

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY MAY 3, 1972 ● No. 755 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## TUC SPLIT PLEASES TORIES

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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Since the miners' strike Tory ministers have been in close consultation laying the plans for an attack on the unions. The Tories' absolute determination to prosecute the fight against the unions can be seen in two incidents over the past couple of days.

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This means there can be no 'soft-peddling' of court injunctions; every blacking incident or 'unfair industrial practice' must be reported to the Court. As we've said on many occasions, there is no compromise with a court of law . . . and Donaldson intends to ensure that this is faithfully adhered to. (See full court story on page 3.)

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During the private meetings at Transport House and Congress House in the past week, Jones has been among those who want to go to Court and who want to pay the fines.

In recommending these policies of collaboration with the Industrial Relations Act the TUC and the T&GWU are both split down the middle.

Naturally the Tories and their backers in Fleet St are rubbing hands with glee as the powerful

trade union movement, representing 10 million workers, is in disarray.

**The Tories have divided the Parliamentary Labour Party on the question of the Common Market, now they've divided the unions on the Act.**

The man bearing most responsibility for this split in the unions is Victor Feather. In arguing for co-operation with the Tory National Industrial Relations Court Feather has violated the decision of boycott reached at last September's Blackpool conference.

When the conference overwhelmingly decided to boycott the Act every working man and woman in the country legitimately expected the TUC to carry through such a policy to the end.

Feather has abandoned the Blackpool policy and opened the door for member unions as well as individual trade unionists to be subjected to the vicious attacks of Sir John Donaldson's High Court.

Jones's response to the crisis in the union ranks has been to threaten not to pay his union's affiliation dues to the TUC.

He argues that he was fined the £55,000 because he was following TUC boycott policy therefore the TUC must foot the bill.

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**positively dangerous; it can only help to create deeper divisions in the trade union movement, which in turn plays into the Tories' hands.**

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If the reformist leaders are willing to lie down in front of the Tory offensive, then the rank and file isn't. Only yesterday docks shop stewards at Hull rejected official T&GWU advice to stop blacking container lorries.

### Workers' determination

This decision by the Hull men is but a microcosm of the determination of millions of workers to fight the Tories.

The rank and file must come forward to take up the Tory gauntlet.

The call must go out for an immediate recall of the TUC so that last September's policy can be reaffirmed. The conference must also establish policy to resist the Tory provocateurs and create the political and industrial conditions to remove the Tories from office.

If trade unionism is to be defended, this is the call of the hour.



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Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists

## ALL OUT DEMONSTRATE ON MAY DAY

Sunday May 7

ASSEMBLE: 1.30 p.m. The Embankment, Charing Cross  
MARCH: via Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, Euston Road

MEETING: 4 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall

G. Healy (Socialist Labour League National Secretary)

J. Simmance (Young Socialists National Secretary)

M. Banda (Socialist Labour League Central Committee) (In a personal capacity)

Frank McCabe (NUM)

Roy Battersby (ACTT)

A. Thornett (Deputy Senior Steward Morris Motors)

CHAIRMAN:

C. Slaughter (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

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**Defend democratic rights!**

**We demand the right to work!**

**Withdraw troops from Ulster!**

**Release all internees!**

**Victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants!**

**MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!**



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**TRADE UNIONS AND**  
**THE WORKING CLASS**  
By G. Healy  
SLL national secretary

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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# VIETNAM: Would desperate Nixon use the BOMB?

## Dangers at the height of victory

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE fall of Quang Tri and the collapse of South Vietnam's northern front is the most decisive victory over imperialism in Vietnam since the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

But it also exposes the Vietnamese revolution to the greatest danger. President Nixon's warning about the consequences for the North if the liberation forces continue their advance is extremely ominous.

The Americans, rendered desperate by the failure of 'Vietnamization' and the imminent collapse of the Saigon puppet regime, may be preparing to use nuclear weapons to obliterate Vietnam. Such a course of action was seriously considered during the siege of Dien Bien Phu.

Having invested billions of dollars and thousands of lives in the cause of counter-revolution in Indo-China, US imperialism's policy is in ruins. President Nixon and his military cohorts are desperate men, driven by an insoluble economic crisis to desperate measures.

Despite his desire to win the November election, Nixon may now be considering such desperate measures in a last-ditch attempt to crush the Indo-Chinese revolution. The clear alternative is an unparalleled and humiliating defeat.

### Melted away

Quang Tri fell despite President Thieu's order that it must be held at all costs. Its garrison simply melted away, shedding their uniforms, their rifles and even their boots in a desperate flight to escape oncoming tanks.

Many were reported fleeing towards the south dressed only in their underpants. Other units are reported to have turned their guns on American advisers preparatory to going over to the liberation armies.

It was the first provincial capital to fall to the liberation forces since their offensive began five weeks ago. Reports from Saigon yesterday said up to 100,000 civilians and troops were yesterday fleeing in confusion down the road toward Hue, the next major town to the south.

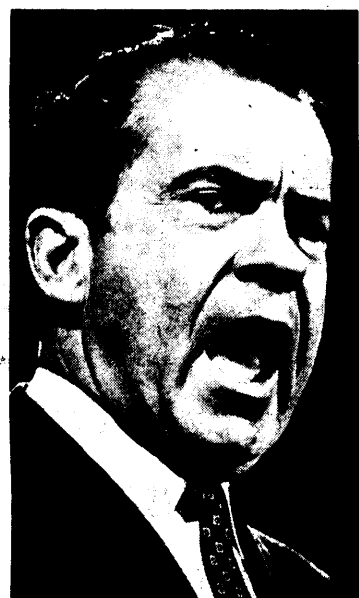
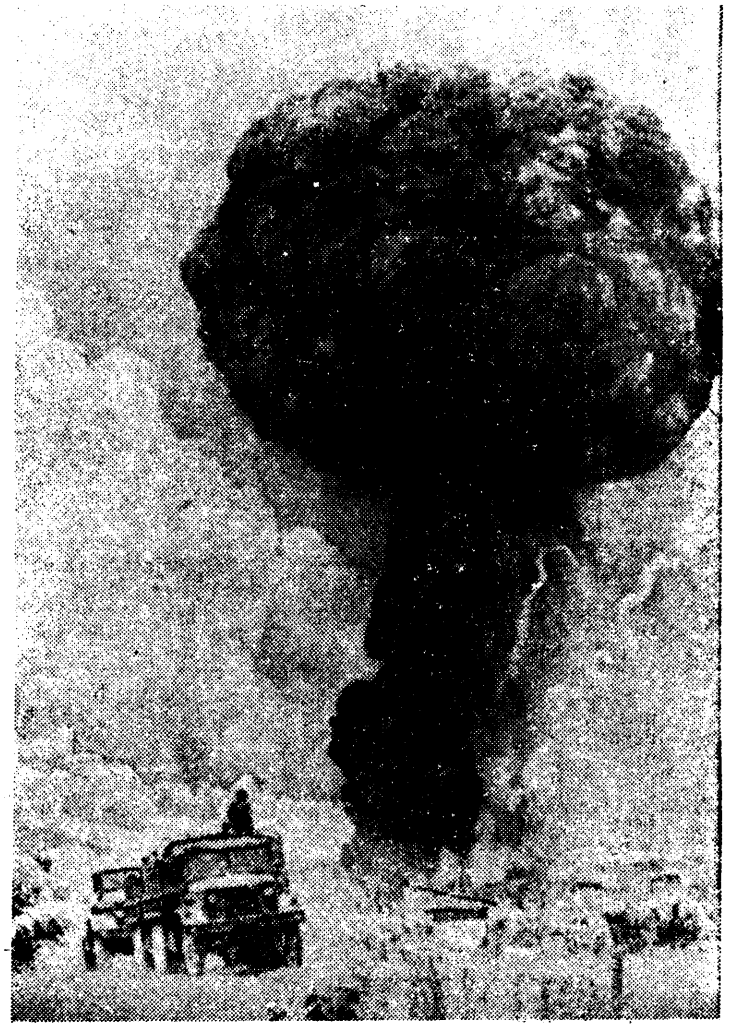
Top South Vietnamese officers and US personnel were snatched out of the city by helicopter as defences collapsed, while Soviet-built T-54 tanks raced through the city in defiance of air bombardment.

The massive exodus was produced by a ferocious American naval bombardment of the Quang Tri area. At the same time, US and South Vietnamese planes flew an unprecedented 435 strikes on and around the town.

One US officer said: 'There is nothing friendly left in Quang Tri. It is effectively a free-fire zone now.'

Senior US officers in Da Nang, the big naval and air base south of Hue, labelled the loss of Quang Tri 'a serious and clear-cut defeat' and said it was by far

RIGHT: An ammunition dump explodes after a direct hit by the advancing North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front fighters. BELOW: South Vietnamese troops, some caught without their helmets and uniforms, flee as North Vietnamese shells burst round them.



the biggest gain made by the liberation forces in their current offensive.

The liberation forces have also made significant gains in the central highlands and the central coastal provinces. Firebase Lima—a vital outpost north of encircled Kontum city—was overrun on Monday night, leaving the liberation forces an unimpeded route to the city.

## MRS BANDARANAIKE THWARTS STALINIST FRIENDS

CEYLON Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike has rejected a plea by the leader of the Stalinist Communist Party to call a summit meeting of the coalition parties.

The call came as a move to patch up the differences now building up within the coalition.

