

Bhutto-Mujib talks go on

FROM IAN YEATS

BANGLA DESH leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had 'cordial' talks with Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto yesterday.

Released from jail last week and placed under house arrest Mujib is now talking to his former jailers without any mandate from his people. Bangla Desh has changed completely since the elections last March and there is now little reason to believe the Awami League is as representative of E Bengali opinion as Mujib claims.

With the Pakistan economy in ruins, Bhutto is looking for some form of federation with Bangla Desh to avoid total economic collapse.

Cautious

Nine months ago Mujib would have jumped at the chance, but the war and the passions it unleashed among Bangla Desh workers and peasants may force him to proceed cautiously.

While Mujib struggles to reach a deal with the people who only a few weeks ago were slaughtering Bengalis by the thousand, Indian army units continue to be used to keep the popular movement in check.

Maintaining a so-called 'low profile', Indian troops are simultaneously protecting Pakistani prisoners and Bihari collaborators while moving to disarm the guerrillas.

And new repressive measures—including a national police force and militia, and reconstitution of the freedom army on regular-service lines—have already been announced by the Dacca government.



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Mujib never believed Bangla Desh could go it alone. His initial demand for autonomy dovetailed perfectly with Bhutto's notion of federation.

But nine months of brutal war and suffering are not easily forgotten, and while workers and peasants demand an end to all relations with Pakistan, Mujib is forced to go behind their backs.

Whether he will succeed or not remains to be seen. What is clear is that the emergence of a revolutionary force in Bangla Desh poses a threat to employers throughout the subcontinent.

Arbitration rejected

WORKERS at Lucas Industrial Equipment, Fazakerley, Liverpool, have rejected an offer of arbitration in their six-week piecework strike.

They have decided to continue their dispute, which is attracting considerable attention among Liverpool engineers since basic trade union rights are at stake. The men want to uphold the principle of mutual agreement on all piecework prices and to retain the practice of paying a man average earnings until any new piecework price is agreed.

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US F-105s bomb N Vietnam

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Nixon-Mao deal may be near

BY JOHN SPENCER

AMERICA'S barbaric bombing offensive against N Vietnam is aimed at weakening the revolutionary war in Indo-China before President Nixon visits Peking in six weeks' time.

Melvin Laird, the American Secretary of Defence, told a Pentagon press conference in Washington that the bombing—resumed over Christmas and still continuing—would be prolonged until he was satisfied the remaining US troops in S Vietnam were adequately protected.

Referring to the 160,000 left in the S, Laird said: 'It is very important that we protect those Americans. We will continue to take those necessary military actions to protect our remaining forces in S Vietnam.'

Laird has every reason to fear the progress of the Indo-China revolution. America's puppet forces in Laos and Cambodia are suffering crushing defeats at the hands of the liberation forces.

IN CAMBODIA, the capital, Phnom Penh, has been in a state of almost continuous siege since liberation troops broke the backbone of dictator Lon Nol's US-trained army earlier this month.

IN LAOS the government troops have been driven off the strategic Plain of Jars and their defensive system is reported to be 'collapsing like a house of cards'.

Air challenge

Unable to maintain supremacy on the ground, the US is also being challenged in the air.

Nine Phantom jets have been shot down over N Vietnam and Laos in the last ten days and one of the features of the Plain of Jars battle was the increasingly effective anti-aircraft fire directed at US planes.

As the liberation troops press forward, Nixon is determined to hold the line against them until his talks with China's Stalinist leaders are over.

Encouraged by China's betrayal of the people of Bangla Desh, Nixon now hopes Chairman Mao and the rest of the Chinese leaders will sacrifice the revolution in Indo-China to the cause of better relations with US imperialism.

Significantly, China has made no protest against the renewed bombing in Vietnam. Its diplomats in New York are reported to be touring the fashionable town houses

and luxury apartments of Manhattan and Park Avenue seeking a replacement for their 53-room suite at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Subordinate

The Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country', to which the Maoists wholeheartedly subscribe, means subordinating the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants to the requirements of the Peking bureaucrats' privileges.

Seventeen years ago it led to the Geneva Accords which partitioned Vietnam and ensured the continued rule of capitalism in S Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Indo-China workers and peasants have paid a gigantic price in blood and toil to win back the gains they were robbed of at Geneva.

Is chairman Mao now planning a new and even more crippling betrayal? The studied silence of his supporters in Britain and elsewhere during the war in Bangla Desh is a warning of what is planned.

What have the Reg Birches and the Mike Cooleys of British Maoism to say about the renewed bombing of N Vietnam?

Will they now demand that China breaks off its plans to talk with the No. 1 leader of imperialism following his new attacks on the workers and peasants of Vietnam?

1972: Crunch year in the docks

DOCKERS' leaders in most major ports see growing evidence that 1972 is to be a crunch year with government and employers acting in unison to undermine jobs.

Labour and trade union chiefs are already in retreat before this Tory-inspired offensive, shedding as they go all but the most flimsy verbal adherence to their previous demands, such as nationalization.

By mid-January most port authorities will have received the first of a series of National Ports Council 'guide-line' papers, while at roughly the same time Transport Minister John Peyton's Harbours (Loans) Bill will enter its committee stage in parliament.

Trade war cuts US deficit

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The vastly reduced deficit was attributed to a large increase in exports and a further decline in imports.

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Since August 15, it is clear, American capitalism has succeeded in cutting back the inflow of goods from overseas while at the same time winning a bigger share of markets outside the US.

The Washington currency realignment will allow the US to continue to trade on these favourable terms, despite the ending of the surcharge.

The latest US balance-of-payments figures came on the eve of the meeting between Nixon and West German Chancellor Willy Brandt at Key Biscayne, Florida.

One of the main items on their agenda is the US demand that the Common Market should remove most of its trade barriers to allow freer access to US goods.

The Bill, if carried, will empower the government to make loans of up to £200m to authorities having difficulty raising capital, under stringent surveillance by the NPC.

Some of the council's guidelines will be given real teeth under the Act.

Meanwhile most port authorities reckon that the trade recession will create varying degrees of surplus labour in the New Year.

Employers are pressing for some form of compulsory severance which will enable them permanently to slash

kill humans, which presumably means that all Vietnamese must sprint for half a mile when they see the bomb falling from its C-130 transport aircraft.

The US warlords also pleaded that chemicals were not being used against workers and peasants, but only to kill the forest.

But after they had sprayed enough chemical on the land to 'treat' 4.5 million acres of jungle and cropland by 1969 children began to be born deformed and hopelessly crippled.

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News of the bomb comes when the US magazine 'Time' has awarded President Nixon 'Man of the Year' for his services to humanity and peace.

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IT'S SUCH a devastating weapon we hate to give it much publicity—this is how the US airforce describes its latest horror bomb in Vietnam.

Two scientists say its power to destroy is surpassed only by the nuclear bomb. Its blast can clear everything within over half a mile radius of its impact.

According to the scientists, Dr Pfeiffer of the University of Montana and Dr Westing of Windham College, Vermont, the airforce has been keeping quiet about the weapon.

The two investigators say that military top brass in Vietnam boast that the so-called concussion bomb is the next best thing to a 'nuke' (nuclear bomb).

The Pentagon has admitted the weapon has been used on Vietnam for several years. But it says it is not designed to

Linwood parity strike looms

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A High Court summons taken out by shop steward Robert Evans claims that the London Co-op, as trustee of the pension fund, lent itself money at low rates of interest.

Evans' summons says that the Co-op's management of the pension funds has deprived employees of higher rates of superannuation. He seeks a declaration from the court that the LCS should have paid a better rate of interest over the years and he is asking that the Society make good the extra interest.

Evans' legal move follows the last annual report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, the body responsible for the conduct of all co-operative societies' finances.

INTERESTS

The interest rate was increased in July 1969.

