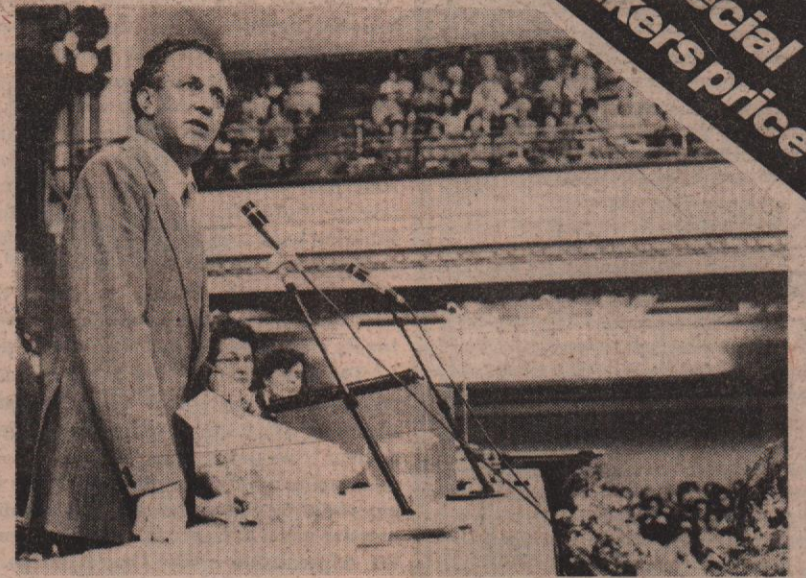


Socialist Challenge

Welsh General Strike on 28 January

Support steel workers against the Tories

Here's why



5p
special
strikers price

Voice of Tories

'I think the chairman [of BSC] is coping with a set of inherited problems in the way best suited to the national interest, the taxpayers' interest, and the steelworkers' interests.'

—Sir Keith Joseph, Minister of Industry



Voice of Corby

'Is a cut in my wages in your interests? You should ask yourself that question, because if the steelworkers lose this strike you can be certain that a cut in your wages will be coming soon.'

Is it in your interests if I join the dole queue? The plan to axe 52,000 steelworkers' jobs isn't because you need less steel but because the bosses' crisis means that they have to shut plants to maintain their profits.

We're already hard up against the Tories' policies, and with you behind us we can all look forward to waving goodbye to Margaret Thatcher, Sir Keith Joseph, and the other friends of big business in government.

This strike began as a fight for a 20 per cent pay rise. In South Wales, the miners and the railwayworkers know that their jobs are on the line as well as ours. That's why they are going to take indefinite strike action to stop the closures.

Support them, support us, get the TUC to do the same — in action as well as words. It's in your interests!

—Alasdair Sinclair, ISTC steelstriker, Corby

Rest of the Steel News

- *Picketing Private Scabs in Sheffield — page 7
- *No Return to the Thirties in Wales — Pages 8-9
- *History of the Steel Unions — page 10
- *Strike Round-up — page 11

KICK OUT THE TORIES

OUR POLICIES

Capitalism is in crisis. The leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions offer solutions that are in the interests not of the workers but of the capitalist class.

Socialist Challenge believes that the two vital tasks confronting revolutionary socialists are:

- To build broad-based class struggle tendencies in opposition to class-collaborationism in the labour movement. These should be non-exclusive in character, grouping together militants holding a wide range of political views.

- To begin to fight for the creation of a unified and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles.

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

1 The struggle for socialism seeks to unite the fight of workers against the bosses with that of other oppressed layers of society — women, black people, gays — struggling for their liberation. This socialism can only be achieved by creating new organs of power and defeating with all necessary means the power of the capitalist state.

2 Our socialism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The Stalinist models of 'socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe have discredited socialism in the eyes of millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracy.

3 The interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilable on a world scale. Capitalism has not only created a world market, it has created world politics. Thus we fight for working class unity on an international scale. This unity will in the long run be decisive in defeating both the imperialist regimes in the West and the brutal dictatorships they sustain in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

In Britain it implies demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and letting the Irish people determine their own future.

4 The Communist parties in Europe are in crisis. Neither the 'Eurocommunist' nor the pro-Moscow wings have any meaningful strategy for the overthrow of the capitalist state. New revolutionary socialist parties are more necessary than ever before. Conditions today are more favourable than over the preceding three decades. But such parties can only be built by rejecting sectarianism and seeing internal democracy not as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.

If you agree with these principles and want to be involved in activities by Socialist Challenge supporters in your area, fill in the form below and send it to us.

- I am interested in more information about activities in my area.
- I would like to receive literature and information about Socialist Challenge.

Name: _____
 Address: _____
 Postcode: _____
 Telephone: _____

EDITORIAL

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper St, London N1. Editorial: 01-359 8180/9. Distribution and advertising 01-359 8371.

Our attitude to the Afghan crisis

THE HYPOCRISY of imperialism over the Afghan crisis knows no bounds. In the middle of President Carter's attempt to get United Nations' sanctions imposed against Iran, after publicly bemoaning his inability to take military action because of the reaction it would provoke, the US government opposed the Soviet invasion on the ground of 'self-determination of nations'.

But what is really worrying the State Department is their inability to turn back the limited gains that the masses had made in Afghanistan, striking another blow to imperialist-imposed stability in the area. That was why the United States government through Saudi Arabia and other agencies supported and supplied the reactionary 'rebel' forces with the aid of the barbaric dictatorship of General Zia in Pakistan.

Ever since their defeat in Indochina, the American rulers have been looking for excuses to reverse both the domestic and international situation back to their advantage. This is why it has prolonged its gamble with the lives of its embassy staff in Tehran, trying to whip up hysteria internally and get international pledges of support for its campaign against the Iranian people.

The proof that the USA is not the victim but the architect of aggression internationally can be shown by its campaign to base a new generation of nuclear weapons on European soil, the establishment of a tactical strike force to intervene anywhere on the globe and the building up of a massive naval presence in the Indian ocean, prior to the Afghanistan crisis. One rapid gain has been made with the offer by Margaret Thatcher to allow

this force to use Diego Garcia.

But these facts should not blind us to the serious situation that has resulted from the Soviet invasion. Nothing indicated that the Islamic guerrillas in the country had definitively proved a serious threat to the government in Kabul. If the rightists had gained political support it was purely because of the repressive and brutal methods of the Amin government.

If the Soviet rulers represented the interests of the workers of the world (which they do not) they would have opposed these methods of Amin by aiding the development of an opposition in Afghanistan which based itself on the masses. Such an opposition would have strongly defended the reforms that were initiated by the Taraki regime in 1978, extending them to the complete overthrow of capitalism in Afghanistan. The opposite policy was chosen. The invasion did not aid the revolutionary process in the country. Socialists cannot welcome it.

However the very fact of the invasion has changed the political conditions in the country. It has probably boosted the popularity of the counter-revolution, created the conditions for massively increased aid to the rebels through a politically and materially strengthened General Zia. The possibility of a full-scale civil war has now opened up. Socialists will be forced to say which side they support in such a military conflict.

We dissociate ourselves utterly from the bureaucratic and reactionary motivation behind the Soviet invasion, but in the present situation a call for the immediate withdrawal of troops would

be tantamount to being in favour of the victory of the rightist forces and the reversal of any gains by the Afghan workers and peasants in the last decades.

Imperialism is the main enemy.

* See pages 4-5 for Britain's intervention into Afghanistan — sixty years ago.

Fight all bans

REG UNDERHILL (now a peer of the realm) and Sara Barker were always the two most notorious witch-hunters in Transport House. During the Fifties they formed part of the Gaitskellite faction and ruthlessly hounded out enemies. So it is no surprise that Lord Underhill and several right-wing MPs are obsessed with the Militant tendency.

