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By our political correspondent

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Legal sources said yesterday his intervention could have been prompted by either the Cabinet or the NIRC president, Sir John Donaldson.

The man chosen to conduct the case—without the consent of the dockers—was Mr Peter Pain, QC, who has appeared for the Transport and General Workers' Union throughout the container blacking cases.

Denning said the evidence before the Court was 'quite insufficient' to prove a breach of Monday's NIRC order against picketing.

This is the second time this week that Denning has upset decisions made by the NIRC.

Bernie Steer said the Official Solicitor's move in the court could only be regarded as a 'victory for the dockers of this country'.

The decision of the government to appeal through the Solicitor General to the High Court for the three men's release has demonstrated the power of the working class.

It is now entirely possible to make the government resign.

This is the most urgent issue of the hour. If the present opportunity is missed then the Tories with the connivance of the right-wing union leaders will plan more carefully next time. Here are the facts behind the crisis.



JAIL THREAT LIFTED: Three jubilant dock stewards (l. to r.) Alan Williams, Bernie Steer and Vic Turner, in the giant picket outside the Chobham Farm container depot yesterday.

DOCKERS — See p. 6 and 7

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Courteous bombing pause to help talks

Hostile questions in Hanoi for Podgorny

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

TWENTY-FOUR hours after the departure of the Soviet head of state, President Podgorny, for North Vietnam, radio and newspapers in the USSR had made no reference to it.

But the visit had been cleared in advance with the US State Department and Nixon ordered a bombing pause over Hanoi to create a peaceful environment for Podgorny's talks with the North Vietnamese Politburo.

Podgorny will have to face hostile questioning from the North Vietnamese. They will want to know why the Soviet leadership was cavorting with Nixon while B52 bombers were sowing death and destruction on an unprecedented scale.

While Nixon was in Moscow, scarcely veiled attacks on the Kremlin in the Hanoi press accused the Soviet Union of putting national interests before those of the world revolution and betraying the national liberation struggle.

With US approval, Podgorny will demand that the North Vietnamese call off their offensive and put forward a peace formula which will enable the American delegation to return to the peace talks in Paris.

Although there were few signs during Nixon's Moscow visit that an agreement had been reached on ending the Vietnam war, both sides are anxious for a deal—at the expense of North Vietnam.

The dropping of Pyotr Shelest from his important post as First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party following the Central Committee meeting

which preceded Nixon's visit was a victory for the tendency which wants a speedy agreement with the US.

With considerable progress having been made in Europe, following the ratification of the agreements with Poland and East Germany by the Federal Republic, there is a growing desire to end the Vietnam war.

A 'Pravda' article said that the summit talks had gone forward 'despite obstructionist actions by rightist and leftist foes of relaxation'. This was the first clear indication that there had been top-level disagreements about the Nixon visit.

Nixon would like an early Vietnam peace settlement since this would make his re-election certain — an outcome which would not be unwelcome to the bureaucracy, as shown by the shift of emphasis in the Communist Party press.

Veteran British Communist Party member Andrew Rothstein reflects the trend in a 'Pravda' article. He draws a distinction between the Tory 'diehards' who are blocking a settlement with the Soviet Union, and 'the broad circles in Britain which understand that important changes are now under way on the continent, that tendencies towards detente and co-operation are getting stronger...'

This opens the way for support for reasonable, peace-loving Tories and for such 'important changes' as Britain's entry into the Common Market.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's visit to Paris this week also ensured the support of the French government for the calling of a European security conference as soon as possible.

Both sides agreed 'that favourable changes had recently occurred which contributed to the reduction of tension on the

European continent and to the improvement of relations between states with different social systems'. A reflection of this in a further rightward shift in the policy of the French Communist Party can be expected.

While in Paris, Gromyko also had detailed discussions on the situation in Vietnam with Gaullist ministers and President Pompidou. He is believed to have given a full report of the discussions which took place in Moscow with President Nixon.

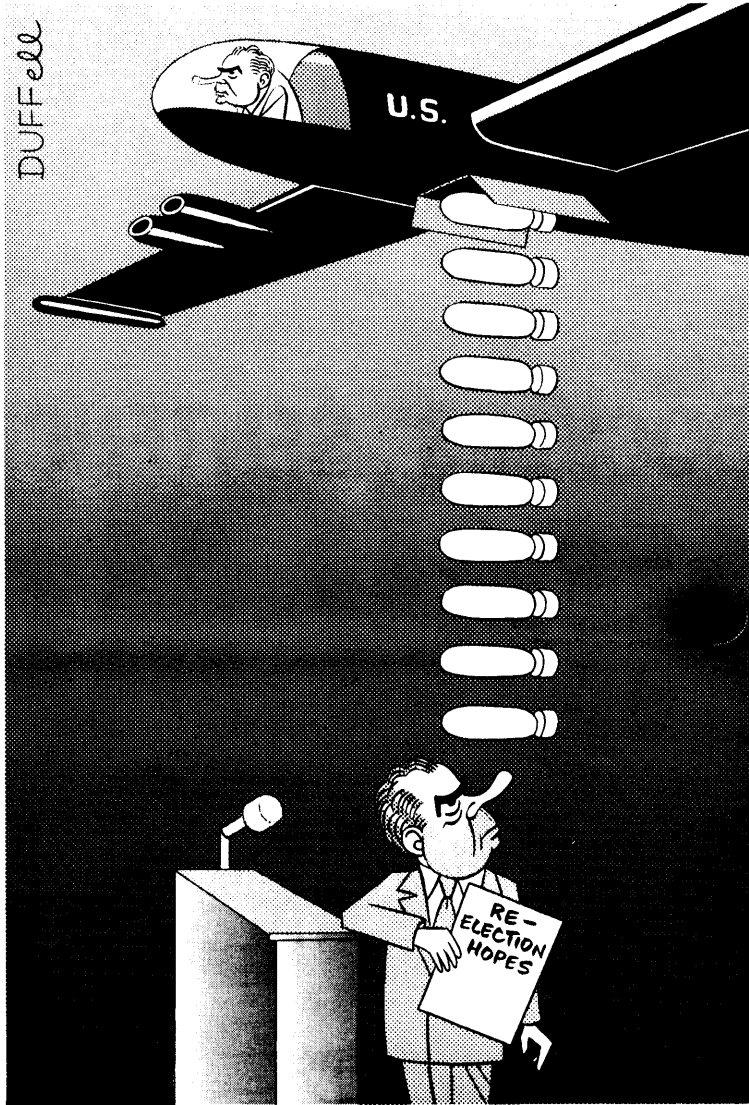
Nixon's adviser on foreign affairs, Henry Kissinger, is to visit Peking next week in a surprise move also arising from the present stage of the Vietnam war. This comes after Chinese attacks on 'frenzied acts of aggression' committed by the US in carrying bombing near to their frontier.

The visit comes at a time when there are again reports of an imminent shake-up in the Peking leadership and the making of important new policy decisions. They may include the reduction in the powers, if not the actual dissolution, of the revolutionary committees set up during the 'cultural revolution'.

Moscow and Peking continue to abuse each other and to assert their own opposition to imperialism and support for national liberation movements.

Both put national interests first and are anxious to reach an agreement with the United States at the expense of the revolution.

As Moscow put it in a Chinese language broadcast, the Soviet Union, in its talks with Nixon 'tactfully combined its realistic stand for solving pressing problems with its unshakable will to support the national liberation struggle...'. The Chinese could say as much with as little sincerity.



Andreotti suggests right-wing coalition

THE ITALIAN Christian Democrat Party is trying to form a right-wing coalition with Liberals, Republicans and Social Democrats following the failure of attempts to form a 'grand coalition'.

The Christian Democrat parliamentary group gave approval to premier-designate Giulio Andreotti's proposal after he had reported the Socialist Party's refusal to serve in the same cabinet as the Liberals.

The Liberal Party stands on the right of the parliament and has been excluded from office since 1960.

The decision to invite the Liberals back into the government marks a very significant swing to the right following the May General Election.

In that election the most notable gains were made by the fascist Italian Social Movement, which increased its representation from 30 to 56 seats.

The inclusion of the Liberals in the proposed cabinet foreshadows vicious attacks on the trade unions, which have been

a prime target of Liberal agitation for 'stronger government'.

The Socialist Party in a statement issued on Thursday night said the proposed coalition would be 'incapable of facing and resolving the present problems of Italian society'.

It added that the Socialists would 'fight in opposition for the creation of new conditions for democratic development'.

The Christian Democrats vetoed the renewal of the old coalition after the Socialists rejected demands that they break definitively with the Communist Party.

Andreotti and his party are quite openly trying to patch together an administration designed to deal blows to the working class under conditions of economic crisis.

FOREIGN NEWS

Allende sop to right wing

THE CHILEAN government has made an agreement with the Christian Democrat opposition to end the constitutional deadlock which resulted last April when President Salvador Allende vetoed a change which would have limited his power to nationalize industry.

The agreement, which is strongly supported by the Communist Party, is intended as a sop to the opposition and the middle class.

At the same time a list of 91 firms has been published which the government intends to bring into the public sector. Comprising 60 per cent of industrial capacity, the firms include many in which the government already has some participation or which are wholly or partly foreign-owned.

The Christian Democrats appreciate the moderate role of the Communist Party, which clinched this agreement.

In a recent altercation between a Christian Democrat senator and the President of their National Party allies in which the latter bitterly complained about this agreement, the senator retorted: 'If it hadn't been for the communists there wouldn't have been an agreement.'

Allende is now reshuffling his cabinet in a further shift to the right. There are growing signs of discord within the Popular Unity coalition.

SENTENCES QUASHED: NOW MAKE THE TORIES RESIGN

From p. 1

Behind the government's actions lies the one great, inescapable fact of the capitalist world economic crisis.

In the rapidly-intensifying trade war, British industry, made weak and obsolete by the rapacious greed of the British capitalists over generations, is hopelessly uncompetitive. The balance of payments position once again plunges downwards, there is open talk of devaluation by the autumn.

Inflation is out of control. For the Tories, it is a life-and-death question to solve this crisis at the expense of the working class.

Tory strategy is to enter the Common Market, transfer masses of capital into Europe, producing millions of unemployed and mass revolutionary struggles in Britain under conditions favourable to themselves.

This, we repeat, was the meaning of Heath's United Nations speech in October 1970, warning of 'civil war'. It is for this civil war of Heath that the Tories are preparing.

The Tories have decided that

there is no alternative for them except to inflict wholesale degradation and impoverishment on the working class and the middle class. They protect the wealth and privilege of the rich, and condemn millions to penury.

In the light of this prospect, the conduct of the trade union leaders such as Jones, Scanlon and Feather, stands condemned. Their discussions with the Tory government, their plans for conciliation and goodwill, provide a cloak behind which the Tories unfold their real policy.