Three weeks ago a group of Communist Party MPs voted against the government's new 'Criminal Justice Commission Bill'.

The Stalinist Party secretary, who is also Minister of Housing in Bandaranaike's bourgeois government, had accepted this Bill when it was discussed at Cabinet level.

Last week, when the parliamentary group of the capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party, led by Mrs. Bandaranaike, met at her official residence, the right wing

called for strong action against the Communist Party members who voted against the government-sponsored Bill.

One motion on the agenda, which was not put to the house, even called for the expulsion of the CP from the coalition.

This clearly shows the rightward move of the government today, which survived last year's revolt of students and rural youth only with the aid of the Stalinists and the renegade revisionist Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

While the right wing is hardening in this way, the Stalinists have shown their real capitulation by withdrawing their suspension order on Mr Thudawe, the Junior Minister of Education who voted with the government on the Criminal Justice Bill in defiance of the Party line.

This was a preliminary concession by the Stalinists to open talks with the right-wingers in the government. But the SIFP's

## Two-month trip for Castro

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

CUBAN Prime Minister Fidel Castro has left Havana for a tour of nine African and East European countries.

The two-month long trip will include visits to Guinea, Algeria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Announcing the trip at a May Day rally in Havana, Castro said that the interests of Cuba and the socialist countries required him to accept the invitations.

His extensive East Europe tour marks a further development of cordial relations between the Cuban government and the Stalinist bureaucracies, established when Cuba supported the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The East German Prime Minister has also recently visited Cuba.

**MORE  
FOREIGN  
NEWS ON  
PAGE 11**

# Court orders toughened

ANY breach of orders granted by the National Industrial Relations Court must be reported by those who obtain them, the court ruled yesterday.

'They have a public duty to do so', stressed Sir John Donaldson, NIRC president.

This new buttressing of the Court's powers came during a brief, morning session in which court orders against blacking action on the docks and in engineering were toughened.

On an application by road-hauliers Craddock Bros, NIRC president Sir John Donaldson declared the black on its lorries at Liverpool docks an unfair industrial practice and made permanent an order telling the Transport and General Workers' Union to stop the action.

He heard from Richard Yorke QC, appearing on Craddock's behalf, that a temporary order had been broken.

Sworn evidence from the manager of Craddock's Bootle depot, John Rycroft, said that because of continued blacking the depot was at a standstill. Seven out of ten employees had been laid off.

Rycroft stated that he had complained to Douglas Farrer, Lancashire regional secretary of the T&GWU, who had replied

## 'Report all breaches of orders against blacking'

that as far as he knew Craddock's was not blacked.

Sir John said that the matter should be mentioned to the court again today when a similar complaint by Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd is due to be heard.

'It is very much to be hoped that the union will be able to deal with all matters outstanding tomorrow,' he added.

'I do not want it to be thought that Heaton's or Craddock's or Bishop's Wharf [the other haulage firm to obtain a permanent order against blacking] are adopting a hostile attitude towards organized labour in reporting these matters to the court,' he said.

An order for compensation was also granted, but its assessment deferred. This was because the loss was continuing.

The order that all breaches of court orders must be reported was made after Sir John, and lay judges John Arkell and Roy Boyfield, heard an application from the United Kingdom Association of Professional Engineers.

This was for an extended order telling TASS, the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, to stop blacking the work of UKAPE members at C. A. Parsons Ltd, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

A further hearing for directions will be held on May 16, when the new order expires. Sir John said yesterday that any answer from TASS should be in by May 12.

Six hundred of the 1,400 Parsons draughtsmen have been sacked for their action and are working in with the financial support of the union.

TASS says it will defy the Court's order. A decision at the union's conference not to stop its members' action was unanimous.

Yesterday's ruling considerably strengthens the hand of the NIRC in intervening in disputes, regardless of whether individual employers may wish to soft-pedal on court orders for purposes of negotiation.

It is significant that it should come the day after the TUC and

T&GWU climbs down on union leaders co-operating with the Industrial Relations Act. At each stage of the union leaders' retreat the screws tighten.

Told of the NIRC decision, Arthur Scott, 32, the new and youngest president of TASS said: 'So far as we are concerned it just means things carrying on as normal. My immediate reaction is that if they can put this off for 14 days, they can put it off for ever, and they have not filled us with any confidence.'

Union officials and Parsons management were having 'talks about talks' at Scarborough yesterday on whether negotiations could resume.

A HAULAGE firm blacked by Manchester dockers will not challenge the position for the moment.

Springfield Transport of Trafford Park has decided not to make a further attempt to collect containers waiting at the dock.

Two more of the firm's lorries were turned away by dockers on Monday.

A spokesman for the firm said yesterday: 'We are now playing for time pending the outcome of national level talks on the whole problem of containers.'

Springfield Transport and another firm, Thomas Meadows, were first blacked by Manchester dockers last Friday.

## NIRC leaves Neal behind

EVEN government servants, it seems, are being left behind by the implications of the National Industrial Relations Court.

Commission on Industrial Relations chairman Leonard Neal, speaking in Birmingham yesterday, complained that neither side of industry had sufficient industrial relations training for pay bargaining.

Neal was opening the West Midlands Engineering Employers' Association management development centre.

He claimed a 1970 CIR survey showed fewer than one in five union and management personnel had any industrial relations training, averaging only two half days each. In just over half the firms there was no training at all.

He felt the gap might be narrowed by the new National Training Agency.

But in these days of a 24-hour 'dial-a-judgement' service, the myth of 'industrial relations' is exploded.

Surprising ignorance from Neal, whose CIR is closely connected with NIRC's operations. Court chairman Sir John Donaldson should have a quiet word in his ear.

## Jenkins to use the Act

TODAY Clive Jenkins will appear in a case of unfair dismissal under the Industrial Relations Act. On Saturday, the white-collar union chief will 'fight hard' for deregistration at his union's conference.

The case is that of Anthony Hinton, group secretary of Jenkins' Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs at the service section of Burroughs Machines, Park Royal.

And yesterday the ASTMS general secretary said he thought there would soon be a flood of such cases since hundreds of thousands of people were affected each year.

When he attends the 10 a.m. tribunal at Ebury Bridge Rd, London, Clive Jenkins will be only the second union leader to appear formally before an institution of the Act.

But as an ASTMS executive statement issued yesterday points out, the TUC handbook on the Act specifically allows such appearances. And following the TUC climb-down on Monday there will certainly be many more.

### Action

The executive statement also expresses total opposition to the Act and urges conference delegates to give the necessary two-thirds majority for a rule-change which would allow it to deregister.

'I expect we will get it,' Jenkins said yesterday. 'Certainly we're going to fight hard for it.'

ASTMS is considering court action against the Registrar of Trade Unions. The registrar has put the staff association of the Guardian Royal Exchange Group on the register, despite claims that the association is not an independent organization.

In documents which are to be sent to the Registrar shortly, the union will argue that the Union of Kodak Workers and the Kodak Senior Staff Association are 'creatures of management', Jenkins said.

## Clerks' 'axe-man' ends

### six-week English Electric strike

THE 450 clerks who returned to work yesterday at English Electric's Liverpool plant, after a six weeks' strike, were persuaded to do so by union officials.

When 80 per cent of the membership voted for strike action, after a year's negotiations, the demand was for a £6-a-week rise across-the-board.

But after six bitter weeks, during which they were sent dismissal notices, the clerks were persuaded to accept an increase of £1.80p, a £15 lump sum and a further 80p in August.

It was all very well for national officials of the Association for Professional, Executive and



Other workers from the area joined the clerks during their picketing

FROM PHILIP WADE IN LIVERPOOL

Clerical Computer Staffs (formerly the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union) to talk of more negotiations in December, but the fact remains that at the beginning of the dispute the clerks were offered between £1.50 and £1.75, just a few pence less than the final settlement.

The man sent with the deal to Monday's strike meeting was assistant general secretary Ray Edwards. He was told last Thursday by Sir Jack Scamp, PEC personnel director, that the new offer was final.

Edwards is the same man who, at the union's

annual conference, brandished an axe as a symbol of Weinstock's savage labour-cutting policy in his GEC empire.

Thrown to the wind were the executive's promises to fight the strike through to the end and to bring out clerks in other GEC factories.

What had happened to all these promises, some of the clerks at the meeting rightly asked Edwards? He told them, and confirmed it with reporters afterwards, that they'd done all they could—bearing in mind the Industrial Relations Act.

'It was the best we could have expected in the cir-

cumstances, considering the problems we were facing,' he told me afterwards.

In any case the clerks were split. There was a great danger of some going back, even if the majority decided to stay out, he added.

As there was a united walk-out it would be better, therefore, if there was a united return.

The lessons of this defeat at English Electric have to be taken seriously by every APEX member. There is no way forward for clerks without a fight to remove the union leadership which is unable to challenge monopolists like Weinstock or the Tory government which he backs.

## Co-operation condemned

LAMBETH Trades Council has passed a resolution calling for the immediate expulsion of union leaders who co-operate with the National Industrial Relations Court.

The resolution says: 'In the Industrial Relations Court the Tory government has established a new High Court which deprives the working class of its democratic rights.'

'We condemn the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC for proposing to give

unions a free hand to appear before the NIRC. This is a blatant violation of the policy of non-co-operation decided by the Trades Union Congress last September.

