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The usually talkative US officials in Saigon have refused to state the number and type of aircraft in the bombing party and they have also refused to name the target areas.

Pressmen estimate that up to 350 aircraft, including three squadrons of tactical fighters, may have been used in the strikes which begun on Sunday.

An army spokesman said the large-scale raid was 'not a general resumption' of bombing, but what is known as a 'protective reaction'.

He said that the strikes into N Vietnam and Laos were in reaction to 'enemy activity which imperils the diminishing US forces cur-

PRESIDENT Nixon, the man who authorized the huge Christmas bombing raids on N Vietnam, has just been made 'Time' magazine's Man of the Year. In a special interview he said Americans wanted a President who is 'cool and sober in a crisis, a human guy who likes his wife and kids but who is not sloppy, lewd or vulgar'.

rently in S Vietnam'. So far this year the US has staged 107 so-called 'protective reaction' operations against targets in N Vietnam. In recent weeks N Vietnamese MIGs have been enjoying successes against US Phantoms and other reconnaissance planes flying over the N.

Last week a MiG for the first time brought down a US Phantom jet over N Laos. Then four US Phantoms were shot down; the surviving pilots have since been produced for the press in Hanoi.

Saigon observers say it is the success of the MiG which has brought about the wholesale bombing of towns and villages in the N.

● In New York 16 war veterans have barricaded themselves in the Statue of Liberty in protest against the continuation of the war. They intend to stay inside the 300-foot monument until New Year's Day.

Late yesterday New York police had been despatched by boat to the statue to investigate.

STARTING ON WEDNESDAY
An interview with playwright **DAVID MERCER** on the Tory government and the working class.

Nixon wants new anti-strike laws

THE NIXON administration has blasted the US Congress for failing to give the President stronger emergency powers to prevent strikes in the transportation industry.

'It is absolutely outrageous that the Congress will not move to pass this legislation,' under-Secretary of Labour Laurence Silberman said at the weekend.

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Training young Bengalis (above) for the Mukti Bahini to fight in Bangla Desh (below).

Crisis weeks ahead for miners

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On January 5, the National Union of Mine-workers' national executive meets on the eve of the strike. On the same day, the Engineers' executive is in session.

And so the stage is set for the most decisive confrontation for generations between the working class and the employers, led by the Tory government.

This government is armed with the Industrial Relations Act, which has not yet been put to the test of struggle. What will be the outcome?

Miners are asking whether the NUM executive will make its final plans on January 5 for the fight against the government, or will it seek a compromise with the National Coal Board and the Tories?

And if this executive cannot find a way out, and goes ahead with the strike, will it not look for the first opportunity to sell out?

Every miner has a right and a duty to ask, and to answer, these questions especially after the 1969 and 1970 strikes were sold out. Secondly, there is a right-wing majority on the executive led by President Joe Gormley. At every stage since the Coal Board rejected the £9, £8 and £5 claims decided at NUM conference, this right wing has voted to keep going back to the Board, instead of getting down to the serious business of preparing 'to defeat the Board and the government.'

This majority—some 13 votes to eight on every occasion—will still be there if

general strike as the major step towards it. 'Left' reformists cannot face up to this issue. Only a Marxist, revolutionary leadership can do that. The men are ready for the fight.

In operating the overtime ban in the pre-Christmas period, and thus sacrificing a large part of their normal earnings, they have acted with a discipline which proves absolutely that the strike can be won.

The Coal Board has tried one provocation after another to get partial strikes going during the overtime ban, but everywhere the men have conserved their strength, conscious of the big fight ahead.

The NUM leaders are caught in a vice between the men's militancy and the Board's intransigence. No matter how often the '13' have wanted to crawl back to the Board, and have talked about the 'serious consequences' of the strike, NCB chairman Derek Ezra and the Coal Board, backed by Heath, will not budge.

The few coppers extra offered last Tuesday were even withdrawn again when the NUM executive refused to put the offer to the men. And the Board is boasting about the size of existing coal stocks, trying to intimidate the miners.

Miners know very well that if the transport and power workers black the movement of coal, these stocks are as much use as the capitalists' capital when workers withdraw their labour.

We repeat the warning given in the policy statement issued by the miners' section of the All Trades Unions Alliance: Watch the leaders! Make them accountable to elected strike committees! Fight for mobilization of all other trade unionists in support of the miners' fight against the common enemy, the Tory government.

Above all, build the All Trades Unions Alliance miners' section, the alternative leadership, in every coalfield.

They vote to sell out, will not be accountable to the rank and file. Within these strike committees, what is needed is a coalfield-to-coalfield leadership which consciously fights on the lines of:

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NUM President Joe Gormley

Mukti and Tajuddin Tension grows in Bangla Desh

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

IN YET another shift to the right, Awami League leaders are conspiring to make Bangla Desh a one-party state.

Premier Tajuddin Ahmed has decreed his government will consist of Awami League members only and that there will be no new elections.

This new and most important sign that reaction is growing in Bangla Desh comes when authorities led by Tajuddin have made a formal move to destroy the independence of the guerrilla movement.

Speaking in Dacca, the premier relegated the burning issue of a new constitution to second place behind the campaign to establish law and order.

By this Awami League leaders mean curbing possible independent action by the Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

Tajuddin's statement warned they may have to surrender their arms. He ordered guerrilla forces, who led the nine-month struggle against the W Pakistan army, to report to camps in every province where they would be absorbed into a national militia under control of the civil authorities.

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'We must at once start working for the establishment of democracy, and the rule of law, secularism and socialism.'

The order of priorities in this statement by the chief Awami League after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is very significant for Mukti Bahini fighters who want to carry reform beyond limited capitalist perspectives.

Tajuddin based his attempt to establish the supremacy of the Awami League on the sweeping victory won in the Pakistan National Assembly polls last year.

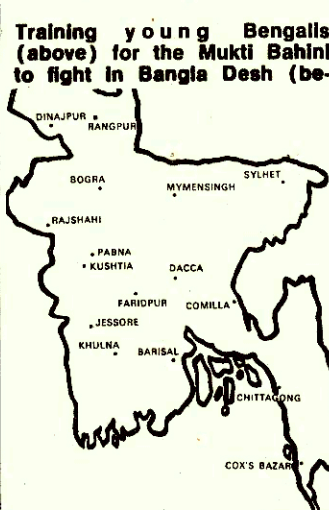
He rejected calls for another election by pointing out that the League won 167 out of a possible 169 seats in the National Assembly.

This argument is a complete fraud worthy only of the sleek, rich bourgeois chieftains of the League.

The election last year took place before the war. More important, the Awami League won its victory on a six-point programme which did not include the key demand for independence but only for autonomy within Pakistan.

As you can imagine, it was a happy little get-together. And it was made more memorable by a surprise telephone call from none other than President Richard Nixon.

The Tory media said the call indicates 'the new era of closer Anglo-American understanding and Nixon's eagerness to stay in close personal contact with Mr Heath'.



Do your bit on pensions JONES PLEA TO TORIES

A CALL for churchmen and politicians—of all parties, it seems—to campaign in support of higher pensions this winter will be issued next month by union chief Jack Jones.

In the January issue of the Transport and General Workers' Union 'Record', Jones claims the government's decision to review pensions each year, rather than every two years, as 'a great victory for the pressure brought by pensioners' organizations and our union'.

But 'this is only a start', says the T&GWU secretary, who at this year's TUC cast his union's block vote AGAINST industrial action on the pensioners' behalf.

Jones' perspective is entirely dependent on the Tory government remaining in office.

'We cannot allow the government merely to announce in the next budget that increases will be granted next October or November—the pensioners' needs are too urgent for that', he writes.

Nowhere, however, does he give the slightest hint of any challenge to the Tories—let alone a campaign to force them to resign.

In fact the one paragraph containing any suggestion of a programme for concrete action is the following:

'Eighty per cent of all recent pension increases have been paid for by higher national insurance contributions. The workers are doing their part; now it is time for the government to make a contribution. EVEN if this means higher taxation of the wealthy.' (Our emphasis.)

Turkey with Heath and a call from Nixon

WHO DID bachelor Edward Heath have for dinner on Christmas Day? Apart from a free turkey donated by the British Turkey Federation, he had as guests Lord and Lady Aldington and Mr and Mrs Madron Seligman and their children.

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Aldington was a former deputy chairman of the Tory Party and served as an MP from 1945 to 1962. He was a junior minister with Heath at the Board of Trade.



A Mukti Bahini group during the recent war with W Pakistan

Sheikh Mujib declared for total independence only after the Pakistani massacre began on August 26, when it was impossible for him to further resist the mass pressure from below.

In fact the Sheikh—up to the very day of hostilities—had been attempting to reach a rotten compromise with Yahya Khan.

The new situation in Bangla Desh clearly demands an election where the parties can test their policies before the workers and peasants in an independent country.

What the Awami League really fears is that in an electoral battle its candidates would be forced to explain exactly what their movement means by 'nationalization', land 'reform', and indeed, 'socialism'.

Further to the left, the National Awami Party of Mulana Bhashani (believed still to be in Delhi), is pressing for an election.

But it was Bhashani's support of Sheikh Mujib after the elections that accounts for much of the present confusion. Bhashani added his own considerable support among the peasantry to the Sheikh by failing to criticize his bourgeois programme last March.

