THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Defeat the anti-union

Make the TUC call





Celebrate the Commune!

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If this were all there would be little necessity to remember the Commune except as another episode in history. For us, as it was for Lenin and Marx, the Commune constitutes the first step in the world socialist revolution.

That is why, despite the mistakes and omissions of its leader-ship and despite the monumental efforts of the French and European capitalists to obliterate the memory of this prototype dictatorship of the working class, the Commune lives and is constantly evoked whenever workers are in conflict with the capitalist state.

In this sense March 1871 is the dividing line between two epochs—the epoch of capitalist development and the epoch of imperialist decline into wars and revolutions.

Once again the words of Marx aquire a prophetic relevance: 'After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. . and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariat.' ('Civil War in June', p. 62.)

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win the Ford strike AN OPEN LETTER TO MR SID HARRAWAY

Force the Tories

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Quite frankly, we think the Ford strike has reached a dangerous stage—and we are sure many Ford workers are very concerned about the failure of your union leaders, and the committee you chair, adequately to prepare

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Just look what happened in the Post Office.

About a week before you spoke to our reporter, he interviewed Union of Post Office Workers' chairman Maurice Styles—like you, a Communist Party member—who told him

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

March 18

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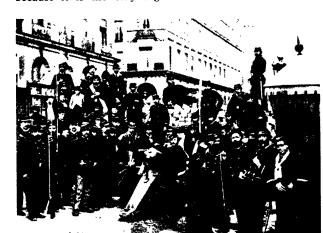
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MARCH 18

100 years ago today Paris workers, plagued by war, unemployment and high living costs, rose up against their capitalist masters, seized power and set up their own government —the Paris Commune



Communards man a barricade in Paris

Long live the the the memory in the the the 1926. of the Paris Commune!

MARCH 18, the day that marks the centenary of the Paris Commune coincides with the biggest political strike in England since 1926.

Just as the great events of 100 years ago showed for the first time that only the working class could display any consistent historical initiative and find a solution to the most basic problems confronting society so now the English working class is being forced inexorably into revolutionary struggles with the Tories as the only answer to the most fundamental problems which it faces: unemployment, rising prices, inadequate housing.

And if at first glance today's events look small compared with the heroic deeds of the Parisian workers, we can, with every confidence, say that in the same way as the French working class was driven to the overthrow of the capitalist state and the taking of power into its own hands, so today's strike action marks a step along a path which will see the working class remove this Tory government and

elect a Labour government.

Marx was not alone in recognizing that the Commune marked 'a new point of departure of world historical importance'; so did the bourgeoisie.

The emergence of the working class as the decisive revolutionary force resulted not only in the brutal butchery of all those French workers who led and supported the Commune, their own government, it led to a campaign of vilification and slander against the Commune in every

part of Europe.
Ever since 1871 the capitalist class has had good reason to hate and fear the revolutionary strength of the working class. And it is this same strength which they and their

It is no accident that every tendency in the British working-class movement bitterly opposes the mobilization of the working class to bring down the Tories and replace them with a labour government pledged to a socialist

Near-breakdown

For what these actions mark is the entry of millions into patics for the first time, an entry which spells

doom for bureaucracy.

Address

In the same way that the Commune swept away all bureaucratic privileges, making officials subject to instant bureaucratic privileges, making officials subject to instant recall and dismissal and reducing their payment to that of the workers they represented, so the growing struggle against the Tories can only be carried to a conclusion alongside the most determined struggle against reformism and bureaucracy inside the British working-class movement. Like all periods of social revolution, of which today's is no exception, the upheavals of 1871 took place against a background of severe economic dislocation and nearbackground of severe economic dislocation and near-

The dictatorship of Louis Bonaparte, which had taken power as a result of the 1851 coup, had brought France to a state of almost complete economic and financial

Corruption flourished in every office of state and rising prices and unemployment hit the standard of living of the working class and large sections of the middle class.

The event which was finally to shatter Napoleon's rule was the war he declared against Germany in 1870. Bismark was thoroughly prepared and four days after the outbreak of hostilities (August 2) the French were utterly

By September Napoleon and the French Army had surrendered at Sedan. He was deposed, fled to England and

a Republic was declared in Paris. The war however continued. But it was no longer a defensive action on the part of the Prussians, an action to which Marx had given support but now, as he had feared, transformed into one of territorial expansion at the expense

With Paris besieged the Republican government negotiated the most humiliating terms with Bismark. Realizing that the Thiers government had surrendered everything to the German army the working class of Paris rose up, disgusted by the treachery, corruption and exploitation of their rulers and established the Commune on March 18.

In so doing they opened up a new chapter in the history of the international working class.

For the Commune was much more than a historic episode, as Marx and Engels immediately realized.

Not only had the Communards 'seized the governmental power'; equally important they knew, as Marx said, 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'.

It was forced to destroy the bureaucratic military state machine, not merely place it in other hands. The stand army was abolished, the duties of the police were handed over to the people themselves; all officials were placed under the direct control of the workers and soldiers whose interests they had to represent; the Church was disestablished and all education was placed on a secular basis.

Here was the great theoretical advance which the Commune marked. It was an advance which was placed at the disposal of the Russian Revolution just as it is part of the theoretical armoury with which the British working class now enters a new period in its history.

For the experience of the Commune enabled Marx and Engels to make more concrete their analysis of the state which they had first presented in the Communist Manifesto, an analysis which by 1871 had 'in some details become

Poorly developed

Now it was clear, there could be no peaceful transformation of the state: it had to be smashed and replaced by a new state form which reflected the interests of the working class.

Like all great revolutionary events, the carrying through of these tasks was made possible only through the spontaneous actions of hundreds of thousands of people.

Marx and the First International could not choose the conditions under which the struggle broke out.

As Marx wrote to his friend Kugelmann, World history would be very easy to make if the struggle were only taken up on conditions of infallibly favourable chances'.

Nor was it possible for Marx to deal with the great theoretical confusion that existed in the Commune's leadership, a confusion which was to lead to the serious mistakes which it made in struggle with the Thiers government-notably its failure to seize the banks and to march on Versailles to where the government had fled.