'In the face of this massive betrayal the Lambeth Trades Council demands an immediate emergency TUC congress to

1) Expel the union leaders who want to surrender and reaffirm the democratic decision of non-co-operation.  
2) Prepare a prolonged General Strike until the Tory government resigns.'

## Maintenance men return at Coventry

FOURTEEN maintenance mates at GEC Stoke Coventry who were on strike for a £9-a-week increase and who were supported by 80 skilled maintenance men yesterday voted to return to work.

They are demanding talks with the management

within 48 hours. Failing this they will meet again on Friday morning to consider their next move.

Two weeks ago 2,000 workers walked out at GEC against the action of management who were allegedly doing maintenance work but they later returned.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

OLLERTON: Wednesday May 3, 7.30 p.m. White Hart.

COVENTRY: Wednesday May 3, 7.30 p.m. Elastic Inn, Cox St.

COALVILLE: Wednesday May 3, 8.00 p.m. Barden Rd Working Men's Club. The 'Fair Rents' Bill and the fight against the Tory government.

SLOUGH: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Slough Community Centre, Farnam Rd. Speakers, Frank Tomany, ex-convenor Omes Faulkner, Brian Bailey, AUEW (in a personal capacity). The Industrial Relations Act.

Recall the TUC  
Expel the traitors  
Make the Tories resign

SW LONDON: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4.

N KENT: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking.

CROYDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd.

LUTON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. St John's Ambulance Hall, Lea Rd.

N LONDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

SE LONDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, New Cross Rd (opp New Cross station).



# WHO POLICES THE DOCKS?

The third in a series of articles in which David Maude, our industrial correspondent, shows how the dockers' leaders, official and unofficial, allowed the Devlin 'modernization' scheme to destroy jobs and conditions.

Sir John Donaldson's discipline-your-members judgement in the National Industrial Relations Court last Friday is of particular significance on the docks.

This kind of law-making has been the port employers' explicit demand right through their long struggle to implement containerization, speed-up and mass redundancy, no doubt this was a major consideration in the drafting of the Industrial Relations Act itself.

Early in June 1969 — two months after the winding-up of Jack Dash's portworkers' liaison committee—the chairman of the London employers made a speech which could well have come from Donaldson.

'The unions', he said, 'must put their own house in order, control their members and be prepared to pay a price if they fail to deal with members in breach of agreement or taking unconstitutional action.'



Sir John Donaldson: 'discipline your members' judgement.

The man who made the speech was John Kiernan, a director of the powerful Furness Withy group. He was to play a major role in the employers' battle to force Phase Two of the Devlin scheme on the docks.

Leadership was decisive in this battle, which lasted until September 1970 when Phase Two finally went into operation in London. It is even more so today. That is why the lessons of the struggle to date must be studied.

Ten days after the liaison committee was wound up in early April 1969, the deputy chairman of the UK-Australia shipowners' conference, R. E. S. Whitehouse, launched a sharp attack on Britain's 56,000 dockers.

Only one out of every 20 ships sailing for Australia or New Zealand was able to leave on schedule, he alleged in an interview. At both London and Liverpool it took three weeks to load a ship where one would do.

'Slow working, irresponsible and unofficial strikes and frustrating labour activity' were cited as causes.

In their own way, these

charges were a declaration of war. They meant the shrinkage of 6,000 in the dock labour force nationally since 1965 was not enough for the port employers. They heralded a drive to slash another 20,000 by 1974.

Besides a pool of surplus labour, the employers needed a new managerial structure for the industry plus the disciplinary powers of hire and fire. Under the 1947 dock labour scheme, however, an employer was out of court if he tried simply to sack men as Hay's Wharf Ltd had tried to do in March 1969. Dockers had at least the form of a statutory job-guarantee.

Both employers and governments had campaigned tirelessly to break the confidence this situation tended to breed in the dockers.

On the instructions of Attlee's Labour Cabinet, seven unofficial dockers' leaders were arrested in 1951 after leading a strike against the Transport and General Workers' Union's acceptance of an unpopular pay award. They were charged with conspiracy under a war-time arbitration order, but acquitted after a national dock strike in their defence.



Attlee: on his Cabinet's instructions seven dockers were arrested

Seven years later, a port employer wrote in one of the industry's most influential journals that the Dock Labour Boards set up in 1947 should be done away with.

He also proposed that the 'blue' docks union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, should be merged with the 'white' T&GWU 'by legislation, and the sooner the better'. Another of his bright ideas was that there was much to be said for provoking a 'strike to end all strikes'.

During the half-day strikes of February and March 1969 in London, the employers piled up suspension notices against dockers knowing that the disciplinary procedure of the Dock Labour Board would make them impossible to deal with.

As one national daily commented astutely: 'Some [employers] see this crisis as a blessing in disguise—in so far as their ability to impose discipline will be clearly shown.'



With the employers introducing containerization, the Communist Party and reformist trade union leaders have allowed 21,000 jobs to be destroyed in the past seven years.

Less than a month later George Cattell, the former Rootes director Labour appointed chairman of the national docks modernization committee, announced that he wanted substantial changes in the dock labour scheme.

'The Newsletter', forerunner of Workers Press, warned dockers ceaselessly of the double-edged trap which was being set for them.

These were very timely warnings.

Militancy was rising. Both Phase Two and growing containerization were coming to be seen by many thousands of dockers as a direct threat to their livelihoods. But the leadership crisis in dockland continued.

In February, a ban was imposed on the working of any new container berths in the port of London. Immediately reformists and Stalinists on the T&GWU No 1 docks group committee moved to make the ban conditional on a speeding-up of the Phase Two negotiations.

Opposition to Phase Two then began to be focussed in the NAS&D.

On April 22, Ron Webb, the union's dockers' secretary, announced that his London members would not accept the shift-working concessions which had already been agreed to by T&GWU negotiators. A few weeks later a 'blue' union mass meeting threw out both the scheme and the offered rates of £24-£34 a week.

The T&GWU decided to employ 'steamroller' tactics and soon the steamroller was in action powered by a £3.5m loan from the Labour government to the port employers.

No doubt could have existed about the purpose of the loan. It was to improve severance-pay terms—to kill thousands more jobs in the industry in return for a few rapidly-devaluing pieces of green-printed paper.

Yet by the end of June 1969 three docks committees of the T&GWU in London—the No 1, the ocean lay and the Port of London Authority lay—had given the go-ahead for Phase Two negotiations without the NAS&D.

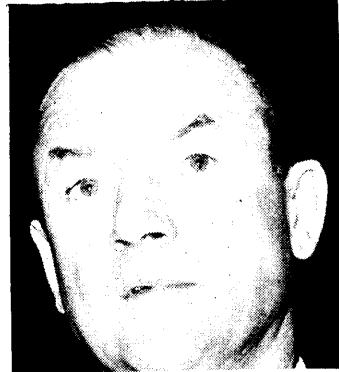
On Merseyside, Phase Two was running into more trouble. But even there Communist Party members on the local modernization committee had conceded that shift-work, method-study, work-measurement and flexible manning would have to form part of any agreement.

An offer of £21 for 40 hours plus bonus was rejected by the stewards, however, and by July 1 the port had come to a standstill over the container issue.

The crisis was over the manning of the Containerbase Federation's Aintree depot by men who were not registered dock workers.

It came to a head at about the same time as London employers were threatening to break off Phase Two negotiations unless dockers lifted their ban on working OCL-ACT's new, £5m container berth at Tilbury. It is hard to believe the two issues were not related.

As the dockers completed their second day on strike, two T&GWU leaders held talks with the man at the centre of both rows: Sir Andrew Maitland-Makgill-Chrichton, chairman of both OCL and Containerbase.



Sir Andrew Maitland-Makgill-Chrichton: chairman of OCL and Containerbase, the man at the centre of 1969 disputes.

The union men were Jack Jones, T&GWU general secretary, and road-transport secretary Ken Jackson. Each of them had put their signature 13 months earlier to an agreement which gave preference for employment to

dockers at Aintree, but allowed the road-transport section to negotiate their wages.

The first time dockers had seen the deal was when it was reported in the local press on the first day of the strike. Jones and Tim O'Leary, the T&GWU docks secretary and another signatory, were on the spot.

Chrichton pressed home his advantage and tried to raise the whole issue of Devlin, containers and modernization in the talks.

But both Jones and the Merseyside shop stewards fought to limit their members' fight to the Aintree issue alone, and nothing was settled by the stalemate formula on which the dockers returned after four days.

Again Chrichton agreed that dockers would have priority for jobs at the depot. But nothing was said about the five other depots named in the May 27, 1968, agreement, three of which were inland.

The agreement itself remained in force.

By July 7, Chrichton was describing as 'sweet news' a decision by the No 1 lay committee in London to seek an early meeting with employers, government and shipowners on containerization.

The ban on the OCL berth at Tilbury stayed. But at the same time moves were made to negotiate shift-work at the Containerbase Federation's Orsett depot, near Tilbury, if Chrichton would give guarantees similar to those at Aintree.

In contrast to this horse-trading, 'The Newsletter' warned: 'No agreement is possible with the port employers which does not concede points of vital principle'. The fight for nationalization under workers' control was urgent.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> 'Financial Times', June 4, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Times', April 14, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> 'Docks and Harbour Magazine', October 1958.

<sup>4</sup> 'Financial Times', February 5, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> 'The Newsletter', July 15, 1969.

