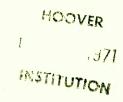
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Young Socialists

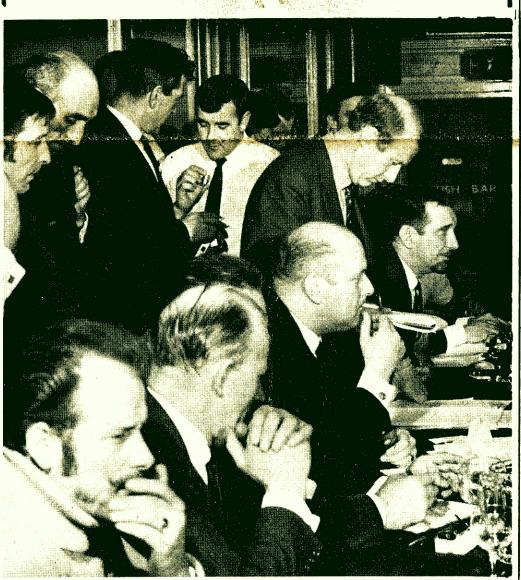
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MIT is the premier science college in the United States, with a tradition of student conservatism.

That its students are being radicalized in this way is an indication of the widespread popular character of the Moratorium campaign.

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The next Moratorium, fixed for November 15, promises to be even bigger and far more militant than the first.

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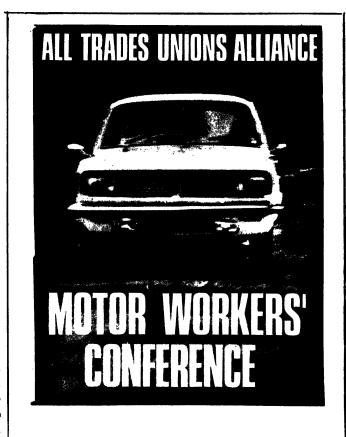
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IN AUGUST 1969, the British Communist Party published a 60-page booklet by Betty Reid entitled 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain'. Though she touches on the activities of anarchist and 'Maoist' groups, Reid's main concern is to discredit Trotskyism in general and the Socialist Labour League in particular.

Starting today, the Workers Press will publish five extracts from a larger work dealing with all the main principled differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The extracts we are publishing here will deal with five specific issues raised by Reid's attack on the Fourth International:

- 1. The Popular Front and the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.
- 2. The Second World War: The Stalin-Hitler Pact.
- The Second World War: 'The Big Three'. British Trotskyism today: Stalinism and the Re-
- The fight for alternative leadership: The Stalinist record—and ours.

BETTY REID'S approach to the various groups she describes as 'Trotskyist' varies greatly.

visionists.

The basis of the split between the Socialist Labour League and the tendency now calling itself the 'International Marxist Group' explains these variations in her attitude.

We separated from the tendency headed by Pablo because of absolutely fundamental differences over the nature and role of Stalinism.

The 1953 split in the Fourth International hinged on the Pabloites' insistence that under mass pressure the western Stalinist parties could be forced to take power and that in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, similar pressure from below would force the Stalinist bureaucracies to 'de-Stalinize' themselves by a series of internal reforms.

Basing itself on this revision of Trotskyism, which has always held that Stalinism, both within the workers' states and in the capitalist countries, is an anti-working-class, counter-revolutionary force, Pablo's faction in the Fourth International called for its liquidation into the ranks of the Stalinist parties.

#### **Impressionistic**

The first impulse for this attack on Trotskyist theory and programme was Pablo's impressionistic analysis of the relationship between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

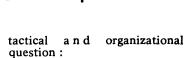
Seeing only the drive towards the third world war, and pessimistically writing off the ability of the working class to overthrow imperialism and so avert nuclear catastrophe, Pablo argued that an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would drive the Stalinist parties to the left in the capitalist states.

Later the theory of the third world war was dropped, but the core of Pabloism, that the bureaucracy had changed since Trotsky wrote the 'Transitional Programme of the Fourth International' in 1938, remained.

Where social democracy was the main tendency in the working class, supporters of Pablo were expected to dissolve their forces into its ranks, there to await the upsurge that was to force the Stalinist and reformist bureau-

cracies towards power. Reid, as is to be expected, does not present the split in the Fourth International in

She obscures its principled nature by reducing it to a



'This division was primarily based upon methods of entrism and organization, and was sharpened by the central political theme that a third world war was inevitable and would be between the forces of imperialism and the Soviet Union.' (p. 18.)

#### Distorted

Reid then gives a distorted outline of the development of the organization that is now the Socialist Labour League, contrasting us with the revisionists, who 'were anxious to develop a new image, more subtle and flexible, and less sectarian. . . .' (p. 18.)

But just a little further on,

Reid is forced to admit that despite our lack of a 'new image', despite our less 'subtle' and more 'sectarian' approach; 'Healy supporters were able successfully to work inside the Labour Party youth organization, the Young Socialists, and to take a majority into a new, specifically Trotskyist organization called Young Socialists around the journal "Keep Left".' (p. 18)

What Reid condemns as sectarianism is in fact firm adherence to Marxist principles. Our break from Pablo's capitulation to bureaucracy in 1953, and the theoretical fight we waged against those who drifted back to his policies over the next ten years, were the basis for this historic defeat that Trotskyists were able to inflict on British social democracy in

Reid cannot hide her hatred for this intransigence of the Socialist Labour League. In attacking us, she repeats all the abuse hurled at the Bolshevik Party by its opportunist enemies in the Russian workers' movement before the Revolution of 1917:

'In examining the policies of the SLL, we must remember that their efforts are directed entirely to one objective, the establishment of a clear, separate identity and organization which will set out to win adherents who ultimately will be led into battle when the big day comes.' (p. 19.)

Apart from the routine cynical references to revolution as 'the big day', this is a reasonable, if hostile, description of some of the main features of Leninism, a political tendency which Reid clearly loathes.

#### **Opportunist**

Reid cannot conceal her feelings for the SLL. She hates

'It faithfully maintains the atmosphere of conspiracy, feuding, public attacks upon individuals, and blow-by-blow accounts of controversies with rival groupings.' (p. 22.)