For 35 years before that it had stood at 3 1/2 per cent. From 1927, when the pension fund began, until 1933 the rate was 4 1/2 per cent—1 per more than today.

The court action could have an important bearing on the liquidity of the LCS.

For example, Evans is seeking a declaration from the court that the extra interest which, he alleges, the LCS should have paid, must be made good.

And he is also seeking a declaration that the £11m lent to the LCS should be called in. Nearly 50 per cent of the total capital of the LCS is represented by pension fund money.

It was only in July of this year that Duncan McNab, both chief executive of the LCS and secretary of the pension fund, warned members of a possible 'substantial deficit' in the pension fund.

WAGE RISE

He put the reason down to recent big increases in wages and salaries of the LCS employees.

McNab, who is also chief executive of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, was appointed early in 1969 to spearhead the drive for rationalization in the ailing co-op movement.

The trustees of the pension fund are the president of the LCS and 15 directors who are responsible for the day-to-day control of the society which has an annual turnover of more than £90m.

LCS's management board is unofficially controlled by an electoral faction known as the '1960 committee', which comprises Communist Party members, 'left' Labourites and members of USDAW, the shopworkers' union.

LCS president David Ainley is a Communist Party member and secretary of the 'Morning Star' Co-operative Society Ltd, which owns and controls the Stalinists' newspaper.

Of the 15 members of the board of management, it is believed 13 belong to the '1960 Committee' faction.

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Effective control by 'committee' members was achieved in 1964 when right-wing Labourite John Stonehouse MP was ousted in a bitter campaign by CP member Harry Claydon.

When Claydon retired this year, Ainley, a long-standing board member, took over.

Robert Evans now claims that the trustees should have invested the fund at commercial rates outside the movement, enabling the payment of higher pensions.

The last annual accounts of the pension fund show the £11.3m of its £11.7m assets fund as having lent the LCS at a 4 1/2-per-cent interest rate.



McNab: Warned of deficit



Ainley: LCS President who helps run the 'Morning Star'

Only the intervention of the Irish army tamed the mob and allowed the prisoners to be taken to jail in Dublin.

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GLASGOW Wednesday January 19 7.30 pm Kingston Hall, Paisley Rd. Speaker: Stephen Johns

Young Socialists' official monthly paper ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 'Keep Left' leads the fight for the right to work! Forward to a weekly 'Keep Left' in 1972!

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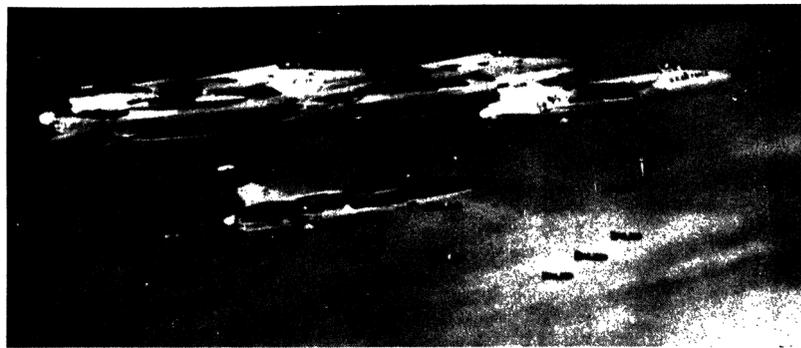
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The Bill, if carried, will empower the government to make loans of up to £200m to authorities having difficulty raising capital, under stringent surveillance by the NPC.

A strengthened NPC—already given a shade of acceptability by the inclusion of some union leaders—will play a key role in any negotiations on this subject.

The keynote of the government's ports policy is not subsidy and nationalization, but 'commercial realism and financial discipline'. Environment under-secretary Eldon Griffiths told the Commons last week. No labour MP protested; union leaders are also bending to this.

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their claim for £8 and a five-hour reduction in the working week.

At Chrysler's Coventry body and assembly plants, rates paid under the Measured-Day Work system are higher than those either at Linwood or at its third site in Luton.

MDW is the regime at both the latter factories. Workers there want parity.

Talks on the Linwood claim began in October.

In mid-December, all overtime in the factory was banned after rejection of a £3, 9-per-cent offer. This would have raised top assembly-line rates to £35 for 40 hours.

The overtime ban was lifted last week to enable talks to proceed, but the new offer would still leave earnings some £4 behind Coventry.

Shop stewards, however, have left themselves a loophole for not clashing too hard with the Tory government's current pay norm of around 7 per cent; talks are continuing despite rejection of the offer.

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INTERESTS

In September registrar Stephen Musson stated: 'It is very questionable whether the policy pursued by so many superannuation funds of investing their funds with the employer society is in the best interests of the employees as beneficiaries.'

The court action could have an important bearing on the liquidity of the LCS. For example Evans is seeking a declaration from the court that the extra interest which he alleges the LCS should have paid, must be made good.

And he is also seeking a direction that the £11m lent to the LCS should be called in. Nearly 50 per cent of the total capital of the LCS is represented by pension fund money.

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WAGE RISE

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Catholic hierarchy condemns Provisional IRA

BY ALEX MITCHELL

AS CIVIL WAR threatens to engulf Ireland, the Roman Catholic church has come to the aid of its class—the bourgeoisie.

In repeated sermons up and down the country the clerics are now attacking the Provisional wing of the IRA.

Cardinal Conway, Primate of All Ireland, made the sharpest political intervention; he warned the Irish Republic that normal life there rests 'only on a crust, under which there is a boiling volcano of political violence'.

He wondered if people realized how thin the crust was, and if it was broken how it was almost impossible to stop the lava of violence flowing on the streets.

One priest condemned the Provisionals' 'callous men who are now prepared to plunge this whole country into anarchy and strife'.

The Provisionals' activity in the Republic is nothing new. Why has the church suddenly decided to launch these attacks?

The reason is Ballyshannon, the tiny border town in Donegal which erupted last week when three IRA men were arrested and brought to court.

Within hours of the arrests, the streets were filled with anti-Lynch demonstrators and the roads out of town were sealed by barricades.

Only the intervention of the Irish army stopped the mob and allowed the prisoners to be taken to jail in Dublin.

The Roman Catholic church blessed the IRA 'men' who bomb and commit arson in Ulster against the Protestant bourgeoisie.

But now the action is moving closer to the Republic and Lynch's position is in extreme danger, the church rushes to the defence of the rich proprietary class.

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'We must be on our guard against the untold evil that unthinking words and actions could do to this country.'

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David Mercer speaks to Workers Press

DAVID MERCER is one of Britain's leading playwrights. His work includes several successful television plays including two important trilogies for the BBC. A film of his study of schizophrenia, 'In Two Minds'—now called 'Family Life'—is soon to be released. David Mercer has been a consistent supporter of the Workers Press and the Trotskyist movement. Here in the first part of an interview with Stephen Johns he discusses the implications of the capitalist economic crisis, the Tory government and the future for the working class.

«Capitalism is rapidly becoming a historical nightmare.»

SJ: The capitalist nations of the world are striving unsuccessfully to solve the economic crisis that grips their system and avoid trade war and recession. How do you view this crisis. What are its political implications?

DM: At every level the prospects for the functioning of capitalism—that function being to use the surplus produced by workers for the profit of the owners—is being threatened.

It is being threatened in every conceivable way, at fiscal and monetary level, at the level of technological development, at the level of competition for markets, at the level of trade protectionism, at the level of national interests of capitalists.

I think that capitalism, des-

pite the long boom period and the material development of the advanced countries and the kind of improvement in the material conditions of many of the people in these countries, has been a historical and economic dream which is rapidly becoming a historical nightmare for those in power.

One should, of course, never underestimate the capitalists. They are as clever and subtle and perceptive as their so-called communist counterparts are. They are just as much aware of what is necessary to preserve themselves as the communists would be.

I think the questions are now coming into the open in such an acute fashion that I see nothing in the future other than a development of this crisis to the point of breakdown.