Their outpourings have become the subject of red-baiting articles in the popular press. No mass-circulation daily has been able to resist the tide. The Daily Mirror has also entered the fray, thus justifying every stricture Tony Benn has aimed at it as a pseudo-supporter of the labour movement.

We have many differences with the Militant grouping, but we must unite to defend them against the attacks from the Tory press and the Labour right-wing. In our opinion these absurd witch-hunts would become redundant if all bans and proscriptions were removed and all organisations in the labour movement allowed to affiliate to the Labour Party.

Without such bans being lifted all the talk about the Labour Party being a 'broad church' should be treated with the contempt it deserves.

19-20 January — make it Southall's weekend



By Oliver New

SOUTHALL Saturday is on 19 January. All over the country events will be organised to publicise Southall defence and to raise money for legal costs.

The event has been organised by the Southall Campaign Committee, the Friends of Blair Peach Committee and the Anti-Nazi League. Socialist Challenge supporters and IMG branches should help to ensure that maximum support is organised in every town.

Notorious

On 20 January there is a march to Pentonville prison starting from Euston station, London, [Melton St on the west side] at 1pm followed by a picket of the prison from 2-3pm. Pentonville — notorious for its bad conditions — is where the Southall political prisoners are being held.

Support for the Southall 342 by the rank and file of the labour movement has built up over the last few months. Hundreds of trade union and Labour Party branches have passed resolutions condemning the massive police violence against an entire black community. This solidarity from anti-racists and parts of the labour movement, combined with an increase in press publicity, has resulted in a decline in the conviction rate at the show trials in Barnet Magistrates Court.

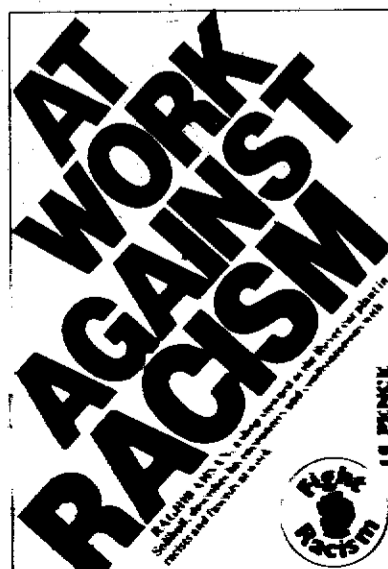
Nevertheless the overall rate of convictions is still about 25 per cent higher than the national average of 52 per cent for similar cases.

But even now the political significance of the police attacks has not sunk in among the left, let alone in the labour movement. For years we have been talking about the British state using the North of Ireland as a training ground for attacks on the British working class. With Southall these attacks have become a reality.

Solidarity

Solidarity with the struggles of black people is the only thing that is standing between thugs like the Special Patrol Group and Britain's black communities. Make the 19-20 January a real weekend of solidarity with Southall, especially for those in prison and those whose trials are going on now.

At Work Against Racism by Raghb Ahsan. In this pamphlet, originally published as a shorter article in Socialist Challenge 12 October 1978, Ahsan, an Asian shop steward at the Rover works in Solihull, describes encountering racists and fascists at work. 25p including postage: orders over ten 15p each from 708 Digbeth, Birmingham B5 6DY.



HOME NEWS

The Corrie anti-abortion law

ONLY THREE WEEKS TO STOP THE BILL

By Jude Woodward

THE 1967 Abortion Act represented a massive gain for women. Through it thousands upon thousands of women in this country have had a choice over when and whether to have children. Others have at least avoided death or mutilation at the hands of backstreet abortionists.

The 1967 Act does not embody 'a woman's right to choose'. But in the hands of a sympathetic doctor it can be interpreted to mean abortion on demand, and often is.

Even in areas where anti-abortion doctors rule out NHS abortions, the open advertisements and high standards of many private abortion centres means women can get directly to a safe private abortion.

Thousands of women come to Britain each year to terminate unwanted pregnancies. These are the fortunate few. Millions of women in the countries they come from cannot afford to take advantage of our liberal law and face ruined lives, ill-health, poverty or the backstreets.

In Ireland abortion is virtually unobtainable — it is not even a doctor's choice as in Britain. But it is not even a woman's right to choose contraception either. Only Durex is allowed and then only on a doctor's prescription.

Just before Christmas a Spanish woman was imprisoned for 12 years for performing illegal abortions. No doctor in this country has been found guilty of granting an abortion on insufficient grounds since the passing of the 1967 Act.

Even in other European countries where abortion is not totally illegal the time limits are shorter, grounds tougher and costs higher. In fact the '67 Abortion Act is the most liberal abortion law in any Western capitalist country.



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Illustration Challenge)

ACCORDING to the opinion polls, the majority of people in Britain believe abortion should be a woman's right

Now John Corrie, a Tory MP, with the connivance of the Tory government, is in a very good position to change all this. In one month's time, unless dramatic action is taken, his Bill will pass its third reading in Parliament and turn the clock way back.

Some of the changes in the proposed new

law would be laughable if the implications were not so serious.

Under the new law it will be almost impossible to get information about the charitable abortion clinics.

Referral agencies will be completely separated from the clinics with no formal

connections.

Abortion counselling services will not be allowed to directly refer women for abortion. Advertising will be limited.

The British Pregnancy Advisory Service, the largest of the private charities that perform abortions, have announced contingency plans in case the Bill becomes law. They are considering closing their clinics in this country and arranging to send British women to France for abortions.

Ludicrous

One of the more ludicrous sections of the Bill prohibits doctors who have worked in private abortion clinics from providing 'counselling or advice to pregnant women' for a period of six months after they leave the clinic.

If they leave to become local GPs they'd just better hope no-one in their surgery gets pregnant — if they do and need advice the clinic the doctor used to work for will lose its licence to perform abortions!

Tougher 'conscience' clauses will allow more NHS doctors to refuse to take part in abortions. The changes in the grounds for abortion — which many pro-choice doctors see as the most serious aspects of the Bill — will discourage the granting of abortions.

The new wording of the Bill is clear in intent — to wipe out all grounds for abortion apart from severe damage to the woman's physical health. Doctors, particularly those inclined to be against abortion, will be pressured not to grant them.

Prosecutions of doctors who have given abortions on insufficient grounds may well start to succeed.

In addition to these restrictions the time limit for legal abortion is to be reduced to 20 weeks.

If this Bill is allowed to become law it will mean a massive setback for women, not just in terms of fertility control, but in all the other things that flow from it. It is a step back towards backward attitudes to women as workers and domestic slaves.

This Bill can be stopped.

There's not much time left, but it's not an impossible task.

Confrontation

Opinion polls have shown time and again that the majority of people in this country think that abortion should be a woman's right. This majority opinion has to be maintained against the passage of the Bill. It is not yet inevitable. There is massive confrontation with the government on the way.

It is with the intention that we should engage actively in the struggle against the passing of the Bill. We must especially mobilise the strength of the resistance on 5 February, the decisive date of the third reading. Every possible effort must be brought to bear on those days.

The government has to be kept up, the sense of outrage encouraged, to ensure that even if the Bill is passed it does not stay for long.

One union stands up for women

AT LAST a major trade union has called for action against the Corrie Bill at the time of its third reading next month.

NALGO, the union of local government white-collar workers, is 'urging branches to support the lobby of Parliament on Tuesday 5 February'.

Sadly, it's not surprising that very few unions have come forward with support against the Corrie Bill.

The TUC demonstration last October was exciting partly at least because it was so unusual to find the British trade union movement prepared to take action on a 'women's issue'.

Yet if the Bill is to be scrapped it will entirely depend on whether large sections of the labour movement are prepared to act.

The experience in NALGO should give encouragement to all those who are hoping to get their own unions to take a clear position on the Bill.

Geoffrey Drain, general secretary of NALGO, has issued a letter to all branches and district committees stating the executive's position.