The guerrilla forces now face liquidation if they hand over power to the Awami League administrators who were rushed to Dacca by India to restore 'law and order'.

The Awami League is clothed in the glory of a successful war. But at heart its leaders are reactionary. Despite their prattle about 'socialism' they have always been terrified of social change.

Once Sheikh Mujib warned of the consequences of revolution—it will be a journey of no return—the concept of religion, liberty, freedom and incentive for voluntary hard work will be cast out for good!

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More jobless The number of British ships laid up at the end of November was 55, involving a gross tonnage of 453,000. At the beginning of August the number without work was 19.

Behind these figures is the growing unemployment among British seamen. Some 3,000 were without ships, according to the latest available figures—6 per cent of all National Union of Seamen members.

CHINESE SEND BORDER PROTEST TO INDIA

THE CHINESE Foreign Ministry yesterday accused Indian troops and aircraft of intruding into Chinese territory.

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The dispute has arisen following Italy's refusal to apply the system of border taxes introduced by W Germany and the Benelux countries to offset the effect of floating currencies on Community farm prices.

As a net farm importer,

particularly of grain, Italy stands to gain by staying out of the border tax system and importing at cheaper dollar prices on the world market following the change in value of the US currency.

However, France argues that this infringes the rule of 'Community preference' and that Italy cannot be allowed to buy grain cheaper from outside the Six than it can from other member states.

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Officials meet Rolls on Bristol strike

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Secret talks aimed at finding a return-to-work formula went on for seven hours in London last Thursday, but were adjourned over the holiday period.

Grain price row follows devaluation

AN 800-strong march was held in Ulster on Christmas Day to protest against internment.

The march was allowed by the army, despite an official ban on parades. Two MPs, Miss Bernadette Devlin and Frank McManus, led the march on Long Kesh internment camp a few miles South of Belfast.

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Long Kesh march ends in sit-down

When the demonstrators reached an army barricade across the M1, they sat down in protest. The demonstration then broke up.

Men in Long Kesh and the prison ship HMS 'Maidstone' fasted for 24 hours until midnight on Saturday.

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conference Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans warned that this failure could lead to another long dock strike next year which would wreck Nixon's plans for a trade surplus.

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Play it again Sam

THE STORY that just had to break!

A statement issued today says that the Fabian Society is planning to spend nine months preparing an election manifesto for Labour in 1974.

The Society's new chairman, Peter Hall, says in his message to Fabians today the policy document must be 'wait for it—a radical agenda'.

Political observers of the Fabian Society believe this is

the 900th 'radical agenda' prepared by the group. It is believed the proposed document will contain at least ten references to 'technological revolution', 'new life styles', 'greater participation', 'shop-floor democracy', 'grass roots' etc., etc.



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This is a attempt to confine the running of the strike to area and branch officials, so that the executive, when

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It means organizing jointly with the engineers for that struggle.

It means posing the question of forcing the Tories out by mass action and replacing them with a Labour government which would take socialist measures.

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and when the strike goes ahead.

This can only mean that the miners must be wary of the greatest dangers as they go into battle.

MOBILIZE

The 'left' on the NUM executive cannot really deal with this right wing.

This would mean to use the conference vote and the decisive strike ballot, to mobilize union members throughout the coalfields in such a way that the right wing would be isolated.

This would mean setting up branch-elected strike committees of 50 to 100 men immediately at every colliery, to begin registering mass pickets and approaching transport and engineering workers in the districts for joint struggle and support.

Instead, the executive has decided that the existing 'liaison committees' for operating the overtime ban shall function as strike committees.

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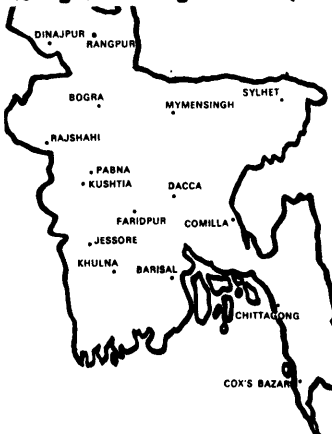
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The dispute has arisen following Italy's refusal to apply the system of border taxes introduced by W Germany and the Benelux countries to offset the effect of floating currencies on Community farm prices.

As a net farm importer,

particularly of grain, Italy stands to gain by staying out of the border tax system and importing at cheaper dollar prices on the world market following the change in value of the US currency.

However, France argues that this fringes the rule of 'Community preference' and that Italy cannot be allowed to buy grain cheaper from outside the Six than it can from other member states.

● SEE PAGE 4.

Long Kesh march ends

AN 800-strong march was held in Ulster on Christmas Day to protest against internment.

The march was allowed by the army, despite an official ban on parades.

Two MPs, Miss Bernadette Devlin and Frank McManus, led the march on Long Kesh internment camp a few miles South of Belfast.

When the demonstrators reached an army barricade across the M1, they sat down in protest. The demonstration then broke up.

Men in Long Kesh and the prison ship HMS 'Maidstone' fasted for 24 hours until midnight on Saturday.

AS PREVIOUS articles in Workers Press have shown, the period 1640-1660 acquires special significance with the deepening of the present crisis, and the perspective of working-class power. Dialectically the more urgent the tasks of the present the more important the lessons of the past.

The bourgeoisie itself has been extremely reticent about its role during this period. Traditionally the English Civil War has been presented as one of religious, geographical and even sartorial inspiration. And though historians such as Christopher Hill have made it impossible to hide the class nature of the conflict, great confusion is created to imply the Puritans were impregnated with the grey dust which has been permitted to accumulate on the records. The very word —inter regnum—used of the period 1649-1660 suggests 11 long years of non-event.

This is particularly true of our school-teaching. Most children are subjected to the 'romantic' version of the period: Captain Maryatt's 'Children of the New Forest' still sets the tone for many school stories.

The ubiquitous and popular Ladybird series publishes an excellent brochure on Oliver Cromwell, but its biography of Charles II portrays the Puritans as kill-joys and culture-vultures in the best 19th century style.

Nowhere has this process of distortion been more pronounced than in the field of music. The Puritans have for centuries been systematically discredited by their alleged gloomy sobriety which not only made them indifferent to music—but eager to legislate for its suppression.

It is correct that Maypole dancing was forbidden by law during the Industrial Revolution, and that elaborate church music and organ-playing were discouraged in services. These ordinances, however, had a clear religious (i.e. political) motive and in no way represented the attitude of the new class to music as such.

Symbolic

The Maypole and other symbolic dances were relics of ancient forms of folk religion in which the dancers by step and gesture consciously sought to impose their will on nature. These ceremonies had been spasmodically denounced by the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages, and by the 17th century had become attenuated in scope and of no significance even in the folk-memory.

The Puritans, with their greater historical consciousness, decided to 'tidy up' the situation and it is very doubtful as to whether the Restoration reversed this process.

As regards folk-dancing in general, the main agents for its destruction were undoubtedly the repeated enclosures and the uprooting of the rural population during the Industrial Revolution.

It is quite clear from their behaviour at celebrations and social gatherings that the Puritans enjoyed a 'hop' as much as anyone and there is a record that at the marriage of Cromwell's daughter there was what is intriguingly referred to as 'mixt dancing'.

Similarly, in John Bunyan's famous 'Pilgrim's Progress', when the prisoners of Giant Despair are released they immediately begin to dance.

Of more enduring significance is the fact that a great deal of dance music was published during the period of the Commonwealth and, in particular, Playford's 'Dancing Master', which went into three editions during this period alone and was of great importance in the general line of musical development.

The Puritans were opposed to the performance of stage plays. This was again a political reaction to the main dramatic entertainment of the early Stuarts—the Court Masque.

Through these representations the rulers of Europe vied with

THE SIEGE OF RHODES

Made a Representation by the Art of Perspective in Scenes, And the Story sung in Recitative Musick.

At the back part of Rutland-House in the upper end of Aldersgate-Street, LONDON.

LONDON.

Printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Anchor, on the Lower-Walk in the New-Exchange, 1656.

Left: Title page of Davenant's Opera. 'The Seige of Rhodes', 1656. Right: Sir William Davenant

each other in spending the greatest possible sum of (other people's) money in the production of extravaganzas involving elaborate costume, costly decor and the employment of fantastic mechanical contrivances all the more desirable because of their novelty.

It was, in part, to find the enormous amount of money required for this Royal pastime that Charles set in motion the series of events which led to the famous bourgeois slogan—'No taxation without representation', and hence to the Civil War itself.

Mirroring

The Puritan objection to the spoken play notwithstanding, it was during the Commonwealth period that the first English Opera was produced—'The Siege of Rhodes' in 1656, followed by others in the same period.

Moreover, the content of the 'libretto's moved away from the tales of Greek mythology, with which English culture was (and was to be) overlaid, and expressed subjects of current interest such as 'The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru' and 'The History of Sir Francis Drake'. Modern composers, please note!

The spate of church-wrecking,

including the destruction of organs, indulged in by the new 'Model Army' was again ideological in content. The Anglican Church and its rarified music was a mirror of the feudal hierarchy. As James I himself put it 'No bishop, no king'.

Through the Court of Star Chamber and other repressive agencies the Puritans had long been subjected to persecution in which the church had taken a leading part. In other words, the church was a class enemy and vengeance was duly exacted as it was three centuries later by the workers of Barcelona.