The crisis will develop to a point where either there will be a seizure of the economy by the working class and progressive elements of other classes in solidarity with them, or there will be repression and depression on a scale which will make the 1920s and 1930s look like a tea party.

I think what went on in the 1930s was almost a rehearsal for what is going on now. People on the principled left have to close ranks, have to make links and organize. Not only because this is their historic role and their human need, but also out of sheer self protection, even literal protection of human bodies.

Otherwise I can see it all happening again—the armed gangs in the streets are a much more frightening version than anything that happened in the 1930s.

The symptoms of this are here already. Obviously the self-styled Christian middle class, the upholders of law and order, the Festival of Light, the would-be censor, those who want to chain round the students, the workers and the means of com-

munication—all these forces are on the move now.

I suppose, in a strange way, they link up with elements which you might call anti-capitalist anarchists.

SJ: Who do you mean by anti-capitalist anarchists?

DM: I do not mean anarchists in the true political tradition of anarchism. I mean people who reject all forms of authority. You see this especially among the young people, those who have withdrawn from any form of organized resistance to what is going on, but have taken up individualistic positions.

Take the Jesus freak movement, almost a contemporary version of the hippies. In the late boom period masses of young people were able to establish their rebellion and protest in terms of anti-authoritarianism and this had a progressive character.

«Do your own thing and you abandon society ultimately to fascism.»

acter. But in the present circumstances that progressive character can suddenly turn on its axis and join up with even potential fascist elements or elements that are already part of the established authority—the very thing they are, or were, against.

I think the Festival of Light, in its curious way, symbolizes that curious joining of the two ends of the circle, where the anti-authoritarian, who is a non-fascist, is objectively linked with the authoritarian who is potentially fascist.

SJ: I went to one of their rallies. There you had the Jesus freak people, who from their dress appear to come from the milieu who would have been most hostile to what the people in the Festival of Light represent. Yet now they stand on the same platform together. The alliance is uneasy but it's there.

DM: It's visibly there. At one time the Jesus freak people would have been clearly associated by their 'life style' with an absolutely anti-authoritarian position, however confused politically. But now there is the danger, because of their total lack of faith in organizing against the things they object to, of them becoming the dupes and tools of authority.

I'll probably be blasted by a lot of people for saying it—but I even associate phenomena like

the underground press with this. The underground press in one sense is fine, so long as it is part of what I would call anti-capitalist anarchy.

But now the underground press, and the whole concept of the underground, has lost all meaning of that kind. It simply offers an area of thinking, living and functioning which can permit young people to feel that they are not becoming part of the system.

Meanwhile the dynamic of the system is functioning even better because they are in that position. If you don't organize and resist, if you 'do your own thing', or whatever banal phrase they are using about it now, you are abandoning the mechanics of your society ultimately to fascism and repression. I don't want to be over-alarmist about this, but I do fear it.

SJ: How do you see the development of the Tory government during the next year? How do you think the Tories are going to develop their strategy?

DM: The government will accelerate its measures to both repress, inhibit and make impotent the working class and the unions. It will subordinate all priorities to the interests of profit and dividends and the survival of those industries which are the most profitable.

I think the government has laid the foundation for what is not only a depressed situation but a repressive situation. I think at every point of conflict that you take, whether it's on wages, industrial development and regional development, whether it's priorities in education or priorities for the sick and old, the government is forcing the people to pay for its ruthless policies.

The evidence of this is endless. Workers know they are being hit by their wage packet and by the fact that unemployment is increasing rapidly.

But there are other sections that realize they are under the hammer. For example the middle class, the small tradesmen and the professional workers are being equally hit.

Speaking for an industry that I worked in for nearly ten years, the film industry, unemployment is extremely severe, particularly among technicians.

But it also applies to writers, actors and directors, who are being asked to accept less and less money for what they do.

For example I'm just engaged on a film where normally I would

have received payment on the first day of shooting as part of my fee. Now I will receive nothing until that film goes into profit. Now we don't even know if the film will be made—writers are lucky if one in five of the films they work on ever reach the screen.

So if you have to accept this deferment principle, it means they have hammered you down at a professional level just as they are hammering workers down.

Barber says workers are

many issues. How do you think the working class, therefore, will face up to this intensified class attack from the Tory government?

DM: Here we've already begun to see a development. The whole generation that grew up in what was called the post-war boom is now facing for the first time the privations, the fears and the anxieties of the depressed economy.

I think this has struck very deeply into the consciousness of a lot of people. I believe the

«The formation of a Marxist revolutionary party has become a credible thing.»

pricing themselves out of a job, well this utter cynical and hypocritical argument is being used in the film industry as well. So it seems to me that everyone, right across the employment spectrum, is under attack from the Heath government.

While the government strengthens its position as far as it can, there seems to be complete impotence within the camp of the social democrats. Indeed in many cases there is positive collusion between the Tory government and the Labour leaders, the trade union leaders and, to some extent the Communist Party too.

They are collaborating with the government to help them carry out these policies which lead to serious depression.

SJ: You say rightly that the social democrats—the Labour Party—are in collusion with the government over

working class, in response, will tend to make the transition from economism—from purely trade union forms of struggle—to make an examination of their predicament in political terms.

They are going to look round and see who is standing in their best interests politically and not just economically—though the two should go together. I think a Labour government will be the first step. We will have the kind of movement that is prepared to overthrow Heath and bring in a Labour government.

But also there is going to be a growing realization that a very, very strong and solid political organization, independent of the present political institutions is necessary. In other words I think it is the time when the formation of a revolutionary party, of a Marxist revolutionary party, and a principled revolutionary party has become a credible thing.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Between the years 1918 to 1922 there were experiments with 'factory whistle symphonies'. Here the conductor stands on the roof of a tall house and conducts by means of flags.

MUSIC in the Russian revolution

IN THE FIRST years of the Russian Revolution there was a tremendous output of musical expression and theoretical debate. This derived from the modernistic tendencies in Europe generally, from traditional Russian sources, from experiment in opera and ballet and from the very nature of the Revolution.

From this last sprang the movement known as Proletcult which claimed to be the only valid cultural expression of the Revolution. In its view the dictatorship of the proletariat must express itself in terms of the daily experiences of the workers.

Thus the music of the 'League of Proletarian Composers' abounded with the sounds of steam hammers, pistons and conveyor belts. They summarily dismissed the thousands of years of musical development which culminated in the symphony as pre-revolutionary class art and, therefore, to be thrown on the scrap heap. Proletcult even claimed to be in advance of the Party as it 'did not have to compromise with the peasantry' and tried to assume political as well as cultural leadership.

The Party could hardly remain indifferent to this situation. In 1920 Lenin made a clear pronouncement:

'Proletarian culture is not something that springs from nobody knows where and is not invented by people who set up as specialists in proletarian culture. Proletarian culture is the regular development of those stores of knowledge which mankind has worked out for itself under the yoke of capitalist society, of bourgeois society, of bureaucratic society.'

A Party directive ordered the organization to integrate itself with the Commissariat for Education, but its composers continued to write in their own style, while Lunacharsky, Proletcult's most distinguished supporter, continued as Commissar for Education.

Modernist tendencies also continued well in evidence, including atonalism. In 1924 'Evenings of new Western Music' were held in Leningrad and a Moscow 'Association for Contemporary Music' promoted modern works. The compositions of Hindemith, Stravinsky and Schoenberg were regularly performed in the larger Russian cities. Lenin himself did not care greatly for this type of music, but all he permitted himself was a quiet smile.

But just as Stalin's tightening grip imposed on the Party a syncretic conformism, so in art, literature and music the many-sided experiment was succeeded by acquiescence to the behests of the new bureaucracy. The formula by which this was achieved was known as 'social realism'.