'The Abortion Amendment Bill which seeks to restrict the operation of the '67 Abortion Act comes up for its third reading (the decisive vote) on 8 February', the letter explains.

'At its second reading a large majority of MPs voted for the Bill.



NALGO, however, is totally opposed to any restriction of the '67 Act and I would therefore urge branches to support the lobby of Parliament on 5 February to oppose the Corrie Bill.'

The letter goes on to point out that the lobby is organised by the National Abortion Campaign and by the South-east Regional Council of the TUC. NALGO members are advised to write to their MP and attempt to see them at the lobby.

The letter does not have the status of an instruction to members to support the lobby; it is purely advisory. But it will probably encourage a number of NALGO

members to take action who might otherwise have stayed at work on the day of the lobby. It is up to NALGO members up and down the country to make sure this happens.

In Haringey NALGO branch in North London, a motion calling on the union to back all those taking action on that day was carried. The movers of the motion were called to an emergency meeting of the union's national executive where the anti-Corrie campaign was discussed.

Those discussions helped firm up the decisions of the NALGO leadership, who made it clear that the union authorised any member taking strike action on 5 February. A letter from the executive will clarify that anyone taking action on 5 February will have its blessing.

NALGO is not well-known for its willingness to back industrial action, but it is making a stand on this issue. If NALGO will do that then we should expect a great deal more from some other unions.

NUPE, for example, has had a very good position on abortion — there's still time for the executive to back strike action for 5 February.

It is vital that all pro-abortion trade unionists pull out the stops to get the maximum official support for strike action and support of the lobby. It's the only way to stop the Corrie Bill becoming law.

Students. Make the action bite!

By Jude Arkwright

STUDENTS have put themselves at the head of the fight to defeat Corrie's Bill and for women's rights. At its December conference the National Union of Students agreed to take strike action on 5 February, the day of the mass lobby against the Bill.

NUS took up the call for strike action which the abortion campaign put out, but if a paper motion is to be turned into reality there will have to be some vigorous local campaigning in the colleges. The NUS executive hasn't done much about it as yet.

Local CAC/NAC groups should be approaching local colleges [particularly FEs which are often very militant but cut off from the national union] offering to speak at meetings, taking leaflets and calling for strike action.

The Socialist Students Alliance

has produced a model resolution and a speaking tour is being organised — book your speakers now! Rock Against Sexism will do gigs against Corrie and that's a good way of getting new people involved in the campaign.

Student Unions should approach other unions to get their colleges completely shut down for the day of the lobby. 'Flying pickets' and speakers can be sent out to other less active colleges as well.

This action has got to bite and bite hard. This Tory government has got to be stopped — without control over our bodies we can't control our lives.

Our New Year message to Corrie is quite clear: 'Hands off our bodies', 'Strike against the Bill'.

For full details of model resolutions, leaflets, speakers etc. phone Jude or Mick on 01-359 8371.

How to campaign against the Corrie Bill

- Half a million signatures on the petition by 14 January. Available from/return to: CAC, 374 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1. 01-278 0153.
- Trade union month of action in January.
- Local and regional demonstrations on 2 February to start week of action.
- Mass lobby and rally, Central Hall, Westminster, 5 February organised by CAC and supported by the South East region of the TUC.
- Women's Assembly, Central Hall, Westminster, 8 February.

India's frail democracy

By Jude Woodward

THE imperialist press loves an Indian election. The 'world's biggest democracy' they proclaim, and fondly show television film of elderly female peasants or khaddi-clad Gandhiesque figures carefully casting their votes.

The message isn't difficult to penetrate — the Indian population may be starving to death, illiterate, poverty-stricken, hardly human, but everyone gets a vote. This is a good thing, and it only happened because the good-old Brits used to run the place and wouldn't let them have independence until they learnt to be democratic.

But what is the truth about Indian democracy?

Let's look at a few facts.

The only party to form a national government since Indian independence in 1947, apart from the last two years of Janata rule, has been the Congress Party. The prime-ministers have exclusively come from the Nehru family, again apart from the two years of Janata and also the one year premiership of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966.

Although the existence of only one ruling party and only one ruling family doesn't necessarily indicate a lack of democracy, it should certainly open room for doubt. The renewed emergence of the Congress Party at the last election, following the disintegration of the Janata as a meaningful electoral alliance, merely underlines the absence of any significant choice for the Indian electorate.

The constitution, agreed in 1950, learnt one important thing from the way the British had ruled India. It allowed for massive reserve powers — all democratic and fundamental rights accorded to the Indian people by the constitution can be suspended whenever the 'security of the state' is threatened.

Detention

The Defence of India Act, introduced by the British during the First World War, was reintroduced as Defence of India Rules after independence. These rules, together with the 1971 Maintenance of Indian Security Act (again based on the British Defence of India Act), allow for detention without trial for a year or more. Later amendments allow detention to be renewed, again without access to courts. In emergency times courts may not issue writs of habeas corpus, and prisoners have no right of appeal to the courts.

In 1974 this darling of the Western press, the proof that underdevelopment in South Asia doesn't have lead to dictatorship or socialism, was described like this: 'In its treatment of those who pose a political threat to it, the government of India has nothing to learn from the most repressive regimes in the world.'

At one stage in the 'naxalite' rebellions (rebellions of poor peasants led by the CPI-ML) an estimated 17,500 were held without trial in one state alone. Charu Mazumdar, leader of the CPI-ML, was arrested on 16 July 1972 and died of a 'heart attack' while in custody twelve days later.

The response to industrial action is similarly almost always repression. In May 1974 there was a strike of the 1.8 million underpaid workers on India's railways (India's largest single employer apart from the land). The strike was met with 20,000 arrests, 25,000 sackings, railway workers homes were invaded and smashed up, and many workers were evicted from the 'railway colonies' where they lived.

Although the right to labour organisation exists in India it is no more secure than any other democratic rights in the country. Employers take on thugs to beat up union activists and smash strikes, often with the connivance of the authorities.

Reprisals

Here is an account of the reprisals taken against union militants after a strike at the British Leyland factory in Madras in 1972.

'They (hired thugs) came into our section armed with iron bars, cycle chains and steel hammers. They went straight for the active trade unionists. One worker with a twisted arm was told he would have it 'straightened out' — he was thrust to the ground and his arm smashed with a hammer. When the bleeding and beaten workers ran from the factory they were arrested by armed police waiting outside. The hired thugs were allowed through the police cordon.

The Indian constitution is nominally federal — a necessity taking into account the diversity of the pan-Indian state. There are 15 recognised languages in India, and a staggering 845 different

SOUTH ASIA IN TURMOIL

languages and dialects actually spoken. The federal provisions are supposed to divert any threat towards secession posed by the linguistic, religious, cultural and racial differences in the

IT IS rare in India that more than half the electorate actually votes. In this election the turn-out was 55 per cent. An 8 per cent swing to the Congress(I), coupled with the split in the Janata party, gave the former an increase in seats from 153 to 351.

Less than half those who voted actually chose Indira Gandhi's party — so out of a population of 600 million only 75 million voted for Indira Gandhi.

subcontinent. But there is no acceptance of the right of national self-determination and it is an indictable offence to even verbally advocate secession.

The Congress Party has not been as unremittingly successful in controlling the provinces as it has in running central government. Local electorates have often chosen different parties and coalitions in their regions. In West Bengal in 1967, 1969, 1971 and again at the recent election the CPI-M (split from the CPI) won control of the area. But the central government — the Congress Party — overthrew the communist government in 1970 and 1971 and ruled directly from the centre.

Attempting to actually achieve something for the people in India, rather than just offering palliatives, is simply a signal for the jettisoning of all the rules of parliamentary democracy.