While the use of organs and elaborate choral music was forbidden in church, we find that Cromwell himself installed an organ in Hampton Court Palace. Similarly, many leading Puritans fostered the formation of singing clubs, particularly in London. Cromwell himself frequently visited these assemblies and commended them in his letters.

But for the extent to which the bourgeois historians have distorted the character of their own forbears, compare the musical patronage of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II respectively. Some years ago, such a comparison would have seemed superfluous, the 'Merry Monarch' would have had a walk-over.

Reputation

Charles II seems to have earned his reputation mainly on account of his fondness for French dances. His habit of tapping on the floor with his foot during Divine Service if the composition were not sufficiently lively hardly suggests that his musical faculties were very profound. Certainly he encouraged musicians to perform; he gave



Purcell

MUSIC in the English Revolution

By Francis Day

them little encouragement, however, to stay alive. The payment of Royal musicians at this time was so irregular that even the great Henry Purcell had to petition for the receipt of several years' back pay.

Charles himself, apart from his frivolous extravagancies, was embarrassed by his dependence on the subsidies from Louis XIV which he needed to bypass parliament.

Royalist historians have made much of Charles' band of 24 violins and its significance for the development of the orchestra. But as we shall see this was not a particularly original contribution.

Oliver Cromwell, the 'Iron' Lord Protector and supposed suppressor of the arts, was both a practical musician and a promoter of music in many forms. He sang well and so enjoyed instrumental music that there is a story of a prominent Royalist who earned his pardon by playing to Cromwell on the bass viol.

Cromwell paid Hingston, an organist and all-round musician £100 a year to teach his daughter, a great sum for those days. Hingston was one of many who suffered a considerable wage cut at the Restoration.

Cromwell's band of violins was twice as large as Charles' boasted 24 and, together with the

singers, they earned high praise from ambassadors and visiting heads of state.

Most significant of all the evidence of this period was the great outpouring of printed music of all kinds, much greater than in the comparable periods before and after the Commonwealth.

Nor must we forget the songs of the 'Diggers', the left-wing of the rising class who occupied areas near London and Bristol and started to till them communally.

Significance

Then we see that the English bourgeois revolution at its highest point—its triumph over absolute monarchy—so far from being a period of cultural black-out, embodied in fact important advances in our musical history and was of great significance for the musicians of the period.

As one would expect, the growth of productive forces during the rise of capitalism generally had a direct effect upon the technical development of music: the improvements in instrument making, the wider audiences, and the general secularization of music, to name but a few.

It is interesting that just as in religion the doctrine of the freedom of the individual con-



Charles II



Cromwell

science reflected the impatience of the new class with the restrictive economic canons of the Middle Ages, so in music the outstanding development was the freeing of the individual voice and instrument from ecclesiastical polyphony, leading in the one case to the development of opera and in the other the sonata and, eventually, the concerto.

Today the problems of musical form, development and, above all, consciousness, are more complex. But one thing is clear: if in its prime capitalism gave music opportunities of tremendous advance, now, in its decay, and this despite the great revival in musical interest, it is mean in its patronage (particularly in Britain) and divisive and corrupting in its effect.

Poverty behind the pomp

by John Spencer

THE SHAH of Persia's recent take-over of the Gulf Islands focused attention once again on his ultra-reactionary dictatorship. The forcible seizure of these strategic bases in the oil-rich Persian Gulf came only a few months after the unparalleled ostentation of the ceremony at Persepolis to mark the Persian monarchy's claim to be 2,500 years old. At the time, a good deal was made in the right-wing press of the Shah's so-called White Revolution, which had supposedly led the Iranian people into peace and prosperity. In this article, a special correspondent examines the reality behind the Shah's empty boasts.

DESPITE the enormous wealth poured out for a few at the top by the foreign firms which exploit Iran's rich oil deposits, the majority of the Iranian population remains completely tied to the land.

Fifty-eight per cent of the population earn their living directly or indirectly from agriculture, while almost three-quarters of the people (according to the 1956 census) live on the land.

Agricultural produce accounts for between 40 and 50 per cent of the country's gross national product as against 13-15 per cent for industry (oil revenues aside). Attempts to develop modern industry in Iran have consistently fallen foul of imperialist obstruction and the all-pervading corruption of the ruling clique.

For example, the seven-year plan begun in 1949 fulfilled only one-seventh of its objectives, despite an expenditure of over \$260m.

The second seven-year plan, voted in 1956, involved four times this sum and did result in some improvements in transport and public works: rail lines were laid down, the road network was expanded and harbours were enlarged.

Schools and hospitals were built and the cities were supplied with electricity and sewage systems.

What was most striking, however, was the massive misappropriation of funds, shown by the disparity between money earmarked for spending and what was actually built.

'What these funds were expended for is not shown in the files', was the laconic comment of a subsequent planning director.

The planning organization was described by the 'Economist' in 1959 as 'a demoralized organiza-

tion... left dangling between hope to bite off bits of it until it no longer exists'.

Only about a tenth of Iran's land surface is arable and out of the 18 million hectares of arable land, only some 6.2 million hectares are in fact cultivated, so that an area of 11.8 million hectares of potentially productive land lies fallow every year.

This occurs despite the desperate land-hunger of the peasantry, who own only 25 per cent of the cultivated land. The big landowners and Royal estates control the other 75 per cent.

The Shah's own lands have an interesting history.

When the present Shah took over on his father's abdication, he was forced to hand over most of his lands to the state.

But by 1949, when he had strengthened his position, the Shah had parliament make him a gift of most of the lands he had previously surrendered.

In a bid to head off popular anger at this bland restoration, the Shah tried to sell some of the land to peasants against long-term repayments. In 1953, under the nationalist government of Mohamed Mossadeq, he was forced to turn the land back to the state.

But this state of affairs lasted only four months until Mossadeq was overthrown in a CIA-backed coup.

The Shah is now Iran's single biggest landowner.

At the beginning of the 1960s before the Shah's so-called reform was initiated the peasants owned only 14 per cent of arable land.

But there is every indication that the 'reform' has in many cases made the peasants' situation worse, not better.

The main features of Iranian agriculture can be summarized as follows:

● Absentee landlordism, the landowner being represented by an 'overseer' who has no interest in raising crop yields on the lands under his charge.

● Sharecropping. Nine out of ten families in the rural areas



Shah: empty boasts of peace and prosperity.

of Iran are sharecroppers who receive a fraction of the gross crop.

They are not partners, but serfs of the landowner and have practically no legal protection against his arbitrary power.

Naturally, if the harvest fails, the sharecroppers bear the brunt of the loss.

Their share of the crop diminishes as the total crop goes down.

● Heavy capital investment. This is necessary because Iranian agriculture is largely dependent on irrigation.

The irrigation works are in the hands of the landowners exclusively and as a result of this concentration of capital, land and water in his hands the landowner's social and economic pre-eminence is so great that he can do as he pleases.

Despite the investment in irrigation, Iran's agriculture remains largely unmechanized, condemning the majority of peasants to a lifetime of backbreaking and unrewarded toil.

The Shah's land reform was embodied in a six-point programme passed in 1960-1961 during the repressive regime of General Amini.

The programme demagogically pronounced the end of the feudal system and a redistribution of the land.

But even if the so-called reform had been carried out in full, the carefully-worded text of

the law still left the most fertile areas in the possession of large landowners.

Fruit and tea plantations as well as all plots farmed mechanically did not come within the scope of the 'reform'.

In fact the land reform has done nothing to change the basic character of Iranian agriculture.

Only 10 per cent of the aggregate arable land was distributed to the peasantry, leaving three-quarters in the hands of the big landowners.

The peasants have to pay for the redistributed land over a 15-year period and a fee of one per cent of the total price is levied on them for administrative costs. This imposes an additional burden on the peasants.

Because of the crippling debt burden imposed in this way, the peasants in fact obtain only about a fifth of the crop yield and are permanently on the brink of ruin.

The reform in no way abolishes the peasants' total dependence on the landlords, to whom they have to pay compensation and who continue to control the vital irrigation works.

In fact, it can be characterized safely as nothing more than a Royal public-relations job designed to fool people about the reality of poverty and exploitation which lies behind the ostentation at the top of the Persian regime.

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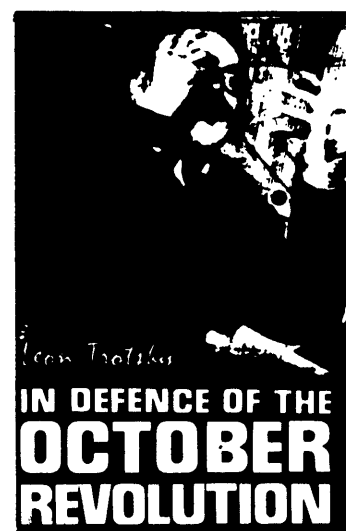
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The Balkans: ingredients of explosion

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

For the United Socialist Soviet Balkan States

ONCE MORE the political crisis in the Balkans is attracting the attention of the world. This region is the fulcrum of the fundamental antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union in the E Mediterranean.