Here Reid echoes the slanders hurled against Lenin in his fight for Bolshevism in the



VSC inaugural meeting at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, August 13, 1966. Soon after this photograph was taken, bearded chairman Ralph Schoenman snatched the microphone from an SLL speaker after national secretary Gerry Healy had spoken. Schoenman wanted to prevent further criticism of Stalinism.



# 4British Trotskyism today: Stalinism and the Revisionists

by Robert Black

Russian working class. The Mensheviks, like Reid, constantly charged revolutionaries with concentrating on 'in-dividual' attacks, with 'hair splitting' and obsession with theoretical differences. Reid's pamphlet here follows in a long opportunist tradition.

are carefully obscured.

When we come to the International Marxist Group, we find Reid using a different tone and political approach. Firstly, the origins of the group itself



3,000 Young Socialists rallied in Trafalgar Square on September 27, 1964 for a Labour government with socialist policies. The demonstration followed mass expulsions of Trotskyist youth from the Labour Party and inaugurated the Young Socialists' independence from Transport House.

problems for the Stalinists, for been at work inside the camp the usefulness of such a group of the revisionists, and which today come to the surface with is precisely its claim to being Trotskyist.

Reid does not tell her readers that one of the founding members of the British Pabloites was John Lawrence, who broke from Trotskyism in 1953 to join the ranks of the Stalinists, on the basis of Pablo's theory that mass pressure would force the bureau-

cracies to take power. Remaining a member of the British Pabloite organization, Lawrence worked inside the Communist Party as an important industrial member, and was prominent in the Communist Party's group in the Ford factory at Dagenham.

This is known to Reid, who mentions Lawrence in her 1964 'Marxism Today' article on Trotskyism.

This time she is silent on the subject of Lawrence. Why? She knows that despite the IMG's verbal adherence to Trotskyism it is a political breeding ground for more John Lawrences, that is, for elements who can pass over to

#### Careful

Reid, as we have already pointed out, is careful to make a distinction between the SLL and the IMG. Indeed, so great is the contrast between the two that Reid, for her own very good reasons, has to insist that despite all appearances to the contrary, the IMG are still 'Trotskvists': 'Trotskyists':

'Because of the profound contrast in methods of work, arguments and approach be-tween this group [IMG] and the SLL there are those who have the illusion [!] that the former is not really Trotskyist, but is something quite new

and different.' (p. 24.)

Those labouring under this 'illusion' are, of course, right inasmuch as the IMG are not Trotskyists, but they would be wrong to see them as anything new. They are as old as opportunism itself.

ist nature of the IMG poses

The IMG must therefore be presented as a genuine Trotskyist group, and 'attacked' as such, but at the same time, built up as a more 'reasonable', less 'sectarian' alternative to the SLL:

'Certainly history would not excuse those who allowed past controversies, however bitter, to impede united efforts to deal with the terribly urgent life-and-death problems that confront us. Our attention must be turned, however, not to generalizations but to poli-

'Here, isofar as this group [IMG] has developed anticapitalist propaganda and attacked right-wing policies in the Labour Party, it is per-fectly true that it has contributed to the development of the Left in the Labour Party.
Thus when "International"
says in its first issue, May
1968, "We have always stood for the united front . . .", it is making a claim which is in part justified.' (pp. 24-25.)

#### 'Left unity'

Thus far, Reid is saying, the IMG is doing very well. It wants 'left unity', which the Pabloites prefer to dress up with the more Leninist-sounding term 'united front'.

(Reid will not quibble over what are to her small differences.)

The IMG is also prepared to put aside 'past controversies, however bitter', meaning the Moscow Trials, the purges and the betrayals of Stalinism, in order to achieve this 'left unity'.

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#### Plain truth too vulgar in this no-man's land But the working class

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**WORKING CLASS** 

**ABSENT** 

points about the causes of the

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Of course, he makes many

bourgeois sociology comes over in his bok.

ANYONE expecting a Marxist analysis of the May-June events in France from this book will be sadly disillusioned after reading two or three chapters.

True is refers to Marx and it is a condemnation of Lefebvre's style and manner to say that the quotations from Marx are the clearest passages in the book.

Lefebvre is capable acute observation and is obviously very, very clever.

But he is writing for a particular sort of reader belonging to an intellectual circle for whom the plain truths of Marxism would be too vulgar. To put it bluntly, Lefebvre is an intellectual snob who

telligentsia. For over 20 years Lerebvre was a 'leading philisopher' of the French Communist

swings with fashions in the

small world of the French in-

In this guise he wrote well and prolifically on dialectical materialism and did a useful book on the thought of Lenin. After 1956 he broke with the Party and later wrote over 770 pages to try to explain what had been happening to

He never understood Stalinism or settled accounts with it.

him in that time. The effect

was a failure.

On the other hand, and this stands to his credit, he did not break with Marxism either, at least in a formal

But he wandered in a political no-man's land, a fashionable writer for the 'left', a successful professor who 'reinterpreted' Marxism by a return to Hegelian idealism.

Lefebvre thus rejected emotionally political organization, discipline and partisanship. This was equated with 'dogmatism,' with Stalin'THE EXPLOSION: MARXISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION' By Henri Lefebvre

Translated from the French by Alfred Ehrenfeld Monthly Review Press New York and London

1969 Review by Tom Kemp

#### BOURGEOIS **JARGON**

At the same time he took up with the ideas fashionable in intellectual circles and incorporated the jargon of bourgeois sociology into his

Even more prolific than before, his books became increasingly 'difficult', with flashes of genuine insight concealed in masses of obscurity.

This kind of writing has an audience: people who do not like to have a spade called a spade, or pride themselves on being able to understand pages of obscure text which, if put into plain language, would readily fit into a couple of sentences.

As a professor at Nanterre, scene of the first skirmishes which escalated into the May-June revolution, Lebvre might have produced a good analysis of what occured. Evidently his French pub-

lishers though that this book fit the bill, and their view was obviously shared by 'Monthly Review Press' who. of all the scores of books on the subject which have appeared in France, chose this for translation into English.

