

## Rank-and-File Group In Bakery Union

(See Page 4)

Vol. XXI - No. 51

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1957

PRICE 10c

## Seasons Greetings, 1957

MERRY CHRISTMAS!



## Jobless Total in Steady Climb Throughout U.S.

Unemployment in November reached 3.2 million according to the conservative estimates of the U.S. Departments of Labor and Commerce and total employment declined. This was the highest jobless figure for any November since 1949 — a recession year. It marked an increase of 680,000 over October.

Personal income dropped \$1 billion for the month of November, the bulk of this drop among production workers in durable goods (television, auto, refrigerator, etc.) manufacturing industries. This particular statistic reflected not only the climbing unemployment, but also the cut in the work week in some plants and shops.

Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, Chief Economist of the United States Chamber of Commerce has warned the American business community to expect a recession "at least as severe" as the downturn of 1949 and 1954.

The approaching Xmas season holiday spirit, general good cheer and the rest — did not deter the business executives of the nation from mapping out layoff plans. A news round-up by the Wall Street Journal (Dec. 18) tells the grim story. Many of the familiar big names of American industry admit plans for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

stimulated by the missile development.

Many favored corporations are in for more lush profits but it is not assured that the missile program will mean a significant jump in employment. For one thing, while more Federal money will pour into that program, it will undoubtedly be accompanied by a cut in what has now become obsolete or less important military fields.

### Little Rock Negro Student Suspended

Minnie Jean Brown, 16 years old, one of the nine Negro students who have braved racist terror and harrassment to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. was suspended by school authorities last week for a minimum of 3 days. According to the school superintendent, a white boy in the school cafeteria blocked the aisle through which Miss Brown was carrying a tray of food. "She lost her temper," the superintendent said, "and dumped her food on the white boy." The boy was not suspended. Another school official said the students present said the incident "could have been an accident."

In short, these and many other reports on the economic situation point up re-emergence of traditional difficulties of the capitalist economy when its productive powers outproduce the available market. Big Business spokesmen, their press agents and crystal-ball gazers are united in a hope that the end of 1958 will see a resumption of business prosperity. They base their hope upon a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

a new and bigger arms program

for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

## Sputnik, 'Eggheads' And U.S. Students

By Milton Alvin

The launching of the Soviet Sputniks has produced something new in the thinking of the American ruling class. They have suddenly become aware of the fact that science and the study of scientific subjects are not held in high esteem by American youth.

Attempts are being made to overcome this lack of appreciation. In the television program "Wide Wide World," sponsored by the General Motors Corporation, the world's largest profit maker, a serious effort to convince the audience that the pursuit of scientific studies is necessary and rewarding led to a series of crude but revealing facts regarding the status of science in America.

It seems that high school students are, in the main, not interested in studying science. The reasons they give vary from the difficulties of the subject matter to the relatively low esteem in which the scientists are held by the public.

### 'EGGHEAD' IN COMEBACK

Underlying this particular effort over TV was an attempt to rehabilitate the so-called "egghead," one of the victims of the witch hunt. Some of the eminent scientists interviewed and the narrator, Dave Garrolday, made specific reference to the fact that "eggheads," that is, people who think, should be revered and not ridiculed.

The naval commander of the atomic submarine Nautilus, who appeared on the program, referred to lectures he attended at the University of California given by Dr. Oppenheimer, a prominent victim of the witch hunt during its McCarthyite period.

The entire program, in the words of its narrator, Garrolday, sought to answer the question of what happens to the American child, who at the age of six shows a lively interest around him, and who at sixteen is no longer interested in science.

The one-and-a-half hour attempt only hinted at the correct answer. In American society, where the symbols of success are the Cadillac car and the mink coat, the youth quickly learn that a career in the world of science does not reward one on this scale. All media of mass publicity make heroes and heroines of those who achieve the pinnacle whether they be movie stars, gangsters, athletes or corporation executives. One must be a "star" of some kind to reach the goal.

### Twin Cities

New Year's Eve Celebration  
Dancing, Entertainment, Supper  
Join with us

Tues., Dec. 31, at 9 P.M.

322 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 205  
Minneapolis

Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party

### Calendar Of Events

Chicago

Tuesday, Dec. 31 — New Year's Eve Party. Music, Dancing, Refreshments. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum. 777 W. Adams St.

Detroit

Tuesday, Dec. 31, 9 P.M. — New Year's Eve Party. Door Prize, entertainment and favors. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Donation \$1.00.

### New York

Gala Celebration  
NEW YEAR'S EVE

Dancing Refreshment, Entertainment

Begins at 9 P.M.

Contribution \$1.00

116 University Place  
Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party

### Los Angeles

New Years' Eve Social

Tues., Dec. 31, 9 P.M.

Forum Hall

1702 East 4th Street

Ausp.: The Militant

# The British Electrical Union Election

By Peter Fryer  
Special London Correspondent

votes of these five branches to be counted.

Nasty-minded critics were not slow to point out that precisely similar irregularities in the voting had taken place in a branch in the north of England where the majority was for Frazer, but the leadership had turned a blind eye. And from the town of Reading came accounts from two neighboring branches, one pro-Cannon, the other pro-Frazer. Both had sent their voting returns in to the head office a couple of days late. The first had received back a letter saying this breach of the rules could not possibly be overlooked, and the vote was therefore discounted; the second a letter saying there was a breach of rules, but head office found it possible to overlook it this time, only don't let it happen again on any account.