These union leaders know full well what they are doing. The more the masses are forced into action against the government, the more the Tories lay the law down, the more these leaders crawl before their masters. They react only with fear as the government draws the sword and proceeds to wield it.

The trade unions cannot be silenced by the government or by these leaders. NATSOPA leader Richard Briginshaw expressed the feeling not only of his own members but of millions of workers when he said on Wednesday that the Industrial Relations Act could be smashed, and advocated a General Strike.

With such a struggle, he said, '... you are embarking on a challenge for power'.

That challenge is not just a trade union question. Trade unions have been built as essentially defensive weapons to protect the wages, conditions and rights of their members. It is necessary now to ensure that working-class action, once having made the Tories resign, returns a Labour government.

Would such a Labour government answer the question of power? By no means! But, for the working class to answer 'the challenge of power', the working class will have to go through the experience of the fight to expose the Labour leaders in a series of bitter struggles to make the Labour government carry out socialist policies.

There must be no repeat of the class-collaboration policies of the last Wilson government, which paved the way for the return of the Tories.

Working-class power means the nationalization of the major industries and the banks, carried out by the struggle of the working class. Such a successful

struggle for power, in the course of which the grip of reformism is broken, can be carried out only through the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership, the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

In every city, town and village, the working class must be brought together in Councils of Action to fight politically against the Tory government in defence of the democratic rights, living standards and the independence of trade unions. This was the call of the Socialist Labour League Manifesto of May 19th

It is not a question of making the government think again or 'retreat', as the Stalinists say, but of creating in struggle the industrial and political conditions in which the Tory government will have to resign and give way to a Labour government.

The Councils of Action must comprise all trade union organizations in the area, all Labour Party, Socialist Labour League, Communist Party and other working-class political tendencies, as well as tenants' organizations, unemployed, and all those fighting the Tory government.

Inside the Councils of Action, the struggle to develop correct socialist policies will provide the best conditions for the development of revolutionary leadership.

The first demand must be for the immediate emergency recall of the TUC. There Briginshaw's policy can be debated.

The dockers must on no account be left to fight alone on issues which concern the future of the entire working class and vast sections of the middle class.

We urge every Young Socialist, ATUA and SLL member and Workers Press reader to give us the maximum support for this policy:

- Don't let the dockers fight alone!
- Recall the TUC now!
- Councils of Action in every area!
- Prepare for the General Strike!
- Mass action to create the conditions to make the Tory government resign!
- For a Labour government pledged to socialist policies!

Stalinists block a Council of Action

THE STALINIST platform control of the Coventry trades council succeeded on Thursday night in reversing the previous decision for the setting up of a Council of Action.

This was done by the most blatant negation of every normal method of workers' democracy in the trade union movement.

President, Edward McClusky, a Communist Party member, ruled right from the start that the last trades council had merely accepted a letter from Coventry 49 AUEW branch which gave the opinions of the branch.

It was a resolution, he said, and did not bind the trades council. He then launched an attack on Socialist Labour League members who, he said, were going into branches alleging the trades council was setting up a Council of Action when in fact it had not taken such a decision.

This blatant lie was fiercely challenged by many delegates who were present at the last trades council meeting. McClusky had not been there.

In a half hour of pandemonium,

BY OUR OWN
CORRESPONDENT

McClusky refused to re-read the resolution that had been carried from Coventry No 49 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Finally, a vote was carried by 22 to 17 that the previous resolution from the AUEW branch be read again and debated. It read:

'This Coventry 49 AUEW branch welcomes the proposal of Coventry Trades Council unemployed committee to call a town meeting against the Tory government's action and we support the policy being proposed for this meeting. This branch considers that in light of the rapidly-developing situation this meeting should now be extended to bring in every section of the working class now under attack. It proposes that all working-class political organizations, tenants' committees, shop stewards' committees, union branches, etc. be invited to this meeting and a Council of Action be set up to organize the defence of workers against the Tory onslaught.'

Immediately the mover from Coventry 49 AUEW began speaking McClusky accepted a motion from a right winger that the resolution be noted.

He allowed the Coventry 49 speaker one minute, took another speaker to note the resolution, and while numerous delegates were on their feet to speak on the issue of Councils of Action, McClusky took a snap vote on the motion to note.

Amid the confusion, this was carried by 20 votes to 15. This was how the Coventry 49 resolution on the burning issue for the working class was treated.

The fear of the Stalinists and right wing who worked jointly in this manoeuvre is provoked by their knowledge that in these Councils of Action their counter-revolutionary policies will be exposed in front of millions in action and not just in small meetings.

A move by the Stalinists at this meeting to further postpone the town's meeting on unemployment to September was, however, defeated.

The trades council agreed to hold this meeting in the first week in July and accepted the policy of the unemployed committee which called for the majority unions in the TUC to recall Congress, organize a General Strike to force the Tories to resign, elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and to restore full employment and to immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act.

Staveley profits improve as 1,000 workers hear of closure

STAVELEY Industries, one of the big three machine-tool firms, predicts 'a further improvement' over £490,000 profits for the first six months of this year. On the same day the firm announced the closure of its Worcester works.

In January the firm announced its intention of only shutting its Altrincham machine grinding plant in Cheshire, sacking 1,025 workers.

The closure of its works, part of the Archdale division means another 400 will now lose their jobs.

The engineering

slump is now proceeding apace. Only a few days ago Herbert-Ingersoll, the most advanced machine-tool firm in Britain, called in the receiver. It had lost over £4m in four years of trading.

Staveley chairman Mr H. R. Moore thinks the firm has a bright future, even if it only applies to shareholders.

The company has practically doubled first-half profits over last year, in spite of the miners' strike, which the firm claims lost it £200,000.

Significantly, the profit increase has been achieved on lower sales, down about 6 per cent. As the 'City Press' put it:

'This improvement in

margins shows that the heavy cutting-back on surplus capacity has had the desired effect — although it is understood that even now there is still some spare capacity.'

In plain language this statement means that profits have only increased on the basis of lay-offs and sackings and more work from those still with jobs.

Financial commentators are forecasting that Staveley will make at least £14m on the year as a whole, and perhaps £14m.

The figures are of little consolation to the 400 at Worcester awaiting their cards. Continued trading at the plant 'would produce unacceptably high trad-

ing losses for a long time to come,' said a company spokesman announcing the news.

The works manufactures mainly special-purpose machines for the car industry, and it has suffered from the recession in machine tools generally where the industry runs at 50 per cent capacity.

Staveley do not feel too bad about the closure. They pointed out it would produce 'a significant improvement' in the company's cash resources.

Overall, it is expected that Staveley's reserves will show a 'modest' increase at the year end, despite the effects of the UK closure and of one other in America.

Engineers' pay claim linked with MDW in Coventry

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE RETREAT on the engineers' national wage claim has its diametrical opposite—the acceleration towards Measured - Day Work - type wages structures.

This trend is very clear in the Coventry district and the result of engineers' leader Hugh Scanlon's visit to Coventry on Wednesday June 7 has now brought these opposites into clear focus.

The invitation to Scanlon to speak to the Coventry AUEW quarterly shop stewards' meeting was extended by the right-wing district committee in order to cover their own retreat on wages and conditions in the Coventry area.

Scanlon's thesis, which he developed during the 1968 wage claim, is that the job of national negotiators was to build a skeleton of wages, hours and holidays etc, and local officials put meat on the skeleton's bones.

This theme, which led to the acceptance of MDW productivity deals in 1968, today leads to the strategy of plant-bargaining. Both have disastrous results for the working class.

The applause at the close of the meeting was seen by one of the stewards as a sigh of relief with the realization that no one was being asked to do anything different to what they had been previously doing.

That was in fact the meaning of the resolution placed before the meeting by the district committee. Scanlon said he warmly welcomed the resolution.

Policy

District president Jim Griffin, convenor at the Triumph Canley factory, told the meeting the plant-bargaining policy was a union decision democratically arrived at and all union members must abide by the decision and fight for it.

If no satisfactory offer was forthcoming at the Standard motor company in the morning, seven days' strike notice would be served on the company.

Before jumping over the moon at such fighting talk in Coventry, one is forced to remember that the Coventry leadership was unable to defend the 30-year-old Coventry Toolroom Agreement and allowed to pass a method of payment which was giving regular monthly increases in pay without any norm of production.

Since the termination of this agreement last year thousands of workers have been subjected to productivity dealing. In 1968 Griffin was one of the main national committee advocates of that infamous package deal.

At the June 7 meeting Griffin called on the Jaguar convenor at the Radford works, Ken Tyler, to give a report on the settlement there—£3.20 on the basic, £4 extra holiday pay, one day's extra holiday next year and a second bite of the cherry later in the year. A wonderful settlement, said Tyler.

Griffin already knew the stone in the cherry was clause six, reported to the district committee the night before.

Lay-off pay

It reads: 'Negotiations on a reformed payments system — which include among other things the question of lay-off pay.'

The reformed payments system in Coventry's British-Leyland factories is the introduction of MDW-type payments system and everyone knows it.

To link it to the national wage claim in this way, as Tyler did —and Griffin did not object—is to contravene point six of the national wage claim which reads: 'Any agreement concluded to be without strings or conditional on productivity.'

British Leyland has now offered the Jaguar settlement to Triumph and Coventry Climax, both British-Leyland factories.

Assistant divisional organizer George Butler was reported in the local press as saying:

'The agreement reached . . . in the light of discussions at present taking place at Triumph on a new wages structure . . . was considered to be an interim settlement.'

What the workers think of the deal can be judged from Jaguar worker Gavin Tully's remarks to Coventry 25 branch of the AUEW:

'I've got nothing out of the settlement. It's been a complete sell-out by the shop stewards. They had a 20-to-one vote for strike action on the national wage claim. And now what has happened is that MDW has been brought forward.'

Coventry workers must beware. British-Leyland is not the only factory where the linking of the national wage claim with new wages structures is going on.

Clear strike mandate—pilots

BEA PILOTS have given their leaders a clear mandate to call a strike, the British Airline Pilots' Association said yesterday.

Gordon Hurley, the union's spokesman, described as 'totally erroneous' a claim by Kenneth Wilkinson, BEA managing director, that less than half the pilots had voted for the pay walk-out.

Although it is not policy to issue ballot figures, Mr Hurley said the pilots had rejected the pay offer 'out of hand'.

There was also 'an overwhelming majority' saying they were prepared to withdraw their services, he said.

More than 1,200 of the 1,350 members eligible to vote took part in the ballot.

'It would be lunacy for any union to issue a strike notice unless it had the overwhelming support of its membership,' Mr Hurley added.

Talks aimed at averting the strike, due to start on June 23, were taking place at a meeting of the national sectional panel of the National Joint Council for Civil Air Transport.