When Indira Gandhi introduced a state of emergency in 1975 she was not doing anything surprising, the country had been more often under 'emergency' — ie presidential rule — than not since 1962. It's true she did go further than before. She smashed all freedom of the press for example, even words of Gandhi and Nehru had to be checked before publication. All that Indira had to say about it was: 'What difference do a few hundred journalists make to the freedom of the country?'

But India was already set down the route Indira Gandhi was on before the British were ever forced out.

The Janata Party, which was elected to restore democracy and stamp out corruption, was if anything more corrupt than the Congress Party itself. From the point of view of the masses it made little difference at all, and it gave the Jan Sangh party, a semi-fascist Hindu chauvinist party based on the richer peasants in the South, a chance to gain respectability. It has become the third party in Parliament under the new name of Lok Dal.

Illiteracy

Indian democracy is a sham and a fraud and has been since it was first mentioned. Despite the rhetoric the facts speak for themselves. Something like 80 per cent of the population is illiterate — a higher proportion than 15 years ago — and when the elections are run by a highly literate bourgeoisie the masses don't stand much of a chance. And when 17 per cent of the population owns over 50 per cent of the land the poor peasants can hardly choose to vote against their landlords — who've already been handsomely paid for their tenants' votes.

Neither party in the last election produced a manifesto. Neither party presented the masses with a programme for economic recovery, to fight poverty, to prevent famine, to reform landholding. Indira Gandhi may have won a landslide victory, but it will take more than her image to keep India together as the new wave of world recession closes in.

The irony is that there is some truth in what the press says. Compared to the military dictatorship across the border in Pakistan, India is democratic. But it takes more than 400,000 people queuing up to vote to make a real democracy.



USSR and Afghanistan

By Geoff Bell

IN 1923 the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, threatened to declare war on the Afghan state which had secured its independence from Britain just four years before. Behind this lay the friendly relations then being established between Afghanistan and the USSR.

Evaluating the possibility of war between Britain and Afghanistan, Raskolnikov, the Soviet representative in Kabul, reported to Moscow:

'In the event of an Anglo-Afghan war all the sympathies of 70 million Moslems in India would be on the side of the Afghans... In view of the Afghan people's attachment to their new independence it must be said that the chances of the Afghan government capitulating before the English... are extremely slight.

'It seems logical to presume that as a result of Curzon's impudent and presumptuous ultimatum Afghanistan will welcome rapprochement with USSR even more readily. History is on our side.'

Rolling

It is unlikely that Raskolnikov or the Soviet government of 1923 envisaged that 'history' would adopt the appearance of Soviet tanks rolling across the Afghan border in 1979-80. On

the contrary. The policy of the early Soviet government was to stress its clean break with the imperial Russian policy of vying with the British Empire to secure military and economic control of Afghanistan.

Independent

Thus the Soviet Union was the first country to recognise the independent state of Afghanistan, and in 1921 the two states signed a friendship treaty. Among the promises made by the new Soviet government was one which emphasised its adherence to the principles of self-determination:

'In fulfilment of and in accordance with undertakings of the government of the RSFSR [Soviet Union] given by its chief Lenin to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sovereign State of Afghanistan, Russia agrees to transfer to Afghanistan the lands in the frontier area which belonged to it in the last century, while observing the principles of justice and the free expression of the will of the peoples inhabiting those areas.'

Such a declaration must have been a welcome change for the people of Afghanistan. Throughout the previous century the country had been the victim of a tug of war between the rival imperial powers of Britain and Russia. During the first British-Afghan War of 1838-42.



RASUL BAKSH PALEJO addresses a mass rally of 10,000 peasants in the interior of Sind province in Pakistan last October. Following the meeting Palejo and dozens of other peasant leaders were arrested.

A peep into Zia's Pakistan

The 'haris' of Sind

SIND IS one of Pakistan's four provinces. Its interior contains one of the most oppressed sections of the masses. These are the 'haris' or poor peasants.

In 1948-9 the government appointed a committee to study their plight. Its report was a whitewash, but a civil servant produced a dissenting report, known after him as the Masud Report. These few quotes will give readers some idea of the Sind 'hari'.

'They [the haris] are human beings and, as such, rational animals, and though they drudge like common beasts of burden, they enjoy no privileges nor any rights of human beings... When I came to Sind I was shocked to see the miserable conditions of the haris... they are no better than serfs. They live in the most primitive conditions without any conception of social, political or economic rights... They live scattered, far from one another, in small hamlets consisting of thatched mud houses. Most of them share huts with cattle...

'The hari who has cultivated a piece of land for several generations does not know how long he will be



A woman poet addresses the audience which included several hundred women

allowed to stay on it. Fear reigns supreme. Fear of imprisonment, fear of losing his land, wife or life. The zamindar [landlord] might get

annoyed with him and oust him. The zamindar might at any time send for the hari for purposes of forced labour...

The hari behaves like a helpless slave when he has to face the zamindar. It is not an unusual sight to see how numerous haris come and touch the feet of a zamindar...

'The zamindar is a feudal lord and maintains a legion of servants, owns fine horses, cows and buffaloes. He possesses a large number of firearms and his shooting expenses every year run into thousands of rupees. Extravagance in food and dress, gross and vulgar sexual excesses, garish ostentations are the things on which he devotes his income.' [Masud Report quoted in Tariq Ali's: Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power, Cape, 1970].

Since that report there has been no qualitative improvement in the life of the haris of Sind. But they are becoming more organised. These exclusive photographs show a Hari conference which was organised by the Sindhi Hari Committee in Rahuji Village in the interior of Sind on 8-9 October in 1979. The conference was not publicised, but 10,000 delegates attended from all over the province.

Floggings

The day after it ended several important Sindhi leaders were arrested. Rasul Baksh Palejo, Fazil Rahu and sixteen other organisers were arrested for organising an illegal meeting. They were tried by a summary military court. Palejo was sentenced to a year in prison. Others were publicly flogged and sentenced to prison. The local police chiefs were suspended for their failure to inform the military authorities of the conference. The right-wing press expressed its 'anxiety' that the 'fires of communism' were being lit in the rural areas of Sind.

This is the real face of Zia's Pakistan.

Who is Zia-ul-Haq?

By Ghulam Hussein

THE HANGMAN has now become the custodian of the 'free world' in South Asia. The most brutal, repressive and unpopular regime which Pakistan has ever had is now being enthusiastically acclaimed by important sections of the Western media as the frontier of freedom. Those Pakistanis who are not sickened by this campaign will be highly amused, for Zia's record is an open book.

In September 1970 Pakistan's fearless military leader was in Jordan, on loan from the Pakistani ruling class to the Hashemite monarch. In other words a state-sponsored mercenary. He helped to carry out the bloodiest massacre in Palestinian history. Hundreds and hundreds of Palestinian freedom-fighters were killed. As a token of his gratitude, King Hussein presented Zia-ul-Haq with one of Jordan's two highest military awards. Zia saw absolutely no contradiction (as a 'devout' Muslim) in killing off so many Palestinians and Pakistan's so-called support for their cause.

Obsequious

Five years later Bhutto appointed him Chief of General Staff of the Pakistan Army. Zia was suitably obsequious, a uniformed Uriah Heep. In 1977 Bhutto's daughter Benazir, then at Oxford, asked a Pakistani socialist who had just returned from a short visit what he thought of the country's immediate future. He replied bluntly: 'Either your father will be assassinated or there will be a military coup.' Replied Benazir: 'I grant you he might be assassinated, but a coup, never. You see Zia is in

our pocket.'

In vain did the socialist point out that no general was ever 'in the pocket' of any civilian politician. But this story, which is not apocryphal, reveals Bhutto's over-confidence. He genuinely believed that Zia was a safe bet because he was both extremely stupid and cultivated a facade of servility. The general's low cunning ultimately defeated Bhutto.

Dangling

Zia lied incessantly. He promised elections within six months when he first seized power. He has since made three other promises in order to keep the politicians dangling in mid-air.