# EAST GERMANY LOOKS TO BRANDT

The rejection of the no-confidence vote in the Bonn parliament will have come as a relief to the government of the German Democratic Republic whose own 'Westpolitik' has been the counterpart of Chancellor Willy Brandt's 'Ostpolitik'.

In what appears to be complete harmony with the Soviet Union, E Germany party leader Erich Honecker has staked his future on coming to an agreement with Bonn. A number of practical concessions to the west, such as the easing of travel restrictions into E Berlin at Easter, have been intended to demonstrate good faith and influence opinion in the Federal Republic.

In this way, Honecker has earned a reputation for flexibility which contrasts with the hard-line dogmatism of his predecessor Walter Ulbricht. But even Honecker cannot stomach the Christian Democratic opposition in Bonn: not that that makes it any easier to get on with the Social Democrats. The E Germans are bound to

be called upon to make concessions in accordance with Moscow's desire to reach a detente with the capitalist countries. How far this goes remains to be seen, but the E German leaders know that they are in the hands of the Russians.

By easing censorship and improving the supply of consumer goods, Honecker hopes to secure support for his policies in the GDR where life still tends to be drab and work norms are high.

The 'Westpolitik' may increase the consumer goods available from Federal Germany and provide industry with an outlet, if the Russians, who take a large proportion of the GDR's manufactured goods, are willing.

There is no future for the German working class in the present division or in the 'Ostpolitik' of Willy Brandt which reflects the expansionist needs of big capital. The defence of the gains made in the GDR can only be guaranteed by a socialist revolution in the Federal Republic and the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the east.

Brezhnev and E Germany's Communist Party leader, Honecker.



## STRANGE PRAISE FOR CIVIL WAR BOOK

Praise for 'The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain' by Pierre Broué and Emile Temine comes from a strange source — ex-International Brigader Bill Alexander in 'Marxism Today' (April, 1972), commander of the British battalion and until recently assistant general secretary of the Communist Party.

At one time it would have been ignored or denounced as a Trotskyist interpretation. It is, in fact, one of the best books on the betrayal of the Spanish Revolution by international Stalinism which has appeared, fully documented and irrefutable as far as the role of Stalinism in Spain is concerned.

### SYMPATHY

Alexander says: 'The authors have great sympathy with the view which was held in 1936 by important organizations of the Spanish people, especially in Aragon and Catalonia, that the

fascist insurrection against the Republic should be countered with revolution.'

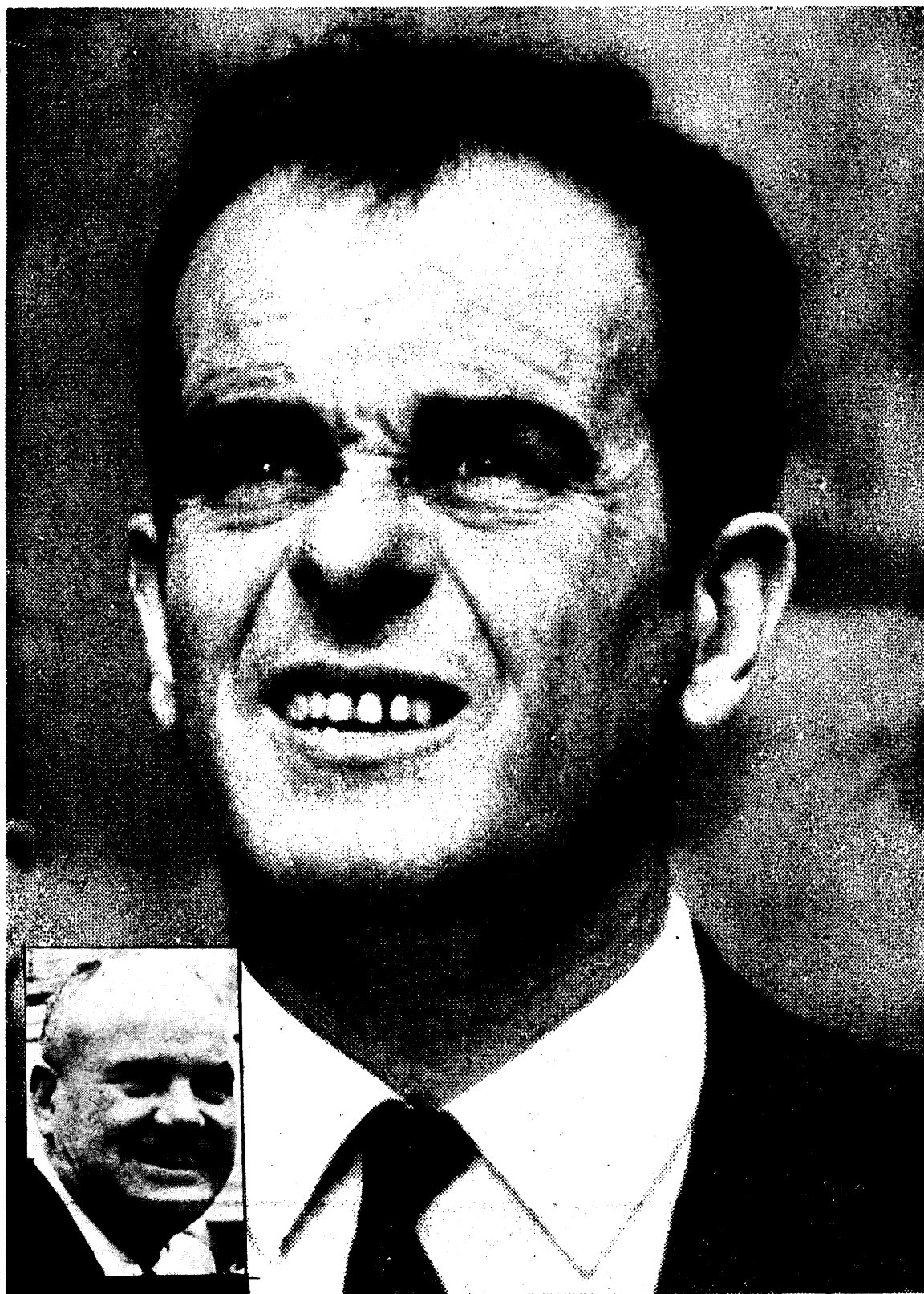
The Communist Party maintained that the main task was to defend the bourgeois Republic and to co-operate with the capitalists and landowners who remained loyal to it.

### MURDER

Alexander says nothing about the activities of the Stalinist security police and murder gangs who killed Andreas Nin and many other left-wing opponents. Soviet military aid, which he exalts, was intended to prevent a revolution in Spain.

Incidentally, soon after it was published in France, a number of publishers who were approached in Britain turned it down (they did not include Messrs Faber & Faber who handle the American edition over here).

One reason given was that the market had been saturated by the book by Huw Thomas which, while fuller on some points, is far inferior in its political grasp of the issues involved in Spain.



Communist Party leader, Marchais. Inset: Maurice Thorez, CP secretary 1944.

# FRENCH UNION LEADERS AFRAID OF STRIKES

BY TOM KEMP

The 38th Congress of the Confédération Générale du Travail held at Nîmes from April 18 to 21 showed that the Stalinist bureaucrats have the largest trade union organization in France well under control.

The main resolutions were voted almost unanimously with only three or four dissenting votes or abstentions. The proceedings were monolithic and monotonous and kept strictly within the limits proscribed by the leadership. Apart from support for the Communist Party's objective of a common programme with the Socialist Party for the next election, it was very much a trade union meeting.

The CGT leaders are afraid of a repetition of the great General Strike of May-June 1968 which they did not call and which they had to struggle hard to bring under control and end as speedily as possible.

Their attitude towards strikes resembles that of the period 1944-1947 when Communist Party secretary Maurice Thorez was saying that strikes were 'the arm of the trusts'. Most of the hard-fought strikes which have taken place this year have arisen from rank-and-file pressure.

In a number of cases the management has had to spend some time locked in its own offices. There have been a series

of factory occupations and mass picketing joined by other workers and strikers' families. There is no doubt that these struggles show the continued combativity of the French working class which is held in check by the trade union bureaucracy.

In the case of the Joint Français, in Brittany, owned by the giant Campagne générale d'électricité, which has been hit by the recession, the struggle for a living wage has brought support from the whole area. From the start of the strike on March 13 it has received big financial support, while peasants have provided the strikers with tons of food.

The mass demonstrations and meetings show that the spirit of 1968 is still very much alive in the French working class.

The CGT leaders fear the extension of strikes of this sort because the CP, which controls its strategy, does not want to frighten the middle-class electors it hopes to win to the united left platform to contest the legislative elections in 1973.

Coming forward as it did in 1968 as the party of order, the CP does not wish to appear as a fomenter of strikes. Where strikes break out it tries to blame them onto 'leftist' agitators and trouble-makers, often accused of being the tools of the government. Its desire to cultivate a respectable public image accounts for its hostility towards the protests which followed on the shooting of Pierre Overney,

a former Renault worker, by a factory guard.

In the plants and industries in which the CGT is strong, there have been few strikes in recent months. The big struggles so far have taken place among workers who are unorganized or belong to other unions and are the least influenced by the CP.

That is not because the more highly-organized workers with stronger traditions of struggle have become less militant; it is a result of the stranglehold which the Stalinist bureaucracy has been able to impose.

In fact, the situation resembles that in the two years before the 1968 General Strike.

