

EDITORIAL

Stalinism covers up for Daly

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One is tempted to add that the disappointment will be keenest in the 'Star's' editorial office. For all along the paper has done its best to spread illusions in the NUM executive and in its secretary Lawrence Daly.

From the outset of the strike it has been clear that a large majority of the NUM executive was not prepared to support the strike at any price.

But the 'Morning Star', instead of telling its readers the truth about the strike, chose to try and swing miners behind the discredited body.

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'Although the NUM executive has not endorsed the strike action, many of its members fully support the strike.'

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This followed Sir Sydney Ford's 'back-to-work' call condemning the strike—a call not rebutted either by the executive or by secretary Daly.

By Friday, the 'Star' was trimming its line. Since none of the executive had come out publicly in support of the strike, 'many of its members are privately supporting the men on this issue'. (Our emphasis.)

Right up to Tuesday, the day of the executive meeting, this line was being plugged. Tuesday's paper carried the 'news' that 'there will be a strong fight inside the union executive to make the strike official'.

In the event the voting was 14-5 in favour of accepting the NCB offer, against which 120,000 miners had already voted—with their feet.

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This had already become so clear to the miners that over the weekend, as the 'Star' reported in a paragraph tucked unobtrusively into its Monday edition, 'leaders of 70,000 Yorkshire miners... called for the resignation of... Mr Lawrence Daly'.

This is so far the only mention of the feeling against Daly in the pits. And no explanation whatever of Daly's position has been forthcoming from the Stalinists.

But Tuesday's 'Star' carried an item which goes some way to illuminating the relationship between the Stalinists and Daly.

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'THE MINER IS GOING TO HAVE JUSTICE'

By an industrial correspondent

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More than 16,000 men are on strike at 23 Welsh pits in support of a demand for an eight-hour day, including meal breaks, for surface workers.

Reeling from the demoralization caused by 40 years of treachery from their union leaders, the miners are determined to defy them and take up the fight against the NCB and the Wilson government.

'There are many things bound up in this strike,' said Mr Cliff True, chairman of the unofficial strike committee and chairman of Fernhill colliery lodge.

'Pit closures, unemployment low wages, long hours and poor conditions have pushed the miners to desperation.'

'There has been a tremendous upsurge against pit closures, but all the unofficial movements to strike have always been headed off by the leadership,' said Mr True.

'They brainwashed the men into accepting the closures at any cost, but this policy was folly,' he said.

'It has had a terrifically adverse effect on morale. Everyone was afraid to do anything in case they put the pits in jeopardy.'

'But they are still shutting them down, so what's the point in worrying about it.'

Mood change

The mood in the coalfield is changing and the eight-hour day has become the focal point of a bitter struggle not seen in the industry since 1926.

'The miner's leaders in South Wales have said in the past that they were prepared to lead, but they didn't have an army.'

'Well we've provided the army,' said Mr Bryn Williams, joint secretary of the strike committee, and lodge secretary at Cwm colliery.

'The miner is going to have justice.'

'He is going to have 40 hours on the surface and he stays out until he gets it,' said Mr Williams.

'When it comes to hours, the miner's union has provided cheap labour for the Coal Board,' he said, adding: 'We may as well starve out of work as in work.'

The minimum wage is £15 a week, but with rent to be paid to the NCB, and after stoppages and tax, the miner's wife can be left with £7 a week to live on.

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Coachloads of militant miners arrived carrying banners demanding the eight-hour day including meal breaks, 100 per cent united strike on surfacemen's hours, and 'union officials fight or resign'.

About 800 crowded into the gallery of the Pavilion to watch the meeting of the 200 delegates.

South Wales president Glyn Williams told the meeting that miners should accept the decision to go back to work and wait for the national executive to call a strike.

In the debate that followed, the real feeling of the miners was only expressed by a minority of lodge delegates.

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One of these, Bryn Williams, called for support for an immediate South Wales strike and said he was opposed to any behind-the-scenes deal with the NCB to buy off the militants.

Other lodge delegates hotly denied that there had been such approaches.

They complained that groups of pickets had been visiting the pits still working and this was how the unofficial strike had spread.

This was met by loud cheers from the gallery, which the chairman continually tried to suppress.

It appears that in the pits which the lodge committees had kept working, it only required a handful of pickets to persuade the miners to join the strike.

Confusion

The meeting ended in confusion when the president, in summing up, suddenly announced the executive's intention to complete the written history of the miners' movement.

He called for, and got, not surprisingly, a vote of support, and immediately closed the conference.

The lobbyists and some delegates called for a vote on surfacemen's hours and president Williams informed them that they had just voted to accept the package deal!

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As one miner remarked:



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C.I.R. diversion in East Kilbride strike

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Workers' Press correspondent

The press campaign for the reference of the strike to the CIR should be a warning that this is a government-inspired diversion.

The most urgent need remains support for the strike from the unions—especially the railwaymen's and the transport workers' unions—to push the fight through to success.

The action must be spread to the company's main Birmingham factory which is believed to be still working normally.

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This is shown very clearly by recent events.

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He is insisting that 'loyal men' who have served in the B-Specials will be welcome automatically in the new part-time force which the Hunt committee recommends should be set up.

Will stay

The 117 B-Specials in Newtownards, who resigned in protest over the Hunt report, have been persuaded to stay in the force.

One of their spokesmen said that despite the changes proposed in the Hunt report, 'We think there is a future for our men in this new force'.

The new part-time force is to be 4,000 strong and is to be under the command of the British Army in Ulster.

Many Catholics fear that because the new force is half the size of the 8,000-strong B-Specials it will simply concentrate the most anti-Catholic specials.

The same officer core will simply maintain the Protestant composition of the force.

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Workers' Press reporter
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These factories use a 'tele-control' system which monitors electronically the performance of every worker's machine at a central control panel.

British-Leyland stewards recommend one-day strike

TOMORROW'S WORKERS' PRESS

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The combine shop stewards' committee, meeting in Birmingham on Wednesday, passed a resolution to call for token strike action

after hearing of the breakdown of TUC talks on Standards on Tuesday.

The Standard-Triumph workers at the company's Hunt's Cross, Liverpool, factory are striking for a £4 10s increase in bonus and guaranteed lay-off pay.