Last October he announced an indefinite postponement of the elections and banned all political parties, closing down a number of oppositional papers. This was accompanied by the arrest of thousands of activists of Bhutto's People's Party and the Pakistan National Party, which is led by the veteran Baluchi leaders Bizenjo and Mengal.

Today Zia has been given a new lease of life by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. He is now being promoted as a stable and efficient defender of Western interests. It is true that the army is the only effective instrument the West has in Pakistan.

But Zia and his regime are hated by the Pakistani people. Not all the aid of the IMF/World Bank or the military might of the United States will save him for long. He is hemmed in by Babrak Kemal, Khomeini and Indira Gandhi. And we would venture to predict that his attempt to transform Pakistan into a Saudi Arabia without oil will fail sooner rather than later.

—in the beginning there was a treaty

the British burnt whole villages and massacred their inhabitants.

In the second British-Afghan War of 1878-80, the British decided that the best way of controlling the country was to hang as many Afghans as they could lay their hands on. During a similar conflict at the end of the 19th century, even Winston Churchill proclaimed 'we are a very cruel people' as he watched British troops shoot prisoners and burn villages.

By the time of the third British-Afghan War of 1919 the British had adopted a new technique for quelling rebellious natives. This consisted of using air power to strafe Afghan villages.

It was after this conflict that the Soviet-Afghan treaty was signed. Lenin greeted Afghanistan's successful battle for independence from Britain as establishing 'the only independent Muslim state in the world', destined for 'the great historic task of uniting around itself all enslaved Muslim peoples and leading them to the road of freedom and independence'.

Buffer

Soviet foreign policy supported an independent Afghanistan not just because it recognised the right to self-determination and backed anti-imperialist governments, but because such a state served as a buffer against



The Khyber Pass in 1929

possible British invasion of the Soviet Union via India.

Evident

The Bolsheviks also knew that the possibility of communist revolution in Afghanistan was very slim. The Afghanistan Communist Party was practically non-existent, and the Soviets concentrated their efforts in Asia on assisting the Indian Communist Party. At the same time the Bolshevik leaders must have hoped that communism's evident respect for Afghan independence would assist the spread of communist ideas in the country.

This policy was continued after Lenin's death. Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country' — stressing that support for revolutions elsewhere must come second to the defence of the Soviet Union — was to sentence to death many revolutions and revolutionaries throughout the world. But in Afghanistan it had less effect as no communist movement existed there.

In this sense the Soviet attitude to Afghanistan at the end of the 1920s differed little from that outlined previously by Lenin and by the Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1921. Rykov, the Chairperson of People's Commissars, put it as follows in 1929:

'Turning to Afghanistan, I must observe with the utmost regret that the internal crisis which the Afghan people are now going through, complicated by antagonisms of a national, racial and social character, is being prolonged. A country which for the ten years of its existence as an independent state made great progress... has now for six months been in a state of crisis, thanks to the opposition of reactionary forces, actively supported from without.'

'I must also direct your attention to the tense situation on certain sections of the Soviet-Afghan border... we shall continue our policy of complete non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.'

Convulsions

And this was reiterated by the Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Litvinov: 'Our neighbours the Afghans have borne great, great trials this year. Afghanistan has suffered convulsions which have caused us anxiety, interested as we are in the Afghan people fully preserving their independence. Faithful to the basic principles of our policy we have refrained from the slightest intervention in the bitter internal struggles taking place in that country, and from supporting one group against the other.'

DEREK Robinson was the convenor of Britain's second largest factory, British Leyland's Longbridge complex. He was also the chairperson of the BL Combine Committee, a company-wide unofficial stewards organisation, and he represented the unions on the joint Cars Council, set up under Lord Ryder to integrate the shopfloor into the BL management decision-making processes.

On 19 November last year he was sacked. The reason given was that he had signed a pamphlet arguing against the 'Edwardes Plan' to sack 25,000 BL workers.

Sir Michael Edwardes has been chairperson of BL for just two years. For these two years — supported by the last Labour government, which gave him a knighthood for his services — Edwardes has tried to reduce the total number of BL workers and to raise the levels of productivity. He successfully closed the Speake plant in Liverpool, he forced 20,000 redundancies in 18 months, and imposed speed-up on the lines.

Alternative

Edwardes sacked Robinson after the management ballot on the future of the company. With no alternative from the trade unions his 'Survival Plan' received a massive 72 per cent majority. Edwardes still realised that there was a big difference between getting this vote and actually implementing the plan and knew the main opposition would come from the shop stewards.

After the stewards' withdrawal from the participation scheme and rejection of a 5 per cent pay deal, the scene was being set for a confrontation. The course that Edwardes took was to use his success in the ballot to isolate the stewards. The sacking of Robinson stunned the entire movement.

Edwardes' gamble was that he would get the support of the union leaders, who backed his plan, and with the encouragement of the Tories would be able to weather the storm that erupted after the sacking. He was proved right when Terry Duffy, president of the engineering union of which Robinson was a member, refused to make the strike official after talks with BL management. Rather than supporting the spontaneous strike action that erupted the AUEW executive set up a union 'court of inquiry' to investigate Robinson. The union leaders, as well as the BL bosses, saw him as a threat.

Collapsed

A recent article in the Plymouth-based *Sunday Independent* quoted Sir John Boyd, AUEW general secretary, as saying: 'If they hadn't sacked him we would have done so in the next few days'. The AUEW leaders sold Robinson out, and the strike collapsed.

At its highpoint 40,000 BL workers were out. Many of them were from plants like Castle Bromwich and Canley, due to close this year. Duffy and Boyd did the job that BL managers couldn't do. They ensured that the most effective action — all-out strikes throughout BL Cars — to defend Robinson was called off.

The AUEW is not like other unions. It has a

Boyd. 'We would have sacked him'

RELAUNCH ROBINSON BATTLE

By Pat Kane



very right-wing leadership, but it still has one of the most democratic constitutions in the trade union movement. The response of many active AUEW members has been to demand the sacking of Boyd, Duffy, and the rest of the national executive.

The Birmingham Northfield Branch of the AUEW, which has a majority of BL workers, passed a motion calling for an immediate ballot, under Rule 15 Para 5, to re-elect the entire executive after their handling of the dispute. Only 10 per cent of the 2,600 AUEW branches need to support this motion to force through the ballot. The Northfield motion sets a basis for a massive campaign against the right-wing leadership. With the Robinson sell-out so clear, the left in the union are in an ideal position to gain support for an alternative to

Boyd and Duffy that would defend the interests of AUEW members.

Alliance

Derek Robinson is also a leading member of the CP, and a supporter of the AUEW Broad Left. This is the largest grouping within the union, consisting of an alliance between the Labour 'lefts' and the CP. The 'Rule 15' campaign first received support from the Broad Left and the *Morning Star*. But to have a ballot success you need a credible alternative. For the last four years the Broad Left had been in political crisis, and its reputation for militancy has been severely tarnished.

Hugh Scanlon, whom the Broad Left placed in power as president, is now Lord Scanlon — a

reward for his efforts in supporting the Labour government's pay policy. The CP-dominated Broad Left cannot break with the 'lefts', even now they are in the House of Lords.

Censure

With no alternative to offer the CP have retreated from the campaign for a ballot to re-elect the executive and the campaign has disappeared from the pages of the *Morning Star*. Instead they want motions of support for the reinstatement of Robinson and censuring the executive. Leading CP members now openly argue that any ballot would result in a defeat for the left, and would weaken the Broad Left campaign for Bob Wright in the presidential election next November.

The lack of any credible alternative to Duffy and Boyd will set the seal on the sacking of Robinson. The CP could have organised a campaign to defend Robinson, starting from the active involvement of thousands of AUEW members. The issue was so clearly one of victimisation that even the Broad Left could have won support.

