



LEGATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, January 15, 1935.

N°	Date d'exp.
6716	5-2-35
Remise à M. 1-	
H.	
Répondu le 18-2-35	
Dear Mr. Heineman:	
Jus 58 M.-	

*Reponde  
to 18/2/35  
D.N.*

I was very glad to have your note of January 8 and your comment. I am delighted to know that you are taking this holiday at Arosa, and hope Mrs. Heineman is with you and again able to enjoy the snow. I am sure that you will miss the association of King Albert who so thoroughly enjoyed the same spots you do.

I have read with much interest in the papers recently that van Cauweleart has resigned, but I have not been able to determine what it is all about. As I am personally very fond of him and have very high regard for him and his capacities and usefulness, I am hoping that his separation from the Government is only temporary.

I am not going to burden you with a long letter at Arosa, but I thought you might be interested to know that the situation, as we see it from here, seems to have considerably improved during the last eight weeks. I think that the turn came when England decided some two months ago that matters on the Continent could not be allowed to drift and that this policy might lead to catastrophe. I think she was entirely right and while I appreciate the difficulties which were in the way of her reaching this important decision, I think her step was a wise one, for without it, all, or at least most, of the progress which has been made would have been impossible. I think England's decision was made a little easier by the feeling that we were going to change our definition of neutrality at home in the near future so that in case of trouble she will not have us on her back the way she did during the first years of the war. I am one of those who believe that we should change our definition of neutrality and the application of the doctrine under certain circumstances. Our policy has been too inflexible in this respect.

In any event, England made her decision and then things began to happen. The first important result was that the Saar plebiscite committee could get out its report which had been hanging fire for so long, and get out a report which facilitated a peaceful return of the Saar. The next great step came when

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*of the  
freedom of  
the press*

England decided to send troops for the policing of the plebiscite, for this made it possible for France to withdraw from the dangerous position into which she had been put by the declaration that her troops would be sent to the border to meet eventualities. The French decision could not have been otherwise under the circumstances, but if she had sent troops to the border of the Saar it would have aggravated the situation in Germany and perhaps interfered with what seems to be a gradual return towards decency and normalcy there. But England in return for pulling the French chestnuts out of the fire, was able to insist that France must see that she, England, did not burn her hands in the process and to make it clear that the time for Italian-French rapprochement had arrived.

I realize that there are a lot of people who underestimate the results of the Rome conversations and who seem to think that all of the European problems should have been solved in a few days there. It seems to me that to those of us who know what the real difficulties have been and what the real situation has been, the fact that as much could be arrived at as was arrived at in Rome is of great significance. Without in any way believing that everything is settled, and fully conscious of all the problems yet in the way, I think that Rome was a great stride towards appeasement in the general situation.

The plebiscite is over and if we pass through the next few days without too great excitement or major catastrophe, another great hurdle will have been passed. I suppose all Germany will be celebrating tonight, and we will all breathe more freely when Goebbels' Saar holiday is behind us. There is bound to be a certain amount of ebullition and excitement. Part of the University students here in Vienna today have been demonstrating. I somehow have the feeling that we shall get by this. With the Saar in German hands, where it belongs, the way is open for the London conversations where the theme will be rearmament and I think there the bridge can be built on which Germany can return to Geneva on the basis of recognition of her present state of armament. Then will come the negotiations of the non-interference pacts to which German agreement and adhesion, of course, will be essential as part of the agreement on the armament question. With the territorial integrity of Austria and Yugoslavia guarded and the way open still towards peaceful revision of certain boundaries in Southeastern Europe, but without actual revision for the time being put on ice, I think Germany's rearmament is not necessarily a menace.

- 3 -

I believe, however, still and on this point I cannot change my convictions, that all this movement in the right direction will not be enough unless we have a change of regime in Germany, for I think with the present regime no durable understanding is possible and no confidence can be placed in its promises. The transition, however, towards a regime in Germany with which the rest of Europe can deal seems to be going on gradually and definitely, and developments outside and inside the country seem to be in this direction. One can only hope now that a firm attitude will be maintained, that there will be no precipitate giving of concessions, and no giving of concessions except for adequate return, and that the realities will continue to be faced. If this is done I think we shall see a reasonable regime in Germany well before the end of the year and the German people again controlling their own destiny. As I am one of those who believe that there must be a healthy, contented, and even a strong Germany in a sound Europe, the turn which affairs are taking gives me much satisfaction.

I realize that accidents still can happen and that a great many things are still possible in Germany, but at least things seem to be moving in the right direction. When we get to the point where there is again a reasonable regime in Germany with a sense of its obligations as a neighbor in Europe and with due appreciation of the limitations of national aspirations, then I think we can really breathe freely, for then the way is open to the major and durable accords which will give the sense of security that Europe needs. Then and probably then only, will the way be really open to economic recovery and I think we will see many of these silly trade practices dropping off, perhaps not as rapidly as they were developed.

Perhaps I am too optimistic, but this very briefly is the way I see the situation now. I am planning to return home on the MANHATTAN sailing from Hamburg on March 26, with my family. I feel I must go home for a brief visit for various reasons and if things continue to develop as they are I shall be able to go with an easy conscience. I am hoping that the fates will be kind enough to make it possible for us to have a good talk sometime somewhere before I leave.

If you think I am too optimistic perhaps you will find time to drop me a line sometime. I was very glad to see from your letter that the year may bring us well along on a better road.

*you too believe*

53

- 4 -

Here's hoping that you may have lots of snow, lots of sunshine, lots of rest, and altogether a very happy stay in Arosa.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Munich' or similar, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.