Lunacharsky

The bureaucracy declared that music must:

- (a) Be immediately comprehensible.
- (b) Remain untainted by 'corrupt western practices'.
- (c) Be geared to 'socialist reconstruction'.
- (d) Be national in inspiration.

Definition (a) had—and has—some plausibility. Argument has raged in this country as to the credibility of composers writing concertos for typewriters, but the Stalinist objective was, of course, the production of optimistic songs and marches which would help to 'jolly along' the working class through the fearful strains of crash industrialization. The question of genre and of that 'regular development' of which Lenin spoke was entirely ignored. Were this doctrine applied retrospectively, half of Beethoven's works would today be unheard.

(b) The vendetta against 'western' composers served to re-inforce the build-up of the Soviet Union as an isolated bastion which could become impregnable by its own efforts (i.e. without world revolution).

(c) Composers were encouraged to write long 'heroic' works



Shostakovich

on one or another grandiose scheme of reconstruction. These were conceived on an immense scale for huge choirs and orchestras and were generally in the 19th century style of Mahler. A notable example is Shostakovich's 'Song of the Forests', devoted to Stalin's brain child of planting a vast number of trees on the banks of the Volga to intercept the dry wind of the Steppes. The scheme was later abandoned.

(d) For 'national' read 'chauvinist'. Not only were Soviet composers urged to imitate Russian 19th century writers but, as in other fields, the most absurd claims were made as to the pre-eminence of Russian music and musicologists. Increasingly Russian historical figures, such as Peter the Great, became the subjects of overtures and tone poems. To quote Gilbert and Sullivan:

'For if patriotic sentiment is wanted, We've patriotic ballads cut and dried.'

The debilitating effect of 'social realism' is well illustrated by the erratic career of Dmitri Shostakovich, generally regarded as the most outstanding Soviet composer.

Shostakovich was born in 1906 and so was at a formative age during the musical exchanges of the early 1920s. His first symphony, modern in style, received world-wide acclaim.

For a time he seems to have eluded the net of 'social realism', but in 1934 he incurred the wrath of Stalin himself. The opera 'Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk' was first performed in Leningrad in 1932 and was an immediate success, there as well as in London, New York and many other capital cities.

Then Stalin saw the opera

and an inspired editorial appeared in 'Pravda' denouncing the work in the most violent language. It was immediately withdrawn from production.

Shostakovich renounced his 'sins' and, suppressing his natural gifts of satire and burlesque, devoted himself to the composition of cantatas and symphonies designed to assure the Soviet public that everything was fine and socialism was just round the corner.

'The Song of the Forests', referred to above, was undoubtedly one of the most banal works ever perpetrated by a gifted musician. His talent was such, however, that even within the cramping limitations imposed upon him, he has written many significant and popular works. But even today the tension between his natural style and the requirements of social realism is expressed in the wildly erratic standards of his writing.

In 1948 the tenets of social realism were reinforced by the famous 'Zhdanov theory'. A. Zhdanov was a tough Stalinist who took over the leadership in Leningrad from the ill-fated Kirov and was responsible for the city's defence during the war. At the behest of Stalin who was doubtless fully occupied with his own infallible theses on linguistics and other subjects—Zhdanov presented a lengthy report to a conference organized by the Central Committee and attended by leading musicians from the entire Soviet Union.

The report, after attacking leading Soviet composers, dealt particularly with atonalism and the subject of folk music. The speech was remarkable for the frequent employment of words such as 'beautiful', 'jewelled', 'natural' and other superlatives, and urged composers to refresh themselves by constant immersion in the golden spring of folk song.

Had Zhdanov really studied folk music, instead of using it as an ideological battle axe, he would have known that folk song is not a fixed entity but an historical process stretching over thousands of years, for much of which it was crude in form and violent in content.

It is clear from Zhdanov's language that what he had in mind was only the final stage of folk song when it had lost its peasant sturdiness and with its smooth progressions and clear harmonic implications was ready to 'go to Court' and be transmuted into aristocratic dance-forms. Zhdanov was in fact telling his very great grandmother to 'suck eggs', for the whole of classical music stemmed from the adaptation of folk music into the formal dance, thence into the suite and finally the symphony.

As regards atonal music, it is necessary to be briefly technical.



Andrei Zhdanov: used music as an ideological battle-axe to attack leading Soviet composers.

Atonalism means the abandonment of key centre and was the culmination of a logical process commencing with Debussy and the impressionists.

Here again Zhdanov's whole stand is idealist. Like any good Victorian bourgeois he regards the tonal values of the 19th century (i.e. the major and minor scales) as eternal laws—in fact the system was only firmly established some 400 years ago and was preceded by systems embodying quite different ideas.

As with other emanations of Stalinism, the Zhdanov formula was adopted wholesale by musicians under the influence of the British Communist Party.

Nor do the bones of Zhdanov rest.

Recently the 'Morning Star' published an article by Dr Alan Bush attacking atonalism and alleging that tonalism was 'in the blood'.

But 'Fings ain't what they used to be'.

So far were the readers from the reverent prostration before this diktat that the paper had to print a long letter pouring ridicule on the whole conception. What of the musical consciousness of Soviet citizens under the impact of this prolonged and one-sided debate?

There are, of course, many positive features. Despite the intensity of industrialization, the Soviet Union avoided the centuries long estrangement of the British worker from his musical heritage.

Under the nationalized economy, opera houses, concert halls, etc. could be built at will. The inheritance from Tsardom as regards ballet in particular was very rich. Yet many British listeners have found the musical content of performances by visiting Soviet groups, such as the Red Army Choir, trite and unadventurous, despite the magnificent voices and the range of dynamics.

It is certain that the musical position inside the Soviet Union must reflect more and more the divisions imposed by the bureaucracy.

Buildings, teachers, and instruments are available in lavish profusion for a minority.

Only the 'best' children are admitted to the Palaces of Culture. Ultimately the danger is that the deprived majority will identify with one or two narrow strands of musical culture as a gesture of opposition to the 'establishment', as has happened elsewhere. There are signs in Europe that this process has already begun.

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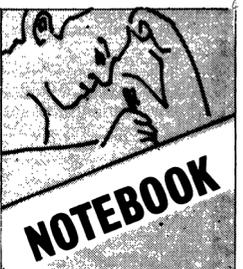
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Diplomatic skulduggery in the Balkans

Workers' Vanguard of Greece (Part two of a discussion article)



Not to be ousted



THE ANCIENT Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI and at 77 long past retirement, seems to be surviving an attempt by elements in the Nixon administration to oust him.

One of his great strengths is that during his extensive search for 'subversives' he has compiled damning dossiers on the private lives of many of America's top politicians.

It was his plodding determination to defend his country against 'the great Red threat' that earned Hoover his position as head of the world's most powerful law enforcement organization.

For example, as a junior in the FBI, he compiled a dossier on no less than 400,000 people who were allegedly dangerous subversives. This impressed his superiors greatly and earned him promotion.

But Hoover was not always so efficient. In 1936 one nasty Senator prised out of an embarrassed Hoover the fact that he had never made an arrest in his life.

Angrily he stalked back to his office to learn that public enemy number one, gangster Alvin Karpis, had been located in New Orleans.

The great G-man leaped on a plane with a bunch of his boys determined to prove his prowess in the field.

The gallant band cornered Karpis as he got into a car outside his apartment. Hoover stroled forward and arrested the villain before he could reach for his rifle in the back seat.

'Put the cuffs on him boys,' he growled Cagney style. Oh woe! The tough G-men had forgotten to bring any. An irate Hoover bound Karpis with one of his agent's neckties. 'Ok, drive to the central post office,' commanded the big chief.

More disaster on the way. Hoover did not know how to get the stragglers. Finally a kindly Karpis guided them downtown.

'I know where it is. I was just going to rob it,' he explained.

CS in Birmingham

CS GAS comes to Birmingham. Police there have used it for the first time during a two-hour siege of a terraced house.