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BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS

COOPER AND THE GREAT RED THREAT

Last week Lord Cooper, the right-wing leader of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, announced his retirement. In this two part series Stephen Johns examines his attitudes and career.

Lord Cooper's statements from the time he first made news, right up to the present day, are one continual tirade against the shop floor and the militants who lurk there.

His intense fear of militancy can be divided into two phases. In the early days he called on the leadership of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and the TUC to discipline their own 'wayward' members.

He warned that a failure to make stern measures would result in state intervention in the movement.

The second phase is one during which he came to believe that state interference was justified and necessary. This led directly to his own, but ultimately abortive, attempt to get the G&M to register under the Industrial Relations Act.

Lord Cooper's statements, from the time he first made the news, right up until the present day, are one continual tirade against the shop floor and the militants who work there.

There were two phases to this opposition to 'communism', 'industrial anarchists', etc. etc.

One was in the early days when Cooper called on the union leadership and the TUC to discipline their own 'wayward' members.

But even then he warned that failure to do this would result in justifiable government intervention in the labour movement.

Threats

The second phase is one where he came increasingly to believe and support just this principle of state interference and finally the Tory Industrial Relations Bill itself.

This failed when his own union conference came out against registration and recently Cooper has joined the group in the TUC which is strongly in favour of some high-powered form of voluntary conciliation machinery. However his ideology remains basically the same.

In one of his earliest recorded speeches, at the 1955 G&MWU annual conference, Cooper urged unions to impose their own discipline.

'Unless a strike is used only as a final step after negotiations have failed,' he said, 'then the consequences for the nation are serious and the duty of any government to protect the public interest is clear.'

He coupled these threats with a series of virulent articles designed to scare the average official over the dangers of communism.

The ammunition for these attacks was drawn from organizations who pledged themselves to subverting the power of the working class.

Thus in an article written for the London, 'Evening News', July 1, 1955, titled 'Thin Red Line Behind Strikes', Cooper quotes from a pamphlet issued by that well-known defender of the working class, Moral Re-armament.

In 1957, again at the union's annual conference, he warned delegates not to close their eyes to divisions in the unions.

'On the one hand we have those who spend all their endeavours in reducing conflict, and on the other, those who seemed bent on the promotion of industrial strife,' he said.

'We are all too familiar with the propaganda which fosters the unctuous philosophy that all the virtues lie with the rank and file,' he added.

'The Times' justifiably headed their piece on the conference, 'Union Chief Wants Shop Stewards' Powers Curbed'.

At this stage he wanted unions to set their own house in order.

His plan was for industrial unions dominated by a strong central body, 'to co-ordinate the policies and activities of the unions. This would require a substantial surrender of autonomy on the Swedish pattern.' (G&MWU journal, November 1963).

But as working-class militancy increased, and Cooper saw the Labour government's own attempts to introduce anti-union legislation destroyed, he shifted the emphasis of his arguments.

He moved on to his second phase—open advocacy of state compulsion in industrial relations.

Already he had come near to supporting two key features of the present Industrial Relations Bill.

The 'Evening News' article quoted earlier ended with these words from Cooper:

'A secret vote before a strike should be provided for in my opinion by all unions in their rule books.' (Cooper's emphasis).

Again in the same article he approached the concept of legally-enforceable contracts when he wrote:

'How can the great masses of decent trade unionists be protected?

'Of overriding importance is the need for both unions and employers to insist on carrying out at all levels, agreements to which they are parties.' (Cooper's emphasis.)

At the union's 1959 conference he repeated the same message:

'Any union worth its salt cannot allow large numbers of its members to be put out of work by action in defiance of well-established procedure agreements.'

'As a movement we have the responsibility to ensure that agreements entered into are honoured by members and officials of the union,' he said.

Negative

Legal contracts, secret ballots—but there was still a piece missing in the jigsaw—government compulsion.

Now Cooper began to address himself to this missing link.

In his union journal of May 1969 he charged those in opposition to Labour's anti-union plans as being 'melodramatic and negative' and urged the movement not to reject 'In Place of Strife' as a whole.

According to 'The Guardian' of May 16, 1966, he had already called upon the Minister



Top: Lord Cooper. Above: Pilkington workers sack the G & M offices at St Helens during the Pilkington strike. Workers became so incensed with the behaviour of their union that they left it en masse.

of Labour to reverse his policy of 'doing nothing' about unofficial strikes. There was, he said, a strong case for compulsory state conciliation when the 'public interest' was at stake.

Finally he made this dramatic admission before businessmen at the Institute of Personnel Managers in April 1969:

'In our evidence to the Royal Commission, we argued for the introduction of a compulsory element into state conciliation. We supported the re-introduction of the Industrial Disputes Order, 1951, which would enable one party to refer a dispute to arbitration.'

So it was that Cooper came to

forge the final link in the long chain of compromise with the capitalist state.

Resistance

By the time the Tory government was elected, had announced its plan for 'industrial reform' and had provoked massive resistance of the working class, Cooper was ready for the ultimate in co-operation with the Tories—registration under the Industrial Relations Bill, the charter of the corporate state.

The ultimate responsibility for men like Cooper lies with the entire leadership of the labour

movement. The fact that his views can grow and flourish in their company is a damning indictment of their politics and reformist philosophy.

How can men like Hugh Scanlon, the 'left-wing engineers' president, and his counterpart in the Transport and General Workers' Union, Jack Jones—who made clear their memberships' opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill at the March 18 TUC—now co-exist with Cooper on the same TUC committees?

Are there, in fact, others who do not speak with Cooper's own openly right-wing tongue who would like to register under the Bill?

GERMANY'S MISGUIDED TERRORISTS

The day after the Japanese anarchist group 'Red Army' carried out its sensational attack on Lydde airport, Andreas Baader, leader of another famous terrorist group, was wounded and captured in Frankfurt.

With Ulrike Meinhof he gives his name to the so-called Baader-Meinhof group which for over two years has confounded the police and alarmed the middle class in Germany with its bank robberies and attacks on army bases and newspaper offices.

The capture of Baader marks the climax of a massive police sweep involving 150,000 men, many armed with machine guns and driving armoured cars. Motorway service stations around Cologne were for a time manned by members of the Criminal Police Dept. This show of force by the state was ostensibly provoked by a series of bomb attacks throughout May in which four people were killed, accompanied by a declaration from the group on May 24 that:

'The armed struggle has now begun. No exploiter will remain unpunished.'

In various raids on the group the police have uncovered an incredible arsenal of weapons ranging from bombs to heavy machine guns.

Who are these people and what is their aim?

The origins of the group go back to about 1968 when the so-called 'extra-parliamentary opposition' swept through the German student movement in the aftermath of the French General Strike. Mass demonstrations and fights with the police took place over single issue questions like the Vietnam war or the right-wing press.

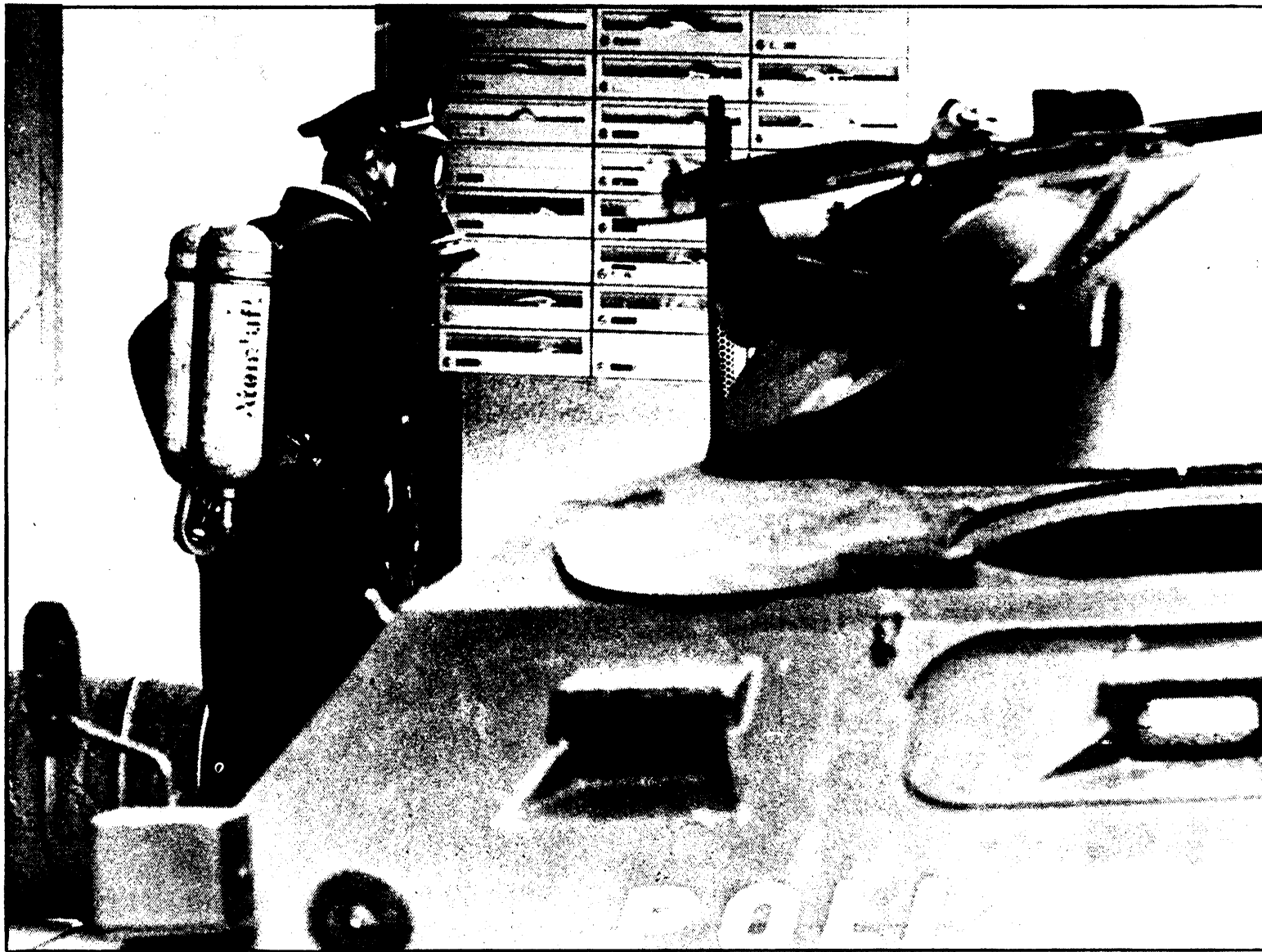


Ulrike Meinhof, one of the three leading members

It was through these confrontations that Rudi Dutschke came to prominence. Already at this time Baader took a rather different road. Although he took part in the demonstrations, his inclination was towards individual protest. He first made his name in April 1968 by burning down a Frankfurt department store. A good insight into the thinking behind such acts and in fact into the philosophy of his whole political activity is given by a note which was found when he was arrested.