Then, too, the CGT contained working-class militancy, 'letting off steam' in small, partial actions — strikes for one or two hours, closing down one section of a factory but not the whole, and so on. In reality frustrations were bottled up until they burst forth in May.

Now the tactic is to take up some partial reforms as a diversion. The CGT Congress agreed to wage a campaign for the reduction of the retiring age to 60 and for a minimum wage equivalent to about £78 per month. In a period of rising unemployment and inflation such demands are entirely inadequate.

Although it reinforced its control over the apparatus at the Congress at Nîmes, the CGT leadership will have an increasingly difficult job to hold back the working class.



# HOW LONG CAN BRANDT SURVIVE?

Last week's political strikes in Germany over the future of the coalition government brought a dramatic indication of the depth of the crisis shaking German capitalism.

For long years, the revisionists and the sceptics of all shades had written off the German workers as a non-revolutionary class, claiming that they had been bought over by the success of the 'German Miracle'.

This view, which took a severe battering during the great metal industry strikes last year, is further exposed by the German workers' determination to defend the Brandt government, not for its own sake, but because it is threatened from the right by the employers.

In many of Germany's big factories, workers raised the slogan of General Strike on the eve of last Thursday's Bundestag vote on the opposition's motion of no confidence. Their stand undoubtedly had an effect on wavering members of the Free Democrats, the coalition's 'liberal' partners—who were considering turning their coats.

## Brandt appeals for calm and restraint for workers

The workers advanced the strike demand against the advice of Brandt himself, who appealed for calm and restraint on the eve of the crucial poll. The social-democratic leaders are greatly frightened by the upsurge of political militancy in the factories.

Brandt is caught by the economic crisis and the resulting recession in an impossible position. The boom years of the 'Miracle' are well and truly over and the big companies are reporting disastrous declines in their profits.

This crisis has been enormously intensified by the Nixon measures of August 15 last year. Over the last two years the D-mark has been forced to revalue by a staggering 22 per cent in order to try and keep unwanted dollars out of Germany.

This has hit particularly hard at the big export industries like motors and chemicals and at basic production of coal, steel, and artificial fibres. Volkswagen is in the red on its basic operations, barely covering itself through its ancillary production.

The steel industry is running way below capacity, and in the coal mines, 180,000 jobs are scheduled for the axe. Ruhrkohle, the biggest coal combine, is being saved from bankruptcy only by a huge injection of government money, the second in three years.

In the chemical industry, where workers recently began fighting for a major wage increase, Glanzstoff AG, a major firm is closing down sacking 3,000 workers.

It is against this background that the coalition government has

been trying to hold down wages. Its efforts in this direction received a major blow in the powerful metalworkers' strikes at the end of last year.

The outcome of these strikes sealed the fate of the Brandt government, and the big bourgeois behind the Christian Democrats began a determined campaign to bring it down. They want a government which will correspond to the requirements of German capitalism—a government modelled on the Heath regime in Britain.

There can be no question that the betrayal of the social-democratic-liberal coalition has opened the way for a restoration of Christian-Democratic rule. The Social Democrats served an apprenticeship actually in coalition with the Christian Democrats until 1969, when a wave of unofficial strikes heralded Brandt's election as chancellor.

He has proved unable to fulfill his promises of reform and the coalition has adopted policies of wage restraint and attacked the democratic rights of the working class. The Social-Democratic Party long ago dropped the 'socialist' measures from its programme and its most 'radical' measure has been the reform of taxation creating a form of wealth tax.

Even this mild reform has provoked opposition from the Free Democrats, contributing to the defection of some of their MPs to the Christian Democrats.

The other major issue in the government crisis is the Warsaw and Moscow treaties—Brandt's 'Ostpolitik'—due for ratification by the Bundestag this week. The treaties accord with the urgent requirements of German industrialists who want an 'opening to the east' for capital investment and trade.

The concessions to German capitalism contained in the treaties are not enough to satisfy the employers, however. They are faced with the same problem of finding 'lebensraum' which drove them to war in the 1930s. The expansion of basic production in Germany comes into violent conflict with the breakdown in world trade and the international monetary system.

In turn this problem fuels nationalist demands for the unification of Germany on a capitalist basis. W German capitalism is posed with the reconquest of E Germany and E Europe if it is to overcome the catastrophic effects of the economic crisis.

## Ambitions of restoring capitalism not to be abandoned

Such a task cannot be achieved by peaceful negotiations, however welcome the concessions extracted from the Stalinists in the treaties may be. Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, leader of the FDP, made it clear in a recent letter to Moscow that the W German employers will not abandon their ambitions of restoring capitalism in the east

despite the treaties.

His letter stated that the government considers the Moscow treaty 'is not in contradiction with the political aim of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a situation of peace in Europe where the German people regain in free self-determination their unity'.

## Common Market recognized as further concession to big business

The Soviet leaders have accepted this hypocritical formulation as forming part of the treaty itself. At the same time, Leonid Brezhnev recognized the reality of the Common Market as a further concession to W German big business.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the pacts because they fit in with the bureaucracy's plans for European Security—i.e. joint policing of Europe by Stalinism and imperialism. The Soviet leaders have conducted their own campaign for Brandt to be kept in office.

Their supporters in the now legal W German Communist Party, support Brandt on a similar basis. In this way, they try to subordinate the working class to the coalition government. They have no perspective of struggles against the government's reactionary measures.

In fact, the only reform thoroughly carried out by the Brandt government is that of the army and 'internal security'. The Budget of the security forces has been more than doubled under Brandt. The so-called 'border protection' forces have been given new military status.

This is ominous enough, but Brandt's ministers have not been restrained by their negotiations with the Stalinists from attacking the Communist Party at home. The Home Secretary has declared that the Communist Party carries out unconstitutional activities, meaning that it can be banned out of hand whenever it suits the government.

CP members are already barred from any public service job and from the teaching profession. The Stalinists protest about this state of affairs, of course, but their protests are never directed against the coalition regime.

Their campaign in favour of the treaties is on the familiar basis of 'national interest'; they claim for example, that the expansion of trade resulting from the agreement with the east will cut unemployment in W Germany!

Thoroughly discredited by their association with Erich Honecker's counter-revolutionary regime in E Germany, the W German Stalinists can present no independent alternative to the social democracy. This task can only be undertaken by a Trotskyist party fighting to restore the revolutionary traditions of the German workers in a struggle against both Stalinism and reformism.



Top: German demonstrators clash with police. Above: Brandt, leader of the Social Democrats (SPD) and Chancellor of Germany. He is caught by the economic crisis and the growing militancy of the working class. Right: Barzel, Stücklen and Strauss. Barzel leads the right wing, Christian Democrats (CDU). Strauss leads the Bavarian based Christian Socialists (CSU) who are in close alliance with the CDU and form the opposition parties in the German parliament.

Scheel, Germany's foreign minister, pictured here in Jerusalem, is leader of the Free Democrats (FDP), a liberal party which forms the other half of the Brandt coalition government.

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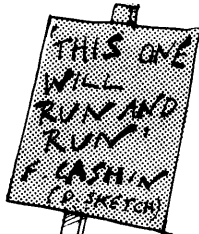
Once she was just another long-haired lecturer reading a lot of long words in boring books.

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Fancy that! These items (below) culled from recent issues of 'Socialist Worker' and 'Private Eye' indicate the close and harmonious relations between the two journals. Top: the page which drew Protz's criticism. Above: Tony Cliff of the International Socialists

## Socialist Worker

25 March 1972

### MR ROBERT EDWARDS, MP: An Apology

In our issue of 22 January 1972, we alleged that Mr Robert Edwards, Labour and Co-op MP for Bilston in Staffs, had associated with Ellis Seillon, an international swindler, in cheating various banks of some £13,000,000, and in particular of the Co-operative Bank, and that Mr Edwards had gained certain advantages from loans which that bank had made to Mr Seillon.

It was also suggested that Mr Edwards owned 12,000 shares in Mesco Consolidated Limited, one of Seillon's companies.

We wish to apologise to Mr Edwards for alleging that he was in any sense associated with the illicit activities of Ellis Seillon or that he had participated directly or indirectly in any activities with Seillon which were designed to swindle any bank and, in particular, the Co-operative Bank.

We further understand that Mr Robert Edwards, MP, has never been a shareholder of Mesco Consolidated.

We wish to apologise for the aspersions which were cast on the integrity of Mr Edwards and unreservedly withdraw the allegations which have been made against him.



## PRIVATE EYE

### MR. ROBERT EDWARDS - AN APOLOGY

In our issue of January 28th, 1972, under the heading: "Fraud - Shopped at the Co-op" we published an article about Ellis Seillon, the financier who was recently convicted of fraud. The article also referred to Mr. Robert Edwards, Labour and Co-operative MP for Bilston, Staffs.

The statement in the article that Mr. Edwards owned 12,000 shares in Mesco Consolidated Industries Finance Ltd., one

of Mr. Seillon's companies of which Mr. Edwards was a director, is incorrect. We accept unhesitatingly Mr. Edwards' assurance that he is not the Mr. Robert Edwards listed as a director of the Stanley Weston Group and as secretary of Mesco Laboratories, two other companies of Mr. Seillon.

We greatly regret the error, and apologise unreservedly to Mr. Edwards for any distress, embarrassment or inconvenience which the article may have caused him.

ing paper. It is designed to stimulate and organize opposition to the present system of society which is not only corrupt, as "Private Eye" relentlessly proves, but unnecessary.