All this of course was calculated to make a field day for the reactionary Press, which seized on such stories and ran them day after day in a crescendo of witch-hunting. A former Labor MP called Woodrow Wyatt who has won fame as a television interviewer persuaded a number of rank-and-file ETU members to appear on TV; all but one of them had their backs to the camera, and in some cases their voices were disguised; they were scared of being expelled from the union and of losing their jobs in consequence, it was said. Next day one of them accused Wyatt of sensationalizing the whole thing. He for one had never asked to be "protected" in this way, and the way the program was turned into a stunt was not his cup of tea at all, and he dissociated himself from it. Needless to say,

this ordinary ETU member's protest got very little prominence in the press.

The ETU leaders' case is that Cannon would have lost even if the votes of the disqualified branches were counted. But they refuse to put the matter to the test by holding the election again.

Now all this quite clearly raises some pretty important questions of principle for militants, socialist and rank-and-file communists inside the ETU. Clearly the capitalist Press attack on their union is not motivated by pure-minded, disinterested regard for the health and strength of that union and its effectiveness in the defense of its members. It is no coincidence that this attack comes at the same time as a general offensive, in which Britain's Tory Government has joined, against the workers' living standards, wages and jobs. Already, as such organs of the British capitalist class as *The Times* and the *Economist*, the demand has been openly raised for a general inquiry into trade unions and general legislation to curb their power. Clearly the ETU members, and other militants, must defend their union against an attack which, if successful, would be only the prelude to a more far-reaching onslaught of working-class organizations.

### LEADERS TO BLAME

Equally clearly, however, the defense of the ETU as an organization by no means implies the defense of its leaders' policies and practices. On the contrary, by acting in an undemocratic (and, it might be added, uncommunist) way these leaders are simply playing into the

hands of the capitalist press and feeding them with ammunition for the attack on trade unionism. To militant electricians their employers are the main enemy—but when their leaders play into the hands of the capitalist class by misusing the rule book against critics and dissenters such as Cannon, then those who have the interests of their union at heart must come out in its defense in their own way.

The essence of the ETU leadership's action in this affair (and it is this that makes them a sitting target for red-baiting journalists) is that they are unable to answer the political criticism from the left. This of course is a reflection, in a specific form, of the crisis of British Stalinism, of its inability to cope with the truth it sought so long to hide. Against the weapon of truth ETU general secretary Frank Haxell and president Frank Foukoue can only deploy the weapon of procedure. Socialist electricians criticize them from the stand-point of principle—and they wield the rule book in reply.

This formalistic approach of a bureaucracy determined to cling on to its power and privileges even if in the process the union is harried, smashed, wrecked as an effective working-class weapon, extends now to revisions in the rules, which limit members' rights in a way that is clearly directed against the Left. For instance, members' right of appeal is limited, and circularization of other members is forbidden.

### FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS

ETU militants are now faced with the need to take the de-

mands of their union into their own hands, and to fight on two fronts: against Fleet Street, the heart of the capitalist Press, and King Street, the heart of British Stalinism. It is a colossal task, but if not undertaken Fleet Street and King Street between them will deliver the union into the hands of the Right-wingers who are simply waiting on the sidelines. Only the militants, under Marxist leadership, can restore the confidence of ETU members in the union's leadership; restore democratic rights; end the rigging of elections and other abuses; and transform the ETU into a sound and reliable instrument of working-class advance. The militants have now launched a three-point campaign for democracy and probity inside the ETU.

Their first demand is for a national committee of inquiry, democratically elected by the rank and file of the union, to investigate its entire machinery and report back to the branches.

Secondly, the militants are demanding that the salaries of ETU officials be cut immediately to the ordinary wage of a skilled electrician, and that all expenses be cut to the necessary out-of-pocket expenses entailed in the day-to-day business of the union.

### TOO CUSHY

Despite all the talk of "economy," the steady decline in the union's funds, and the steady approach of a period of probably quite intensive class struggle in Britain, many members think Foukoue and Haxell and their immediate colleagues do themselves very well in the way of expenses, big motor-cars, however, who are deeply perturbed about the way their leaders are acting, and who in conversation with Marxists are being won for a joint fight to restore the union's good name, straighten out its affairs, and really democratic weapon in the hands of Britain's electricians.

well-appointed offices and luxury hotel accommodations when they are out of London. There is no suggestion of financial dishonesty; the point is that leaders who style themselves communists, while clearly their efficiency would be impaired if they had money worries, ought at the same time to live modestly and soberly at the level of their own members.

### WANT NEW ELECTION

Thirdly, the militants call for the election for which Cannon and Frazer were candidates to be held afresh, so that confidence in the union's electoral machinery can be restored and the attacks of the capitalist Press can be replied to in the most effective way: in democratic deeds.

This is the only principled way in which the crisis in the ETU can be solved. Any other way would lead to big setbacks. The Stalinists who screw their eyes up tight and cover their ears or who brand critics as "wreckers," "saboteurs," "capitalist agents" and so forth—just as some of them did over criticism of the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucracies—are themselves helping to drag the good name of communism and of trade unionism through the mud. There are many rank-and-file communists in the ETU, however, who are deeply perturbed about the way their leaders are acting, and who in conversation with Marxists are being won for a joint fight to restore the union's good name, straighten out its affairs, and really democratic weapon in the hands of Britain's electricians.