It went: 'We are burning down this store so that you will stop buying. You are becoming victims of the consumer society.'

This 'theory' is very much in line with Marcuse's ideas on



Top: some of the armoury used to capture Baader and which has now become commonplace equipment for the German police. Above left: Baader being arrested. Above centre: Andreas Baader. Above right: Gudrun Ensslin, Baader's girlfriend who was also arrested

alienation which were very popular in those circles at the time. The bulk of the population, including the working class, were seen as willing victims of the consumer society and it was up to peripheral sections of society like students who were not yet integrated into the system to stir the masses out of their stupor by exemplary acts of defiance against authority.

Mass punch-ups with the police were one interpretation of this philosophy; burning down department stores was merely another interpretation of the same basic idea.

Baader's whole development from that day has been very much in the same mould. He has escalated his tactics from matches to bombs. But the basic idea is the same.

Baader and his girl-friend, Gudrun Ensslin, the daughter of a preacher, did 14 months jail for that experiment.

When they came out in the summer of 1969 they formed a collective of about 50 young people who indulged in such schoolboyish pranks as 'go-ins' into expensive restaurants in which they would rough-up the waiters and empty ash-trays into the wine glasses of the rich.

Baader appeared to have access to considerable quantities of money at that time, enough to run a brand new Mercedes and to live in some style. But the collective soon degenerated into drug taking and even prostitution 'for kicks'.

In November the court revoked the shortening of the sentence on Baader and Ensslin and they fled to Paris where they stayed in the flat of Régis Debray, who was still in prison in Bolivia.

When they returned to Germany in early 1970, Baader was captured after being led into a trap by a police spy who had been operating in the student underground since 1967. After only two weeks he was freed in a daring rescue masterminded by Ulrike Meinhof.

This was the period of the break-up of the extra-parliamentary opposition. Some sections turned back to the Communist Party and the Young Socialists. Others, impatient with the slow development of the revolution, turned towards the guerrilla movements like Al Fatah and the Tupamaros for ideas.

In particular the ideas of the Tupamaros 'theoretician'

Carlos Harighela gained currency. A number of groups began to call themselves after the Tupamaros.

Baader and Meinhof eventually joined one of these groups and renamed it the 'Red Army Faction'. It is this group which has become a household word in Germany as the Baader-Meinhof group.

After a short visit to an Al Fatah camp the group settled down in Berlin and carried out three bank robberies which netted a cool £25,000.

Since then the group have carried out a fairly consistent campaign of attacks on various symbols of bourgeois rule interspersed with bank raids to raise funds.

Gradually the police have killed or captured most of the leading members of the group until now, with the capture of Baader, only Ulrike Meinhof and two other leading members remain at large.

The campaign to rouse the masses through provocations against the ruling class has resulted in the total isolation of the group.

The main effect of the campaign in fact has been to strengthen the hand of the state against the labour movement.

The mobilization of 150,000 police against the group can only be understood in terms of the preparation by the government for mass labour unrest. The sight of convoys of armoured cars on the motorways has become commonplace, and even if the police do manage to crush the group altogether, they will certainly be keeping these vehicles in reserve for future use.

Above all the activities of the Baader-Meinhof group have provided a heaven-sent opportunity for the press to whip up hysteria in the middle class against the left.

The activities of this group coincides in time almost exactly with the first major independent movement of the German working class since fascism: there was a wave of unofficial strikes in the autumn of 1969.

The crisis in the middle class at the prospect of the class battles which this independent movement of the working class presages is expressed in such groups as this.

But objectively their policies, for all their anti-capitalist rhetoric, merely serve to strengthen the grip of the ruling class.

THE DOCKERS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY P. J. ARKELL AND MARTIN MAYER

On May 12 the President of the National Industrial Relations Court, Sir John Donaldson, passed an historic judgement on the trade unions. In this judgement, Donaldson called on the union leaders to discipline shop stewards who ignored the Court's rulings. Answering the charge that disciplining stewards would worsen industrial relations, Donaldson declared:

'These dangers are obvious, but they are short-term dangers. They must be faced in order that in the longer term we may have an orderly system of industrial relations of which we can be proud.'

In other words, the Tory Court announced it was prepared for big national strikes in its bid to crush shop stewards and militants. On May 29 Prime Minister Edward Heath told an audience at Luton Hoo: 'But let no one ask this government to surrender. If there is anyone who still imagines that they can, for political purposes, pick an easy fight with us, I must warn them: You've come to the wrong place. You're wasting your time.'

When the three London dockers—Bernie Steer, Vic Turner and Alan Williams—refused to show up at court this week, the groundwork had been prepared for a showdown. The sword had been drawn and now it had to fall on some heads.

As it did Labour MP Charles Loughlin told the press with deep anxiety: 'Unless this government is very careful, and unless the NIRC exercises its powers with care, we could almost be on the brink of creating a revolutionary situation.' 'The Guardian' yesterday warned that if the situation escalated 'the government might even have to build more jails' to pack in trade unionists.



MONDAY: Chobham Farm depot drivers go to the NIRC to get a court order against the three docks shop stewards. Order granted by Sir John Donaldson.



TUESDAY: Bernie Steer and Vic Turner continue to turn away lorries on the picket line.



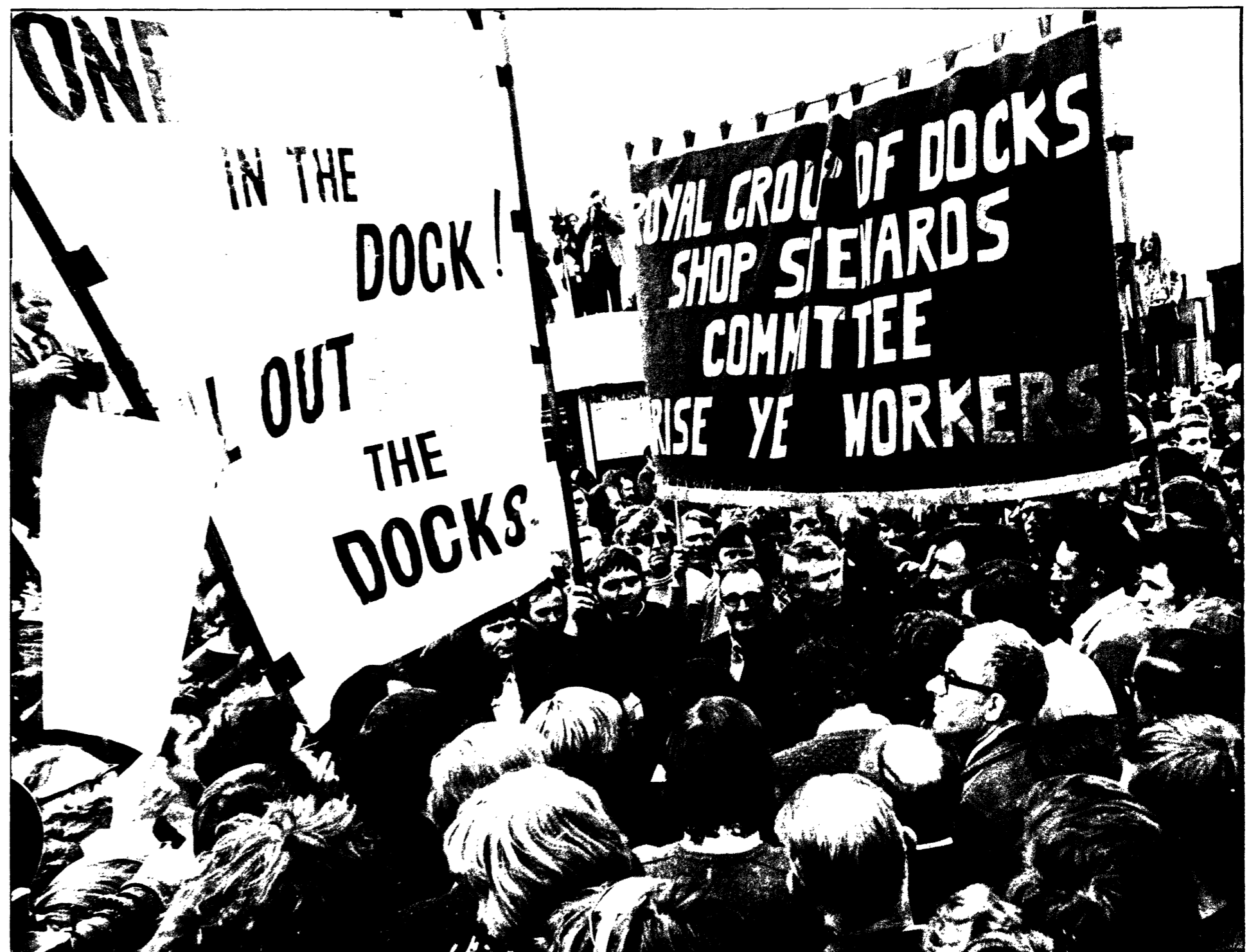
WEDNESDAY: Docks delegates call off national strike. T&GWU leadership abused outside Transport House. Preston docker says: 'This has been the greatest sell out since the Last Supper.'



THURSDAY: Following court decision to jail stewards for contempt London dockers vote for strike. Steer says the only court he will attend is the centre court at Wimbledon. Ports throughout country join strike.



FRIDAY: West India dockers vote to join the strike and the picket line at Chobham Farm. Below: the three jail-threatened stewards stand under a union banner. When Sir John Donaldson was told that the dockers had a banner proclaiming 'Arise Ye Workers', he commented dryly that it was 'a bit old-fashioned'.



Vic Turner, 45, chairman of the London shop stewards' committee, is steward at Scruttons in the Royal Group of docks. He says: 'We do not recognize the court, so how can we be in contempt of it?'

Bernie Steer, 33, married with three children, is secretary of the London shop stewards' committee. 'On behalf of every docker in the country, we do not recognize the court. What we do recognize is the right of any man in this country to defend his living.'

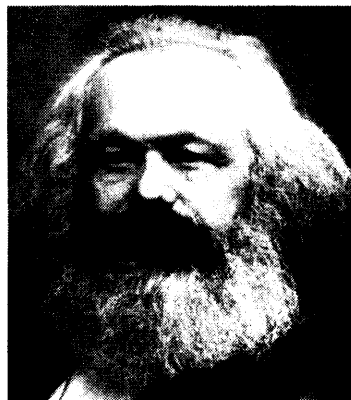
Alan Williams, 29, is the youngest of the trio. He is a shop steward of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' Union (the 'blue' union) and works on the Royal. 'We are going to prison for the right to work. That is what all this is about.'

