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Vienna, December 7, 1935.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

I gather that you have gone to London for the Naval Conference and hope that it will prove a pleasant relief from the very busy days which you have been having in Washington. I fear that London, too, will be not any too easy, but it may be a pleasant change. At least you will have the voyage over and back.

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I am sending you herewith, as it may be of interest to you, a copy of a letter, dated December 4, which I am sending by the pouch to Dunn today. It will keep you in touch with developments here. My views as to the major situation have undergone no change. I think England is on the right path and is quite determined to stick to it, but I am not so sure that France will make it possible for her to save the situation on the Continent. I have little confidence in Leval and I don't believe the right kind of Anglo-French cooperation can be secured as long as he is where he is. I think they feel this in London too.

The key to the situation is in the hands of the French and their hesitations and fears may oblige England to seek the road to the Continent over Berlin instead of Paris. This will not avoid war eventually and the British know it and that is why they are being so patient with Paris. They know in London that the best chance for a fairly durable peace is through keeping the road over Paris and I think they are right.

It would be the greatest possible mistake, in my opinion, to deal with Germany now, for the situation there is really growing more critical and is developing along the lines that some of us felt it would. If Paris compels London to take the road over Berlin it is going to change the face of things over here completely.

The Honorable

William Phillips,
Under Secretary of State,
% American Embassy,
London.

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I am sure you will find your stay in London very interesting and I hope it will not be too strenuous. Mrs. Messersmith joins me in all good wishes.

Cordially and faithfully yours,

George S. Messersmith

Enclosure:

1. Copy of letter to Mr. Dunn