## A. J. Muste Speaks at N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Dec. 15.—A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum-For Socialist Education, was the guest speaker tonight at the Militant Labor Forum. His subject was "Radical Parties and Socialist Regroupment."

The meeting opened on an extremely moving note. Muste was introduced by Militant staff writer Art Preis, who began his activity in the union movement in the 1930's as a member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which was led by Muste. Recalling the dramatic mass struggles of the Ohio unemployed of the early 1930's and the historic Toledo auto workers strike battles of the same period, Preis paid eloquent tribute to Muste's contributions to the leadership of these struggles as well as his contributions to the education of many young militant socialists of the time.

### SOURCE OF WAR DRIVE

An overall diplomatic agreement between the USSR and the U.S. for an end to the cold war would be desirable for the Soviet bloc countries, since their systems require no wars, and for the working people of the world. It could be desirable to the imperialist governments only for a limited time at the very best. No "sacred" treaty will prevent imperialism from launching war when the circumstances become favorable—or even, if desperate enough, while they are still unfavorable—for the very workings of the economic system of capitalism impels it to war. Consequently, while the Soviet leaders, who pretend to be Marxists, are perfectly justified in an agreement with imperialism that would slow the latter's war drive, they have no justification for telling the world's masses that if the imperialists do sign a co-existence treaty the danger of war will have been permanently ended. That will have been ended only when capitalism has been.

MAIN PROBLEM

In his presentation, Muste said the central problem confronting the radical movement is its almost total isolation from the labor movement and population generally. He felt that of the various groupings the radical pacifists had the greatest degree of influence, but the problem of isolation was common to all the groups and due primarily to the objective situation in the country. He held that the development of a program to cope with the problems posed by capitalism in the age of automation and atomic energy was the radical movement's basic need today.

To advance the discussion of such a program, he said, the various groupings must take a flexible attitude including a willingness to recognize past errors in their thinking. He felt this was particularly important for the Socialist Workers Party, because it had been proven right on many questions. This, he said, might tend to lead it to feel that it had been correct on all questions.

Discussing the progress of the American Forum, he said it had met initial difficulty in organizing discussions that came to full grip with the issues at hand, but that future discussions would provide a more effective confrontation of different views.

He declared that the basic problem was to build effective opposition to American capitalism and militarism, and that an indispensable corollary to this was support to the anti-Stalinist movement of the workers in the Soviet sphere.

Following the speech, the well-attended meeting engaged in a lengthy discussion that showed a deep interest in the problem of socialist regroupment.

## ...NATO VOTES TALKS WITH USSR

### Will They Meet Again?



President Eisenhower (right) and Soviet Premier Bulganin at the Geneva conference in July 1955. At that time world pressure against the mounting war drive compelled the U.S. to put on a show of negotiating the issues of the cold war. Since the launching of Sputnik numerous figures in top U.S. circles are proposing a renewal of the posture of negotiations.

for such bases — and had already done so with Great Britain — the NATO approval means little. Norway and Denmark have already strongly rejected the idea of such bases on their soil — as magnets for atomic retaliation the moment war broke out. The West German delegation has also indicated it does not want any.

The motivation, aim and dimensions of the "revolt" of the European capitalist nations against the American government may be found by a careful reading of the news dispatches from Paris. Correspondent Ludwell Denny reported in the Dec. 17 New York World-Telegram: "The German government can't accept the American missile base plan however much Chancellor Konrad Adenauer may desire Sputnik vs. sputnik has shaken German public support for the NATO alliance. Even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan [of Great Britain] is facing opposition to the American plan from his own Tory right wing as well as from the Labor Party. He needs time to maneuver to hold his public."

**BRINK OF APPEASEMENT** In the Dec. 19 N.Y. Herald-Tribune Roseve Drummond reports from Paris: "This [to gain time] is why such a rocklike ally as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer wants, without surrendering any basic position of his pro-Western policy, to explore the negotiating potential of the European capitalist nations against the American government. The German government can't accept the American missile base plan however much Chancellor Konrad Adenauer may desire Sputnik vs. sputnik has shaken German public support for the NATO alliance. Even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan [of Great Britain] is facing opposition to the American plan from his own Tory right wing as well as from the Labor Party. He needs time to maneuver to hold his public."

President Eisenhower (right) and Soviet Premier Bulganin at the Geneva conference in July 1955. At that time world pressure against the mounting war drive compelled the U.S. to put on a show of negotiating the issues of the cold war. Since the launching of Sputnik numerous figures in top U.S. circles are proposing a renewal of the posture of negotiations.

Realizing that it was definitely stalemate both by the colonial revolution, now spreading to the Middle East and North Africa, and by Soviet technological development, U.S. imperialism had to tear up its much revised timetable for the war to crush the USSR. This was not an abandonment of the perspective of war but recognition that the relation of forces made it too deadly a risk while the stalemate lasted.

### GENEVA SMILES

Under U.S. direction the cold war began to cool off some. The war in Indo-China was settled at Geneva by a territorial compromise. Similarly with the war in Korea. In 1954, taking advantage of the Kremlin's repeated offers to retire or were driven out of one country after another. Worse yet China was swept by social revolution upsetting the whole balance of world power. The U.S. had to divert its main energies to trying to stop and throw back the wave of revolution in Asia. The difficulty of this task was brought home by the impossibility of winning even the war in Korea short of an all-out effort.