WHEN THE TAILORS LED THE WORKERS

Our recent article on the history of the tailors' union aroused great interest among our readers. Today we publish another episode which demonstrates the great courage and determination with which the working class built their organizations. The article is by Jim Hammond and is a re-print from the journal, 'The Garment Worker'. We publish it with kind permission of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers.

There was a time, during the period 1800 to 1867 when the tailors were the undisputed leaders and organizers behind the great social movements that significantly changed the course of our society. The repeal of the iniquitous Combination Act; the Owenite Grand National Consolidated Union of 1833; the Chartist agitation in 1844; the Reform League demonstrations of the 1860s; the United Kingdom Alliance of Organized Trades of 1866; and finally the famous First International of 1866, had as their backbone of organizers the ordinary, politically aware, journeyman tailor.

This small group of craftsmen—'society' men—somehow nurtured in its ranks men of calibre and potential that set them on the same level as many of the great men of their time. The tailors can claim to be one of the first unions to exist as we know them today, having illegally 'combined' in 1721 to employ counsel to plead their case in the House of Commons. So, they had built up a background knowledge of organization and intrigue that made them well placed to participate in the social movements that emerged in the 19th century.



Top: Robert Owen. Above Karl Marx

REPEAL OF COMBINATION LAWS

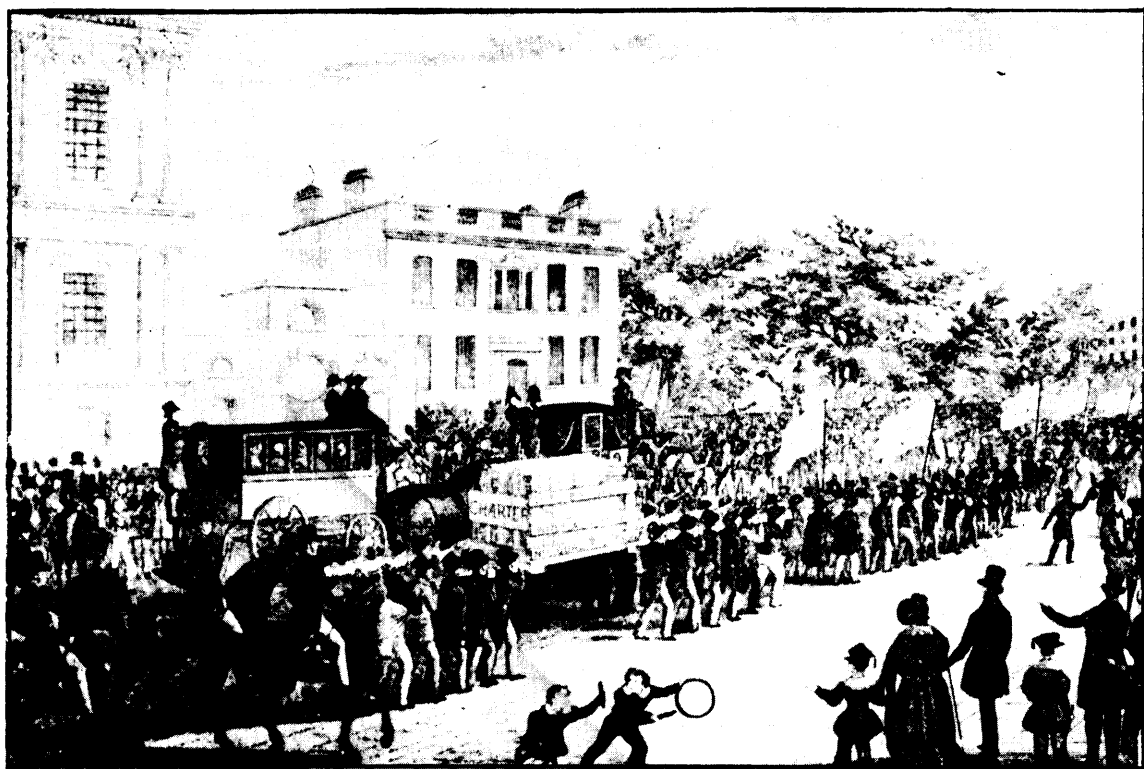
The first leader of the tailors was probably also the most capable, interesting and devious. Francis Place was a former secretary of the Breech-makers' Benefit Society. He set up his own shop in Charing Cross and turned it into a veritable den of conspiracy in the fight to repeal the oppressive Combination Laws. He was the arch conspirator. Using masses of conflicting evidence and sympathetic Members of Parliament as 'front men' he was able to show that 'the law was an ass' and that repressive legislation could not control the working man. Through his efforts the Act was subsequently repealed in 1825.

The repeal of the Act in 1825 released a wave of pent-up militant feeling in the workers' movement. Robert Owen's views on industrial democracy and national unionism roused the tailors. They formed the First Grand Lodge of Operative Tailors in Dec-

ember, 1833. John Browne, their secretary, summoned delegates from other trade grand lodges throughout the country and within an incredible four months had organized the 500,000-strong Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, with Robert Owen as its president and the tailor John Browne as his right-hand man and secretary.

In his dual role of secretary to the Grand Lodge of Operative Tailors and secretary of the GNCTU, Browne led the tailoring trade into a prolonged strike which failed disastrously because the supporting unions did not levy their members efficiently for supporting strike funds. Also the employers made effective use of the 'Document' and ferocious propaganda supported by 'The Times'.

Eight years later (1842) an educated, efficient, but mysterious leader named Francis Parrott of 11 Little Cross Street, Islington, rallied the tailors by publishing a rousing but learned document forming the Metropolitan Tailors' Trade Protection Society. The new approach was reasoned and firm. It escalated into a national movement led by the tailors, with Francis Parrott as president and a Chartist tailor named F. W. Parker as sec-



retary. There is no evidence that Parrott was a Chartist, but there is ample evidence of his exceptional ability and knowledge of the principles and aims of Chartism that were to eventually form the basis of social democracy.

Unfortunately Parrott mysteriously disappeared from the scene by 1845. Previous to his disappearance, his cause was given great impetus by the publication in 'Punch' of January, 1844 the famous poem by Thomas Hood called 'The Song of the Shirt' depicting the plight of the outworker in the sweated trade; (space will not allow more than a few lines) *Stitch—stitch—stitch, In poverty, hunger, and dirt, Sewing at once with a double thread, A shroud as well as a shirt.*

The impact was nationwide and brought the state of the tailoring trade to the notice of everyone. Parrott and his organization fully exploited the sympathy generated, and exerted pressure on parliament for reforms.

Following the Owenite upsurge of 1833 and the Chartist upsurge of 1844 there occurred a gap in the leadership exhibited by the tailors. It was not until 1866 when the Manchester journeymen tailors forced 49 employers to accept a new 'time log' that a new movement began. By 1865 the stage was set for the last and most important confrontation against the combined force of employers and government. Tailors were now prominent in the Nine-Hour Movement, discussing tactics against employers' lockouts, and the Reform League's quest for political democracy.

In the West End of London there emerged two formidable leaders, George Druitt and Matthew Lawrence, who were destined to become the leaders and spokesmen in the greatest confrontation between government legislation and trade union principles since the recent Tory Industrial Relations Act.

Druitt was president of the London Operative Tailors' Protection Association and fought with dignity and constraint. Lawrence was a dynamic organizer and speaker, a close friend and compatriot of Karl Marx and a fellow member in the International Working Mens' Association which gave rise to the First International.

At the same time there emerged in Manchester the Amalgamated Society of Tailors which was to gain national leadership under the capable organizing of a Peter Shorrocks—later to become one of the prime movers in setting up the TUC.

LEGAL RIGHTS AND SUPPORT

These men were well fitted for the task that lay ahead of them and the national confrontation that swamped them. With the aid of the newly-organized unity of the United Kingdom Alliance of Organized Trades, 68 unions with a total membership of 61,203, were prepared to pay strike levies to support the tailors in their confrontation with the

government-backed employers and legal forces. At a time when—as now—anti-union feeling was at its highest because of the Commission of Inquiry into Trade Unions; when Reform League demonstrations in London relied heavily on the tailors marching with them; when the Hornsby-Close judgement took trade unions into the legal arena; when the brotherhood of international working-class solidarity became reality through the continental visits of Lawrence; the names of the tailors' leaders were prominent. It can be claimed they led the attack on the local, parliamentary and international levels, and, though defeated, never to emerge again in such an influential role, the principles of legal rights, international collaboration, mass support for individual unions, and, eventually the growth of the TUC through the efforts of Peter Shorrocks, surely demonstrate that the great battles of the socialist movement and trade unionism owe much to the calibre, support, and leadership of the tailoring workers of the past.

Top a sweat-shop. Above: Chartist procession of 1842 had as its backbone of organizers a large proportion of journeymen tailors

New unions and new leaders have taken over the banner from the old journeymen tailors, but the issues are just as crucial now as they were over 100 years ago in 1867. We will always need men like Francis Place, John Matthew Lawrence and Peter Shorrocks to win and maintain the principles we stand for.



NIXON'S \$10m DONORS REMAIN A SECRET

U.S. ROUND-UP

President Nixon's electoral supporters have coughed up more than \$10m for his campaign fund, but their identity will remain secret.

The main Republican campaign treasury for the re-election of the President submitted its first full financial statement last week.

It shows that gifts from supporters amounting to more than \$10m were banked early in 1972.

The contributors have an obvious incentive to put money into Nixon's campaign—an incumbent President has never yet been beaten at the polls.

Thanks to some sly footwork by Nixon's campaign managers—prominent among them is Maurice Stans, the former Secretary of Commerce—the donors have been able to give anonymously, as well.

One of Nixon's great 'reforming' measures was to force disclosure of the names of political donors—but he cleverly fixed the operation of this law only from April 7 this year.

Republican funds—the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, the Media Committee to Re-elect the President, the Television Committee to Re-elect the President, and the Radio Committee to Re-elect the President—got their money in ahead of the deadline.

They were also among the last to file their financial statements at the Washington office set up to receive details of their campaign funds.

This has led to bitter accusations from Nixon's critics, who cite his own state-

ment that the Federal Election Campaign Act was a mechanism for restoring 'public confidence in the integrity of the electoral process'.

Common Cause, a group of reformers who have set themselves the task of watching how the new law shapes up, called it 'a sad fact that the refusal of the President of the United States to reveal where \$10m has come from can only lead people to conclude that the office of the Presidency has already been sold to the highest bidders.'

'Mr. Nixon, by his refusal to disclose, shows that he does not want people of this country to know who is supporting his campaign.'

Nixon, the statement added plaintively, had a 'clear moral duty' to disclose the names of all his election contributors.

Under the pre-April 7 law, the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, the course of campaign contribution could legally be obscured.