The Nanterre events, and then in the Sorbonne, were very distinctly to Lefebvre's

velling before the taneity' of the students. By dealing sympathetically with the students' revolt he

fails to rise above it.

liking. No 'dogmatism' here-and he is able to make amends for his Stalinist past by gro-

An analysis of the role of the labour bureaucracy and especially the Communist Party was not worth making: one suspects that Lefebvre would

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be congenitally incapable of making it. There are passages in which he follows a Marxist or Leninist analysis, but we are soon back in the morass of idealist

abstraction and jargon. Lefebvre, after all, is hostile to the formation of a revolutionary party to take power. He can criticise capitalism, or as he sometimes calls it 'neo-capitalism', and apparently wants to see it re-

By whom? How?

placed.

hardly appears.

To answer these questions would, presumably, be to fall back into the old 'dogmatism'. Better to stand back in uncritical admiration at students parading behind the Black (i.e. anarchist) flag.

Lefebvre is in favour of doit-yourself revolution through what he calls 'self-management'.

Or he makes general statements, at a high level of abstraction, which do not commit him to do anything in particular.

#### SELF **CRITIQUE'**

following passage, which it is fair to quote as one of the more lucid attempts to present his alternative, is good example:

'A new rationality is emerging within the framework of a higher unity characterized essentially by increasing political awareness and understanding. This requires and implies a critique—and at best a selfcritique—of absolute poli-

that support and justify absolute politics. Political awareness and understanding alone can unify the dimensions and levels of reality and knowledge. These become reintegrated or integrated by a rationality which condenses everything man has learned about history, including the history of philosophy, knowledge, ideologies, and the state. Such a task can be undertaken, only by a collective theoretical and practical effort.' (p. 141.)

tics and all the ideologies

This book casts some light on the limitations and weaknesses of the kind of people whose hopes and enthusiasms inspired the 'happenings' in Nanterre and the Sorbonne in May, 1968.

For the most part, however, anyone wishing to understand what really happened in France at this time may be excused from reading it.



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PRESS

Friday, November7, 1969

WORKERS' PR

been at work inside the camp of the revisionists, and which today come to the surface with a vengeance.

Reid does not tell her readers that one of the founding members of the British Pabloites was John Lawrence, who broke from Trotskyism in 1953 to join the ranks of the Stalinists, on the basis of Pablo's theory that mass pressure would force the bureaucracies to take power.

Remaining a member of the British Pabloite organization, Lawrence worked inside the Communist Party as an important industrial member, and was prominent in the Communist Party's group in the Ford factory at Dagenham.

This is known to Reid, who mentions Lawrence in her 1964 'Marxism Today' article on Trotskyism.

This time she is silent on the subject of Lawrence. Why? She knows that despite the IMG's verbal adherence to Trotskyism it is a political breeding ground for more John Lawrences, that is, for elements who can pass over to

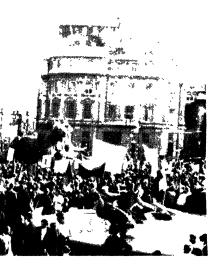
#### Careful

Reid, as we have already pointed out, is careful to make a distinction between the SLL and the IMG. Indeed, so great is the contrast between the two that Reid, for her own very good reasons, has to insist that despite all appearances to the contrary, the IMG are still 'Trotskyists'

'Because of the profound contrast in methods of work, arguments and approach between this group [IMG] and the SLL there are those who have the illusion [!] that the former is not really Trotskyist, but is something quite new and different.' (p. 24.) Those labouring under this

'illusion' are, of course, right inasmuch as the IMG are not Trotskyists, but they would be wrong to see them as anything new. They are as old as opportunism itself.

But this flagrantly revisionist nature of the IMG poses



1964 for a Labour government Trotskyist youth from the from Transport House

**REVOLUTION'** 

enri Lefebvre

by Tom Kemp

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1969

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problems for the Stalinists, for the usefulness of such a group is precisely its claim to being Trotskyist.

The IMG must therefore be presented as a genuine Trotskyist group, and 'attacked' as such, but at the same time, built up as a more 'reasonable', less 'sectarian' alternative to

'Certainly history would not excuse those who allowed past controversies, however bitter, to impede united efforts to deal with the terribly urgent life-and-death problems that confront us. Our attention must be turned, however, not to generalizations but to poli-

'Here, isofar as this group [IMG] has developed anticapitalist propaganda and attacked right-wing policies in the Labour Party, it is perfectly true that it has contributed to the development of the Left in the Labour Party. Thus when "International" says in its first issue, May 1968, "We have always stood for the united front . . .", it is making a claim which is in part justified.' (pp. 24-25.)

#### **'Left unity'**

Thus far, Reid is saying, the IMG is doing very well. It wants 'left unity', which the Pabloites prefer to dress up with the more Leninist-sounding term 'united front'.

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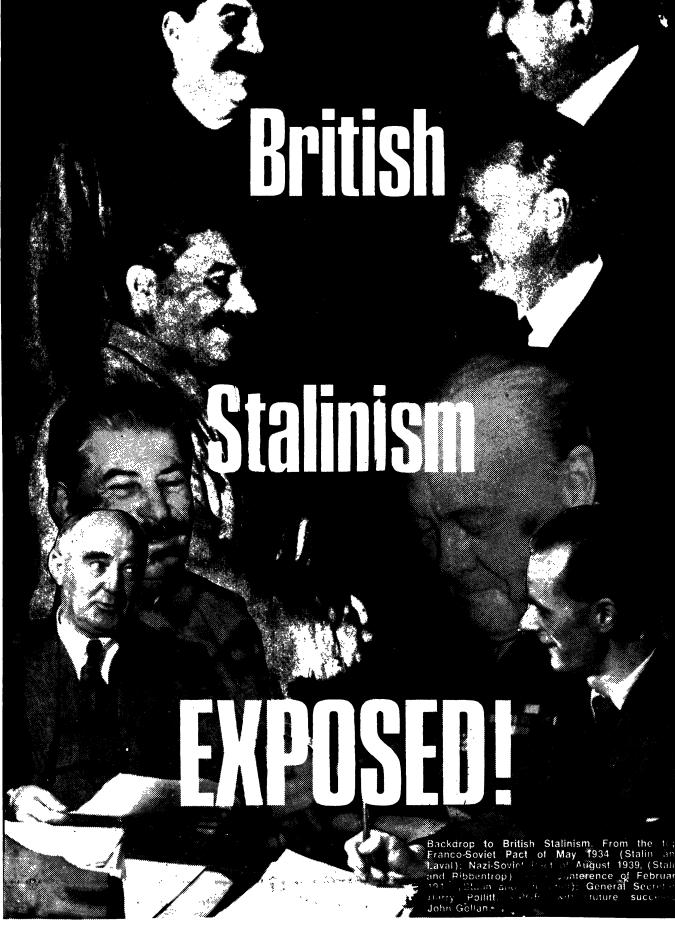
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Mr E. Tate is singled out special praise in this respect: 'Even Ernie Tate of the International Marxist Group wrote an article on the lessons of this demonstration which was a far cry from the days when he launched into a similar article in "World Outlook" . . . describing a previous demonstration and gleefully retailing the number of police casualties as the first positive results to record!' (p. 56.)