1,150 are on strike and the company has laid off more than 6,000 other workers in Coventry, Birmingham and Liverpool as a result.

The feeling of Wednesday's combine committee was that stewards could not tolerate a situation in which the Liverpool workers get about £9 a week less than those in comparable jobs in Coventry.

Though the strike has been on for eight weeks, the workers' union, the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundryworkers', has still to make it official.

RATES SUCCESS

Stewards pointed out after the meeting that the BMC combine had had some success in driving up piece-work earnings.

The Standard strike was a fight for parity.

The position in Standard-Triumph could be paralleled by the situation in Leyland itself, where piece-work earnings are also below the combine average.

Some stewards expressed fears that the employers might be using the Standard strike as a lever in the present procedure negotiations with the AEF.

The union is negotiating for a new procedure agreement under which they want the restoration of the status quo while negotiations on any dispute proceed.

The stewards feel the company may argue disputes like the Standard strike, which have not gone through procedure, should be barred by the union in return for the status quo clause.

DANGEROUS

This would be a dangerous concession on the union's part and should certainly be resisted.

The Birmingham call is an important step towards united action by the combine's workers against the spreading of indiscriminate lay-offs and the preparation for redundancies in the British-Leyland combine.

All car workers should give it their fullest support.

The shop stewards' decision also sets the scene for the All Trade Unions Alliance car workers' conference, to be held in Birmingham on November 8.

The conference will bring together car workers from all major motor plants to discuss the strategy to meet the growing crisis in the car industry.

MERSEY 'NO'

A MASS meeting of Liverpool bakers on Wednesday voted solidly to continue the strike.

There was a roar of 'NO!' when the area secretary of the Bakers' Union told the strikers to return.

10,000 bakers join wages offensive

By Peter Read

BAKERS' union officials are to meet the employers today to discuss the north-west bakery workers' strike, which has grown rapidly through the week.

Yet another section of lower-paid workers has joined the wages offensive.

By Wednesday, more than 10,000 bakery workers had struck on Merseyside, in Manchester and North Staffordshire.

The strikers have rejected the 25s to 30s, agreed earlier this month by the unions and employers and are demanding an extra £2 a week.

In the Manchester area about six bakeries were out involving several thousand workers.

Bread shops there either had to ration bread to one loaf a customer or had no supplies at all.

More than 1,000 Liverpool bakers voted at a meeting on Wednesday to continue their strike.

Some bakeries are being worked by executives and other staff, but only restricted supplies are being produced.

WOMEN OUT

Five hundred women workers at the Champion bakery, Stoke-on-Trent, held a one-day strike on Tuesday against the use of non-union labour to load cakes.

The management later admitted its 'mistake' and agreed to pay the women for the time that they were striking.

SWINDON BY-ELECTION

Thursday, October 30

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Please contact Central Committee Rooms
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YOUNG SOCIALISTS DEMONSTRATION

This Saturday, October 25
Assemble Gorse Hill recreation ground 3 p.m.
Meeting Town Hall 4 p.m.

Young Socialists

GRAND XMAS BAZAAR

Saturday, Nov. 29

Canning Town Public Hall
doors open 12 noon

Can you sew? knit? paint?
make something for our Bazaar?
give something towards our bazaar?
Have you a tin of grocery? jumble?
Help us make this the best bazaar ever held!
Help us raise the money for our daily paper—
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THE WORKERS' PRESS

Our regular readers will have been both deeply moved and politically inspired by Pyotr Yakir's speech at the graveside of the old Bolshevik Alexis Kostern, which we reproduced in Workers' Press of October 11, 1969.

P. Yakir comes from a family of Bolsheviks, like so many of the anti-Stalinist oppositionists in the Soviet Union today.

With the rehabilitation of Stalin in full swing and the denigration of his countless victims daily taking on a more strident tone, it is vital to place the present struggle against Soviet Stalinism in its correct historical setting.

In the case of Pyotr Yakir, we can best do this by outlining the political career of his father, I. E. Yakir, underlining at the same time the counter-revolutionary role of all those, from the rulers of the Kremlin down to the most wretched British Stalinist, who helped to destroy him.



'The Yakirs, the Balitskys... and the other riff-raff wanted to let in the German fascists... and make the Ukrainian workers slaves of fascism.' —Khrushchev 1938.

By Robert Black

I. E. YAKIR, father of Pyotr Yakir, the outstanding fighter against present-day Stalinism in the Soviet Union, was a revolutionary from his early youth.

Born in Bessarabia in 1896, he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. From the first days of the revolution, he was in the thick of the fighting, organizing partisan groups in the Ukraine.

He became a leading member of the Bessarabian Soldiers' Committee, taking part in the Civil War campaigns against Denikin and white-guard Poland.

By dint of military and political skill, I. E. Yakir won rapid promotion in the Red Army, and after commanding the 14th Rifle Corps, he was appointed by Trotsky to organize the Military Education and Training Administration departments.

In this new post, Yakir was drawn into collaboration with Tukhachevsky, the brilliant ex-Tsarist officer, who in 1917 became a convinced communist and threw in his lot with the working class and the Revolution.

These two, against the careerist element creeping into the Party and the army, fought to develop a revolutionary military strategy linked to both the latest developments in military techniques and the international struggle between imperialism and the working class.

After Lenin's death a furious offensive against Trotsky began in the Party, which had its inevitable repercussions in the armed forces, of which he was the head.

Military leaders, especially those in the Party, were compelled to take sides in the struggle between the Opposition and the Stalin-led bureaucratic clique that masqueraded as the defender of Bolshevism.

Even after Trotsky's removal from the Red Army leadership early in 1925, the struggle continued.

Stalin used the danger of imperialist intervention to blackmail the Opposition into surrender.

Trotsky refused to be intimidated in this way and insisted that side by side with his unconditional defence of the Soviet Union, he would continue to fight to correct the false policies of the party and change its leadership.



Above: Stalin (left) presides over the 1937 May Day parade in Red Square. Below: The Red Army leaders Tukhachevsky, Bielow, Voroshilov, Yegorov and Budyenny, Tukhachevsky, Bielow and Yegorov were shot some six weeks later under the pretext that they were German spies. Above right: General Gamarnik, political chief; Marshal Yegorov, chief of staff; Marshal Bluecher, far east commander in the Kremlin in 1936.

