickets now." We were both naked at the moment - the only possible state in Lisbon - but we did it and got our tickets - without paying for them and were informed that they would phone us at 6.45 a.m. to let us know if we could start at 7.30. 6.45 came and no call: 7 a.m., nothing. Then I started acting: no one at the office knew anything. Then I started swearing and they said that if I took a taxi and went down to the Clipper, I could probably get on - like a bus. Then I started poetry and ordered a taxi: got down stairs and found that the poetry had induced them to send down a taxi to the hotel. When we got on the Clipper we found there were 6 places empty with half Lisbon on their bended knees for one. Five were due to the muddle, one to a lady who had gone to be vaccinated the evening before, had gone off dancing with the doctor and when she returned to her hotel at 4.30 found she had lost her passport.

*16. N York - Geneva
Telephone
conversation*

Trip excellent - perfectly smooth. Nathalie crossed better than she ever crossed the channel and incredibly quick. We stopped at Bermuda when it was very hot - but were in at New York by 1p.m. and found the Sweetsters, Riefler and Carrols all waiting for us. I went straight off to see Northener who seemed quite au courant - But both he and Arthur lack sense. The latter had cables drafted last night which I found insanely foolish and jumped down his throat and

said they must be altered. He rang off to get hold of the N. at once and found he had just left and cables gone. However he spent most of the night looking for him, phoned the P.O.O. to stop cables and somehow discovered his bud in a theatre and got the necessary alterations made. I felt rather bad about it as Arthur has really done a great deal and is doing his best and I had the sentiment that I had ~~the sentiment that I had~~ him instead of my . But it did the trick.

Talks in Lisbon as arranged, tho' our friend only just got there in time and all that proposal seem now accepted here as you know. I found a good deal of resistance; but won him over by saying - well think of a better plan. In the end he could not stand subject to dates which seemed in all focus with what was said to me in Lisbon has agreed. I am hoping that the result may be that you will all move in the direction of all barbarian tribes.

I have decided not to go to Washington yet. I am going there to get the film and it has not come thro nor any other parcel, so that can wait and I shall write a few polite letters to friends expressing thanks and hopes to call later.

Here I am at this moment very busy looking for houses for ourselves and the others. There is a real and serious difficulty. In this State the only taxes are on real estate and petrol. Consequently

in renting a house one pays full State taxes and the cost is prohibitive. One cannot hope to get anything under 125 \$ p.m. and that will be 4 or 5 poky rooms with lodgings-by-the-sea furniture. Jacklin said we should reclaim from the League for taxes paid. But I had not thought it would work out this way. I don't know what I ought to do personally either as I suppose I should try to maintain a certain status. But after paying for 4 clippers - or the difference on them - am more or less bankrupt. I mention all this because I think a question will arise to be settled sooner or later. But I must get full data before raising it formally.

I don't know yet enough about other facilities to express a judgement. Every one is very nice and helpful and one can see the world from this angle as one certainly could not chez nous.

Perhaps it would be useful to add a few tips about travelling. (1) Only 60 persons may cross the Spanish frontier

per diem by train. A bus to Barcelona therefore may present delays; but it is taken at the risk of one's life and a permanent nervous breakdown (2) Make all possible bookings in advance and remember that to get anything large tips in Spain are indispensable. (3) Make the journey as official as possible. Have lists of people drawn up in every language in a large number of copies and bearing official stamps and seals. These are really useful and required. Diplomatic visas may or may not be recognized. (4) Get special letters like mine from the Spanish Legation in Bern. ~~xxxxxxx~~ (5) Delegate one man to deal with Cooks, etc., another to deal with the police, etc. each for the whole group. Choose for the latter purpose some one who has natural courtesy and if possible

knows the language. (6) Rely on Barceñas for any act of kindness. (7) Do not register your luggage from Barcelona to the frontier, but only to Madrid and get Cooks to convey it - at enormous cost - across Madrid. By this means we avoided losing a single article. - except those lost in the mud in the Grenoble ditch. (8) Make arrangements with the hotels in Lisbon after arrival not before, tho' you can book rooms before. You must live en pension. If you go to the Avenida Palace you will possibly die of heat; but can avoid noise. The food is excessive but quite safe. In the other hotels you cannot avoid noise and the food tho' good I am told will make you ill probably. The Aviz is a thing apart: quiet; luxurious, 20 rooms I think, inconveniently far away if you are trying to get sailing accommodation and you pay. 9) The cheaper the wine the safer. 10) If you can, buy \$ notes in Switzerland and nothing else. 11) Boat and other priorities can only be arranged from this end if at all. 12) Take a lot of calling cards and hand them in at shipping offices - when seeing the hotel managers, etc. (hotel arrangements should of course be made with the manager and not at the desk).

I will write later about political questions. At present my mind is wholly occupied with making conditions possible for my group when they arrive.

Good luck to you. May I see you soon. Please thank Hill for all he did. It proved very useful. This letter for your eyes only.

Yours ever.

To Amy Hotel Lisbon

Dear Ned,

2/9/1940. Avenue

Up to the last moment (and I mean one o'clock on the 31st), ^{he} gave trouble and made difficulties in every possible way. He has gone out ignominiously, without grace or dignity or any other saving virtue. *Hand*

I am afraid that he may have achieved some of his objectives and that we shall be very lucky now if we find we have ^{any} liberty of decision. Our rich friend spoke to the Northerner yesterday on the coordinating question and although I had hoped for a rendezvous by the sea, it appears that Mr. Square has two meetings a week elsewhere. They are not perhaps unbreakable arrangements, but not enough people are available. I am going to make a last effort with Mohal. If that fails we must try to do it on an individual basis.

Jacklin
Mr. Keys and I hope to get down to business on Wednesday the 4th and then he will communicate with you, perhaps with some suggestions. There are major questions of principle and tactics involved and the delay of the past month has, as was intended, created great difficulties. *transfer of sec.*

I had hoped that Snow could "benefit" by the new situation, but this week-end difficulties are reported at route

You will probably have received a telegram on the problems here before this reaches you. I hope you have been having a restful time and enjoying the Atlantic breezes. For myself I am suffering from some reaction and a lot of bad temper because I have been suppressing so much in recent times. I went to your house yesterday Sunday evening for a couple of hours and had a dive. All ~~is~~ going well there and I saluted the various animals, each of which immediately fled. Tell Fernande, however, that a couple of small perches and some sardines were left to vary their diet.

U.K. Min Kelly
I had a telegram this morning from Goodrich - "Confidence, good wishes" - which pleased me very much; and I am to have a chat with the Manxman to-morrow. Both our Latin friends have been very helpful lately; number one, consistently so since his arrival and number two, especially for the last week or ten days; number two is going to the United States permanently in a couple of weeks.

Friday, September 13th.

There has been evidence in the past two weeks that the Germans planned to lay their hands upon the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. ^{in Paris} They have been approaching - amongst others - Malcolm Davis, Costa du Reis, Pardo, Bourquin, and have not hidden in some cases that their aim is to use the Institute in relation to Latin America. - I now hear that a definite proposal has been made at Wiesbaden that the Institute should be separated entirely from the League and operate under joint Franco-German (which means German) control. Bonnet, the Director, who was in England is now in the United States.

Frome Gorman
discussions
"Rich frans": "Keys" = Jacklin, Treasurer
"Northerner": Square = Hambro, Pres. Assembly & Super. Ctee
"Coordinator" = Superintend. Ctee.
"The Sea" = Portugal - Lisbon
"Snow" = Remberg (opium)
Manxman = Kelly, U.K. Minster

Refused

applied

P1/9(2)

5th September 1940

Vejarano (formerly Secretariat now Spanish Government service) returned from Rome a few days ago. Charron asked him to his office on 4/9/41 and (according to V's remarks to AM.) inquired if he (Vej.) knew what were the plans of the Axis Powers for the post-war economic and financial reconstruction of Europe. "Because if you do I could do a lot of preparation here. I have a lot of the elements myself for that work."

Vej. commented that he had such knowledge of plans it would be most unlikely he would disclose it but says he replied that "he knew no more than was in the Press and from Funk's public speeches."

54 Sept. 1940

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Extract from letter to A.L. Bronckhorst
20/9/40

Will you be astonished to hear that our
amiable friend has suddenly become anglophile? I find

myself
it completely nauseating myself, but I am not surprised:
the time-table he had established went wrong, for one
thing; secondly, the background in his own country has
been changing rapidly; thirdly, he may still be thinking
of a visit to God's own Republic; fourthly, he has the
hope of receiving certain favours from the meeting;
fifthly, he thinks he has again reason to attack me
because I refuse to continue from after the end of
this month, the payment of a special allowance apart
from a three months gratuity, and suggested that he might
be able to do with less than the two secretaries attached
to him while I was doing his work and mine with one!
However this is all very comic and only provides the
lighter side to a somewhat preoccupied man but I am too
busy to bother my head about the rascal.

Yours.

Friday; September 27th 1940

After concerted and difficult negotiations, vital meeting of Supervisory Committee, without which we feared the Secretariat and the League might almost cease to exist, was arranged to be held at Lisbon.- Hambro was on a lecture tour in the United States and tried to get it held there; Holma, the Finn, did not want to attend a League meeting owing to the delicate situation between his country and Russia and Germany respectively (all those Baltic States are leaning very much to the German side in the hope that a German victory will lead to the reintegration of the new Russian conquests). Eventually we secured the quorum: Hambro from the Middle-West, Kisch from London, Holma from Vichy and Pardo en route from Geneva to Washington.- Phelan was waiting in Lisbon mainly for the purpose. We ~~eat~~ off, in advance, a draft budget and one or two other papers merely preliminary to the discussion.

Hambro suddenly decided he could be in Lisbon on the 28th of September; that was on the 15th; preparations were rushed here, visas applied for for myself, Jacklin, Bieler, da Silva (Portuguese) and three of our girls. We got the French and Swiss visas easily; the Portuguese was delayed: suddenly there arose a doubt as to whether they would let the Committee meet privately in an hotel on League financial business in their territory. This was due to nervousness about the Axis Powers.

We had decided to leave on Saturday the 21st, counting six days for the motor journey to Lisbon to arrive a day before the meeting. It was not until Friday at 12 o'clock that the Portuguese authorization came through. Diplomatic visas were granted at once for every one. The Spanish said: no diplomatic visas except for diplomatic passports and I was the only person to have one, but when Hill presented himself at the Spanish Legation in Berne, he was told that I could get an ordinary visa from the Consul in Geneva. I grinned and bore this and we got our Consular visas on Saturday at 11.30 and left in a small bus at 12.30.

Guerrero, the President of the International Court of Justice accompanied us from Geneva and we were to pick up Costa du Rels, President of the Council, en route as he was in France.- Holma wisely decided to travel less conspicuously and was "on holiday" by himself.- The journey was interesting and although I had been very much alarmed at the prospect of six days in a bus, this part at any rate was a relief from the pressure under which I had been working.

We got through the Franco-Swiss frontier without difficulty and reached Nîmes at 11.30p.M

having made a brief stop in a way-side café to eat a picnic meal. We have had to make a détour occasionally because of a bridge blown up; the Rhône bridges were destroyed right down to Valence near which we were told the German advance guard had reached; they were however prevented crossing the river; it was a pity to see many fine bridges shattered.

We left Nîmes the next morning (Sunday) at 6.30 or 7 and lunched in Perpignan. The vendange was in progress as we drove through literally scores of miles of vineyards. There was practically no motor traffic, though some vehicles were using the wood gas. In one or two towns we did catch sight of non-French uniforms representing the German or Italian Commissions of Disarmament and control and an occasional vast park of abandoned army vehicles.

Our special little bus reached the frontier at Le Perthus about 1.30 and again the French frontier was easy enough to pass. I had however been warning Jacklin and Guerrero that our passing would be made difficult on the Spanish side. Guerrero being a Latin-American Spaniard was put first with his passport. In a few minutes he explained to me that there was difficulty; the official had turned up in his book an order prohibiting the passage of League officials or anybody connected with the League.

The following is a bare summary of what followed as I reported a few days later to the Supervisory Committee:

Letter to Hambro, Lisbon 26/9

" The League party consisted of Lester, Jacklin, Bieler, da Silva (Portuguese) and one English and one French stenographer. They were accompanied by Guerrero, President of Court and were to pick up Costa du Rels, President of Council, in France but latter was delayed at Cannes and had to travel separately.

Guerrero had diplomatic visa from Spanish Minister who ~~had~~ refused diplomatic visa to Lester, although latter carried diplomatic passport. Spanish Consul in Geneva gave ^{primary} visas for all the party. Portuguese Minister gave diplomatic visas for all.

On arrival at Le Perthus, Guerrero and Lester first entered Spanish frontier office where Officer-in-charge said he had some instruction about League people. In his book he turned up an instruction which he said was dated 13th of August and forbade the entry of any League official or any one connected with the League. On this ground he refused to allow the League officials to pass but thought there would be no difficulty about Guerrero. This was Sunday, 3 p.m. Following protest, frontier official agreed refer matter to Governor. Governor's Secretary thought there would be no difficulty about Guerrero, but Governor could not be found; it was not until Monday that Governor's confirmation arrived. Guerrero then spoke personally [to him on telephone] protesting against decision and urging reference to Madrid. Governor undertook to do so and promised reply before 7 p.m. Monday evening. No reply came till Tuesday at 11 a.m. In the meantime, Lester persuaded Guerrero - who

thought he could get through but wished to remain with party - that he should go alone carrying a few vital papers for the Meeting. He agreed reluctantly and Tuesday morning after final decision, applied for his own entry. Although carrying diplomatic visa he was then also refused. At midday on Tuesday the entire party set off for Geneva.

On Monday Lester sent telegram to Phelan warning him of difficulties and urging him to do all possible that meeting should be held. This was repeated from Geneva this morning (Wednesday). Jacklin also took prompt action to facilitate the meeting financially.

(Secret: On Tuesday morning the Norwegian Legation (Vichy) passed over frontier and Lester gave Berg a paper for Phelan incorporating Secretary-General's proposals to Commission for approval.)

Holma passed frontier Sunday afternoon ostensibly on holiday visit but obviously nervous of association.

No news yet of Costa du Rels.

Lester had anticipated delays and possibly indignity but no flat refusal. He waited patiently at frontier until the joint requests Guerrero and Lester had been pushed to ultimate point and final refusal received from Madrid through Governor. Frontier official behaved correctly and understand he was rebuked because he had given details and date of his order, being told he should merely have refused entry without explanation. "

We kicked our heels for 48 hours like a batch of refugees as I was determined to exercise patience and to push the protest to the limit, accepting in almost any circumstance the passage as our objective was so important. We had time to make the acquaintance of both the Spanish and French officials; the latter, although we had already officially left France reasonably allowed us to go back a few hundred yards to live in a somewhat dirty little hotelⁱⁿⁿ in the village. When we got there about 8 o'clock and asked for dinner, the question of bread cards was raised but a slightly inebriated French businessman returning to New York with his wife, flung a batch of coupons to the waitress saying that he had waited for five days for his visas to be checked and was off the next morning. We were quite grateful and more than grateful for the food which followed. The meals during our time in France were incomparably poorer than one usually expected; they were just barely adequate; even in a good restaurant or two where we stopped on the journey, the hors-d'oeuvre, for example, usually so well done, consisted of some chopped beet and tomatoes; there were also of course restrictions on quantities and the number of dishes. In the little village of Le Perthus

there was even a difficulty about fruit; half the street was in Spain and apparently usually supplied the fruit, but an embargo had been placed on this trade the previous week. Not once did we get any milk or sugar; even for breakfast and only once during the five days absence did I see a small pat of butter; breakfast usually consisted of unsweetened and un-milked coffee without bread. The sanitary arrangements in the hotel left something to be desired.

During our watch on the frontier, nobody passed but a few officials and two or three diplomatic cars; amongst them was that of Holma and his wife but he heard there was trouble and carefully avoided any association saying he would wait for us in Barcelona.

Old President Guerrero acted throughout with the most excellent quiet dignity and patience, thousand times more than one might have expected from ^{many} a stolid Northerner or the phlegmatic Englishman in such circumstances. At one time however, he did begin to lose patience when the Governor we sought could not be found and replies promised did not come: "You people - he said - have made a revolution to establish order in your country and it seems to me you have worse disorder than ever you had." The District Commissioner and frontier officers volubly protested saying that the order inside the country was magnificent. - "Ah!", says old President, order begins at the frontier".

On one of the occasions when they were examining my Irish diplomatic passport with curiosity, one of them remarked out: "Ireland is a friend of Spain - Oh yes, she sent volunteers to fight for us (O'Duffy's most deplorable Irish Brigade). - I said that that being so, it was an extraordinary way to treat an Irish trying to pass through their country, and asked how Spain would regard similar treatment of a Spanish diplomat abroad. As a matter of fact the officials became very ashamed and apologetic one of them saying the order issued (on the day that Phelan's party got through) was probably due to pressure, meaning either Italy or Germany, or both. There were some slovenly-looking ill-dressed "guardias civiles", young men usually wearing "espadrilles" and a revolver in the belt with a loose-fitting shabby kind of uniform.

On another occasion a smart diplomatic car drove up, a man got out and went through the passport formalities in about two minutes and as he was getting in again, he suddenly recognized our poor President and came up and spoke to him, thinking no doubt that he was purposely lounging there. It was a curious contrast the respect with which he was being treated; the diplomat was ^{un}enlightened.

I walked up to the hotel one of the afternoons, sat in the café drinking a bottle of water (even mineral waters were scarce and no orange or lemon juice was available anyway). I felt that a rather good-looking man at the next table was eyeing me and after a few minutes he spoke. He turned out to be of half Jewish blood and had left Germany in '33 establishing himself in Belgium where he had been a Manager for a factory. Without telling him anything about my occupation, I told him my nationality and he said he knew Senator McEllen with whom he had business relations in setting up a branch factory for something or other at Galway; he had refused an invitation from McEllen to manage it a couple of years ago as it was a small affair compared with his other prospects at the time. He was travelling on a special refugee passport issued by the Belgian Government and told me he had altered the date of his birth as men under 40 were not allowed to leave France. He had his visas for Spain and Portugal, but no permit to leave France. I suppose that was one of the restrictions imposed by the Wiesbaden Commission. He feared an internment camp and thought he would be shot if he fell into German hands. His Spanish and Portuguese visas were approaching expiry and he was going to try some method of getting across; he hoped to reach a British Legation or Consulate where he could offer his services in any capacity, as private soldier, or workman or otherwise. A peasant entering the café caught his attention and he left me. In the street a quarter of an hour later, from the side of his mouth as he passed me, he said: I am off. Later that evening I was again back with Guerrero at the Spanish frontier post when down the hill-side came three Spanish soldiers herding four civilians: they were a dignified Polish Jew of about 70, bearded and wearing a frock-coat and his equally aged wife and a child of about 8 years of age; behind came my acquaintance of the café. He caught my eye but gave no sign of recognition. They were hustled into the frontier office and Guerrero strolled in to observe. The soldiers reported - in their favour - that they had given themselves up having crossed the frontier clandestinely some two miles back. Some cross-examination

followed and the official reported to his Senior Officer by telephone. Guerrero intervened (these officials had almost become old friends!) and said that these poor creatures were only flying to some safety and if he could let them through it would be a good act, or something like that. Eventually, the two old people and the child were released and the last I saw of them was marching down the main road into Spain: afoot, but another stage towards liberty. It

left an impression on my mind. Then came the case of the German Jew. He had it is true altered the date on the passport, but could only do so to the extent of making him 39 years and 9 months, instead of his real age of 35, but he had to be rejected, because he was still under 40. Again Guerrero intervened and they agreed to put him back secretly over the frontier and not put him into the hands of the watchful French gendarmes at the frontier. A delightful human touch in spite of all was when the Spanish official asked the President of the International Court to keep the French gendarme engaged in consultation at an angle where he could not see the man being brought out of the Spanish office. This was done and the refugee disappeared to be held somewhere until night fell.

On another occasion Guerrero's good heart helped a Belgian refugee, his wife and a child. They were telling him the history of their flight having lost their car en route and said their destination was to be Uruguay. Guerrero advised them to see the Minister at Lisbon was a friend of his, whereupon the enterprising lady asked for a letter of introduction; so the Spanish phalangist tore off the heading of a piece of paper and the President of the Court wrote an introduction for a family he had never seen before.

As we were walking back from the frontier when the final refusal to let any one through was received, we noticed three diplomatic cars before the French Customs Office and recognized the Norwegian Legation en route for Lisbon after being kicked out of Vichy at the German request. With them was Berg, Counsellor of the Legation and formerly a League official. One of our immediate problems was to get a few quite inoffen-

sive but vitally important documents through for the meeting. I asked Berg if he would put something in his pocket for us and he agreed; so we walked into the hotel and he was given our draft report. I congratulated myself on a bit of quick and useful thinking.

The news of the attack by free French and British forces on Dakar had just arrived and Jacklin anticipated this might lead to serious consequences at the frontiers for belligerents, so, although I thought this somewhat unlikely, I took advantage of a private car belonging to the same agency as the bus which was returning direct to Geneva without stopping. He travelled so fast that, although he left Perpignan at nearly 2 p.m., he was in Annemasse at midnight and secured from the French and the Swiss the possibility of passing the frontier after it was closed.