But the U.S. timetable could not be carried out even when the military preparations had all been completed. Revolution swept Asia. The imperialists were compelled to retire or were driven out of one country after another. Worse yet China was swept by social revolution upsetting the whole balance of world power. The U.S. had to divert its main energies to trying to stop and throw back the wave of revolution in Asia. The difficulty of this task was brought home by the impossibility of winning even the war in Korea short of an all-out effort.

In addition, the U.S. monopoly of the A-bomb, on which the preventive war policy so heavily depended, was broken. The USSR succeeded in exploding the atom long before the date U.S. military planners had assumed it could. Woe was piled upon woe in 1953 when the revolutionary army in Viet Nam triumphed in the great battle at Dienbienphu and the USSR exploded an H-bomb.

U.S. imperialism's policy has marked contradictions. It does not give up the aim of even preventive war against the Soviet bloc. Consequently it must maintain and continually expand its war machine and that of its allies despite the risks this entails. On the other hand, realizing that for an indefinite period circumstances are unfavorable for launching its war, it is not unwilling to improve its position by negotiations with its enemy.

THE MILITANT

A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of the Working People

116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Please enter my subscription as follows:

\$1.50 for 6 months of The Militant

\$3.00 for 1 year of The Militant

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

Zone .....

State .....

### NOW AVAILABLE:

#### Leon Trotsky's

#### THE FIRST FIVE

#### YEARS OF THE

#### COMMUNIST

#### INTERNATIONAL

#### Volume II in Cloth

384 pages

\$3.50

#### PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

Subscription \$5 per year.  
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$6.50 per year; \$2.50 for 6  
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per  
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.  
Bundle Orders: 5 or more  
copies \$6 each in U.S., 7c  
each in foreign countries.

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 8-7460  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. 21 - No. 51

Monday, Dec. 23, 1957

## The Source of War Today

In a column in the Dec. 15 New York Times, James Reston, head of that paper's Washington bureau provides an unintended but damning indictment of capitalism as the source of war in our epoch.

He is arguing against the notion that "localized" wars must inevitably become generalized wars and in the course of his argument cites the following record:

"Since 1896, the peoples of the world have scarcely known a single year without some kind of armed conflict."

In addition to two world wars, "The melancholy catalogue includes the Boer War of 1899-1902; the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5; the two bloody Balkan Wars of 1912-13; to say nothing of the Spanish-American War, the Korean War and the innumerable wars, revolts and massacres in Finland, the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Manchuria, Siberia, the Philippines, Armenia, Bolivia, Paraguay and a lot more."

What is the common denominator in this grisly catalogue? Almost every case cited was the product either of inter-imperialist rivalries or of the bloody repression of subject peoples by imperialist powers. The localized wars, it should be noted, were either the prelude to or became part of the two global imperialist conflicts.

Again Reston marshals the facts of the indictment: "There have been 16 localized wars since the end of the last World War, including Korea, Indo-China

and Suez. Israel and the Arab states have been in a state of war for a decade. Most of France's army is tied down today in a limited war in North Africa."

These too have been brought on by Western imperialism in its war against the national independence struggles of the colonial peoples.

Reston completes the record by detailing some of the heroic armed struggles that oppressed workers and subjugated peoples have waged against oppressors who gave them no other way to win emancipation.

He writes: "In this time [since 1896] armed rebellion has swept over Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Athens, Rome, and long revolutionary struggles have taken place in Russia, Mexico, Spain, France, Germany, India, Egypt, Palestine, Mongolia, China, Hungary, Austria, Greece, Korea and Indo-China.

Who were these oppressors? Once more, in the overwhelming number of cases they were the ruling class in the major capitalist countries of the world.

Reston's thesis that there is no point in trying to stop wars and that the only realistic thing to do is to keep them "localized" is false and reactionary.

But the one stark fact that does emerge from his pen is this: There is no peace under capitalism. War will be abolished for good only when capitalism itself is abolished.

## A Study of Youth and Crime

YOUTH AND CRIME, Proceedings of the Law Enforcement Institute held at New York University, edited by Frank J. Cohen International Universities Press Inc. New York, N. Y. 1357, 273 pp. \$6.

Books based on the proceedings of an institute or conference are always confusing. There are twenty-five articles in Youth and Crime by various "specialists" including New York state and city officials — judges, probation officers, directors of youth programs — as well as psychiatrists and professors. Whatever the merits of the individual presentations, they certainly do not add up to any constructive or even comprehensible program to combat juvenile crime. They range from platitudes about strengthening the family and remembering religion to serious research reports like that of Lauretta Bender, Bellevue psychiatrist, on "What Are the Influential Factors that Predispose the Youth of Our Society to Delinquency and Crime?"

The various points of view not only contradict each other regarding cause and cure, but they can't even agree on whether or not there is a rise in juvenile crime. Several experts argue that the apparent rise is due largely to new methods of compiling statistics and changing procedures on the part of police and courts. Lauretta Bender, for example, questions the validity of recent statistics and claims that the rise of juvenile crime began about a hundred years ago in Western Europe and the United States, which would indicate (although she doesn't mention this) that it is related to the rise of industrial capitalism.