Within the Red Army, the Stalinist Voroshilov stepped up the witch-hunt against Trotsky's old comrades. They hit back with a letter to the Party Politbureau, declaring support for the policies of the Left Opposition.

One of its signatories was I. E. Yakir.

It also declared Commissar for War Voroshilov to be incompetent, a condemnation they were later to pay for with their lives.

☆

With the defeat of the Left Opposition, Trotsky's supporters in the Army turned away from political questions and concentrated on building up the armed forces of the Soviet Union, a task which they saw as being their only effective contribution to its defence.

This was undoubtedly an error of political judgement. Stalin's reactionary home and international policies continued to undermine the position of the Soviet Union, and though the armed forces developed rapidly in a techni-



I. P. Uborevich another victim of the repression.

cal sense, political leadership remained in the hands of Stalin's men.

Yakir was one of the leading members of the group led by Tukhachevsky that constantly opposed the bureaucratic methods introduced into the armed forces by the Voroshilov clique.

And up to the middle 1930s, they seemed to be holding their own. In 1934, Yakir was elected to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party at the same time as he took up his post as commander of the strategically vital Ukrainian military district.

Soviet military policy up to the late 1920s had been to collaborate with the German General Staff as a counterweight against the far more powerful Anglo-French threat of intervention through Poland and from the south.

Hitler's victory in 1933 brought a radical change in strategy. Nazi re-armament convinced Tukhachevsky's group that new allies had to be sought in the west. Official talks between the French and Red General Staffs were begun.

Stalin was content to play along with this line after his early failure to arrive at an understanding with Hitler.

But under cover of the blare of 'popular front' propaganda against fascism, Stalin put out new feelers to Hitler, a turn that spelled doom for Yakir and his Red Army comrades.

On January 29, 1937, two Soviet officials, Kandelaki and Friedrichson, met the director of the Reichsbank, Dr Schacht, suggesting that the Nazi and Soviet governments should begin direct talks to-



Red Army officers purged from 1937/39 included:

Marshals:	3 out of	5 shot.
Deputy Commissars for Defence:	11 out of	11 shot.
Members of Military Soviet:	75 out of	80 shot.
Military District Commanders:		All shot.
Naval and Air Chiefs of Staffs:		Both shot.
Army Commanders:	13 out of	15 shot.
Corps Commanders:	57 out of	85 shot.
Divisional Commanders:	110 out of	195 shot.
Brigade Commanders:	184 out of	406 shot.
Admirals:	8 out of	8 shot.

Out of an Officer Corps of 70,000, at least half were purged.



STALIN-HITLER PACT

The Stalinists had denounced Yakir as a Nazi agent. His real crime had been to oppose Stalin's turn towards Hitler, which ended with the Stalin-Hitler Pact on August 23, 1939. Stalin is seen above shaking hands with Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister.

wards a mutual settlement of outstanding problems. The whole of the Bolshevik Party 'old guard' had to be killed before the Nazi-Soviet pact could be rammed down the throat of the Communist International.

And in the Red armed forces, Stalin's cynical manoeuvres were certain to meet an equally firm opposition.

A pact with France compelled Hitler to face war on two fronts.

A pact with Hitler presented the Nazi forces with the opportunity of defeating his enemies one by one.

☆

The noose rapidly tightened round the necks of the Red General Staff.

In his speech to the 22nd congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev released a few details of Stalin's plot against the Red Army, but only a few:

'Such prominent leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eideman and others were victims of the repressions. They were military men who had great services to their credit, especially Tukhachevsky, Yakir and Uborevich, who were outstanding soldiers. . . . A rather curious report once found its way into the foreign press to the effect that when Hitler was preparing his assault on our country he had his secret service fabricate a document describing Comrades Yakir. . . and others as agents of the German General Staff.

'This "document", allegedly secret, fell into the hands of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, and he . . . forwarded it to Stalin. Yakir, Tukhachevsky and other comrades were arrested and were then killed.'

What Khrushchev does not reveal is Stalin's role in helping to frame up the Red Army leaders.

On his instructions, Soviet intelligence agents contacted white emigre circles in Ger-

many, and through them, supplied documents to the Gestapo essential for the framing of Yakir and his comrades.

Again with the co-operation of Stalinist agents, the forged documents were passed onto Czech government leaders, who, believing them to be genuine (and seeking Soviet military guarantees against Germany), passed them on to Stalin.

The circle now completed, Stalin used this 'proof' to have first Yakir and Tukhachevsky, then thousands of other Soviet military leaders shot.

Until Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech' at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, Stalinists had denounced Yakir as a Nazi agent. His real crime had been to oppose Stalin's turn towards Hitler, consummated two years later with the Stalin-Hitler Pact of August 23, 1939.

☆

The 'History of the CPSU (Short Course)', first published in 1938 and circulated in millions of copies throughout the world, says this of Yakir and his comrades: 'The trial of Pyatkov, Radek and others, the trial of Tukhachevsky, Yakir and others, and lastly, the trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, Rosengoltz and others, all showed that the Bukharinites and Trotskyites had long ago joined to form a common band of enemies of the people. . . . The trials showed that these dregs of humanity, in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev [the last two were shot in the first 1936 'trial'] had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Revolution.' (page 427).

The trial of Ginsburg and Galanskov

THIS COLLECTION of documents records part of the struggle of the anti-Stalinist opposition in the period from the Sinyavsky - Daniel trial to the middle of this year.

The young writers, Ginsburg and Galanskov, known for their critical views, were put on trial in Moscow in January, 1968.

They had been arrested in the previous year following the circulation by them of a 'White Book' opposing the condemnation of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

The prosecution tried to prove that they had been acting on behalf of anti-Soviet agencies financed from abroad, notably the Russian émigré organization the NTS.

As arranged by the KGB (state security police) the trial was intended to discredit the courageous young intellectuals who had, no doubt in a confused way, been opposing the rehabilitation of Stalin and calling for the recognition in practice of the rights to free expression written into Soviet law.

What could be better than to link the oppositionists with the NTS, the émigré organization in Germany, tainted as it was with collaboration with Nazism during the war and backed by the Central Intelligence Agency?

Thus one of the co-accused, Dobrovolski, made a 'confession' pointing to the collusion of his fellow prisoners with NTS.