The Northfield resolution received wide support throughout the union, and it is still possible to get an effective campaign for Robinson. The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference on 26 January provides us with an opportunity to demand the organisation of such a campaign. The BL workforce is far from being smashed — Edwardes' pay offer and productivity plans have been rejected. But if there is a wages fight the threat of victimisation will be used against every militant shop steward.

Watching

The Tories and the rest of British industry will be watching for the outcome of the Robinson affair — wondering if they too can get away with sacking their own militant shop stewards. Before the steel strike began several ISTC militants were sacked with the agreement of the ISTC nationally.

Derek Robinson is a member of the CP. The CP dominates the Broad Left and the LCDTU. If the movement cannot defend its own militants, then who will defend the thousands of ordinary trade unionists who will be victimised under the Tories' new laws? We must make Robinson one of the central issues at this LCDTU conference — not by saying how 'responsible' a trade unionist he was, but by organising a fight to get him back into BL.

Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions

Saturday 26 January, 10.30am,
Friends Meeting House,
Euston Road, London
Credentials from Jim Hiles,
137 Wanstead Park
Road, Ilford, Essex.

'Defend Robbo' Assembly meets

By Pat Sikorski

ARTHUR SCARGILL last Sunday pledged the backing of Yorkshire miners for industrial action to reinstate Derek Robinson as convenor at the Longbridge British Leyland plant.

But Bill Jordan, West Midlands organiser of the AUEW, told over a thousand jeering delegates at the 'reinstatement Robbo' Assembly that he could not guarantee that the union's enquiry would find in favour of the sacked shop steward.

He went on to tell delegates that it was all very well sitting passing militant motions, but it would be officials like himself that would have to carry the fight for Robinson and pick up the casualties on the way.

It was the most arrogant and assertive speech by a right wing official in the union for a long time.

Confident

It showed that Terry Duffy and John Boyd, are confident that the British Leyland shop stewards are so weakened that the combine will be unable to call for action if the national leadership does find against Robinson or tries to negotiate a compromise with Leyland chief Michael Edwardes.

Delegates from the north-west and



Glasgow district of the union strongly criticised the union leadership but failed to mention the campaign which is starting to have an impact on the

right wing.

That's the campaign sponsored by Engineers' Charter, the rank and file paper in the union, for a ballot to

remove the executive council of the union, if 10 per cent of the branches call for it. The Charter says that it has 200 of the necessary 280 branches for

the ballot.

Scargill added his voice to the criticism of the engineers' leaders. He said that if any branch officials of his had been sacked 'not a single cobble of coal would have been moved' until they were reinstated.

He explained that the attack on Robinson was part of a general attack on the British trade union movement.

'The Prior proposals together with all other anti-working class laws have to be thrown out by mass working class action of the sort that defeated the Industrial Relations Act in 1972.'

A resolution passed by the delegates pledged full support for whatever action necessary to secure the reinstatement of Robinson and the withdrawal of disciplinary charges taken against the three other shop stewards involved; Len Brindle, Jack Adams and Mick Clarke.

But the question of calling any such action was not put to the conference. While delegates at the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference will be able to discuss the matter in the next fortnight, it seems unlikely that the Leyland combine will call the all-out action in Leyland plants and beyond that will reinstate Robinson and win round one of the battle against the Prior Bill.

Close encounters that can win

By Clive Turnbull

IN South Yorkshire, scene of some of the biggest picket-line battles during the steel strike, the number of pickets has doubled during the past week, according to Stan Sheridan, a member of the ISTC strike committee in Rotherham.

While the pitched battles with police have taken place in Sheffield, hundreds of pickets from South Yorkshire have been dispatched to ports, stockholders, and private steel firms as far afield as Boston in Lincolnshire, King's Lynn, Manchester, London, and Birmingham.

In Sheffield itself the struggle has escalated with more than a dozen arrests at Duncan Hadfields, a private steel firm. Since the beginning of the strike, Hadfields has increased production from 12 to 16 shifts.

The Rotherham strike committee, which is co-ordinating the dispute in the South Yorkshire area, takes the view that unless the strike is extended to the private sector it cannot

be made effective. The committee has consistently refused to accept instructions from ISTC general secretary Bill Sirs that picketing should be restricted to BSC plants.

Despite support from the Transport Union locally, scab lorry drivers continue to try to run the gauntlet of the picket line. 'We've turned quite a few lorries away which won't be coming back again,' says the secretary of the ISTC's Shepcote No.1 branch.

'The strike is forced to get bloody. In my opinion it's a fight against the Tory government,' he adds. 'They wanted a confrontation.'

ISTC members are working normally at Duncan Hadfields. They are covered by a separate agreement from those employed by the steel corporation, and they have not been called out by the steel union executive.

Thanks to this policy and the encouragement of the mass media, attitudes on the shopfloor at Hadfields have hardened against the strike. Mick Adams, convenor at

Hadfields' East Hecla works and secretary of the local private sector steel committee, maintains that ISTC members at the plant are saying that they would be justified in ignoring any strike instruction which could involve them in the dispute.

'We are now under pressure from our members to ignore any call from the executive to join the strike,' Adams argues. Bill Sirs no doubt approves this assertion of sectional interests against the unity of the steelworkers.

Lonrho

Management at Duncan Hadfields has wheeled out the time-honoured story that if the plant shuts the result would be bankruptcy. This is a little strange since the company was purchased two years ago for £15m by the multi-national Lonrho, which has since invested £11m to make the plant as advanced as any in Europe.

In an attempt to defuse the situation, Hadfields' management invited ISTC officials

to inspect the plant to show that they were not doing work which BSC would otherwise have done.

But as Stan Sheridan of the Rotherham strike committee points out: 'They can go in there, but it doesn't make any difference what they find. These lads won't accept this place staying open.'

Alan Cooke, a steel worker for 22 years, says: 'The police might have been playing it softly so far, but we've had a dozen arrests at Hadfields. As soon as the action really starts, they'll step in.'

Cooke considers that there is 'no chance' of the Tories stopping picketing, even if the Prior proposals were in force. 'Thatcher's trying to go back to the Dark Ages,' he says. 'But she'd have to arrest thousands of us. Where would they put us? They couldn't build prisons fast enough.'

The strike committee is now planning a mass picket to close the plant, and welcomes any support from local trade unionists.

A thousand pickets greet the industry minister

By C Banner and J Schweik

'MAGGIE OUT, Maggie Out,' chanted over a thousand steelworkers from Sheffield, Rotherham, Corby, and Shotton as they marched through the centre of Birmingham to picket Sir Keith Joseph last Friday.

The industry minister had come to meet West Midlands TUC leaders, and was visibly shaken at his reception by the steel strikers.

A TV interview broadcast that evening showed Joseph in an emotional state as he lamented the inability of workers to understand the need for his monetarist policies. If there's one thing the minister hates to have to deal with it's people.



DUNCAN HADFIELDS—the private steel firm in Sheffield which has been the scene of daily pickets. Inset: Stan Sheridan of the Rotherham strike committee

Photos: CLIVE TURNBULL

Pushed

One of the pickets who had come to greet him was Karen Locker, an ISTC member and Labour councillor from Corby. She has grasped the finer points of the Tories' policies only too well. 'What we're facing is part of the Tory strategy to take on the working class movement,' she told Socialist Challenge.

'The government said they were going to put us in our place. But if the Tories want a steel industry, then they're going to have to pay for it.'

'We've lost enough jobs,' Locker added. 'They pushed us so far that now we've got no choice. We've got to fight and we've got to win.'

That's the kind of remark that makes Sir Keith despair. It just isn't the way that right-wing academics, industrialists, and the City see things.