What, therefore, is to be drawn from these articles on 'Private Eye' and the menagerie it has gathered around it?

In times of economic crisis and social trauma the ruling class does not always appear in its traditional garb of the high-Tory politician or businessman.

In the 1930s this point was well demonstrated. A whole section of the middle and upper class who indulged in a pretence of radicalism during the 1920s re-emerged in the days of depression and class struggle as the most vicious exponents of the capitalist creed and racialism.

One recalls, for example, the ex-Labour Minister Oswald Mosley who collected around him in his New Party a coterie of sons of the establishment who claimed radical and 'left' views.

Mosley's New Party proved to be a staging post on his road to forming the British Union of Fascists.

This is not to say that those involved in the production of 'Private Eye' are moving towards the fascists. Indeed, Paul Foot has written extensively exposing fascism and neo-fascism in this country.

The point is, however, that the magazine is tied to a milieu which is loaded with dangers.

As the crisis for capitalism heightens, the question is — which way will they all jump?

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## Sinister bleep

America, the beautiful, continued... A sociologist at the University of Utah, Professor Gerald Smith, wants prison paroles to have an electronic bleeper surgically implanted in them so that their movements can be monitored 24 hours a day.

## Card sharks

Mobile 'card sharks' who make a practice of fleecing tourists have resulted in police warnings to visitors to the Black Sea resort of Sochi.

The card sharks operate out of taxis, luring gullible tourists into their cars at airports, softening them up with brandy and then stripping them of their holiday money at cards.

The technique is to let the victim win so much he becomes over confident. Then the card shark strikes.

The trade union newspaper 'Trud' reported the case of one unfortunate tourist, a man named Omurbek who came from the far northern region of Siberia.

He arrived at Sochi airport, accepted some expensive cognac from a pair of well-dressed young men, played a card game called 'Vaku-Vaku' with them in a taxi — and found himself winning wildly.

Then things took a different turn. 'Trud' said: 'As though through a fog, the Siberian remembers a quiet side street rising steeply uphill — a summer-house covered with vine-leaves — a table with wine-bottles. More cards. Large wads of money exchanging hands...'

'Only one thing was certain. Out of the £180 he had brought with him to the resort, the unsuspecting Omurbek did not find even a single kopeck in his pocket.'

## Gay minister

A major United States Protestant denomination is to ordain a self-proclaimed homosexual as a minister.

The decision was taken by clergy and lay delegates of the United Church of Christ from 19 churches round the San Francisco Bay area.

The church claims more than two million members throughout the United States.

The conference agreed to the ordination of William Johnson, 25, a graduate of the Berkeley Pacific School of Religion, after he had addressed them on what he called his 'gay, sexual orientation'.

Sixty-two of the 96 delegates present voted for him. There was loud applause after the vote was taken but some walked out, including an elderly minister who said: 'This is an affront to Christianity'.

Mr Johnson, who clasped his hands in silent prayer as the vote was announced, stepped into a pulpit to tell the delegates:

'I celebrate. You give me the opportunity to do the work I know I do best. God bless you'.

During the gruelling four-hour debate, Mr Johnson first made a statement on his candidacy and was then asked questions.

The first questioner asked if he regarded his sexuality as a 'gift from God and a good gift?'

Mr Johnson replied: 'I regard all sexuality as a gift from God and a good gift'.

He added: 'I hope some day to share a deep love relationship with another man'.

He was asked if he would be willing to forego 'the personal pleasurable practice of homosexuality' in order to become ordained.

Mr Johnson replied: 'I hear you asking the question of celibacy.'

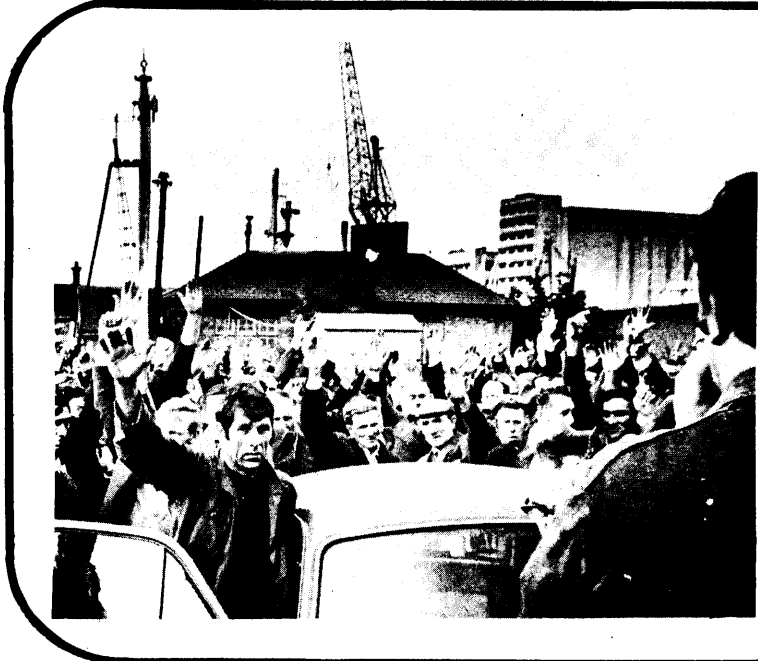
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## Another 1,000 jobs go in dock area

MANAGEMENT at the Shuttleworth chocolate factory, Bermondsey, has announced that it will close within the next nine months, putting 1,100 people, mainly women, on the dole.

Shuttleworth's, part of the Rowntree-Mackintosh group, is concerned mainly with producing Easter eggs and other novelties retailed through the big stores.

Joint managing director George Hill commented: 'It has been getting less and less profitable. The main reason for this I suppose is that the power is being concentrated in the hands of a few big people.'

This closure is another in the grim line of shutdowns in Southwark. They began with the running down of the docks with the advent of containerization and rapidly spread to heavy and light engineering, leading to a total loss of over 17,000 jobs.

### Animal cash

A CLERGYMAN left about £50,000 in his will published yesterday to the National Antivivisection Society and the RSPCA. The Rev William Leonard Pollard-Willison, of Woodcote, Higher Woodfield Road, Torquay, who died in January, left £77,779 gross (£77,342 net, duty £24,983).

### Noise worry

TWO amenity groups yesterday called for the Roskill Commission on London's third airport to be recalled.

The Sheppey Group, which is campaigning to safeguard Kent's interests from the effects of a Foulness airport, and the Defenders of Essex want the commission to examine the latest government calculations on noise disturbance in Kent and Essex from the airport.

# The port employers' 'gale of change'

THE PORT of London Authority chairman, Lord Aldington, said yesterday 2,000 docks jobs would be lost this year as part of 'technological change'.

Presenting the PLA's annual report yesterday Aldington commented on the port's 'human problems'.

He said that at times of such fast technological change, relations between employer and employee must come under strain 'for simple human reasons'.

'Many relations and practices and attitudes of mind rooted deep in history were, as it were, withered and blown away by the gale of change.'

Blown away also have been livelihoods of many thousands of dockers. Last year the PLA forecast that 1,200 dockers would lose their jobs this year; now the figure has jumped to 2,000.

The gale of change won't be affecting the income and privilege of Aldington, a former Tory minister and deputy chairman of the Tory Party.

Apart from axing jobs on London docks, he sits on the board of the giant GEC-AEI

## Drive for profits will cut jobs, increase speed-up

combine which has sacked more than 30,000 workers since the big merger.

Aldington makes clear in his statement that his sole interest is preserving the profits of the docks at the expense of workers' jobs. As if to prove this point, Aldington said last year, when the heaviest sackings occurred, the Authority made its first profit since 1966.

The profit was £169,000 compared with deficits of £741,000 and £1.4m in 1969.

'The return on capital of about 4 per cent is clearly much too low,' says Aldington brusquely, 'and my colleagues and I, with the full support of the management, are intent upon increasing it.'

Charges had been increased 'for good reasons', but they were not uncompetitive with ports generally, and some competing

Continental ports had the advantages of dredging and other subsidies. The charges would continue to be kept under review, he said.