A student of Venezuelan nationality and Russian origin was also produced at the trial as an NTS agent who had come to Russia with a fantastic espionage kit to make contact expressly with Ginsburg and Galanskov.

WHO BENEFITS?

All through the struggle of the intellectual opposition the organs of the NTS, capitalist publishing houses and journals have had no difficulty in obtaining the clandestine material circulating in Russia, including whole books.

One has to ask: who could benefit from such activity? Not the oppositionists, who thereby tended to become discredited in the eyes of Russian opinion.

It has been well known since the 1930s that émigré Russian organizations such as the NTS have been penetrated by the KGB.

Agents like Brooke, the British teacher who visited Russia, have easily been detected. But it is also probable that opposition material is fed to the NTS and similar organizations by the Russian state security apparatus in order to discredit the opposition.

It is with these questions in mind that the trial has to be understood, as the preface to this volume shows.

'L'AFFAIRE GUINZBOURG-GALANSKOV'

Presented by Jean-Jacques Marie and Carol Head

Translated from the Russian by Jean-Jacques and Nadine Marie.

Paris. Editions du Seuil.

The method of provocation used by the prosecution runs parallel to that employed in the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

In this case, there was no question that Ginsburg had circulated documents against the imprisonment of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

In fact, the 'Letter to an Old Friend' which subjects the case to detailed analysis had been sent to the KGB itself.

There is no doubt that he understood the risks that he was running and that he was committing a political act.

But it was aimed against Stalinist-type repression of opinion and had nothing in common with the pro-Western, anti-Soviet NTS politics.

DEFAMATION CAMPAIGN

A veritable campaign of defamation was waged in the Soviet press against the accused and their friends, as extracts given in this volume showed.

Their relatives and friends were excluded from the courtroom, which was packed with KGB supporters.

Although the court was un-

able to establish any connection between Ginsburg and Galanskov and the NTS, they were condemned to five and seven years deprivation of liberty respectively under a clause of the penal code relating to 'anti-Soviet activity'.

The harshness of the sentence unleashed a wave of protest from the ranks of Soviet intellectuals associated with the opposition.

The texts of some of the open letters and appeals which were circulated are reproduced in this volume. A number of them take up the discreditability in which the press handled the case—particularly in trying to make an amalgam between the accused and the NTS through the medium of the KGB tools, Dobrovolski and the 'Venezuelan', Brocks-Sokolov.

The letter from A. Jacobson to the Union of Journalists even shows that the newspapers gave contradictory accounts of the activities of Brocks.

It is no longer possible for the bureaucracy to get away with the crude falsifications employed in the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

A small but growing second is ready to take the risk

of publicly denouncing them.

Of the protests against the trial and demanding its revision, one was signed by 121 writers and scientists, another by 78, including some workers and one by 24 writers and artists.

The most representative list contained 170 names from a wide range of occupations in various parts of the Soviet Union.

All these letters of protest were sent openly to the press and to the government, though, needless to say, the papers did not publish them!

No doubt the position of Ginsburg, and still more of Galanskov—who is a pacifist and anti-militarist—does not have the sharpness of the new communist opposition which is coming forward in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

Those who signed the letters and petitions of protest were no doubt still more confused. The important thing is that the resistance to Stalinist methods is gaining ground.

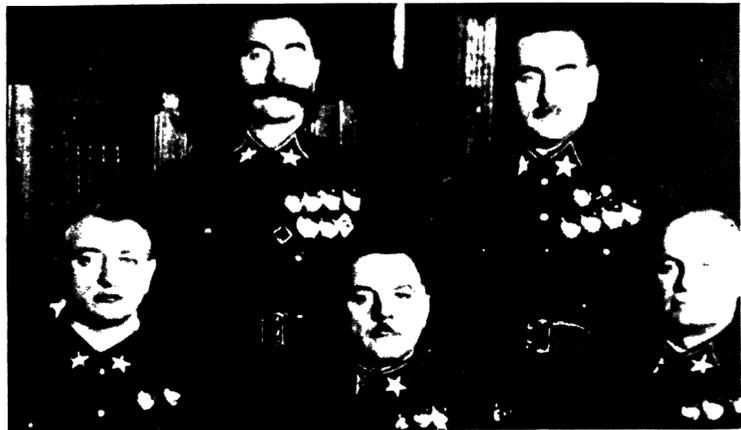
The repressive character of the regime and the real face of the bureaucracy are being revealed.

The documents in this book indicate the presence of the advance signs of the coming political revolution.

Ginsburg and Galanskov, like Daniel and Sinyavsky, are now in a corrective labour camp.

They can write two letters a month, receive a visit every four months and a personal

'Such prominent leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir... were victims of the repressions. They were military men who, had great services to their credit.' —Khrushchev 1961.



Red Army leaders Tukhachevsky, Voroshilov, Yegorov (seated) Budyenny, Bluecher (standing). Yakir, after Trotsky appointed him to organize military education and training, collaborated with Tukhachevsky, the brilliant ex-Tsarist officer, who had become a convinced communist in 1917.

So according to Stalin, who wrote this 'History', Yakir had been working against the revolution even as he led his Red troops into battle against the White Guards and the armies of imperialist intervention.

This foul slander against the leaders of the Party and the Red Army was not only purveyed by Stalin.

In his bid to strangle the party and the Red Army, Stalin found his most willing accomplices in the leaders of the British Communist Party.

On June 16, 1937, only four days after the murder of Yakir, the Central Committee of the British Communist Party issued a statement welcoming the military purges and trials:

'The Communist Party of Great Britain congratulates the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, their Party and their government on the drastic measures which they are taking to root out the wreckers and spies from their midst.'

At the 1939 Congress of the CPSU, Stalin scoffed at the idea that military purges had weakened the Red Army:

'Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of the Soviet organizations of spies, assassins and wreckers like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Yakir... and other fiends has "shaken" the Soviet system... One can only laugh at such cheap drivel... ("Problems of Leninism", q. 645.)

In his speeches of 1956 and 1961, Khrushchev described in a very dramatic way the chaos and suffering that the Red Army purges created in the first period of the war.

Khrushchev takes great care to present himself as a staunch defender of the rights of the purged leaders, and as the leading advocate of their rehabilitation.

