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Vienna, November 9, 1936.

Dear Mrs. Stresemann:

I received your letter of November 2 several days ago and wanted to write you at once to be sure that the letter reached you before you leave Switzerland, but I have been so much occupied here with the approaching Vienna Conference that I have not been able to write you before. Although I have kept busy over the weekend, I have just been able to get off our pouch to Washington this moment and am taking my first opportunity to write you.

First of all, let me tell you how delighted I am that you have been able to get away from Berlin to enjoy the sunshine and golf and the freer atmosphere of Magliasina. I know what this means and can quite appreciate that the Berlin situation is getting more and more intolerable.

In some respects I see the situation in not quite as gloomy a way as you do. I quite understand that things are not getting any better in Germany, and in my opinion they are steadily getting worse. But, as we know, they shall have to come to a crisis before Europe can start on the way to health. Perhaps this is already a good thing. What so many people do not understand is that there can be no change in National Socialism. It is incapable of change as a system, and it must stay as a whole or fall as a whole. If some foreigners do not understand this, I think the National Socialist leaders do. It is because their system is not subject to any change or evolution that it is impossible for it to remain with its yoke on the German people, for if the German people would be inclined to submit to it indefinitely, Europe is not yet at the point where it can

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tolerate it, at least not without a war, if it comes to that.

I think the danger of war is on the whole less, as since June of this year the National Socialist leaders, including Hitler, realize what the Army has long known - that war could only lead to catastrophe. Since June the Nazi leaders know that the balance of power is still against them and is growing against them, making any adventure more dangerous. They have learned that others can arm even more rapidly than they do, and are doing it. While we may deplore this armaments program in Europe, it is the only thing now which can save Europe from catastrophe and from this terrible adventure into which Nazi policy was leading it. Besides this, the position in England is definitely becoming steadier, and the real dangers are more thoroughly understood. The speech of Eden the other day, which was a reply to Mussolini's Milan speech and to the recent speeches of Göring and Goebbels on the four-year plan, was a masterpiece of quiet power, and England has let it be known that while she is prepared to be friends with Germany and Italy, she will permit neither the one nor the other nor both of them together to tell her who her friends shall be. This is the language which must come from London and it has, as I happen to know, already had its effect in both Berlin and Rome. It is too bad that a stronger position has not been taken sooner, for I am inclined to think things would not have gone so fast or so far in Germany if that language had been used.

The French position is, I think, stronger, and I am confident that the real danger there is over. It may be that Blum has to eventually reconstruct the Government a little towards the center, but certainly the right does not want to take power now and many right elements are beginning to realize that it is the Socialist, Mr. Blum, who has saved the situation for them. The Spanish situation will continue to trouble Europe for some time, but I think the principal danger of it disturbing Europe is over. Franco has learned that he cannot do what he had originally planned, and the Italians

and Germans know that they cannot use him as they had planned to do. So poor Spain is going to suffer a lot more before there is anything like peace and order there, but I have the feeling that even there Spain will emerge sounder and stronger.

In Southeastern Europe the German pressure had become so great that everybody was thoroughly scared and now there is a strong feeling that they must depend upon themselves and arrive at the best arrangements among each other possible. The conversations between the general staffs of the Little Entente and Paris have been renewed in the last few days, and this gives new confidence in this part of the world. The position in the Balkan Union is also better, and while the German advance has not been definitely stopped, it is being held well in check.

The unfortunate thing is that Mussolini by his Milan speech has destroyed all possibility of the Vienna Conference which will meet day after tomorrow really arriving at anything. Southeastern and Central Europe were inclined to look more to Rome than to Berlin, using Vienna as a bridge, but Mussolini by his Milan speech and his support of Hungarian revisionist claims, which in their present form are impossible of realization, has completely sabotaged the conference which he himself put so much hope in. A good deal could have been done at this Vienna Conference.

There is every indication that Mussolini and Hitler are both very nervous. They cannot afford to wait and they are going to grow weaker relatively rather than stronger with the passage of time. Some people believe that Mussolini and Hitler have reached some really very close understanding, which I am still inclined to doubt, for their basic interests are really thoroughly opposed to each other. There is always the danger still that they may get together as a desperate measure, but I think that this danger is growing less rather than greater. Mussolini loses his head, but less often than Hitler, and it is not likely that he will enter into an association which would be sure to wreck all that he has tried

to build up. I still see no definite Berlin-Rome cooperation, and what we do see is merely blackmail on France and England, and I think the position in both those countries is growing sounder and stronger.

Here in Austria the situation continues to hold, and while there is undoubtedly a little bit more German infiltration, the Government here intends to hold the position, and I believe there is still a good chance of their succeeding. The accord of July 11 may yet have its effect of Austria emerging from this situation in Europe with her independence secured. Papen is making more effort here than ever, but I think his successes are very much on the surface, and I am in the whole of the opinion that there is reason to be encouraged.

There is so much that I would like to write you that I cannot even begin to touch on it, as I must get this letter off this evening if it is to reach you before you leave Switzerland. I thought you would be interested to know that I am on the whole still optimistic and I am still looking forward to the time when good Germans will be governing their country and when the memory of your great husband, whom you helped so much to achieve what he did for his country, may be fully rehabilitated. I feel sure that we shall yet see this.

I am delighted, as I know you are, over the elections at home. I am delighted not only personally but as an American. I have such admiration for the President and for his courage, vision and wisdom. I am so happy that you had an opportunity to meet him while you were there. You must come to make us a visit here whenever it may suit your convenience. My wife tells me to say to you that we will be delighted to see you at any time. Fritz Eichberg and Bonnie have just been here for four days as our guests. Fritz came for a board meeting and brought Bonnie with him. We were so happy to have them.

You know that some of my friends have certain plans for me. Whether these will be realized or not, I have not the least idea. There will be strong influences at work to bring them about.

I personally feel that the position to which they wish me to go is so important a one in every way, both for my country and Germany, that it is not a position which the man should seek but that it should seek the man. I will, therefore, do nothing myself towards getting it, as I do not think that would be wise or proper, but if I am asked to take it, I shall, of course, accept, for while I realize the responsibilities, I also appreciate the opportunities and I am so much interested that I am not afraid of any responsibility. It will be interesting to see what happens, and I need not tell you what pleasure it would give me to again be able to work at that post and to renew closely old associations.

This is a very disjointed letter, but you will excuse my haste knowing the reasons for it. With every good wish and hoping very much to see you before long,

Cordially and faithfully yours,