French capitalism in 1871 was poorly developed. The

country was still largely petty bourgeois in its social Here the anarchist ideas of Proudhon could still retain considerable influence. It was largely because of Proudhon's muddle-headed theories of 'fair exchange' (demolished by

Marx as early as 1847 in the 'Poverty of Philosophy') that the centres of finance were not taken over by the But Marx's ability to recognize immediately the true significance of the events of March and April amid all

the confused and contradictory reports emanating from Paris was due to the great theoretical preparation which had been made inside the First International after its foundation in 1864 in the struggle against Bakunin and the Anarchists.

Although only a small minority on the Central Committee

in Paris were members of the First International, the Commune was in every sense, as Engels put it, 'intellectually the child of the International'.

For Marx's tenacious fight against Bakunin's 'anti-authoritarianism' and his hatred of the development of an independent political movement of the working class were fully tested out in the six weeks following March 18.

Sacrifice of millions

For what the Commune showed was that although the proletarian revolution would rely on the devotion and sacrifice of millions of workers thrown into revolutionary struggles by capitalist crises of the type that hit the French working class in 1870, such energies and devotion alone were no guarantee of success.

The Commune was defeated because it had not been possible under the existing conditions for the revolutionary movement to clarify the working class about the nature of its aims and the tasks which confronted it.

After 1871 things could never be the same again. The Commune had shown the bankruptcy of Anarchism and all forms of petty bourgeois politics.

This was one of the great lessons carried forward by Lenin in his preparations for the Russian Revolution. The theoretical battles fought out after 1903 in the Russian and international working-class movement which alone ensured final victory in 1917 were a direct develop-ment and extension of the lessons of 1871 as contained in Marx's work 'The Civil War in France'.

This is the great strength of the Socialist Labour League today. In the period of the boom all the theoretical battles which will confront the English revolution in practice have been fought out against the revisionists and

Thirty-thousand Paris workers were butchered to death in the reprisals which followed the re-conquest of Paris by the capitalist class. A further 45,000 were jailed and many later executed. But the Commune was not defeated. Not only did its

example inspire millions of workers throughout the whole of Europe in the years after 1871; its lessons were assimilated into the revolutionary movement, a movement represented in Britain today by the Socialist Labour League.

And just as we are now in the vanguard of the struggle against the Tories, so we are the only movement that can really celebrate the great and glorious Commune.

- Long live the memory of the Commune!
- Forward to the Socialist Revolution!



BUILD THE YS -

Possibilities never more favourable

TWO HIGHLY successful regional conferences in London last week have been the outstanding events in the campaign for the Young Socialists National Annual Conference at Scarborough next month.

Held in the London and Middlesex regions, the conferences brought together delegates and visitors from all the main branches in London to discuss the fight against the Tory government.

Taking place in a critical period for the working class, this year's conference will be vital in the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership.

A thorough discussion on the resolution to build a mass party—endorsed by over 4,500 at Alexandra Palace—will form a large and important part of the agenda.

Speaking at the London region conference Sarah Hannigan said the YS had complete confidence in the ability of the working class to defeat this government.

'But this ability requires leadership and the possibility of training this leadership has never been more favourable than Heath's speech at Newcastle on Saturday, she said, had confirmed the intention of the government to try to inflict

a lasting defeat on the working class.

The Tories were organizing on three fronts. 'They are out to defeat the wages movement and allow

the policy of high prices to predominate. 'They want to create unemployment to intimidate militant trade unionists and thereby create the conditions to smash

'They are proposing the Industrial Relations Bill to place legal shackles on the trade unions and consolidate

what we have won in the fight.' The Industrial Relations Bill did not only affect the trade unions. 'It is aimed at taking all political rights and will effectively prevent publications like "Keep Left" and Workers Press', said comrade Hannigan.

'While the Fleet St Tory press has every right to attack and isolate strikers, newspapers of the working class will be legally gagged.'

Outlining the political implications of these measures he said: 'The more the control and power passes into fewer and fewer hands, the more reactionary the political climate must become.

'That is why the introduction of the IRB and the Immigration Bill are a step towards dictatorship.'

Young Socialist National Committee member Maureen Bambrick was the main speaker at the Middlesex Region

It was no good waiting for another election in four years' time, she told members from over 20 different

'At the speed with which developments are taking place,





Bambrick addresses the Middlesex Regional Conference. Above: London Region delegates listen intently to contributions at their Conference.

did in the Second World War. They could suspend parliament and rule by decree.'

The rise of the colonels in Greece was a vivid example of this process.

'Every day that this government is allowed to continue without the maximum opposition under the leadership of the YS poses the most serious threat to our future.'

'Since the beginning of the year we have been in the forefront of the campaign to make this government resign. This campaign was climaxed by the magnificent rally of 4,500 at Alexandra Palace on February 14.

'We are calling for the election of a Labour govern-ment pledged to repeal the anti-union laws and restore full employment and nationalize the industry under workers'

Such a government, said comrade Bambrick, would revoke the cuts in social and health services. It would be a government completely different from that of 1964.

This policy of electing another Labour government had come under criticism from the revisionists and the Stalinists who had no confidence in the working class. 'But if the working class is strong enough to defeat the

Tory master, it is strong enough to defeat its servants in the labour bureaucracy. The major task before the conference was to build up the YS in the regions. The main plank to that would be to participate in all major actions of the working class

against the anti-union laws. The YS had to be foremost in the fight in trade unions

and in recruiting to unions. The Charter of Basic Rights should be popularized in all unions.

Thousands more young people should be recruited into the YS. Headquarters in all areas should provide the facilities for social functions. Sports and other popular activities had to be organized to prevent demoralization among unemployed youth.

School leavers had to be attracted to the YS. The new generation of youth provided the leaders of tomorrow. The basic organization of the YS-branches and federations—should be strengthened. With three weeks to go before the Scarborough Conference an all-out campaign was necessary to achieve the targets in mind.

Maureen Bambrick concluded: 'It is absolutely dangerous today to retreat before the Tories. Every reformist leader is trying to do that but it is not our task to accept this reactionary government a day longer.