They succeeded in gassing neighbours, two police officers and a police dog.

The US Army Field Training Circular on CS gas, compiled after tests in 1969, says that in confined spaces the gas may cause asphyxiation because of the oxygen depletion or carbon monoxide build-up.

Gas masks, the report added, would not give protection against this.

The officer in charge of the operation, assistant Chief Constable J. G. Morrison, confessed his total ignorance of the report.

What is more disturbing, however, is that a special group within Birmingham's 2,000-strong force are being trained to use the gas.

It may or may not be an accident that the band are all sharpshooters, members of the small-bore rifle team.

They carry out routine duties, but are on call whenever gas needs to be used.

They are intensively trained under Home Office standards.

Morrison was one of the officers gassed. He emerged from the house staggering and choking. Other officers and neighbours had to be given oxygen in a nearby ambulance, and one sergeant was rushed to hospital.

Commenting on the rather unsuccessful debut of the gas, Morrison said:

'You learn with every lesson and this was the first time we have used it. I suppose the troops in Ulster did not know much about it the first time but they probably know a great deal now.'

They didn't know much about rubber bullets, noise machines, low density counter-subversion either, but, like they say, practice makes perfect. Watch out Birmingham!

The Crisis in the federation of Yugoslavia

THE CRISIS which Yugoslavia is now experiencing is part and parcel of the crisis of the world Stalinist bureaucracy. The reforms of 1965, based on 'self-management' of the means of production, the free market economy, and the profit motive, lead straight into the anarchy of world capitalism.

Although Yugoslavia's national income increased by 200 per cent since 1948, because her chief industries—chemicals, shipbuilding, and fibres—are in direct competition with the capitalist W, these policies are now producing contradictory results.

The world economic crisis has its reflection in every economy. The experience of the other bureaucratic states should have demonstrated to the Yugoslavs that the entry of a planned economy into the anarchy of a free market brings about wide fluctuations in that economy.

In 1969, the number of unemployed rose to 500,000. The dinar was devalued. This economic crisis led to a rapid increase in the cost of living—a direct attack on the working class.

The trade war, waged by the capitalist states on the workers' states, induced the opportunist bureaucracy to think up a temporary solution to the problem. The resultant reforms, based on self-management and the profit motive, were a capitulation to capitalism and strengthened the bourgeois tendencies within Yugoslavia. The whole bureaucratic movement to the right. The prosperity of the bureaucracy is indicated by the 20,000 villas on the Adriatic coast, the big limousines, the ever-increasing number of luxury goods on the market.

But this does not represent a restoration of capitalism, as the state capitalists claim. There has been no qualitative retrograde change to the extent of the bourgeoisie regaining power. But the more counter-revolutionary the bureaucracy becomes, the more the bankruptcy of their 'Yugoslav Road to Socialism' is exposed, the greater are the dangers of restoration. But let us not forget that the working class is openly at war with the privileged layer, and the first items on the agenda are the political revolution and genuine workers' power.



Tito and Nixon

The centrifugal tendencies of the nations of the federation

YUGOSLAVIA'S internal crisis prevents her from playing a leading role in the diplomatic skulduggery in the Balkans. The historical rift with China precludes any initiative to form a bloc with Peking under Chinese leadership, and Yugoslavia has had to contend with strong centrifugal tendencies among her own nations, some of which are now demanding secession.

The industrialized areas of Croatia and Slovenia are now at odds with the more prosperous Serbia. The differences are expressed behind a facade of ideological and political jargon, but are nevertheless leading to a split.

In 1967, after the formal fusion of Serbian and Croat into one language, with a preponderance of Serbian, a group of Croat intellectuals began agitating for Croat independence.

The publication in Zagreb of the biography of the fascist 'Pavlet' shows that some sections of the bureaucracy have

little difficulty in identifying with the fascist 'Ustashi', the Croat separatist organization which allied itself with Hitler against Tito.

The victory of Kardelj over Rankovic for the vice-Presidency was seen as a victory for the Croats and the Slovenes over the Serbs. The Croats refuse to forget that while they produce 33 per cent of the Gross National Product, their actual share of the wealth amounts to only 17 per cent, as against 60 per cent for Serbia.

The Croat people comprise 23 per cent of the total population of Yugoslavia, but are represented by only 8 per cent in the administration. Equivalent figures for Serbia are 42 per cent and 73 per cent.

Is this the 'equality of socialist nations' that Tito demanded from the Russians? To combat these growing separatist tendencies, the bureaucracy has re-organized the constitution and attempted to de-centralize authority.

However, it is the bureaucratic leadership itself, and its opportunist policies, which is chiefly responsible for the strengthening of separatism. Only a Soviet democracy can be the basis for the consolidation of all the nations of Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

The dispute over Slavo-Macedonia

SLAVO-MACEDONIA has been the subject of dispute for many years. In 1967-1968, when relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were at a low point, the Slavo-Macedon question was brought to the fore, as it is again today. It has been a source of continual friction with Greece.

The nation of Macedonia is situated in that part of the Balkans where Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria meet, and is divided between these three states. Yugoslav officials state that Bulgaria should recognize the 'republic' of Macedonia, which is part of the federation of Yugoslavia, as a separate nation, and should stop the oppression of the Macedon minority of Pirin (Bulgarian Macedonia).

The Bulgarians reply that the Macedons are not a separate nation; they are pure Bulgarians, and all those 'Bulgars' in Greece and Yugoslavia should be an integral part of their own nation.

Macedons in Greece number some 300,000—a very small minority—but the Greek capitalists have concluded that they all have a 'Greek mentality' and being Greek, they have no need of independence.

The nationalist Serbian and Bulgarian 'communists', having

annexed the Macedonian people, line up with the Greek capitalists in denying them their right of self-determination.

The Slavo-Macedon nation, comprising more than 3 million people, is a distinct cultural and geographical entity, with its own language and historical social relations. They have been oppressed for many centuries. But their long-standing subjection, the attempts of their more powerful neighbours to destroy their cultural identity, the use of torture, the banning of their language, could not extinguish the struggle for freedom.

The greatest struggle was the rebellion at Ilinden in 1903. Although there have been many bloody struggles, success always eluded the national liberation fighters. The economy of the region is essentially agrarian, and the Macedon bourgeoisie was weak and irresolute, while the young working class lacked experience as a revolutionary force.

The leaders of the workers and peasants were assassinated by the Greek bourgeoisie under Gen Melas. The struggle for independence was further interrupted by the eruption of the Balkan wars.

Because of the Macedon element in Yugoslavia, Tito has had to pay lip-service to their independence struggle, recalling the memory of Ilinden. The nationalist Bulgarian Stalinists characterized this struggle as a movement of Bulgars in other countries struggling against oppression, and for integration with Bulgaria.

Between 1946 and 1948, Macedonia was recognized by Georgi Dimitrov, who made an arrangement with Tito for her independence, but this proposal was torpedoed by Stalin.

During the period of the 'Thermidor' and the degeneration of the Comintern after 1925, the Stalinists turned away from the workers to flirt with the 'Peasant's International' of Radic and La Follette. The separatist leaders Panica and Gen Protogerov put forward the demand for a united and independent Thrace. At this time these demands were bureaucratically imposed on the Greek CP by the Comintern.

The first demand, in fact, was not based on self-determination for the Slavo-Macedons and did not change their position. It applied only to that part of the nation incorporated into Greece, and was intended purely for home consumption.

The second demand was a non-

¹ Croat peasant leader, assassinated in the late 1920s.
² La Follette—American labour leader.
³ Bulgarian Macedonian separatist, killed July 1928.

sequitur. There is no particular nation of Thrace, and therefore no Thracian problem. The minority of Pomaks (Balkan Moslems) and Turks had never fought for independence.