Conflicting interests in the Middle East (Israel, oil, Suez, military bases, the arms race), the drive by the capitalist W to open new markets in the E bloc, the 'Ostpolitik' of Chancellor Willy Brandt, the mutual visits of E and W leaders, the pressure of the Kremlin leaders on the 'satellite' states, the crises in their export markets, and the renewed interest of the Chinese bureaucracy in the area: these are the ingredients and the symptoms of an explosive situation in the Balkans.

Prospects of Greek-Turkish Unification

THE GREECE of the military junta, under the domination of US imperialism, is similar in many respects to Turkey. This has been highlighted by the official proposal of the Greek dictator Papadopoulos that Greece and Turkey should be united!

This is NATO policy and has been well received in Turkey by the government of Nihat Erim and also by the old bourgeois politician Ismet Inönü. It is no accident that this initiative from the Greek junta should have been made immediately after the NATO Congress.

It also follows the attempt to settle the Cyprus problem by elevating the discussions being held by the Cypriot leaders, Denktas and Clerides, to the level of Athens and Ankara.

On July 26, 1971, representatives of the Athens Chamber of Commerce visited Istanbul to negotiate a joint policy against the EEC. The suspension of some of the agreements made by Greece with the Common Market in 1967, including the suspension of Stock Exchange protocol and arrangements made for the very cheap Greek agricultural produce, compelled the Papadopoulos regime to increase trade with the Turkish bourgeoisie and the neighbouring workers' states.

The new rapport between Greece and Turkey coincides with the requirements of NATO



Brandt with Kosygin—carrying out his 'Ostpolitik'.

and has strengthened the front of US imperialism against the bureaucratic states.

This front protects Greece and Turkey not only from the workers' states, but from their own workers, peasants and students. It also secures the American bases on Crete (Greece) and Athana (Turkey) and the British bases on Cyprus.

When the threat of war looms over the Mediterranean, this bloc of dictators will be ready to slaughter the masses on behalf of imperialism.

The Equivocal friendship of Greece and Turkey

TURKEY would like a closer relationship with Greece, in order to strengthen both countries trade with the Common Market, and to achieve a settlement of the chronic dispute over Cyprus. If this could be done, then the prospects of some kind of unification would be much improved.

These differences — economic, ethnological, cultural, religious, and historical—create insuperable problems and make the idea of union totally Utopian.

Some old problems, like that of the small national minorities, previously the cause of continual conflict, have become less significant.

One major problem is the imbalance of their respective trade figures. The national income of Turkey is growing at a rate nearly twice that of Greece. In 1969, Turkey had a balance of payments deficit of \$217m whereas that of Greece was \$1,040m. If it were not for Cyprus, this would be enough to quench the ardour of the Turks. Indeed, the difficulties and differences are increasing.

Both countries export the same goods—tobacco, sultanas, hides, etc. The joint policy against the Common Market is very weak, and is undermined for these reasons:

- Competition in the field of exports to the Common Market.
- The dissimilarity of their arrangements with the Common Market.

The agreement with Greece would come into effect immediately if the political situation permitted it (if the Common Market countries turned a blind eye to the dictatorship). But for Turkey, the first phase of associate membership will last for 20 years.

The prospect of Turkey joining the Common Market is fraught with difficulties. 34.1 per cent of her Gross National Product is agricultural, while that of Greece is only 19.7 per cent. With the agricultural policy of the EEC in its present state of crisis, this disparity makes a joint policy of the two countries rather unrealistic.

The problem is further aggravated by the Cyprus problem, and the covert rivalries between European powers, the USA, the USSR and China. This sham rapprochement of Turkey and Greece is no more than a cover for the schemings of NATO in the Balkans.

The recent army exercises under the name 'Vulcan Express', or 'Hellenic Express', were a threat to the Warsaw Pact, and give the lie to the fraudulent nonsense of 'peaceful co-existence' propounded by imperialism and the bureaucracy.

The struggle for military bases in Cyprus

CYPRUS has been the scene of severe political conflicts which have resulted in the physical

extermination of prominent leaders like Georgatsis, and the attempted assassinations of President Makarios.

The international protagonists are Britain, the USA, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Greece. The obvious interest of the Americans in gaining control of the island's military bases is causing some anxiety in the Balkan workers' states.

The intrigues of the US imperialists in Cyprus are directed at the British, the present masters of the island. Cyprus is a remnant of the British Empire and the British retain their in-

proved fruitless after 99 sessions, will be replaced by discussions between Athens and Ankara.

This can only result in the removal of Makarios and an open dictatorship in Cyprus. For this reason, Makarios finds himself increasingly in conflict with Papadopoulos.

It is for this reason also that Makarios went to Moscow to ask for assistance to prevent a take-over in Cyprus. The situation in Cyprus is now explosive as it is throughout the Balkans generally. Behind the backs of the Cypriot masses, the vicious dictators of Athens and Ankara



Papadopoulos and Makarios.

fluence through the Common-wealth link, their monopoly of foreign trade and investment, and their unrestricted use of the bases, ensuring for the British military a continuing influence in the Mediterranean.

They also have the backing of their puppet Makarios, who prefers the status quo to the machinations of Washington, whose 'string pulling' in Ankara and Athens is jeopardizing the future of Cyprus.

The task of the American ambassador to Athens, Henry J. Tasca, is to end the wrangling in NATO and open up Cyprus for the USA. The immediate prospect is that the Clerides-Denktaş discussions, which have

are trying to impose the solution of 'double Enosis' (partition). The strategies of all the governments involved, whether bureaucratic or capitalist, are directed against the working people. Only the Trotskyist movement has fought continuously for the principle of the self-determination of colonial nations, through the socialist revolution.

The rapprochement of Greece and the E bloc in the Balkans

THE CAPITALIST dictatorship which took power in Greece on April 21, 1967, has built a



Stalin and Roosevelt: agreement that Yugoslavia and Greece should fall in W 'sphere of influence.

base for US imperialism against her northern neighbours and against the political strength of European capitalist states at Strasbourg led by the Scandinavians, the puppets of British imperialism.

The opposition from the Common Market to the CIA-backed coup led to the suspension in 1967 of all the agreements for Greek entry in the Community. The Common Market boycott of their agricultural produce forced the Greeks to open relations with the neighbouring workers' states. The growth of trade has been remarkable—in 1969 exports to E Europe increased by 25 per cent, and in the first half of 1970 by 42 per cent.

This reflects the general policy of western countries, including the USA, to promote trade with the E. The deepest ever crisis of capitalism, exacerbated by Nixon's trade war measures on August 15, 1971, demands the restoration of the markets lost to imperialism, and has added impetus to the conclusion of trade agreements, and therefore 'peaceful co-existence', in the Balkans. This new rapprochement is the main political trend, and terms like 'friendship', 'peace', 'neutrality', 'trans-Balkan understanding', are bandied about daily in the Balkan press. In fact, the basic antagonisms between the capitalist and worker's states are in no way diminished. In spite of the enormous national and class conflicts, the Stalinists of the Balkan states still find honeyed words for their anti-communist butchers of Greece.

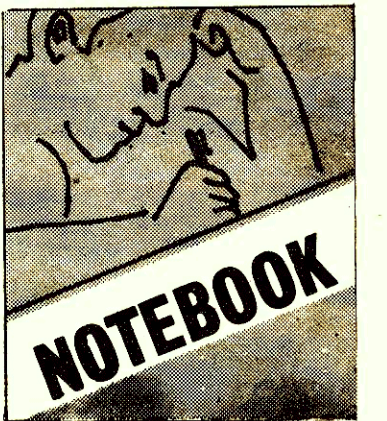
The Balkan Bloc against USSR invasion

THE FERMENT in the Balkans has greatly weakened the E bloc. The 'theory' of socialism in one country, and the consequent conflict of bureaucratic interests, has led the Stalinist bureaucracy to shake off her economic dependence and unequal trade relations with the Soviet Union. It was agreed by Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill at Yalta that Yugoslavia, like Greece, should fall within the W 'sphere of influence'.

Expelled in 1948 from Cominform, and openly threatened with occupation by Stalin, Tito took refuge not in the international proletariat, but under the wing of NATO. One of the demands of the Cominform in 1924-1925 had been 'For a Socialist Balkan Soviet Union'.

How far from the road of revolutionary Marxism Tito had travelled! He earned the enmity of China by supporting in the United Nations the American resolutions in Korea and Formosa. In 1963, he signed a Balkan Pact with Greece and NATO. In struggling to free herself from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia merely forged the chain which bound her to imperialism.

The Balkan Pact was ended in 1956, when Yugoslavia restored



Lame ducks unlimited

THE ECONOMIC crisis always brings a group of people in its wake who specialize in making money out of those who are bankrupt or about to reach that unfortunate predicament.

There are companies which exist solely to swoop, vulture-like, on dying companies, picking the bones of the lame duck.

A short time afterwards you get a reincarnated shell of a firm filled with someone's (or even no one's) assets.

Now one of the City of London's consultants in insolvency has hit on yet another way of making money out of the dead and dying.

Mr Tom Grundy, vice-president of the Institute of Credit Management, has just started a unique company in Birmingham designed to prevent people and companies going bankrupt.

And what a name! Success Unlimited Ltd!

There should certainly be plenty of takers for Grundy's new 'service'. Over 4,600 firms went bankrupt in Britain in 1970.

What about Grundy's theory on why firms go broke so easily these days? Is there any possible connection with the fact that world capitalism, led alone by British capitalism, finds it somewhat difficult to sell anything to anyone?

