

the big companies "one at a time"—were seen as a continuation of his efforts to pose as the "militant" of the leadership. This was understood as part of his long-range conspiracy to capture the presidency of the powerful union. Despite his "militant" front, he continues to be the employers' fair-haired candidate for the leadership of the great union. The spreads he enjoys in the commercial press testify to that fact.

Fortunately, the rank and file is becoming aware of the perils of Reuther's unbridled personal ambitions—and they appear to be drawing the necessary conclusions. Meanwhile, it becomes more than ever necessary for labor's allies to support the struggles of the UAW—for the first great test of whether labor nationally will maintain its gains will be made in the General Motors-Ford-Chrysler realm.

The Aluminum Trust

ATTORNEY GENERAL TOM CLARK'S report to Congress on monopoly in the aluminum industry is both revealing and instructive. The Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) until the war

controlled the production of this light metal 100 percent. Its absolute control and planned restriction of all productive capacity created a dangerous shortage of aluminum during the early part of the war. Over Alcoa protests the government built, at a cost of over \$1,000,000,000, new plants which accounted for fifty-two percent of wartime production. The Attorney General brands Alcoa as a monopoly and makes two proposals to transform it into "free enterprise": the "breaking up" of Alcoa into several competitive units and the disposal of government-owned plants to non-Alcoa interests. The first of these proposals may have some limited value, but these measures, even if carried out, will hardly alter the monopoly character of the aluminum industry. The Standard Oil monopoly was "dissolved" in 1911 by federal courts into a series of "independent" units. Today they function as parts of an even vaster monopoly.

The economic core of monopoly capital consists of the fusion of banking with industrial capital as part of the process of creating vast industrial combines in many forms, including huge blocs that

"compete" with one another within agreed upon limits. Monopolies cannot be "broken up"; under capitalist conditions they can only be regulated, controlled or nationalized. The ultimate solution of the evils growing out of private monopolies will be their socialization.

Attorney General Clark's proposals aim to broaden slightly the base of ownership of the aluminum industry and thus break the artificial rigging of prices by Alcoa. His proposals may achieve this for a brief period until the various new parts of the industry get together and reach price agreements as has happened in steel, auto, railroads.

A modern step in the direction of controlling monopolies and prices is through nationalization and a permanent OPA buttressed with a powerful labor movement and a popular democratic political coalition. In relation to the aluminum industry the obvious immediate measure is to *retain* government ownership of the billion-dollar sector of aluminum production built with public funds during the war and operate it for the benefit of the entire nation. Why not a TVA in aluminum?



AROUND THE WORLD

NEXT PLAY IN GREECE

IN VOLOS, the capital city of Thessaly, Greece, the government authorities decided a few weeks ago to honor the unknown sailor with a public gathering and the usual patriotic ceremonies. In ordinary times such an event would have drawn from five to ten thousand people. But how many answered the call of the authorities? Not more than *fifteen persons*—and a score of children.

This story is an index to what is happening in Greece. The Greeks are traditionally patriotic. They have erected many monuments to their heroes, so it was by no means a lack of patriotism that held the people of Volos back.

The fact is that six months of terror, murder, and hunger—particularly after the Varkiza agreement which was to have paved the way for a democratic government—have deepened the chasm between the people and the monarcho-fascists who hold Athens in their grip. The central Committee of the EAM, the National Liberation Movement, has issued the second volume of its *White*

Book covering the post-Varkiza period from February to June of 1945. Here one can easily see with names, addresses, facts and figures how the gilded crew surrounding Regent Archbishop Damaskinos have extended to a national scale their assaults on the people which up until December 1944 were more or less confined to the Athens-Piraeus area. It is clear from the *White Book* that despite the protests of the majority of Greeks the internal scene is rapidly deteriorating. The army has become the willing instrument of the monarcho-fascists. "The state machine," says the *White Book*, "not only is not purged of the collaborationist elements; on the contrary, it is dominated by them. The traitors not only are not punished, but they are punishing and persecuting those who fought for liberation during the occupation. . . . About 20,000 people are detained in the jails." Even Damaskinos admitted the figure to be 16,000.

Thus the situation in Greece has reached an impasse and the failure of the

British-inspired economic plan of Kyriakos Varvaressos, the former vice premier, is simply the outcome of a complete rupture between the Greek masses and the bitterly reactionary government. I believe that even the British Foreign Office now realizes that nothing can bridge the gap between the people and the ruling gang. Damaskinos was called to London ostensibly to inform it of what was going on in Greece but in reality, however, to find out what would be a good substitute for the bankrupt monarcho-fascists—a substitute that would not interfere with British imperialist interests. It would seem that British officialdom is more or less convinced that King George is of little value to them any longer. The king is thoroughly discredited in Greece, although the extreme fascist section of the royalists (made up of collaborationists and former leaders of the dictatorial King George-Metaxas regime) agitates for a November plebiscite on the issue of monarchy before the hand-picked electoral lists are replaced



"Rupert, men like you are failing to inspire confidence these days."

by genuine ones. Interestingly enough, these monarchists, most of whom attacked King George during the occupation, now attack the British for letting him down. In the end, of course, all these traitors and collaborationists will jump on whatever new bandwagon the British imperialists hammer together; they may even stop talking as royalists and adopt democratic slogans.