We came back sedately, our bus clattered along at a good 70 kms. an hour on the long straight roads and in spite of a certain amount of shaking and an occasional whiff of mazout, it was not too unpleasant. We lunched in Perpignan and dined in Avignon, where we took the opportunity of regarding the famous "Font d'Avignon" and the Popes' Palace. We slept at Valence for the usual five or six hours, notable as the spot where I saw a pat of butter.

After our arrival we heard that there was jubilation at La Pelouse, as indeed was only just and proper!

By the way en route I saw two letters which Jacklin had been asked to carry to Hambro and Kisch. The one to Hambro was cleverly restrained and dignified in tone and mentioned the intention of Avenol to have prepared some useful reports, but that was now impossible owing to the enclosed letter. The enclosure was a copy of a letter I had sent to Avenol telling him that I was prepared to agree to his request, which had been supported by Jacklin, for a substantial allowance of 60 Frs. a day, but that this must not pass the 30th of September; and that furthermore, the two private secretaries costing 20.000 a year who had been

placed at his disposal, should also report for duty again in the Secretariat on the same date, if that were agreeable to him.- On receiving this latter communication by the way, Avenol had telephoned to Jacklin sputtering with fury he was doing the most important work of his life, that he would be engaged on it until the end of November and that he was being treated like a Member of Section. He refused Jacklin's suggestion that he might tell me something about it and threatened to bring the matter to the Supervisory Commission.- I had then remarked to Jacklin that I would be greatly relieved if I were treated by him as something so important as a Member of Section and that while I had hoped not to have to make any report on Avenol to the Supervisory Committee, if he raised the matter, I would indulge myself for half-an-hour.- The other letter to Kisch was written by hand. I think the reason must have been that he dared not let his private Secretary see it. In it he said he wished only to express his heartfelt and profound admiration for the gallant fight the British were putting up; they were fighting not only for themselves, but for all of us in the world! I have often been nauseated by Avenol in recent months, but this was the limit; it reflected I suppose the reaction on him of the continued British defence, but he also disclosed

to Jacklin another reason by word of mouth: he told him he hoped to be made the go-between the French and British Governments. When Jacklin told me this, I laughed saying that neither one nor the other would touch him: Avenol was nobody in France and a lot less than that in London. He certainly is an incredible creature.

Sent ~~London~~ to London 26/9

Lester to Hambro

Following is for your use at Supervisory Commission Stop I had intended discussing with the Commission the situation of the Secretariat in Switzerland, the possibilities of work and survival here, the question of temporary transfer of all or part elsewhere. I have been rendered uneasy by signs of change of attitude of the Swiss Government in last two months Stop There have been certain facts and fairly clear tendency which have led me to conclusion that Swiss Government would not be displeased at Secretariat departure or liquidation Stop Appreciate Switzerland's difficulties due to geographical position and recent events Stop Increasing volume of obstacles however render continued efficiency of technical services very doubtful and cannot shirk raising problem of transfer Stop Communications by letter are often slow and uncertain and telegraphic communication with Geneva is deteriorating Stop

I have personally for more than six months favoured - and still favour - transfer from Switzerland of vital technical elements, but policy pursued till first September prevented serious consideration and preparation and seemed envisage practical liquidation this year.

The consequences of the closing of the Spanish frontier by secret order the day the Labour Office party passed through now reveals a new and worse situation.

I realize there are arguments for maintaining official headquarters at Geneva, or somewhere in Europe, to keep the basis for ultimate reconstruction of inter-

continental organization Stop The Spanish action rendering existence more precarious raises however the question of complete evacuation if and when possible Stop I dislike any suggestion ^{even} temporarily abandoning post at League seat, but on the whole my judgement now recommends complete transfer as best means survival.

Either complete or partial transfer, or even continuance existence at Geneva, requires raising of Spanish ^{embryo}. Otherwise we may become little more than a garrison ^{for} headquarters Stop Any merely general consent by Spain ^{to open} the door could be reversed at any moment Stop

Object of any serious negotiations should therefore be specifically for the passage of a substantial party consisting either of selected officials from certain Sections, or for group representing entire Secretariat Stop Request you consider (1) desirability of temporary transfer and eventually (2) which elements should be transferred (3) where headquarters should be envisaged (4) how and with whom negotiations should be conducted Stop Unless special views expressed can deal with (2) Stop Would like avoid dispersal of staff in different centres Stop Regarding (4) negotiations needed with Swiss Government, Government of destination country, and Governments on route France Spain Portugal Stop Success under this heading would require very active support from League members Stop Our means here of negotiating are restricted Stop We must also envisage possibility that barrier to further removal technical services ^{may} ~~will~~ be maintained Stop

Work involved in any substantial transfer would be heavy for Treasury and Personnel.

Above can only be bare outline of some aspects of problem but trust you can use it basis for urgent consideration at this meeting.

(copy)

Telegram

PI/9(5)

From: Sir Walford Selby, Lisbon
To: H.M. Consul, Geneva

Despatched 28th September 1940
Received 29th September 1940 X

No. 1 of the 28th September.

Addressed to Geneva, repeated to F.O. No. 696 for Mr. Makins.

Following received from Hambro:

"Clipper uncertain. Under the circumstances Holma, Pardo Kisch with myself collaborating by telegraph must be considered quorum. Agree entirely coopt Costa du Rels ask those four take steps necessary. After consultation Winant Goodrich and British Embassy propose coopt also Fotich Clark deputy Finance Minister member Economic Committee. With Pardo arriving here quorum would be possible this side. Atmosphere here extremely hopeful for League. Treasurers drafts remarks paragraphs seven alineas one too pessimistic. U.S. declared willing to pass in 1940 other States will follow example. Important Watterson and Rohde come here and visit from Costa du Rels would be highly appreciated. Transfer of opium work satisfactorily arranged total credit for Princeton work 1941 ought to be 500,000 francs. Greetings HAMBRO Waldorf"

(signed) Phelan (ends)

Following from Sir Cecil Kisch: This has not yet been considered by Commission.

(ends)

Selby.

Telegram

From: Sir Walford Selby, Lisbon. To: H.M. Consul, Geneva.

Despatched 28th September
Received 29th September

No. 1 of the 28th September.

Addressed to Geneva, repeated to F.O. No. 696 for Mr. Makins, following for Lester from Phelan begins:

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Friday, October 4th

Although four weeks ago Avenol was assuring Jacklin that we could not have a budget passed for 1941 and that we could not have a meeting of the Supervisory Commission, we have in fact achieved both, as a result of persistent and hard work, and undoubtedly with first class help from London.- At the last moment Hambro, who had broken off a lecture tour in the United States, abandoning twenty lectures for the purpose, got no further than New York, the Clipper was held up for 3 days by bad weather, and although he might have arrived for the last day of the meeting, that arrival was still uncertain and in view of Jacklin's absence and mine and some reports that he would be in personal danger in Lisbon, he decided not to go.- Jacklin and I were both very angry and my last telegram to him was that it was vital the meeting should not fall through because of his absence.

The story of this meeting of the Supervisory Committee would hold some of the "romantic" difficulties of our share in war-time diplomacy:- Holma, the Finn, for instance: the position of his Government between Russia and Germany, his position at Vichy, representations and eventually his so-called holiday trip, plus his passage through the frontier where we were held up. And Costa du Rels, the efforts to get in touch with him when the possibility of our departure suddenly appeared; his midnight telephone message from Cannes to our hotel at Nîmes; his separate journey. Lopez-Olivan getting away from Madrid. Sir Cecil Kisch and the gallant little Miss Rohde flying from England to Lisbon. The difficulties of keeping in touch from here as decisions would be invalid without my consent, bad telephone calls and slow telegrams; the final meeting an hour or so before the boat sailed which brought Pardo and Phelan to the United States. And the sigh of relief when even our somewhat dilapidated budget was finally passed. Well, that is one stage over; it is not impossible ~~the~~ challenge may be worked up on behalf of some Government, but I do not think it can be very serious. The next phases of the task are opening to us and I am now taking up the problem also of the closed Spanish gate.

Wednesday, October 2nd

A telegram came through the other day from Lord Halifax expressing his sympathy with me on my unpleasant experience at the Spanish frontier. I was inclined to pass this without a thought as an ordinary little diplomatic gesture, but on reflecting that it came from the middle of bombed London, I confess I was somewhat touched. They have their qualities, these people.

I heard that "The Spectator" at some date early in September has a paragraph or so about me which seems to be well disposed and uses the expression "holding the fort". It is at any rate another sign of a general good disposition there. Kisch on the telephone to-day from Lisbon emphasized very precisely that he wished us to know that in London they had the most complete confidence in Jacklin and myself.

Massigli who used to be League of Nations man at the Quai d'Orsay & has for some years carried most successfully the Embassy at Ankara, called on me yesterday. He is "en disponibilité" as he was definitely "persona non grata" with the masters of Vichy. He told me the old Marshal had received him in a most friendly and appreciative way, and his political outlook and judgement is similar to my French friends here. I have a notion he will be used in an interesting way in spite of his lack of a post.

I hear Phelan leaves Lisbon to-day for the United States. He will travel in the same boat as Pardo. I shall not, I think, forget the subject of the last discussion which Jacklin and I had with Pardo, when I blushed for him. Incidentally he appears to have been the most unhelpful Member of the Supervisory Committee meeting.

P.s. Last interview - demands for salary, - production of cheque book etc to prove his poverty!! Shocking. I suppose we ^{shall} have to pay for our integrity

(Received 3/12)

Saturday October 5th

Viple tells me that at the Armistice Commission at Wiesbaden the question of the transfer of the I.L.O. was discussed. The French were requested to order the return to Geneva of all the French officials in the I.L.O., that they were not to proceed to Canada and that they were not to make any public statements. The French were also asked as to the disposal of League and I.L.O. archives.

A representative of the "Angriff" of Berlin called on Viple a day or so ago and seemed to be fully informed as to the points discussed at Wiesbaden; he asked precisely the same questions. He also wanted to know if a meeting had been held at Lisbon and was rather excited about the matter.

League of Nations Association
8 West 40th Street
New York City
August 26, 1940

Dear Elsie:

I had the great kick yesterday morning of hearing Sean's voice over the transatlantic telephone from Geneva. At the end of the conversation he said: "Could you drop a line to Elsie to tell her that the one thing I would like to do would be to go back to Ireland to join her, but that, unfortunately, Arthur Sweetser won't let me."

That is, of course, a witticism, unless for the words "Arthur Sweetser" you substitute "the League of Nations." Sean is certainly giving an extraordinary example of devotion and determination in carrying on at his post, which is greatly admired and respected by all of us. I can appreciate fully what the sacrifice means to him, and through what difficulties he has been.

Ruth and I arrived here in mid-May as we had planned a year ago. We have got all our various children together, but are still trying to work out plans for the future. Certainly this is a terribly tough moment for any kind of personal or family life, and I can well imagine how difficult it is for you and yours.

This letter takes the very best wishes to you from both Ruth and myself, and our sincere hopes that it will not be too long before all our situations come back to something more nearly human and normal.

Again with best wishes,

Yours very truly,

P.S. Had to read back my messages.

August 25, 1940

Lester, Page 2

League of Nations Association
8 West 40th Street
New York City
August 26, 1940

Dear Sean:

I wish I could convey to you the emotion ~~we~~^{we} experienced last Wednesday when the Yankee Clipper came down out of the sky from Lisbon, bearing the first members of the staff of the League's technical services. ~~who were~~ coming to the United States in the present emergency in response to an invitation from American sources to carry on and develop their technical work here.

It was a very small thing, perhaps, at the start, only Loveday as Director of the Economic and Financial Section, together with his wife and two children, but at the same time it was a symbol and a promise, which deeply touched all of us.

My mind went back over twenty years to the time when I saw Woodrow Wilson take the League of Nations out of this country and plant it on European soil at the end of the first World War. It seemed peculiarly fitting that part of the League should now, in the moment of trial in European during the second World War, return to the soil of the country which gave it birth - and even to that town of Princeton whence Woodrow Wilson, as a university president, set out to become President of the United States.

Our emotions began with our arrival at the field. We got there a bit early to find out the exact moment of landing and to go off and get a bit of lunch beforehand. Just as I got out of the car, however, I heard the loud speaker shouting: "Attention! Attention! The plane now circling overhead is the Yankee Clipper just completing its one hundredth (?) flight from Lisbon, having left that city twenty-five hours ago."

We had just time to get up on the runway when ~~this~~^{the} immense plane settled gracefully down on the water and was towed up to the landing place. Very shortly Loveday, evidently lame from the automobile accident at Grenoble, walked up the runway, accompanied by his wife and two children, and apparently very surprised to see us.

Dr. Aydelotte had been good enough to send his seven-passenger car up from Princeton, and Riefler had also come with his. We had quite a little reception committee: Riefler, who, as you know, is a member of the League's financial section, Mitchell Carroll, Chairman of the League's Fiscal Committee, Ben Gerwig, Commissioner General of the League's Pavilion at the Fair, and my wife and myself.

Loveday got through the sometimes trying ordeal with the press in very good form, he explaining the technical purposes of his mission, and I adding that he would not want to answer any general questions as to the situation in Europe, as he was here on a purely technical mission which he wanted to keep entirely within those limits. We then went into

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Mr. New York for a very useful hour's talk with Mr. Hambro and for a telephone message to the American Export Line to try to get priority for the rest of the mission now waiting at Lisbon. Thereafter we made the two-hour trip to Princeton to get settled for the night.

The next day we called officially on the Institute people, after which Mr. Hambro came down for a formal business luncheon with Dr. Aydelotte and Riefler of the Institute, Mr. Brakeley of Princeton University, and Mr. Walter Stewart, who is both a member of the Institute and Chairman of the Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. We had nearly three hours of close and very satisfactory discussion, which allowed everything to get started on a good basis.

The following day Loveday, Riefler and I devoted to going over both the working facilities at the Institute and the living facilities in the town. The former are excellent and ought to work out very satisfactorily. The latter are somewhat different from what people are used to in Geneva, but will also develop satisfactorily. One nice thing: Dr. Aydelotte turned over his house to the Lovedays for the ten days that he is to be away on vacation.

I give you all these details to show that the Princeton venture has got off to what seems to me to be a very happy start. Loveday seems to be very pleased with the warmth and cordiality of his reception, and with the facilities for work. He is making every effort to get all the physical details out of the way at the earliest possible moment, and is obviously impatient to get down to actual work.

Mr. Hambro seems equally delighted with the Princeton arrangement, and has been extremely cooperative in every way. He has made two trips to Princeton, as you know, first to look over the situation, and second to see it launched. We can surely count on him for all possible assistance.

There has been a good deal of interest, as you can imagine, as to the possibility of the other sections coming over, notably opium and health, and I have only to assure you that if a decision in that sense is taken at Geneva they will be as cordially received as the economic group. Everyone here with whom I have talked is extremely hopeful that it may work out this way.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,

A.S.

League of Nations Association
8 West 40th Street
New York City
August 26, 1940

Dear Sean:

I certainly got the greatest kick yesterday morning, not only at hearing your voice over the transatlantic phone, but still more, perhaps, in catching the firmness and courage of its tones. It is a grand sensation, to me, to feel that, far away as I am physically from Geneva, I can still reach it by voice. I hope it may have given a similar reaction to you to feel thus in touch with your friends in America.

The information we exchanged seems to me to be extremely satisfactory. We had sensed a good deal of the situation from our general knowledge of Geneva, and had got further intimate details from letters or people coming over. Carter Goodrich had all sorts of information which he passed on, both to me and to Mr. Hambro, at a little luncheon which I arranged for him the day after he arrived. Loveday, of course, added a great deal more, but in addition to that, one or all of us have seen a good many other people recently from Geneva: Winant, Wertheimer, Stenig, Nisot, etc.

Mr. Hambro has been very anxious to get everything that he could, and has asked me to keep in constant touch with him. Apart from my accompanying him to Washington, as he requested, and our two meetings at Princeton, he has had me come up regularly to the Waldorf, and has seemed very appreciative of the information I could give him, and the introductions I could make, not to mention, of course, the opportunity it gave for talking the situation over with someone from Geneva. He has sought every possibility of being of any help he could, and has been very generous and frank in his whole relationship here.

As I said on the phone, we all of us feel the deepest sympathy and understanding for all the difficulties which have faced you these past months. We can pretty well appreciate what they have been, and all of us feel the greatest admiration for your courage and devotion in carrying on in a situation which we deeply appreciate has been getting more and more lonely. Indeed, it gives me a definite twinge of conscience to think of one after another of us leaving, and you staying on in ever greater difficulty. All we can say, I think, is that each of us is trying to do the best he can in the post assigned to him. I do want you to know, however, that what I said on the phone came very much from the heart.

Now, however, it looks as though we were getting into easier waters. The information we exchanged yesterday on the telephone and your cable to Mr. Hambro last night indicate a considerable clarification. Perhaps now we will be able to go ahead with greater clarity and unity, even if with sadly reduced facilities.

The next important thing would seem to be the meeting of the Supervisory Commission. Mr. Hambro is leaving this coming Saturday for a

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three-months' speaking tour throughout the country, and would therefore find it exceedingly difficult from a personal point of view to break into it to go to Lisbon. He would be willing to do so, however, if it were possible to arrange a meeting. He would ask, first, that the date be fixed not before the last week in September, which would give him a chance to attend an important meeting in Chicago on September 11th, and, second, that the date be fixed as far in advance as possible in order that he may make all the changes in his own plans that would be necessary. He thinks that such a date would also give you a chance to prepare the budget and make the other necessary arrangements.

As for myself, my three-months' leave of absence will be drawn to an end by the time you get this letter, and I shall be resuming my regular work! My "vacation" has not been very much to boast about; indeed, I have hardly had Sundays off. Also, I have been almost constantly traveling, two or three days each in New York, Princeton, Washington, Boston, Marion, and then around the circle again. However, we have got something done, at least, and have an opportunity of keeping things going on a modest scale until better days come.

With all best wishes, Sean,

As ever,

A. S.

Mr. Sean Lester
9 Rue Contamines
Geneva, Switzerland

AS:MR

P. S. I am writing Elsie, as you will see from the attached.

P. P. S. By the way, if Treasury is alarmed at the expense of my telephone message yesterday, please tell them I did it at Mr. Hambro's request and authorization.

September 3, 1940

Mr. Sean Lester,
9 Rue Contamines,
Geneva, Switzerland.

Dear Sean:

My very warmest congratulations to you in at last getting everything clear, and my very best wishes for the future.

We have had you constantly in our minds these past weeks, as you can imagine, and have been both intrigued by the course that events have taken and anxious about the consequences. We have had a good deal of information from people coming over, Winant, Goodrich, Loveday, Steinig, and others, from your letter to our Northern friend, and from the three telephones. What we have not had thus directly, our imagination has been fully active enough to fill in.

Our Northern friend has been grand throughout. He has himself been very quick with ideas and has been very willing to receive and act upon others. He has been available at all times and hours, went once to Washington and Princeton with me, as you know, and has now asked me to go down again following yesterday's telephone.

It would look, from what we know at the moment, as though things had suddenly cleared up in the end as satisfactorily as could be in the circumstances. Even if certain ordinary events which usually take place at such times were lacking, the result seems, nevertheless, to have been accomplished. I can imagine, from just a pale experience of my own, what the strain and sense of frustration must have been.

I have no need, Sean, to express to you in this letter my very deepest good wishes for the coming months. You know how I feel without my doing so; still I do want you to realize how happy I am that the situation is at last clarified and that we are now all at last free to face the tremendous outside problems unitedly, without uncertainty within ourselves. It is going to be terribly hard, perhaps tragic, going, but at least we can devote all our energies to the outside issues.

A.S.

Monday, October 14th

Lopez-Olivan back from Lisbon and Madrid confirms that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs did not know about the order of Sener's Department of the Interior forbidding League officials, etc. to pass through. He had called at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and they told him they had received notification of our departure and that later a telegram was sent, of which he saw a copy, informing the police of the expected arrival of the party and emphasizing especially the presence of the President of the Court, etc. The telegram would seem to have had no result. I heard however, that Guerrero has been informed that if he wants at a later period to go through Spain, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will send a Secretary to the frontier to facilitate him. Alas! there is no such courtesy for the rest of us.

I thought that Costa du Rels on his return journey would be our best negotiator in Madrid and asked him to see what could be done, but he seems to have had no success of any kind, as is shown in a letter which has just reached me. *Le soir, la mise en marche d'une caravane (7 personnes) après le départ du B.T. et le musée Lapidus, commenté d'une façon stupide par les agitateurs d'information américaines, devant empêcher certaines puissances de empêcher tout nouveau déplacement. C'est ainsi que tandis que le ministère des Aff. Étrangères donnait son ordre, celui de l'Intérieur donnait un autre tout à fait contraire*

Monday, October 14th

Aghnides spent four hours yesterday with the ex-King of Spain and Quinones de Leon. He formed the impression that Alfonso was pro-Italian and perhaps anti-British. ~~Alfonso~~ said that the situation in Spain itself was chaotic, that they did not on the whole want to get into the war but if and when the Germans wanted to pass through, no difficulty would be made. Italy desired to invade Greece and Germany was opposed to it; on the other hand, Germany wanted to occupy Switzerland and Italy was opposed to it. He seemed to think a great deal of the Italian advance on Egypt, believing that Graziani could occupy the entire country. Of Italy he said that the army was "really worked up"; as to the rear "ce n'était pas grand'chose" referring to the civilian morale. He asked if King George of the Greeks was still thinking of resigning(!) and thought that he had been ill-advised to join the Free-Masons(!)