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Forward to the Socialist revolution!

TUC refuse to fight union Bill

Cliff Slaughter analyses the TUC report on the Tory Industrial Relations Bill

TODAY'S SPECIAL TUC conference will consider a report from the General Council on the government's Industrial Relations Bill. The Council has made seven recommendations.

The big question before the working class is how to mobilize the strength of the whole trade union movement to defeat the Tories.

All discussion has, therefore, centred on Section 7 of the recommendations, which reads:

'Congress should concentrate its support behind the positive recommendations in this Report and preserve the unity of purpose that has hitherto characterized the campaign of opposition.' This is meant to rule out any use of strike action. Already the AUEW, T&GWU, NUR, and a number of smaller unions, have

decided to vote against this clause. Workers Press has pointed out the danger of no positive

alternative emerging from the Special Conference.

What is needed is an all-out General Strike to make the Tories resign, called by the TUC and prepared at national and local level. The General Council opposes any such action, with the most reactionary arguments. Paragraph 143 of the Report

'Nor do the General Council believe that it [strike action] would in any way deter the government from pressing ahead with this legislation. On the contrary, they take the view that it would strengthen the determination of the most reactionary elements in the government to press home their temporary political advantage.

Victims of illusion

Two illusions, which if not thrown aside will be fatal, dominate this conclusion. The FIRST is that there is some element in the Tory government which is not reactionary, and can be persuaded to come closer to the trade unions than to its class brothers. The SECOND is that the best way to deal with a Tory enemy is to convince him that you mean no harm: don't provoke him, and

he will embrace you.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the opposition to the TUC General Council on March 18 are victims of these same illusions. Engineering union president Hugh Scanlon has said that he understands industrial action to mean a few one-day token strikes— not a General Strike. He added that the purpose of this action would be to pressure the Tories into reversing their policy—not

to make them resign.

He has also said that he will abide by the majority vote on March 18—if Feather wins, Scanlon will oppose industrial action. We face the danger that, behind a 'left' appearance, Scanlon and the lefts are preparing capitulation just a few minutes later than Feather and the right. The same NUR leadership, for example, which will vote with Scanlon, has already approached the Tory government for discussions about their position when the Bill becomes law.

Constructive alternatives

An analysis of the 150 clauses of the General Council's Report indicates the underlying political reasons for the inability of these leaders to fight the Tories. Instead of coming out clearly against any state interference in the unions, the General Council is really talking about state interference along lines favourable to the trade union bureaucracy.

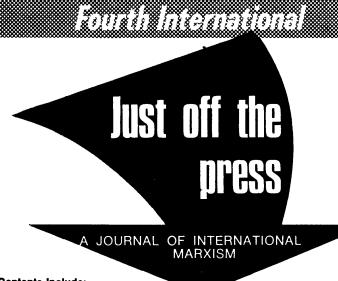
Paragraph 31 welcomes the resolution of the Parliamentary Labour Party, . . . calling upon the National Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Parliamentary Party and the TUC, to develop a constructive alternative which could ensure that a workable accord between a future Labour government and the unions and their members could be put to the electorate as a firm basis for the repeal of the Bill'.

These leaders see no possibility of the working class defeating the Pories. For them the future is as officers of 'good relations'

I hat is the meaning of their 'constructive alternative'. However, this is now a Utopia. The capitalist order has reached a stage where it can no longer proceed with the old bargaining relations. It must take from the working class its basic organizations, its basic freedoms, and any semblance of a living standard

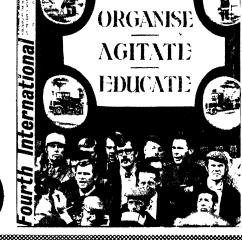
The politics of the TUC leaders are such that they are heading for the same role that was played by the German union leaders before Hitler established Nazism. If they are not prevented from doing so, the same fate awaits the British working class and

There is not a single one of these Labour and trade union leaders who would not consider it necessary under circumstances of 'national emergency' to serve in a coalition with the Tories. Already, last September, Feather declared that Tory policy might favour the unions more than had Labour's. The essence of the present situation is that the ruling class does face precisely such an emergency, and the Tories know it: unless the working class is defeated and bound down, the capitalist class



Contents include: Vote Labour! Expose Wilson's reformist policies Only Trotskyism can prepare for a socialist victory Once again why vote Labour? Trotskyist policy and the General Election: A reply to the 'Morning Star'

The Charter of **Basic Rights** Replacing the



NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYED BERMONDSEY GEN. BRANCH

REG. Nº 1386

The very first paragraph of the General Council's Report shows the acceptance of a common 'national interest' with the Tories. It says that the Bill is '. . . not only a threat to trade unions and to work people: it endangers the orderly development of industrial relations, and the well-being of the nation'.

These gentlemen apparently feel that history can be made according to the arrangements of bureaucrats. They cannot believe the simple truth that the days of 'consultation' are over, and they can only explain the present threat as a result of misunderstanding and perversity on the part of the Tories.

'The General Council's efforts to propose reasoned discussion of the important issues raised in the Bill have been obstructed by the government's wilful denial of the facilities for consulta-tion that have been accorded to the TUC by every government for at least the past 30 years. 'The government apparently prefers to base its industrial relations policy on the ill-informed criticisms of trade union policies and practices made by people with little or no understanding of trade unionism or of industrial

In pleading for things to be left as they are, the General Council sings a hymn to the common sense or empiricism which has up to now proved useful to the British capitalist class:

'The enduring strength of the methods now used lies in the fact that they are voluntary and flexible. This enables both sides to deal with a great variety of complex situations, and to respond without undue delay to changing circumstances.'

What they forget is that it is precisely this flexibility and voluntary character of trade unionism that the Tories must now

TUC paved the way

The rest of the TUC Report's introductory remarks only underline the danger which this leadership constitutes for the working class. It boasts about the 'reform' already undertaken by the TUC on its own initiative. But it is the TUC's acceptance of the Tory argument about the need for trade union reform that has paved the way for the Tories' own 'reform'.