Wrong again. Our hero believes that wine, women and gambling are the three prime causes of insolvency in that order. That information is well worth paying for.

Fanning the flames



LORD LONGFORD'S anti-pornography march has received added impetus from an unexpected quarter—the Fanmakers' Company in the City of London. This remnant of feudalism held a livery dinner (whatever that might be!) at the Mansion House the other week.

Master of the Company, a certain William E. Arnold, then made this astounding observation:

'There is something positively indecent about ladies using theatre programmes to fan themselves.'

Ladies should return to the custom of carrying fans, advised the gentleman.

As the moralistic counter-revolution proceeds to gather pace nothing is sacred from the watching eyes of our worthy fan-makers.

Of course the company has no vested interest in a return to fans. That would be carrying logic too far.

Apparently the job of this absurd organization was to seize and destroy any foreign fans found in London.

With Common Market entry there is a possibility that disgusting European fans will be dumped in Britain.

That, no doubt, will be the opportunity to organize another sumptuous dinner in the Mansion House where more fervent, historical pronouncements can be made.

TODAY'S PROGRAMMES

BBC 1

9.00 Joe 90. 9.15 Little women. 11.10 Festival of entertainment. 12.00 Buster Keaton. 1.10-3.55 Grandstand. 3.55 Here's Lucy. 4.20 Dr Who. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 TOM AND JERRY.

6.10 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM. Oban v Baltimore.

6.30 FILM: 'THE GREAT ESCAPE'. Steve McQueen, James Garner, Richard Attenborough. Allied officers escape from Nazi POW camp.

9.15 NEWS and weather.

9.30 PANORAMA: REVIEW OF THE YEAR.

10.25 PRESENTING KEITH MICHELL.

11.15 TO BUILD A FIRE. Orson Welles tells the story of a man freezing to death.

12.05 REFLECTION.

12.10 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 2.10 Film: 'Hand in Hand'. 3.20 Documentary: 'The Sorrow and the Pity'. Reflections on France during the Nazi occupation.

7.45 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 INTERNATIONAL TENNIS. The Masters Tournament.

9.00 WHEELBASE.

9.30 THE SNOW GOOSE. Richard Harris, Jenny Agutter.

10.25 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

10.30 PRIVATE EYE TV. John Birt, Eleanor Bron, Spike Milligan.

11.15 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Sounds of today's music.

ITV

9.55 Ugly duckling. 10.15 Bugs Bunny. 10.40 Flintstones. 11.05 Out of school. 12.00 Tale of a tower. 12.25 Skippy. 1.15 Toolbox. 1.45 Film: 'Robinson Crusoe on Mars'. 3.40 Pinky and Perky. 3.55 Yoga. 4.25 Charlie Brown. 4.55 Junior showtime. 5.20 Maggie. 5.20 News.

6.00 F TROOP. Forrest Tucker.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 MIKE AND BERNIE. 'To Russia, With Love'.

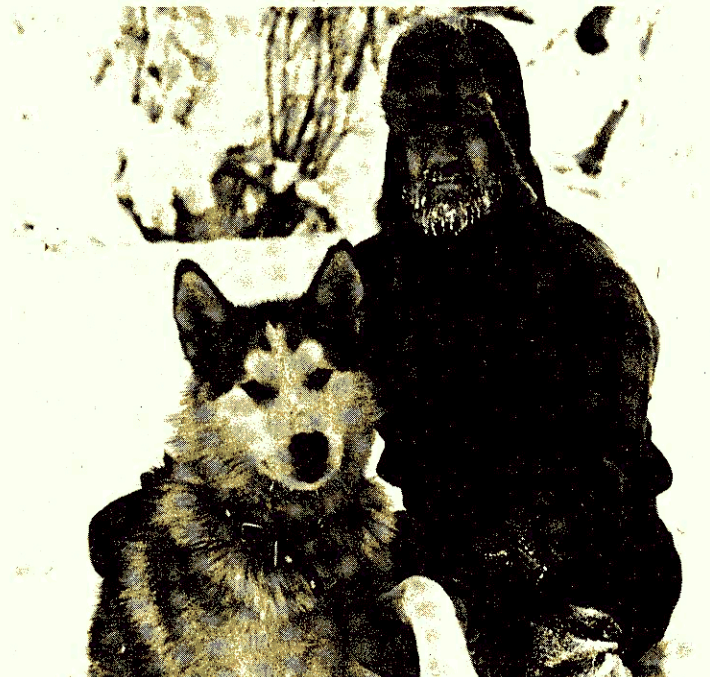
7.30 FILM: 'THE TRAIN'. Burt Lancaster, Paul Scofield, Jeanne Moreau. French resistance in World War II.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'TWO OF A KIND'. Douglas Bader and Marilyn Gillies.

11.05 DRIVE-IN.

11.35 OUTLOOK '72.



REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.05 Pingwings. 4.20 Puffin's Birthday greeting. 4.25 Dr Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 11.05 Gazette. 11.10 Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.05 News. 11.08 Faith for life. 11.13 Weather.

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HTV West as above except: 6.04-6.30 Report West.

HTV Wales as above except: 6.04-6.16 Y Dyd.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30-11.10 Dan Sylw.

ANGLIA: 1.35 Mr Piper. 2.00 Bells of St Mary's. 4.10 Roast Beef. 4.35 Newsroom. 4.40 Anita. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.05 Drive-in.

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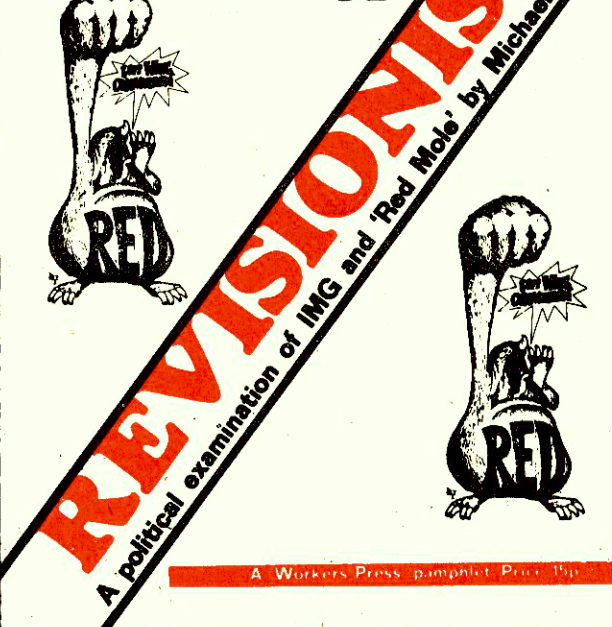
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THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVISIONISM



This seven part series by MICHAEL BANDA which appeared in the Workers Press is now available as a pamphlet. Order from New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4. Price 18p including postage.

Fourth International OUT NOW

on Bolivia Lukacs The struggle for power 25p

Fourth International
 EDITORIAL
 The International Committee and the struggle for power
BOLIVIA:
 Revolution and counter-revolution
LUKACS:
 a political itinerary
 Marxist theory and class consciousness
 REVIEW
 Stalinism, Liberalism and British History

The Balkans: ingredients of explosion

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

For the United Socialist Soviet Balkan States

ONCE MORE the political crisis in the Balkans is attracting the attention of the world. This region is the fulcrum of the fundamental antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union in the E Mediterranean.

Conflicting interests in the Middle East (Israel, oil, Suez, military bases, the arms race), the drive by the capitalists to open new markets in the E bloc, the 'Ostpolitik' of Chancellor Willy Brandt, the mutual visits of E and W leaders, the pressure of the Kremlin leaders on the 'satellite' states, the crises in their export markets, and the renewed interest of the Chinese bureaucracy in the area: these are the ingredients and the symptoms of an explosive situation in the Balkans.

Prospects of Greek-Turkish Unification

THE GREECE of the military junta, under the domination of US imperialism, is similar in many respects to Turkey. This has been highlighted by the official proposal of the Greek dictator Papadopoulos that Greece and Turkey should be united.

This is NATO policy and has been well received in Turkey by the government of Nihat Erim and also by the old bourgeois politician Ismet Inönü. It is no accident that this initiative from the Greek junta should have been made immediately after the NATO Congress.

It also follows the attempt to settle the Cyprus problem by elevating the discussions being held by the Cypriot leaders, Denktas and Clerides, to the level of Athens and Ankara.

On July 26, 1971, representatives of the Athens Chamber of Commerce visited Istanbul to negotiate a joint policy against the EEC. The suspension of some of the agreements made by Greece with the Common Market in 1967, including the suspension of Stock Exchange protocol and arrangements made for the very cheap Greek agricultural produce, compelled the Papadopoulos regime to increase trade with the Turkish bourgeoisie and the neighbouring workers' states.

The new rapport between Greece and Turkey coincides with the requirements of NATO



Brandt with Kosygin—carrying out his 'Ostpolitik'.

and has strengthened the front of US imperialism against the bureaucratic states.

This front protects Greece and Turkey not only from the workers' states, but from their own workers, peasants and students. It also secures the American bases on Crete (Greece) and Athana (Turkey) and the British bases on Cyprus.

When the threat of war looms over the Mediterranean, this bloc of dictators will be ready to slaughter the masses on behalf of imperialism.