**GENERAL CAUSE**  
But it is Harry Shulman, a professor at City College, and a Commissioner in the Department of Correction, who makes the most enlightening contribution. He does not deal with juvenile crime as an isolated phenomenon but discusses the general causes of all crime. He compares the security of the primitive community which is "a brotherhood bound tightly together against its external enemies" where the products of industry are either shared or available in times of tribal need" with modern industrial society in which "the hazards of illness, unemployment and old age infirmity become primarily a personal responsibility."

He analyzes, on the one hand, the development of "predatory" crime, (that is, crime handled mainly by the police and courts) in the slums of our large cities and on the other, "the crimes of the rich and powerful" — restraints of trade and monopoly, fraudulent advertising and misrepresentation, bribery of corporations and public officials — and concludes that crime is an aspect of the total functional operation of urban industrial society, "the price we pay for our society of free enterprise." There is no cure for crime as such "only the possibility of containing its bounds through maintaining an equilibrium among the competing forces in a democratic society."

This leads, of course, to a pessimistic view of various measures for combating crime. On broad programs for social reform and social welfare which may eliminate the worst aspects of poverty, he says: "Whether such a comprehensive

is showing delinquent tendencies."

**ENVIRONMENT**  
Ralph Whelan, Director of the New York Youth Board, gives an honest picture of the environment in which delinquency breeds and of the so-called "hard core" families: "These groups are found in the most deteriorated sections of our large cities. They live in overcrowded, rat-infested dwellings where every room is a bedroom. They attend old schools with outmoded equipment where frequently, instead of the normal school day, there are two or three abbreviated shifts. . . . There have been instances of families who have never been able to eat together because there are only one or two plates, no chair or table to accommodate the family."

Explaining that children are often truant because they are embarrassed to appear without suitable clothing, he says: "For some children it is unknown to have a new dress or suit or to have ever owned one."

**GENERAL CAUSE**

But it is Harry Shulman, a professor at City College, and a Commissioner in the Department of Correction, who makes the most enlightening contribution. He does not deal with juvenile crime as an isolated phenomenon but discusses the general causes of all crime. He compares the security of the primitive community which is "a brotherhood bound tightly together against its external enemies" where the products of industry are either shared or available in times of tribal need" with modern industrial society in which "the hazards of illness, unemployment and old age infirmity become primarily a personal responsibility."

If Professor Shulman is correct, neither juvenile nor adult crime can be considered — as it so frequently is — a form of emotional illness or a personal failure to "adjust." The delinquent is attempting to adjust to prevalent behavior problems in a society where aggression and violence are quite normal. Clever delinquents — or lucky ones — never wind up in jail. They become successful racketeers, businessmen, politicians or labor bureaucrats.

The professor does not offer any alternative, he does not suggest that we can again achieve, on a much higher level that modern technology makes possible, the brotherhood of the primitive community. I didn't expect him to say this in a book devoted to the problems of law enforcement under capitalism. I'll settle for the fact that his analysis leads to one logical conclusion — that the real solution to crime is the socialist reconstruction of society.

— Joyce Cowley

**BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS**  
by JAMES P. CANNON

On Problems of Socialism in America

America's Road to Socialism 80pp \$35

Socialism on Trial 111pp \$50

American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism \$15

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party 302pp Cloth \$2.50

• Paper \$2.00

The History of American Trotskyism 268pp Cloth \$2.75

• Paper 1.75

The IWW — The Great Anticipation 44pp \$2.25

Eugene V. Debs 40pp \$2.25

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

## Algerian Nationalism Divided - II

# The Politics of Assassination

By Philip Magri  
(Second article of a series)

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1954 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y. under the act of March 3, 1879."

Monday, Dec. 23, 1957

turn would be controlled by the Nasser government.

Because the MNA could not accept this demand, it was expelled from the "Front." The MNA representatives in Cairo, Mezerna and Mekki, were arrested by Nasser (without charges) and are apparently still in prison.

### RIGHT-WING RALLIES TO MNA

After its definitive break with the MNA, the FLN became a pole of attraction for all the Right-Wing forces in the Algerian camp. In April 1956, Ferhat Abbas went to Cairo (quite "legally," and with a French passport) and immediately assumed a leading position in the FLN. He was followed closely by the leading representatives of the conservative "Ulemas." And finally, the leading "Beni-Ouis" (yes-men to the French) in Algeria who had always opposed Algerian independence (like Abderrahmane Fares, handpicked President of the French puppet "Algerian Assembly") took French planes to Cairo where they declared their support for the FLN and the Algerian Revolution.

A further transformation in the political character of the FLN took place in October 1956, when the French kidnapped five FLN leaders while they were flying from Tunisia to Morocco. These leaders, notably Khider and Ben Bella, represented the extreme left wing of the FLN: they had been leaders of the CRUA and had the closest ties to Nasser. After their forcible removal, leadership of the FLN rested in the hands of the former "Centralists" (Yazid, Kiouane) and of the outright reformists (Ferhat Abbas, Debaghine), men who relied more strongly on the aid of the Tunisian and Moroccan capitalist classes and on the sympathy of "enlightened" French colonialism, and conversely had less dependence on Nasser.

In early 1956, the split between MNA and FLN was supplemented by a split in the trade-union organization of Algerian workers. Before 1956 Algerian workers had not had their own unions, but had belonged to French unions, mainly the Stalinist-led CGT. At the beginning of February 1956, the "Algerian Workers' Trade Union" (USTA) was established as a single unified Algerian union movement.