In his speech to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (1961) Khrushchev poses as a close friend of Yakir in particular: 'I knew comrade Yakir very well. I also knew Tukhachevsky, but not as well as Yakir. [How well we shall see in a moment.] During a conference in Alma Ata this year, his son, [Pyotr Yakir, the

leader of the anti-Stalinist opposition] who is working in Kazakhstan came to me. He asked me about his father. What could I say to him? When we were examining these cases in the Presidium of the Central Committee and were informed that neither Tukhachevsky, Yakir nor Uborevich had committed any crimes against the Party, we asked Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov: "Are you in favour of their rehabilitation?"

"Yes we are", they answered. "But it was you who executed those people", we said indignantly. "When were you following the dictates of your conscience, then or now?"

The same question must be addressed to Khrushchev himself, as well as to his successors in the Kremlin, Kosygin, Brezhnev and company. In this same speech, he relates the events leading up to Yakir's death:

'Comrade Shelepin...quoted a letter from Comrade Yakir to Stalin, and read to you the resolutions on that letter. It should be said that at one time Stalin had a lot of respect for Yakir. I can add that at the moment Yakir was shot he shouted "Long live the Party, Long live Stalin!"... When Stalin was told how Yakir had behaved before his death, he cursed Yakir.'

How did Khrushchev stand up for Yakir when he came under suspicion?

How did Khrushchev defend the man whom he claimed to know very well, and thus obviously realized him to be innocent?

Like the present rulers of the Kremlin, Khrushchev climbed to power on a mountain of corpses—all of them purged communists of the Party and the armed forces.

His ascendancy in the Ukrainian party apparatus followed a dreadful blood purge in which several generations of Bolsheviks were simply wiped out:

'Only after the faithful Stalinist, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, arrived in the Ukraine did the smashing of the enemies of the people begin in earnest.' (Visti VTs VK June 17, 1938.)

In Khrushchev's first major

speech in his new job as Stalin's chief executioner in the Ukraine, he demanded a stepping up of the purge:

'We got rid of a considerable number of enemies. But as Party workers of the Ukraine... we should not be conceited. We must not relax... Comrades, we have annihilated quite a few enemies, but not all of them.'

Khrushchev then dwelt on lessons from the past purges: 'The Yakirs, the Balitskys... and the other riff-raff wanted to let in the German fascists, the landowners and



At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (pictured above), Khrushchev released a few details of Stalin's plot against the Red Army leaders, but concealed that Stalin had supplied Hitler with the necessary documents in order to implicate them.

bourgeois, and make the Ukraine a colony of the Polish-German fascists.' ('Bilshovik Ukrainy' no. 6, p. 7. (Our emphasis).)

When Khrushchev made his revelations about the crimes of the Stalin era, he did so not willingly, but under the tremendous pressure of the masses, of the youth, the intellectuals, the sons and daughters of murdered Communists, and of the sections of the armed forces Stalin had purged so thoroughly in the years before the war with Germany.

The lesson of I. E. Yakir's life and death is that the struggle against Stalinism is decisive for the Soviet Union and the international working class.

Yakir believed that he could escape from Stalinism by turning away from political struggle and devoting himself purely to the technical problems of the Army.

But Stalinism was and remains all pervading. The bureaucracy will not yield a single corner or sphere of human activity without a bloody and unprincipled struggle.

It crushed Bolshevism in the arts, in literature, in philosophy, in science and in historiography as well as in the Party, the International, the factories and the universities.

And last of all could it leave the armed forces as neutral territory. Like thousands of other communists, Yakir was used by Stalin.

His brains were picked, his talents absorbed, and when the bureaucracy had sucked him dry, he was crushed.

While Stalin chose to play along with France, the Yakir-Tukhachevsky group could be tolerated.

Once Stalin made his decisive turn to Hitler, politics, counter-revolutionary politics, burst in upon the High Command, cutting down in a matter of weeks the flower of the Red Army leaders trained and blooded in the Civil War.

Yakir's son Pyotr spent 17 humiliating years in a Stalin slave camp (his crime was to

Young Soviet historian questions Stalin's rehabilitation

Review by Tom Kemp

THE STEADY return, under Brezhnev and Kosygin, to approval of Stalin, has found expression in many spheres of Soviet life and necessarily in the writing of history.

Medvedev, one of the younger generation of Soviet historians, who thus never had to pay obeisance to the cult, is one of those who has fought courageously against this trend.

The main text of this book, to which the French editor gives the title 'Must Stalin be Rehabilitated?', consists of an article which Medvedev sent to the editorial board of 'Kommunist', the official theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In it he strongly criticizes two articles in this review which had depicted Stalin as a great military leader during the war against Nazi Germany and as a fighter for the emancipation of the working class.

HIS STAND

Medvedev takes his stand on the basis of the speeches and statements made during the 20th, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarding Stalin's role.

In the main, then, he repeats what had formerly been officially admitted and does not go beyond that.

It is difficult to know, from the article, which was not published by 'Kommunist' but has been circulated by the communist opposition, whether this was done for tactical reasons or because Medvedev has not yet grasped the full meaning of Stalinism.

All the reliable evidence published since Khrushchev's secret speech bears out his account of Stalin's conduct during the war.

Stalin ignored warnings and signs of the coming Nazi attack. Troops were not deployed to meet it. Whole armies, like that in the South West, were cut off and anni-

'FAUT-IL REHABILITER STALINE?'

Translated and annotated by François Olivier. Paris. Editions du Seuil.

hilated in the opening stages of the attack.

During the first day or two of the war Stalin hid himself away in his villa, seeing and speaking to no one. His influence on the conduct of operations can be shown, as Medvedev does, to have been harmful and positively disastrous for the Red Army.

A notable example was the winter offensive of January and February 1942 which Stalin proceeded with in the teeth of expert opinion, military and economic.

This resulted in the exhaustion of the troops and the using up of strategic reserves. It left the field clear for a German counter-offensive in the spring.

By glossing over and excusing such mistakes, Medvedev claims, 'Kommunist' is deliberately preparing to undermine the decision of the 20th and 22nd congresses. By opening the way for the 'rehabilitation' of Stalin, it was inspired by 'persons in high places'.

Medvedev replies to the claim that Stalin had been a fighter for the emancipation of the working class' by calling attention to the extent of the purges.