The equivocal friendship of Greece and Turkey

TURKEY would like a closer relationship with Greece, in order to strengthen both countries vis-a-vis the Common Market, and to achieve a settlement of the chronic dispute over Cyprus. If this could be done, then the prospects of some kind of unification would be much improved,

not so much as a response to NATO policy, but in anticipation of the federation, or preferably, the dismemberment of Cyprus.

The changes taking place in Turkey today stem from the numerous contradictions of Turkish society. Chief of these, of course, is the class struggle, which before the military coup on March 12, 1971, was rapidly approaching a revolutionary situation.

The opposition of the masses to US imperialism, encouraged, though from opposite positions, by both Britain and the Soviet Union, produced a deep-going crisis.

Floundering in this crisis, the Turkish bourgeoisie, with its eye on Cyprus, turned to a policy of expansionism. This is how the Turkish dictatorship found itself in line with the Greeks and the interests of NATO. Nevertheless, vast differences remain.

These differences—economic, ethnological, cultural, religious, and historical—create insuperable problems and make the idea of a union totally Utopian.

Some old problems, like that of the small national minorities, previously the cause of continual conflict, have become less significant.

One major problem is the imbalance of their respective trade figures. The national income of Turkey is growing at a rate nearly twice that of Greece. In 1969, Turkey had a balance of payments deficit of \$217m whereas that of Greece was \$1,040m. If it were not for Cyprus, this would be enough to quench the ardour of the Turks. Indeed, the difficulties and differences are increasing.

Both countries export the same goods—tobacco, sultanias, hides, etc. The joint policy against the Common Market is very weak, and is undermined for these reasons:

- Competition in the field of exports to the Common Market.
- The dissimilarity of their arrangements with the Common Market.

The agreement with Greece would come into effect immediately if the political situation permitted it (if the Common Market countries turned a blind eye to the dictatorship). But for Turkey, the first phase of associate membership will last for 20 years.

The prospect of Turkey joining the Common Market is fraught with difficulties. 34.1 per cent of her Gross National Product is agricultural, while that of Greece is only 19.7 per cent. With the agricultural policy of the EEC in its present state of crisis, this disparity makes a joint policy of the two countries rather unrealistic.

The problem is further aggravated by the Cyprus problem, and the covert rivalries between European powers, the USA, the USSR and China. This sham rapprochement of Turkey and Greece is no more than a cover for the schemings of NATO in the Balkans.

The recent army exercises under the name 'Vulcan Express', or 'Hellenic Express', were a threat to the Warsaw Pact, and give the lie to the fraudulent nonsense of 'peaceful co-existence' propounded by imperialism and the bureaucracy.

The struggle for military bases in Cyprus

CYPRUS has been the scene of severe political conflicts which have resulted in the physical

extermination of prominent leaders like Georgatsis, and the attempted assassinations of President Makarios.

The international protagonists are Britain, the USA, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Greece. The obvious interest of the Americans in gaining control of the island's military bases is causing some anxiety in the Balkan workers' states.

The intrigues of the US imperialists in Cyprus is now explosive as it is throughout the Balkans generally. Behind the backs of the Cypriot masses, the vicious and the British retain their in-

proved fruitless after 99 sessions, will be replaced by discussions between Athens and Ankara.

This can only result in the removal of Makarios and an open dictatorship in Cyprus. For this reason, Makarios finds himself increasingly in conflict with Papadopoulos.

It is for this reason also that Makarios went to Moscow to ask for assistance to prevent a take-over in Cyprus. The situation in Cyprus is now explosive as it is throughout the Balkans generally. Behind the backs of the Cypriot masses, the vicious dictators of Athens and Ankara



Papadopoulos and Makarios.

fluence through the Commonwealth link, their monopoly of foreign trade and investment, and their unrestricted use of the bases, ensuring for the British military a continuing influence in the Mediterranean.

They also have the backing of their puppet Makarios, who prefers the status quo to the machinations of Washington, whose 'string pulling' in Ankara and Athens is jeopardizing the future of Cyprus.

The task of the American ambassador to Athens, Henry J. Tasca, is to end the wrangling in NATO and open up Cyprus for the USA. The immediate prospect is that the Clerides-Denktaş discussions, which have

are trying to impose the solution of 'double Enosis' (partition).

The strategies of all the governments involved, whether bureaucratic or capitalist, are directed against the working people. Only the Trotskyist movement has fought continuously for the principle of the self-determination of colonial nations, through the socialist revolution.

The rapprochement of Greece and the E bloc in the Balkans

THE CAPITALIST dictatorship which took power in Greece on April 21, 1967, has built a

base for US imperialism against her northern neighbours and against the political strength of European capitalist states at Strasbourg led by the Scandinavians, the puppets of British imperialism.

The opposition from the Common Market to the CIA-backed coup led to the suspension in 1967 of all the agreements for Greek entry in the Community. The Common Market boycott of their agricultural produce forced the Greeks to open relations with the neighbouring workers' states. The growth of trade has been remarkable—in 1969 exports to E Europe increased by 25 per cent, and in the first half of 1970 by 42 per cent.

This reflects the general policy of western countries, including the USA, to promote trade with the E. The deepest ever crisis of capitalism, exacerbated by Nixon's trade-war measures on August 15, 1971, demands the restoration of the markets 'lost' to imperialism, and has added impetus to the conclusion of trade agreements, and therefore 'peaceful co-existence', in the Balkans. This new rapprochement is the main political trend, and in terms of 'friendship', 'peace', 'neutrality', 'trans-Balkan understanding', are bandied about daily in the Balkan press. In fact the basic antagonisms between the capitalist and workers' states are in no way diminished. In spite of the enormous national and class conflicts, the Stalinists of the Balkan states still find honeyed words for the vicious anti-communist butchers of Greece.

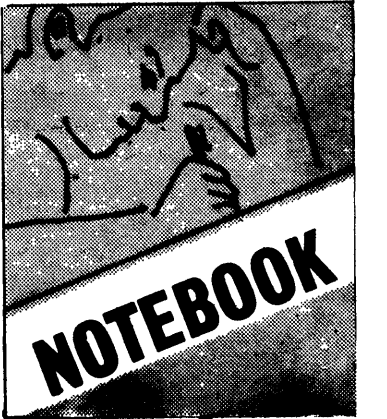
The Balkan Bloc against USSR invasion

THE FERMENT in the Balkans has greatly weakened the E bloc. The 'theory' of socialism in one country, and the consequent conflict of bureaucratic interests, has led the Stalinist bureaucracy to shake off her economic dependence and unequal trade relations with the Soviet Union. It was agreed by Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill at Yalta that Yugoslavia, like Greece, should fall within the W 'sphere of influence'.

Expelled in 1948 from Cominform, and openly threatened with occupation by Stalin, Tito took refuge—not in the international proletariat, but under the wing of NATO. One of the demands of the Cominform in 1924-1925 had been 'For a Socialist Balkan Soviet Union'.

How far from the road of revolutionary Marxism Tito had travelled! He earned the enmity of China by supporting in the United Nations the American resolutions in Korea and Formosa. In 1962, he signed a Balkan Pact with Greece and NATO. In struggling to free herself from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia merely forged the chain which bound her to imperialism.

The Balkan Pact was ended in 1956, when Yugoslavia restored



Lame ducks unlimited

THE ECONOMIC crisis always brings a group of people in its wake who specialize in making money out of those who are bankrupt or about to reach that unfortunate predicament.

There are companies which exist solely to swoop, vulture-like, on dying companies, picking the bones of the lame duck.

A short time afterwards you get a reincarnated shell of a firm filled with someone's (or even no one's) assets.

Now one of the City of London's consultants in insolvency has hit on yet another way of making money out of the dead and dying.

Mr Tom Grundy, vice-president of the Institute of 'dit Management', has just started a unique company in Birmingham designed to prevent people and companies going bankrupt.

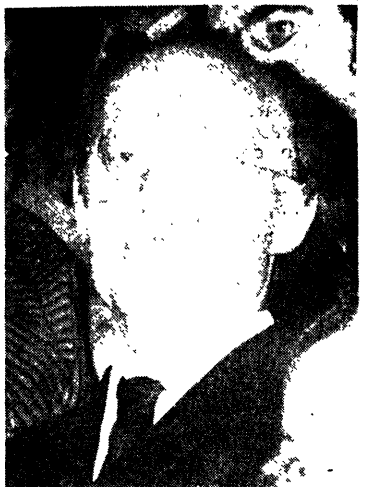
And what a name! Success Unlimited Ltd!

There should certainly be plenty of takers for Grundy's new 'service'. Over 4,600 firms went bankrupt in Britain in 1970.

What about Grundy's theory on why firms go broke so easily these days? Is there any possible connection with the fact that world capitalism, led alone by British capitalism, finds it somewhat difficult to sell anything to anyone?

Wrong again. Our hero believes that wine, women and gambling are the three prime causes of insolvency in that order. That information is well worth paying for.

Fanning the flames



LORD LONGFORD'S anti-pornography march has received added impetus from an unexpected quarter—the Fanmakers' Company in the City of London.

This remnant of feudalism held a livery dinner (whatever that might be) at the Mansion House the other week.

Master of the Company, a certain William E. Arnold, then made this astounding observation:

'There is something positively indecent about ladies using theatre programmes to fan themselves.'

