



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1938.

Personal and confidential

Dear Friend:

I have just received your note of November 14 that you have not heard from me since last August. It is correct that I did not write you for some time, but I wrote you a long letter on November 7 which I think must have reached you very shortly after you wrote me on November 14. I have the desire often to write to you but I tried to tell you in my letter of November 7 some of the handicaps under which I labor. I found it necessary to spend last week away from my desk. The mental strain I can easily stand but the physical strain was getting too much for me. My wife and I went to New York where we spent a week and kept away from all of our friends. I slept during the day and went to the theatre every night. I have returned to my desk and find it piled mountain high. I felt that I had to get this bit of rest before the Secretary went to Lima. He sailed on Friday and will be away for at least six weeks. I need not tell you that during his absence the burden will even be heavier on a few of us. The rest last week, however, really did me a great deal of good.

Since I wrote you on November 7 the British and Canadian trade agreements have been signed. Both of them are a great step forward. I do not believe that Chamberlain was very anxious to sign the British agreement but whether or not he liked it he was really forced into it for he realized that Anglo-American relations were at stake. If the British had not come through on this agreement, it would have been worse for the peace of the world than Munich. The British agreement is on the whole a very sound one and it is a good beginning. The Canadian agreement is a considerable advance on the first agreement.

Both

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Both of them have had a very good press in this country for the political implications involved are obvious and it is quite clear that our people do not shrink from them. Fortunately our people are beginning to realize that they have very distinct obligations from which they cannot escape. The British agreement means that they are not able to go ahead with any plans that Chamberlain and his friends may have had for far-reaching economic understandings with Germany. This, I believe, would have been disastrous -- following Munich.

We have brought back our Ambassador from Berlin and the reception in the press in this country to this action has been one of unanimous approval. The Germans, of course, have retaliated by recalling their own, but I feel that our step is one which did a great deal to strengthen the British position. I do not know how much and how widely the German people will realize what the recalling of our Ambassador for the present means, but I have a notion that it will trickle through. In any event, I feel confident that our action in bringing Wilson back from Berlin had a very good effect in Europe as well as in England. There is little probability of Wilson's returning to his post in Berlin in anything like the near future.

I think one of the greatest steps forward too has been the decision of the British and French not to grant belligerent rights to Franco at this time. I was very much afraid that the British would try to force the French into this. I think that our action in bringing Wilson home has strengthened the British to the point where they felt that they could delay action on this. It would be disastrous in my opinion to have a Franco regime in Spain. I would not be surprised to see developments in the near future which will bring a clearing up of the situation in Spain. The Catholics in this country realize that they made a great mistake in backing the Franco Government and I think they are getting ready to correct their error. I am hoping that some constructive action with respect to Spain can be taken in the near future. I am confident if there should be an armistice based on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Spain, the Spanish would be able to establish a Government in due course that would be quite acceptable. We are giving very careful thought here to the Spanish situation and it occupies me a good deal.

The recent news from Germany is to the effect that the people are more and more resentful of the action of the Government and that its popular support is decreasing. My own feeling is that this last action against the Jews is the beginning of the decline of the Nazi Government.

Certainly

Certainly there can be no peace in Europe until this Government is out of the way. Certainly we are not going to make any arrangements with them for we know what such arrangements would be worth. Munich was terrible, but I do not believe irreparable. I hope to be able to write you more fully in the near future. It would be interesting to know whether in your opinion also the strength of the regime in Germany is decreasing -- that is, I mean from the point of view of real popular support. I still feel that 85 to 90 percent of the German people are healthy even though they are not vocal. The last events in Germany have been such as to alienate completely the German-Americans in this country. At last I begin to see a glimmer of hope that we may be able to get rid of this scourge in Europe.

With all good wishes to you and Mrs. Heineman in which my wife joins,

Cordially yours,



I hope to write you at length very soon.
I think the notes in Berlin have reached
themselves. I don't want to do any wishful
thinking but I really believe the work of this
press is passed. Sincerely