Inherited

When told by Roy Bishop, the ISTC's Midland divisional officer, that the boss of the British Steel Corporation should be removed, Joseph replied: 'I think the chairman is coping with a set of inherited problems in the way best suited to the national interest, the taxpayers' interest, and the steelworkers'

interests.' Well, it's true there are inherited problems. The planned slashing of annual production capacity to 15m tonnes because of the West's crisis has made sure of that.

But it is the capitalists' balance sheets that require steel-making capacity in the West to be destroyed — not the needs of the masses of people around the world.

Interest

There was one kind of 'interest' that Joseph omitted to mention — the kind paid to bankers and financiers. As *Steelworkers' Banner* — ISTC's official strike newspaper — has spelled out, of the £1,215m loss declared by the steel corporation over the past four years, £680m of this was paid over in interest charges.

A large proportion of this result from the investment undertaken as a result of the ready optimism of the early '70s.

The Sunday Times editorial last weekend said that the interest payments amounted to £1,120 per BSC employee per year. It added 'there are precedents for writing off the sources of loan liability at the Coal Board and British Rail'.

The bankers and financiers

wouldn't be unhappy about that. They would still be collecting from the taxpayers, the large majority of whom happen to be working class people. So why not tell them they can't have any more interest payments? That really would be in the interests of almost everyone.

So too is the action that is building up to stop the closures. It's the capitalists who don't want the steel-making capacity, not the working class.

If Sir Keith Joseph can ever bear to speak to a steelworker, he might have a word with Harold Watling from Shelton Barr rolling mill, who went to Birmingham to shout at the minister.

This is what he told Socialist Challenge: 'The Shotton lads say Joseph's got to go and the rest of the government with him.'

Insult

'The 2 per cent offer was an insult. We accepted the wage limit in the last pay round.'

'Where I work, in the rolling shop, there were six slingers. The price of our rise was three slingers down the road, and the rest of us doing double the work.'

'It's got to be 20 per cent this time round, and no more redundancies.'

Try this sales pitch

UP TO now the daily papers have avoided the anti-union excesses of the 'winter of discontent'. The steel strikers haven't been denounced each and every day on the front pages. If anything the popular press has preferred to relegate the strike to the inside pages rather than opting for wild union bashing.

The Sunday papers are a slightly different story. The Sunday Express last weekend had a front page feature on the 'reds' behind the strike — including Socialist Challenge. Thanks for the compliment, but perhaps the pay offer and the steel closures have something to do with it.

Woodrow Wyatt in the Sunday Mirror has explained that the steelworkers were 'committing hari-kiri' by demanding higher wages. In measured prose, this former Labour MP and now boss of a printing firm put forward the employers' arguments that only by cutting jobs and wages can steel-making be saved.

It is not just a question of whether the mass media attack the strike. The fact is that there is no mass paper or broadcasting channel which actively supports the strike.

That's where Socialist Challenge comes in. Not only does our paper give sympathetic coverage to the steel strikers and tell the truth about the steel industry and its bosses, but it also tries to build support for the strike.

By taking the paper out and selling it to steelworkers we can help bring them the politics to win. By selling it to other working class people we can stress the importance of solidarity actions to make the strike bite more quickly and shorten the days of Thatcher's rule.

Our paper is fighting alongside the steelworkers. You can make it more effective by seizing every opportunity to sell the paper during the strike. Last week Sheffield IMG ordered an additional five hundred copies for sale on the picket line, and Cardiff increased its order by a hundred, bumping up our print run. Follow their example and help to bump it up again.

SUPPORT THE STEEL STRIKE

WELSH VALLEYS: NO RETURN TO THE '30s

By Valerie Coultas

THE NUMBER of people without work in Britain in 1932 was estimated to be seven million. The decline of Britain's traditional industries and the collapse of international trade after the crash of 1929 caused suffering throughout the length and breadth of the country.

South Wales, heavily dependent as it was on coal, iron, steel, and tin plate, showed what a reserve army of labour meant in awful reality.

Lt. Col. Sir William Portal, reporting for Parliament in 1934 on the eastern area of South Wales, found that unemployment there was 44.5 per cent. Many mining villages, especially those on the worked-on seams in the north of the coal field, such as Blaina, Bryn Mawr and Merthyr Tydfil, Portal describes as 'derelict', with over two-thirds of the workers unemployed.

Of 50,000 miners unemployed, 76 per cent had been out of work for a year, 56 per cent for two years, and 35 per cent for over three years. Behind these statistics lay a grim human problem.

The coal and steel industries had undergone a period of expansion during the First World War, when they were vital for the war machine needed to defeat German imperialism. Even after the war the demand for Welsh coal and steel was high because the Belgian and French industries had been destroyed.

But in 1923 the boom collapsed. The depression which began in Wales was to last until the outbreak of the Second World War.

Raw materials

Areas of Britain which had a greater variety of industries were more resilient to the depression. But the large majority of the population of South Wales was concerned with the extraction of raw materials, such as coal, and the production of the basic material for other industries, such as steel bars, rather than the production of finished goods.

The over-valuing of British currency with the rise in the gold standard in 1935 made exports from South Wales uncompetitive. The protective tariffs which many countries put up to prevent foreign goods interfering with the development of domestic industries after the First World War added to trade problems for Wales.

The British Navy began to use oil and this further undercut the market. Motor transport and hydro-electric power reduced the domestic consumption of steam coal.

Although the production of anthracite coal stayed at its 1913 level, the production of steam coal began to fall. The antiquated steel plants

and coal mines of South Wales found it increasingly difficult to compete with such magnificently re-equipped industries as those in Belgium.

From an output of 10m tons of steel in 1929 in Britain as a whole, production plummeted to half that figure by 1931. Coal output fell from 257m tons in 1929 to 207m tons in 1933.

Protection

Although the government introduced protectionism after 1934, this did not solve the employment problems of South Wales because its industries depended on exports. Even in 1939, with re-armament well under way, there were 100,000 people unemployed in South Wales.

In desperation, many younger people left Wales in search of work. Between 1931 and 1938 the population of Greater London increased by nearly half a million while that of South Wales fell by 115,000.

Migration took away the youngest and strongest members of the community. It cut the purchasing power of those left behind. It intensified the poverty and dereliction. It meant that the social services declined.

Whole families being unemployed was common. Often it was only the very young who found work. Wages were appallingly low due to the massive competition for jobs. Shops closed, charities dried up, the roads were neglected.

Merthyr Tydfil, once a proud borough and cradle of the British iron industry, became a ghost town. A Royal Commission described the scene in 1935:

'It was a point of honour never to buy anything if you could get it in other ways. We took wood from fences without any sense of shame. We would steal timber from the pit heads. And if sheep could be enticed from the hillside, it would be killed and the meat divided among the people of the village. We were not ashamed because we were being made outcasts by those who owned the means which could have given us a livelihood. The miners would climb in their pit clothes a thousand feet or so up the mountain to scramble for bits of coal among the slag. A day of this weary work — as hard as any day in the pit — might fill a hundredweight sack of coal worth 1s.3d, while under the valley floor the rich seams remained unworked.'

Arthur Horner, 'The Incurable Rebel'

'Merthyr Tydfil has many sites of decaying iron works, the most modern of which stands like a gaunt memorial to past prosperity on the hillside of Dowlais. The mayor of the town explained very graphically how the number of people made destitute by this change was far greater than the 3,000 steelworkers directly

thrown out of work:-

'When the works were in full employment, a large number of elderly men were employed as watchmen, signalmen, gatekeepers, and on other light work, who are now regarded as unemployable and in receipt of public assistance.

'Similarly, elderly men and women who had a small shop when these industries were in commission have since had to close down because of the reduced purchasing power of the inhabitants. Women who kept lodgers, or who went working days cleaning and washing for workers who are now unemployed, are also in receipt of public assistance.'

