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Personal and Confidential

Habana, Cuba, April 9, 1940.

Dear Dr. Stuart:

This is to acknowledge your letter of March 25th, which I appreciate very much indeed and particularly your courtesy in sending me a copy of WORLD AFFAIRS for March which contains your article on "A New Foreign Policy for the United States". I have read it with great care and with very great interest and I am bringing it to the attention of all the members of the staff here in Habana, as I feel that they should all be familiar with it. I need not tell you how much so many of us have appreciated your understanding of the administrative and political problems which the Department has to handle in the conduct of our foreign relations. It is very seldom that we find people in our own country who have an interest in. and an understanding of, our administrative, as well as our political, problems. That I personally appreciate the constructive interest which you have taken in our administrative problems, I need not tell you and it is my sincere hope that you will continue in that interest. Although my work for the time being will keep me in a more limited field, my own interest in the administrative problems of the Foreign Service and in the conduct of the Department remains as keen as ever. I really think we have made tremendous strides forward in the organization of the Department and of the Foreign Service. We certainly have the most compact and best functioning Foreign Office in any Government in the world today. I am confident that we have the most effective Foreign Service - and thank God now after such infinite pains - a unified and single Service under the Department of State. This does not mean that we can rest on our cars for such an organization can not remain static, but must continue to adapt itself to the changing conditions in our foreign relationships.

I am confident that Mr. Long, who succeeds me, will carry on this work in the same constructive spirit which has characterized recent years. One of the things I was able to accomplish in the Department was to establish in that office the competent personnel which can take some of the burdens from the Assistant Secretary.

You

Dr. Graham Stuart,
Department of Political Science,
STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Stanford University, California.

You will always find, when you go to Washington, that men like Hosmer, Shaw and Davis can be most helpful and cooperative.

May I tell you again how much I appreciate particularly your article in WORLD AFFAIRS? I think I may say without any egotism that there are few who appreciate the importance of our foreign policy to us in these difficult days more than I. I have had such intimate contact in recent years with those who are trying to establish the use of force as the primary weapon of internal and external policy. I know what their objectives are and they do not leave us untouched. There is no such thing for any country today as isolation, or peace through its own will; no matter how ardently we may desire to remain at peace or to remain apart from other peoples' troubles, our will has nothing to do with it unless, of course, we are willing to succumb to force and surrender our liberty of thought and action. Certainly Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland, as well as England and France, desired peace as much as we do and we see what has happened. This morning the cables bring the news of the occupation of Denmark by the Germans. I wonder when we will learn adequately where our enlightened self interest lies. We may be bigger and stronger than any one else today. But we are not bigger and stronger than the rest of the world. What Germany is trying to do is to get control of the rest of the world so that she can have her way with us. This is no more fantastic than what she tried to do, and did do, with Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc., I know it is indiscreet for officers of our Government to express, even in such a personal letter as this, their convictions, but I have always placed my own convictions above any subservience and you know what my feelings are with regard to what is happening in the world today. We must recognize, if we are wise and prudent, that our own interests are at stake today just as much as those of England and France. This does not mean that we have to send armies to Europe. It does mean, however, that unless we take those steps which enlightened self interest dictates, we will eventually be obliged to send our troops to more than one part of the world and we shall be faced by a world which is either unable or unwilling to give us any aid.

I cannot expand on this theme as I have a busy day ahead of me, and I simply wish to tell you how much I was interested in, and appreciated your article.

I have a very interesting field in which to work here and although it is limited in scope, I need not tell you that the problems which we have here are very real. The key to some of our problems in the American Republics lies here, and it shall be my endeavor to contribute to the solution of these problems in so far as I can through my work here. I have no

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illusions whatever that it will be an easy task.

Should you and Mrs. Stuart at any time be taking a holiday in this part of the world, I need not tell you how delighted we would be to see you here. I shall miss very much my associations at home, and I hope that me may be able to remain in contact and to exchange thoughts now and then. That I shall always be interested in what you write and do, I need not tell you, and I want very much to keep in touch.

With all good wishes,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH

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