

Dear Ones,

I just sealed the envelope on a letter to you (a four page affair) but it is still raining and I see no point in rushing up to the tent in the midst of a downpour - so I will start this second installment - I think that I am in good enough shape to cover some of the clippings. I see the Portland paper is now printing Sokolsky's column - I'll be looking for Mallon any day now: those two probably get along wonderfully. What specifically irked me was Sokolsky's criticism of the Army orientation pamphlet on Fascism - I am not sure but many months ago we received that brochure here and at that time I was enthusiastic about it because it clarified in understandable terms the ideological issues involved in the European war; I probably wrote to you at the time - it was the sort of pamphlet which could have been given wonderful exposition by a competent and interested orientation officer and have had a stimulating and educational result upon proper dissemination of its information. What Sokolsky is complaining about is that in defining Fascism it made the distinctions between Fascism and Communism and not between Fascism and Democracy - his point being that this is pro-Russian, anti-American propaganda - what sheer nonsense. The pamphlet was one of long series and nine tenths of them dealt with the American way in comparison with other ways of life - its specific purpose was to do what I have often tried to do with you, Daddy - point out the basic difference between Russian communism and axis fascism: Sokolsky himself quotes the key paragraph - The Soviets early believed that a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary in order to destroy capitalism and set up socialism: that then the dictatorship should gradually evolve into a democracy, as now provided by their constitution. Thus, although they now have a secret police and a government controlled press, their ultimate political ideals are directly opposite to the stated ideals of fascist dictatorship, and their hope is to drop the apparatus of dictatorship in the process of democratic evolution - I can only add this: if you do not believe that, then you can have no hope for the UNO or any world organization, if you do not make that distinction between the Russian experiment and predatory fascism, then the future must seem interminably disastrous...

The GOP seems to be in the news again - first I noted that a group of junior Republican statesmen did all but disavow the leadership of the Old Guard; but then again their effort apparently was ineffective in terms of reform within the party since they were not present at the interim policy forming committee meetings. I do not think that I am being overly critical when I say that the platform which came out of those meetings was as meaningless as anything I have ever read - without saying so in so many words, each declaration left the way open for so many if's and's and but's that the whole thing was pitiful. There was not one real commitment as the fact that 13 Republicans were able to favor a delimiting amendment to our acceptance of the full commitment ^{UNO} through joint Congressional action as well as the platform statements about world cooperation... Stassen so far is the one bright spot in the Republican future, but even his speeches show indications of his readiness to play politics at the cost of the integrity of policy reform within the bulwarks of the Old guard....

While Marshall talks to Chiang, I guess he must realize that the only constructive answer to the problems presented by the US position in China is effective agreement between the Reds and the Nationalists. I hope he is successful - I assume that the Truman statement helped pave the way by clarifying to some extent the fact that our only commitment is to democracy in China and to the disarming of the Japs and to no specific internal political group. When I get the full text of the Truman statement I hope that it makes clear that our support is to China as a whole and not to the National Government which is in fact but one of the two struggling factions. And in Java the British still insist on putting the blame on MacArthur and the US. The fact remains that the British have used Japanese troops - hard to explain if their goal is limited to the demilitarization, capture, and deportation of the Japanese in the Indies. I also have yet to hear either the British or the Indonesians discuss the liberation of the internees which apparently is the second issue involved under the MacArthur directive to Lord Louis. The truth is obvious in that both the British and the Indonesians have clear cut ulterior motives ... the time has come to clarify those officially and to end the struggle that is going on - in this case it might be done through Military rather than diplomatic channels by having MacArthur simply issue another order for the British to withdraw and to allow him to deal with the Indonesians directly. That would clear the ground for the

late discussions of the political future of the Indies. It would also guarantee a more honest solution of the difficulties, one freed from the pressure of poised armies...

Dorothy Thompson seems to be in the midst of her defense of her position on the German nation. Her reasoning is, as far as I can see, that since our occupation is proving unsuccessful and ineffective in a great many ways, that since there are differences of opinion over the rate of speed of German recovery and the fage of German productive capacities, that since only the Nazis and not the German people can actually be tried by courts of law, we would do better to take her approach, which, unless I am mistaken, in essence is that there is a nucleus of good in Germany and in the individual German on which we can build without first going through the tortures of complete disorganization and disintegration of the society which accompanies a complete occupation by the military. I cannot agree with her arguments of justification - our failures in carrying out our program do not mean that its principles were unsupportable: it simply should stir us to new ways of making them effective, since we have not seen the principles disproved. It is my conviction that there is no reason to justify the "constructive" attitude toward Germany at this early date - we have no indications of German recognition of guilt or of the lessons of defeat in war. Economic chaos in Europe, starvation diets for the Germans, inadequate homes and living facilities for the displaced Germans -- none of these is reason for even giving German recovery its first wedge. I have not pity for the German soldier whose farm is now owned by a Pole, I have no pity for the German who once cheered at the movies of Hitler triumphant in Warsaw and Oslo and Paris but who now finds no roof in bomb gutted Berlin. Before we can build with these Germans, we must break something - an intangible element in their makeup whose manifestations we know only too well. Trials won't do it altogether - only time and continued care in occupation can do the job...

