

Who's Intervening Now?

By The Editors

ON SATURDAY, October 27—Navy Day—President Truman laid down "the fundamentals" of the foreign policy of the United States. On that same day American airplanes, piloted by US Army flyers, were landing 3,000 Kuomintang troops in Peiping. During a nine-day period, including Saturday the 27th, they flew 27,000 troops of the Chungking dictatorship into an area which had already been virtually liberated by China's 8th Route Army but from which Chiang Kai-shek's forces had kept a safe distance during the war.

There was other American-Chinese activity on Saturday October 27. A large flotilla of American transports and LST's were en route along the China coast north from Shanghai to Chinwangtao, a city which commands the narrow land passage between Manchuria and that part of China which lies south of the Great Wall. They carried more Chungking troops and they were manned by American naval crews.

The transportation, by air and sea, of Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers was not the limit of American intervention into China's internal affairs. By October 27 about 62,000 American soldiers, mostly Marines, had been landed in Chinwangtao and other points on the Gulf of Pechili and along the Shantung Peninsula. This number far exceeded the combat force which the United States had put into China before the Japanese surrender. But that occasioned no surprise, for the American government had made it plain that what it was interested in was not the eradication of the sources of Japanese aggression but the prevention of a democratic upsurge on the part of the Chinese people.

It was therefore strange to hear President Truman on Navy Day list the following as the fourth of "the fundamentals" of American foreign policy: "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize any such government." What else is the American government doing in China if it is not forcing upon the Chinese people a government which the great mass of them have repudiated and which, if it were not for our intervention, they would have eliminated some time ago?

Obviously if the Truman administration finds it impossible to prevent this forceful imposition of a discredited and hated dictatorship upon the Chinese peo-

ple it will find itself in the exceedingly embarrassing position of having to deny recognition to the very government it has set up! Either that, or the American government will be violating one of "the fundamentals" of its own foreign policy. A very awkward situation indeed!

The policy is hardly clarified by Lieut. Gen. Wedemeyer's statement that American troops would not intervene directly in the Chinese civil war. One wonders what the general is talking about. The use of 62,000 American soldiers at the scene of strife, the transportation of Kuomintang armies by American planes and ships, manned by Americans, and the training of some nineteen of Chiang Kai-shek's divisions by American officers and equipping them with American arms sounds to us like direct intervention, no matter how the general puts it.

By what conceivable mandate does the American government undertake this armed intervention against the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people? Certainly the American people have not given such a mandate. The American people approved overwhelmingly a mandate to President Roosevelt based upon the unity of the United Nations and particularly of its leadership by the Big Three. Such a foreign policy would encourage democracy, not obstruct it. Instead of betraying us it would serve the Chinese people as well as ourselves.

WE THEREFORE hold strongly with the appeal being made by the newly-formed Committee for a Democratic Policy Toward China, which under the heading "ACT NOW" urges you to (1) write a personal letter to President Truman and to your Senators and Representatives demanding the immediate withdrawal of American troops and war material from China; (2) to demand a policy toward China which will avert civil war and encourage the formation of a genuinely democratic government representing all political groups; and (3) to urge your own organization to take action on this matter immediately.

To this timely appeal NEW MASSES adds one further point: all democratic Americans must organize great mass protest against the American "gun-boat" policy in China, against American imperialism wherever it is today disturbing the postwar world, and in favor of a democratic foreign policy based upon the Anglo-American-Soviet coalition.

N M SPOTLIGHT

Einstein and the Bomb

PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN's *Atlantic Monthly* statement on the atomic bomb is an illustration of how the best intentions can sometimes lead to the worst results. Aghast at the vision of the possible slaughter of two-thirds of mankind in a future atomic war, Professor Einstein argues that the secret of the atomic bomb should not be entrusted to the United Nations or the Soviet Union on the ground that this might lead to competition in atomic bombs. Instead, he urges that the secret be retained by the United States for the purpose of committing it to a world government. This world government is to be founded by the United States, the USSR and Britain, and its constitution is to be written by three men, one from each of the Big Three. Other nations would be invited to join the world government, but would be free to decline. Besides having full power over all military matters, the world government would also have power "to intervene in countries where a minority is oppressing a majority and creating the kind of instability that leads to war."

For those who have come to regard Dr. Einstein as not only one of the titans of world science, but a warm supporter of many progressive causes, this statement was something of a shock. In response to a request by the Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, he issued a clarifying statement in which he said that "nothing is more important than to create an atmosphere of confidence between the great powers so that the great problem of abolition of competitive armament can be solved." Nevertheless, he reiterated his belief that sharing the atomic bomb secret would accelerate the armament race.

