

June 26th 1945

Dear Ones,

It is noontime and I decided to stay down here at the depot rather than go up to the command for lunch. Things are normally busy and confused today. Last night we played some poker and my winning streak managed to hold out. We are getting so that we look forward to the volleyball games and our card games as the high spots of the day.

In one of the New Republics (the only one, in fact) which you sent there was a lead article on the return to power politics; the date on the magazine was December 25 and as I look back over six months it is easy to see how dead wrong the editorial writer was at that time. In fact the general tone of the entire magazine was very pessimistic. For some reason or another I have always felt that there is a slightly false note in the liberalism of the groups of men and women who publish (and who read) the Nation, the New Republic, and what have you. No one will deny that they are keen thinkers, that they have a highly intelligent and critical grasp on the major issues, but they lose something in their semi-sophisticated and almost detached atmosphere. It is a salon-type liberalism that lacks a warmth and a closeness to the human problems which they so ably criticize. I am thinking especially of the bright young boys at school, predominantly from New York, who were tops in background material and in argument, yet they lost a good part of the spirit of liberalism in their sureness and their satisfaction with their own reasoning. My feeling in this respect does not alter the fact that on the whole these publications furnish a good balance and a fresh approach to the world situation.

One of the New Republic articles was a discussion of post-war Germany and it ties in with phase two of my letter on post-war Europe's organization. The theme of the latter article is that the victors must work now and support German democratic and socialist elements vigorously so that Germany will return to the family of nations a truly acceptable power. The article tried to show that destruction of industry was not enough, that that is not the root of political fascism. I cannot agree with that point of view; it makes not a particle of difference to me whether Germany ever returns to the position of a functioning state and economy; I think it well worth the cost of a reconstituted European economy that leaves Germany with no major role and reduces her to an agricultural producer alone to be certain that German militarism can not sprout again. I think that the disorganization which removing German industry from the scene would cause is a small price to pay in terms of a third world war. It is up to the German democrats to arise and prove themselves from scratch. There must be a total interregnum, every sign of German nationalism even in the innocuous form of a geographical unity must be obliterated. Fascism will be eliminated by ceaseless attacks on its every manifestation before we allow anything to grow up to replace it.

Now to some of your letters, which I brought down with me this morning. So Uncle Archie moved again - your comment pretty well covered the issues involved, Mother, and I am inclined to agree with you. Pell's story in Pearson's column of the disgraceful handling of the first war criminal commissions is a real warning to us. The work of Justice Jackson so far would seem to show that he has his feet on the ground and that he is determined to do the job he has been assigned as quickly and effectively as possible. The final news reports from San Francisco are certainly excellent; the new World Court should be universally accepted as the necessary complement to the international organization. With the solution of the veto, the voting, the representation problems the conference can truly be said to have been a major accomplishment. The TIMES article in which Reston points out the ten major Russian concessions should end once and for all the anti-Russian cries that so

many are ready to indulge in - of course with certain elements like the Hearst press the Russians are damned if they do and damned if they don't, so it doesn't make any difference.

I must have confused Hackett and Prescott - I see now that they alternate in their reviews for the TIMES. In going through the clippings I find a great many on topics on which I have commented before; on the whole the same ground seems to be covered over and over from slightly different points of view and approaches perhaps. It seems to me from the PM report of the Wallace letter in support of the current Wagner legislation that Wallace is seeking to end his identification with only one segment of our population. Although his basic principles have not changed his approach has and he is set on winning business to a recognition of the principles which labor has already endorsed. So far he seems to be working on a sensible and progressive tack. That, at least, is my impression. Last night I read over the two decisions of the Ward case, and as I expected it would, the reversal was based on the definition of production; I wrote to you at the time that I thought Sullivan's opinion was fair and honest but not correct. Ward's was in the wrong in its handling of its labor disputes, in its refusal to accept the government agency decision, and in its resorting to minute interpretation to cover a critical situation. I am reminded of the cartoon which shows the boss speaking to an employee and explaining, "It's not only the Little Steel formula, we don't like to give raises just on general principles." As for the Supreme Court decision on the Florida law, it would seem that although the court held that the Florida requirements for business agents of unions conflicted with the NLRA provisions, it held the door open for Congress to change the Federal legislation to include financial accountability as one of organized labor's responsibilities. It was interesting to note that Frankfurter was one of the two justices who dissented in the pro-Labor decision.

It is good to read of the severe pressure in the Press on the conservatism of the State Department - the Chinese Communist issue and the arrest of six persons in connection with it were an effective spark. Winchell and Pearson apparently have become an effective working team with an unprecedented radio and press audience. On this specific issue it seems that the full facts are not yet known.

That sort of covers things for this meantime. Tonight we have a program of short subjects at the movie and I think I will go. Tomorrow evening I think we are planning to eat out at one of the local French restaurants. The last time I went was many months ago - the recollection that I have is one of extremely greasy food - but anything for a change is pleasant. I guess the French will be sorry when the last of the American troops have left the island - they certainly had a small mint here for a long time. I still have a number of your letters up in the office to be answered - one on Judy's wedding, in particular.

OK for now -

All my love,

Summary

Regards to Doris.