Immediately after Nov. 1, the MNA consistently sought to establish unity among all tendencies of Algerian nationalism in the common struggle against the French. At the beginning of 1955, therefore, the National Liberation Front was established in Cairo. In its original form, the FLN was a loose alliance of autonomous groups of the MNA, the former MTLG Central Committee, and the CRUA. However, during 1955 this initial unity was irreversibly disrupted by the demand of the non-Messianists members that all Algerian organizations should dissolve and subordinate their members to the FLN, which in

turn had the closest ties to Nasser. After their forcible removal, leadership of the FLN rested in the hands of the former "Centralists" (Yazid, Kiouane) and of the outright reformists (Ferhat Abbas, Debaghine), men who relied more strongly on the aid of the Tunisian and Moroccan capitalist classes and on the sympathy of "enlightened" French colonialism, and conversely had less dependence on Nasser.

In early 1956, the split between MNA and FLN was supplemented by a split in the trade-union organization of Algerian workers. Before 1956 Algerian workers had not had their own unions, but had belonged to French unions, mainly the Stalinist-led CGT. At the beginning of February 1956, the "Algerian Workers' Trade Union" (USTA) was established as a single unified Algerian union movement.

At the outset both nationalist

### Arab Oil Workers



Highly exploited Arab workers on a Standard Oil Company pipeline in Saudi Arabia. Middle East oil is a prime source of imperialist rivalries. The cooling of U.S. enthusiasm for the French colonial war against the Algerian people also coincides with reports of newly-discovered rich oil deposits in Algeria.

tendencies participated in the USTA, and the Tunisian trade unions had aided in its formation. Because of later developments it is extremely important that this fact be clearly established. The French weekly paper, France Observateur, favors the FLN against the MNA and has excellent sources of information among the FLN leaders. On Feb. 28, 1956, France Observateur reported: "A 'nationalist' union movement has now been created. This movement has taken the name of 'Algerian Workers' Trade Union' (USTA). . . . it seems that the general secretary of the UGTT (Tunisian labor federation) Ahmed Ben Salah, played a considerable role, last December, in the establishment of the Algerian provisional organization.

The two nationalist tendencies, the Liberation Front and the Algerian National Movement, already claim the entire responsibility for this initiative and dispute for leadership." It quickly became clear to the FLN leaders that they could not get control of a unified democratic Algerian workers' organization. They therefore established a rival movement, the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). Initially the UGTA benefited from the aid of the French ad-

ministration in Algiers which directed its main repression against the Messianist USTA and even turned over the former offices of the MTLG in Algiers to the UGTA. However, after a few months the French also suppressed the UGTA. Today no Algerian unions are tolerated in Algeria, and the leaders of both groups are in concentration camps.

### THE USTA IN FRANCE

Meanwhile, the USTA started to organize the Algerian workers in France, and quickly succeeded in becoming an authentic mass organization. In June 1957 the Federation in France of the USTA held a congress at which there were 324 delegates representing more than 70,000 workers.

The FLN leaders resorted to all possible means, including murder and stoolie for the French police, to smash the USTA.

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders of the French Confederation of Labor (CGT) launched a similarly vicious attack on the USTA. Thus, on Feb. 1, 1956, the CGT local in Hagondey published a leaflet in which it named the USTA leaders for the benefit of the police: "We denounce these; Boudjani, Djahorelli, Abdel Ma-

lek and Hamdaoui and other divisionists, who want to divide you by founding a USTA union."

**ASSASSINATIONS**  
The most important method of the FLN has been the assassination of MNA and USTA members and leaders. At the end of April 1957, the French police in the city of Lyons raided a garage rented by an Algerian member of the executive committee of the local CGT, who was also a leader of the FLN. In this garage was found an arsenal of 40 machine guns, 100 grenades, and 100 automatic pistols — obviously destined to be served in the "settling of accounts" against the FLN.

The murder campaign against the MNA-USTA reached a peak in September and October of this year. Ahmed Semmache, Mellouli Said, Hocine Maroc, important secondary leaders of the USTA were assassinated within the space of four days. Then in October came the most grievous blow. First Abdallah Filali, Assistant Secretary General of the USTA, a veteran of 25 years of untiring struggles for Algerian freedom and of innumerable prison sentences, was mortally wounded (he died in late November, after an agony of 48 days). And then one of the most important young leaders of Algerian nationalism, Ahmed Bekhat, Secretary General of the USTA, was lured into a trap and murdered.

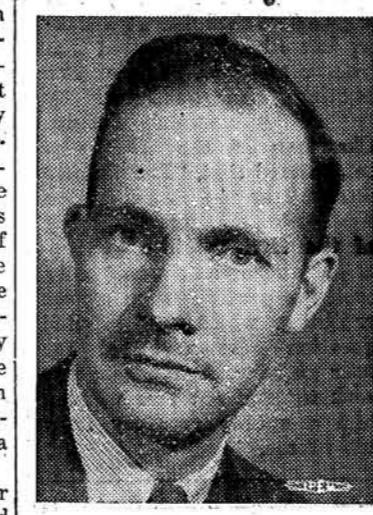
The responsibility for these crimes has been assumed openly by the FLN. In an official communiqué the FLN stated: "The counter-revolutionary MNA . . . has imposed on us, despite all our efforts, a violent struggle and an armed struggle. It is in the process of dying from it . . ."