We are deeply convinced that all evidence points to the contrary. Dr. Einstein's assumption that only the United States can be trusted with the bomb secret unwittingly gives comfort to American imperialist forces. Dr. Einstein isolates himself from most of the scientists who worked on the bomb and who demand that it be placed under some form of international control. And he in fact refuted his own assumption when in an interview

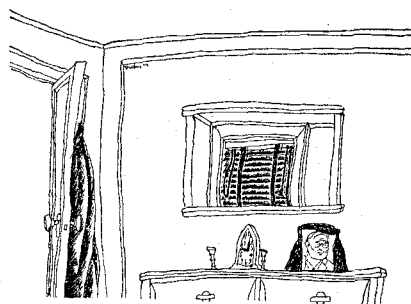
with the New York *Herald Tribune* he indicated his distrust of our government's intentions by sharply criticizing the May-Johnson bill as "a measure of such reactionary tendency as has never been thought of by any modern state."

Dr. Einstein further reveals his confusion when he echoes malicious or ignorant prejudice against the Soviet Union, describing it as a country where "the minority rules." Concerning socialism he makes the fantastic statement that "it might more easily lead to wars than does capitalism"—a statement which the twenty-eight years of socialism in the Soviet Union completely refutes.

It is unfortunate that in discussing the social and political implications of the atomic bomb Dr. Einstein has not maintained the same rigorous spirit of scientific investigation that has made him one of the foremost geniuses in the realm of natural science. In a blundering sort of way he is recognizing that the development of atomic energy is incompatible with the existence of capitalism. We hope he will see, however, that the attempt to bypass the United Nations Organization can only strengthen the most reactionary tendencies within capitalism. At the same time, to seek fundamental solutions by changing, not capitalism, but merely its political superstructure through a synthetic world government, is just as utopian as to expect an orange, an apple and a banana to acquire the same outer skin without altering their inner substance.

Berle in Brazil

THERE is no doubt but that Adolf Berle, the American ambassador to Brazil, is implicated in the overthrow



of the Vargas government. Last September he addressed the Journalists' Union and stated that he was against the postponement of the national elections in order to hold a constituent assembly first. The junta of reactionary military figures took his remarks as an endorsement of their plans for a coup. The new government itself will probably stop short all the reforms which Brazilian democrats had been pressing on Vargas, notably the dissolution of the fascist Department of Press and Propaganda and the National Security Tribunal. It will pretend to be following democratic procedure by holding elections next month—elections that are meaningless because the president-elect will hold office under the fascist constitution of 1937, which established Brazil's corporate state modelled after Mussolini's Italy and Pilsudski's Poland. It was for that reason that Brazil's anti-fascists demanded that a constituent assembly be held before the elections to write a democratic constitution. The Communists, headed by Luis Carlos Prestes, lead in the movement for an altered constitution, without which the next Brazilian president could rule by decree and make impossible the gathering of an Assembly. Prestes, after long years of imprisonment, has been arrested again, the Communist paper suspended, and Communist headquarters raided.

Directly behind the coup is an assortment of generals headed by Pedro Aurelio de Goes Monteiro, once decorated by Hitler. A key to the character of the present government is his reappointment as Chief of Staff. The whole dirty business is a black feather in Adolf Berle's cap. If Berle had kept his nose out of Brazil's internal affairs, the reactionary military leaders would have found it more difficult to move ahead with their plans. As matters stand now, the United States is in effect supporting them and helping to terrorize the democratic movement. The Council for Pan-American Democracy has strongly protested Berle's intervention and the State Department's failure "to carry out in deeds the high-sounding principles which its leaders enunciate." Apparently the Golden Rule is a one-way affair to be applied only where it gilds the pockets of American imperialists.

Two-Way Truman

THE Roman God Janus who faced two ways must be the principal desk piece in Mr. Truman's office. The President's address on wages and prices sounds as though it were delivered under the dubious auspices of the two-faced deity. It was the sort of speech that could evoke simultaneous praise from certain labor leaders and from the *Journal of Commerce* which represents the employers on a sit-down strike against reconversion. Philip Murray, however, must have spoken the mind of most workingmen when he termed the speech "disappointing."

For central in the President's speech was a repudiation of a solemn pledge made by his predecessor that wartime take-home pay would continue after the war. This must have evoked sighs of relief from many a big corporation executive, even though the latter did not like certain passages in the President's speech, passages which, unless implemented by aggressive policy, will remain in the realm of pious generalization, a realm in which Mr. Truman is fast becoming a master.