October 16th 1940

I had asked Costa du Rels, as our most promising negotiator, to stop at Madrid and discuss the question of the prohibition of the passage to League officials. In a letter to me, brought by hand, he says that he discussed the matter and writes that our departure

"après le départ du BIT et de la mission Loeday, commenté d'une façon stupide par les agences d'information américaines, devait amener certaines puissances à empêcher tout nouveau déplacement. C'est ainsi que, tandis que le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères donnait un ordre, celui de l'Intérieur en donnait un autre tout-à-fait contraire. Le Colonel Beigbeder m'a déclaré qu'il regrettait beaucoup la façon dont on avait traité le Président de la Cour de la Haye, sur instructions du Ministère de l'Intérieur. Il m'a déclaré qu'au prochain passage de M. Guerrero, si je le prévenais trois jours à l'avance, il enverrait un fonctionnaire de sa dépendance pour le recevoir à la frontière et le prendre sous sa sauvegarde. Quant aux fonctionnaires de la SDN, il ajouta que l'Espagne est obligée de les ignorer, en souvenir de l'attitude de cette organisation internationale dans la guerre civile espagnole, ne pouvant pas leur reconnaître aucun caractère diplomatique. D'après le sens de certaines phrases ajoutées à cette déclaration, je dois en inférer que si ces fonctionnaires voyageaient isolément, avec un passeport ordinaire, qui ne comporterait aucune allusion à leurs fonctions au sein de la SDN, avec un simple visa de transit vers le Portugal, la chose serait bien moins difficile et tout serait subordonné à la nationalité de chacun. Vous savez, par exemple, que ni les Polonais, ni les Tchèques ne sont admis.

"Je crois donc que si, par extraordinaire, vous décidiez de faire quitter Genève à une certaine catégorie de fonctionnaires, il faudrait préparer un voyage perlé, et sans aucune ostentation et, surtout, aucune indiscretion de la part de chaque voyageur.

"Vous me direz peut-être que tout ceci n'est pas bien brillant, mais je vous dirai que nous vivons à une époque dans laquelle il faut donner au droit le caractère d'une faveur.

"Pour votre gouverne, je dois ajouter que le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères me déclara que tant qu'il sera au poste où il se trouve, l'Espagne ne sortirait pas de sa neutralité, bienveillante aux puissances de l'Axe. La présence du Colonel Beigbeder au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères est donc une garantie de paix qui durera, ce qu'elle durera. Il est toutefois évident que dans un avenir éloigné encore, il faudra s'attendre à voir l'Espagne prendre une attitude un peu plus rigide, sauf si le vent tourne.

"M. Lopez Olivan vous donnera des précisions complémentaires. D'ores et déjà, je dois ajouter que j'ai eu avec M. Cairo de Matta un long entretien confidentiel à Lisbonne sur la possibilité d'établir un noyau du Secrétariat dans cette ville qui put faire la liaison entre les Etats-Unis et Genève. Il me répondit qu'il en parlerait à M. de Salazar et que la réponse me serait adressée par l'intermédiaire du Ministre du Portugal à Berne. Quant à la Cour, M. de Salazar accepte de voir

le Greffe installé à Lisbonne et, le cas échéant la Cour elle-même, si d'aventure, elle devait avoir une session ou plusieurs. On lui a même destiné, in petto, paraît-il, le Palais de l'Assemblée Législative."

The suggestion of M. Costa du Rels that officials could travel separately on ordinary passports which did not mention their function is discouraged by M. Lopez Olivan, who thinks that this will not prove possible. Since the letter was written, Felkin, who was basing his appeals to the Spanish Government mainly on his independence of the League of Nations and who was strongly supported from Washington, has been refused the visa. Olivan thinks that if a person who is known to be an official of the League presents a new passport which does not show his position, to the Spanish Authorities for visa, it will merely be regarded as "attempted fraud" and in such cases, the Consul or Minister would, he thinks, certainly refer the matter to Madrid for decision.

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17/10/40

Elliot Felkin, pacifist etc, has just heard that the British Embassy in Madrid has arranged for him to get ordinary Consular transit visas.

Last week the semi-official Swiss cinema news showing a picture of two omnibuses announced "The last of the R.N. officials leaving Geneva."

Riet-Golaz is, I hear, still suffering a political relapse after the Seltis incident concerning the Swiss legis.

In the beginning of September I got some June & July letters from Elise & the girls. Then came an air letter dated 23/8 which only took a fortnight. They seem to have had a good summer at Ardagh & two Camanara friends helped! Since then I have had several letters, averaging 3 weeks "by air" to Dublin & thence rail. Many missing.

The Christian Science Monitor of October 26th 1940 contained an article signed by Peter Lyne. It seems to have been written from London and was entitled

"Will the League idea survive"

The following are quotations:

"A number of English Members (of the Secretariat) arrived in London recently after an adventurous and hazardous 33 days journey from Switzerland. They have harsh words to say of their last weeks in the service of the League. For sometime they had been highly critical of their Secretary-General Joseph Avenol; they considered him too closely involved in French political and Vichy interests. His aim seemed to them to be directed towards freeing the League from British influence. He was known to have been in close contact with German representatives in Switzerland before the French collapse."

* * *

"The strain of working under Secretary-General Avenol has been removed by his resignation."

* * *

After discussing the possibility of the reconstruction of the League and American initiative in this direction, the writer goes on:

"Other circles claim to take a more realistic view of the extent of American future commitments; this view has been summarized by the Times as follows:

"Let us tell ourselves frankly that the United States have no intention of concerning themselves in the political future of any European country or of cooperating in any new political order outside the Western Hemisphere. Where we can count with confidence on the prospect of American collaboration and American generosity after the war is in the field of Economic and Social reconstruction." ./.

I heard of a house bought by Alice in the beginning of June or end of May 3½ months later. And of Arthur Corc's marriage with Mrs Kevin O'Riggins.

Alec Lueder sent E. a long letter from U.S.A. which dealt with my troubles & situation in a way I could not.

Was interested in D.A. writing that she thought of (for) me when measuring up her men. And that she was lucky in her parents. Maturity gets even parents into perspective, & it's nice at all be favorable. I remember the same thought I had about her age.

Ann & D.A. keep remembering how "young & lovely" is their mamma.



AVIZ HOTEL
AVENIDA FONTES
LISBOA PORTUGAL

recd^d
18/10/60

Dear Lester,

Thank you for your fine and generous message.

Since seeing you last in Geneva I have done what I could to help you and Jackie and I hope it has been of some use, although I know that distance with limited communications does not lend itself to effective co-operation.

I want you and Jackie to know how much I have admired your work in carrying on and insisting that all that can be done with the League machinery will be done and that the integrity of the Organization is secured.

It seemed best to me not to reply to your wire by cable so I am leaving this brief note so that you will receive it by hand. With every good wish.

Sincerely
John Gilbert Warrant.

Greece was attacked on 3 hours notice by the Italians in November. I, like many others, who had anticipated this move, thought the weight of a prepared offensive would drive them to Salonika in a few days. Metaxas flung back the ultimatum & his men seem to have done the same with the Italian troops. They are still in the frontier region. The English are helping, mostly by sea & in the air but the Greeks are taking it like "stunt fellows". Crete has become a British base & Italian cities & harbours are now exposed to attack. Taranto, naval base in "the heel", got some aerial torpedoes which seem to have put three battleships out of action.

one can learn there has been
no Irish opposition in the USA
this time, in comparison with the
campaign of propaganda &
action in 1914-18.

The "Times" of 15/8 contained a
long memo signed by 17 leading
Irishmen, all anti-Kege, 12 from
N.I. & 5 from Eire, protesting against
the methods used in setting up the
Local Defence Force in the Six
Counties. Practically given into
the hands of the local govt which
practically means the croymen
who will think the only preparation
they have to make is to fight
the Catholics. And Eden is now
war minister. The Black Hand
again. What a pity.

Wednesday, November 13th 1940

Difficulties with Jacklin in the
summer time were ascribed to (1) a
sense of personal loyalty to an old
Chief; (2) mental and moral difficulty
in believing wrong of him, especially
when played upon by a more acute mind;
(3) a certain lack of perspicacity in
general political matters. It took
most patent threats to the funds to
waken him, together with a certain
amount of pressure from outside. In
addition, the nerve strain at the time,
separation from and anxiety for his
family, and perhaps a certain degree
of isolation had been contributing to
a "malaise" in his case, as indeed in
that of all of us. At the side was an
old and extremely bitter feud with
Aghnides; perhaps a minor degree of
distrust of myself and behind all, the
regrettable inferiority complex with
some of its more common manifestations.

I have myself long been convinced
that Jacklin's integrity, his outspoken-
ness, his courage, as well as his finan-
cial ability and the confidence with
which he is so widely and properly
regarded, were qualities which made him
one of the principal pillars of the
Secretariat and the Organization. I had
indeed early in the war expressed the
opinion to Avenol that he, ^{and} Jacklin, and
Loveday were the only really indispen-
sable principal officers.

These considerations guided me
in my general conduct towards Jacklin
and those factors previously mentioned
made me realize that I also had to
"nurse him" to be always conscious of
his susceptibilities. The defects -
and which of us is free from defects -
have not seriously affected his great
value. Indeed, if I could have recogni-
zed a little political aptitude, Jacklin
would have been an ideal person to have
taken charge of the Institution instead
of myself.

Some of my new responsibilities, especially connected with finances and the increased and increasing difficulties of the period have made me count on Jacklin even more than any Secretary-General would have had to do in normal times. In any case, I have shown him

even personal correspondence relating to our situation and in every way treated him as my principal colleague. Then came the question of setting up an Office outside to collect contributions. There was definitely a case to be made for this and I accepted his arguments, not without some qualms. I recommended it to Kisch so that he would have time to consult his friends before leaving London for the Supervisory Committee, as I had understood the principle had been laid down there that the Treasurer and Secretary-General should keep together. The text of that message was redrafted by Jacklin eliminating an interpolation of mine indicating regret at losing his help at Headquarters. I was somewhat astonished to hear later that an impression had by some means developed that I wished Jacklin to go, while he wished to stand by his post here.

From time to time I deprecated tentative suggestions from Jacklin that the reduction of principal officers could include himself. A peculiarly worded message then arrived from the Foreign Office and Jacklin at once began to make arrangements to get his visas in order to go outside to collect contributions, which he believes would not be obtained from here.

During this period I have had from time to time rather peculiar little moral lectures from Jacklin, some times based upon complete misunderstandings and some times no doubt useful correctives. There have also been minor outbursts of irascibility to which probably gout has contributed.

Yesterday I was discussing with Jacklin questions connected with his journey and subsequent work. He expressed the fear that he would not be allowed to stay at Lisbon or to go to London but would be sent to the United States and he said he did not wish to go to the United States. I said that I could quite understand that, but that even if he were in the United States he would be "out of prison", he would have no unreasonable facilities of getting to London where he could see his family, etc.-

Then, Jacklin said: "Look here, I have not been quite frank with you; I want to take up that post in the Treasury

which was offered to me. I would like to finish my career in the service in which I began, etc..."- It appears, therefore, that ~~the real intention of~~ the plans to get out have not been based on the arguments used. Although I had expected that this might happen, I got something of a shock. It probably also explains the some times unmeasured language used on certain general questions, no doubt unconsciously influenced by this deep preoccupation.

I said to him that I could perfectly well understand his wishes, but it seemed to me that unless the attitude taken up by the principal Government still supporting the League were a farce, they would not be altogether happy at seeing the last senior British official go away from the Secretariat.

20/x/40.

newspapers report Paris Unrest etc
closed owing to manifestations on Armistice Day.
Swiss & other arrivals from Paris report many students
killed & wounded during a march to the Unknown
Soldiers Tomb. One story is that they carried
poles on their shoulders with the word "Vive!" a pole
in French is "gauche". Gen. de Gaulle is arguing
forces to continue the war against Germany.

Hungary has formally joined the recent
German-Italian-Japanese Pact. Rumania
recently occupied after the flight of the King, is
expected next. Britain & France are trying to
bring France into close & realistic collaboration
with the Axis. Spain is being courted - Super
fr & France said to be against Spain being more
closely tied. a few days ago much bruit
about Molotov's visit to Berlin. Today King
 Boris of Bulgaria is in Germany.

A very intense diplomatic activity.
perhaps a set-off to Roosevelt's reelection,
reorganising Europe's "new order", & preparing
to further military action.

In all accounts the English are
standing up to their trials marvellously.
Coventry was partly destroyed a week ago
& now Birmingham got 500 one-ton bombs
& incendiaries. ^{soldier} A humorist on the
BBC recently said he "was knitting socks
for aviators".

Devalera gave a long interview
to the American Press on the
Porto question yesterday. I heard it on
the Atlantic wave length.
Pretty sensible.

Reading "The Twenty Year Crisis
- 1919-39" by Prof. E. H. Carr, published a
year ago. Very sound. Chapters on
"International Morality" & "Prospects of
a new International Order" well worth
remembering

30. 10. 40

My dear Lester,
There is the cutting
from the Spectator. A
nice tribute to the "Jew",
but fine & dearest, "Pickens".

The fact that M. Joseph Avenol ceased to be Secretary-General of the League of Nations last Saturday will be hailed with unaffected relief by all who hope and believe that the League in some form or other will still have an important part to play in the post-war world. Personally a perfectly agreeable character, M. Avenol has been little less than a disaster as Secretary-General, as every member of the loyal and cohesive body of international civil servants which grew up under Sir Eric Drummond would agree. Mr. Sean Lester, who will take charge temporarily of the skeleton which represents the Secretariat at the moment, can be counted on to do the little there is to be done with all possible efficiency. A quiet, but firm and decided, Irishman, Mr. Lester displayed both courage and tact in the impossible post of High Commissioner of the League at Danzig, and he will hold whatever fort there is to hold as well as anyone could.

THE SPECTATOR, SEPTEMBER 6, 194

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= SWEET MEMORIES OF TWENTY YEARS AND FUTURE EXPECTATIONS LOVE
= LESTER +

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3/X/40

Spanish authorities refusal on 22nd September to permit passage of Mr. Lester, M. Guerrero President of International Court, Jacklin and his assistant and a Portuguese official although provided with transit visas by Spanish Legation and Consulate here was stated at frontier to be due to general order issued 13th August Stop This prohibited the passage of all officials of League and allied organs Stop Lester understands Governments of other nationals are taking matter up with Spanish Government primarily as to reasons for refusal to allow the passage of their nationals Stop He asks me to inform you à toutes fins utiles.

LEGATION D'IRLANDE

EIRE

James Joyce Esq.,
Hôtel du Commerce
Saint-Gérard-le-Puy
Allier

Hôtel Gallia ,

Vichy

26 th. November, 1940

Dear Mr. Joyce,

I was both surprised and disappointed to receive a note (of which I enclose a copy herewith) from the German Embassy through Count O'KELLY, to the effect that your daughter's journey to Switzerland cannot take place.

I do not know why this decision has been reached unless it is because, as it may be possible to infer from the note, she is the holder of a British passport. I had gathered as I told you at the time, from the informal talk which I had with a member of the Embassy during my visit to Paris in August last that her journey would not give rise to any difficulty, in spite of her holding a British passport. I may add, however, that there is no doubt that since the month of September, the German authorities have become more strict in regard to the travelling of foreigners.

Yours sincerely

Minister Plenipotentiary

P1/9 (8)

OFFICE OF THE

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,

CANADA HOUSE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

Rec 2-1/10

September 9th 1940.

Dear Sean:

I have been meaning to
send you a line for many months,
and I am taking the opportunity
provided by the interruption of normal
office work for an hour or two, such
gives me some unaccustomed leisure.
You must have had a grim and
harassing time during the last four
or five months, and I have often
thought of you and wished you well.
I am glad that events have so moved
that you are now in command. I
have been able to keep fairly closely in

us as yet. I doubt that the
kaiser by these tactics can either
break people's nerves or achieve
any important military object. It's
going to be damned unpleasant, but
nothing worse than that, I think.

I hear Frank Greening has gone to
Berlin as 'Chargé d'Affaires'. Salute him
from me if you see him. Craig has recently
is installed at the Ministry of Economic
Warfare & C. Purvis at the Ministry of
Supply. I've not seen Frank Walters for
two or three months. I think he's in
the country still.

It is specially tough for you to be
cut off from your family for so long.
I hope they get on well in Dublin.

Love joins me in sending warm
regards,
Yours ever
Humphreys.

"The Twenty Years' Crisis - 1919-39"

by Professor E. H. Carr is one of the best, if not the best, studies of the period. Carr, whom we knew when he was in the Foreign Office, is has an independent, penetrating, balanced mind.

Whoever goes to the next Peace Conference should read it half a dozen times.

"Foreign Affairs" (N.Y.) has a good diary of "The Demise of France". Perhaps not yet in full perspective.

"Journal de France", by — — —, by a writer who was very much to the Right, rather pro-farmer, is another interesting documentary contribution. Hence a bulletin

November 22nd 1940

The position of M. da Silva, the only Portuguese official in the Secretariat, has been facilitated by his own desire to return to Lisbon, resign and take up a new position at a small salary in his own country.

I had been handling the case with some delicacy, knowing that da Silva wished to go and wishing to avoid any possible political reactions to the dismissal of a Portuguese official at this moment.

The matter has now been arranged, but da Silva informed me that yesterday he had talked with Jacklin in Stencek's presence and said that he had been extremely embarrassed by what he regarded as an attack by the Treasurer on his own chief, Agnides:- His statement that the whole of Department I should be abolished and would be, if he had his way -; he felt it still more awkward when Jacklin asked him what his political views were and how he stood on the question of democracy.- Da Silva replied that as his own country was not a democratic country, he could not expect him to express an opinion on this question and that it was the first time in his five years' service his personal political views had been brought into question.- He said that Jacklin then asked how they could collaborate together (when Jacklin reaches Lisbon) if they did not hold the same political views.- Da Silva said he has replied that that would be very regrettable, but that he could not make any profession of political faith; he understood that his collaboration would be of a non-political kind. Da Silva added that he was also informed that the only countries that the Treasurer was interested in were the British Empire, etc.

I said to da Silva I understood he was not mentioning this matter to me in an official way, that the personal political views of officials were not a matter of concern to either the Treasurer or the Secretary-General and that so far as my own position was, I would bear in mind that the fourty odd States in the League were some democratic and some quite the reverse. I expressed the hope that he would not take the Treasurer's remarks too seriously on this matter, that in fact he had spoken to me personally very highly of da Silva, but that he was at present suffering from gout and neuritis and so on.

It is rather an unfortunate little incident in view of the plan that the Treasurer should establish himself at Lisbon.

P1/9 (9)

For Jacklin is married to
Govt. Administration & Affairs

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Sweetser writing from Princeton on November 7th says:

"Next, I have just had a letter from our Northern friend (Hambro) on the Coast, acknowledging mine of October 23rd enclosing yours, which he says he read "with deep sympathy for his great work and for the "spirit in which he has undertaken it -- as he himself "expresses it, not with complete optimism, but with "patience and determination."

"He then asks me, in view of his difficulties in "writing, to tell you how much "my heart goes out to "him and how much I would like to see him." He "thinks that your citizenship ought to make it "possible for you to return home and then perhaps "take a long trip over here, and, as someone has "suggested, through Latin-America with Lopez."

I appreciate this from Hambro.

Restaurant Scene

Memo (December 1940)

Royal Tyler dinner at the Globe. Beside him Swiss banker and wife. Next table a beautiful blonde, next table two Swiss soldiers. Scene caused by the banker suddenly rising and denouncing the soldiers as a disgrace to the uniform. Quarrel: the banker leaves restaurant and calls gendarme; returns and loud quarrel continues joined in by other heroes of the army. Eventually banker knew Tyler slightly and appealing to him as umpire: do you not consider it a disgrace to the uniform that this soldier should ask this lady whom he does not know..... and une remarque piquante by one of Tyler's party: Pourquoi pas?

The humour of the story resides in the fact that it is true and that it happened to Tyler in his late fifties, with great dignity and one of the most cultured men I know.

British Legation,
Berne. Tel. 25737
or Friedheimweg 53.
Tel. 25329.

16. XII. 40.

My dear Mr. Lester,

I hasten to return
what has become something
like the elixir of life....!

Seeing you on the H.C.s
did me lots of good, I feel
immensely more cheerful in
consequence. I'm afraid I was
so happy to be with people with
my own attitude to life that
I made a great deal of noise.
By the way my new friends long
as accustomed me to every
kind of story.

I ^{for} would particularly
like to give you something

Lately received "Prologue to War"

"Slightly more to the point!"

Monday, December 16th 1940

I had had some correspondence with and about James Joyce and his family. On Sunday morning got a telephone message from the Richmond they had arrived there. I spent three hours with them in the afternoon before they caught their train for Lausanne.

The famous Joyce is tall, slight, in the fifties, blue eyes and a good thatch of hair. No one would hesitate in looking at him to recognize his nationality and his accent is as Dublin as when he left it over thirty years ago. His eye-sight is very bad and he told me some years ago it had been saved for him by the famous Vogt of Zurich, who had also operated ^{on} De Valera. - His son, seemingly in the late twenties, came in first. A fine, well-built fellow, with a peculiar hybrid accent in English. He told me he is a singer and has sung in Paris and New-York. He is married to an American girl and I had the ^{new} secret hope that, energetic as he seemed, he was no hanger-on.