What more need be said to characterize a political movement than that its preferred method of political discussion is the assassin's bullet?

In response to this wave of crimes based on French soil, the ever-vigilant French police has pursued a policy of vigorous repression — against the USTA! Within a week after the murder of Bekhat, his provisional successor as General Secretary, Abderrahmane Bensid, was arrested by the police on a trumped-up charge. Nothing apparent has been done either to prevent or apprehend the murderers.

**Next Week: Political Divisions and Prospects of the Algerian Revolution.**

## How the Canadian Foreign Minister Got Seated



ROSS DOWSON

of Acclamation," cried the headline in the Toronto Globe and Mail.

The small Socialist Education League (SEL) had no illusions about the district in which it decided to campaign. It is almost exclusively rural and conservative and has been periodically gerrymandered to keep it so. It is a map makers' nightmare — huge with twisting and turning boundaries and a hole in its center to eliminate Tweed (population 1,655) as too urban. The CCF, the party of the AFL-CIO, does not even have an organization in the district. For the last three federal elections no tendency in the labor movement has even tried to run candidates there.

For the SEL to run a candidate there may be compared in this country to running a socialist candidate for Congress in the most rock-ribbed sections of Republican Vermont.

Members and sympathizers of the SEL carried on a pioneer campaign in Hastings-Frontenac under the slogan of peace and socialism. Some 12,000 copies of the election leaflets were distributed and several thousand socialist anti-war posters dotted the wide-open spaces. Canvassing was carried on in the main towns and villages. Such a stir was caused by the socialist campaign that the Tories were galvanized into action. They sent out several blanket mailings to voters. They brought their can-

leaders of the CCF, who were infuriated by the SEL's underlining of their failure to provide an alternative to Toryism in the by-election.

Early in the campaign, M. J. Coldwell, national head of the CCF, in a letter to a newspaper in the district warned the "unsuspecting voter" — not against the Tory Smith — but against the socialist Dowson, whom he slanderously declared favored "world dictatorship."

The barrage of red-baiting from the Tories and the CCF right-wing leadership included such charges as force and violence, dictatorship, being financed by foreign gold (from the U.S. of all places) and, of course, Communist. As the public became more and more aware of Dowson's long public record as a Trotskyist, the formula was amended to "the most extreme form of communism."

There is no doubt that the red-baiting had its effect. Many Hastings-Frontenac children, for example, were deeply disappointed when they finally saw Dowson to discover that he didn't really have horns. Some adults undoubtedly feared an iron curtain would come rattling down over Hastings-Frontenac if somehow Dowson won. The CCF bureaucracy's red-baiting probably affected those few workers who live in the district. In the actual polling for a housecleaning at the top.

**EARN VOTES**  
Dowson and all the others who participated in the campaign feel quite pleased with the results including the vote. They consider these as really "earned" votes. Each one was like pulling teeth. Beside the ground-breaking socialist education accomplished in this rural

## "This Man Owns No Suit"

(The following letter, signed "Mrs. IND," was printed in the December 16 New York Post. The IND is one of the three subway systems in New York City, and the one most affected by the recent motormen's strike. The "TA" referred to is the Transit Authority, a government body that owns and operates the subway. — Ed.)

From smug lady commentators on the radio to the editorial pages, I have read and heard scathing attacks upon the MBA [Motormen's Benevolent Association] leaders and their misguided followers. My husband is no motorman; he is a conductor, but the vilification applies to him too, because he rides behind the man in the cab.

"Public good will," "defiers of law and order," "throw the book at them," "throw them out," they say.

### OWNS NO SUIT

But this is my husband, father of my children. The man who turns his pay-check over to me and says, "Who is pressing us this week — let's pay them — then we eat." This man owns no suit. He gets no uniform allowance and second-hand pea jackets are not so warm in trains, where he is not allowed to turn on the heat unless the temperature is below freezing.

The public, were it not for the strike, would hold him in all "esteem" and "good will." Now they scold him because he must keep the heat off. They believe he is at fault.

Public good will does nothing for my husband when he goes down the line racked with aches and fevers, because if he took that first sick day off, he would not get paid.

Some people's children get toys for Christmas. Mine, courtesy of the TA, get Mike Quill — that

is, if their father is working — courtesy of the TA.

I don't know how other people live. I don't see other people. I can't feed my children and buy clothes to go out in. I cannot manage. I guess I am a failure. We have not been out in years; we entertain not, yet I can't keep my children in shoes, gloves, overshoes and all the fresh whole milk they would like to drink. From \$57 to \$67 a week, his pay fluctuates without overtime. It would do the people who have the public good at heart a world of good to see grown men beg for extra work on their days off to keep one step ahead of the bill collectors.

If the TA can spend \$150,000 to bribe its underpaid, debt-ridden (except those whose wives work; I don't) employees to go back to work, why doesn't it use that money to pay the men a decent wage so that men who have the lives of thousands in their hands wouldn't have to work at two jobs in order to exist.

### TA ABOVE LAW

These fiends, these law-breakers, these betrayers of the public trust. These husbands, these fathers, these defiers of law and order in their patched, half-soled but shiny shoes, with their old patched and shiny blue serge and coveralls — deserve, they say, to be punished for breaking the law. The TA is lucky. It is above the law.

There were laws back in 1775 too. But whether they were just or not depended on whether you were Tory or Rebel.