The document outlines in detail the various rebuffs by the Tory government to the approaches by the TUC, which have since been underlined by Heath's dismissal of Feather's economic proposals, but draws no conclusions about the need to defeat

It is characteristic of the blindness of these bureaucrats (a blindness born of thir craven servitude to the capitalist class) that they can draw attention (paragraph 26) to the destruction



General Strike 1926

of basic democratic rights under the Bill, and still be satisfied to chide the Tories for endangering the 'orderly development of industrial relations'.

They ignore Heath's explicit promise at the Tory Conference to disrupt all 'orderly' relations.

It is clear from this report that the TUC leaders think they will go on forever whatever happens to the working class. The majority of the clauses in the document are about problems arising from the functioning of the Bill, not about how to prevent its becoming law.

Co-existence with corporate state

Even here, the General Council, while recommending unions not to register with the new registrar, refuses to make non-registration a condition of affiliation to the TUC. In other words, they openly admit the immediate possibility of co-existing and functioning jointly with state-run unions. Here is an anticipation of the repressive corporate state.

The TUC already, over many years, accepted the increasing tendency to integration of the unions into the state. The Commission on Industrial Relations—to have a large responsibility under the Bill—has an ex-General Secretary, Woodcock, as its head. We even saw, as late as last week, the acceptance by Hugh Scanlon of a seat on the National Economic Development

These leaders are not opposed to relations between unions and the capitalist state. They simply want to keep them sweet.

They all accept the bourgeois lie that the state is a neutral arbiter between opposing interests, instead of seeing it in the Marxist way as the instrument of the ruling class for oppressing the working class.

Scanlon, for example, will make the most militant-sounding speeches about the economic war between the classes, but he does not accept the need to overthrow the bourgeois state. He approves of participating in its governing bodies in an official In this sense the TUC document is an exemplary demonstra-

tion of the correctness of Trotsky's prognosis in relation to trade union leaders today:
'Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself

to the independence of trade unions. 'It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labour aristocracy, who pick the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of

'If that is not achieved, the Labour bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists.' ('Trade unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay'-SLL pamphlet, 1968.)

These leaders are not going to wake up one fine morning and correct their erroneous ways. It would be fatal now to ignore the lessons of history in relation to the role of reformist leaders. They refuse the revolutionary road of struggle even up to and beyond the point where the capitalists ditch parliamentary democracy and free trade unions.

This is what happened in Germany and Italy between the wars and it must not be allowed to happen here.

Toryism is not Nazism; but the Tories today are directing their policies at the same ends as did the Nazis: destruction of the working class as an organized class. Out of Toryism as we know it, helped by the 'national interest' politics of the trade union and labour leaders and by the Stalinists, will emerge the forces and the leaders for the future fascist movement, unless the workers' movement acts in time.

A leading Nazi businessman, Dr Luer wrote in 1934, as a guide to 'industrial relations' under Hitler:

'This is the foremost and fundamental requirement for the employer: always use your capital in such a way as to make it yield profits corresponding to the necessities of national

The Nazi labour law was designed to fulfil this aim. Industrial organization was controlled by the state through the Nazi Party; unions were abolished; courts and penalties settled dis-

The Industrial Relations Bill is the first step down this road. The refusal of the General Council to fight it comes from their fear of the masses, fear of the socialist revolution, and their undying faith in the capitalist system.

The lessons of Germany are vital. There the trade union and socialist leaders were, in words, far to the left of Wilson, Feather, Foot and Scanlon.

But on the fundamental questions of the class nature of the state and the necessity for the working class to take power under revolutionary leadership there is complete identity of

Stalinists aided Hitler

How did the German leaders meet the challenge of Hitler? After years of refusing to fight—a refusal aided all along the line by the criminal ultra-leftism of the Stalinists—these leaders hastened to collaborate with the state even after Hitler was appointed chancellor in January 1933.

When, on March 5, a General Election held under conditions of complete police terror made it narrowly possible for Hitler to form a government, they offered their services yet again. In every previous election, the unions had issued manifestoes

calling on their members to vote for the Social-Democrats. This time they made it known that each worker should vote as he liked. They did this under conditions where every anti-Nazi paper was banned, where the corpses of militants were being dragged from the rivers, and where many socialist and Communist Party leaders—were jailed. These trade union bureaucrats assumed that if they did not offend Hitler he would leave them free to go on as before!

Hitler gained only 43.9 per cent of the votes even under these conditions, and could govern only with the help of the Nationalists. Even then the union leaders wrote in their press that the new regime would find it needed the unions, and pledged assistance to the Nazi 'national reconstruction'.

On April 13, 1933, the unions declared their policy through Hans Ehrenteit, addressing the Provincial Congress of the Free Trade Unions of Hamburg: 'We are ready and able to fulfil the hopes and desires of the

proletariat in the economic-social sphere, in agreement with the present rulers. 'We do not doubt for one moment that the events of March 5

represent a revolution of enormous depth and scope; a revolu-tion which is to surpass the liberal and capitalist economic system; a revolution putting an end to that democratic parliament-arianism which for the past few years has been so deceptive.

'The trade unions have built bridges to the state and to its rulers. . . . The function of the trade unions must be to continue to fulfil their economic and social mission.

'This same duty has been carried out by the present government of the Reich, and collaboration between the trade unions and the government is therefore possible.'

Three weeks later every single trade union and workers' organization in Germany was smashed and its leaders imprisoned. Let the lesson be learned.

General Strike

A great vacuum of leadership exists in Britain. The working class is strong and unbroken, determined to fight the Tories. General Strike is becoming the great mass demand. But the Post Office strike and Feather's approach to Heath, underline the grave dangers to which these leaders expose the working class.

The General Strike to defeat the Tory government, make them resign and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies—this policy is necessary now.

The Report of the General Council must be rejected. The General Strike must be declared by the TUC until the Tory government resigns in favour of a Labour government pledged to repeal the Tory laws and revoke the Tory cuts. The campaign for the General Strike—and the increasing popu-

larity of this demand from Liverpool to London shows its enormous political potential can be successfully developed only through the simultaneous building of the revolutionary party of the working class. To all workers who want to defeat the Tories and prevent

the repetition of another 1926 on a far vaster scale we say: Join the Socialist Labour League and fight to realize the Charter of Basic Rights and the resolutions of the Alexandra Palace anti-Tory rally.