Joyce and I soon got on intimate terms. He is completely unspoilt by his world success. Natural and pleasant in manner. I told him I had read very early his small book of poems "Chamber Music"; then "Dubliners" and had then reviewed "The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" (^{having} assured myself that he had no recollection I had done it for the Freeman's Journal) and although I had not re-read the book for fifteen years, I still remembered very vividly the first chapter in which he described ^A Parnellite household in the crisis of the '90's. I am sure the review was very inadequate.

I then told him that I had tried to read "Ulysses" but had to confess I never read it all. I remembered the impression ^{of} splashes of beauty, but the Dublin "argot" at times beat me; I had often wondered how on earth foreigners got along with it. - He told me it had been translated into French, German, Czech, Russian, Swedish and, I think, Italian. When I ventured my remark on the incomprehensibility of parts of it, Joyce said that he too had some times wondered what the Monsieur in Tokio made of the Japanese translation. - There was a touch of humour in his voice which showed me I had not been trampling too much and in too grave a way on his susceptibilities.

He asked me if I had read "Finnigan's Wake".
I said I had read scraps of it when it was being
published. He said it was even worse than the "Ulysses"
and had taken seventeen years to write it. I said: Is
it a big book? I have not seen it yet, and he replied
: that reminds me of the story of the drunken Irishman
walking from ~~London to Dublin~~ and when questioned as to the
length of the road, said it was not the length that
worried him, it was the width. - He told me he has

also published a book with a title something like
"Thirteen poems for a penny" (reminiscent of D
Kelleher's commercial display on the Strand). -
He then began to rake up mutual acquaintances.
He had shaken the dust of Dublin off his feet some
years before I arrived there. I told him I was an Antium
man who spent his early life in Belfast. - You need
not tell me, he replied (my accent always sharpens
again when I am with Irish). His father came from
Cork, he said; his wife from Galway and he from
Dublin, so ~~there~~ were a representative group. He
spoke of Oliver ~~Sogarty~~ about whom he inquired
and about his hotel in the West. I had never met
John Eglinton and yet it is only
he kept coming back to Herbert Hughes, the northern
musician who spent so much time in London; I had met
him not long before his death and liked him very much
but told him of my wife's long acquaintanceship with
him. Hughes he said had published a peculiar book
of at least a dozen of his poems having them set to
music by twelve composers all of different nationali-
ties. A nice little international tribute to Joyce.
I mentioned Desmond Fitzgerald's name with a very
faint response. Dick Hayes, he knew only by name.
As to ~~Lemux Robinson~~ he inquired whether he was a parti-
cular friend of mine. I said I knew him fairly well
and then he referred to a series of dramatic compe-
titions given over the Dublin wireless; they ended
after a couple of weeks, or rather the adjudication
was changed; describing some of the adjudications
by Robinson he said that there was not the slight-
est doubt the man was completely tight; he had two adjectives
which he employed without any other qualification for
each of the competitors.

John Dulanty, the High Commissioner in London,
he liked and respected very much and he talked of
John Sullivan who was born in Cork, but left at the
age of three for Paris and who apparently became a
fairly renowned singer. For Count ~~de~~ Kelly, he spoke
of his ability to write beautiful French and when I
mentioned Gerald's ~~brochure~~ on "les petits vins",
disclosed that it was he who introduced Gerald to the
Clos de St-Patrice, probably, he thought, the oldest
vineyard in France; the Château-Neuf du Pape was com-
paratively young and, in his view, seemed to be more
or less a descendant of the St-Patrice. I ventured
a remark that it was not a wine worthy of the great
name and he said laughingly that he would never drink
it himself. There was another St-Patrice on the Loire
where the tradition was that St-Patrick on his Rome
pilgrimage had crossed the river on his mantle and on
arriving at the other side had planted his black thorn
stick. The Parish priest in the village had told him
that this had grown and flowered always in December
and the shrub or tree was known as the "fleur de St-
Patrice". Unfortunately during the last war the
Sacristain, or gardener, had had a "crise de nerfs"
following family losses and had hacked down the
ancient bush.

Joyce told me that he had only spent ten days
in Ireland during the last thirty years - some day
I hope I shall get the story of his departure from
him -. He seemed to have gone first to Trieste,
where he taught English. His children were born
there and they did not speak any English until they
were twenty and in the family asides over the tea-
table, I noticed it was always in Italian. - I said
to Joyce, "why do you not go home? I myself would
like so much to do so." "I am attached to it daily
and nightly like an umbilical cord; the family who
had gathered by this time, joined in protest as it
was true he kept the Radio Eire going on the wire-
less all the time. His son intervened and said
"one thing I am thankful to be in Switzerland for
is that I can now have a room of my own"; they had
been living for six months in a tiny village, 40 kms.
from Vichy. Joyce then began to discuss with him
all sorts of details of the daily program; the son
was outraged by the quality of opera broadcast. I
said I enjoyed the folklore songs most of all. We
laughed together over the last "question-time"; when
the three girls typists gave some screamingly funny

replies. The only one I could remember was when one of them was asked the precise meaning of a "bourgeois" and replied "an Italian soldier". Then Joyce remarked that one of the competitors, the one who got top-marks on the previous Sunday, when asked who had won such and such a literary prize two years ago, had replied "I am not sure, but I think it was Joyce"; there were short controversies with the competitor, but he was adjudicated correct. Joyce said that when the Dublin ^{Labourer} ~~competitor~~ gave this reply, which was correct, he stood up and bowed to the receiver.

They were going to settle in Zurich, where they had some good friends. I said I thought it was unusual place for him to choose and asked, what about Suisse Romande? His wife then intervened and said that Zurich had always been associated with certain crises in their life: they had rushed from Austria at the beginning of the last war and had lived in Zurich very comfortably; they had spent their honeymoon there; it was there that Joyce's eyesight had been saved and now they were going back in another crisis. They like the stolid virtues of the people. Joyce describing any Saturday night dinner in a restaurant when a score of men, fat and square-headed, would sit eating a great meal talking the patois of which he could not understand a word, while the wives stayed at home darning socks and cleaning silver until they were allowed out on the Sunday night. - Joyce said he often wondered he had not been expelled from France because of his strongly expressed conviction that Switzerland's white wine (he only drinks white wine) was vastly superior to anything he drank in France.

They had left their place in Paris in May; it was filled with most precious books, first editions and presentations from all over the world, and with many good pictures. He had, he told me, some of Jack ~~parts~~ and asked about Paul Henry, whom we also admired.

Gossiping afterwards, he told me that he had been a rival to the young McCormack and in their early days in Dublin, his wife had some time tried to persuade him to follow the musical career and drop the writing. That was at a time when he was having a hard struggle and apparently it was "a near thing". Mrs. Joyce - showing more signs of her cosmopolitan life, pleasant voice - joined in deploring McCormack's pathetic and tragic insistence on continuing to sing as he did when his voice had gone.

Joyce's practical blindness was most noticeable over the tea; he asked his wife to prepare a piece of toast for him and then decided with slight pathos to have biscuits which were easy to find. Shaking hands with them, I noticed his wife who acted as his eyes indicated to him to hold out his hand. When I asked him if he had read one or two recent books mentioning Desmond Ryan's ~~a~~ book of recollections, he showed me his difficulties: he has two glasses, one, a small magnifying glass which he has to use for reading and when he writes he has another glass which must be affixed to his spectacles and each time he has to read something while writing has to make a change; obviously the poor fellow can read very little and slowly: one can understand the radio!

The second time I mentioned the question of his returning home, his wife said she had been trying to induce him to for the last two or three years. Joyce said nothing, but when I spoke of getting home in the present circumstances, he said the journey would have been quite possible for him, but he felt it would not be very dignified to go home in the present circumstances. Speaking about the daughter who has had a bad nervous breakdown and has been in a sanatorium for two or three years, he said she was a very gentle and sweet creature; he apparently had gone to visit her every weekend and had at first Sean Murphy obtain permission from the Germans to leave the occupied zone; O'Kelly who had acted for Murphy said that when the application was made to the German Commandant in Paris, the latter granted it as once having read and admired Joyce's work. The visa given by the Vichy Government for the exit of his son in view of very strict application of the rule preventing foreigners, and especially belligerents (the Joyces all had British passports) under the age of 40 to leave the country, was difficult to understand and had astonished them - the application had been made for the four visas: Joyce, wife, son and eight-year old grandson; they did not understand it had been granted, but perhaps it was again the magic of Joyce's name.

"Joyce wrote a MAGICAL story!"

Edna

Thursday, December 19th 1940

The Greek successes have given rise to the usual crop of funny stories. Heard two or three of them at luncheon. Herr Hitler supposed to be annoyed with the Italian situation and to have telephoned sarcastically to Signor Mussolini, asking him if he was yet in Athens. Mussolini supposed to have replied: Can't hear you very well, are you speaking from London?. Then two of the same character; one of the notice supposed to have been put up by the French frontier guards at Menton: "Camarades Grecs, Arrêtez-vous ici, c'est la frontière française." And the inquiry from the Italians to Général Guisand as to why Swiss troops were being concentrated round the Gothard region and Guisand fictitious reply to the Italians, that it was not against them, but against the Greeks!

Extract from Linn's Day Letter to Elise

" I have been listening to the B.B.C.. I do find poor George rather uninspiring. Perhaps his stammer is the principal cause. But there was much that was moving in the stories from the common people, and then the litanies of defeated nations, ^{of their national actions} ~~litanies of the nations themselves~~ - defeated yet undefeated. - Our own history makes it seem almost natural and easier to understand this spirit and the kind of courage which just holds on even in black days and to which the might of conquering power is never an argument for surrender. While there is something of this in the Spirit of Man, might will never make right. Do you remember Stephen Gwynne's poem? I don't remember much of it, but it begins

Thine it is to merit
Fame of a finer grace
In the self-renewing spirit
And untameable heart,
Ever defeated yet undefeated,
Of their unconquerable race.
XXXXX
Of a land where to ~~fail~~
Is more than to triumph
And victory less than defeat.

Thine names shall be cherished
apart
and their memories green & sweet,
on every hillside, in every
moor,

" It was called the Song of Defeat and was addressed to all those gallant ^{Irish} ~~ones~~ who in their struggle for freedom did not know defeat when it came, and so it never came and conquest could never be completed.

Perhaps it is in part a glorification even of defeat. But the Poles would understand and I think the same spirit will grow with others in captivity. "

Alone all Linn's Day listening to the wireless.
Telegrams from Sweetser (California); Rhode (London);
Phelan (Montreal); Belt (somewhere in a ship); etc
& from Princeton - "Thinking of you like Kathleen O'Rourke"
No news from home. Think they are
at Arkagh - They probably think I'm on
holiday somewhere.

Eighty ex-secretariat of the Linn's Day Luncheon
together the other day & telegraphed greetings.

x. Telegram came on 26/12

1st January 1941.

Dull as ditchwater this morning, fed up and depressed. Partly because I stayed out till nearly 1 this morning and drank a glass of champagne at midnight, including a toast to "absent ones". Also got a letter from Arthur S last night and one from Alec L today both on Arthur's position and not coinciding with what had been done. And I have much sympathy with them and am not at all sure that I have acted for the best. I don't want to blame anyone but I was and allowed myself to be very much influenced by Jacklin and though he may have been right about the money end I perhaps shd have insisted more on my own instinctive judgement. However- we'll see.

Also all my New Year greetings have included the hope that we shall soon be reunited and I keep avoiding thinking too much on that myself- it gets too much under the skin. So here I am this bright New Year's Day passing off all my depression on you.

And I am not going to the office and don't know what to do with my leave.

After looking at this have decided that it can't go to Ireland. I am down in the mouth. I am living from week to week and month to month and the future is dark and unknown. I can't see how it could come about that I'll see my dear ones for a year. I must hold on here. I dare not desert. I hope I shall not. I suppose I have not real courage nor real "guts".

Have also begun again this last weeks to worry about the financial future. Over 52 and no sign of peace and modest ease. Even modest earning uncertain. Children not yet educated and Elsie unprovided for. I had ceased to worry when the war did come and there seemed little that could be done to provide for an unsure future. It's all very blue.

I suppose it mainly comes from physical nervous and mental tiredness and the loneliness.

This has been accompanied by a sermon from St Pierre on the T S F in which the Genevese pastor had a marvellous text in the futility of human provision against the ills of life- the states that had a year ago believed themselves strong and well protected, or virtuous in their isolation, with food and force and wealth and armies; and they are no more. And the men who insure against all troubles and who in their complacency believe themselves sheltered. And who can say it today?

Now that I have got this off I can settle and write something more balanced for my letter home.

We certainly find it hard to realise how well off we are.

Spent two nights in Frank's new legation at Bern. Did nothing except read "Man in America" (Eric Linklater) & re-read "La Rotisserie de la Reine Pedauque". Both very amusing. Dined in the small agreeable grillroom of the Schweizerhof. On wireless we heard of bombs dropped on Dublin (Examiner & S.C.R), Ennisceathy, Meath, & Carlow including the apples that's racing stables. (His remark when war began "Well, I've got all my horses in Ireland at any rate.")

Restful, in spite of cold & Frank's crankiness about lights in the black-out.

Two stories recalled of Dev's visit to Geneva. Had come first time as Cnel President, much publicity & attention. Later visits not so much publicity. In spite of his staff & some of them wanted success by that measure. Did they do justice to Dev?

Re long fellow, striding out of the Cnel Room

Stoie's letters have been a great comfort & strength to me in recent months. I was glad the family were at Ardagh when two night runners bombs fell within 1/2 mile of their Rathgar house.

a p.c. from Jacklin dated Oran 26/12 says he had had an almost unendurable journey from Marseilles.

He sh^d now be near Martingre. He left here on 21/12 & Marseilles on 23/12.

In a sense of a hurry as there was a new alarm about France following the fall of Laval. Although French official circles ~~admit~~ accept the alarm I didn't chase it so long as Britain was ready to oppose.

The advantages to France & occupation of French Mediterranean ports w^d not compensate the possible turnover of the French fleet & throwing Weygonds African army into action.



Telegramm - Télégramme - Telegram

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von - de - da

Stunde - Heure - Ore

Name de - Nom - Name

nach - d - a

Stunde - Heure - Ore

LESTER CONTAMINES G

= CONSTANT LOVING THOUGHTS FROM US ALL = LESTER

= THINKING OF YOU LOVE = NATALIE ALEX +

HAPPY CHRISTMAS LOVE = BLYTHE +

BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND SUCCESSFUL NEW YEAR =

pelt +

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Distribution : Internal Circular No. 64.
1 per office. Geneva, December 30th 1940.

NEW YEAR MESSAGES TO THE SECRETARIAT.

Note by the Acting Secretary-General.

A number of seasonable messages have been received by the Acting Secretary-General in which present and past colleagues sent their greetings to the Secretariat.

Amongst them, two typical ones from London :

"At a reunion lunch held in London to-day, eightyfour former and present Secretariat officials asked me to send you and our colleagues at Geneva their sincere greetings. - Smith"

to which the following reply was sent : -

"Colleagues and self cordially reciprocate good wishes conveyed your telegram nineteenth."

and

"To wish you and colleagues happiness at Christmas and brighter days in coming year for you and institution in which we all believe. - Gabriele Rohde"

to which the following reply was sent : -

"We wish you and colleagues all best in new and better year and appreciate highly valuable services rendered to institution in difficult circumstances."

Mr. Loveday and his group in the United States; Mr. Sweetser in California; Mr. Steinig in Washington; Mr. Pelt on board ship at sea; Mr. Winant, Mr. Phelan and I.L.O. friends in Montreal, etc.; ex-colleagues in France, Hungary, Sweden, India, Ireland and elsewhere have also sent New Year greetings, intended for all members of the Secretariat.

The Acting Secretary-General wishes to take this occasion to address a simple word of thanks and appreciation to all officials (and ex-officials) in Geneva and elsewhere for the way in which they have faced many personal and official difficulties during a critical year.

(Initialled) S.L.

Document No. 1

BUILDING A
PERMANENT PEACE
CONSCIOUSNESS
THROUGH
HUMANITARIAN
WORKS.

Outline of a Scheme

for an

"Army" of Peace.

allert C Norris

Copies to:—

The Hon. Sir ARTHUR STANLEY, G.B.E., C.B.,
M.V.O., LL.D., D.L., J.P.,
Chairman, British Red Cross Society.

Dr. J. de MURALT (Geneva),
International Red Cross Committee and
League of Red Cross Societies.

S. LESTER, Esq. (Geneva),
Secretary-General, League of Nations.

And, for General Information, to:—

Mon. T. AGHNIDES (Geneva),
Social Humanitarian Section (Dept. 1), League
of Nations.

A. LOVEDAY, Esq., M.A. (Princeton University),
Social Humanitarian Section (Research, etc.)
League of Nations.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount CECIL OF GHELWOOD,
P.C., K.C., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.,
Professor GILBERT MURRAY, M.A., D.Litt., D.L.,
D.C.L., LL.D.,
Joint Chairmen, League of Nations Union.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount ASTOR,
Chairman, Steering Committee, Royal Institute
of International Affairs.

CROYDON:

ROFFEY & CLARK, LTD., 12, HIGH STREET.

Irish Digest 7 November 20

AN IRISH JOURNALIST who, starting on the *Connaught Tribune*, later in Dublin as Chief Reporter on the *Evening Mail*, and from there News-Editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, has just become Acting Secretary-General of the League of Nations, which post M. Avenol has just vacated.

It is a luxurious and at present seemingly purposeless shell, the Palace of the League of Nations at Geneva. But Mr. Lester is somewhat of a philosopher.

He is the keeper now of the tiny flickering light, all that remains of the flaming torch of great hopes and ideals. Betrayed and belittled, let us remember, by all the big Powers without exception.

I have not seen Mr. Lester since the evening in his house in old world Danzig, over which city he was High Commissioner for three difficult years. He lived there in what was once the residence of Field-Marshal Von Mackensen, a huge brick mansion near the main station.

—SPECTATOR in the *Irish Independent*.

Poor Con!

ALLEGED SPLIT INFINITIVE

CORNELIUS IGNATIUS O'LEARY, aged 51, of Newton Road, Bayswater, was accused before Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, at Clerkenwell on Saturday of defacing A.R.P. notices exhibited by Holborn Borough Council. He said the reason he wrote on the notices was to help the country against the inefficiency of the authorities. There was a split infinitive on one of them, he alleged. He complained to the Magistrate that the police had only quoted a few of the sentences he wrote. They were really a complete philosophy of protest. In reply to Mr. Brodrick, O'Leary said he was living on his own with a cat and dog. He had two sisters, who had evacuated to Llandudno. Mr. BRODRICK said the Court missionary would arrange for O'Leary to go to Llandudno, with his cat and dog, and he was discharged under the Probation of Offenders Act.

Times
21/10/40

FLIGHT LIEUTENANT CHARLES MACKENZIE LESTER, previously reported missing, now presumed killed in action, was commissioned as an acting pilot officer on March 15, 1935, and trained at Grantham, and at a coastal station. In October, 1936, he was appointed to a torpedo bomber squadron in the Coastal Command. He was promoted to flying officer in October, 1937, and to acting flight lieutenant a year later. *Times* 24.11.40

This seems to be the only son of Charlie Lester my cousin. Ch. is manager of Belfast Bank Waring St. Belfast, & is married to a 2nd cousin of Elsie.

I have seen little of him but spent an hour or two in their house about the time mother died. His father was William, a brother of my father. Cousin Willie is also a bank manager, at Luton I think. I know nothing of him, really. Sister Elsie was the only one of our family to keep in touch with them.

About ^{a few} 3 years ago, young Charles trying to get into the R.A.F. telegraphed to Billy Lyrrrell, Air vice Marshal, asking if he could come to see him. Billy thought the telegram was for me.

There are few male Lesters left in Ireland.

13th January

a telephone message from Zurich informs me that James Joyce died this morning following an operation. a great shock. I had been looking forward to developing our acquaintanceship - I feel friendship. Had just written a letter to him about his daughter's case.

Suggested to Frank Cuenin at Berne he might like to go for the funeral as the Swiss lady who telephoned me thought some official Irish person sh^d attend. F. writ. Says he can't leave. Too busy coding & decoding Telegrams.

I am sending a wreath.

Personal.

9, Contamines, Geneva, January 10th, 1941.