What are the British (in cooperation with Washington) doing in regard to Greece? First, they decided to send a commission to supervise the Greek "elections." I say elections in quotation marks because even the old liberal parties threaten to abstain from participating in them. The EAM and the Communists will definitely stay out, nor will they participate in compiling lists or in the registration. That means that only twenty to twenty-five percent of the Greek people will vote. The registration in one electoral district of Athens up to September 2, the last day of registration, is revealing. There 35,900 registered in 1936; this time only 5,554 have registered. In another district of Piraeus, out of 15,800 who registered in the last election only

925 had registered by September 2. Yet Athens and Piraeus are more crowded than ever with people who moved there hoping to get more relief there than in the outlying districts. The government is extending the time for registration.

Under such circumstances, the American and British supervision of the elections would give prestige and authority to a purely monarcho-fascist and collaborationist election. The Soviet government has refused to take any part in them, since in the words of Ned Russell, correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* (September 13), such supervision "would serve only to protect the position of the [Greek] government." The Greek people desire that the Yalta decisions to form a provisional, representative government be applied to their country, because only such a government can guarantee free elections.

In the meantime, the British, French and Americans have already suggested the postponement of the plebescite on the question of the monarchy, and the holding of a constituent assembly before the end of the year; but no elections can be held before the redrafting of the

electoral lists and this will take at least six months. In any case, no solution can be good in the absence of a representative government. It is not unlikely, to judge from the news reports, that the British Labor Party hierarchy is trying to establish a "De Gaulle-Social-Democratic" pattern for Greece—that is, a reactionary combination mixed with enough so-called Social-Democrats to make it acceptable. In Greece, however, it would be a "Liberal-Social-Democratic" regime. Unfortunately for Mr. Bevin and Mr. Laski, there never was a Social-Democratic mass movement in Greece—only small groups led in great part by the notorious George Papandreou, whose hands are stained with the bloodshed of December 1944, and who, at best, can only be defined as a monarcho-socialist. The fact is that almost every man or woman in Greece who thinks that socialism is a good thing joins the Communist Party—which explains the Communists' unusual numerical strength.

If Washington and London have their way, Greece may get a "middle of the road" government, which would include people of a grossly reactionary character with a sprinkling of progressives. This government might even offer one or two portfolios to the EAM and the Communist Party. But the EAM coalition made clear its attitude toward this device. Its central committee has demanded a representative government based primarily on the resistance movement—a movement ignored by the British and Regent Daskinos. The resistance movement means above all the EAM and the Communist Party supported by the great majority of the people. Any other government that does not give the fullest representation to these two dominant factors in Greek life will be no different from the reactionary Voulgaris government now in Athens. It would continue to be a pawn in the hands of British diplomacy and as such would be used against Greece's Balkan neighbors and their desire for close friendship with the Soviet Union. The reactionary Greek press, for example, is waging intensive political warfare against all of Greece's northern neighbors, particularly Yugoslavia. It fears, as does international reaction, the potential unity of the Balkan peoples—a unity deriving not only from moral and material bonds but from their common experiences in their past history. A reactionary Greece can serve as the great obstacle in welding such unity, and nothing short of a democratic, progressive Greece can make it certain.

DEMETRIOS CHRISTOPHORIDES.

READERS' FORUM

No "Dilemma"

TO NEW MASSES: Last month I wrote you mildly criticizing Nathan Ausubel's article, "The Jewish Writer's Dilemma" (NEW MASSES, July 31). Evidently my letter was too "unconcrete," possibly too long. I do think, however, that this problem is too serious to be left undiscussed. Mr. Ausubel's well written and lucid article does, however, promote a point of view that must prove unhelpful not only to Jewish writers but to all Jewish men of creative will. I must confess, incidentally, that I have heard many names hurled at my people. And to be called a dilemma, to my sensitive Jewish ear, is the last refinement of invective.

Consider the three subdivisions of the grand dilemma: I. To Have Been Born a Jew. II. To Have Been Born a Jew With a Desire to Write. III. To Have Been a Jew With a Desire to Write—In a Restrictive Capitalist Environment. The grand dilemma, of course, is To Have Been Born.

Change the word "Jew" to "Negro," "Puerto Rican," "Mexican," "Filipino." Does it not, comparatively, make as much sense?

Being a Jew is neither dilemmatous nor unfortunate. The Jew, being extremely perceptive because of a frequent sense of isolation, is capable of an objectivity regarding the American scene which many old-stock Americans find hard to capture. The Jew, because of his struggles, remains an idealist and a fighter. The Jew is able, because of his background, to identify himself with the plight of other depressed minorities. For a writer, then, it is an immeasurable advantage to have been born a Jew.