He claims that one million Communist Party members were arrested between 1935 and 1941.

Of 139 members and alter-

nates elected to the Central Committee in 1934, 110 were victims of the purges. Most of the national and regional leadership of the Young Communist League also perished.

Over three million people were sent to the camps.

PURGES CONTINUE

After the victory in 1945 the purges continued. The leadership of the Leningrad party, which had carried the burden of the city's defence, was liquidated.

Some 60 per cent of the apparatus of the Comintern was killed on Stalin's orders.

The leaders of many foreign communist parties in exile in Russia were also victims. Many eminent leaders of the Party, the state and the army, since rehabilitated, were among Stalin's victims.

All this, of course, is well known and, since 1956, has been admitted in the Soviet Union. So-called 'de-Stalinization' proved to be an extremely lengthy business.

There were too many 'people in high places'—and still are—who were not anxious to see inquiries into the past.

For some years now they have not only arrested the process, they have been able to put it into reverse.

In a limited way, as yet, Medvedev and many other

supporters of the opposition, are fighting against this trend. They are asking for all the documents and material on the past to be made available for research in order that historians can make an honest reckoning.

PAST DECISIONS

Medvedev fights as a Communist Party member who demands that its own past decisions should be respected.

He continues the fight against 'the Stalin cult'. Perhaps he does not yet grasp what Stalin represented.

There is no sign in his article that he has penetrated to the social roots of Stalinism in the growth of the bureaucratic canker.

There is no sign that he recognizes that this degeneration was fought every inch of the way by the Left Opposition, who were Stalin's first victims.

Medvedev's call is as symptomatic of the currents stirring in the Soviet Union amongst the young intellectuals and workers as is the Stalinist hardening taking place at the top.

We can be sure that as the archives are opened, if not Medvedev then thousands like him will link their cause to that of the Left Opposition and will set themselves to accomplish that political revolution which Trotsky called for in 1933.

In this sense, his fight is linked to that of the many other statements from the Russian opposition which the Workers' Press is publishing.



Stalin ignored warnings of the Nazi attack and this resulted in German tanks making big inroads into Soviet territory.

MOSCOW



TRIALS ANTHOLOGY

Available from NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 Price 12s. 6d.

Forthcoming features on Soviet Union and Stalinism

Saturday's Workers Press will publish 'HUSAK'S REPORT CONCEALS TRUTH', detailing Stalinist falsifications about the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and 'BALANCE SHEET OF SOVIET "ECONOMIC REFORMS"', which deals with current economic developments in the USSR. As Stalinism moves to the right, so do its revisionist hangers-on. A case in point is the so-called International Marxist Group. One of this group's leaders, Purdie, writes in the October Pablotte monthly journal 'International' attacking the Socialist Labour League and favouring closer ties with the Stalinists. Cliff Slaughter analyses this Pablotte turn towards Stalinism in 'GROVELLING BEFORE STALINISM' in Tuesday's Workers Press. Order your copies now. Contact the Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a, Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Phone: 01-720 2000.

B.B.C.-1, B.B.C.-2, Anglia, Tyne Tees, Thames, Westward, London Weekend, Yorkshire, Border T.V. Today's TV listings for various channels and regions.

2,500 lobby parliament

Teachers' leaders riding a tiger

'WHEN the dustbins began to stink I never heard anything about 3 1/2 per cent.' This remark in the course of Executive member Jack Jones' address to 2,500 greater London teachers brought thunderous applause in the Central Hall Westminster on Tuesday night.

The teachers are demanding an interim salary increase of £135 a year.

It indicated just how deeply the magnificent examples of the dustmen's and miners' struggles have penetrated into the ranks of the teachers.

It was a grand night for militant speeches. No other kind would have been tolerated.

Mr Jones said: 'The minimum we are prepared to accept is £135. Even Max Morris has not brought you up to date, unusual for Max, because even in the last fortnight the whole pattern of local authority wage rates has been upset. We are asking for no more than the dustmen and others.'

CLOSE DOWN

Mr Jones continued to draw enthusiastic applause, especially when he proposed: 'We will close down education if we don't get £135!'

But he faltered before the winning tape. One young girl snatched that precious moment of silence that follows every ovation to shout 'Tell us the date of the strike' and 'What about a strike fund?'

Then to the surprise of many, his tone changed. 'There are other things you can do' he said.

'I want 500 letters from 500 schools to demand the Executive call a special conference followed by a referendum on the demand, for strikes in selected areas.'

He also called for a one-day strike.

'Gone was the heady atmosphere of his early remarks. Like the others who spoke, executive members Max Morris and Harry George, Mr Jones was riding a tiger.'

REVALUATION

Mr Morris spoke of a 'stormy wind' that was blowing through the profession, the young teachers.

'They do not want bread-line salaries in the 1970s. We must have a total revaluation of the salary structure.'

'We are determined to win the whole of the £135! The only "maximum permissible" is the maximum you are prepared to fight for.'

Mr Morris recalled the large minority that had voted against acceptance of the previous inadequate award in the same Central Hall.

'That minority represented the feeling of a majority of teachers.'

At the Isle of Man conference the minority became a majority, he said. The executive now accepted that.

But Mr Morris declined to attack the Executive for its role in accepting the offer.

Instead he provided them with an escape route. 'We were diddled', he said.

All Trades Unions Alliance motor workers' conference

All car, car components and delivery workers are invited to a motor workers' conference

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth Birmingham Saturday November 8 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Write for credentials to: R. Parsons, 21 Strawberry Path, Blackbird Leys, Oxford

Conference fee: 5s. a person Registered with the GPO as a newspaper. Published by Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Port employers prepare for docks M.D.W.

ALTHOUGH port employers negotiating the Devlin scheme have not laid emphasis on work-study and eventual introduction of Measured-Day Work in the ports, this is undoubtedly their main aim.

A number of recent issues of the National Ports Council's research and technical bulletin have detailed possible time-and-motion methods on the docks.

Issue No. 5 examines work-measurement and gives examples of a time-study made on loading cartons onto a pallet. Special emphasis is placed on the use of predetermined motion-time systems (PMTS), in which times for jobs are made up out of a list of workers' movements.

'Progress in work-study within the port industry would be greatly helped by the creation of a pool for exchange of standard work-measurement data.'