My dear Frank,

Your letter of December 11th reached me on January 8th, and incidentally, your letter to Martin of the 21st came the same day. First of all, I enclose a note for Louise, which shows that our researches into the question of the missing tweeds have been fruitless. There is no parcel of the kind in Geneva. Secondly, Henneberger says that your declaration about petrol eventually reached him. Thirdly, we are trying to arrange that your correspondence should come to the Secretariat and not be automatically forwarded by the Post Office. Miss Harris will then try to sift the wheat from the chaff.

and encouraged

I am very much struck by the confidence and optimism which is reflected from the United States and also by yourself as to the future of international organisations. I completely share this confidence, but, having the job of trying to get the core of the organisation through the war period and facing up to the present continuous administrative and similar difficulties, I am less impressed with present possibilities. I feel like saying that it is all very well for one to say that the Secretariat must be ready. My last two months were partly spent in trying to find another 1/2 million economy on an already very depleted staff. I have not the exact figure, but I think our salary list is less than 20% of what it was not much more than a year ago. Or this, quite a considerable proportion goes on the maintenance of the building. Alec takes a big crack and I try to keep things like Opium in activity. The magnificent old Health Section was a remnant when I took over. War measures are affecting what is left. Little centres, very, very reduced, keep in touch with Mandates, some of the less important aspects of the Social work, Minorities, etc., and useful observation work is being done by the F. and E. side / apart from statistics. This sort of detail is for yourself, but not only is there the question of the restriction on activity produced by war. There is the stranglehold of finances. I believe, for example, we are doing at least as much useful work as the transferred I.L.O., although, as has been the case in recent years, they no doubt produce better reactions in some quarters. I am far from defeatist, and it may be that the fight for existence in the next few months will be less severe and that I can tune my mind to a more positive line of thought than merely the determination and hope to bring through the crisis a foundation for reconstruction, a symbol and something the disappearance of which would constitute a political reverse. I wish, however, that you could realise the financial morass into which I was

/in Geneva

F.P. Walters, Esq.,
15, Banbury Road,
Oxford.

x) A good deal of routine work goes on with Anker in charge. Reports are coming in rather satisfactorily.

-2-

landed three months ago and the practical financial problems which still face us. You will also understand the degree to which I have had to depend on our principal and invaluable Financial Adviser on certain questions. There are illusions widespread that we have reserves sufficient to see us through two or three years, as, for example, Boudreau wrote to me a couple of months ago. I had to deflate him to one-tenth or one-twelfth of that estimate, if we take account of essential commitments and obligations.

Alec is settling down to work with his people, and the last letter from him says he is more than ever convinced of the wisdom of his removal. The Opium people will shortly be carrying on in the same district. A reflection on this point is that their position, the way they are regarded and even their work is strengthened by the fact that G.H.Q. are still here. On that point, although I once advised differently, I see a great deal in the view put up by Roger and Co. and I am accepting it with tranquillity. After all, the first and essential battle to be won is in reality a political one. (And there are two aspects, one the value of sticking to the seat, and the other, still more problematic, the actual value at a certain moment as a rallying point outside.) Is this issue not more important than statistics and studies and opium and similar services, however valuable? Conservation is the first objective. For expansion, we need in the first place financial resources and the guarantee of such, for neither of which is in sight. Again I feel I may be striking a low note, but you will not misunderstand it and please keep thinking and working on the more specious ideas. Martin showed me your letter. On one point, that relating to a certain University town, less distinguished than your own, I am not sure if your views would have found support chez vous. They certainly would not, for example, with regard to myself, and although I would personally much prefer it, I am in agreement. On the other hand, you have started a line of thought as to the nature of the work to be done within our rather meagre limits and I would like you to expand on the point direct to Alec and myself. I shall try and send him a copy of this letter.

many

I have had my exciting and disturbing years in a life in the direction of which I have never seemed to share, but 1940 will rank highly, not only for the major events, but for their reactions on my own immediate job. We have come through it much better than seemed likely at several crises. I suppose all one can do and the best one can do is to try to take each event as it arises and with a certain mixture of judgment and common sense, do the immediate duty irrespective of results. I have my times of depression when I am desolated by the long separation from my family, not (with a grin if possible) the constant thinning of the circle of friends, and (also with a grin if possible) the defections and emergence of hostilities long hidden, and carry on. Some of our most deplorable tragedies here, including the shameless Joe, were the result of a too facile acceptance of might as right and a readiness to

-5-

turn the coat. He planned to go to Versailles with the Marshal when I with difficulty got him out of the Pelouse, which he was merely using as a base for "unfriendly" operations. Is now in Avenue Krieg and matters less than a polite damn in spite of his consort's tongue. a tragedy!

Henri, although liquidated from his old position, has been kept and I have fitted him into other work, as he is one of the people who will be most valuable later. The same applies in a different way to Arthur who is, I know, very poorly treated in a financial way. Your friend Elliot, has emancipated philosophy which I find it difficult in my narrow way to appreciate, but he is still fully on the strength. Radot has gone completely and rather ungracefully, but the Library is being protected as far as possible. Renborg is in the U.S.A..

I am very interested to hear that you are lecturing and would be very delighted if I could hear you at greater length than in a skimpy letter. Tell Louise and Ann Marie not to long too much for Geneva. They will think of it in the terms of the good old days but not of the present. Nevertheless, I miss you all very much and send my kindest salutations to Louise in spite of her reference to my/old check /ele-gant
suit.

Nisot wrote to you from Montreal and sent a copy of his letter to Agh (who has come through the critical days like a man). There is a spot of truth in his idea, but I fear it would not be well looked on at present. Perhaps if we here should get behind barbed wire, something on that line might have to be done, but in that case Alec would probably be the rallying point. You yourself might well come into the picture if you could. On the other hand, there is a naive aspect to the proposal. However, the position here may be tenable for some time, or may suddenly change. It has probably strengthened in November and December, as before that it seemed definitely precarious. It will remain uncertain for two reasons, one of which is that we could be visited by certain friends within 10 minutes to half-an-hour of a decision to come, and secondly, the more indirect means. The position with our hosts has, I think, improved latterly, but is subject to rapid change.

Give my regards to Tony, Ralph, Roger and Co. when you see them. I would give a lot to have a few days' talk with them and the new chief. Also remember me to Jo-Jo and Ed of our other comrades as and when you meet them.!!

Sincerely

(sd) S. Lester

Excuse defects of dictation. Am trying to give you something of the new background. I realise I am striking a low note.



M. John Winant, ancien directeur du B. I. C.,
ancien ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Londres.
(Photo A. Détraz.)

RADIO-SCHWEIZ A.G.

RADIOGRAMM-RADIOGRAMME

RADIO-SUISSES A.

+ 6172 DUBLIN 2174 12 29/1 1112 VIA RS

Erhalten - Reçu

"VIA RADIOSUISSE"

Befördert - Transmis

von - de	Stunde - Heure	NOM - NOM	nach - à	Stunde - Heure	NAME - NOM
29 1 41	21 55	S			

No. 3594

= LESTER 9 CONTAMINES GENEVA =

Telephone ParPosta

= ANN PASSED TWO HONOURS FOUR CREDITS CHEERS = LESTER +

Cambridge Entrance

opposite to this point is my having
 the removed to Switzerland. Making
 it the a direct reply to a direct
 written report by Count O'Halligan
 on her or on my behalf of which I
 am unaware I do not consider
 the German Embassy's note of the
 6 November as either personal
 or final. It was impossible for
 me to carry out my plans for my
 own wife's removal during the
 three months which intervened. I
 have the feeling of the wife
 as taken by the German authorities
 and is therefore because the
 entry permits for Switzerland
 refused as far back as the
 end of July were granted only
 a few days ago. I expect to
 be in Geneva between the
 16 and 17 of next month and

James Joyce
 34 Rue de
 Paris XVI

Maison Poulchre
 1. Grand - de Puy
 Alsace, France

Dear Sir: Your friend the
 Jean Murphy, Irish Ambassador
 to France, allows me to send you
 the enclosed. He believes that
 an intervention of some such body
 as the U.S.A. Red Cross Society
 would be effective in
 my own wife's case and your action
 has been reported to me by some
 common friends in France as
 that of a person who could put
 me in contact with that body.
 The Irish Ambassador when in Paris
 early last August applied to the
 German military authorities on
 behalf of my daughter and was
 informed that there would be no

amines,
 eva, January 13th, 1941

I a telephone message
 of my husband's death. It
 and I want to send at
 pathy. I had just
 him.

ghtful experience to
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 ng and so unspoiled
 oking with very real
 evenings with him.
 about the loss to
 your own bereavement,
 with all my heart and
 ch all his friends must

erel and if I can
 time, I shall be
 re are unhappily
 leaving.

shall rather be likely to be writing a few words under
circumstances, I shall be very greatly obliged if
you can see your way to trying my envelope, even
when the completion of the society work and
thank you in advance for any help you may be
able to give the cause in this matter. I shall
hope we will be happy to talk in London.

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Yours very truly

Paul Joyce

10. XII. 1940

9, Contamines,
Geneva, January 13th, 1941

Dear Mrs. Joyce,

I have just received a telephone message from Zurich, telling me of your husband's death. It has been a great shock to me and I want to send at once a message of my deep sympathy. I had just signed the enclosed letter to him.

It was for me a delightful experience to have met him during your hurried passage through Geneva. I found him so charming and so unspoiled by his world fame and I was looking with very real pleasure to spending some good evenings with him. I am not going to say anything about the loss to literature in the poignancy of your own bereavement, but, believe me, I sympathize with all my heart and share in the sense of loss which all his friends must feel.

Yours very sincerely,

P.S. I wish to attend the funeral and if I can possibly leave my post for the time, I shall be there; my responsibilities here are unhappily very heavy and may prevent my leaving.

Zurich, February 8th 1941.
Dufourstrasse 30.

Dear Mr. Lester,

Many thanks for your very kind letter to my mother, please excuse her for not answering it herself but she is yet much too upset to be able to attend to any correspondence. Many thanks also for the beautiful wreath you sent to my father's funeral.

I know my father was very pleased to have had the pleasure of meeting you during our short stay in Geneva. He was looking forward to meeting you soon again and having a real home evening in your company. Unfortunately fate decided otherwise.

As far as my sister's affairs are concerned I really don't know what I should do. Naturally I would like to carry out my father's wishes and have her brought here to Switzerland. I suppose the best way will be to get her an Irish passport. On the other hand I imagine this is going to be a very costly affair. So I shall have to wait until I know exactly what our financial situation is going to be.

My mother begs me to thank you for all you have tried to do for my sister and wishes to be kindly remembered to you.

Sincerely Yours

George Joyce

February 4th 1941

The Times notice on Joyce quotes what it describes as "the extremes of opinion" on his work. Sir Edmund Gosse wrote "the worthlessness and impudence of his writings"; Arnold Bennett (of Ulysses) "the best portions of the novel are immortal"; while the middle, puzzled state of mind is typified by A.E.'s remark "I don't know whether you are a fountain or a cistern" (I think the nice mind has changed the word cistern for cistern). In his student days - says the Times - he was so self-opinionated and vain that he said to W.B. Yeats: "We have met too late; you are too old to be influenced by me", to which the poet made answer "Never have I encountered so much pretension with so little to show for it".

They also record (a thing that I had forgotten) that Joyce went back to Dublin to start the Volta cinema in 1912. I am pleased to see in conclusion of this notice: "In person Joyce was gentle and kindly, living a laborious life in his Paris flat tended by his devoted, humorous wife."

Elsie tells me that the Irish newspapers have been very unsympathetic referring to him as an author who was born in Ireland. One would expect the orthodox to wash their hands of one who challenged orthodoxy so impudently. She adds that a few "poseurs" like Concurran and Kenneth Reddin published some notes of their recollections; I agree they were probably intended as self-advertising.

Letter 18. I. 41

P2/9 (11)

Dear Mr. Leake, thank you very much
for your letter of January 14th. We
were sad not to have you, a compatriot
of Mr. Joyce at the funeral. Low
^{Derwent} Derwent spoke very well, also Prof.
Stranmann. We had a Tenor sing
Moulsart and Handel. It was a
white and cold day and the sun was
pale. — I had the death mask made,

even more: a facsimile made of Mr.
Joyce's head with his wonderful
ear also on it. If the Irish State
is interested in it perhaps they could
write. At any rate I am going to have
a copy made for Zúñiga and for
myself.

I should very much like to meet
you some time as you were always
so kind to help Mr. Joyce.

Yours very sincerely
Carola Fieroni-Weiler.

January 30th 1941

Five or six weeks ago Churchill in Parliament discussing the sea warfare, said they were hampered by not having the use of the Irish ports which were fully restored to the Free State by Chamberlain a year before the war; he added that they should not have been put in this position. Some press campaign followed both in England and in America and eventually de Valera publicly announced that any attempt to seize the ports by anybody, British or Germans, would be resisted. Ireland had had no complaints from any Government about her strict neutrality; they had only friendly feelings for the British, their interests were so closely bound, but that handing over the ports would be interpreted as a declaration of war against Germany, that Britain was spending ten or twelve millions Pounds a day for its defence, that Ireland could not do that in proportion, that they needed more arms and were finding great difficulties in obtaining them, but that whatever came they would defend their position. In another statement to America he pointed out that there was no comparison with America two thousand miles away accepting Atlantic bases from England on lease; they could do this without danger to themselves and even so, announced a policy of doing all they could to avoid coming into the war. For a great State to declare war was less risk than for a small weak State within complete range of a powerful enemy, etc.

De Valera seems to have the backing of the people and parties; on the other hand, there are signs that 95% of public opinion is anti-Nazi. While I, myself, do not believe that Britain will attempt to touch the ports, it would be a facility in the war against German submarines and air-craft, but not at all decisive; if it were done without the consent of the Irish Government, there would be fighting, which could no doubt be suppressed, but the reaction in America would be tragic for Britain. Furthermore, the suggestion would be to ask Ireland to do something which no other State has done: Britain did not occupy Norway, nor bases in Denmark, Holland, Belgium or Greece, although these also would have been advantages to her. Politically I therefore think that an attack on Ireland alone is out of the question. Churchill may have intended it as diplomatic and public pressure but I think it was misjudged. Germans aeroplanes flying from French bases can also sink ships five hundred miles west of Ireland.

There remains the question of whether Ireland will be attacked by Germany; in some ways, I think the danger is less than it was in June and July, just as it is somewhat less for Britain. At most, only parachutists could be landed or one or two ships escape the British control and cover the long sea voyage to Ireland. If they did, they would be fought. At the highest estimate, it could only be a small diversion intended to add panic and confusion while launching the main attack on England. In

In addition, there must be two or three British divisions in North-Ireland which, invited or not, would participate in the fighting if there was a German landing. On the whole, it would be a futile and fruitless undertaking, but might be regarded by the Germans as worth while to add to British panic and to throw Ireland into confusion. It seems that there are something approaching ^{150,000} ~~hundred~~ thousand volunteers in Ireland for defence, but most of them very poorly armed. Even so, as some of the Irish Ministers have announced, men fighting in their own district with rifles might be worth ten times their number from abroad.

In the meantime, the food and supplies situation has grown suddenly worse; nine of the small Irish mercantile fleet have been sunk by the Germans and it is almost impossible in view of the British demands, for them to hire ships to break through the German blockade. Petrol is short and other imported things and great efforts are being made to double the production of food.

I was with Cremins in his new Legation at Berne at the end and beginning of the year when for three nights in succession bombs were dropped on Ireland: twice in Dublin City.

January 30th 1941

Avenol was at Vichy before Christmas and he left hurriedly for Geneva following the Laval crisis as he expected complications.- He has located himself in a small pension in Geneva.- During his stay at Vichy - according to Viple - he did everything he could to prevent France paying the balance of the contribution for 1940; he has failed as we are expecting the contribution to be paid. In Geneva he continues to make himself pitiable - ---- and ridiculous. He paid a recent visit to Péron, the French Consul and as Péron describes it, came in and sat down and announced ~~ponderously~~ "Lester et Vigier sont des traîtres". Péron had nothing to say on this subject and the conversation languished rapidly, but he asked Vigier afterwards: "What have you done to Avenol?" Vigier could only reply that the last time he saw Avenol was in July when Avenol tried to get him to resign in his own personal interest and that he had refused (Avenol did the same with other Frenchmen, such as Dr. Biraud, etc. and Stencek). Until eighteen months ago there was in the Secretariat a German named Metternich, whom Avenol had refused to see for about two years. Metternich is now attached to the German Consulate here; the two met in the street a few days ago and Metternich tried to avoid Avenol who, however, ran after him shouting "mon cher Metternich, mon cher ami!" and a conversation ensued. The only result seems to have been that Metternich told several people in Geneva that after the conversation he could only think of him as a type de grosse saleté.

Another little bit of gossip says Miss Lever sees Countess Bernstorff, wife of the former German Ambassador to Washington, and they usually quarrel, the mistress of the Frenchman describing de Gaulle as an adventurer and the German lady defending him!

Jacklin having difficulties about his Spanish transit visa, left Geneva (on 20th december) on two days notice in view of the rumours and reports of an occupation of the remainder of France following the Laval crisis. While I did not believe this would happen at that time, I did not discourage him. He went, with the friendly assistance of the French authorities, from Marseilles towards Martinique in a small three to four thousand cargo boat which called at Oran and Casablanca. The boat left Marseilles on the

23rd December and on the 7th January left Casablanca having spent some days in ports. The journey apparently was very hard. They reached Martinique in about ten days, but apparently fresh troubles of travel have arisen as we have just received a telegram saying that he has now reached Port of Spain in Trinidad. He is trying to get to the United States and is already six weeks on the way. In his telegram from Trinidad Jacklin rather needlessly adds that this route is not recommended. To make things worse, the Spanish Consul in Geneva received permission to grant him a visa on the 20th of January.

It is noted that within the last months the attitude of the Spanish Government regarding transit visas has very very much eased. This no doubt is reflection of the general military position caused (1) by the British resistance, (2) the very far-reaching guarantees of the United States, which may almost be regarded as in the position of the so-called Non-interventionist Powers (especially Germany and Italy) during the Spanish civil war, (3) the brilliant Greek victories over the Italians and the disasters inflicted upon the Italians in Lybia where the British have taken about 100,000 prisoners in a month's campaign. The Balkan situation has also eased a little bit, but every one is expecting a new German move. Berlin has sent a strong air force to Sicily, where they have been attacking British ships which seemed to have been using the Mediterranean ~~freely~~ freely. I, myself, am inclined to think that this line of attack may be developed and help given to the Italians in North Africa, perhaps through Tunis. There have been again and again alarmist rumours about a German advance on Gibraltar and North Africa, eventually through Spain, but Spain is administratively in chaos and especially owing to the food situation - over a million acres of land previously cultivated laying waste - they are dependent upon Britain and America for supplies. They have seized the international port of Tangiers, but will probably do everything they can to avoid being pulled into the war while there is any likelihood of either a stalemate or a British victory. They are, one may guess, unwilling to be used. Indeed, I would consider it doubtful tactics on Germany's part.

Great preparations go ahead for the proposed invasion of Britain, although it is not at all certain that it will be tried because if it failed, it would be the beginning of the end. I, myself, think Hitler will still try it and probably within the next two months. Should he not do so, it will be the sign that Germany is on the defensive and America's help will in the meantime be developing from month to month. An attack through Bulgaria and Turkey towards the Suez Canal I feel was definitely likely until the Italian forces were swept out of Egypt with such heavy losses; it is somewhat less likely now. - Even the Bulgarians seem to be stiffening. - Rumania, their neighbour, who fell in with the Axis plan, is in a dreadful plight having not only lost vast provinces on all sides, having been occupied by German divisions, having had an earthquake and, a few days ago, a short civil war. - The Turks have drawn if anything closer to Britain and general staff consultations have been openly held. The next two or three months will be critical and anxious.

The story of the Laval affair was somewhat extraordinary. On the 13th December he came back from Paris, attended a meeting of the Council of Ministers which conducted ordinary business. At eight o'clock he was in his office, when he was summoned to a new meeting of the Council unexpectedly. Pétain said that in order to facilitate the future reorganization of his Cabinet he would ask each Member to sign a form of resignation. When all had done so, he said that perhaps it would not be necessary to wait further, that he would accept the resignation of Laval, his Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and also nominated successor to the Head of the State. Laval made a dreadful scene, said he had been tricked and denounced Pétain violently, until he was conducted from the Council room. During this scene Laval said that while Pétain had tricked him into giving his resignation, he need not forget that in the proclaimed Constitution of the new State he had personally named as the Marshal's successor. Pétain said that he had already thought about that and had prepared a fresh decree which he then drew from his pocket to be adopted by the Cabinet. When back in his Office, Laval told a certain official what had passed. This was about 9 p.m. A few minutes later his chauffeur came in and said that the police had told him he was not to fill his petrol tank as the ten litres he had in it was ample for all he needed. Laval telephoned to the Head of the Police to protest. A few minutes later another messenger entered to say that his chauffeur had been arrested. When he tried to telephone again, Laval found the line had been cut. Then suddenly the three doors leading to his office were opened and men entered carrying revolvers. Laval is said to be definitely a man without any physical courage and showed signs of it. To add to the melodrama, the lights in his room went out and he was hustled and maltreated while being brought to the street. He was then brought to his house, some kilometers outside Vichy and told that he was not to leave it; a police guard of a hundred being placed around it.

In the meantime Laval's private Secretary had jumped on a midnight train going towards Paris and the following day Herr Abetz, German Ambassador in Paris, arrived at Vichy preceded and followed by a number of armoured cars. He went to an hotel and sent a message that he wanted to see at once Pétain and the Président du Conseil. A reply came that Pétain would receive him

but that there was no Président du Conseil; if he wanted to see M. Laval, he could ~~see~~ see M. Laval. Abetz insisted that it was the Président du Conseil he wanted to see and eventually agreed to bring M. Laval (as such) to his hotel. Laval and Abetz spent an hour and a half together before Abetz went to see Pétain. He then seemed to have delivered an ultimatum to Pétain and said that Laval must be re-instated and added that Germany could occupy the Mediterranean ports within six hours. It is stated that Pétain replied that the French fleet at Toulon could be at sea in half-an-hour.