Ladies should return to the custom of carrying fans, advised the gentleman.

As the moralistic counter-revolution proceeds to gather pace nothing is sacred from the watching eyes of our worthy fan-makers.

Of course the company has no vested interest in a return to fans. That would be carrying logic too far.

Apparently the job of this absurd organization was to seize and destroy any foreign fans found in London.

With Common Market entry there is a possibility that disgusting European fans will be dumped in Britain.

That, no doubt, will be the opportunity to organize another sumptuous dinner in the Mansion House where more fervent, historical pronouncements can be made.



BBC 1

9.00 Joe 90. 9.15 Little women. 11.10 Festival of entertainment. 12.00 Buster Keaton. 1.10-3.55 Grandstand. 3.55 Here's Lucy. 4.20 Dr Who. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 TOM AND JERRY.

6.10 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM. Oban v Baltimore.

6.30 FILM: 'THE GREAT ESCAPE'. Steve McQueen, James Garner, Richard Attenborough. Allied officers escape from Nazi POW camp.

9.15 NEWS and weather.

9.30 PANORAMA: REVIEW OF THE YEAR.

10.25 PRESENTING KEITH MICHELL.

11.15 TO BUILD A FIRE. Orson Welles tells the story of a man freezing to death.

12.05 REFLECTION.

12.10 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 2.10 Film: 'Hand in Hand'. 3.20 Documentary: 'The Sorrow and the Pity'. Reflections on France during the Nazi occupation.

7.45 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 INTERNATIONAL TENNIS. The Masters Tournament.

9.00 WHEELBASE.

9.30 THE SNOW GOOSE. Richard Harris, Jenny Agutter.

10.25 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

10.30 PRIVATE EYE TV. John Bird, Eleanor Bron, Spike Milligan.

11.15 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Sounds of today's music.

ITV

9.55 Ugly duckling. 10.15 Bugs Bunny. 10.40 Flintstones. 11.05 Out of school. 12.00 Tale of a tower. 12.25 Skippy. 1.15 Toolbox. 1.45 Film: 'Robinson Crusoe on Mars'. 3.40 Pinky and Perky. 3.55 Yoga. 4.25 Charlie Brown. 4.55 Junior showtime. 5.20 Maggie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. 7.00 London. 11.05 News. weather. It's all yours.

6.00 F TROOP. Forrest Tucker.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 MIKE AND BERNIE. 'To Russia, With Love'.

7.30 FILM: 'THE TRAIN'. Burt Lancaster, Paul Scofield, Jeanne Moreau. French resistance in World War II.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'TWO OF A KIND'. Douglas Bader and Marilyn Gillies.

11.05 DRIVE-IN.

11.35 OUTLOOK '72.



REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.05 Pinwinks. 4.20 Puffin's Birthday greetings. 4.25 Dr Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 11.05 Gazette. 11.10 Weather.

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Stalin and Roosevelt: agreement that Yugoslavia and Greece should fall in W 'sphere of influence.

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A Political Examination of IMG and Red Made by Michael Banda

A Workers Press pamphlet Price 10p

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Pilkington jobs: Trades Council intervenes

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Closure threat held over pressmen

UNIONS representing 1,200 editorial, clerical and printing staff of two main Glasgow papers will meet management today to hear proposals over redundancies.

They expect to learn that one in eight will face the sack under new economy measures announced by the owners of the 'Glasgow Herald' and its sister evening newspaper the 'Evening Times'.

But already the proprietor, young Tony Laird, Sir Hugh Fraser, has hinted that the two papers could close if the staff does not knuckle under.

The closure threat is not new. Rumours that the 'Times' and the 'Herald' will merge with their rivals—the Edinburgh based 'The Scotsman' and the other evening paper in Glasgow, 'The Citizen', — are hardy annuals in Scotland.

But this time union observers say there is more in them.

The Beaverbrook empire, which controls the 'Citizen' and the 'Scottish Daily Express' has joined forces with the Thomson Organisation which runs 'The Scotsman' and made a joint £3.5m bid for the two papers.

The Beaverbrook set-up is known to be in favour of 'rationalization', which in plain language means merging the two papers and making London the last city in Britain with two evening papers.

Thomson's management, for their part, would gain by controlling one regional morning paper in Scotland and shutting the 'Herald'.

Fraser's response to the bid sent a chill through Glasgow journalists. He said he did not like to close the paper but...

This young and rich businessman is known to be fairly ruthless at pruning non-profitable enterprises from his extensive business interests under the House of Fraser.

Other opinion has it, however, that the real intention of Fraser's closure remarks is that he wants to threaten the 'Herald-Times' unions with 50 per cent redundancies if they do not accept a little over 10 per cent today.

The workers and journalists are waiting to see what the proposals are on Tuesday before deciding on a course of action. But reaction varies from the militant suggestion of a work-in to a rather gloomy acceptance of the cuts, coupled with investigation of possible redundancy payments.

There is, however, a third possibility. This involves the IPC giant printing group which recently shifted the 'Daily Record' (The 'Daily Mirror' of Scotland) into new £8m premises at Anderson Quay, Glasgow.

It is known that these are under-used. Even before the official opening there were backstairs negotiations to get agreement to print the 'Evening Times' on the 'Records' ultra-modern web-offset press.

Fraser is a very shrewd man and at present he is sitting tight, threatening all parties in the chess game to monopolize Scotland's Tory press.

He is warning the union of closure, dangling the prospect of selling his paper before Beaverbrook and Thomson and keeping IPC in agonized suspense over a possible printing contract they desperately need.

The scramble for profit is inconsistent with a free and varied press. The whole of the British media is now firmly in the clutches of four families.

The kind of battle the Glasgow newspaper workers will put up against the decimation of their industry will be clear after today. But if they do not fight, down-town Glasgow and the cluster of newspaper offices around the Central station will become as depressed as Fleet St.

SACKED workers from Pilkingtons St Helens glass factories spent their second Christmas on the dole at the weekend.

Within the next week or so, however, officers of the Liverpool Trades Council will be taking up their case; they will be meeting local leaders of the General and Municipal Workers' Union to press for action to get the men's jobs back.

It is more than 16 months since 300 glass-workers were dismissed for striking in defence of a victimized fellow-worker.

A determined hard core of some 60 men and their families have stood their ground throughout that time, determined that the glass monopoly will not succeed in its attack on the right to work and the right to strike.

'We are still fighting—within the labour movement—for the two most vital principles the movement has, Bill Measures, one of the sacked men's leaders, told Workers Press during the holiday.

'The Pilkington lads were among the first victims of Tory rule; we've had more or less continuous backing from workers who recognize that. But the G&MWU is still trying to play games with us.'

Despite its claims to have completely modernized both pay structure and negotiating machinery at Pilkingtons since the seven-week St Helens strike early last year, it still refuses to fight for the reinstatement of the sacked men.

It has remained deaf to appeals for their readmission into the union from all six St Helens branch secretaries.

Discussion

Eddie Loyden, president of the Liverpool Trades Council, told Workers Press at the weekend that he and council secretary Simon Fraser would be meeting the G&MWU immediately after the holidays to discuss this situation.

Liverpool No 5 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers sent a resolution to the council demanding an investigation.

'The G&MWU district secretary Walter Aldritt claims this is an internal matter, but many members of the council don't accept that,' said Loyden.

'We will be meeting prior to talks on the Trades Council executive.'

Bill Measures points out that most of the sacked men are still effectively blacklisted by employers throughout Merseyside and S Lancashire.

'There are just no other jobs for us,' he said.

Some recruitment is due to take place at two of Pilkington's six St Helens factories in the New Year. But about 60 redundancies are feared from a third plant at roughly the same time.

LATENEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000
CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

Hunger strike in Greek jail

GREEK political prisoners in two jail stages a 48-hour hunger strike over Christmas in protest against the colonels' regime.

Relatives said the protests were held in the Trikala prison, central Greece, and at Chalkis prison on the island of Euboea. There are 250 people held in political detention by the police state.

TURKISH court sentenced two young men and three women to death yesterday on charges connected with the killing of Israeli consul-general Ephraim Elrom in Istanbul last May, but the sentences on the women were immediately commuted to life imprisonment.

All five were found guilty before a military court of trying to overthrow the Turkish regime by force, kidnapping and murder, and setting up the outlawed 'Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army, which claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and assassination of Elrom.

German Special Branch watches new militants

GERMAN employers foresee a stormy future as the economy begins to sink and working-class militancy reaches a level not seen since the pre-Hitler period.

The Employers' Confederation is so alarmed that it has set up a special department to follow left-wing activities in the factories. It co-operates with the German equivalent of the Special Branch to finger and investigate individual militants. And it makes no secret of these activities.

For many years German bosses assumed that full employment had made the workers docile. Bumper profits enabled them to buy off the trade unions with an occasional wage increase.

The changed economic climate means that they must now resist every claim and fight it out as happened recently in the Baden-Württemberg engineering industry.

The employers were forced to concede a new contract which conceded a bigger wage increase than they had originally been willing to accept.

However, inflation is now mounting in Germany and workers all over the country are finding that for the first time for years their pay packets are worth less each week.

A favourite ruse of German employers in the years of prosperity was to try to buy off workers by savings plans and share-holding schemes.