Of course, there is little doubt that a man like Alfred Sloan, of General Motors, did not stand and cheer when Mr. Truman called for "substantial" pay increases, nor when the President reiterated a statement which labor, by now, has rendered a truism, that wage increases promote national welfare by maintaining spending power that helps every man in this country. Nor would Mr. Sloan like the President's declaration that substantial wage increases can be given and high profits maintained. As a matter of fact, government economists have already proved labor's contention that corporations could afford to pay at least twenty-four percent increases and still maintain more than double pre-war profits.

Insofar as he reiterated these truisms, Mr. Truman afforded labor some aid in its critical negotiations with corporations. The unions can point to the President's own words as they sit at the conference tables with the hard-fisted employers. But the latter know this all too well: labor cannot rely upon the President to back words with action. Mr. Sloan knows as well as you and I that Mr. Truman failed to implement his previous proposals with vigorous, crusading action. The fact that in his speech he singled out the various congressional committees for responsibility in the failure to enact decent unemployment insurance proposals and the full employment bill, must have caused less than a chill of fright either in the halls of Congress or in the counting-houses of Wall Street. As a matter of fact, Congressional

reactionaries are, at this moment, fashioning violently anti-labor bills, aimed at destroying the political, as well as economic, power of trade unions. And they hope to jam them through before the people are aroused.

For big business and its proponents in Congress read the President's omissions as well as his declarations: when he failed to castigate industry for the current unrest and strikes, he bolstered the intransigence of the employers. For the latter know full well that *they* are on a sitdown strike against reconversion, hoping to starve labor into submission, and to sabotage whatever remains of price controls. And they must feel they are getting away with it when the Chief Executive failed to bring this reality to the people. And when Mr. Truman called upon labor and capital to behave with sweet reasonableness, Mr. Sloan must have suppressed a smile.

The fact remains that Mr. Truman in his executive order included only a minority of labor in this action for limited wage increases, and he set a precedent for big price concessions to the employers.

In brief, the President failed when he refused to take a stand on the amount of wage increases government would demand that big business concede; he failed when he neglected to lay the blame at big business' door for the general state of unsettlement in the country. When he blesses dubious arbitration set-ups as the limits of federal responsibility he departs from the philosophy that underlies the Wagner Act—i.e., that labor, in its struggle for elementary rights, requires the conscious aid of government. Finally he failed utterly when his speech omitted a specific program to implement those generalizations which reflect the needs of the country.

For these reasons, the middle class and professional allies of labor, must realize that the nation's stake can only be protected by cementing their unity; and labor itself must achieve a singleness of policy as the Chief Executive moves further and further from the position—domestic as well as international—of his predecessor. The nation must realize that Truman, though he is not Hoover, is certainly no Roosevelt, that the Missourian is departing from his predecessor's role as leader of the democratic-labor coalition. This connotes the imperative for an increasingly responsible and aggressive role of all progressives, all democrats, in fashioning a powerful, anti-fascist, democratic front to protect our nation's interests.

What They Think

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weighted on the pro-Soviet side. The reason is again the facts of life and experience in Asia.

THE American people should know these facts of life. Those who hope to create "strategic positions" against

the Soviet Union in Asia should also understand that the creation of such positions involves not only fighting against "Red influence," but against the national feelings and democratic aspirations of the peoples of Asia. Rather than "fighting Soviet influence," the *national* interests of the American people demand that American democracy in Asia show itself in other ways than by backing the

suppression of national liberation movements.

To create hostility to the USSR among Asiatic peoples is impossible. But to prevent them from lumping the Americans with every other imperialist who has ever oppressed them, which hitherto they have not done, is an urgent and necessary job for the people of the United States.

Simonov's "Days and Nights"

Reviewed by Dorothy Brewster

"SO FAR as the publishers know, this is the first non-political serious novel to come out of the Soviet Union." * Non-political? I wish the publishers could be turned over to the definition-seeking Socrates for a few hours of talk on the banks of the Ilissus. But we shall have to let their pronouncement go, along with thousands of other pronouncements that in some new era may provide documentation for a treatise on book advertizing in the twentieth century. Isn't it upsetting, though, to reflect that calling a novel non-political is considered the way to the pocket-books of American readers? Do Americans really shy away from anything that might make them aware of other political systems than their own? In *Days and Nights* there are, it is true no orations by leaders, no exhortations by commissars, no discussions of Marxism. Stalingrad under siege was too busy for that. The longest speech by Stalin himself is the hidden promise of relief for the city: "Soon there will be a parade on our streets, too." But in all its implications the book is profoundly political. Whence came the strength to do the impossible at Stalingrad? Politics, H. G. Wells used to insist, is the state-making dream, the dream of a world better ordered, happier, finer, more secure.