My story is, I believe, absolutely accurate up to this point, but the details of the threats and the reply are not, in my opinion, so authentic. It ended with

Laval leaving for Paris the following day in company with Abetz and under the protection of the German armoured cars.

What was the precise cause of this also remains in some little doubt. Pétain had charged Laval at the Council meeting with having conducted negotiations with the Germans and given undertakings without Pétain's knowledge. It seems he had never forgiven him for having arranged the meeting between Pétain and Hitler at Montoire. He had done this in such a way that Pétain had no alternative but to go. There were rumours, perhaps with a good deal of foundation, that Laval had ~~advised~~ that Pétain should be in Paris when the remains of the Duke of Reichstadt were lodged in the Invalides and the suggestion was that thereafter, the old Marshal, who is 84 years of age, would be given a "residence" at Versailles where he could not intervene or affect Laval's policy. This policy was also said to have included the granting of naval bases both in France and the colonies to Germany, if not the creation of an actual state of war with England. Pétain was said to have refused absolutely on the grounds that it was not in the interest of France and that it was dishonourable; he, Pétain, was prepared to fulfill all the terms of the Armistice and to collaborate economically with Germany, but not to hand over the fleet or the ports; there are said to be a French army of a 1/4 million in North Africa that is in a position to defend the colonies. Laval has since remained under German protection in Paris and the Franco-German collaboration is not developing. Pétain has, a week ago, had a meeting with Laval on the French border-line and it was announced that the misunderstandings had been cleared up, but it seems to me that if Laval were accepted back in the Cabinet - as the Germans insisted, that Pétain (who had in the meantime gained tremendously in French public opinion) might as well abdicate.

One estimates the tendencies more and more to be "wait and see".

13/2

The Drama at Tichy reached a new stage.
 Laval refused offer of an indefinite post as
 "Min. of State." Admiral d'Ablon (H. Y. V.)
 appointed successor to Petain, plus foreign affairs (Hankin
 renamed) plus Marine.

Three factors in situation (1) Weygond's
 army (2) French fleet, (3) British African victories.
And Marshal Petain's resistance.

Shelling of Genoa by British warships
 created a sensation this week. all sorts of
 rumors & stories of Italian situation.

Photo by Dominico Loreda of the overturned bus
 with 450 people near Grenoble lost August.



12d

Geneva, February 6th, 1941.

The Court people, and I mean the administrative staff and his chief (particularly the latter), seem to think that the full amount of work will be at their disposal. My dear Northerner, the nature of the work during the year. Being to arrange for the work in connection with the staff I hope that you will have received a general survey of the situation from our friend Jacklin long before this letter reaches you. There are many things on which I would like to be able to inform you directly and personally. It is difficult enough on my side to see that you are kept informed and I know that you yourself have many other important preoccupations.

Note Feb 5th
2 doc C-9 1941

2. I thought, however, you would like to see a few figures of analysis which I asked Bieler to prepare in connection with the report on the financial situation on the 31st December, a copy of which was air-mailed to you. I should not be surprised if you had not received it.

3. Another matter which I wanted to mention to you in a personal way was the position of our friend Sk. To help us to meet the economies which were held to be necessary on the staff side, and about which I wrote to you some months ago, he offered to be suspended. He told me he had the intention of remaining here and maintaining an interest in certain parts of his own work pending the coming of better times. The arrangement as finally made gives him about five months salary in 1941, on which he believed he could manage. I do hope that circumstances will enable us to reintegrate him before very long, as I have a very high opinion both of his character and his ability. The contract of his compatriot An. lapsed at the end of the year and was renewed for a year. Ty., of Loveday's group, had to be informed that there would be no money available this year; for various reasons which seemed good to me, I gave him a short contract till the end of March during which period he will be on unpaid leave. He intends to come back from his own country and you may have met him in the meantime. - Another valuable member of the staff, Vigier, has had his contract resiliated, but I have been able to re-engage him at a very small salary to do a different kind of work, library, etc., and will thus keep his services available while in the meantime employing him on technical work in which he is replacing another highly paid official who has also gone. - The case of AS. caused me some qualms, but a re-adjustment was unfortunately essential. I am afraid I have not been able to leave him satisfied although I am inclined to think his work during recent times has been of a very considerable value and I have been very pleased to think that the work of some considerable assistance to you in your official capacity. - On put up by S. represents an unimportant amount of money which I have. 4. The question of the Court continues to give trouble. Indeed, even in spite of - and perhaps because of - the reductions, the nature of the problems to be dealt with in these days keeps more than occupied. value of our efforts to keep this institution going. Without all the information I am inclined to think

Note Feb 5th

Mr. C. HAMERO,
c/o Mr. Arthur Sweetser,
7, Newlin Road,
PRINCETON, N.J.

The Court people, and I mean the principal officer and his Chief (particularly the latter), seem to think that the full amount voted will be at their disposal, whatever the nature of the income during the year. Owing to arrangements made in September, they start the year with a debt of about 190,000 frs. to our part of the W.C.F. I am not satisfied that all possible economies are being faced; there are some possibilities still on the staff and there is the amount being paid to the P. which, between part salary and allowances, comes to nearly 53,000 a year. This, incidentally, is about the same as the ASG. and I should have hoped that he would have been content in the circumstances with a sum which would have enabled him to live here in a good hotel. By the way, his right to a pension matures some time this year, and while I cannot pretend to know anything about his intentions, I should not be surprised if at that moment he took advantage of the possibility. At the moment the Institution is living on additional advances from our W.C.F. pending some payments this year. I am not, however, advancing more than is necessary to pay the little group which is here, including the President and his Chinese colleague.

5 - I do not know how long SJ. intends to remain there. I leave that entirely to you and to him to decide. Our coordinating Agent is very important, especially in connection with the opium question and also with regard to the Montreal people.

6 - A peculiar situation existed with regard to the Felkin-Renborg group because of the attitude of a certain high official who has, however, recently died. The position as shown in an "internal memorandum" was both unfriendly and, I believe, legally doubtful, if not completely unsound, and ignored entirely the accepted views of all other Parties to the Conventions, as well as this Administration. That is not to say that I do not think an arrangement which would enable that Party to pay is impossible, on the contrary, I am hoping that J. will be able to make a reasonable arrangement which will not constitute a disintegrating factor.

7 - There is also the question which you will no doubt discuss in a few days and which was raised in a letter from E.J.P. to me and to which I replied. The text of my reply to him (concerning a separate collection) will no doubt have been made available if there is any consultation. There may be two situations and I have not yet been fully informed of the facts. One of these would be that the situation put up by P. represents an unimportant amount of money which would not justify what would be an important constitutional change. The other is that important States are concerned; if that were so, I think I would then be entitled to look for some guidance as to the value of our efforts to keep this Institution going. Without all the information I am inclined to think

With kindest regards

EJ. has been too much impressed by some excuses for non-payment.

3. Sometime ago I thought the Opium could be followed by the Epidemiologic, but at the beginning of December, we were informed that the information necessary for their service would no longer be forthcoming (for war reasons) from India and the British Colonies and probably from certain Dominions. This followed a similar decision taken at the beginning of June with regard to the French colonies. The importance of the service has thereby been very much diminished. We still circulate certain information which communications still make quite possible, but I am now very hesitant as to the value of a transfer.

4. With regard to the rest of the Health work, the whole Section had disappeared when I took over, with the exception of Gautier and a young layman named Veillet-Lavallée. I kept the latter for about five months to finish a piece of work which will be valuable when activities resume; but last month, with the consent of all concerned, I accepted his resignation. You will receive separately a note of what has been possible in this branch in 1940, but it is, in the circumstances, largely marking time. Transfer in this case would amount to one officer, but I have no doubt if substantial finances were available, rapid and even war-time resumption could be made in useful fields.

5. Another man will shortly be joining AL. and may have some background of events and the situation here which I hope you will hear.

6. With regard to myself, etc., there was my reaction to certain circumstances at the beginning of October of which you were informed, but I got no reaction which encouraged any effort to follow it up. On the contrary. I hope I shall be content to do what is the best and the right thing and I do not want you to think that I am impatient or unwilling or that my judgement is completely against the present policy. Naturally, I am isolated to a very great extent and particularly miss the possibility of open-hearted talks in some quarters. It is impossible for me to develop this question more precisely and indeed there are great difficulties at the moment at deciding on any change. Circumstances can change rapidly and my hope is that what is being done is regarded as worth while.

7. I hope life is not too difficult for you and that you will not allow your dynamic energy to make you overdo things. I often think sympathetically of your position and trust that the circumstances are not too difficult and that your own fine philosophy and courage - an example to us all - will see you through.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely

Sur un écrivain
mort
à Zurich

La curieuse personnalité et l'œuvre énigmatique de l'Irlandais James Joyce.

L'écrivain irlandais James Joyce, mort récemment à Zurich, est une des figures les plus extraordinaires et les plus énigmatiques de la littérature contemporaine. Impénétrable à la plupart des lecteurs, son œuvre a su gagner les suffrages d'un petit cercle d'admirateurs d'élite qui voient en elle un monument dont on parlera encore lorsque toute la production actuelle aura sombré depuis longtemps dans l'oubli. On a parlé à ce propos de snobisme et il est certain qu'il a joué un rôle considérable dans la brève période (1922-1932) pendant laquelle Joyce a attiré sur lui l'opinion mondiale. Mais ce feu s'éteignit vite, entraînant la désaffection des «salonnards». Toutefois l'admiration constante que lui vouaient des esprits tels que Valéry Larbaud, Edmond Jaloux, Paul Valéry ne saurait être traitée avec dédain.

James Joyce était né en 1882 à Dublin. Il appartenait à une famille irlandaise annulée, mais assez démunie de fortune. Après avoir étudié dans un collège de déshérites auquel il dut, sans doute, le fondement solide de sa prodigieuse culture, il entra à l'université de Dublin où il suivit les cours des facultés les plus diverses. Quoique déjà accablé à la littérature — il publia en 1903 un travail remarquable sur Ibsen et en 1907 ses poèmes satiriques de chambre — il hésitait encore à suivre : la médecine et la musique lui paraissaient beaucoup. C'est ainsi qu'il fit un stage d'une année dans les cliniques de Paris et qu'il prit longtemps des leçons de chant ; il avait, en effet, une très belle voix de ténor. Il quitta l'Europe en 1905 pour se consacrer principalement à Rome, Trieste, Zurich, Paris et Londres, construisant pièce à pièce l'édifice d'un savoir presque encyclopédique. Il n'était jeune et connu dès lors de grandes difficultés matérielles qu'il supporta avec un rare courage ; il accepta sans se plaindre jamais les besognes les plus ingrates, les plus mal payées aussi, pour nourrir sa femme et ses deux enfants. Avec un mélange d'orgueil et d'héroïsme véritable, il déclarait que la société n'a nullement à se préoccuper du sort de l'artiste : s'il a suffisamment de génie pour atteindre au poétique, c'est une chance si unique que toutes les richesses de la terre ne puissent rien compenser.

Sa pauvreté et ses études l'empêchèrent cependant de produire beaucoup avant la trentaine. A partir de 1912, heureusement, il cessa

de se disperser et ne se consacra plus qu'à de la littérature. Il publia en 1914 un recueil de nouvelles réalistes, d'une cruauté et d'un humour singuliers : «Gens de Dublin». Puis vint un essai autobiographique, «Dedalus ou portrait de l'artiste dans sa jeunesse» (1916) ; un drame, «Exiles» (1918) ; enfin l'étrange et monstrueux roman intitulé «Ulysse» qu'il mit huit ans à mettre sur papier (1919 à 1922).

«Ulysse» fonda la gloire de Joyce et selon la meilleure méthode qui est celle du scandale. On donna tout le ridicule de l'intellectuel en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis, alors qu'on peut le laisser entre toutes les mains pour la bonne raison qu'à moins de s'imposer une lecture cérébrale inouïe, le lecteur n'en comprendra pas un traitre mot. C'est la nuit même de l'Érèbe. De quoi s'agit-il ? «Ulysse» est le film de la vie intérieure d'un petit bourgeois de Dublin dans la journée du 16 juin 1904. Nous n'assistons pas à ses actes — nous les devinons seulement, quand nous le pouvons — mais nous suivons pour ainsi dire pas à pas le cheminement de ses impressions, de ses pensées, embryonnaires pour la plupart, qui se recourent, s'entre-dévoient, projettent de brèves lueurs et des ombres fantomatiques sur une âme que se disputent la banalité et la méchanceté. Ce film prend, dans la traduction française, 870 pages in-quarto : on se sent malade, désespéré avec un bon petit début de méningite. Dans ce tumulte, en effet, l'auteur n'a pas hésité à jeter avec ses rancunes, ses haines, ses angoisses, sa cocasserie irlandaise, tout le poids de son érudition : sciences, arts, politique, sociologie, théologie, géographie, géométrie, rien ne nous est épargné. On ne peut s'empêcher de croire que ce déballage vertigineux est une tentative de se griser, de masquer une aventure intérieure horrible.

Joyce, comme la plupart des hommes qui ne sont pas au clair avec eux-mêmes, défendait donner des explications sur son œuvre. Au public, il les refusa toujours ; mais il fut obligé de se montrer plus conciliant avec ses thuriféraires et c'est ainsi qu'on apprit qu'«Ulysse», c'était un monologue intérieur, un roman en l'axant sur le «monologue intérieur», c'est-à-dire sur l'activité brute du cerveau humain. Au lieu de faire passer les réactions psychologiques de ses personnages à travers les filtres divers que sont la raison, la composition, le goût, il les a jetés sur le pavé par telles qu'elles sont en réalité et dans leur ordre chronologique normal.

Cette maniaque théorie a été prise au sérieux par les premiers critiques d'Europe et d'Amérique. Néanmoins, nous ne saurions nous empêcher d'y voir un «gag» énorme, un «cannard», comme dirait Jules Romain, provenant en ligne directe de la bi-bliothèque de Joyce, ou, le monologue intérieur existe, mais on ne peut l'étudier qu'en soi-même ; or, si vous vous observez, vous cessez de monologuer. Dans des états intermédiaires — car il en existe — vous arrivez bien à saisir quelque chose du monologue intérieur : une image indirecte, ou si vous préférez une prise de vue floue ; quant à espérer une perception nette au point de pouvoir la faire traître pour l'insérer dans un récit, c'est purement chimérique. En outre, une reproduction de cette œuvre serait purement scientifique, exécuterait une transposition et l'on sait qu'il n'y a pas d'art sans transposition. Et précisément, malgré les inégalités, il y a beaucoup d'art chez Joyce. Que croire alors ? Notre explication, que nous ne prétendons du reste, au-dessus de ce texte, celle-ci : l'auteur a voulu suggérer l'anarchie et l'angoisse déchirantes où l'a jeté l'aventure intérieure à laquelle nous faisons allusion tout



James Joyce

à l'heure. A ce point de vue, sa réussite est digne d'admiration.

Le moyen dont se sert Joyce pour nous faire partager ses cauchemars est avant tout la dissociation du langage. Néologismes, mots composés, ellipses, dérivations de sens verbaux, ruptures de constructions, tout lui est bon. Philologue de premier ordre, connaisseur profond de toutes les grandes littératures, il avait soumis la langue anglaise à une véritable dissection dans le but de se créer non seulement un style, mais encore un langage propre. Y est-il parvenu réellement ? Il faudrait être M. Huxley ou M. Morgan pour trancher la question ou, du moins, un anglican ferré à glace. En revanche, nous comprenons Joyce, sous l'angle de la hardiesse stylistique de l'écrivain français qui lui doit beaucoup : Céline. Il ne fait pas de doute, pour nous, que Céline n'ait réussi dans son entreprise de refonte du langage.

En 1920, James Joyce s'installa à Paris où il devint bientôt la proie d'une cruelle maladie qui le priva presque complètement de la vue. Il la recouvra en 1932 grâce à une intervention heureuse au Dr Vogt, à Zurich, mais sa production littéraire avait été très diminuée par cette longue épreuve. Il put cependant publier un ultime ouvrage, «Finnegans Wake» qui parut en 1939. C'est la suite d'«Ulysse» et l'auteur y pousse plus loin encore ses recherches linguistiques et stylistiques, au sens où Léon Daudet l'entendait en parlant du «verbe éveillé». Joyce, qui s'était réfugié à Zurich depuis quelque temps déjà, y est mort à l'âge de 58 ans.

Les générations futures retiendront-elles son œuvre ? C'est probable, mais nous ne croyons pas qu'elles lui décerneront le titre de géniale : trop de lacunes et surtout trop de recherches philologiques la déparent. En revanche, on reconnaît que Joyce a été un novateur d'une puissance originale. Son influence sur la littérature anglaise et française est considérable et en France, outre son disciple Céline, de nombreux écrivains se sont inspirés de lui. C'est, en effet, le premier et le meilleur volume des «Hommes de bonne volonté», de Jules Romain, «Le 26 octobre», est si bien un plan très proche de celui d'«Ulysse» interprété, il est vrai, selon le canon de l'humour. Avec James Joyce, en tout cas, disparaît une des plus fortes personnalités de la première moitié du siècle.

J. MARTEAU.

20/2/41

Letter from Laurence Tombs to
Martin Hill reports L/N Union dinner
at Montreal to Vincent & Lundy
was attended by 600 people! Both
made speeches. Alec had asked
me to send a message which
Tombs describes as "splendid"!!

Extracts from Letter from Dr Frank G. Baideman
Milbank Memorial Fund N.Y.

"I have some appreciation of the
difficulties which confront you & of the
many distasteful tasks you have to
perform. You are certainly to be
congratulated on getting through a
budget. I am sure that since
you ~~have~~ inherited the ungrateful
task the remaining staff is happier
and the export de corps much improved.
... You have many known and
unknown friends in this country
who are ardently hoping
that you will be successful
in maintaining the spirit
and nucleus of the League
until better days come."

Recd 2/2/41

New York
3. II. 1941

Recd 2/2/41

My dear Lester,

Just a line to give you my news: I got here on New Year's eve, after a roughish trip - just 3 weeks from Geneva to N.Y. Since then I have been most of the time in Washington, and have also visited Boston and Cambridge. I've only talked on the telephone with Lowday. He has been away in Canada part of the time, and I have been very busy while in N.Y. I hope to go to see him at Princeton shortly. I'm not yet sure when I can start on the return trip, but I hope to reach Geneva before the end of March.

My work here isn't easy, and there are several law-mits involved, which make it necessary for me to spend a lot of time with lawyers, explaining to them the intricacies of exchange-control and the various kinds of blocked currency that exist, down the Danube.

I've seen a good many people in Washington. If any doubt had ever remained

2/2/41

See Royal Tyrer's letter:

By a combination of circumstances and policy (in spite of my recommendation - guarded to S.C. in Sept.) we may have struck it well, combining maintenance of the League's G.I.D. in the middle of Europe and the safe guarding of certain ^{guard} elements over the ocean. It means ^{guard} risks of course - & personal hardships for me.

Hopgood, the little Englishman in charge of Distribution, said to me today that Pelkin especially had thought only of personal interests in his departure and had done practically nothing to ensure a plan for the work. Reming - less so.

Recd

New York

3. II. 1941

My dear Sister,

Just a line to give you news: I got here in New York after a roughish trip - just 3 weeks from Geneva to N.Y. Since then I have most of the time in Washington have also visited Boston and I've only talked on the telephone to Louisa. He has been away in

the time, and I have

This refers to maintaining the League in Europe: he was opposed to Savary's transfer.

F

See Royal Tyers letter:

21/2/41

By a combination of circumstances and policy (in spite of my recommendation - guarded - to S.C. in Sept.) we may have struck it well, combining maintenance of the League's G.H.Q. in the middle of Europe and the safe guarding of certain elements over the ocean. It means ^{great} risks of course - & personal hardships for me.

Hopgood, the little Englishman in charge of Distribution, said to me today that Telling especially had thought out of personal interests in his departure and had done practically nothing to ensure a plan for the work. Reminding "Lewis"

Stoffman back after 2 months in
Rome & Davies, USA journalist
who has been there 5 months
have almost identically the
same story - widespread distrust
dissatisfaction anti-Germans - even
anglophiles! - Corruption & graft
& military inefficiency. But Germans
now virtually in control.

Plotters everywhere, talking freely
& not to be taken seriously.
Food "plentiful".

The Swiss makes a speech glorifying
German power & says Italy was
unprepared to do her share in Sept. 1939
otherwise -

26/2 Letters coming very irregularly home
for 3½ weeks & today got two - one from Patry
dated 15/2 & one from Elsie 1st Feb. None of those
written from Ardagh 18/2 till 12/1 has arrived.
Other January letters also missing. Elsie having
a difficult time with the new house property in
Sandymount & Pembroke Park.

26/2/4

An attack on Greece through Bulgaria seems
imminent. Adolph speaks of tremendous war
against British shipping in March & April.

I keep thinking there must also be a
direct attack on Britain.

People such as Massigli & the Turkish
delegate believe the main attack will be
made through Ireland. I still believe
it will be a secondary in the nature of a
diversion. That's because of the distance
from Bordeaux & Brest to the Irish coast
& that I think the English navy could
cut the route if not destroy any
large convoys. And paratroops,
of course.