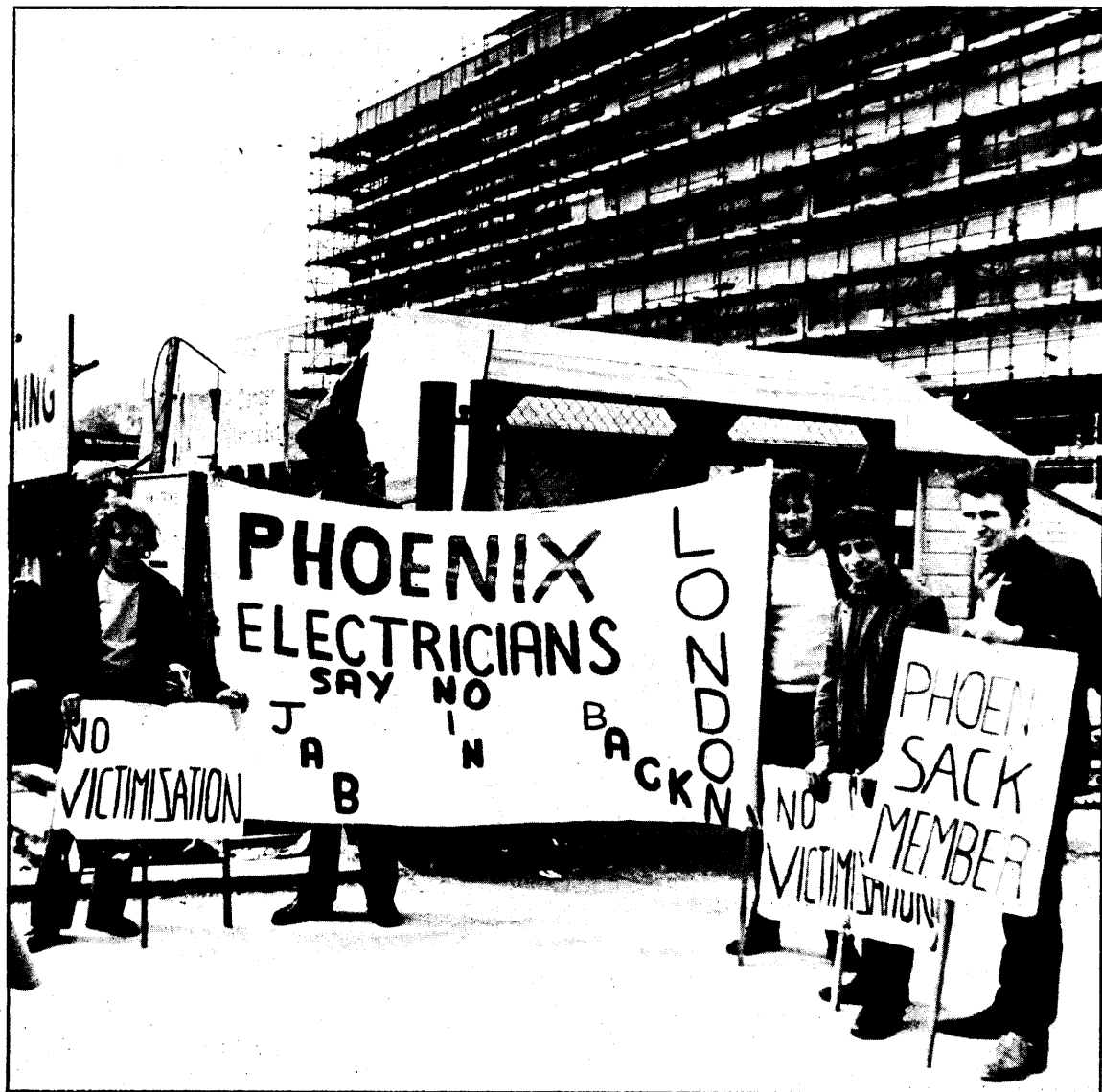
'These charges are not the only item by which shippers and shipowners judge a port; speed and efficiency of operation are others, and reliability probably the most important.'

'We need to foster the reputation for continuous round-the-clock working at the container berths at Tilbury and of uninterrupted two-shift working elsewhere.'

'Such a reputation will do more to safeguard the careers of those working in the PLA than anything else,' says Lord Aldington.

Nothing good had been or would be done in the port without the co-operation of all who worked there.

## Sparks want reinstatement



ELECTRICIANS picket the St Thomas's Hospital site, Waterloo, south London, in their 12-day-old strike in support of one man dismissed for alleged 'lack of production' and 'absence from site without foreman's permission'.

The men, employed by Phoenix Electrical Company, have now been on strike since April 21.

The company has offered to transfer the sacked electrician to another site or to suspend him on basic pay and place the matter in the hands of the Joint Industrial Board.

This proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by electricians on the site who say that since the man was unjustly dismissed, only his re-instatement on the St Thomas's site will satisfy.

A GLASGOW company was yesterday fined the maximum £100 for contravening the Radioactive Substances Act, after a check disclosed that a 'high dosage of radiation' was being emitted from a store hut.

Solvol (Metallurgical) Ltd, a London company with an office at West Regent St, Glasgow, admitted the contravention which related to radioactive material stored in premises at Woodville St, Glasgow.

### Nurseries plea

MOTHERS and their young children lobbied parliament, Buckingham Palace and 10 Downing St yesterday in support of more nursery education for the under fives.

Tory Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher was presented with a petition signed by 360,000 people. It includes a call for the removal of a government circular restricting local councils from expanding already totally inadequate nursery education.

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# Distrust of paper: Gold at \$50 an ounce

GOLD is now selling at over \$50 an ounce on the London bullion market amid rumours that big international buyers may be about to enter the market.

Monday's closing price of \$50.35 to \$50.55 an ounce compares with the 'official' price, recently raised by the United States Congress from \$35 to \$38 an ounce.

The rise in the gold price reflects continuing distrust of paper currency, which has been intensified by the US decision to stop selling gold even to the central banks at the 'official' price.

It shows that the currency realignment deal reached in Washington on December 18 last year has solved none of the basic problems posed by the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system on August 15 last year.

The relationship between gold and the dollar was the cornerstone of Bretton Woods. The various schemes proposed for so-called 'paper gold', in the form of International Monetary Fund special drawing rights, cannot overcome the crisis resulting from the breakdown of this relationship.

The rapid development of recession, combined with continuing currency inflation, has created a credit crisis for many major firms which may well begin to buy gold in desperate efforts to dispose of their currency holdings.



The Rev Canaan Banana (l.), vice chairman of the ANC in Rhodesia, Alex Lyon MP (centre) and Ronald Sadomba (r.), deputy secretary for External Affairs.

# Thousand times 'No'

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

REPRESENTATIVES of Rhodesia's African National Council arrived in London to discover that not only is the Pearce Report not ready 'but that amazingly there is some doubt as to its decision'.

The Rev Canaan Banana, vice-president of the ANC, told a press conference at the House of Commons yesterday the African majority in Rhodesia had given Pearce a resounding 'No' to the Tory government's sell-out proposals.

'Millions of people earlier this year said "No", a thousand times "No". We are the representatives of the ANC, the only voice of the 5 million Africans of Rhodesia.

'We are Rhodesia, the realistic observer knows it, the whole world knows it, and even Mr Smith and his supporters know it.

'The only people who seem to doubt it are the British government. Mr Smith thinks he

## To Smith's concentration camps and police dogs

has a solution. It entails concentration camps, police dogs and the terrified fear of tomorrow.'

Banana disclosed that a 'government in waiting' has been established to defend the

rights of the majority if Pearce goes ahead with a Tory sell-out.

A delegation headed by Banana is in London to campaign for majority rule in Rhodesia.

## 'Ostpolitik' talks

THE W German Bundestag remained suspended yesterday as all four political parties, at a series of separate meetings, endeavoured to work out a common foreign policy towards E Europe — Chancellor Willy Brandt's 'Ostpolitik'.

The debate on the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, originally scheduled to open today, has been postponed so that the parties can discuss ways of overcoming the deadlock in parliament.

The top leaders of the parties — the ruling coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats and the opposition Christian Democrats and Christian Social Union — are to meet today to discuss the situation.

As a result of defections from the coalition, neither side can command an absolute majority in the Bundestag. Rainer Barzel, the opposition leader, said that in the light of this situation 'it would be irresponsible to have a vote on the treaties'.

# Students stand trial in Yugoslavia

THREE Belgrade University students are to stand trial later this month for alleged Trotskyist activity, the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug reported earlier this week.

They are Milan Nikolic (25), a philosophy student, Jelka Klajic (25), a sociology student and Pavlusko Imsirovic (24), a transport student.

Arrested early in January, they have been charged with 'conspiring against the people and state' under Article 117 of the Criminal Code.

Their 'crime', according to the prosecution, involved 'writing, reproducing, and distributing leaflets of hostile content and maliciously and falsely presenting social and political conditions in the country'.

The indictment also cites a number of their public statements criticizing the Tito bureaucracy. One of their leaflets apparently defended victims of bureaucratic persecution, including Vladimir Mijatovic, a philosophy student, and Ivan Kamban, a retired officer known to be critical of the bureaucracy.

The prosecution lays particular emphasis on the allegation that the three students tried to influence workers both in Yugoslavia and abroad. It alleges that Imsirovic travelled as a delegate to the International Youth Rally in Essen last year.

Tanyug also claims that the recent visit to Belgrade by Pabliste leader Ernest Mandel was at the invitation of an illegal group of students at the university to which the three accused belonged. They claim his visit was 'aimed at creating or rather reviving the Fourth Trotskyite International'.

# Cambodian students demonstrate over killing

ABOUT 2,000 students yesterday demonstrated in Phnom Penh against the Cambodian government, which they accused of covering up the shooting of their comrades during a riot at the law faculty.

Speakers told the demonstrators military police killed four people and wounded another 22 last Thursday when they fired at a stone-throwing crowd at barricades outside the faculty building.

President Lon Nol blamed communist snipers in nearby houses for shooting down the students and said only nine people were wounded.

The shooting has aroused unprecedented public indignation here and provoked strict official censorship.

Police have been accused of hiding the bodies, pressuring officials at hospitals which treated wounded, and destroying press photographs of the shooting.

A Reuter correspondent on the scene of the shooting saw no gunfire from the student side and could not corroborate the report of sniping.

The riot followed a police attempt to surround and starve out militant law students who occupied the building for seven weeks in an anti-government protest.