- For rard to the General Strike from May Day (May 3).
- Build the revolutionary party—the only guarantee of victory!

Spanish gold in Russia

A HIGH-POWERED delegation from fascist Spain is in Moscow, negotiating a trade agreement which could lead to full diplomatic relations being established between Franco and the Kremlin.

Heading Franco's team is Jose Luis Ceron, Spanish Director-General for International Economic Relations. Observers in Madrid say Franco's policy of improving his relations with Stalinist regimes is soon to be consummated by a

far reaching deal with the Krem-He has already signed trade

and diplomatic agreements with Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. The one outstanding difference

is the dispute over the gold deposits of the Republican government defeated by Franco in the Civil War, which Stalin shipped to Moscow before he sent any aid to the embattled The Spanish News Agency

Cifra reported on Monday that an official mission would soon be visiting Moscow to discuss the return of the gold shipments, but later the same day this was denied by Franco's Foreign Ministry.

Both Franco and the Kremlin leaders would rather discuss this delicate subject with the minimum of public comment and information.

In the past, the Soviet government has claimed that the Republic's gold — all 510 tons of it—had been spent on arms sent to Spain in the Civil War (even with the fascists at the gates of Madrid, Stalin made his 'comrades' pay for every bullet and gun). Now there are reports from

Madrid that Franco is ready to reach a compromise on this question. The treachery and cynicism of the Soviet bureaucracy knows no

Less than four months after the Franco regime condemned six heroic anti-fascist fighters from the Basque to death, and only commuted their sentences

under enormous international working-class pressure, the solidarity not to the Spanish working class and Basque people, but to their oppressor, the fascist Franco.

And symbolically, on the same day that Franco's men chatted and dined with the Kremlin bureaucrats in Moscow, Spanish bureaucrats in Moscow, Spanish police announced the arrest of 40 members of the Basque revolutionary movement, the ETA, most of whom were students aged between 18 and 24.

These young fighters have been utterly betrayed by counterrevolutionary Stalinism. There can be no victory over Franco fascism without the most ruthless struggle against the theories and activity of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the inter-

national workers' movement.



BBC 1 9.38 a.m.-12.00 Schools. 12.30 p.m. Nurses in training. 1.00-1.25 Swyn y glec. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 2.50 Racing from Cheltenham. 4.30 Tom and Jerry. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Desert Crusader. 5.44 Parsley. 5:50 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. London.

6.45 THE DOCTORS.

7.05 TOP OF THE POPS.

7.45 THE LIVER BIRDS. 8.15 THE GOOD OLD DAYS. Old time Music Hall from the Fam-

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

ous City Varieties Theatre, Leeds.

9.20 PLAY: 'MAD JACK'. Michael Jayston, Michael Pennington, Clive Swift. Story of poet Siegfried Sassoon.

11.15 FACTFINDER. 'Choice of School'.

11.30 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school.

6.35 p.m. SMALL BUILDER. 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY. Mathematics.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather. 8.00 TELEVISION DOCTOR. 'Vaccination'.

8.15 THE MONEY PROGRAMME. 9.00 GARDENERS' WORLD. 'Roses'.

9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK. 'Dave Allen at Large'.

10.05 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.10 DISCO 2. Featuring The Alan Bown, Patto.

10.35 FILM: 'MADCHEN IN UNIFORM'. ('Young Girls in Uniform'). Romy Schneider, Lilli Palmer. Relationship between a girl and a teacher at a girls' boarding school in Germany.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as above except:

Midlands, E Anglia: 6.00-6.45 Nationwide. Midlands today. Look Fast, weather. 11.32 News, weather.

North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland: 6.00-6.45 Nation-wide, Look North, weather. 11.32 News, weather.

ales: 2.30-2.50 Dysgu cymraeg. 6.00-6.45 Wales today, weather. Nationwide. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.45-8.15 Week in week out.

11.15-11.40 Late call. 11.40-11.55 Factfinder.

Scotland: 2.30-2.50 Around Scotland. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland, weather. Nationwide. 11.32 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.45 Scene around six, weather. Nationwide. 11.32 News, weather.

SW, South, West: 6.00-6.45 Nation-wide. Points West. South today. Spotlight SW, weather. 11,32 News, weather.

11.00 a.m. Schools. 3.15 p.m. Mad movies. Tea break. 4.10 Origami. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Gullive. 515 Magpie. 5.45 News.

5.55 TODAY. 7.05 SLAPSTICK AND OLD LACE. Charlie Drake.

7.35 FILM: 'ROPE OF SAND'. Burt Lancaster, Paul Henreid, Peter Lorre, Claude Rains. An adventurer returns to S Africa to find a cache of diamonds.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 CINEMA. A look at the career of Dirk Bogarde.

11.00 AVENGERS. 'The Joker'.

12.00 SURVIVAL IN THE CITY. Ivor Mills talks to the Bishop of Woolwich.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-3.00 London.
3.55 Origami. 4.05 Puffin. 4.15
Mona McCluskey. 4.45 HR Pufinstuf. 5.10 London. 5.55 News,
weather. 6.05 Farming. 6.10 Sports.
6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Dentist on the Job'. Bob Monkhouse.
8.30 This is your life. 9.30 London, 11.00 Tom Jones. 11.53
News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.53 News. 4.05 Gus Honeybun. 5.55 Diary. 6.30 Horoscope. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 11.58 News. 12.02 Faith for life. 12.07 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.25 Horoscope. 3.30 Women. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.12 Plupp. 4.25 London. 4.50 Superman. 5.15 London. 5.55 Day by day. 6.45 Junkin. 7.15 Film: '1t's Only Money'. 8.50 Love American style. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Prisoner. 12.05 Weather. It's all yours.

