

May 5 1945

Dear Ones,

More mail this afternoon - your letters through the 28th, a note from Judy Hatchfield, and a long letter from Walter Garrett, who was a sergeant in the 730th (now a pfc in view of his decision to stay in a Dutch beer hall when the unit decided to move on!) He brought me up to date on the old outfit. Today went uneventfully - I just wrote to Judy Epstein - she is obviously looking forward to June 10th with hopes high. Who wouldn't? Later this evening I hope we get a poker or a bridge game going.

I enjoyed the Frederick Schuman response to the letter signed by the twelve men on Poland (WH Chamberlin, Sokolsky, Eastman, Villard, Lyons, etc.) The data which he gave in showing the other side of the "Poland betrayed" wail hit the spot in effectively bursting the trial balloons which attack Yalta as a "grave wrong" and in showing how off center such reasoning is in the full light of our effort for world peace and unity. He hit on exactly the points which we touched in our discussion of Monday night; there is a group in American political circles who, although they may have no malicious intent, put their arguments in such a light that Schuman wrote of these, "Some of the more vocal (of the twelve) have been misunderstood in recent months" on the question of our fighting the Soviet Union.

We all got a big kick out of Minister Bidault's statement at San Francisco that France favors trusteeship of international bases but does not wish to give^{up} her holdings in Indo-China or "New Caledonia and Noumea" - you can well imagine that out here we are ready to give New Cal and the New Hebrides and every other island back to the aborigines! Any "New Hebrides for the New Hebridians" movement will get my full support!

On the back of the Times clipping with the Schuman letter is a report of the Republican reception in conference to Wallace's support of the Reciprocal trade agreement - I should say the reception given him by Knutson of Minnesota. Perhaps it is well that there are occasional figures like Knutson and Hoffman of Michigan who can symbolize the latent dangers of political indifference within our country - the clearer the type of poison they are trying to inject into our system is, the easier it is to isolate it and combat it.

I enjoyed the Sulzberger report from Moscow for one reason - it points out the importance of an intelligent and consistent approach to world problems on the part of the western democracies. The Russians are pointing out that there are anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet groups within Europe but that these characteristics do not, ^{NECESSARILY} make them good democrats, and they very neatly point out that Russia and the rest of the world have no right to support these groups because they claim the cloak of democracy. The second thought is the lesson of the 1920's - you can't impose democracy of any kind on anybody, they have to grow into it; and governmental form is not the criterion of judgment, the criterion lies in the actual freedom of the people, their economic prosperity, their ability to build and grow. The conclusion is that the peoples of Europe must have free choice before setting up democracy of one mold or another. In other words the Russians are saying that they will not impose communism on any nation - since it cannot be imposed at this stage - and they expect us to do the same thing with our type of constitutional democracy. In the same vein is the very obvious fact that while we howl about Russian influence and power in Europe, we find the US going to San Francisco and with the aid of the Latin American nations alone able to swing a majority at the conference. A constructive world peace will work only if we recognize and agree on principles applicable to ourselves as well as others. It is the old but true story of a basis of agreement. It is the point emphasized in every clipping from Dulles to Mallon to Pearson to Brown. I hope that the lesson is being driven home to the men who are the first to doubt and the last to recognize constructive progress.

I am going to save the page of the Times which outlines in words and diagrams the Dumbarton Oaks plan - it will be a handy reference. I think I told you that I did not go to Spanish this week - I may make another try at it this coming week; the layoff may increase my curiosity and inclination for the study. I know that I enjoyed the services more after a week's absence - anything to break the routine. The volleyball game continues to be one of the high spots of each day - everybody around here has so little to do that it is the chance to expend excess energy and express yourself; that may explain why there is so much clashing of personality on the court.

As for Dr Joseph Tenenbaum's ten point program as presented by the American Federation for Polish Jews, I am in sharp disagreement with his emphasis - he fully describes how courts shall be created, how tribunals shall be held, how reparations shall be made, how representation should be allotted and closes with the 10 simple words "Full and Immediate solution of the Jewish Problem in Palestine" as though that were a separate problem! I don't have to go through the arguments again and I don't have to tell you that I think that the very name of the organization - "American .. Polish Jews" - is proof of the unscientific and unjustified approach of this group; our own separatism will be the ruin of all our constructive efforts.

I hope that Pearson is wrong in saying that there is already an anti-Russian, pro-German move afoot with strong backing from the State Department. In any event it is a warning that cannot be overlooked: we must stick to the hard peace for Germany, we must yet maintain a constructive policy with the eventual idea of reconditioning the German people to a democratic way. There are certain undeniable musts: we must destroy German heavy industry, we must destroy the German tool and die industry - that does not mean control, that means destroy. Germany must become economically a dependent nation for oil and metals and transportation. We must destroy the huge combinations of chemical trusts and industries and we must keep them destroyed. The rebuilding of Germany must be completely supervised by her conquerors - it is not denying Germany her rightful place in the sun, or making her a have-not nation unjustifiably to impose these terms, to bring the full and impressive weight of defeat down upon the Germans. And if the German spirit rebels and claims that it is being shattered, let it prove that it can grow in terms of democratic progress or else put it down again. We owe Germany nothing - if every German were to be shot tomorrow the world should feel no more remorse than does the state of New York when a convicted murderer is electrocuted. Germany has nothing to offer to the World until it proves that it has rid itself of its terrible virus. There are many ways that our constructive efforts can be directed: first is education; second is physical rebuilding of homes and cities under foreign supervision; third is the sponsorship of lower level democratic forms under strict control. The Germans can be given minor tests of authority without their having a police force or an army. And all of this can be done with a clear and continual explanation of what our aims are - Germany must and will be punished as severely as any nation in the history of the world and yet the door will be kept open for her rehabilitation. It may be a matter of generations - as a safety measure our international control will have to continue for at least a generation. The whole program for Germany must be planned on the basis of rehabilitating the individual German, not the Germans as a people or as a nation. For the foreseeable future, the Germans have denied to themselves the opportunity of being a large or great state again. You may think me too severe.

I'll be looking for the forthcoming Harvard pamphlet - I doubt if it will say much more than what we know already. I am sorry that the campaign is giving you so many headaches, Mother - isn't it over soon, or hasn't it begun yet? As for your story about Mrs. Harris's brother George (you never did reveal the last name) I will accept as no more than a "story" and assume that you do not intend it to in any way affect whatever thoughts I may have on marriage (!!!) I am sorry to see that my comments have made you cloak your comments in such guises, Mother - you know that I am always ready to listen to and consider carefully whatever advice on these subjects you feel like passing my way! I'll drop Peter Frank a V-mail after I finish this note.

Regards to Doris.

All my love,

Sammy