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So much for Reid on the merits of the IMG. How does the other half of the equation, the IMG, react to the overtures of Reid?:

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Jordan and Purdie are too and and Purdie are busy frantically scanning Reid's booklet for favourable references to themselves to notice that the vast bulk of the pamphlet contains all the old slanders against Trotskyism and takes back virtually nothing that was said in the days of Stalin.

This indicates the depth to which revisionism has sunk. 'International', rather than denounce Reid as an unrepentant apologist for Stalinism, prefers to boost her, like Johnstone, as an 'objective' and 'serious' student of Trotskyism.

#### Acknowledge

The IMG review of Reid's work concludes with an acknowledgement from the revisionists that they have sensed the way the wind is blowing from King Street:

'Near the end of the pamphlet, she says that the CP imposes no bans and pro-scriptions and it will "work with anyone who will cooperate on an agreed basis for specific aims".

'This is an important statement and will be of use in trying to develop unity of ac-

#### **B.B.C.-1**

9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.55 p.m. Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weatherman. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackerjack. 5.40 Junior Points Of View. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 Enter taining With Kerr.

6.25 Television Brain of Britain.

6.45 The Virginian. 7.55 Not In Front Of The

Children. 8.25 Golden Silents.

8.50 The Main News and Weather.

9.10 The Survivors.

10.00 Dance Date With NDO.

10.30 24 Hours.

tracts.

Star Close-Up: Mickey Rooney, talk and film ex-

11.40 Weather.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East,



Tilbury's new modernization, with the new and cheaper developments taking place all the time, will before long be completely

# Capitalist to face co

DR VAN DEN BURG'S book, by making a thorough technical study of the container method of transportation, exposes some of the basic contradictions that face the shippers and port employers of the world.

On the one hand, large cuts in freight rates based on modernization and reduced manning can ensure a sharp rise in profits for those 'first in' with the new methods.

On the other hand, as more and more firms struggle to survive by similar modernization, over-production of port facilities and ship-carrying capacity rapidly occurs.

For example, the announcement on October 27 of the formation of a Consortium of British, European and Australian Shipping lines to 'corner' all the European-Australian shipping trade reflects the level of technical and scientific development in that the 13 lines involved have come together to control just 14 ships that can carry this entire trade.

However, not to be outdone, the Scandinavian lines announced on October 29 that they were ordering five modern container roll-on/roll-off ships

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Revisionist Pat Jordan of the International Marxist Group addresses demonstrators on October 27, 1968 (left). Also on the Ad Hoc Committee platform, Tariq Ali. The demonstration was joined by a large contingent of Stalinists, whose slogans dominated the march (right). At the end of the demonstration, Ali delivered a letter to Wilson beginning 'Dear Harold', petitioning him not to support Johnson and support the NLF instead.

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Party they realize they can no longer ignore other tendencies in unity of action. However. it will also mean that the exchange of ideas and debate will be facilitated.' (Our em-

> phasis.) Reid's anti-Trotskyist diatribe serves for the IMG as an opportunity to 'exchange ideas' with the Stalinists!

> Yet the IMG is perfectly serious. Such an 'exchange' is already taking place, as Reid's analysis of the developments within the VSC shows. The Stalinists provide the

programme and the apparatus, revisionists the left phrases and the new faces. The whole hotch-potch is then turned into a weapon to obscure principled Marxist politics and the role of the working class in fighting for international solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and

#### **Brush aside**

Of the anti-Soviet group 'International Socialism', Reid says the following: . . . alone of all Trotskyist

organizations, except the tiny fundamentalist Socialist Party of Great Britain, International Socialism with extraordinary frivolity brushes aside the conquests of the October Revolution and characterizes the system of society in the socialist countries as "state capitalïsm". (p. 32.)

Neither of those two groups named by Reid can remotely be described as Trotskyist.

The SPGB was formed before the First World War, is explicitly hostile to Leninism and for good measure shares with the British Communist Party its belief in the peaceful, parliamentary road to social-

'International Socialism' originated in the period of the Korean War. A small middleclass group led by T. Cliff, it broke from the British Trotskyist movement under the pressure of the anti-Soviet, and anti-Chinese hysteria of the period, and declared that both these countries were just as imperialist as Britain and the USA.

In declaring itself to be 'neutral' in the struggle between the workers' states and imperialism, the Cliff group at once placed itself outside the ranks of Trotskyism, which has always stood for the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union and the other workers' states against attacks from imperialism.

Cliff's group was and remains anti-Trotskyist and anti-Leninist.

It believes that Stalin only continued the work done by Lenin, that in fact Bolshevism was the precursor of Stalinism. This view is also upheld, ironically enough, by orthodox Stalinists.

#### Silent

Reid is as silent on the beginnings of the Cliff group as she is on the origins of the IMG.

In both cases, the principled basis of our separation from

Yorkshire

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40-3.00 p.m. Schools. 3.00 Racing. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Tales From Dickens. 4.55 Tarzan. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased). 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 Marcus Welby MD. 10.00 News. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Frost On Friday. 11.45 Late Weather.

Westward

News Headlines. 4.12 Peyton Place.
4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.55
Thunderbirds. 5.50 National News.
6.00 Westward Dlavy. 6.25 Sports Desk.
6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 A Date With
Danton. 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk
(Deceased). 8.90 The Untouchables.
9.00 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.30
Parkin's Patch. 10.00 News. 10.30
Frost On Friday. 11.15 Faith For Life.
11.21 Weather.

the IMG.

the Communist Party breaking from the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism are not going to be taken in by Reid's boost for When the time comes .o

break with Stalinism, the break will be clean and forever. The line of the IMG leads right back into the camp of Stalinism, as their response to Reid's booklet proves.