HARLECH: 11.00-3.00 London, 4.09 Moment of truth. 4.35 Once upon a time. 4.50 Flintstones. 5.14 London. 5.56 Report West. 6.16 Report Wales. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Mysterious Island'. Michael Craig, Joan Greenwood, Herbert Lom. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 10.30 Folk in the west. 11.00 Tom Jones. 12.00 Weather.

HTV (West): 4.07-4.09 Report West. 6.16-6.35 Sport West.

HTV (Wales) and HTV (Cymru/Wales): 5.15-5.45 Dib n-dobyn. 5.56 Cymraeg i bawb. 6.00-6.16 Y dydd.

ANGLIA: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.00 News. 4.05 Women. 4.30 Rupert. 4.45 Joe 90. 5.10 London. 5.55 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "Two Rode Together", 9.00 London. 11.00 Man in a suitcase.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.10 Houseparty. 3.20 Stars. 3.25 Women. 4.00 Peyton Place. 4.30 Cartoon. 4.35 Wind in the willows. 4.50 London. 5.55 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "My Six Lovers'. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 11.00 Tom Iones.

90. 5.15 London, 5.55 UTV reports, 6.30 Cartoons, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Film: 'The Key'. William Holden, Sophia Loren, Trevor Howard, 9.00 Slapstick and old lace, 9.30 London, 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Love American style.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.30 Saber. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.10 London. 4.25 Matinee. 4.50 Flipper. 5.15 London. 5.55 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Arnie. 7.00 Shari's show. 7.30 Film: 'The Black Knight'. Alan Ladd. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.05 News. Peyton Place. 4.35 Origami. 4.50 Woobinda. 5.10 London. 5.55 Newsday. 6.20 Hillbillies. 6.55 Saint. 7.50 Slapstick and old lace. 8.25 Edgar Wallace. 9.30 London. 11.00 Tom Jones.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-3.00 London.
4.00 News. 4.05 Women. 4.35
Tuktu. 4.50 Forest rangers. 5.15
London. 6.00 Today, 6.25 Police
call. 6.30 Mr Magoo. 6.35 Film:
'Boom Town'. Clark Gable, Hedy
Lamarr. 9.00 Slapstick and old
lace. 9.30 London. 11.00 Challenge.
11.30 Casting around. 12.00 News.
12.15 Revolving chair. BORDER: 1.38-3.00 London. 4.03 News. 4.05 Tea break. 4.30 Paulus. 4.45 Superman. 5.15 London. 5.55 News. Lookaround. 6.30 Horo-scope. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Red River'. John Wayne, Mont-gomery Clift. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 11.00 Homi-cide. 12.00 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.00 Dateline. 4.10 London. 4.50 Skippy. 5.10 London. 5.55 Dateline. 6.30 High living. 7.00 Film: 'The Defiant Ones'. Tony Curtis, Sidney Poitier. 9.00 Slapstick and old lace. 9.30 London. 11.00 Tom Jones. 11.55 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-3.00 London.
3.40 News. 3.45 London. 4.25
Moment of truth. 4.50 Flintstones.
5.15 London. 5.55 News, weather.
6.05 Lesley Blair. 6.35 Crossroads.
7.00 Slapstick and old lace. 7.25
Film: "That Man from Rio". JeanPaul Belmondo. 9.30 London. 11.00
Tom Jones. 11.55 Epilogue.

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Sydney

FINES imposed on Aus-

tralian trade unions for leading two recent Sydney

strikes may lead to a

head-on clash between

workers and John Mac-

Mahon's Tory government.

Compromise

He was released after a

The union leaders then

Until this week, no attempt

has been made to collect out-standing fines. The new Tory

Prime Minister, however, is notorious for his hard line on

He is wasting no time in

taking the offensive against

the Australian working class.

unions and wages.

Australian Council of Trade

Just before social service cuts

Food pricesgiant jump soon

Fear of tele-control extension at Acton

WORKERS at Joseph Lucas's CAV engineering plant at Acton, N London, fear that management may be planning an extension of the notorious 'tele-control' production monitoring sys-

, 'Tele-control' was one of the conditions agreed, against bitter opposition from a section of the joint stewards' committee, as part of the 1970 site deal at Acton. At present, however, it

met with opposition from machine-setters. They regard it as a change in their conditions of work for which they require extra

has been installed only in

two sections, where it has

Militant stewards warn that it would be a grave mistake for the setters to use 'tele-control' as a bar-gaining counter for wage

WEATHER

SCOTLAND and N Ireland will be cloudy with rain at times and there will be snow on higher ground in Scotland.

England and Wales will be mostly cloudy with periods of rain or heavy showers, but there will be a few bright periods, particularly in E

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Thursday March 18 Thursday March 25 'Blue Anchor' pub Steyne Rd (off Horne Lane), Acton, W3 Given by Cliff Slaughter

CROYDON

Monday March 22 Monday March 29 The Plough and Harrow Thornton Heath Pond Given by P. O'Regan

SOUTHALL Wednesday March 24

Indian Workers' Association Hall, 18, Featherstone Rd, Southall Given by Robert Black

LUTON

Sunday March 21 AEU House, Dunstable Rd, Luton Given by Tony Richardson

BEXLEYHEATH

Monday March 22 Monday March 29 'Lord Bexley', Broadway (nr Clock Tower) Given by Peter Jeffries

W LONDON Wednesday March 24 Room 3a, University of London Union Malet St, WC1

Given by Michael Banda

Celebrate Commune!

• FROM PAGE ONE

groups are completely opposed to the centralized, political struggle of the working class because they know that such a struggle must lead inevitably to the revolutionary expropriation of the capitalist class and the destruction of the apparatus of state repression by the organized might of the working class.

Lenin led the first successful socialist revolution in history precisely because he studied and compared the events of 1871 with those of 1905 and enriched the tactics and strategy

His critique of the Commune in 1908 must be studied by all workers who want to fight the Tories and defeat them, as well as understand the dangers of Stalinism.

The first mistake the Commune made was that it stopped half-way instead of 'expropriating the expropriators'.