Rating

This means that they would like a manual of standard times drawn up for the entire industry.

The question of 'rating' is also examined. This is where a job done, say, in two minutes may be put down as 1 1/2 minutes basic time, because the observer considers the worker's rate of working too slow.

The British Standards Institute's definition of standard rating is given as 'the rating corresponding to the average rate at which workers will naturally work at a job, provided they know and adhere to the specified method and provided they are motivated to apply themselves to their work.'

Minimum

The decision on what is 'average' is made by the work-study man. Relaxation allowances are also discussed, and it is remarked that 'Usually there is an agreed minimum allowance of 10 per cent [six minutes per hour], but it should be

By Bernard Franks

emphasized that this includes all personal needs [lavatory, nose-blowing, etc] and is taken when convenient. It is not intended that staff should stop hourly to take their relaxation allowance. Breaks for refreshment form part of the allowance.'

Measured-Day Work is usually introduced at a later stage in the phased introduction of a productivity agreement and usually when other new methods have already been firmly established.

This is particularly so when very powerful groups of workers are concerned; dockers, car workers, engineers, etc., where violent reaction to speed-up is possible.

Modernization of ports means the inevitable drive by the employers for speed-up of the workers involved.

Dockers can be sure that the long-term aim behind the Devlin scheme is the intro-work into every aspect of duction of Measured-Day dock working.

ULSTER

FROM PAGE ONE

The Royal Ulster Constabulary is even refusing to change its dark green uniforms for the British blue.

A number of British uniforms sent to Derry and Belfast have been rejected.

The 3,000 RUC men are to vote on whether to wear the new uniforms.

All this has very quickly exposed those who welcomed the Hunt report as 'progressive'.

There was never any intention in the report to lighten the repression of the Ulster working class.

Six B-Specials refused to give evidence this week at the inquest of Mr John Gallagher, who was shot dead in Armagh last August.

An open verdict was returned after the coroner had directed the jury to remember evidence that there was no report of anyone but Specials firing guns on the night Mr Gallagher was shot.

Some of the Specials had admitted under caution that they had fired into the air.

Hay's Wharf closure threatens dockers' jobs

HAY'S WHARF on the south bank of the Thames between London and Tower Bridges is to close on November 28—making more than 650 dockers and office workers redundant. The company claims that the closure is 'partly due to labour problems and partly to the dock labour scheme'.

There had also been 'very substantial losses' over the past few months, a spokesman said.

Last year, Hay's Wharf made a profit of £1,080,521.

Then, on May 30, 1969 Hays closed its Mark Brown's wharf and threatened to close all its wharves if the Dock Labour Board would not authorize it to halve its labour force.

At the time, 'The Newsletter' (June 7, 1969) pointed out the possibility of the company switching its assets into some other line of business.

The closure threat poses once again the issue of redundancies as work is concentrated down-river in the more profitable docks.

MINERS

FROM PAGE ONE

supplementary payment,' said Mr True.

'We must have a living wage, which today means £20 a week,' he said.

'If a dustman is worth £20—and I don't say he isn't—then surely the miner is worth £20?'

'If they are talking about £15 or £16 as an enhanced wage, in this day and age then they are talking through the back of their hats.'

'Our demands were not high enough,' he commented, referring to their pay claim of 27s. 6d.

'The labour movement has been hoodwinked into accepting a lower standard of wages in the interests of the national

economy,' said Mr True. 'But our wages are at rock bottom, and we've reached the stage where we say to hell with the national economy.'

'We've been squeezed until we can't be squeezed any more. Now we must unite against the boss class,' he said.

'In 1945 we said the mines would produce for the needs of the people, not for profit,' said Mr Williams.

'When we nationalized the mines, profit was never mentioned. The viability didn't come into it,' he said.

'Most union leaders are loyal Labour men. But you've got to be socialist to fight this government,' said Mr True.

'I would like to see this industry socialized, and all payments to the coal owners scrapped,' he said.

'Private enterprise is looting this industry,' Mr True told me.

'I am not interested in participation—that's collaboration with the class enemy. I want the coal field under workers' control.'

'The miners are prepared to fight on with or without their leaders' support.'

'If this is concluded successfully, then next year we shall see major battles in the coalfield on the question of wages,' said Mr True.

'The rank and file have been waiting for a call like this for a long time,' said Mr Ron Saint, the second joint secretary of the strike committee, and lodge secretary at Coedely colliery.

'They will never again be docile in their attitude to strike action,' he said.

Car giants expand in Europe

TWO OF the world's leading car firms—Ford and Fiat—took steps this week to tighten their grip on their share of the European market.

Italian newspapers revealed on Tuesday that Fiat had bought out its smaller rival, Lancia. Both companies are centred on Turin, scene of some of Italy's biggest strikes in recent months.

Meanwhile Henry Ford II, Ford chairman, flew to Paris on Monday for a meeting with President Pompidou.

The president has already expressed his desire to see a Ford plant in France.

Sharp reversal This visit obviously means that Ford's plans for the penetration of the French market are due for the go-ahead.

If it does, it will mark a sharp reversal of previous policy under de Gaulle, who was very hostile to the pressure of big US monopolies on the French economy.

Back in the USA, Ford's rival, Chrysler, has just reported yet another profits drop.

Its tiny profit of 3.8 million dollars for the third quarter of this year is the worst showing the company has made since 1962.

Chrysler put the sudden fall down to 'generally higher costs.'

With Ford, Fiat and the other major world firms preparing themselves for war against their rivals and their own workers, firms such as Chrysler and its British subsidiary, Rootes, will turn the screws even more tightly on the working class if they are to stand any chance of survival.

Bitter fighting in new Italian strikes

Workers' Press correspondent WIDESPREAD fighting between workers and police broke out in Italy on Wednesday as new strikes began in engineering and other industries.

In Milan, striking workers at the Montedison Chemical combine, supported by other strikers from the Farmitalia pharmaceutical works, forced a firm way into the office buildings at Montedison, where bitter fighting broke out with the police.

Tear gas and clubs were used in the bitter fighting yet seen in the mammoth strike wave, which began two months ago in support of wage claims for nearly all of Italy's workers.

The 'caretaker' government under Prime Minister Mariano Rumor met in Rome while the fighting raged in the north.