E. writes 1/2 that Dublin has
become rather panicky & attributes it
to the impression caused by restrictions
suddenly imposed after practically normal
conditions. No petrol, tea short,
butter ration halved etc.

About 150,000 (!) women & children registered
for evacuation from Dublin & Duncannon in the event
of a crisis.

Memo - March 4th, 1941

The barber at Villars - The Pole who was a Croat - The Alsatian who was a German - The indiscreet spy ~~was~~ - The return to Stuttgart and the hope for "a more congenial post."

On the same day two interesting stories were told me about the old Marshal. The first, of his bidding goodbye to an Army Chaplain en route for Syria, a man who had distinguished himself in both wars: "Go and do your job in Syria - the Marshal was reported to have said - but be ready to come back at quick notice, because I want you to enter Strasbourg with me."

The second story is that the Marshal during a sitting to a sculptor who was making a statue of him is said to have remarked to the Officers of his entourage: "You must put that in the Place in Metz".

Lesie's
extract from letter dated February 16th 1941
Received 11/3/41

"We have been supplied ^{free} with gas-masks. Dublin is a bit jittery. There is a lot of criticism of the Government - that they have mismanaged internal affairs very much. Dev. comes in nearly everywhere for high praise, people feel that he has acted always in the best way and with a real feeling for the country's good; that cannot be said of others, especially of the Department of Supplies, etc. The shopkeepers are raging and householders don't know what to expect. We see a notice in the paper: "from to-day butter is halved, cocoa is rationed, no coal to be sold, tea is short", etc., etc., after a reassuring speech by the Minister responsible the day before telling of ample supplies and the situation well in hand. One feels - and people say - it is stupidity and that now is not a time for senseless people to be in charge."

She has registered the family for evacuation.

"I try to foresee all eventualities but in this war one cannot". Poor dear. How I want to be there to take the burden

Mr. Davies, a young American representing the Christian Science Monitor, on his way from Rome to the U.S.A. said to me that he had such a big "story" to write that he did not know where to begin.

There were still seven American journalists in Rome (of whom four had their telephonic facilities at the moment suspended). They are the only people who would be able to tell the story as European journalists were under various constraints; the control on them was so strict that they were not allowed even to deny certain reports which were known to be untrue.

From his story, the following scraps:

They estimate there are at present at least 200,000 German soldiers in Naples with full equipment. He passed two trains carrying military ~~arm~~ (not air-force) on his way up from Rome. The trains carried tanks and stores as well as soldiers. He did not believe that there was any substantial German force in Genoa, but there had been a story of Italian transport preparations there. They estimated that there were about 500 German aeroplanes in Sicily and the South. When they took over the aerodromes they brought all supplies with them, from anti-aircraft to beer and sauerkraut. Although they were mainly in the South, they occupied also two or three aerodromes up through Italy so as to form a chain.- He did not have a very clear idea as to the German military objective. There was much talk of Bizerta. The armoured divisions so far in Italy were said to be mostly light tanks; a certain number had already been sent to Libya. The impression was that the Germans would not move any substantial force towards Africa unless they were in a position to do it with thoroughness and good prospects of success.

A propos he said the Middle Mediterranean was not really controlled by any one. The British could pass, but so could the Italians. The Italian communications with Africa were not done by large convoys, but by "running" ships at night.- The Germans had also for some time been ferrying Italian troops, etc. across the Adriatic (? : practice)- The Italians were said to have 400,000 now in Albania and still hoped with the approach of Spring to crush the Greeks, especially with the German threat on other fronts pinning down a considerable Greek force.

On the general side there was considerable demoralisation in Italy. Food supplies were plentiful in spite of occasional small difficulties about distribution. The people were talking all over Italy about graft and the stories were believed and were frequently precise in character. There was much inefficiency. The Italian air-force, which had been estimated about ~~500~~ 500,000 second line planes some time ago, probably had not much more than 200,000; they were of a four years old design and Italian aviators in Africa said it had been just suicide to meet the modern British planes. When they brought

a British plane down, it was an accident. Aeroplane factories in Italy were now said to be turning over to producing parts to be used by Germany. Attempts to remodel and bring new Italian models had completely failed. Production at the moment was very, very low.

One Italian soldier speaking of the Greek campaign said his battalion had been sent into action in six feet snow clad in linen and with cloth boots; thirty-eight survived. Visits to wounded soldiers in the hospitals have now been forbidden.

The ~~Korff~~ ^{Ciano} not long ago went to the Genoa district to hold a military review which was to last three days. The first day went off like clock work. He then called the staff together and said they had been rehearsing these particular manoeuvres for six weeks but thought it would be useful if they would turn to a new "problem", which was put before the Officers. The preparations were begun, but before morning the second and third days manoeuvres had to be abandoned owing to the complete chaos which had ensued. The ~~Korff~~ ^{Ciano} was reported to have remarked that this explained their defeats in Africa and Albania.

Mussolini is said to live almost in isolation. The Germans, especially now that so many Ministers have been sent to the front, are in virtual control. This has been done with extreme skill. The quiet, unostentatious and efficient way in which the Germans were "dugged" into various Administrations, had evoked a great deal of admiration among those who were able to observe it.

Italy was full of so-called plots, some organized by Officers, some by political groups, some by the industrialists; none of them was to be taken very seriously; all the plotters talked freely and the Gestapo had Italian agents everywhere.

The German control in various ways was already so well established that any general collapse in Italy was "rather unlikely". Anti-German feeling was widespread; pro-Germans were found among some of the younger Fascists who had been reared on wolves milk, and some of the Leaders. Whereas the Party had at first been blamed for war reverses, the Army was also now being criticized. Ciano was the Minister the most loyal to Mussolini.

March 10, 1941

When Agnides and I were spending a weekend at Villars, Bova Scopa, Italian Minister at Lisbon, turned up; he was on his way from Rome to Lisbon. We both knew him as he was formerly on the Italian Delegation and lately Italian Consul General in Geneva. He was a rather nice gentlemanly fellow with extremely pleasant manners. We met in the hotel and passed with a few polite and cordial inquiries about our respective families, but for Agnides he showed more interest. He asked Agnides to have a meeting in either of their private rooms. Agnides agreed somewhat reluctantly. Bova Scopa began by assuring Agnides that he only came out of friendship, that friendship was to be cherished in all circumstances, that he did not want to do anything machiavellian. They then discussed the origins of the war, Agnides pointing out all that Greece had done to maintain her neutrality and the provocations and attacks she had not only ignored but on which she had avoided publicity, but B.S. while not admitting all this, said they should think of the future. Germany was about to invade Greece through Bulgaria (which she had just occupied that weekend); Greece would be over-run and would have nothing to hope for. What had Greece to gain? She should make peace. He understood that Greece might not like to approach Italy direct, but why not approach Germany?

Agnides pointed out that of course he did not represent his Government, that they would take all the decisions necessary, but that - he answered in a somewhat lofty and noble tone - Greece would be loyal to her Allies; that if propositions were made she would no doubt submit them to Great Britain, that they might be overwhelmed now, but they would win later.

B.S. asked him if he really thought Great Britain would win and when Agnides replied that he thought so, he inquired how that was going to be done. No hint or suggestion of any terms was made. He assured Agnides that Germany and Russia were working hand in hand and that Russia approved of all the movements being made. It is unfortunate perhaps that our Italian friend held his conversation when the news of the German movement into Bulgaria had just been announced, otherwise his tone might have been - as I had half expected - more in keeping with what we heard from Italy.

In fact when I came back to Geneva, I heard echos of conversations he had had a few days previously in which he was very pessimistic. I even heard that he had had a private, and of course purely friendly, talk with Harry L.

The one point on which B.S. gave an assurance to Agnides, i.e. the Russian-German collusion was disproved twenty-four hours afterwards by an official note published by the Soviet, strongly criticizing the Bulgarian Government's decision to admit German troops and saying this meant the extension of the war.

That evening in the hotel after dinner there was some dancing and the Italian party was particularly merry and noisy. After a time the pianist of the orchestra came over to our table and called aside Alcala - the Spanish violinist who had been sitting with us; he spoke to him somewhat mysteriously and later we heard that he had asked Alcala: "I don't read the newspapers very much, but is it by any chance true that the Italians have already won the war?". The pianist is an Austrian refugee.

The Greeks are in a tight corner with a big German army massed on their Bulgarian frontier and a large Italian army of nearly half-a-million accumulated in Albania. Melas, who saw me this morning, says there is no question but that the Greeks will continue to fight; he quoted a public saying by their Prime Minister à propos of the idea of surrendering: "Greece is too small a country to commit so great an infamy"; but whether they can hold or not is another question.

Eden, the Foreign Minister, has just made a tour of the Near-East visiting both Ankara and Athens, but there is no sign yet of what the situation and reaction in Turkey is. They are definitely making preparations for defence, but will their policy remain purely defensive? I am inclined to think it will. Yugoslavia, as I always expected, is being surrounded before any approach has been made to her and the pressure has now definitely increased.

Goebbels has twice announced this weekend in public that Britain will be attacked when the good weather comes. Presumably this must be a direct assault. The American law to aid Britain becomes finally law this week and gives very extensive powers to the President. If Great Britain holds for six months (or even three) tide will very definitely have turned against Germany. The British remain very confident.

Venezelos

Aiken, the Coordinating Defence Minister in Dublin, has gone to America to try and get more arms. I doubt if he is the best man to go; I should say he has very little, if any, diplomatic qualities and is inclined to occasional outbursts of anti-British feeling. On the other hand, it may be useful for him personally to find out what the United States is thinking.

Colonel Donovan, a so-called ^{unofficial} American representative, who has visited all the Balkan capitals, went over from London to Dublin last week to see de Valera; he was preceded a few weeks ago by Mr. Wilkie, the defeated Presidential Republican candidate. It is striking how many people seem to expect the attack on England to be launched through Ireland. I persist in believing that such an attack would and could only be a secondary or tertiary diversion; but even so, I believe there is danger and it will be made if it seems to the Germans to be of any assistance in their war on England.

17th March 1941

St. Patrick's Day. But there is nobody left with whom to celebrate except Martin Hall whose wife is in hospital!

a note from Messigli on the blockade - arguing for a relocation in foodstuffs in favour of Unoccupied France. Gave it to Harry for Alec C.

Five Ardagh (Xmas) letters come in a bunch - nearly 3 months en route - "magnificently stamped for air mail" as the blighter wanted for a ship.

Elsie writes very generous things about her husband

19/3/41

Wednesday, March 19, 1941

L.O. back from Spain where he spent several weeks, says that probably 75% of the population is pro-British; of this 75% probably half are so because they are convinced the British victory would be in the interest of Spain and the other half pro-British because they are against the Government, which is not. The phalangist régime is not popular and Franco's personal prestige not high. The common people attribute their hardships to a great extent to the Germans who they believe are taking large quantities of materials out of Spain. O. saw a number of diplomats including the British and French Ambassadors. Sir Samuel Hoare impressed on him the importance of keeping the international organizations in existence - which rather surprised me as he has not the reputation of having any purely idealistic or sentimental interest. O. also met some army generals who are now convinced that Germany could not win the war.

Wednesday March 19, 1941

McKinnon Wood writes from Minneapolis, to which he retired last August, to Agnides ~~an~~ an interesting comment on the League, of which he had long experience "It is usual to say that, even if the League was a political failure, its technical activities were invaluable. In the political field the League did good work for many years but it is arguable that, being founded on erroneous assumptions about how States are able to behave, its existence was one of the causes of the present crisis. In the technical field I believe no one has any real knowledge as to how much of what the League did was useful, and how much sheer waste of money and effort, apart from its value in advertising the League."

In a letter to Bieler he writes: "The opinion that defeat of the totalitarian powers is essential for the safety and comfort of the U.S. is pretty general now, even in the Middle West, and I am astonished by the trouble which its advocates are taking to get the lease-lend bill passed. There is of course strong and rather bitter opposition to that bill. Here the population element luckwarm or hostile to aid to Britain seems to be the Norwegians and other Scandinavians. They seem to be the section which americanises itself quickest and cares least about its former fatherlands. Nisot, as you probably know, is doing research work at Harvard for Manley Hudson. I rather envy him, finding I miss my office work and don't enjoy being at a loose end."

Dues with Olvan & ? — the
new Portuguese minister in Turkey on the way
to his post. Both concerned & uncertain
as the dangers to the Peninsula — a possible gateway
into Europe later — & accidentally our only port d'exit!

Some of the "Stories" going around Genoa

Adolf had a strange dream: he dreamt that he was going to have a baby. He sought for interpretations of this strange dream, but no one could help him; Hermann said it was a mystery to him and Benito replied that he could not make head or tail of it, but Joseph was more helpful; he replied that an interpretation was quite simple: "ein kleines Deutschland wird geboren in neun Monaten."

Two G. soldiers in Norway discussing what they would like to do when the war was over. One of them said he would like to make a grand tour of the conquered countries and the other replied: "Mais, qu'est-ce que vous allez faire dans l'après-midi?"

A Norwegian fisherman was going with his boat to the rescue of two apparently drowning G. soldiers and when he came back alone to the shore he was questioned by a G. soldier who had been watching the scene: "Why did you throw back those two men into the water?" "Well, he said, one of them was dead." "All right, but what about the other?" "Oh, the other one told me he was not dead, mais allez donc croire ce que disent les Allemands!"

Adolf and Hermann arrived in Switzerland to ask for Swiss nationality. After some discussion as to which should apply first, it was decided that the leader would take the van. So Adolf entered the Palais Fédéral, Hermann anxiously awaiting him outside. Time passed and with his growing anxiety Hermann at last shouted: "Adolf, Adolf, where are you?" Eventually a window in the Palais Fédéral opened and Adolf looked out and replied: "Go away, sale Boche".

In a certain mountain eyrie a G.M. walked on his terrace and apostrophizes the Heavens. But, from a neighbouring mountain there came always an echo, almost like a response.

Q: Wann kommt England zu knie?

Echo: nie.

Q: Wer diktat den Frieden?

Echo: Eden

Q: Ich kommt mit der Luftwaffe!

Echo: affe!

After a speech by Dr. Goebbels:
"What are these plutocrats our leaders are denouncing?"
"Plutocrats are people who get power through money."
After a moment's reflection, thoughtfully:
"Oh, then I suppose our leaders are cratopluts."

Nicholas Titulesco has died at Cannes

24/3/41

Agh. tells me confidentially that Politis, the rich Greek minister to France, well known international lawyer, & great figure at Geneva, owned a chateau in occupied France. After the collapse the Germans refused him a permit to visit it. So he wrote offering his services, & drawing attention to their value, for the making of the "New Europe" according to Adolph. But still came the reply, he could go to his house but no guarantees etc.

Melas & Agh. both shocked & ashamed & don't want the story known. They add - "He is from Corfu" - an island of mixed races of uncertain character.

It is hard to be both rich and upright - the Bible put it better.



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Postanweisungstelegramme ermöglichen einen raschen und sicheren Geldverkehr. Auskunft am Post- oder am Telegraphenschalter.

Le mandat télégraphique est un moyen rapide et sûr d'envoyer de l'argent. Renseignements aux guichets des postes et des télégraphes.

Il vaglia telegrafico è un mezzo rapido e sicuro per l'invio di danaro. Informatevi agli sportelli della posta o del telegrafo.

Journal le Figaro 27-3-41
La portée du Pacte tripartite

La Yougoslavie est le cinquième Etat qui adhère (avec les réserves que nous verrons plus loin), au Pacte tripartite conclu le 27 septembre 1940 entre l'Allemagne, l'Italie et le Japon. Pour l'Axe, ce pacte n'est pas seulement un arrangement signé dans le dessein de lui faciliter la conduite de la guerre; il doit en cas de victoire constituer la charte nouvelle de l'Europe et dans une certaine mesure de l'Asie; il se substituerait ainsi au Pacte de la S. d. N. avec lequel il présente des différences essentielles.

Le Pacte de la S. d. N. prévoyait la collaboration de tous les Etats dans l'égalité; le Pacte tripartite introduit dans les relations extérieures le principe de la primauté de trois grandes Puissances; chacune d'elles se réservant de créer un ordre nouveau dans son espace vital et de soumettre sa zone d'influence à une direction politique, militaire et économique. C'est l'application sur le plan international de l'idée totalitaire. Si l'on peut risquer cette image, on comparera le Reich-Italie et le Japon à deux planètes qui, par leur force d'attraction, feront graviter autour d'elles des satellites. Les trois Etats précités procèdent à un partage anticipé d'une partie du globe. Le Pacte ne fait aucune allusion aux Etats-Unis; il mentionne en revanche l'U.R.S.S., en précisant que l'accord n'affecte par le statut politique existant entre cet Etat et les trois Puissances signataires.

Le Pacte a ainsi un effet immédiat et une portée lointaine. Il constitue une alliance militaire, car les signataires, désireux de localiser le conflit, promettent de se prêter assistance au cas où l'un d'eux serait attaqué par un Etat qui n'est pas engagé dans la guerre européenne ou sino-japonaise. Il a ainsi un caractère de protection mutuelle et son but est de créer un front commun contre les Etats-Unis. Mais le Reich n'entend pas le considérer uniquement comme un arrangement cristallisant une constellation politique; il s'en sert comme d'un instrument destiné à modeler l'Europe selon ses desseins. Et c'est là un des phénomènes les plus singuliers de notre époque: l'Allemagne ne veut pas attendre la fin des hostilités pour préparer l'avenir; tout en combattant, elle s'occupe de la transformation du continent; on saisit là le caractère révolutionnaire de cette guerre. Le Reich agit ainsi ou parce qu'il est sûr de vaincre, ou pour s'assurer, quelle que soit l'issue du conflit, une position exceptionnelle en Europe en liant dès maintenant à la sienne l'économie de nombreux Etats et en y développant son influence.

Les pays qui adhèrent volontairement au Pacte tripartite ou ceux qui sont contraints de le faire, n'entrent pas sur un pied d'égalité avec ses créateurs; ils font acte d'allégeance; ils admettent la suprématie de l'Axe; ils se rallient aux conditions prévues dans l'accord, dont la principale est la reconnaissance de la « direction » des trois Puissances dans l'espace vital qu'elles se sont assignées.

C'est la première fois que l'on voit des Etats participant à un arrangement international sacrifier une partie de leur souveraineté; s'ils l'avaient fait du temps de la S. d. N., en considérant leur intérêt commun, il est probable que l'histoire aurait pris un cours différent. Il est encore trop tôt pour juger les avantages obtenus par les pays qui se sont joints à l'Axe et les compensations qu'ils obtiennent pour les sacrifices qu'ils ont faits. Le cas de la Slovaquie n'appelle pas de commentaire. Ce petit Etat doit son indépendance au Reich et les hommes qui le dirigent ont toujours été favorables au national-socialisme. La Hongrie, elle, a récupéré une partie de la Transylvanie; elle ne veut pas de régime nazi chez elle, mais, pays dépeçé par le Traité de Trianon, elle devait éprouver une sympathie naturelle pour la politique révisionniste du Führer. La Roumanie, de son côté, s'est jetée vers l'Axe afin de trouver un appui extérieur dans la crise terrible qu'elle a traversée. La Bulgarie, impressionnée par le voisinage d'une grande armée à ses frontières, et espérant en outre une récompense territoriale, a signé le pacte; on lui a cependant accordé le droit d'envoyer des représentants dans les Commissions siégeant à Berlin lorsqu'elles discuteront les questions qui la concernent.

Tous ces Etats ont adhéré sans restriction, admettant ainsi le passage de troupes étrangères sur leur sol ou l'occupation de leur territoire; ils prêtent ainsi un appui militaire au Reich et ils lui donnent une aide considérable dans le domaine économique en lui réservant la plus grande partie de leurs exportations.

Quant à la Yougoslavie, son ralliement, après de longues hésitations, n'a pas un ca-

ractère aussi absolu. La Yougoslavie a obtenu une déclaration selon laquelle le Reich respectera en tout temps l'intégrité de son territoire et n'exigera pas d'elle l'autorisation d'y faire passer des troupes. Ainsi, elle n'assume pas d'obligations militaires. Mais elle a dû néanmoins apporter son tribut. On dit que dans l'accord qu'elle a conclu avec l'Allemagne et qui n'a pas été publié, elle a accepté le passage sur son sol de blessés et de matériel de guerre, qu'elle s'est engagée à empêcher toute activité contre l'Axe et à adapter son économie pour l'harmoniser avec celle du Reich. Elle pourra, en retour, participer aux travaux des commissions prévues par le Pacte lorsque celles-ci traiteront des questions qui touchent à ses intérêts.

Elle entre ainsi, avec un statut un peu particulier, dans le nouveau groupement, mais elle y entre et sa situation politique n'est plus la même: elle abandonne sa neutralité pour s'affilier à une organisation dans laquelle figurent deux Etats en guerre contre l'Angleterre. Elle reconnaît implicitement la doctrine de l'espace vital et de la primauté de l'Axe. Quelles que soient les raisons qui l'aient déterminée à s'incliner, il n'en reste pas moins que son adhésion, à côté des avantages qu'elle apporte au Reich, constitue pour ce dernier un nouveau succès diplomatique. Liée par le Pacte tripartite, la Yougoslavie est neutralisée. Le Reich a franchi une nouvelle étape. Il peut maintenant s'occuper de la Grèce héroïque.

R. P.

27/3 Thursday.