Now, thanks to the sterling work of Maurice Stans, Nixon appears to have the bulk of his campaign funds already under his belt before the deadline.

Beginning with Senator George McGovern, practically all Nixon's Democratic potential opponents have disclosed voluntarily the sources of their funds.

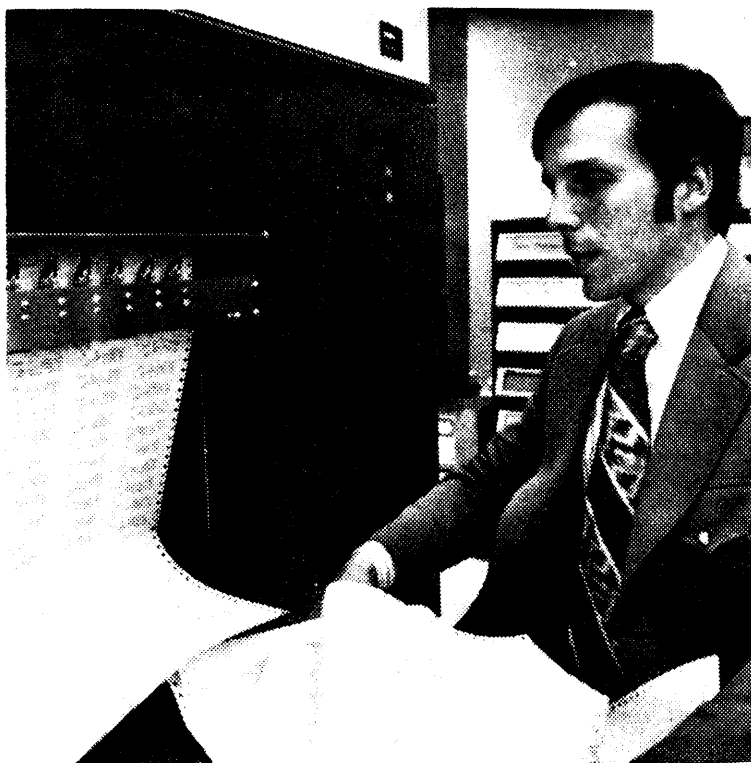
In fact while Nixon was promising that the Act would give 'full access to the facts of political financing', his campaign managers were stomping the country persuading their donors to get their cash in before the deadline.

In the United States, this is known as the democratic process.

Nobody is in much doubt as to why Nixon wants to conceal where his money comes from: the donors already are earmarked for lucrative contracts, jobs and other kick-backs in the event of Nixon's re-election.

The bargains made behind the scenes are better kept that way, Nixon obviously thinks. After all, it wouldn't do to encourage the idea that the presidential elections are in the least influenced by cash considerations, or that the presidency is 'bent'.

Top: Nixon campaigning. Below: where the funds go—a computer in the McGovern headquarters.



WORKERS NOTEBOOK

CABBAGES

MIND, an organization dealing with the problems of the mentally ill, reported recently on the number of old people who are forced into mental hospitals because they have nowhere else to go.

The largest group of long-stay mental hospital patients is aged 65 and over. Of the 116,000 patients in such hospitals today, 52,000 are over 65 and more than half of them are over 75.

By 1980 it is expected that the number of people over 65 in England and Wales will have increased by nearly 1 million and two-thirds of the beds in mental hospitals will be occupied by this age group.

As the MIND report points out, there is absolutely no need for many of them to be there. With proper facilities, they would be able to live in the normal community and finish their days in dignity and comfort.

Instead, if they become unable to live alone and cannot afford to be looked after, or have no family who can cope with them, they are commonly sent to the mental hospital.

'The patients . . . sit around all day just doing nothing but becoming cabbages,' the report declares.

The various scandals which hit the headlines, of patients being robbed, assaulted and even killed in overcrowded, understaffed mental hospitals, forced some action from the government.

Tory Minister of Health and Social Security Sir Keith Joseph recently issued a document about the future of services for the mentally ill. It was not, however, the great improvement the government tried to imply.

All the Minister is proposing to do is to juggle the decreasing amount of money spent on the National Health Services, so that the mental health service gets a bit more and the rest get less.

And it made no mention of better facilities for the old.

STIRRINGS

Down in Worcester, something stirred. While Lord Denning was overturning the National Industrial Relations Court in London earlier this week the really important action was at the Three Counties Show interbreed championships.

There, Knightwick 3 Crosby,

a two-year-old, upset Zone War God in a shock judgement which sent the press a-scurrying and set the pundits by the ears.

Trailing Knightwick was Shorthorn Wellbank March Wind and Devon Potheridge Big Ben. And if that's not a lot of bull, we don't know what is.

SCOOP



'The Times' rather fell over itself in its eagerness for a scoop the other day—causing some red faces not a million miles from Hayes Court, the electricians' union headquarters at Bromley in Kent.

There were some cynical and, of course, totally unfounded remarks from union wits at a report in Wednesday's issue of the paper that Frank Chapple, EPTU general secretary, had won the election for the presidency.

For a leadership which came to power after certain difficulties, shall we say, about ballots, the report was just a little embarrassing.

Counting in the ballot will not be completed until later today.

SOLUTION

Kurt Born, a former Nazi doctor, was acquitted in Frankfurt last week of charges that he had helped to kill thousands of mental patients at the National Socialist Institute of Euthanasia in Saxony during the war.

Born took charge of the 'killing service' at the Institute in 1940 and made no attempt to deny committing the murders.

He told the court he believed he was 'helping to solve the problem of incurably insane persons' and claimed he did not commit murder for 'sheer considerations of utility'.

The court discharged him on the grounds that his claim to have acted for reasons of humanity had not been disproved.

BOOKS



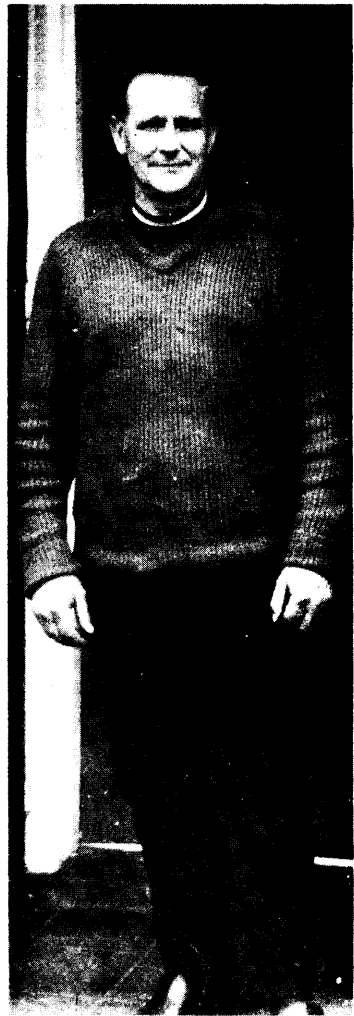
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Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

Tenants anger against Tories' rent policy

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT



Jack Robinson

FOLLOWING the Sheffield conference of Labour council delegates —where no firm line was taken binding them not to implement the Tory Housing Finance Bill, Coventry Labour-controlled city council will be taking its decision in a week's time.

Although many candidates in the municipal election vigorously attacked the Bill, Labour group leader George Parkes has hinted strongly that he would not 'defy the law' by refusing to carry out Tory policy to put rents up.

Recently Wood End tenants attended an All Trades Unions Alliance meeting, and here they give their views on all aspects of the Tory attack on the working class.

Mrs Ivy Lowe, is a shop steward at Standard Triumph's giant Canley works in Coventry.

'The workers have got shoes on their feet at the moment. But if this Tory government carries on much longer with what it is doing and with its plans to put the rents up, we will be in our stockings feet. We won't have any money to buy anything with.'

'I say that this Labour council must refuse to put up the rents.'

'This Industrial Relations Act,



Houses in Lapwood Road, Wood End estate in Coventry, where tenants have very definite ideas on the rent Bill

if it carries on, will make the workers do everything but sit up and beg. The Act is designed to smash our unions. The Act is like an atom bomb in disguise.

'I think that these Councils of Action are just what people need. They are necessary to organize in order to get the Tories out.'

'The next Labour government must give us back everything the Tories have taken away. The industries must no longer remain in these millionaires' hands. It's time the workers had all the pie, not just the crust. These business men have made their pile. The industries should be taken over and run by workers.'

Mrs Hazelman is a housewife with five small children. She says: 'My husband has been out of work since last November when he was sacked from a contract firm that was doing work for the Coal Board home fire plant. I was having a baby and because he took time off work he was sacked.'

'I've got five children and all we get is £18.90. Out of this we have to pay £4.75 rent. We're struggling just day by day. If the government's rent bill comes in we'll be starving.'

'The next Labour government has got to keep the prices and rents right down. We got £1 extra on the unemployment, but if the rents go up £1 we're no better off.'

'Young lads are coming out of apprenticeships and can't get jobs. The Labour government has got

to restore jobs. It's absolutely degrading for any man to be unemployed and know he can't support his family as it should be supported. I believe the industries must belong to the working people and not the present owners.'

'The Industrial Relations Act is completely wrong. The unions can't persuade the employers. Speaking to them is no good—they don't listen. Strike is the only way workers show the employers that they mean to get their rights.'

'The Councils of Action are right. We have to unite everybody against the government and make the next Labour government carry out our wishes. There ought to be people in parliament who have had to struggle.'

'I think the Labour council should put the rents down. It should certainly refuse to carry out the Tory rent Bill.'

Jack Robinson, a shop steward at Morris Engines, Coventry, told us:

'The Tory Party is bringing in this rent Bill to attack the workers' standard of living. The rents of the houses are already too high and you can't get any repairs done when you want it.'

'The new Labour government must not carry out the Tory rent Bill. The Industrial Relations Act is dictatorship. Workers will not be able to say what they think—the TUC leaders have sold us down the river.'

'These leaders should be thrown out. Take this Measured-Day

Work at our place, which British-Leyland is forcing in. They can put you where they like and tell you how much you have to do. I voted against it on our shop stewards' committee although I could get £5-a-week rise out of this scheme.'

'Every union ought to come out into a general strike to force the government out. Every industry must then be nationalized and the workers run them.'

'The Tories are taking everything away from the working class. I support the Councils of Action. They are necessary. The working class must have its say as to what it wants.'

Councillor Jim Williams, one of the younger Labour councillors and a shop steward at Standard Triumph, Canley, said:

'I am totally opposed to implementing the Tory Housing Finance Bill. I think every attack by the Tory government is connected.'

'The High Courts are directly connected to the big finance corporation. The increases in rents of houses will only ensure that big building contractors will get even bigger profits.'

'The Tory government is trying to drive the working class deeper and deeper into debt. They want it to get to the point that workers will be frightened to speak their minds for fear of being thrown out on the streets and being put down.'