But the fraud of 'people's capitalism' is now being seen for what it is. Seventy per cent of the capital of industry is owned by 1.7 per cent of the population.

The trade union bureaucracy is as alarmed by the new wave of militancy as the bosses themselves.

For years they have co-operated closely with management. In the steel and coal mining industries representatives of the unions sit on joint boards with representatives of the shareholders.

Otto Brenner of the Metalworkers' Union sits on no less than ten such boards, travelling from one to another in a Mercedes as big and luxurious as those of the managing directors.

In an effort to pacify its members, the trade union bureaucracy is trying to extend this system to other industries.



Castro with Peru's military President Gen Velasco Alvarado.

THE NEW moderate image which Fidel Castro projected on his recent extended visit to Chile has not been lost on the assorted military dictators and repressive presidents who rule the majority of Latin American states.

As the Cuban official newspaper 'Granma' notes: 'The loneliness of revolutionaries is only temporary'—especially when they forget their previous talk of armed revolution and begin to make friends with their former enemies.

The more perceptive of Latin America's reactionary rulers have been quick to welcome the new turn in Castro's policy. On his way back from celebrating Chile's Year of Productivity he stopped over to talk with the Presidents of Peru and Ecuador and met with a friendly reception.

These two men obviously see Castro as a useful prop for their image as men of the people. The image, of course, is phoney through and through.

Ecuador's President, José Ibarra, heads one of the most benighted banana republics in Latin America—55 per cent of its exports are appropriated by the United States and the President is nothing more than a front-man for the US fruit and oil companies.

The Peruvian regime is a military dictatorship headed by Gen Velasco Alvarado. According to Castro, he and his aides are 'men who are anxious to do a great deal for the future of Peru'.

The military regime is backed both by the Peruvian Communist Party and the British 'Morning Star'. In an article in the 'Star' last May, Peruvian CP general secretary Jorge del Prado referred to a number of important radical measures undertaken by the military junta.

Among the measures he did not refer to was the fact that Velasco's jails are crammed with left-wing opponents of the regime.

With the Stalinists' enthusiastic backing, the Peruvian dictators have also initiated a major witch-hunt within the trade unions against Trotskyist and other left-wingers.

Castro—himself a rabid anti-Trotskyist—finds this activity obviously to his taste.

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This was the Euro-bond, subscribed for in Euro-dollars, which could then be used for making loans to industrial firms—including American-owned ones, and governments.

Euro-dollars and Euro-bonds thus marched together. And American currency regulations made it difficult for US firms to cash in on the business which continues to be mainly centred on the City.

Holders of Euro-dollars have found them an unrivalled way of evading tax and of working a whole number of practically undetectable tax fiddles. In the shape of Euro-bonds, payable to bearer, they need never be registered in any country and tax men cannot catch up with their owners.

According to Richard Lamb, editor of 'City Press', Euro-bonds mean 'a continuous miracle bringing profits beyond the dreams of avarice to the City of London'. The City, he says, is determined to resist any effort to bring this lucrative traffic under control.

British capitalism has always been parasitic and in its period of decline this parasitism becomes increasingly marked. It is now parasitic on the paper dollar which is

Nationalism aggravates Belgian crisis

THE BELGIAN general election of November 7 returned the ruling coalition parties, the Social Christians and the Socialists, with a parliamentary majority. But this began a political crisis which has not yet been solved.

Outgoing premier Gaston Eyskens gave up the attempt after weeks of fruitless bargaining. Behind the deadlock is the linguistic problem separating Flemish-speaking and French-speaking sections of the country.

These differences are now tearing the country apart. There are Flemish and French nationalist parties and the linguistic divisions are reflected in the governmental parties as well.

In an effort to deal with the problem, the Eyskens' government set up cultural councils for each linguistic group to come into effect at

the beginning of this month. The French-speakers in Brussels made gains in the November elections and exacerbated Flemish nationalist feeling in Eyskens' own party.

The result was that the Flemish wing of the Social Christian Party demanded that the new cultural councils should have more control over the schools in each region.

This was opposed by the Belgian Socialist Party, as well as by the French-speakers in Eyskens' party.

The politicians have been bogged down in these details of the national question for many weeks.

In his Christmas message, King Baudouin called for tolerance between the two communities and referred to the dangers in the situation.

Castro courts Peru's military



Castro with Peru's military President Gen Velasco Alvarado.

THE NEW moderate image which Fidel Castro projected on his recent extended visit to Chile has not been lost on the assorted military dictators and repressive presidents who rule the majority of Latin American states.

As the Cuban official newspaper 'Granma' notes: 'The loneliness of revolutionaries is only temporary'—especially when they forget their previous talk of armed revolution and begin to make friends with their former enemies.

The more perceptive of Latin America's reactionary rulers have been quick to welcome the new turn in Castro's policy. On his way back from celebrating Chile's Year of Productivity he stopped over to talk with the Presidents of Peru and Ecuador and met with a friendly reception.

These two men obviously see Castro as a useful prop for their image as men of the people. The image, of course, is phoney through and through.

Ecuador's President, José Ibarra, heads one of the most benighted banana republics in Latin America—55 per cent of its exports are appropriated by the United States and the President is nothing more than a front-man for the US fruit and oil companies.

The Peruvian regime is a military dictatorship headed by Gen Velasco Alvarado. According to Castro, he and his aides are 'men who are anxious to do a great deal for the future of Peru'.

The military regime is backed both by the Peruvian Communist Party and the British 'Morning Star'. In an article in the 'Star' last May, Peruvian CP general secretary Jorge del Prado referred to a number of important radical measures undertaken by the military junta.

Among the measures he did not refer to was the fact that Velasco's jails are crammed with left-wing opponents of the regime.

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Washington wreaks havoc on farm prices

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE Common Market's agricultural price policy — a source of acrid disagreements and crises ever since the Market was established 13 years ago — is once again under strain.

The latest cause of friction is the Washington monetary agreement, which led to a shakeup of the relations between Common Market countries.

The three most important currencies—the mark, the franc and the lira—are once again out of step.

While the mark has been revalued against the dollar by 12 per cent, the franc has gone up about 10 per cent and the lira only 7.5 per cent.

This has had its impact on the complex subsidies and levies which are designed primarily to subsidize the incomes of the French and German peasants by keeping the prices at a guaranteed level.

In an attempt to overcome these difficulties the W. Germany tried to get agreement on a plan for a common monetary system, abolishing the various national moneys in favour of a single EEC currency.

Extensive negotiations to this end broke down last year.

The level of payments demanded from each country to support agriculture are based on a unit of account calculated in terms of the dollar. Whenever the parities of the different currencies are changed in dollar terms, therefore, three appear all the ingredients of crisis.

France has now demanded a special meeting of the Common Market farm and finance ministers at the end of this month. It is particularly upset that the lira revaluation, by increasing the gap between the Italian and French currencies, has cheapened Italy's contribution to the common fund.

France wants the Italians to adopt the system of border taxes already brought in by Germany and the Netherlands in order to offset the changes in parity levels.

Otherwise, they say, the principles of 'community preference' on which the common agricultural policy is based will be in danger.

Italy has refused to play ball. In its present position, it can buy grain more cheaply from outside the Community than it can from the other five countries. Grain is Italy's main farm import.

The disagreement goes much deeper than would appear at first sight.

The rest of the Common Market resists paying for what it regards as the inefficient French peasant system—indeed they have forced

the French government to adopt the Mansholt Plan aimed at rationalizing agriculture on capitalist lines, pushing small proprietors out of business and encouraging larger and more mechanized farm units.

For political reasons, the Gaullist government, which relies heavily on peasant support, is reluctant to risk antagonizing its backers in the countryside.

The current Common Market crisis only underlines the impossibility of a genuine and thoroughgoing European union under the rule of monopoly capitalism. The Common Market countries have tried without success since 1958 to find a basis for a common currency, and the antagonisms between the various capitalist states now loom larger and larger as the trade war develops.

Croats in China

WHILE Croatia is in the throes of a deep crisis with nationalists proclaiming that its wealth is being drained away to other parts of Yugoslavia, a delegation is visiting Peking to boost trade.

The nine-member delegation, led by Vito Gasparovic, President of the Croatian Chamber of Economy, arrived in Peking on December 20.

They offer to the Chinese commercial agreements concerning the sale of ships, machinery and electrical equipment.

If the visit by a Croatian delegation to discuss economic questions with another country is not a piece of nationalism, it is difficult to know what it is.

The chances are that the delegation will lose their jobs when they get back to Zagreb—unless they ask the Chinese for political asylum.

Tyre and trailer deals by Yugoslavia

LATEST Yugoslav deals, with foreign capitalism, include an agreement with the French firm of Kleber-Colombes to build a radial tyre factory in the town of Krusevac.

Almost two-fifths of the capital cost will be met by the French government and the Kleber-Colombes firm. The factory should be in production in two years' time.

The Yugoslav factory of Nova Mesto is to set up its own plant in Belgium to build tourist trailers for cars.

They will be sold in adjacent areas of the Common Market.

Some 200 Yugoslav and Belgian workers will be employed. The firm exported 12,000 trailers in 1971.

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!
Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!
LUTON: Thursday December 30, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. The fight against Stalinism in the trade unions.

READING: Monday January 3, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, Minster St. Discuss ATUA Manifesto.
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.

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