Lukac, scates, called

on me at 1 pm. A

military conf. of 1st in

Y-S. The young king takes

over, Regency Council? leaves

country, new Government with

a General at the head &

including the all important

Croat leader Mactchek.

Winston speaks of it

triumphantly in a speech

this morning. If they can

regain their neutrality it will be of incalculable importance.

Yesterday Carl Burckhardt, speaking to Ash., referred to me as "incorruptible".

On reflection, & in these times, I am a little more gratified than on my first impression.

TO IRELAND

Fegen, O'Connor, Doran, O'Moore Creagh-
These names in Ireland's unregenerate day
Would have brought exultation; as we are,
They send back echoes from some mocking star.
What title, what inheritance, what share
Have we in champions of sea, land, or air?

Yet hopes have been that Ireland should unite
Through comradeship in some redeeming fight.
Say for what cause these Irish struck their blow
If not for freedom? Surely we can know
Who are the wrongers, who the wronged, to-day;
If not, let Poland, Holland, Belgium say;
And should these tortured nations with their cry
Move not our spirit - should the risk too high
Deter us - then at least let there be shown
Some will to claim our heroes for our own.
They have ensured that on the field of fame
Ireland shall not be the forgotten name.
Pay them, let not our instincts be denied,
The flowing tribute of a natural pride.

It may be preparation for an hour
When Ireland, trampled by invading power,
Bids North and South in valiant leaguer join
Shoulder to Irish shoulder - on the Boyne.

Stephen Gwynn.

(Captain Fogarty Fegen, of the Jervis Bay, Major-General O'Connor and Major-General Creagh, of the Libyan battle, are fresh in memory. The war was barely begun when Squadron-Leader Doran headed an R.A.F. raid on battleships in the Kiel Canal. His Irish name was one of the first to reach the public ear.)

March 1941

"Daily Telegraph"

I said the other day to Agnès & Bruckhardt that the war had become inevitable in 1937 or at latest 1938. (C.B. still has a hankering notion he could have done something to avert it if he had been in Danzig from January to March '39 when he was detained at Geneva - an illusion, I told him).

Agn. said that in 193- he dined with Maj. Gen. Temperley on his return from Berlin & when he asked him if war could be averted Temperley shook his head -

Wladimir d'Armesan in the "Figaro" which is the only readable paper in France today (recommended to me by Mazzigli) says the critical epoch was 1934-36 in the European evolution.



One of the Carromora ponies the
girls had lost summer at Ardagh.
Photo by Ann with Pat's camera.

Mrs. Jacobson (nee Nye) is Irish & the
daughters, Erin, Bridget, & - are like her
very sentimentally Irish.

McKittrick not too alarmed
about economic side of
reconstruction with modern means
of production; the first and
essential thing must be
political security

March 31st 1941

Last week I met Jacobsson, of the Bank of International Settlements at Bâle, who was a few years ago a Member of the Special Banking Commission in Ireland, and to-day I lunched with McKittrick, the American Chief of the same Institution. They are both very hard-headed financial experts and talking of the future of Europe both very emphatically expressed the belief that the survival of the League and other existing international organs was of primary importance for the post-war world.

McKittrick's mind is running tentatively towards the idea of federation; federation based on Anglo-American collaboration. This collaboration he thinks may well be much more than an alliance; the lesson has been learned, there is no hope for any one in isolation or in trying to narrow the national interests of great countries. The British Commonwealth would survive the shocks of war, but there might be some shifting of power within it. McKittrick is convinced that no economic reconstruction can really be made without political security, that must precede any attempt to reconstruct if an unstable patchwork business were to be avoided.

McKittrick is in regular and close contact with the Central Banks of all the European countries and meets the Germans regularly, especially the more sober elements in banking and industry, who, he says, have acquired an extremely interesting and valuable experience as a result of their efforts at autarchy.

McKittrick regards autarchy and self-sufficiency policies as being failures for anything except immediate war purposes. He spoke of the problem of raising the standard of living for agricultural countries so as to make the economic attractions of industrialisation less influential in national policies. Agriculture in countries like Canada, the United States and Argentina, he believed would have to be changed; at the moment they are run more like great industries with all the advantages and drawbacks and he seemed to hope for the development of mixed farming with its increased labour and increased variety of production.

Henri V. convinced that L-3 has been pro Axis
since war began. Can't believe it.

12.3.41.

I. Le blé alimentaire de l'Europe est-guest à
l'Allemagne officielle.

Il est vain d'insister sur la restriction alimentaire qu'elle mettrait l'Allemagne à genoux. Différent pour son ravitaillement de la plus grande partie de l'Europe qu'il occupe ou qu'il terrorise, ainsi au surplus pour longtemps encore de la complaisance russe, le Reich allemand ne pourra à se procurer le complément de vivres nécessaires pour assurer la nourriture de sa population et, à plus forte raison, de son armée, - fussent les territoires occupés livrés à eux-mêmes la famine. Toutes les populations soumises ou assujetties mourront de faim avant que le soldat allemand ne manque de nourriture.

Il est vain de se vanter de son officialité officielle, le monde, dans la situation actuelle - devrait porter surtout son regard sur les matières premières, minérales, textiles, fibres, etc.

Lyon Royal Hôtel, 1
le 12 mars 1947.

Mon cher ami,

Quand j'ai eu le plaisir de vous voir à Genève, voilà déjà quinze jours, vous aviez bien voulu me demander de vous envoyer une petite note sur cette terrible affaire du blocus. Le temps m'a manqué pour tenir ma promesse: j'ai fait un voyage à Vichy, etc. mais, hélas! il n'est pas trop tard pour reprendre ce sujet.

Voici donc la note demandée. Plus que jamais, après avoir causé avec beaucoup d'amis qui souhaitent comme moi une victoire anglaise, je crois que, dans cette affaire, on fait fausse route à Londres et que, sans mettre en aucune manière en péril les principes généraux de la politique du blocus, on devrait pouvoir, - sur des points précis, et moyennant l'établissement corrélatif d'un contrôle américain auquel on est prêt chez nous - introduire quelques adoucissements qui permettraient à la zone libre d'échapper à la famine - et aux graves troubles sociaux qui la menacent dans les mois qui viennent. Certaines déclarations dont on parle beaucoup depuis quelques jours, témoignent de la nervosité et de l'inquiétude avec lesquelles le problème est maintenant envisagé chez nous: c'est qu'il est, en effet, très grave. Pour l'avenir des relations entre nos deux pays, pour ménager leur collaboration future, il est grand temps d'agir, je vous l'assure.

Est-il besoin d'ajouter que la note que je vous envoie a un caractère tout personnel? Je ne remplis à l'heure actuelle aucune fonction officielle; je ne suis chargé d'aucune mission; ma démarche n'est pas et ne doit pas être connue à Vichy; je demande instamment que l'on n'y voie rien d'autre que l'expression de la conviction comme des préoccupations d'un homme profondément attaché à la cause de l'amitié franco-britannique, qui ne conçoit de salut pour les deux pays que par la restauration de cette amitié et qui a, au surplus, prouvé par des actes et au prix d'une disgrâce exigée par Berlin que la "cause commune" est pour lui aujourd'hui encore ce qu'elle était en septembre 1939.

Croyez, je vous prie, à mes sentiments de fidèle sympathie et de sincère dévouement.

P.S. Si vous me faites le plaisir de me répondre, adressez votre lettre c/o Consul Général de France, Genève.

12.3.41

I - Le blocus alimentaire de l'Europe est - quant à l'Allemagne - inefficace.

Il est vain d'attendre de restrictions alimentaires qu'elles mettent l'Allemagne à genoux. Disposant pour son ravitaillement de la plus grande partie de l'Europe qu'il occupe ou qu'il terrorise, assuré au surplus pour longtemps encore de la complaisance russe, le Reich parviendra toujours à se procurer le complément de vivres nécessaire pour assurer la nourriture de sa population et, à plus forte raison, de son armée, - fussent les territoires occupés connaître eux mêmes la famine. Toutes les populations conquises ou assujetties mourront de faim avant que le soldat allemand ne manque du nécessaire.

Sans rien perdre de son efficacité véritable, le blocus, dans la situation actuelle devrait porter surtout sur les matières premières, minerais, métaux, huiles, pétrole, etc. En ce qui concerne les produits alimentaires, il pourrait en tout cas sans inconvénient majeur être adouci pour les pays, comme la France, où existe une autorité capable d'empêcher - ou en tout cas de limiter - les prélèvements allemands, surtout si la collaboration de contrôleurs américains lui est assurée.

II - La politique du blocus, telle qu'elle est pratiquée à l'égard de la France, est dangereuse du point de vue de l'intérêt britannique.

a) Elle a pour résultat de mettre à la disposition de l'Allemagne un très efficace moyen de pression à l'égard du Gouvernement de Vichy.

La situation alimentaire de la zone libre est en effet sensiblement plus mauvaise que celle de la zone occupée et ce n'est pas surprenant: 1o. parce que les régions productrices de blé ou de beurre sont pour la plupart situées en territoire occupé; 2o. parce que, de juin à octobre 1940, le flot de réfugiés qui s'est abattu sur les départements méridocrement producteurs du sud-ouest et du sud-est, les a littéralement vidés de leurs réserves.

Aujourd'hui les stocks en zone libre sont à peu près épuisés. Ce sont des trains de blé venant de la zone occupée qui permettent de vivre au jour le jour. Mais, au plus fort de la crise ouverte par le renvoi de M. Laval, ces trains ont été retenus par les autorités d'occupation; le résultat a été qu'il y eut un moment fin janvier, où, dans un département comme celui du Rhône, les autorités n'avaient devant elles que dix jours de pain assurés! M. Abetz et ses amis ont joué de cet état de choses - et non sans succès - pour faire pression sur le maréchal Pétain; s'ils n'ont pu tirer de la situation tous les avantages qu'elle comportait, c'est parce que le Maréchal avait en mains d'autres atouts. Telle circonstance peut se présenter où ces atouts feraient défaut: est-ce cela que l'on souhaite à Londres?

b) S'il est absurde et injuste de rendre, d'une manière générale, le blocus responsable des privations que subit la France, il serait tout aussi inexact de ne lui attribuer aucune part de responsabilité dans ces souffrances. Plus le temps passera, plus ces souffrances augmenteront et

plus il deviendra tentant de rejeter la faute sur la Grande Bretagne. La radio allemande n'y manque pas, et il n'est pas possible que, à la longue, l'affirmation ne produise pas quelque effet: les récentes déclarations de l'Amiral Darlan prouvent à tout le moins qu'elle n'est généralement pas considérée comme dépourvue de tout fondement.

c) Dans certaines régions, notamment en Languedoc, la disette peut à bref délai provoquer des incidents, voire des troubles, dont la propagande communiste ne manquera pas de tirer parti. L'Angleterre a-t-elle quelque chose à gagner à se voir accuser de favoriser ainsi, indirectement, l'action communiste en France? N'a-t-elle rien à craindre de l'Allemagne apparaissant à la bourgeoisie française comme le véritable élément d'ordre en Europe? -

4/4/41

Several letters from E. have come in
about 16 days. Charming letters from a real
help-mate.

Confidential

Lester to Makins 4th April

Certain tendencies have appeared from discussions
Jacklin has had in the United States Canada which affect
the general question of the League's immediate future
and more particularly of maintaining Headquarters in
Europe.

It seems that interest in transferred Labour and
League Organizations is being partly developed at the
expense of interest in European Headquarters. Canada
and Latin America it is said will support only transferred
elements. ^{Certain} USA influences are also mentioned as having
same tendency. Have declined join Phelan in his
suggested proposal to Supervisory Committee that ILO
should be authorized collect contributions separately
on constitutional grounds especially as unconvinced
result would be substantial.

It is difficult to assess from here how far
Governments of League Members are really impressed by
or supporting these tendencies, but Jacklin's and other
similar reports raise again the question of maintaining
Headquarters in middle of Europe. ^{information} Loveday on ~~this~~
recommends me consult you again. Have been acting
in belief that you see present and/or future political
advantage in our staying here and although risks being
closed down or cut off always exist am inclined to
agree. Useful untransferable part Lovedays and
Opium work also continue here as well as Health and
other elements and forty million francs property.

Uneasy job holding ~~xxx~~post here probably well worth
while as political symbol, maintaining contacts, actual
activities and even prestige of transferred elements.
Removal would lead to further weakening relationship
certain European countries with League and am not sure
it would strengthen relationship with non Europeans.
It may be that by mixture accident and policy we have
nearly attained good balance between transfer ^{America} ~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ and European headquarters, but would like to
know if your opinion coincides otherwise very cheerfully
reconsider./.

5th April - Sunday. Even phase
at 8 am that Germany & Italy are
attacking Yugoslavia & that
the German offensive against Greece
through Bulgaria has begun.

The G-Ss. are not allowed
to be neutral.

7/4/41

Aiken & Bob Brennan recd. by
Roosevelt before whom they placed
Irish Govt's proposals for ships & wheat
& arms. Have just been reading
a debate in Second Dáil (January)
on censorship etc. Aiken's apparent
anti-British bias won't endear him
to Roosevelt at this moment.

Pétain makes a speech in which
he says French honour forbade her
taking any action against her former
allies. This is regarded as important.
A few weeks ago Darlan threatened to
curvy ships through the British Blockade.

The British have rushed an army into
Greece - the army of the hills - & in
consequence German-Italian forces are
sweeping back through Cyrenaica. The B's
are holding a heavy burden - at a farewell
luncheon to Sky/Cat today Even, renaking

that if the French had continued
the war in Africa the Italians w^d
have been cleared out long ago
said "If I were a Yugoslav I
could never forgive the French"

Vichy pin-fucking gives a
point to that.

The Senate debate mentioned
above confirms the impression that
the censorship has helped to keep
the people remote from the realities
& dangers of the situation. It may
have helped to eliminate internal
discussions & dissension, but I fear
for the morale in a crisis. That may
have been proved by the effect of
sudden food & other restrictions in
recent months.

The Irish newspapers are the most
colorless in the world today. Neutrality
is one thing but this has gone too far.

In our review of *Switzerland* the Journal de Genève can
publish the following (31/3/4):

L'âme yougoslave

Le peuple yougoslave a retrouvé son âme. Le destin l'a forgé pour la résistance: il ne sait pas, il ne veut pas plier.

Au milieu d'une Europe vieillie, le Serbe a conservé la spontanéité, la candeur, parfois la violence d'un enfant: il ignore tout des ruses, des petites habiletés, des restrictions mentales; il va droit son chemin, aimant qui l'aime et haïssant qui se défie de lui. Il est fidèle: qualité maîtresse! En 1914, il a été la première victime de l'agression: tout petit contre un tout grand, il s'est battu au delà des forces humaines. La retraite de Pierre I^{er} à travers les montagnes d'Albanie fut une épopée qui restera célèbre

à l'égal de la Retraite des Dix Mille. Envahie, annihilée, la Serbie reconstitua à Corlou son armée qui, s'élançant avec ses alliés sur les pentes du Kaimatchalan, perça le front adverse et libéra le pays.

Le Serbe n'oublie pas; au fond de son cœur, la gratitude envers ceux qui l'ont aidé à reconquérir son indépendance demeure. Il n'a pu supporter l'idée d'une alliance avec ceux qui, il y a un quart de siècle, furent contre ses anciens frères d'armes de l'autre côté de la barricade. Une poussée irrésistible a opéré le redressement national. L'Eglise et l'Armée, qui incarnent la Nation, ont donné leurs ordres, et Pierre II, fils d'Alexandre et petit-fils de Pierre I^{er}, est entré dans l'Histoire avec toute l'ardeur d'une jeunesse bouillonnante du sang des Karageorgevitch.

La situation juridique et politique que trouve le jeune roi n'est pas intacte: le Pacte tripartite a été signé avant le changement de régime; il ne fait aucun doute que le Reich s'en prévaut. Mais cette signature a été accompagnée de déclarations publiques solennelles que le gouvernement de Belgrade est en droit d'invoquer; et peut-être existe-t-il des clauses secrètes qui ne lient pas nécessairement le général Simovitch. Le nouveau ministre des affaires étrangères, M. Nintchitch, est homme d'expérience et de grand savoir diplomatique.

Ne préjugeons rien: il est possible qu'il y ait bientôt menaces et rupture; il est possible, également, que de nouvelles négociations s'engagent et qu'un accommodement puisse être trouvé. Mais deux choses sont certaines: Pierre II ne peut pas décevoir l'espérance que

son peuple a mise en lui, et les hommes d'Etat qui ont assumé les responsabilités du pouvoir ne peuvent suivre la même voie que leurs prédécesseurs. Il y a, dans l'histoire de la Yougoslavie, un fait nouveau qui dès aujourd'hui modifie les données du problème politique et stratégique des Balkans.

Jeudi matin, il semblait qu'on fût à la veille de l'invasion de la Macédoine; dégagés de tout souci sur le flanc droit de leur armée d'occupation de la Bulgarie, les chefs de l'armée allemande pouvaient fonder sur Salonique. Depuis le coup d'Etat de Belgrade, l'incertitude règne de nouveau à Berlin sur l'attitude finale du gouvernement yougoslave; logiquement, on peut en conclure qu'une offensive contre la Grèce est moins imminente. La joie qui a déferlé sur toute la Péninsule hellénique à l'ouïe des nouvelles de la capitale serbe prouve que le peuple grec a compris cette portée immédiate de l'événement. On peut conjecturer aussi que l'attitude de la Turquie, déjà très ferme, sera renforcée par le changement de régime yougoslave.

Deux éventualités se présentent à l'esprit si l'on considère les répercussions possibles de l'avènement de Pierre II.

Première hypothèse: après quelques jours d'agitation et de malaise, les affaires s'arrangeront entre Berlin et Belgrade dans des conditions telles que le *statu quo* sera consolidé dans les Balkans et que les menaces d'extension de la guerre s'éloigneront. En ce cas, la Grèce ne sera plus en danger d'être prise à revers en Macédoine et pourra poursuivre son offensive défensive en Albanie.

Deuxième hypothèse: le gouvernement du Reich cherchera à briser toute résistance yougoslave au besoin par les armes, et l'armée de Pierre II combattrait de concert avec celle de Georges II, de concert avec des troupes britanniques débarquées en Grèce, de concert, peut-être, avec l'armée turque. L'armée du Reich est si puissante que, dans ces conditions mêmes, elle pourrait vraisemblablement tenir tête à tous ces adversaires; mais la campagne serait onéreuse, et l'on peut se demander si elle trouverait avantage à l'engager.

Quoi qu'il en soit les Etats-majors, de part et d'autre, utilisent le délai que leur accordent les discussions diplomatiques, pour prendre toutes précautions utiles: la Yougoslavie accélère la mobilisation de son armée, et le Reich remanie son dispositif stratégique en Roumanie et en Bulgarie.

En résumé, l'équilibre paraissait rompu dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe par l'adhésion de la Yougoslavie au Pacte tripartite. Tout est remis aujourd'hui en question, et plus que jamais il est difficile de prévoir l'avenir même le plus proche.

J. M.

I am afraid many ^{evil} people may still think neutrality is a ^{protection} although Dev. seems to be doing his best to dissipate such illusions.

Aghmedes was sent to Berne "to see the Chinese exhibition". Had a great reception among the legations & especially in the America was made at home & even shown in ^{important} telegrams as they arrived.

Talked with Secretary of the Dept. Politiqne found a good deal of ignorance about the League, a complete unwillingness to improve relations, indeed a deliberate policy of *providence*.

Non sequitur

Regell Tyler, delayed en route, came back last week. He has a sense of humor.

He was driving thro' N.Y. with E.F. & the latter, having got down, the taxi-man said: "That was an Englishman?" ["yes," he went on, ^{any one could see his} "a typical Englishman".

[Then suddenly: "By God, they're putting up a grand fight!"]

That's all.

To explain - Telkin, an Englishman, eaten up with a kind of intellectualism, told me last Sept. that the outcome of the war left him indifferent.

17-4-41

A rare letter from Ann, who is absorbed in her Douglas. They want to marry. She's 19. & 3 mths. & he hasn't yet graduated. The girl is very indignant at the conditions which prevent them getting married. Neither of them will have any money, of course. I haven't met him but E. says he's a fine boy, & very devoted. I wish he were older.

Belfast & N.I. got its first really heavy air bombardment this week. No details. Heavy casualties. No news yet of Jette & Muriel (Bonger is purely residential but may have shared in the attack) or of Harry Corn & his family - Patagonia.

Dublin sent two fire engines to help in quelling the fires.

17th April

(11/4/42)
Roger telegraphs "So long
as your position is tenable and
tolerable balance advantage
undoubtedly lies in maintaining
H.Q. in Geneva"

My message based on reports
from Jackson & Luedy is quoted in 4/4.

Of course, it will probably
mean that post will be held until
evacuation impossible

Question of a mtg of Sup. Ctee mooted
for June & C.H. wishes that my presence
wt be vital. Replied full agreement
but compelled draw attention to
possible difficulties getting back. Am I
foolish or likely to be misunderstood
when I wt like so much to be outside?

Have written Luedy - "Don't tell anyone that
my heart sinks a trifle. But my head
concurs so far as I can see the facts,
"ponderable & imponderable"

APRIL-MAY 1948

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
25	26	27	28	29	30	1



Farmhouse on the Toggenburg

J. G. G. G.