'I support Councils of Action wholeheartedly to unite all the workers against the Tories.'

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Conway won't negotiate on sit-in

ENGINEERS' secretary Jim Conway has been accused of refusing to negotiate in a dispute over the sacking of a staff worker at the union's Packham Road, London, headquarters.

The accusation comes from members of the union's technical and production studies department at Peckham who yesterday completed their fifth week of sit-in

strike against the sacking.

All members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, they say Conway does not seem to want to compromise on any of the issues involved.

The dispute began when a member of the department was told by his office manager that he had to find another job.

His colleagues considered the dismissal arbitrary, since no charges were made

against the individual involved. Another member of the department was also threatened.

The strike began on May 15 after talks with Conway failed to solve the issue.

A request was then made for the AUEW executive to intervene as the strikers claimed they were entitled to do under rule. They did not.

At a meeting of all the salaried staff at Peckham Road last week, it was agreed that

a dismissal procedure should be negotiated in line with the requirements of the TUC for outside industry.

Believing that this could, if accepted by Conway, form the basis of a compromise settlement in their dispute, the strikers supported the motion.

Conway has now refused to negotiate the issue with staff representatives until the technical and production studies department returned to work.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

CROYDON: Monday June 19 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SOUTHAMPTON: Tuesday June 20, 7.30 p.m. Buffet room, Town Hall, Eastleigh. Build Councils of Action!

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Why a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

COVENTRY: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Woodend Community

Association Building, Hillmorton Road.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Fight the Tory rents policy'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday June 21, 7.30 p.m. 'New White Lion', Wicker. 'Build Councils of Action'.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road (near White Hart Lane). 'Building the revolutionary party'.

LUTON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Rd. 'Stalinism'.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Stn.). 'Stalinism'.

TODAY'S

TV

BBC 1

10.00 Wie bitte? 11.25 Weather. 11.30 Grandstand: 11.35 1972 Transatlantic Yacht Race; 12.20 Champions—Olympics; 1.10, 2.50 World Bowls Championships; 1.35, 2.05, 2.35 Racing from Newmarket; 1.50, 2.20, 2.50 Tennis; 2.50 Athletics; 4.50 Final Score. 5.00 Basil Brush Show. 5.30 News, weather. 5.45 Dr Who.

6.10 **GUNSMOKE (New Series).** Starring James Arness in 'The Badge' with Amanda Blake.

7.00 **FILM: 'FURY AT SMUGGLERS BAY'.** Peter Cushing. Smuggling on the Cornish coast in the eighteenth century.

8.30 **THE BLACK AND WHITE MINSTREL SHOW.**

9.15 **A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE.** Love, Peace, Brotherhood and Murder.

10.05 **NEWS, weather.**

10.20 **PARKINSON.** Michael Parkinson with guests.

11.20 **ALL IN THE FAMILY.**

11.50 **Weather.**

ITV

10.45 Thunderbirds. 11.40 Sesame Street. 12.40 Jackson Five. 1.10 News. 1.15 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.30 Racing from York; 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Sandown; 3.00 Tennis; 3.55 Results, Scores, News; 4.00 Wrestling; 4.55 Results Service. 5.10 The Train Now Standing. 5.40 News. 5.45 Sale of the Century.

6.15 **2 Gs AND THE POP PEOPLE.** Variety.

7.00 **NEW SCOTLAND YARD.** Perfect in Every Way.

8.00 **SATURDAY VARIETY.**

9.00 **THE REG VARNEY COMEDY HOUR.**

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.15 **INTERNATIONAL SPORTS SPECIAL.** Middleweight Championship of the World: European Football Championship — Third/Fourth Place Final.

12.15 **SCALES OF JUSTICE.** Position of Trust.

12.40 **DEAR LORD.**

BBC 2

9.05 Open University. 2.40 Tutankhamun's Egypt. 3.00 Film: 'Mad About Men'. 4.20 International Tennis. 5.35 Television Doctor. 5.55 Man Alive. 6.45 Westminster.

7.05 **NEWS, Sport, Weather.**

7.20 **THE LAST OF THE SAILORMEN.** The Cambria the last coasting barge in Europe.

8.00 **THE CODEBREAKERS.** The Case of the 'I'm Alone'. British Schooner in the Gulf of Mexico.

8.30 **CIVILIZATION.** A personal view by Kenneth Clark. Part 1.

9.20 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** The MJQ.

10.05 **PETS AND VETS.**

10.20 **THE VISITORS.** Part 1.

11.05 **NEWS, Weather.**

11.10 **FILM NIGHT.**

11.40 **MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'THE QUATERMASS EXPERIMENT'.** Brian Donlevy, Jack Warner. Science Fiction film.



The cool quartet, the MJQ (with pianist John Lewis) provide the Sounds for Saturday at 9.20 tonight on BBC 2

Regional TV

CHANNEL: 1.10 London. 9.00 Jason King. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 Gus Honeybun. 12.10 Rupert Bear. 12.20 Lone Ranger. 12.45 Lidsville. 12.10 (midnight) Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.40 Yesterdays. 12.10 Thunderbirds. 1.07 Weather. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Theatre of stars. 9.55 Roadrunner. 10.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Odd couple. 12.50 Weather. Epilogue.

HTV: 10.50 Tennis. 11.15 Pippi. 11.40 Sesame street. 12.40 Farming. 1.10 London. 5.10 Sale of the century. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Film: 'The Enemy on the Beach'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.10 Sion a Sian.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.35 Horoscope. 12.40 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 London. 5.10 Sale of the century. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Film: 'Jailbreak'. 10.00 London. Who knows? Weather.

ULSTER: 12.55 Enchanted house. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 O'Hara. 10.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.25 Yesterdays. 11.50 Make a wish. 12.15 Skippy. 12.40 Lidsville. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 London. 12.15 Danger man. 1.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 12.15 Woobinda. 12.40 Secret service. 1.10 London. 5.10 Guns of Will Sonnett. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15

London. 9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 London. 12.15 Felony squad.

TYNE TEES: 11.25 All our yesterdays. 11.50 Bushboy. 12.15 Arthur. 12.40 Joe 90. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 London. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 London. 11.45 Strange report. 1.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.20 Tennis. 12.05 Beagan Gaidhlig. 12.20 Ciapperboard. 12.40 Joe 90. 1.10 London. 5.10 Roadrunner. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 Department S. 10.00 London. 11.15 European nations cup. 12.15 Late call. 12.20 On the house.

GRAMPIAN: 12.40 Yoga. 1.10 London. 5.10 Rovers. 5.40 News. 5.45 Train now standing. 6.15 London. 9.00 It takes a thief. 10.00 London.

SUNDAY'S

TV

BBC 1

9.00 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 10.30 Sung Eucharist. 11.30 Boomph with Becker. 12.50 Farm Forum. 1.15 World Bowls Championships. 1.45 Steam Horse, Iron Road. 2.10 Made in Britain. 2.19 News Headlines. 2.20 Going for a Song. 2.50 The British Empire part 13. 3.45 European Soccer Special. 5.55 Shari Lewis Show. 6.05 News, weather. 6.15 The Box-Office Christ.

6.45 **MAGNUS MAGNUSON.** Appeal on behalf of the British Schools Exploring Society.

6.50 **SONGS OF PRAISE.**

7.25 **BRUCE FORSYTH.** At The Talk of the Town.

8.10 **FILM: 'THE INNOCENTS'.** Deborah Kerr, Peter Wyngarde, Megs Jenkins, Michael Redgrave. Based on Henry James' story 'The Turn of the Screw' a study of evil and repression told against the background of the supernatural.

9.45 **NEWS, weather.**

10.00 **OMNIBUS.** Glenda Jackson.

10.55 **KENNETH HARRIS INTERVIEWS FRANK MCFADZEAN.** Britain's highest paid employee and chairman-designate of Shell Transport and Trading.

11.45 **Weather.**

ITV

10.25 Police 5. 10.30 All Our Yesterdays. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Farmhouse Kitchen. 12.30 Something to Sing About. 1.00 Cartoon Time. 1.10 Stingray. 1.40 University Challenge. 2.10 Theatre of the Stars: 'When Hell Froze'. 3.05 Golden Shot. 3.50 European Nations Cup Championship Final. 6.05 News.

6.15 **THE BOOK OF WITNESSES.**

6.50 **APPEAL.**

6.55 **STARS ON SUNDAY.**

7.25 **DOCTOR IN CHARGE.**

7.55 **A GALA EVENING OF MUSIC AND WIT.** Richard Harris, Peter Ustinov, Victor Borge, Marylyn Mulvey and host David Frost.

10.15 **NEWS.**

10.30 **PLAY: 'CONSEQUENCES'.** With Joss Ackland, Priscilla Morgan, Richard Beckinsale and Mitzi Rogers.

11.30 **MUSIC IN THE ROUND.** The Perfect Accompanist —Gerald Moore.

12.00 **DEAR LORD.**



Victor Borge joins the team presenting ITV's Gala Evening of Music and Wit at 7.55

BBC 2

9.05 Open University. 1.50 Cricket. 7.00 News Review, weather.

7.25 **MUSIC ON 2.** Fou Ts'ong. Isolation of artist whose admiration for Mao Tse-tung brings him into continual conflict.

8.35 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Spirit of the Samurai.

9.25 **TUTANKHAMUN'S EGYPT.** Prog. 12. World of the Gods.

9.45 **THE LOTUS EATERS.** Part 9.

10.35 **NIGHT CLUB.** International cabaret from Munich.

11.30 **NEWS, weather.**

11.35 **UP SUNDAY.**

Regional TV

CHANNEL: 11.00 London. 12.05-12.30 Music in the round. 1.58 Weather. 2.00 Avengers. 2.50 Date with Danton. 3.05 London. 11.55 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Farmhouse kitchen. 1.20 The sound of . . . George Chisolm. 1.35 Farm and country news. 11.30 Tales of Edgar Wallace. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 Service. 12.00 Weather. 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Farm progress. 1.25 Training the family dog. 1.45 Stingray. 2.10 Man from Uncle. 3.05 London. 11.30 Songs for your delight. 12.00 Weather. Epilogue.

HTV: 11.00 Service. 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Kitchen. 1.40 University

challenge. 2.10 Film: 'The Highest Fall of All'. 3.05 London. 11.30 The Avengers. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan Syf. 12.55 Llusern.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 Service. 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Kitchen. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Sport. 3.05 London. 11.30 Spyforce. Weather.

ULSTER: 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Kitchen. 1.30 University challenge. 2.00 Film: 'Gay Purr-ee'. 3.05 London. 11.30 Saint.

YORKSHIRE: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Music. 12.30 Beloved enemy. 1.00 Kitchen. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Calendar. 2.10 Snooker. 3.05 London. 11.30 Division 4. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Service. 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.50 Kitchen. 1.20 Yes-

terdays. 1.50 Edgar Wallace. 3.05 London. 11.30 Whiplash.