Neither will Communist Party workers fall for the cheap anti-Soviet propaganda of the 'International Socialism' group.

Cliff and his friends were very vocal in their opposition to what they called 'Soviet imperialism' at the time of the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia, but when the time came to denounce a genuine imperialist invasion of Ulster by British troops they supported it!

Cliff's is a middle-class group that will repel classconscious workers who want to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution.

As the last section of this article will show, the Socialist Labour League stands on its record of struggle for Marxist principles and leadership inside the workers' movement, and against the Labour government and all those who protect it or seek to minimize its treacherous role. We think that is the criterion the working class

will respect the most.

#### **B.B.C.-1**

notice that the vast bulk of 9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.55 the pamphlet contains all the p.m. Disc A Dawn. 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weatherman. 2.05-2.25 Schools. old slanders against Trotskyism and takes back virtually nothing that was said in the 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackerjack. 5.40 Junior Points Of View. 5.50 National This indicates the depth to News and Weather.

6.00 Enter taining With Kerr.

6.25 Television Brain of Britain.

6.45 The Virginian. 7.55 Not In Front Of The

Children. 8.25 Golden Silents.

8.50 The Main News and

9.10 The Survivors. 10.00 Dance Date With NDO.

10.30 24 Hours.

11.05 Star Close-Up: Mickey Rooney, talk and film ex-

11.40 Weather.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, 'This is an important statement and will be of use in trying to develop unity of ac-

Weather. 11.42 News Summary, Weather, Weekend Prospects for Anglers, Road Works Report for the Midlands and East Anglia.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather. 11.42 Northern News Headlines.

Scotland: 10.25-10.45 a.m. Around Scotland. 11.35-11.55 Modern Studies. 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland. 9.10-9.35 Current Account. 9.35-10.00 He and She. 11.42 Epilogue, News Headlines

Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six. 10,00-10,30 International Dance Date. 11.42 Northern Ireland News Headlines, Weather.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales Today, Weather. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri. 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out. 11.05-11.35 Llygad Y Geiniog.

South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather. 11.42 News Head-lines, Weather, Weekend Road Works Report.

#### **B.B.C.-2**

.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. What Are The Facts? No Noise Is Good Noise. Newsroom and Weather. Wheelbase. The First Churchills.

The French Cinema: 'Lola Montes'. Westminster At Work.

11.15 News Summary and

Weather. 11.20 Line-Up.

#### I.T.V.

11.00-11.15 a.m. Schools. 1.40 p.m. Schools. 3.00 Racing. 4.10 How About You? 4.40 Hatty Town 4.55 Lost In Space. 5.50 News From ITN.

6.03 Today. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 London Weekend Television

#### **London Weekend**

7.00 p.m. Wheel Of Fortune. 7.30 Strange Report. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House.

9.00 Hawaii Five-O. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Frost On Friday. 11.15 Hadleigh.

12.10 a.m. Miscellany.

#### Anglia

10.58-11.55 a.m. Schools, 1.36 p.m. Schools, 3.00 Racing, 4.25 Anglia Newsroom, 4.35 The Romper Room, 4.55 Cowboy In Africa, 5.50 News, 6.00 About Anglia, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 It Takes A Thief, 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House, 9.00 Hadleigh, 10.06 News, 10.30 Frost On Friday, 11.15 'Son Of Dracula' starting Lon Chaney Jr. 12.45 a.m. Reflection.

#### Tyne Tees

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40 p.m. Schools. 3.00 Racing From Sandown Park. 4.08 North East Newsroom. 4.10 How About You. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Land Of The Giants. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 8.00 The Untouchables. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost On Friday. 11.15 Your World On Friday. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12 midnight The Name Of The Game.

#### Grampian

10.58-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.38 p.m. Schools. 3.00 Racing. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 Castle Haven. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Granpian News. 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Nearest and Dearest. 7.30 The Avengers. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 It Takes A Thief. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost On Friday. 11.15 Points North, Road Report.

#### Scottish

11.00-11.55 a.m. Schools. 1.40 p.m. Schools. 3.00 Racing. 4.20 Scotland Early. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Skippy. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune. 7.00 Parkin's Patch. 7.30 Mission: Impossible. 8.30 Ours Is A Nice House. 9.00 Hadleigh. 10.00 News. 10.30 Frost On Friday. 11.15 In Camera. 11.45 Sez Les. 12.15 a.m. Late Call.

Tilbury's new modernization, with the new and cheaper developments taking place all the time, will before long be completely

# Capitalist consultant refuses to face container crisis

DR VAN DEN BURG'S book, by making a thorough technical study of the container method of transportation, exposes some of the basic contradictions that face the shippers and port employers of the world.

modernization and reduced manning can ensure a sharp rise in profits for those 'first in' with the new methods. On the other hand, as more and more firms struggle to

On the one hand, large cuts

in freight rates based on

survive by similar modernization, over-production of port facilities and ship-carrying capacity rapidly occurs. For example, the announcement on October 27 of the for-

mation of a Consortium of British, European and Australian Shipping lines to 'corner' all the European-Australian shipping trade reflects the level of technical and scientific development in that the 13 lines involved have come together to control just 14 ships that can carry this entire trade.

However, not to be outdone, the Scandinavian lines announced on October 29 that they were ordering five modern container roll-on/roll-off ships

**'CONTAINERIZATION** A MODERN TRANSPORT SYSTEM By G. van den Burg

Hutchinson 63s.

Review by Bernard Franks which will also go a long way to being able to 'corner' the entire European - Australian

trade. In three days, the container revolution becomes a container crisis.

#### CONTAINER WAR?

How do they solve this one? Does a vicious container war break out between the two consortia, or do the Scandinavians get a cut of the 14 ships?

At this rate, some firms could be left controlling only part of a ship. If one firm controls the engine-room while another dominates the bridge, differences over sailing dates and ports of call could well reach calamitous proportions. The tremendous speed of

scientific development and technique also creates problems for capitalist 'enterprise'. Firms rushing to invest in the most up-to-date and most expensive machinery could find themselves out-dated within a matter of months by firms

which have come later on the

scene and in consequence,

have cashed in on later and cheaper developments.