The communists had never built national movements, but when these movements exploded, the Trotskyists were in the vanguard. Their object was to transform the national liberation struggle into the permanent socialist revolution. This policy was derided and rejected by the Greek CP, though later the general secretary, Poulipoulos, became a Trotskyist and defended these demands in the bourgeois courts in an attempt to save the honour of the CP.

The unity of Rumania with the Balkans

THE RAPID development of the Rumanian economy in the last ten years has made her the strongest state in the Balkans. She has set a world record with her regular annual expansion of 13 per cent in industry and 9.4 per cent in agriculture. From the founding of the present state until 1965, exports rose by 53 per cent. In 1969-1970, alone they rose 11 per cent. Rumania's foreign trade now embraces 110 capitalist countries.

There has been a remarkable increase in the number of factories—1,500 new industrial estates have sprung up in the last five years. The export of machinery rose from 16.6 per cent of production in 1965 to 22 per cent in 1969. Surplus is now being invested in capitalist countries.

Despite this, the Rumanian bourgeoisie has been unable to acquire sufficient strength to shake off the grip of the Kremlin. However, they dispute vigorously the authority of Comecon and the Warsaw Pact, pleading their own special 'independent road to socialism'.

The Rumanians are under great pressure from the need to open up markets wherever possible. It is impossible for them to ignore the Balkan market.

Their resistance to the Kremlin must combine the defence of their own privileged position with their drive to take the leadership of the Balkan region. So the bureaucrats have resurrected the demand for Balkan unity.

The Soviet-Rumanian treaty, revived in 1970, contained an implicit approval of the need for Balkan co-operation. However, the Balkans are bedevilled by such a variety of problems—antagonistic governments, the latently explosive nationality question, the conflicting interests

of the big powers—that this kind of unity is not just difficult, but Utopian.

The creation of a Balkan Federation is not within the scope of either capitalist nationalism or bureaucratic nationalism; it presupposes the victory of the proletarian revolution under the internationalist banner of Trotskyism.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 induced Rumania to turn towards Yugoslavia, Albania, and, in particular, China. This was the meaning of Ceausescu's visit to the Far East and Chou En-lai's visit to the Balkans.

This situation is itself an impediment to the achievement of unity. Conditions today are not favourable for another invasion on the lines of 1968, but Moscow is unrelenting in her attacks on the Balkans 'rebels'. The Warsaw Pact has carried out military exercises in Hungary and Bulgaria, while Hungary has



Ceausescu

shown signs of reviving her traditional claim to Transylvania, now part of Rumania. The visit of Chou En-lai increased the war of nerves.

Following in the footsteps of Tito, Ceausescu is proceeding in a super-opportunist fashion, manoeuvring between Moscow, Peking and Washington, while the parasitic bureaucratic caste which he represents continues its arrogant oppression of the Rumanian masses. However, these masses are already on the march toward the political revolution.

Albania swings to the right

THE ALBANIAN bureaucracy, which has always been close to the Chinese, is isolated from the other Balkan states. Despite the welter of left-sounding rhetoric, Albania has always been in the grip of counter-revolutionary Stalinism. The building of socialism in this single state has proceeded at a snail's pace.

The invective directed at Tito was not only a product of inter-bureaucratic conflict; it was accentuated by the threat of the Yugoslav 'communists' who had laid claim to the Kosovo-Metohija, a sizeable Albanian minority.

⁴ Phonetic transliteration.



Rumanian Foreign Minister, Manescu, with Papadopoulos in Athens



Tito

TODAY'S PROGRAMMES

BBC 1

1.00 Disc a Dawn. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 News. 1.55 Out of school. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Madly sad princess. 5.20 Soper at large. 5.44 Magic roundabout. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. Your region tonight.

6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Cartoon.

7.00 OWEN MD.

7.25 STAR TREK.

8.10 **SOFTLY, SOFTLY: TASK FORCE.** 'The Removal'.

9.00 NEWS and weather.

9.20 DOCUMENTARY: A BLANK ON THE MAP. David Attenborough in central New Guinea.

10.20 24 HOURS.

10.45 THE GOLDEN YEARS OF ALEXANDER KORDA. A world of make-believe in 1930s Britain.



BBC 2 8.00 THE SAINT. 'The Master Plan'. Roger Moore.

11.00 Play School.

7.30 NEWSROOM.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. Rev. Basil Williams.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. The world of children's comics.

9.00 LOOK STRANGER. Fernie.

9.20 FILM: 'NOTHING BUT THE BEST'. Alan Bates, Millicent Martin, Denholm Elliott. The swinging 1960s.

10.55 NEWS, weather.

11.00 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

2.45 The Garden Indoors. 3.15 The Tortoise and the Hare. 3.40 Paulus. 3.55 Matinee. 4.25 Mad Movies. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Tottering Towers. 5.50 News.

6.00 ARNIE.

6.25 LAUREL AND HARDY.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 THE SAINT. 'The Master Plan'. Roger Moore.

9.00 A FAMILY AT WAR 'The Lost Ones'.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 TREASURES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

11.00 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

11.45 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. Bill Grundy.

12.00 OUTLOOK 72.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.05 Lancelotti link. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Sketches—some American sculpture. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.00 Treasure Hunt. 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.32 Comedians. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.40 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.44 News. 11.47 Faith for Life. 11.52 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Terry Bear. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by Day. 6.30 University Challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Mad Movies. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 News. 11.55

Weather. It's all yours.

HARLECH: 3.50 Father and Son. 4.15 Tinkerinnment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Smith Family. 7.00 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.01-6.30 Report West.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 3.50-4.15 Hamden. 6.01-6.15 Y Dydd.

ANGLIA: 1.40 Mr Piper. 2.05 Seaway. 3.05 Saint. 4.00 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 ABCU. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mannix. 9.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS:

3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sky's the limit. 11.00 Wrestling. Weather.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper Room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 What's on. 6.30 Crossroads. 7.00 News. 12.00 Epilogue report. 9.00 London. 10.30 Tommy Cooper. 11.00 Wrestling.

GRANADA: 4.05 News. 4.10 Cooking Price-wise. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsday. 6.15 This is your right. 6.30 Shirley's world. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Smith family. 11.00 London.

Tyne Tees: 2.00 My learned friend. 3.10 Jobs in the house and garden. 3.40 Yoga. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.15 Time to remember—1937. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Tommy Cooper. 11.00 Wrestling.

SCOTTISH: 3.30 Grasshopper island. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Popeye. 6.30 McQueen. 7.00 London. 8.00 Champions. 9.00 News. 9.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Epilogue.

GRAMPIAN: 3.28 News. 3.30 Enchanted house. 3.45 Stories of Tuktuk. 3.55 Yoga. 4.25 Skippy. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grasshopper island. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mannix. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Epilogue.

PROPERTY AND HOUSING

River-side houses: New property boom

BY PHILIP WADE

ALTHOUGH 53 Labour councillors at Wandsworth say they will resign en bloc over the Tory 'fair rents' Bill, they are faced with another decision over an important housing question.

For a private property company has bought four acres of land on the bank of the Thames at Battersea and plans to build 30,000 houses there.

Like all inner London boroughs, Wandsworth has its housing problems. The total number of people on the housing waiting list is 7,000, of which 2,000 are considered to have a pressing need for a council home.

And published figures show that Wandsworth has at least 20,000 unsatisfactory dwellings in the area.

For 70 years the site next to Battersea Bridge has been used by Philip Mills and Company as a waste paper collection depot.

The site has now been purchased by District and Suburban Properties for building what can only be considered speculative housing.

Noise shield

The 280 homes planned will range from £12,000 for a studio to £30,000 for a six-room house fronting on to the river.

But that's not all. The middle-class and the rich must be shielded from the noise of lorries crossing the bridge.

The developers have come with squash courts, a health club, saunas, shops, a pub and a restaurant.

With all those buildings between residents and the traffic, the dinner parties should be pleasant occasions.

The whole scheme, therefore, as is perfectly natural from the developer's point of view, is designed with profit in mind.