The second and even more serious mistake was that 'instead of destroying its enemies it sought to exert moral influence on them'.

on them' If Lenin's critique means anything today it means that the working class must clear out the right-wing traitors who rely on 'moral force' and build the revolutionary party and take the road of the General Strike which alone leads to

the 'expropriation of the expropriators'. We say salute the Commune by joining the Socialist Labour

- STAGGERING increases in the cost of living are to follow yesterday's Farm Price Review announced in the Commons by Tory Minister of Agriculture James Prior.

By far the biggest slice of the £138m award made to farmers will be paid for by the housewife. Milk will go up by 1p at the beginning of July, together with increases in the cost of sugar,

meat and eggs. Lack of government subsidy on other items means the farmers will have to make up the difference at the consumer's expense.

These are some of the effects of the declared Tory policy of passing the cost of agriculture from the Exchequer to the consumer, out-lined yesterday in the White

Paper.

The Review says that 'significant changes' in the system of farm support are on their way, meaning, of course, that the working class is to be made to pay for loss-making farms.

A further threat to living standards is also mentioned in the Review. 'Accession to the European Economic Community, it says, will 'lead to our adoption of the Community's agricultural policy and methods of support.'

Imports levy

A move towards the import levy scheme, almost similar to that in the Common Market, is to be used to cut cheap food imports. This will increase the cost of eggs and lamb. On eggs the Review places

emphasis on the move to a free market. The Egg Authority is al-ready planned to take over from the Egg Marketing Board

at the end of the month, which will inevitably increase number of sheep fell again last year and among special measures to stop the decline is an increase in price of fat sheep by about 2.8p a pound, wool by about 1p a

pound. Altogether a total of about affected by the price increases.

The White Paper says that the number of regular fulltime farm workers has been falling by about 5 per cent a year since 1967, whereas productivity has increased at the

KESTREL FILMS LTD.,

which produced 'Kes' and

'The Body', held a view-

ing for television critics

on Tuesday of a film they

made for London Week-

end Television over 12

months ago and which

the company has failed to

Called 'After A Lifetime' it is

a characteristically percep-

tive, moving and funny account of an aspect of working-class life by director Ken Loach and writer Neville Smith.

We feel as though we've been

waiting a lifetime for it to

be shown, said the pro-ducer Tony Garnett.

previous production of theirs, 'The Golden Vision',

was greatly enjoyed by millions of viewers as a BBC

Wednesday Play three years

The film deals simply and

directly with the effects of the death of a worker in Liverpool and draws out of

this everyday occurrence in the inseparable personal

and class histories of his

family.
was made at the end of

1969 after the mass resigna-

tions of programme makers, including Kestrel, from

The resignations were in pro-test at the sacking of Michael Peacock and the

abandonment of any promise

of good programmes this

implied; it was one of the first signs of the severity of the financial crisis in

both public and commercial

its resignation to honour obligations to the artists in-

volved, but when finished it

sat on the shelf under the

Tom Margerison-Stella Rich-

man regime which followed.

resignations and

With their recent demise in

broadcasting. Kestrel made the film despite

prices to the level of govern-

class have to bear indirect increases brought about by Tory

Impoverished

The point where whole sections of the working class are impoverished as a result of Tory policy is rapidly being reached.

Workers can literally no longer afford to allow this government to remain in

● FROM PAGE ONE

their union's opposition to today's action. They will be joined by thousands of workers employed by Upper Clyde Ship-

Textile and building workers are also on strike. In Liverpool, where the Trades Council policy, endorsed by a mass meeting on March 1, is for a General Strike to defeat the Tories, thousands of striking build-ing workers and dockers will

march to a meeting at the Pier Union leaders in Wales have forecast that thousands more workers will be joining the 100,000 who took part in the

March 1 stoppage.

Members of the Electrical
Trades Union will be joining the strike unofficially. No national or Scottish daily papers will be produced today and London's evening papers will also be stopped. Busmen in London are also taking

part in today's strike. Many sections of workers will be sending delegations to take part in the mass lobby of today's special meeting of the Trades Union Congress which is meeting to discuss the TUC General Council's donothing proposals for the campaign against the IRB.

BY FRANK CARTWRIGHT

sackings and the take-over

by Rupert Murdoch and

John Freeman, the film has now been suddenly removed

from the schedules after a

promised transmission date for the end of this month.

the spokesman for LWT I talked to said he didn't

know the reason for its

After the viewing an LWT press officer said the film now has a date for mid-

July transmission, but he

could not say when this

film had been informed of

the new date when I spoke to their office yesterday.

'After A Lifetime' will be

reviewed in next week's TV

ALL TRADES

UNIONS ALLIANCE

MEETINGS

Lessons of the postmen's

strike.

EDINBURGH: Thursday March 18 8 p.m. Railwaymen's Hall, Restalrig Rd, Jocks Lodge.

NEWCASTLE: Thursday, March 18, 7.30 p.m. Connaught Hall, Blacket Street.

LUTON: Friday, March 19, 8 p.m. AEU House, Dunstable Road.

SHEFFIELD: Sunday March 21, 7.30 p.m. Attercliffe Vestry Hall, Attercliffe Common. 'The crisis in steel--fight the redundancies!'

GLASGOW: Sunday March 21, 7.30 p.m. Workers Press Rooms, 46 W Princes St, St George's Cross.

ACTON: Monday March 22, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd, W3.

CROYDON: Thursday March 25. 8 p.m. Ruskin House. Coombe Rd.

latest decision was reached. None of the makers of the

removal,' said Garnett.

'No new date was given and

LWT bans TV

BY GARY GURMEET

rate of 6 per cent between 1964 and 1971.

The White Paper, which appears only two weeks before the cuts in health and social services come into effect, aims to allow farmers to push up

nent guarantees.

Not only will the working policy on farming, but from April 1 it will have to pay through the nose for spectacles, teeth and school meals.

Strike

What must today's delegates do then? REJECT the General

for workers' rights.

MAKE it clear to the

political and by its very nature aimed at forcing the Tory government to resign.

For their part the AUEW and the T&GWU must make

the Congress. They should declare that their industrial action against the Bill will go ahead and be

Delegates should also force the General Council to tell all member unions that they will be immediately expelled without appeal if they say they will register under this

Finally illusion must be

successful campaign of and go on to legislate a social-

Press stand.