The Scandinavian lines mentioned above, for example, claim that their new ships will be superior to those of the new consortium. Also, on the same day as

this order for the 'latest' ships was announced, Vickers Shipbuilding Group put forward 'new designs for a nuclearpowered container ship which, it is claimed, would have a substantial economic edge over any rivals using traditional fuels'. ('The Times' Business News, October 29.)

#### NEW SIZES

Dr van den Burg gives an example of how one firm, early off the mark with containerization, owned 18,000 containers by 1966, built to its own specification (35ft x 8ft x 8ft 6 ins). These are now 'outdated by the quantity of ships on order

and under construction to handle exclusively 20 ft. and 40 ft containers'. . Two firms which invested 300 million dollars in their own container systems also

find themselves outside the present international standards. On further developments, the book discusses in detail the growth of airborne cargoes. It comments:

'In the early 1970s a com-

mercial version of US army's

Lockheed C-5A -- the freight train in the sky—could be available... this plane will carry up to 240 linear feet of inter-modal containers, which is about a quarter of a freightliner train with its 15 wagons . . theoretically, a Lockheed C-5A is capable of realizing 157.5 million tons per yearassuming a speed of 750 mph and an annual use of 3,500 hours. This means that only 11 Lockheeds could carry the

whole volume of the North

Atlantic (airborne) trade.' What is lost in bulk is made up for in speed of delivery and van den Berg examines the possibilities of both the 4,000ton hover freighter of the British Hovercraft Corporation Ltd. and the 150 mph container-carrying hover track-car.

#### **FULLY AUTOMATED**

The last part of the book looks at fully-automated dock handling, with gantry cranes dropping containers on to conveyor belts which carry them off to be stacked, again automatically, in a 'multi-roto store' to await road or rail

despatch. Under this system there is no place for the docker on the docks.

Naturally, Dr van den Burg, who has been a director of both an Italian and a Dutch firm and who is now 'an

economic consultant on an international basis', does not want to believe in the development of a major crisis in ports and shipping, though he ad-

mits on his last page: 'As the shipping capacity needed to carry a given volume of dry cargo will drastically diminish by the higher productivity of container ships, some experts predict a growing over-capacity. Severe competition will result, the Conference System will break down. FAK (freight-all-kinds) rates will flourish and huge capital investments will be lost. They believe that not only the shipping industry, but most of the links in the transport chain will suffer. This prophecy, although based on calculated forecasts, seems unjustified for a more distant future.'

In the face of the 'calculated forecasts' Dr van den Burg puts his faith in increase of world trade.

Little mention is made in the book of the workers involved, except to explain how numbers can be reduced if the right agreements are signed.

In its ruthless drive for profits at all costs, capitalism brings crisis, stagnation, disorganization and collapse to the very methods of production which it claims to develop, at the same time trampling over the working class to extract every last ounce of surplus value.

Only by an equally ruthless overthrow of the entire capitalist class and the replacement of the destructive capitalist mode of production with a socialist society can the full benefits of science and technology be utilized to the full. recent public opinion polls. MR VICTOR FEATHER

'My own knowledge of the court is that it is not nearly

spoke from experience:

suits if they wanted to.

ary, what informality!

**WORK HARD** 

Think of it . . . lounge suits at a trade union centen-

union leaders.

THE 'DAILY MAIL'S' round-up

No doubt the paper considered their

opinions might help stem the tide of indifference, not to mention outright hostility to the monarchy, revealed in

# P.I.B. wants free productivity from pilots

### Divideand rule behind rises

By our industrial reporter

THE DEPARTMENT of Employment and Productivity has approved a 7 per cent pay rise for ground staff at the British Airport Authority's Gatwick Stansted, Prestwick and Heathrow airports.

Coming only a week after publication of the Prices and Incomes Board's report on ground staff's pay—which established that BAA staff were the highest-paid of the country's three groups of air-port workers—the DEP's decision is almost certain to further industrial particularly from staff at Board of Trade airports, where wages are some 20 per cent lower than under the BAA.

Scotland's three BOT airports were hit by strikes of staff demanding parity last

What is more, the new award comes just two months before another pay increase this time 4½ per cent—is paid in line with a pay and pro-ductivity agreement already approved.

If last January's 41 per cent increase is included, BAA ground staff will have had a 16 per cent increase in

pay within a year.

Airport staff will be forgiven if they begin to think that 'divide-and-rule' policies are being employed here.

But this is only part of the

#### New award

The new award will give the BAA's industrial grades at least 30s. a week more their shift pay.
The lowest-paid industrial

grades will now get £17 4s. per week—a £2 increase. DEP approval must mean that these increases are to be very firmly linked to the criteria laid down by the

PIB — work - measurement, method-study, flexibility of labour and new grade structure. These criteria are to be pushed through by the establishment of an expert advisory unit, which will be linked to the proposed new

negotiating machinery. Airport workers clearly face a hard fight to prevent and conditions being attacked under cover of the PIB's report and to achieve their demands for parity of earnings between the three

airport groups.
Though the PIB makes a lot of noise about establishing common negotiating machinery for all airport staff, this is to take at least

THE BRITISH Airline Pilots' Association (Balpa) has angrily rejected the findings of the Prices and Incomes Board's report on BOAC pilots' pay and conditions.

Pilots, though highly paid, are working under a high rate of exploitation.

The Prices and Incomes Board (PIB) wants this rate increased even further. It says that pilots flying the massive 360-seat Boeing 747 jumbo jet, which comes into service next May, should receive no more pay than others.

The PIB wants pilots' pay to be unrelated to the type of aircraft they are flying.

In other words, unlimited productivity increases for free!

Small wonder that Captain Laurie Taylor, Balpa chairman, described the report as 'provocative and evasive'.

#### **Refuse training**

He said that pilots would continue to refuse to train for flying the jumbo jets until pay and conditions had been agreed.

The PIB also criticizes the pay agreement reached after the six-day strike by BOAC

Under the agreement pilots earn a bonus for each flying hour over 55 a month.

BOAC had hoped that this productivity deal would allow t to cut its number of pilots by 13 per cent.
But it now appears that

two dozen extra pilots will be needed instead.