A planning application has been slapped in. On the council's general plan the area is designated for industrial use because of the heavy concentration of factories.

The property men want a change to residential use, a radical switch.

Opulent

As Labour councillors, the 53 men and women would presumably be opposed to such opulent developments on their stretch of the Thames.

Wandsworth's housing situation is far from good. And unemployment is increasing around the Battersea area as factories close down.

After all, thousands of council tenants in Wandsworth live in soaring unattractive tower blocks in small areas containing few amenities.

The only policy the council has for the riverbank land is the insistence that any development will allow the construction of walkways along the Thames.

This aspect is included in the planning application.

The Labour councillors at Wandsworth say they will fight the Tory proposals to double council rents. They must also take a stand on the Thameside housing bonanza.

The alternative is the continuation of the process by which property tycoons amass piles and piles of money through speculation on land and buildings.

Money-spinning

Whole stretches of land are involved, not just in Wandsworth. We've already seen the Hay's Wharf proposals.

On the North side of the river, near London Bridge, there is the money-spinning, St Katherine's Dock scheme.

That includes things like a yachting marina, hotels and an exhibition centre—all lucrative projects.

We await with interest the decision of the Wandsworth borough council's planning committee over the Battersea scheme.

The Golden 140 Miles

HOW THE M4 ADDED CASH TO THOSE WAY-OFF COTTAGES

THE 'Financial Times' December 22 supplement on the 140-mile M4 motorway link between London and S Wales was headlined 'Rich local property dish receives added cream'.

What is meant, of course, is that the easier motor traffic from London to the W is going to pour unearned income into the willing hands of property-owners and speculators. Land values along the route will rise considerably.

House prices in the area, already escalating at a faster rate than ever before, will go up still faster—until the crash comes.

But capitalists live first and foremost in the present; make hay while the sun shines, get the cream while it's flowing. 'Ideally,' says 'Financial Times' writer Joe Rennison, 'a second home or country cottage should be well away from the madding crowd, but still within easy reach of the main base. In this way the motorways can be said to be spreading sweetness and light the length and breadth of the country.'

The clichés are horrible, but the point is made. Businessmen are eager to buy a little place where they can get away from it all in one hour flat by Jag. Inquiries are pouring in and available properties are just not keeping pace with the demand.

All those people who have no place of their own, who are doubling up with in-laws or just don't know where January's rent is coming from, will be pleased to know that

in many cases there has arisen a situation where there are so many people with so much money after the same property that a sort of mini-auction develops—with the estate agent acting as referee—further pushing up average prices.

It appears that some rich people, disenchanted with the Stock Exchange, are buying up land and property—a much safer store of value than a paper share which may become worthless overnight in these times.

Rather than having tastefully lithographed but useless shares to paper the wall with,

better have more walls to paper.

So away they go with a whoosh, down the M4 and off to find some idyllic cottage, or even a disused cowshed, in some rural backwater which has suddenly become a highly desirable residential district.

What would such a cottage cost? One which fetched £1,500 in 1970 will now go for about £4,000.

'Country properties and large residential properties of over £25,000 are very hard to find... A house sold at Newbury for £8,500 last December is being re-sold for £2,000 more. Quite a handsome return for a year's investment!'

So make a resolution for 1972: buy your country cottage or residential property early, you may make a packet when you re-sell it in a year's time. Perhaps enough to buy a new Jag for commuting down the M4.

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No happy New Year for McLeish family—just eviction

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

THE McLEISH family, including two children aged one and two, face the threat of eviction from their N London flat early in the New Year.

This will be the outcome of Clifford McLeish's year-long fight to get much-needed repairs to the bathroom and toilet.

In his fight to have the repairs carried out, Mr McLeish has twice refused to pay his rent to the private landlords. He took this action in an attempt to force the landlord into doing the necessary repairs.

Last week the landlord got a court order to evict the whole family.

The family consists of 53-year-old Clifford McLeish, his daughter Zelma and her two children, and another daughter, Desiree.

FLAT

They live in a first floor flat at 53 Manor Road, Hackney while the rest of the building is occupied by six other adults and three children.

The toilet used by the nine adults and five children in the house is in a state of absolute disrepair with the cistern coming off the wall, while the walls themselves are damp and wallpaper is peeling off.

All over the house the effects of damp can be seen. In the bathroom the water tank leaks and the floor is now covered with old wallpaper which the landlord's repair man left when he came to plaster the walls, the day before taking Mr McLeish to court.

RESPONSIBILITY

'They're not taking my children away from me,' she said. 'I don't know what's going to happen, but I won't allow them to do that. I don't want to go to any halfway house either.'

At his first court appearance, Mr McLeish was ordered to pay the rent arrears, which he did in the hope that the repairs might be started. However, when nothing was done, Mr McLeish again withheld the rent.

'We've lived here for 14 years but in all that time we've only been visited twice to see if any repairs need doing. 'They'll come quick enough if you stop paying your rent, though.'

She went on: 'When I had my last child the health visitor used to come around and say that they would try

and do something about the toilet and things when they saw the state they were in. 'Yet until now they have not even been able to find out who is responsible for the repairs for the place. 'Everyone in the house is supporting what we are doing.'

A spokesman for the landlord's agent yesterday stated that some repairs had been done. He claimed the issue of repairs was an excuse for not paying the rent.

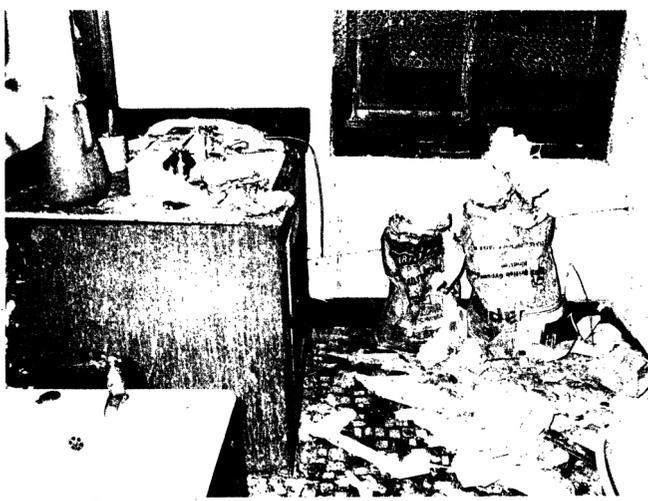
This time the landlord applied for and got a court order to evict the family in one week. On Wednesday, December 22, Mr McLeish again went to court and applied for an extension of the order until December 28.

The McLeish family have lived in their present home for 14 years but they now face being turned out early in the New Year when the bailiff returns from holiday.

I asked Zelma what she felt about a statement from the local Hackney Council that if the family are turned out, she might have to give her children into 'care' until a new home can be found for them. She was visibly shocked.



Zelma McLeish with her sons Stephen (2) and Paul (1) in his mother's arms. If they are evicted, the Council could take the two boys into care.



Torn wallpaper and builders' materials are still lying in the bathroom

Praise indeed for Poles

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

POLAND'S Stalinist leaders must be well pleased with the recent visit of 81-year-old professor Eric Patterson, a former principal of Bonar Law College in Herts and a member of the advisory council for adult education in HM forces during the war.

The Professor, whose publications include 'Pilsudski, Marshal of Poland' (1935) and 'Pilsudski through English eyes' (1936) was once an admirer of the pre-war anti-communist dictatorship in Poland. Now he pays simi-

lar tribute to the bureaucratic regime.

No mention here of the bloody suppression of striking workers last December or of the continued demands for working-class democracy aimed at the bureaucracy by the dockers and shipbuilders.

Instead, in a letter to his Polish host, Mr K. Duchowski, Patterson wrote: 'My visit to the Polish sea coast was a revelation, as I had known the regions before the war. Gdansk, in-

Rumania backs Bhutto

RUMANIA has just taken two major diplomatic initiatives which clearly demonstrate the rightward shift of the country's bureaucracy.