TYNE TEES: 10.20 Farming outlook. 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 London. 12.05 Music in the round. 12.30 Beloved enemy. 12.55 Farmhouse kitchen. 1.25 Farming outlook. 1.55 Eighteen footers. 2.05 Where the jobs are. 2.10 World snooker. 3.00 London. 6.50 Appeal. 6.55 London. 12.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 12.05 Music in the round. 12.30 London. 1.00-1.22 Farmhouse kitchen. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Zingalong. 2.10 Randall and Hopkirk. 3.05 London. 6.15 Class of 72. 6.55 London. 11.30 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 12.05 Music. 12.30 Something to sing about. 12.55 Kitchen. 1.20 Yesterdays. 1.50 Farm Progress. 2.20 Earth and mankind. 2.50 Around the world in 79 days. 3.05 London. 11.30 His arⁿ hars. 11.55 Job look.

Build Council of Action

THE AUEW's technical and supervisory section, North Wembley branch has passed a resolution supporting the call for the setting up of Councils of Action in every locality as an integral part of the struggle to force the Tory government to resign and replace it by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. It adds:

'It further calls on the local trades council to take steps immediately to set up such a Council of Action.' The resolution will be forwarded to the district committee.

● See p.3. Stalinists block Council of Action.

Big slump in the £

THE POUND slumped on foreign exchange markets as a result of the docks situation yesterday and had to be supported by French and Belgian central banks.

European dealers were on the phone from early morning with orders to sell sterling and by lunchtime there were indications that New York dealers were at their offices much earlier than usual to join in the selling of pounds.

'The market is very busy,' one dealer said. 'There is a lot of selling. I am not surprised,

we seem to have got ourselves into a position where there is no solution.' By midday, the pound was down to two dollars 58.70 cents from Thursday night's closing rate of two dollars 59.975 cents.

Things were no better on the Stock Exchange, where one denizen commented: 'The old lady in Leamington Spa has as much of an idea as we have at the moment as to what exactly will happen to prices.' In fact prices rose slightly yesterday morning, but the rise was said to be 'technical' after Thursday's 15-point fall.

Cabinet crisis session as ports come to standstill

THE TORY Cabinet went into a crisis session yesterday to plan the calling of a state of emergency.

The plan which has been on the shelf for the past three months includes contingency plans for ensuring that essential supplies and communications are safeguarded.

Those at the meeting included Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson, Solicitor-General, Sir Geoffrey Howe (who drafted much of the Industrial Relations Act) and other senior ministers including Maudling, Barber, Carr and Carrington.

The emergency declaration is also certain to provide for the use of troops if, in the view of the government, the situation gets 'out of control'.

Heath has cancelled a weekend yachting engagement so that he can be on hand to give the battle orders.

In Scotland ABERDEEN dockers came out yesterday afternoon. Scottish miners' president, Michael McGahey, called for an emergency meeting of the general council. He called on the TUC to plan a national General Strike if any trade unionist was sent to jail for contempt of court. He said pithead meetings should be held on Monday to

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

demonstrate solidarity with the dockers.

At LIVERPOOL the strike began at 6 a.m. and a 10,000-strong protest rally was held at the Pierhead. Fifty-two ships were laid up by the strike.

At PRESTON the 270 dockers met at 8 o'clock and took an immediate strike decision. They also called on other trade unionists in the area to support them. One steward said: 'We're ready to fight for two years if it's necessary.'

At TILBURY the afternoon shift unanimously voted to strike until the three men are 'permanently released from jail'. Earlier the early morning shift had walked out after a similar meeting and vote. A lighterman called on all his fellow members to join the strike in sympathy.

At a separate meeting yesterday afternoon 500 Port of London Authority white-collar staff at TILBURY agreed to strike from Monday morning if the three shop stewards were jailed.

SOUTHAMPTON'S 2,000 dockers voted at a mass meeting to strike until Tuesday morning when the position will again be reviewed.

The NUR branch on the docks voted to go on strike in sympathy

and Vosper Thorneycroft shipyard workers are also discussing whether to join in.

In Wales BARRY dockers went on strike while men at Newport, Cardiff, Port Talbot and Swansea decided to strike when the men were arrested.

FELIXSTOWE, one of the country's biggest container ports, worked normally, but IPSWICH dockers walked out during the morning.

In HULL today the national

shop stewards' committee which originally introduced the selective blacking of container firms throughout the country will be deciding whether to call a national docks strike from Monday.

The works' committee at Austin Morris, Longbridge, BIRMINGHAM, which represents 20,000 workers yesterday decided to call a shop stewards' meeting on Monday to recommend strike action 'to support any trade unionists arrested under NIRC rulings'.

Pickets bitter about court intervention

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE 2,000 pickets at the Chobham Farm container depot were bitter and shocked by yesterday's intervention in the Court of Appeal even though it went in favour of the three stewards.

The men, who had been waiting all day for the arrival of the tipstaff to arrest their three leaders, immediately staged a mass meeting which decided unanimously to continue their blacking of the firm and not to recognize the NIRC.

After a hurried stewards' meeting Jim Carpenter, leader of the Port of London stewards at the Royal docks, told dockers:

'These people have done the dockers no service at all and we condemn their activities.'

'This movement goes on. The blacking will be maintained, we do not recognize the NIRC and we will remain as solid as we are now.'

He urged dockers to attend the Tower Hill meeting fixed for Monday at 8 a.m.

Commenting on the Appeal Court's move, one of the jail-threatened men, Vic Turner, said: 'This is a bloody liberty.'

'As far as I am concerned we are not appealing. We want nothing to do with this court and I want to make it quiet clear that this is doing us no favours at all.'

He said he had no prior warning of yesterday's development. 'I don't know anything about this action. It's a complete mystery to me.'

The blacking will definitely continue, he added.

CHARGES against all the 12 defendants in the Longannet pickets' trial were dropped yesterday.

Makarios shuffles Cabinet

AFTER months of prevarication, Cyprus President Makarios has finally agreed to reshuffle his cabinet in accordance with the requirements of the Greek colonels.

The reshuffle announced this week is a response to the Greek demand in January for a 'government of national unity'.

The Greek regime favours partition of Cyprus and the imposition of a right-wing government subservient to the military dictators in Athens and

'L'HUMANITE', the daily paper of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, is to slash its staff, cut down its press and move out of part of its premises because of a financial crisis. In a front-page appeal it called on all party members to buy the paper to prevent further cuts. Editor Etienne Fajon called the appeal a 'distress call'. Decline of the paper, which now sells only 160,000 against nearly a million at its peak, mirrors the crisis of French Stalinism.

Woman anarchist captured

WEST GERMAN police yesterday reported the capture in Hanover of 37-year-old woman anarchist Frau Ulrike Meinhof, joint leader with Andreas Baader of the so-called 'Red Army Faction'.

The police claim the Baader-Meinhof group is responsible for a number of bombings, police killings and bank robberies. Baader was arrested last week in Frankfurt.

● See p.5 for background story.

Briefly...

PILKINGTON, Britain's biggest glass producers, announced a £4m profit recovery and bigger dividends. Pre-tax profits in the 12 months to the end of March rose to £18,016,000. This was still not up the record of £18,366,000 scored in 1969-1970, but was a good £4m ahead of the £13,940,000 earned last year. Shareholders collect a final payment of 5½ per cent bringing their total for the year to 10½ per cent or 3 per cent more than last year.

FIFTEEN more men were released from Long Kesh internment camp yesterday. This makes 553 freed since the start of direct rule, as part of Northern Ireland Secretary William Whitelaw's policy of gradually releasing detainees and internees. Three hundred and eighty seven are still held.

BRITAIN'S fourth largest union, the National Association of Local Government officers, yesterday refused to consider declaring solidarity with the arrest-threat dockers. By a narrow majority 2,000 delegates at NALGO's annual conference in Eastbourne rejected a call to urge the TUC to use every possible means to secure the dockers' release.

A MEETING of 400 people in Preston on Thursday night where Bernadette Devlin was billed to speak, broke up in disorder, following noisy heckling and the singing of Orange songs. Open fighting broke out, but police did not intervene. Miss Devlin failed to turn up at the meeting organized by the Northern Ireland Civil Right Association and the Official IRA. At the time she was in the House of Commons in London.

LIVERPOOL Trades Council on Thursday passed an emergency resolution pledging full support for the dockers and calling on the labour and trade union movement to support them by whatever means possible. It also called for a conference of all working-class organizations in Liverpool next Thursday.

STORMONT MP Paddy Kennedy, 29, was yesterday sent for trial by Belfast magistrates charged with promoting the aims of the IRA.

The charge, denied by Kennedy of Upper Newtownards Rd, Belfast, was said to have arisen out of an IRA press conference in Ballymurphy last August.

Chief prosecution witness James Michael Calvert, a research fellow at Manchester University, said he attended the conference and alleged that Kennedy presided.

PROFITS from Cavenham, the fast-expanding foods group which recently swallowed up Bovril and the Allied Suppliers retail chain, have topped an earlier forecast by well over £1m, writes a City correspondent.

Figures published today showed the group earned a record-breaking total of £4.9m in the 12 months to the beginning of April, compared with £1,963,000 last year and the predicted level of £3.4m. Sales, meanwhile, were more than trebled at £119m against £35m last year.

JUNE FUND STANDS AT £423.78

THE DETERMINATION of the Tories to take on the dockers must rouse hundreds of thousands of workers into action.

Workers Press alone has been prepared for this sharp political situation. Now we must mobilize all the strength of the labour and trade union movement to make the Tories resign. So start today—step up the campaign for our June Fund immediately. We need as much as you can raise. Our aim is to raise £1,750 by the end of this month. Help us in every way possible. Post all your donations to:

Workers Press
June Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High St,
London, SW4 7UG.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Socialist Labour League Public Meeting

DON'T LET THE DOCKERS FIGHT ALONE
DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN

SUNDAY JULY 2, 7 p.m.

Acton Town Hall,
Acton High Street, W3.

Speakers will include G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary), S. HANNIGAN (London YS Secretary),
Corin Redgrave.

LATE NEWS WEATHER

BRITISH Steel Corporation's May figures show a weekly output decline of 8.3 per cent for the first five months of this year, compared with the corresponding period last year. In its statement the Corporation said: 'Really firm evidence of deflation is still awaited.'

EXCEPT for some scattered showers over northwest Scotland and local coastal drizzle in the west, most districts will have a dry day with sunny spells.

Temperatures will be near the normal for mid-June in southern and eastern England but it will remain rather cool in the north.

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Some rain at times in all districts, but predominantly dry in the south at first. Rather cool in the north. Normal temperatures in the south.