#### Sour comments

The PIB comments sourly that the deal did not come within the current productivity, prices and incomes

For the deal had not brought big productivity increases in return for a few extra coppers in the workers'

wage packets.

The PIB's report goes on to say that relations between BOAC and the pilots are 'such that we do not consider

help from outside'.

BOAC pilots should take this as a warning that the government is determined to intervene in their pay negotiations to secure the productivity increases outlined in the PIB's report.

#### Wigan Plessey men back

WORKERS from Wigan's three Plessey Telecommunications factories voted on Wednesday to end their eight-day-old strike over an interim pay offer (see yester-day's page four story).

The strikers decided to return to work after union official Mr Ken Breckell told them he had received an assurance from the management that an interim pay offer rejected by the workers would not be affected by a new pay and productivity agreement due to start next

#### **ULSTER**

# A.W.O.L. case highlights army difficulties

A 24-YEAR-OLD British soldier, Corporal Roger Phillips, told an Ulster court martial this week that he went absent without leave for four days because he did not wish to open fire on unarmed people.

Corporal Phillips, of the Queen's Regiment, pleaded Guilty to being absent from his barracks at Holywood near Belfast from October 3 to October 7.

In a statement read to the court, Phillips said: 'I could not in all honesty as a soldier open fire on or be responsible for opening fire on unarmed people.

'My absence was an act which I hoped would allow me to be posted from a situation which I did not wish to be involved in.'

#### Second case

This is the second case in recent weeks of young British soldiers being court martialled in Northern Ireland for disobeying orders. It highlights the difficulty of the British army in main taining its repressive role in

#### Lucas supervisors win interim award

EIGHT hundred Lucas group supervisors, who struck for three days last week at the company's Birmingham area factories, have accepted an interim increase of 35s. a

week. Other supervisors throughout the combine — including CAV, Girling and Rotax factories-will also receive the increase, which starts this

Further negotiations have been promised as part of the discussion on the new pay structure for Lucas chargehands and foremen, due to be finalized by January 1970.

# **Indian Congress** Party split grows

THE RIFT within the ruling Indian Congress party deepened on Tuesday when Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi removed one of her leading right-wing opponents, Dr Ram Subhag Singh, from her cabinet.

workers' struggles have greatly alarmed the Indian capitalist class, and Mrs Gandhi's differences with the right wing of the Congress Party, led by Morarji Desai, the former Deputy Prime Minister, are over the tactical measures ment between the Soviet needed to overcome the and Czech governments. present crisis.

Mrs Gandhi has won the majority of the Congress Party for her left maneouvre with the pro-Moscow Stalinists, but a hard core of right wingers favour state government coalitions with the right-wing parties.

Recent peasant and

#### Seal of doom

Desai stated after the sacking of Subhag Singh that the widening split in the Congress party 'put the seal of doom' on India's future.

The epoch of Congress Party supremacy is drawing to a close, torn asunder by the struggle of the Indian workers and peasants.

The maneouvres of Mrs Gandhi and the Stalinists might prolong its death agony, but they will not save

# By Robert Black

**New Czech-Soviet** trade agreement

DETAILS were released on Tuesday of a trade agree-

Annual exchange of goods between the two countries is to increase by 6 per cent over the next year.

The Soviet Union has also agreed to increase supplies of oil, iron ore and cotton.

outcome of the recent talks in Moscow between Soviet and Czech party leaders.

These measures were the

from Prague the same day, Planning Minister Josef Hvorecky disclosed the Husak regime's 'austerity programme' to streamline the economy and speed up pro-

### Yorkshire Metals out for £15

By our industrial reporter

YORKSHIRE Imperial Metals workers in Kirkby, Liverpool, have been on strike for over five weeks.

The 880 workers are asking for a £15 basic wage. At present the basic is £11 13s. They are also asking for a new wage structure. At the moment they have 11 job steps at 4s. 4d. a step.

portunity is open for lowerpaid workers to come onto higher pay.

They are also asking that there are more local negotia-tions which are now considered at national level. In 1967 the T&GWU-to which the men belong-

document. Over the signature of Moss Evans, 'left' secretary of the union's engineering trade group states:

signed a mobility of labour

'We accept the principle of mobility of labour, and feel that workers should be versatile; and mobility of labour will be accepted and en-

couraged.' The men never agreed to this nor were they consulted about it and they refused to

operate it. The senior shop steward John McGovern told the Workers Press that there had not been more than 72 hours lost in disputes in the last 16 years and this was why the rates were some of the lowest in the district.

The only way men could bring their rates up was by working excessive overtime. A 12-hour day was normal

# ambassador

dor in London, Nadim Dimechkie, called at the Foreign Office on Wednesday morning for a discussion on the Middle East. This was followed by a

This talk follows concluding of the 'cease fire' between agreement Palestinian guerrillas and the

# of top people's opinions on the need for the Queen concentrated heavily on the Labour and trade For God, Queen Cueen Cueen and

country

so starchy as people think.'
That puts the rest of us who don't 'know' the court in our place to start with.
The Royal Family, he says, were pleased with the informality of the TUC centenary collebrations and with the fact 'I think,' Mr Feather went celebrations and with the fact that people could wear lounge on, they work very hard . . . . they're cheaper than most heads of state.'

Boilermakers' Society president DAN McGARVEY was equally nice to the Royals. 'There is nothing wrong with the British monarchical sys-

Why even British grass was in favour: '. . . this sense of history goes right down to the grass roots of the country.' Representatives of the left were not omitted from this monarchist orgy.

Unlike Feather, MICHAEL FOOT didn't think the monarchy cheap enough.

'I think the whole palace rigmarole should be transformed [presumably into a new palace rigmarole] and the expenditure cut.

#### ORIGINALITY

Perish the thought! Former left fire-eater ERIC HEFFER had to admit that in monarchy should be abolished

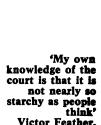
Heffer now thinks, with startling originality, that the monarchy should 'take the same democratic approach as they do in Sweden and the Nordic countries, where the monarchy are very much figureheads and nothing else'.

'The film which was done starchy as people think' on the Royal Family proved one thing—that the Royal Family are a human group of people (sic) like anyone else, with ordinary problems, and the mystique was destroyed at that moment.'

at the earliest possible oppor-

tunity. Wisdom has overtaken

One can learn nothing about the monarchy from these repetitive cliches, but a



Victor Feather. TUC general

great deal about the servile, boot-licking thought-processes

of the Labour aristocrats.