As for Mike Quill, he ought to take his talents elsewhere, perhaps to the missile launching base in Florida. One of his speeches and that little moon would have an orbit around Proxima Centauri.

## Holiday Book Bargains

(Use this ad as your order form)

**GIANT IN CHAINS** by Barnes Dunham. A Marxist account of the meaning and history of philosophy. In popular style, not professional jargon. Intensely interesting and witty book. (Originally \$3.75) \$1.50 (plus 15¢ mailing charge) ( )

**TRAITOR OR PATRIOT** The Life and Death of Sir Roger Casement. By Denis Gwynn. Story of the man who became a humanitarian hero by his exposes of imperialist exploitation of colonial people in Belgian Congo and South America and who was hanged by British during World War I for his efforts in behalf of Irish Revolution. Originally \$3.50. Now \$1.25 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE STORY OF MY LIFE** by Clarence Darrow. America's most famous lawyer and the story of the many labor cases he defended (paper covers) \$1.45 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART** by Arnold Hauser. Famous and expensive work now available in paper covers. Vol. I \$1.25 (plus 10¢) ( ) Vol. II \$1.25 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**TWO PLAYS: CAUCASIAN CHALK CIRCLE and GOOD WOMAN OF SETZUAN** by Bertolt Brecht. Among the most remarkable dramas of our period. (paper) \$1.45 (plus 10¢) ( )

**CAPTAIN DREYFUS — The Story of a Mass Hysteria** by Nicolas Halasz. The famous anti-Semitic frameup. By analogy it throws much light on the rise of McCarthyism in the U.S. (paper) \$1.45 (plus 10¢) ( )

**MAIN CURRENTS IN AMERICAN THOUGHT** by V. L. Parrington. Required reading for all students of American culture. (paper) Vol. I The Colonial Mind: 1620-1800. \$1.45 (plus 10¢) ( )

**BLACK ANGER** by Wolf Sache. True account by a Viennese refugee doctor of his psycho-analysis of a Negro worker in South Africa, and how the patient finds his own therapy as a leader in the heroic bus boycott in Johannesburg. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE SHAME OF THE CITIES** by Lincoln Steffens. The famous "muckraking" classic available in paper covers. Shows the integral connection between business and crime that still explains political corruption. \$1.25 (plus 10¢) ( )

**BOOKS by Leon Trotsky**  
**HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**. The three volumes complete in one. \$12.50 (plus 25¢) ( )

**LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION**. \$3.75 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN** (cloth) \$4.00 (plus 15¢) ( ) (paper) \$2.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**STALIN, A biography**. \$6.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION** \$3.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL** Vol. I (cloth) \$3.50 (plus 15¢) ( ) Vol. II (paper) \$3.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE REVOLUTION RETRIVED** (cloth) \$3.00 (plus 15¢) ( ) (paper) \$2.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN** by James Kutcher. The celebrated witch-hunt victim tells his story. (paper) \$1.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM** (cloth) \$2.75 (plus 15¢) ( )

**WHITE COLLAR** — The American Middle Classes by C. Wright Mills. America's leading sociologist studies the political, economic and cultural position of middle class. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THADEUS STEVENS** by Ralph Kornblith. Magnificent biography of the great figure of Radical Reconstruction. (Originally \$6.00) \$2.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**KARL LIEBKNECHT** by Karl W. Meyer. Only biography of the great German revolutionist in English. \$3.25 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM** by Theodore Draper. Valuable for its painstaking research into early history of American Communist Party. \$7.75 (plus 20¢) ( )

**THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S.** by E. Franklin Frazier. A sociological classic. (Originally \$5.00) \$1.95 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE HOLY FAMILY** by Marx and Engels. \$1.35 (plus 15¢) ( )

**DIALOGUES OF NATURE** by Frederick Engels. \$1.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**KARL MARX AND THE CLOSE OF HIS SYSTEM** by Bohm-Bawerk with a reply by Rudolph Hilferding. \$3.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE LOGIC OF MARXISM** by William F. Warde. (mimeographed) \$1.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA** by V. I. Lenin. \$1.75 (plus 15¢) ( )

**WHAT IS ECONOMICS?** by Rosa Luxemburg. (mimeographed, stiff covers). The only English translation. \$1.90 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY** by Karl Kautsky. A Marxist classic. (Originally \$5.50) \$3.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM ON TRIAL** by Fritz Sternberg. (Originally \$7.00) \$2.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE JEWISH QUESTION — A MARXIST INTERPRETATION** by A. Leon. Excellent history and analysis. (cloth) \$1.50 (plus 15¢) ( ) (paper) \$1.00 (plus 15¢) ( )

**AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS** by S. Lilleby. (Originally \$2.75) \$3.25 (plus 15¢) ( )

**RUSSIA 20 YEARS AFTER** by Victor Serge. A veteran of the October Revolution and Stalin's prisons draws the balanced sheet of a revolution betrayed. (cloth) \$3.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY** by James P. Cannon. \$2.75 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS** by Charles Beard. (paper) \$1.25 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW** by C. Vann Woodward. \$1.50 (plus 15¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the same period as background. Bitingly humorous allegory on capitalist society and its ethics. (paper) \$1.75 (plus 10¢) ( )

**THE THREEPENNY NOVEL** by Bertolt Brecht. Not the play but a full-length novel with the