## BBC 1

9.20-9.35 Pogles' wood. 9.38 Schools. 10.45-11.00 Boomph with Becker. 11.05 Schools. 12.25-12.50 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 1.00-1.25 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05 Schools. 2.25-4.05 Chester races. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Laurel and Hardy. 5.15 John Craven's news round. 5.20 Before the event. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD. 7.00 SPY TRAP. Girl in Waiting. 7.25 STAR TREK. Wolf in the Fold. 8.15 LORD PETER WIMSEY: CLOUDS OF WITNESS. 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather. 9.20 SPORTSNIGHT WITH COLEMAN. International boxing, Muhammad Ali v George Chuvalo and FA Cup Final. 10.00 CONSERVATIVE PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST. 10.10 SPORTSNIGHT continued. 11.00 24 HOURS. 11.30 Weather.

# TV

## ITV

11.00-12.00 Schools. 1.10 Time to remember. 1.40 Schools. 2.32 Good afternoon! 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Simon Locke. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Lift off. 5.20 Escape into night. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS. 7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 CADE'S COUNTY. Slay Ride. 9.00 CALLAN. The Contract. 10.00 CONSERVATIVE PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST. 10.10 NEWS. 10.40 MAN AT THE TOP. A Bit of Spare, Nothing Else. 11.40 WRESTLING. 12.10 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. Alan Coren, deputy editor of 'Punch'. 12.25 THE GEORDIE BIBLE.

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University. 7.05 MEASURE OF CONSCIENCE. A Taste of Freedom. 7.30 NEWSROOM and weather. 8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. 8.10 MAN ALIVE. How Does Your Garden Grow? 9.00 POT BLACK. Snooker. 9.20 VINTAGE HOLLYWOOD: 'HOLLYWOOD CAVALCADE'. Alice Faye, Don Ameche. Early days of the movies through the eyes of a showgirl. 10.00 CONSERVATIVE PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST. 10.10 HOLLYWOOD continued. 11.05 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 11.10 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## REGIONAL TV

WESTWARD: 10.20-2.32 London. 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 News. 4.22 Good afternoon! 4.55 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 London. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 10.45 Both ends meet. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.40 News. 11.44 Faith for life. SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 3.00 Danger man. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.45 Question time. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. Voyage to discovery. ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 3.15 Who'll bid me? 3.45 Yoga. 4.15 News. 4.18 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 10.45

Alexander the greatest. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.45 Your music.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-2.32 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 10.45 Alexander the greatest. 11.15 Wrestling.

ULSTER: 11.00-2.32 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 What's on? 6.35 London. 10.40 Glen to glen. 11.10 Wrestling.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 2.30 Edgar Wallace. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. What's on? 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.40 Alexander the greatest. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.40 What the papers say.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.45 Come out Alan Browning. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.45 News. 12.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.20 London. 3.30 Pinky and Perky. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 More we are together. 7.00 London. 10.45 Alexander the greatest. 11.15 Sport. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 Wrestling.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-2.55 London. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 10.45 Branded. 11.15 Wrestling. 11.45 David Thompson. 12.15 Epilogue.

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# FBI CHIEF DIES

BY JOHN SPENCER

J EDGAR HOOVER, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1924, died in Washington yesterday. He was 77.

Hoover, a virulent anti-communist who earned an honorary Knighthood from King George VI, was one of the most powerful men in the United States.

Under his rule the FBI functioned as a virtual state within a state, concentrating particularly on attacking left-wing organizations.

The 7,000 G-men—all armed with law degrees as well as firearms—function as a virtual private army, bullying and terrorizing Hoover's political opponents and even putting pressure on Presidents and attorneys-general.

It was Hoover who branded Angela Davis 'the most wanted woman in America' and last year he demanded more money from the Senate to 'combat increased terrorism from radical leftist and Black extremist organizations'.

Hoover was obsessed with the danger of revolution. He had a fleet of four bullet-proof limousines—one more than the President himself—and lived in constant fear of assassination.

One of his more bizarre quirks was a paranoiac dislike of anyone whose hand felt clammy when he shook it. Despite a budget of well over \$100m a year, the FBI under Hoover was notably unsuccessful in breaking the Mafia and other huge crime rings in the US.

# Angela's prison letters planned as evidence

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**THE JUDGE** in the Angela Davis trial is to rule later this week on the admissibility of letters she is said to have written to Soledad Brother George Jackson in San Quentin prison.

The prosecution claims the letters are crucial to its case, which hinges on proving that Angela Davis conspired with Jackson's brother Jonathan to spring three black prisoners from Marin County courthouse.

Four people, including Jonathan Jackson, two of the escaping convicts and a judge they had taken as a hostage were killed in a police fusillade as they tried to escape.

The prosecution has yet to introduce any direct evidence linking Miss Davis to the escape attempt. The first part of the prosecution's evidence centred on the actual events at the courthouse and now wants to use the letters to prejudice the jury still further.

The letters describe Angela Davis' growing love for George Jackson. They do not contribute one iota to proving conspiracy. The defence has claimed that 'the prosecution has suffered a major setback in its conduct of the trial.'

But this does not mean the state of California will relent in its campaign to lynch Angela Davis. Any illusions in the character of bourgeois 'justice' in the State of California would be completely misplaced. The trial is a frame-up from start to finish, but this will not prevent the state using every device it can to obtain a conviction.



A drawing of Angela Davis in court with her attorneys

## Slater-Walker goes EEC

SLATER WALKER, the investment and banking empire, yesterday announced a £16m fundraising operation as part of its planned drive into Europe.

Two Eurobond loans underwritten by an international banking syndicate will bring in the money for its wholly-owned offshoot, Slater Walker International Finance.

The first is a \$20m, 15-year convertible bond and the second an £8m, 15-year sterling/mark loan. Proceeds of the issues will be lent back to Slater Walker Ltd, the UK banking subsidiary and used in the group's international investment and banking business.

Slater Walker is already setting up a number of offices in European centres.

## Heath defends Barber's rail 'blackmail' speech

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**TORY PREMIER Edward Heath yesterday staunchly defended Chancellor Anthony Barber's much-criticized 'blackmail' speech against the railway union leaders.**

While talks aimed at settling the rail pay dispute were still in progress at Marylebone, Heath told the House of Commons yesterday afternoon: 'I entirely approve what the Chancellor said.'

Labour MP Patrick Duffy, from Attercliffe, Sheffield, said the whole climate of industrial relations in this country had been soured by the intervention of the Chancellor on the eve of

the government's application for a cooling-off period.

He complained that Barber had 'converted the railway dispute into a political conflict... and had raised the temperature and the stakes.'

West Fife Labour MP William Hamilton asked Heath: 'Did you know and approve of the use of the word "blackmail" by the Chancellor?'

Came the reply: 'This was a perfectly proper point to put to the nation. I entirely approve of what the Chancellor said, and if the Opposition want to be held to blackmail by sections of the community, it had better tell the country.'

● Talks on the railwaymen's pay dispute were later adjourned until Thursday.

## New rail offer tomorrow?

RAIL union leaders expect to hear British Rail's new pay offer at talks set for tomorrow.

After six hours of informal meetings yesterday—day two of the resumed negotiations—no new offer was forthcoming.

But Ray Bukton, general secretary of ASLEF, said as he left BR's headquarters that the Board's industrial relations chief, Herbert Farrimond, 'hopes he can put a proposal before us on Thursday morning to resolve the matter'.

## BSC to move River Don machinery

BRITISH Steel Corporation management have decided to start moving the first machinery from the River Don steelworks, Sheffield, tomorrow.

The machinery is to be transferred under the Tory deal to hive off the River Don drop forge and an ancillary department to Firth Brown Ltd.

The move is a direct challenge to stewards who have promised to resist, physically if necessary, the movement of machinery.

River Don is also involved in the district engineering pay dispute and stewards have threatened a work-to-rule.

## Employers and union meet on containers

A UNION-employer meeting on the containers crisis will follow hard on the heels of today's National Industrial Relations Court airing of the issue.

Tim O'Leary, Transport and General Workers' Union docks officer, is expected to attend tomorrow's meeting of the industry's national joint council.

But late yesterday afternoon there was still no word from the T&GWU about who will attend today's NIRC hearing of further allegations of blacking action against Heaton Transport Ltd.

In Bristol yesterday, Transport Minister John Peyton said he hoped the containers row could be settled 'without bloodletting'.

## USDAW gives away £35,000

BRITAIN'S sixth largest union, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, which voted on Sunday against TUC policy by staying registered under the Industrial Relations Act, will give away about £35,000 a year it will receive in tax concessions.

Alf Allen, USDAW general secretary, told the union's annual delegate meeting yesterday that the executive had unanimously agreed with his recommendation not to seek any taxation advantage from continuing to be registered.

## Less strikes: More days are lost

FEWER but longer strikes are now the trend in Britain, Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan told the Commons yesterday.

He pointed out that 86 per cent of the days lost in the first quarter of this year were accounted for by the miners' strike.

In the three months to March 31, 1972, there were 448 strikes. This compared with 627 in the corresponding three months last year; 1,212 in 1970; 718 in 1969; 518 in 1968 and 529 in 1967.

### LATE NEWS WEATHER

WESTERN Scotland and N Ireland will have a few scattered showers. Eastern and northern Scotland will be mainly dry but some coastal fog patches may be rather persistent. East and central southern England may have isolated thundery showers, otherwise England and Wales generally will be dry with sunny intervals.

Temperatures will be about normal over Scotland and N Ireland, but it will be rather warm in all other areas.

**Outlook for Thursday and**

**Friday:** After overnight fog patches most places will have sunny intervals but south east England may have thundery showers at first.