The people who held out at Stalingrad had been dreaming such dreams. The woman we meet on the naked steppe east of the Volga names one by one the streets of her city that have been destroyed, but about her own home she says nothing. And Captain Saburov reflects that the longer the war lasted, the less people remembered their abandoned homes, and the more often and obstinately they remembered the cities they had left. "How much money! How much work!" says the woman. "What work?" asks someone, and she answers simply, "Building it all up again." Vanin, the senior political instructor of Saburov's battalion, had helped build the city; he and others had planned the green belt of trees around it that would protect it from the dust of the steppe. "We didn't think then that those three-year-old linden trees we were planting

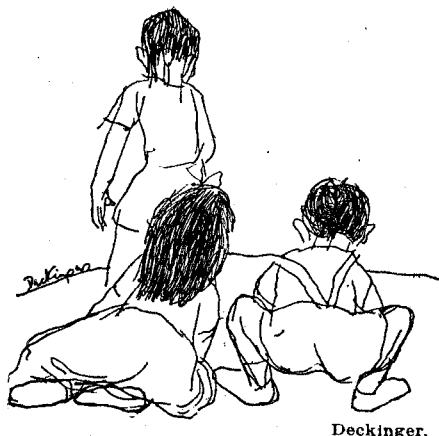
would be broken up in about ten years by war, or that the fifteen-year-old boys who helped plant them would never live to be thirty but would die along these streets." Maybe, Saburov argues, "we should have paid less attention to all your planting of green trees," and more attention to things like drilling soldiers. But whatever they should or shouldn't have done—tried to build a happier life or made soldiers of everybody—now, at last, "there are just these three buildings, that's all"—and he put his finger on the map—"How about it? We won't give up the buildings, will we?"

Petya, the orderly, has his dream: to go back working on supplies, and "some-time when this war is over, they're going to tell me, 'Petya, rustle up for the workers' dining-room some oysters and some Chablis.' I'll tell them, 'If you please, my friends,' and for dinner there will be oysters and Chablis." Petya had been talking from his heart, thinks Saburov; these had been his dreams and dreams are never ridiculous. And he thought, "how many dreams, how many thoughts about the future, belated regrets and unfulfilled desires, had been buried deep in the Russian ground during the last year and a half, and how many people, dreaming, desiring, thinking, eager people had been buried in the same soil, never to accomplish now whatever it was they had dreamed about." Saburov's dream had been to be a teacher of history, and he had at last entered the university in June 1941. His generation (he is not yet thirty) had begun their independent lives in the years of the first Five-Year Plan, had been shifted from construction site

to construction site in the fever of building, had their education again and again interrupted by urgent needs of their country, and had learned such discipline and self-control that war itself could not break them with its hardships. So he held the three houses, and found love and comradeship and treachery among the ruins—to phrase it non-politically and tempt the reader.

THE narrative focus is on these three buildings, mainly, but on the Volga, too, and the many perilous crossings with wounded and supplies, and on the narrow strip under the bluffs along the shore, where Saburov has to crawl under fire to make contact with groups separated by German advances. It was bad luck, he reflects, that the west bank of the Volga was high and steep, like all the western banks of all the rivers in Russia; all the western banks were steep and all the eastern banks sloping, and all the Russian cities stood on the western banks—Kiev, Smolensk, Moghilev, Rostov—every town he could think of. And all of them were hard to defend because they were close to the rivers, and all of them would be hard to take back, because they would all lie beyond their rivers. Even in the cellars of the ruined buildings in the city, we are kept conscious of the sweep to the west, of all that is to be regained.

But most of all one feels one has lived in those cellars. Strangely cozy that life is sometimes, during lulls in the fighting. Human beings who remain warm and friendly are there; such as the woman, her husband dead, her three children with her, who has taken her store of cabbages and potatoes and her goat to the lowest cellar of this house where she had once had a comfortable apartment. "If you want something cooked, I'll cook it . . . let him tell me when you need anything; I can cook cabbage soup, too, only without any meat. Or I could kill the goat. If I kill him, there'd be soup with meat." She saw in Saburov's eyes that he understood and would not insist on her going across the Volga. Her talk about cooking was not to persuade him to leave her there, but simply part of the "deep desire of all old Russian women to take care of soldiers far from their homes." Petya the orderly constructs a kind of bath—a special dugout



* DAYS AND NIGHTS, by Konstantine Simonov. Translated from the Russian by Joseph Barnes. Simon & Schuster. \$2.75.