Well it is now after 3 and I am up to the questions of Truman's labor proposals and the entire economic picture again - I had better come back to this later. It is now quarter past seven in the morning and I feel fine - the Champagne before supper last night really hit me a little hard (I was sound asleep at 5 in the afternoon when Charlie Everitt came over and awakened me so that I could share the two bottles with them.) But I took a cold shower as soon as I got up this morning and all is well. The movie last night was a completely relaxing and zany "Cinderella Jones" - lots of foolishness and fun. We also had about ten short subjects, including a couple of community sings so we all had a chance to blow off some steam. Just before the show started, the fellow who had staggered into my tent at 6 in the morning came up to me to apologize - apologize for disturbing me, not for wanting to vent his feelings on Hoggatt - he had my entire sympathy. One thing is pleasant - we have another holiday to look forward to next week...

It seems as though the entire country is going around and around once more in the tangles of our economic policy. As Reuther knew it would do, the GM strike has precipitated the current discussions. I have written about the strike and the issues often enough so that you know approximately where I stand; there are certain things which should be clarified. You cannot separate this discussion from the argument over Hayek's Road to Serfdom, from the argument over the full employment bill, from any matter whether it be compensation or public health which deals with the essential nature of the American economy. The minute you take it out of context you have opened the way to the gross misinterpretation of all the issues involved. And clearly that is what GMC and the NAM are trying to do - the Union is not presenting its wage demands, it arguments about capacity to pay, it insistence on the recognition of certain union rights, in a vacuum; and you cannot shout the hallowed words "free enterprise" and think that they answer the Union arguments for the reexamination of our economy as a functioning notion. For that reason I feel that Truman's proposals represent a compromise with the policy that supported the full employment legislation, an attempt to find an immediate solution that dodges and in reality blocks the inevitable solution which must come, namely the reevaluation and redefinition of a national economic policy. This fact is much more significant than any other element involved in the discussion - and it overshadows by far the questions of the immediate applicability of the Truman proposals. And for that reason I do not feel that the Truman proposals are truly constructive - they are what long range terminology would label mere stop-gaps. But before I return to the general question as I see it, these are my reactions to the Truman 30 day - factfinding, cooling off - proposals. The entire emphasis is

the union phase of the strike; the powers given to the fact finding board for the investigation of the company records hardly compensate for the fact that the 30 day delay period tends to kill the effectiveness of the strike weapon in bargaining. A 10 day period might have come closer to being fair. There was nothing in the Truman proposals which affecting the tax-cutback which allows corporations to finance strikes through tax refunds on the basis of resultant losses. The entire approach of the proposal is that labor is necessarily at fault since it precipitates the strike condition. I must come back again to the other phase of argument; the Truman proposals work on the assumption that management is a selfless group whose best interests automatically coincide with those of the nation - yet how can we say? we have never defined those best interests. Our basic notion of private enterprise must not be misconstrued as putting the interests of private profit over those of public welfare. Why do we kid ourselves or allow ourselves to be kidded? how long ago was 1929 anyway? Private enterprise in and of itself has no significance - it is meaningful only in the light of how it best serves the principles of political and economic and social equality and liberty which we have set up. We hear all sorts of talk about production and the drive of private enterprise - we have little evidence of its being a constructive feature as a constant factor in our economy. That brings me to the review of Professor Finer's answer to Hayek, "Road to Reaction" - I'll give one hundred to one that despite Professor Harris's excellent review the book gets not one tenth the publicity which Hayek's received - I wonder why? First Finer shows that Hayek is hardly a world authority, that in fact the theories on which he arrived at some prominence have since been disproved. Next we are reminded that RtoS was poorly written economics and poor literary style - but I will enclose the review back to you for comment....

OK for right now -

All my love,

Regards to Doris

Summary

PS Two last Xmas notes

1. What we needed was a Santo Claus (!!!)
2. I have hit upon what our mess hall decorations reminded me of - ~~hardware~~ hardware store, which doesn't have any special Xmas trade anyway, but just tries to get into the spirit of things rather unsuccessfully.