Mr. Ausubel muddies the waters slightly when he states: "It is conceivable then that such fine Jewish writers as Albert Maltz, Lillian Hellman and Leonard Ehrlich could remain American writers with a 'universal' appeal if they also wrote on Jewish themes as well as on any others that they chose. . . ." Mr. Ausubel fails to understand what makes the guts of a writer churn. Maltz, Hellman and Leonard Ehrlich (as well as many others I could name) could have written about Jews, if they chose. They did not choose to: (1) because they did not know enough about Jews, and (2) because for these writers Jewish themes *per se* did not possess the drama that other themes did. If Albert Maltz finds himself in an artistic dilemma I should be interested in hearing it from Albert Maltz. The Jewish writer is under no spiritual obligation to write on Jewish themes. Neither is

he compelled, except through weakness, to pursue Mammon.

Clifford Odets writing about Bronx Jews was often superb. Odets writing about Chinese generals and befogged Cockneys is mediocre. Odets made his bed and I'm afraid he is not only stuck with it but *to it* as well.

It was not at all necessary for Mr. Ausubel to endow the Jewish writer with a private and *chosen* crown of thorns. The Jew can today stand straight and firm and with dignity. If we write about such Jews we will be published. I think it is so. In fact I have just sold a story to *Liberty* on precisely such a Jew. I know that I will sell others.

In some years to come there will be few nations where anti-Semitism will go unpunished by law. In the meantime, for socialism's sake—let's not cower!

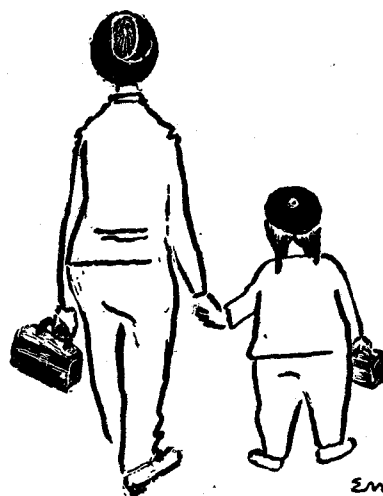
SID SCHUMANN.

Los Angeles.

From the Philippines

The following letter was written before V-J Day. We are publishing it despite the fact that its literal history is now some time past, because it presents a warm and lively picture of our Filipino allies.

TO NEW MASSES: In the calm of morning, the outriggers start coming to the ships. The GPs, fed up to the gills with the overcrowded and inactive voyage, flock to the railings. Their humor is typically American. "What you know, Joe?" they shout to the natives. The visitors are dressed in burlap sacks or old clothes. Hunger is in the kids.



Edith Miller.

There is a dark-haired girl with even white teeth. Corinne is her name. She is timid and shy at first and hides her simple smile with her hand. We do not know our Filipino allies but she is a charming augury. We had an enemy sub alarm and air-raid alert on our way here from New Guinea. But here is the war against humans. We see this when they scramble aboard, trade mats for our GI blankets, swap Japanese invasion money for anything we want to give them. They tell sharp stories of the Japanese trying to put them to forced labor, killing those who opposed them in any way, outraging and diseasing their women.

The guys keep kidding Corinne. Ask her if the man in the boat is her husband. She laughs musically and then covers her smile with her hand. "Your father?" we ask. The smile goes quickly from her face and it is darker. "I am fatherless," she replies. There is silence for a moment at this.

Soon we are joshing again. We find where she lives, that she was taught English by one of the many missions here, that she is fifteen, sings well and knows how to flirt harmlessly with the American boys. Already someone has promised to take her back to the States. "San Francisco will be a new home," she says.

All this time, the fellows are throwing their sympathy to the hapless Filipinos. Cigarettes, candy, matches, ~~M~~ rations, chocolate go over the side. Soon the ship is minus towels, soap, athletic shirts, fatigue caps and shirts, suntans, shelter halves, toothbrushes and toothpaste. Even a copy of *Esquire* finds its way into their bamboo-sided rigs. They ask for blankets, especially blankets, for the Japs have stripped them of everything. They are cold.

And they are hungry. Three young kids pull alongside. "Food," they ask. Our rations are earmarked but like the clothes they go down to the natives with greater meaning. Some of the cans hit the water and the kids go down like nimble retrievers. Somebody throws a pack of Prince Albert. "Tobacco," the guys yell. The kids do not understand. "For a pipe," we explain. Soon the pipe is thrown. They understand, put it in their pipe and smoke it.

These kids have no trouble with military courtesy: everybody is "Sir" to them. We have Filipinos traveling with us. We have noticed their respect for the Americans. But these are mostly those who have lived in the States the last fifteen to twenty years and show the self-consciousness of a minority people. These natives, however, greet the Americans as part of Uncle Sam's mighty muscle that has punched the Jap out of their homes, letting them return from their hiding places in the hills. The guerrillas, many of them just kids, are still in the mountains, we are told. When there are no more Japs, they, too, will come down to mingle with their American buddies.

One of the women has a crying kid in her arms. It is squalling, pressing against her dress. The woman is shy, for there are many men's eyes on her. But the kid's hunger has no shame and she takes out her breast. It sucks