It discussed ways and means to cope with the ever-rising tide of militancy in the working class.

Events are swiftly moving to a climax in Italy, with both the employers and the workers determined to make no concessions.

EDITORIAL

FROM PAGE ONE

It announced a meeting on Thursday, October 23 to pay homage to Ho Chi Minh.

Speaking alongside CP general secretary John Gollan, William Zak, Baron Brockway and Stanley Newsom, MP, is none other than... Lawrence Daly.

So Gollan has no qualms about appearing alongside Daly, even while 70,000 Yorkshire miners are calling for his resignation.

Instead, by appearing at the same meeting and speaking alongside the miners' secretary, Gollan gives Daly further 'left' credentials.

The 'Morning Star' is also trying desperately to hide the deep public split in the South Wales area of the Communist Party over the strike.

The key Communist Party member in the South Wales NUM is its general secretary Mr Dai Francis.

He is quoted in the 'Star' on Saturday as saying 'the recommended settlement should be accepted because there is a proviso where we can talk about the prob-

Stalinism covers up for Daly

lem of surface workers' hours which is causing so much concern.'

The 'Star' adds: 'He hoped there would be a return to work on Monday after lodge meetings at the weekend.'

In its attempts to gloss over the truth about the strike, the paper is careful to avoid mentioning Mr Francis' party membership.

No doubt for the same reasons it avoids pointing out that the chairman of the South Wales strike committee, Cliff True, whose opinions about the strike are quoted elsewhere in this issue, is also a member of the Communist Party.

The opportunist politics of the Communist Party, covering up for the right-wing leaders, have split the party down the middle on the most important issue at present facing the working class.

This has all along been Stalinism's role in the miners' union.

William Paynter, NUM secretary for many years until he joined the Communist Party, was a leading CP member right up to the day he joined the CIR.

The 'left' Daly has now replaced Paynter as NUM secretary but the CP continues to provide the mixture to provide the mixture as before.

'Left' talk is combined with right actions, just as Paynter combined CP membership with support for Robens over pit closures and productivity.

And this activity is by no means confined to the mining industry. Daly is politically out of the same stable as Scanlon of the AEF whose acceptance of the engineering package deal and the Ford agreement was covered by a Stalinist campaign to build him as a left.

The Communist Party's role in industry is more and more openly anti-working-class.

Is there any principled difference between covering up for Daly and covering up for Sir Sydney Ford? Communist Party members in the mines will know the answer to that question.

Thousands of miners are now aware of the need for a new leadership in their union. They want a leadership which will back up to the hilt their fight against the NCB and the government. The Communist Party's relationship with Daly shows that Stalinism will fight to a finish against any attempt to build such a leadership. It can only be built in a principled fight against Stalinism, by joining the All Trades Unions Alliance and fighting for revolutionary politics.

I.P.C. profits drop

INTERNATIONAL publishing corporation, the 'Daily Mirror' group, disclosed that trading profits for first six months of its current year to the end of September dropped by over £600,000 to £4,941,000.

After Army attacks on guerrillas

LEBANON PREMIER QUILTS

PRIME MINISTER Rachid Karamé of Lebanon resigned on Wednesday after clashes between Lebanese troops and units of the Palestinian liberation movement.

Shortly before, Syria announced that it was sealing its border with Lebanon following reports that the Lebanese Army had killed 14 Arab commandos and wounded another 25 after raids on a guerrilla base stationed in the Lebanon.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization claimed that at one stage in the fighting, the guerrillas came under simultaneous fire from both Lebanese and Israeli forces.

A note issued after an emergency meeting of the PLO executive stated that the attacks were the first stages in an 'imperialist American plot to stab the Palestinian revolution in the back.'

Army arrests deposed premier

DESPITE assertions that it would continue the policy of the overthrown government, the new military and police rulers of Somalia have arrested the deposed Prime Minister Ibrahim Egal.

The country's new 'Revolutionary Council', which seized power on Tuesday in a bloodless coup, announced that Egal would shortly be standing trial.

No references were made to any specific charges. The new regime has already pledged itself to abolish 'corruption and tribalism.'

CHILE ARMY REVOLT FAILS

THE Chilean government announced on Wednesday that the Santiago army mutiny has collapsed following 12 hours of talks between rebel army leader Roberto Viaux Maramba and the head commandant of the Santiago garrison.

According to reports from Chile, the mutiny was a protest against low soldiers' pay. It was not intended to bring down the Christian-Democratic government of President Frei.

NEW ROUND

The Arab liberation struggle against Zionist-imperialist aggression has drawn millions of workers, peasants and students into politics, bringing them hard up against the reactionary, pro-imperialist policies of the Jordan and Lebanon regimes.

This latest act of repression has opened up a new round of struggle for national liberation and unification of the Arab people.

Big dangers face this movement while it remains dominated by its present leadership.

Japanese demonstrate —1,400 held

AT LEAST half a million workers, youth and students took part in Tuesday's Japanese demonstrations against the Vietnam war.

Police arrested over 1,400 demonstrators throughout the country, most of them in Tokyo, where about 100,000 attended a rally called in opposition to the Japanese government's support for US policies.

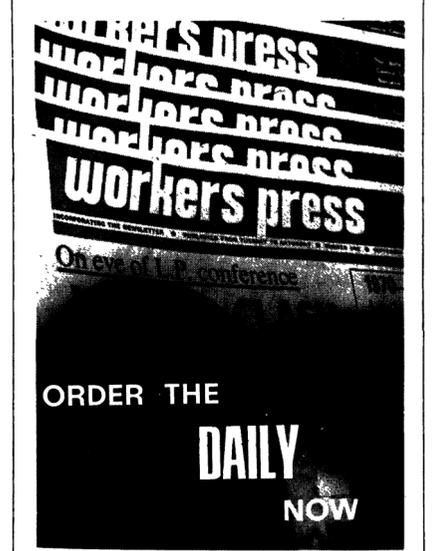
World-wide opposition to the imperialist war against the Vietnamese people continues to mount, creating new crises for all governments which take their line from the US.

First ever strike at Bristol Wills

120 members of the Cigarette Machine Operators Society held a one-day strike after rejecting an appeal from their executive for a return to work.

The dispute is over the introduction of a consolidated bonus scheme.

The wages at Wills are among the lowest paid in the South-West.



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