The high-point of these

people's lives must surely be the day they walk up to Buckingham Palace to get their knighthood.

Some of them may even be dreaming of a peerage.

#### **TRITENESS**

The ineffable triteness of these Labourite's sentiments recalls Trotsky's opinion of their predecessors' views on the same subject 44 years ago: 'To proclaim a socialist pro-gramme and at the same time to declare that royal authority "does not hinder" and works out cheaper, is absolutely the same as, for example, acknowledging materialistic science and making use of the incantation of a sorcerer for toothache, on the ground that the sorcerer is cheaper.
"In such a little "detail" the

whole man is revealed, all the fiction of his acknowledgement of materialistic science and all the falseness of his

system of ideas.
'For a socialist the question of the monarchy is not decided from the point of view of today's accountancy, still less when it is a false account-

ancy.
'It is a question of the complete transformation of society, of its cleansing from all ele-ments of slavery. That work makes a reconciliation with the monarchy both politically and psychologically impos-sible.' (Where is Britain Go-ing', page 39.)

#### Whithread-French brewery link

WHITBREAD, the brewery firm, is to strengthen its links with France in preparation for the possible entry by Britain into the Common Market.

Whitbread has agreed with the French brewery company, Société Européene Brasserie, which has a 30 per cent share of the French beer market, to distribute each other's beers in their own countries. Already Whitbread has substantial interests in Belgium and is building a network of

pubs in Paris and Northern

France.

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#### Castle asked to probe ticularly carefully about both these proposed inquiries. ground for a new drive to whittle away the strength of shop-floor trade union organicar industry pay zation and open the door for a new government-backed offensive to introduce Measured-Day Work.

FROM PAGE ONE

The stewards—who had earlier presented a petition at No. 10 Downing Street -had expressed concern about the gap between their wages and those of Midlands carworkers.

The inquiry call was provisionally agreed by Mr Roberts, Luton's Labour MP Mr Will Howie and the new Minister of State at the Home Office Mrs Shirley It will be remembered that

Mrs William's Home Office boss, Mr James Callaghan, last week launched an attack on Midlands carworkers. His fire was directed at attempts to push up wages without increasing pro-

#### Big problems

Everyone knows that the Midlands car bosses have two big problems—piece-work and strong trade union organiza-

Tuesday's vist to Westminster was nothing more than a misguided and dangerous stunt.

No-one should have any illusions, either, about Mrs. Castle's proposal that the CIR investigate shop stewards.

This was announced a Tuesday's edition of the Tory 'Financial Times' in the following terms: 'The question of how

much help should be pro-

ferred to shop stewards to enable them to work effi-

ciently has been referred by the government to the Commission on Industrial

#### Recommendations

Help to shop stewards from the government, the CIR or the 'Financial Times'? ing the reference, the DEP

# **Piratical claims, Lord Stokes**

SPEAKING in the House of Lords on Wednesday, British-Leyland chairman Lord Stokes claimed that 'some people' in industry were pressing wage demands which did not go through the normal channels and which in many cases were quite unrelated to either productivity

'It is becoming a common practice,' he complained, for some people to withdraw their labour and hold to ransom whole groups of people for the sake of piratical

But for strikes, he claimed, British-Leyland could have made an extra 100,000 cars during the last year. clarifies exactly what kind of 'help' this can be expected

The Donovan Report, the Department recalls, stated that union agreements should deal specifically with:

'Facilities for holding elections of shop stewards or their equivalents; or their equivalents; arrangements for issuing credentials. Arrangements for training in industrial reincluding day-'Facilities for consulta-

tions and reporting back to members and meeting managements; and facilities for meeting other stewards and trade union officials in working time; and what clerical and office facilities should be allowed.' This is, of course, exactly the kind of 'help' proposed in the new procedure agreement

under negotiation at Lin-wood's Rootes plant (see Tuesday's Workers Press). Carworkers attending the All Trades Unions Alliance's conference should think par**OFFICIAL** 

They can only prepare the

By an industrial correspondent THE Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers has now given official backing to the hree-week-old strike over an interim pay claim at Rank Precision Industries, Camden

previous pension scheme.

# BACKING FOR RANK STRIKE

On Wednesday, workers from the company's other London area plants demonstrated their support for the strike outside Camden Labour

motion study and stopped the

meeting of shop stewards. Workers claim that since Rank took over the Camden Town factory from its former owners, Hilger and Watts, they have streamlined production, introduced time-and-

# Lebanon

THE LEBANESE ambassa-

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper. Published by Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

# Ambassador's kidnapper betrayed by priest

By a foreign correspondent

CARLOS MARIGHELA, the Brazilian Communist who organized the kidnapping of the US Ambassador two months ago, was machine-gunned to death with a comrade in Sao Paulo on Tuesday night.

**Firemen** 

● FROM PAGE ONE

treated with derision.

barrage against Parry were

'If they think there's

going to be a witch-hunt,

they'd better think again.

Are they going to throw

the entire London member-

ship out of the union?'

that Marighela was betrayed to the police by a Roman Catholic priest, who had arranged to meet the two communist leaders in a Sao Paulo suburb.

Reports from Brazil state

**BRAZIL** 

The priest was arrested early on Tuesday and agreed to act as a decoy to draw Marighela into the ambush. Marighela's daring kidnap

ping of Ambassador Burke

Elbrick forced the Brazilian

military regime to release 15

#### of its political prisoners. **Brilliant**

It was a brilliantly conceived and executed opera-

Yet despite this organizational skill, the politics of Stalinism, the theory that the Catholic clergy can provide trusted allies in the struggle against imperialism, led in this case directly to the destruction of two heroic

### **Springboks**

FROM PAGE ONE

Tories. The South African 'opposition' leader Sir de Villiers Graaff said on Wednesday that 'politicians and demonstrators who seek to interfere (at the Twickenham match)

should be treated as trespas-

sers on private domains'.

Labour government and the

Graaff is calling on the British government for business as usual and to hell with anyone who protests at the repression of the coloured South African workers.

The whole Springbok tour,

under the flimsy cover of the cry for no political interfer-

ence into sport, is being very

cynically used to strengthen British-South African political

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