The president and party chief Nicolae Ceausescu has welcomed the takeover of Pakistan by US stooge Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

In a message to Bhutto, Ceausescu said: 'I am confident that the relations of friendship between our countries will steadily develop in the interest of the Rumanian and Pakistani peoples.'

In other announcements shortly afterwards Rumania said it would resume full diplomatic relations with Sudan.

Only six months ago the Sudanese army dictator, General Numeiry, executed communist and workers' leaders following an abortive coup.

Apart from these latest rightward diplomatic developments, Rumania has been in close collaboration with the Greek colonels' regime and was also involved in the secret wheeling and dealing which led to Nixon's plans to visit China.

China also backs Bhutto and has only recently announced a large aid plan for the Sudan.

● A prominent Rumanian novelist, Nicolas Breban (37), who failed to return home after attending the Cannes Film Festival last May, has applied for a German citizenship. Breban, a deputy member of the Rumanian Communist Party's central committee, was editor-in-chief of the magazine 'Literary Romania' until he sent his resignation from Paris in August.

Lies told to dampen Bengalis' anger

THE LIE machine has gone into operation in Bangla Desh. It is churning out the lie that 'right-wing Bengali religious fanatics' were responsible for the slaughter of intellectuals in Dacca two days before the Pakistani army surrender.

This lie is carefully being spread around Bangla Desh in the official media in an attempt to defuse the deep anger of the now-liberated Bengali community.

The local press is now claiming that the Pakistani army was not responsible for the execution of the 150 doctors, lawyers, professors, teachers and journalists whose bodies were found in pits near a brick

Hard-core opposition remains in Yugoslavia

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE POLITICAL crisis in Yugoslavia's republic of Croatia is worsening despite the systematic purge of nationalists in the Party hierarchy, the universities and the press.

More than 200 officials of the Communist Party and its front organizations have been dismissed or forced to resign, and demonstrating students from Zagreb and other Croatian universities have been imprisoned, fined or deprived of their grants.

Yet Josip Vrhovec, the new Croatian Communist Party secretary sent in by Tito to head the anti-nationalist crack-down, says he is still meeting 'hard-core opposition'.

ROOT OUT

The Party's next task in Croatia was to root out these opposition centres, Vrhovec said at the weekend.

The purge in Croatia began after students at Zagreb and other towns in the republic staged a strike to demand that foreign exchange earned in Croatia be spent there.

Its latest target is the republic's cultural union Matica Hrvatska (Mother Croatia) which has its head-

quarters in Zagreb. The organization's newspaper 'Hrvatski Tjednik' has already been closed down.

Tito also appears to be preparing a fresh wave of disciplinary measures in the universities, where staff members are said to have encouraged student nationalism.

ARMY TROUBLE

More dangerous still, there is trouble in the army. Rade Bulat, head of the Commission for People's Defence, was forced out of office over Christmas charged with taking too regional a view of defence needs and planning.

Bulat was in charge of organizing the militia units which exist in every Yugoslav town and village.

Tito's bureaucratic policies have encouraged the manifestation of extremely reactionary tendencies, in which nationalism plays a major part.

Yugoslavia is now paying the price for Tito's failure to break from Stalinism after his break with the Kremlin in 1949.

He cannot now appeal on a principled basis to the working class to fight the threat from the right, but has instead to resort to a bureaucratic purge of the Party organization.

Tito's increasing adaptation to imperialism, symbolized by the easing of the monopoly of foreign trade and looser regulations allowing more western investment in Yugoslavia, has gone hand-in-hand with attacks on the left.

SUPPRESSED

In 1968 Belgrade university students who demonstrated in sympathy with Czechoslovakia and against the Warsaw Pact invasion were suppressed.

Croatia is only the most extreme expression of this tendency which extends to all six republics in the federation. Tito has been forced to extend the anti-nationalist moves to other parts of the country since the trouble in Croatia began.

The resurgence of nationalism, backed by right-wing elements including former Ustaichi members who fought with Hitler against Tito's partisans, now threatens the entire Yugoslav federation.

Steelmen back

FOUR HUNDRED blast-furnacemen at Spencer steel-works, near Newport, S Wales, yesterday voted to end the week-old unofficial strike which has cost the plant 30,000 tons of steel.

The strikers, who walked out after a dispute over Christmas Day working, agreed to return last night pending further talks with the management.

The 6,000 people laid off when iron and steel production stopped last Wednesday were being recalled for normal work.

Socialist Labour League
Special Course of lectures

following ATUA National Conference decision to prepare for the building of the Party

SUNDAY JANUARY 2
Historical Materialism today

BEAVER HALL, GARLICK HILL
(Nr Mansion House tube) 7 p.m.

given by
G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!
Hall, Minster St. Discuss ATUA Manifesto. W LONDON: Tuesday January 4, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd. Make the Tories resign. CROYDON: Thursday January 6, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd, E Croydon. Right-to-Work campaign.

WILLESDEN: Monday January 11, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd. Support the miners. BRACKNELL: Tuesday January 11, 7.30 p.m. 'Red Lion', High St. Discuss ATUA Manifesto. BEXLEYHEATH: Tuesday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Upton', Crook Log. Trade unions and basic rights.

DAGENHAM: Wednesday December 29, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Hare Town Hall. The economic crisis.

LUTON: Thursday December 30, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. The fight against Stalinism in the trade unions.

N LONDON: Thursday December 30, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. The Right-to-Work campaign.

READING: Monday January 3, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour

Peking trades with Pretoria—Soviet claim

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

THE SOVIET government, whose record in these matters is very far from principled, is accusing the Chinese of trading with S Africa. In evidence it cites the now-defunct British magazine 'Eastern World' which pointed to the considerable trade in S African goods passing through Hong Kong.

The Maoist leaders are said to have told the Hong Kong merchants who act as middlemen in this trade that they will not sever the connection with the Vorster regime.

'Officially,' says a recent Moscow Radio broadcast, 'Peking claims from time to time that it has no ties with Pretoria, that it gives strong support to the just struggle of the S African people for freedom and that it takes no steps which would consolidate the racist regime.'

The reality, however, is very different, Moscow says.

'In 1962 the volume of trade between Peking and Pretoria stood at about \$3m, in 1963 it was already more than \$8m and in 1966 \$20m.

Last year alone the Maoists bought \$70m-worth of gold from Vorster and this is taking place precisely at the moment when the S African economy is coming up against increasing difficulties.'

COMMISSIONS

The radio goes on to say that the Chinese trade not only through Hong Kong, but also through Japanese businessmen (who have the status of 'honorary whites' in the apartheid hierarchy).

They are said to pay their Japanese middle-men huge commissions for this trade.

When Vorster's economics minister was recently asked by the Johannesburg 'Star' about the ties with China, he simply said it was not in the public interest to reveal such information.

It could be embarrassing not only for the Chinese but for the S African regime as well, in view of its publicly proclaimed anti-communism.

These secret transactions, Moscow Radio crows, 'have come' to light in spite of all the efforts of Peking and its racist friends. In the eyes of the world the Maoists have become the declared accomplices of the S African regime.

They try to hide their collusion behind statements on the need to fight a relentless struggle against racists and colonialists.'

OWN TIES

Naturally, Moscow's revelations have a factional character and are part of an effort to conceal the Soviet Stalinists' own ties with reactionary regimes around the world.

While the Moscow bureaucrats are busily denouncing the Chinese for their trade with Vorster, they conveniently forget the blackleg trade in Polish coal to Spain which is going on under their very noses.

However, in the light of the reactionary role played by the Chinese Stalinists in supporting Yahya Khan's war against the Bengali people and their ties with the anti-communist butcher Numeiry in the Sudan, it is not hard to credit that they have indeed opened up trade with the apartheid racials.