You then thought that

Ford's could certainly afford

to increase their offer and that

there was the possibility of

further negotiations with the company in the next few Well, you have now had further negotiations—and rejected the miserable £4 offer the company made. Now Ford, under workers' control.

clearly hoping to frighten your While agreeing with this in words, you said you didn't union chiefs into an ignomini-

ous climb-down on the Post Office pattern, says the ball is in your court. Meanwhile, the heir of all the notoriously anti-union Fords has told the Tory leaders he agrees things will

In two speeches this week, Heath had made clear that Tory policy is not simply for the de-escalation of wage offers', but for the reversal of the trend—in other words, for wage-cutting.

have to be cleaned up'.

If this is not 'a hard policy', then what is? (Ford will certainly be backing it all the way.)

Proof

So how much do we smash this policy?

In our opinion, the Ford-Heath meeting proved that the Ford strike and the fight against the Tories are part of the same battle—and must be fought as such.

Just as wage-cutting can only be combatted by an alliance of all unions with pay claims in, so the Industrial Relations Bill can only be defeated by a General Strike. Neither end can be achieved unless the or property are described. unless the employers are de-cisively defeated and the Tories forced to resign.

And what, Ford workers will ask, do we put in their place?

Let us put it this way. When you spoke to Stephens Johns, you discounted company threats of redundancy as 'so much rubbish', adding that 'no employer is going to run away

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Mrs B looks for scapegoats

Second Ceylon 'emergency' in two weeks

TROOPS guarded key points throughout Ceylon yesterday after Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's state-of-emergency declaration.

any dissident elements bent on creating chaos by acts of terrorism to

'We shall not allow

directed against a tiny guerrilla-inspired youth

group—the People's Freedom Liberation Front—they are a threat to the entire

Faced by growing economic crisis and chronic shortages of basic foodstuffs, the 'United Left Front' coalition is hunting

SHORTAGES

In a radio speech, Mrs Bandaranaike attempted to

link sugar and salt shortages

with the activities of 'secret

bands of youths', who, she claimed, were 'trying to

create confusions by terrorizing people with bombs and other lethal weapons'.

The 'United Left Front', a

Like her Indian counter-

part Mrs Indira Gandhi,

Mrs Bandaranaike's brand

of parliamentary reformism has reached the end of the

Bengal deal

PAKISTAN President Yahya

Rahman for the second time in 24 hours yesterday in an

attempt to halt the growing

movement for Bengali

Rahman is willing to reach an

accommodation with Khan in

return for the ending martial law in E Bengal.

Indian

Sheikh

independence.

The

Unofficial

met Awami League

accounts

Mųjibur

for scapegoats.

Ceylon labour movement.

Retreat! HEAVY N Vietnamese anti-aircraft fire prevented US helicopters lifting either men or material out of the besieged frighten the peaceful citizens of this country,' 'Lulu' base, 20 miles from the S Vietnam border. Before she said yesterday. fleeing through the jungle, the Although this second set 1,000-strong force had to destroy all their guns and of emergency measures in two weeks are ostensibly

ammunition.

Many US pilots are now refusing to land inside Laos guerrillas captured smoke grenades and decoyed helicopters into a series of devastating ambushes.

General

• FROM PAGE ONE

and the dole as an 'encourage-

Council's document which insults the memory of those past pioneers who struggled

coalition of bourgeois nationalists, Stalinists and ex-revisionists, was swept to General Council that they want a General Strike against the Bill and that this must be power last May with a huge mandate for action against imperialist and domestic Since then, the plight of Ceylon's masses has

it clear that they will not be disciplined by the compro-misers on the extreme right of

extended into a General Strike from May 3.

cast aside and the political consequences of such a workers' offensive realized.

this kind would mean the resignation of the Tory government and the re-election of a Labour administration which would repair Tory damage ist programme.
This is where the Socialist

Party (Marxist) election victory poses the need to unify the two wings of the Bengali Labour League and Workers nation into a single state.

of productivity'. Yet it now seems clear that Ford's Detroit management does intend to starve their British operations of investment in retaliation for the strike.

We made clear during our interview with you that we think such threats should be answered by the immediate nationalization of Ford's

think the company would put you in a position 'where we could develop demands for nationalization and workers' control'. And you have not developed these despite the events of the last

resign, they must be replaced by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies—

seven-week struggle can now be won.



during strike

TWO DAYS of strikes and demonstrations in Cordoba yesterday forced the Argentine military regime to remove the city's newly-appointed

administration, and army detachments have been pressed control.

revolt was instigated by 'professional agitators'.
Yesterday Cordoba police

Hard core The hard core of the move-

working class, concentrated in the Fiat and Renault car plants in the city's suburbs. It is this explosive force which has temporarily compelled the regime to retreat by sacking its hated Cordoba

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Unions President Robert Hawke said in Melbourne on Tuesday that no union would pay fines imposed by the Commonwealth Industrial Commonwealth Industrial Court while discussions with the government on anti-union penal clauses were in progress. His warning followed a decision earlier the same day by the Industrial Court, which fined six unions a total of £4,240 for supporting strikes by Sydney engineering and Union banners are raised in a Cordoba anti-government rally. transport workers. The last major clash over flared up in 1969, when more Cordoba's hated than a million workers struck when a union leader was imprisoned for refusing to pay a fine. governor quits businessman paid the fine to get the strike called off. came to a compromise with the government.

governor, Jose Camilo Uriburu. The General Strike, called by the Peronist-dominated CGT (General Labour Con-A WIDE SELECTION OF federation), turned into a revolt of 10,000 workers MARXIST LITERATURE and youth against the city

moved in to help hardpolice regain At least 400 workers and students are being held by the police, who claim the

began a house-to-house search in the Clinicas district, a university area frequented by militant anti-government

ment against the militarybacked and pro-imperialist regime of President Roberto

Communist governor.

with nationalization of Ford's top of the list!

We can now begin to answer our question. Not only must the Tories be forced to

In our opinion it is only behind such a policy that the Ford workers' determined

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