The pits in the Merthyr area, which had employed 24,000 in 1913, were down to 8,000 in 1935. Miners were desperately seeking work at distant collieries. Some steelworkers were spending so much on fares that if they were married with fair-sized families they were better off on the dole.

Human lives

In 1934, 63.4 per cent of the workers in Merthyr were registered unemployed.

As with all communities which face poverty and social deprivation, the ultimate price was paid in human lives. In 1935 in the Home Counties the rate of infant mortality was 42 per 1,000 live births. In Glamorgan, it was 63 deaths per 1,000 live births.

In 1936 the maternal mortality rate was 3.65 per 1,000 for England and Wales taken together. In Wales alone the rate was 5.67. Death from

cut in the dole and the means test was applied in a savage fashion, South Wales was uproar.

The anthracite miners called for a 24-hour strike, which was followed by a similar call from the Cambrian Combine Miners in the Rhondda. The South Wales Miners' Federation called an all-Wales conference and set up a council of action, which brought 300,000 people to a demonstration.

In Merthyr Tydfil a demonstration of workers smashed the windows of the newly-established

Unemployment as a percentage of insured workers by region in 1932

London and SE England	13
SW England	17
Midlands	20
Wales	36
Scotland	27
Northern Ireland	27

Unemployment Assistance Board.

W H Mainwaring, Labour MP for the Rhondda, made a desperate appeal in the House of Commons:

'I hope the working classes of this country pay heed to what is said and done here today that from now onwards the agitation which has its height in South Wales [Hon members 'An over'] will spread like a flame throughout the country and that the English and Scottish working classes will join with the Welshmen to make the demand that come what will, damnable regulations must be withdrawn.'

The reductions that had been made in the dole were refunded. But despite the massive support enjoyed by the Unemployed Workers' Movement in the depressed areas, both the Labour Party and the trade unions nationally refused to take up the cause of the victims of capital's ruthless drive for profits.

It was left to the Communists to organise the unemployed nationally. Despite the enthusiasm of many rank and file Labour Party members, their leaders, afraid of the militancy they would unleash, refused to take on the capitalist system. They were bound then, as they still are today, to limit the struggle to the confines of the Parliament.

As Ralph Miliband explained in *Parliamentary Socialism* the Labour Party deliberately refused to further that education organisation outside parliament, of a mass movement in defence of working class interests (our emphasis). When the chips are down, Jim Callaghan and Len Murray will follow the same path.

I WAS BANISHED

By Paul Highfield

NOW living in Cardiff, Joe Phillips is 69 and an ex-miner, who started down the pits in 1925 at the age of 14. He remembers the militancy of the early '20s, such as the 1921 miners' strike which achieved a big wage increase.

When I started at Cogmant Colliery Maesteg it was a 7-hour working day — shorter hours than today. We were out for nine months in the General Strike.

Baldwin had said: 'Lock them out. We can get cheaper coal from India.'

But the sell-out by the TUC isolated the miners. After we'd gone back at the end of '26 things got worse and worse. The wage cuts and longer hours started being brought in in 1927.

Lack of unity

There were many thousands not in the South Wales Miners' Federation, so there was a great lack of unity, although my own lodge was very militant. It was a closed shop.

When unemployment began to get bad you could go to the top of any colliery and there'd be 20 men waiting

to see the manager for a job. The poverty was terrible — I had to walk three miles there and back to the pit each day because we couldn't afford the 3d bus fare.

Means test

The Board of Guardians means tested everyone who was unemployed — and you never got more than 15 shillings a week in vouchers. Food was cheap, but no one could afford clothes.

I was made redundant, and then sent to a government training centre in Letchworth, Herts, in January '32, and trained as a plasterer, but there weren't any jobs to go to. When I look back now, I think that the thousands of us who were sent to Dudley, Leominster, and Letchworth were victims of a deliberate government policy of dispersal to prevent unity among the unemployed in South Wales. I couldn't return to Wales until 1949.

The Tories today want a huge surplus of unemployed, to defeat the grade union movement and to drive down wages.

Carter is trying to abolish unemployment benefits after six

months in the USA, and Thatcher, too, wants to slash benefits — just as in 1929-30, when benefits were cut from 17s to 15s 3d. Single women only got 12s and dependent women received 8s.

Len Murray is the same as Callaghan — neither will fight back. They say: 'Think of the nation' — just like in the General Strike. We can't let the Tories win.

I hope the South Wales miners come out on strike and do everything and anything to get a full stop in all the pits in Britain.

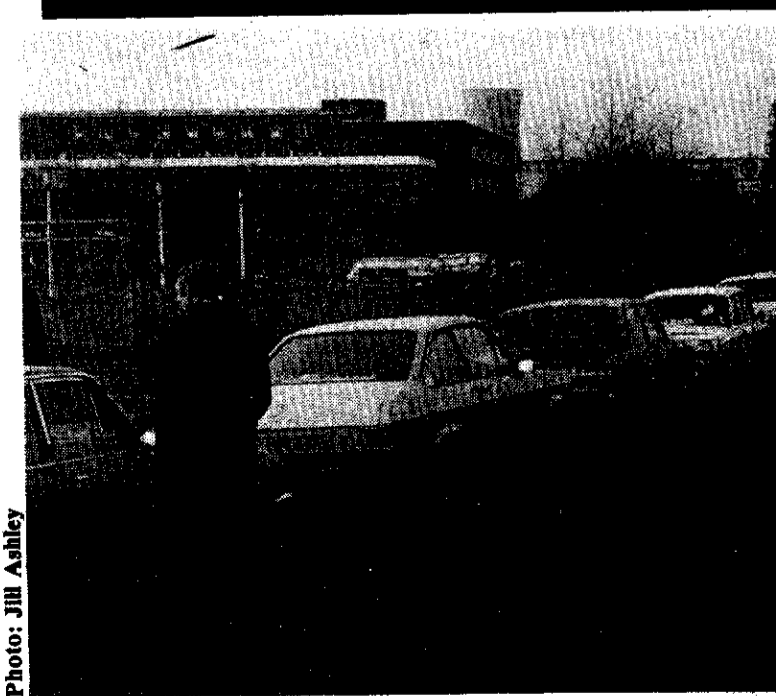
Afraid

The Tories are afraid of the miners' strength — that's one of the reasons why they want a vast expansion of nuclear power. The miners must give the lead in the fight against closures in Wales.

But the rest of the trade union movement — the steelworkers, the dockers, railwayworkers — everybody must support them.

Photo: Jill Ashley

Port Talbot — a



'Defend jobs' strike call

THE WALES TUC has called for a one day general strike on Monday 28 January. The strike, led by miners, rail and steel workers will go ahead unless the British Steel Corporation cancels plans to increase purchases of coking coal from abroad.

But the indefinite strike called by the Welsh unions for 21 January has been postponed to 10 March. The postponement was decided after opposition from the British TUC's Nationalised Industries Committee.

The 10 March strike will go ahead unless the BSC agrees to the four demands of the 14 unions who planned the action.

- These are:
- *The provision of a subsidy for coking coal mined in Wales
 - *Postponement for two years of the plan to half Welsh steel production with between 11,000 and 15,000 redundancies
 - *Suspension of BSC's top management
 - *An enquiry into the way the BSC is run.

Don Hayward, an officer of the

South Wales National Union of Mineworkers executive, told Socialist Challenge:

'We are giving the TUC one more chance. We think that they should be giving a lead on the fight for jobs. If they do not act by 10 March we are not going to hold off any longer. It'll be all-out action from then on in Wales.'

Disappointment in the climb down by the Welsh union leaders was reflected in the vote of the miners who abstained on the proposals.

If the British TUC leaders had been serious in taking up the fight for jobs, they would have supported the original action of the Welsh trade unions, and called for similar action throughout Britain to save jobs and confront the policies of the Tory government.

Nevertheless the dates set for action remain an important focus, both to build the fight for jobs and to support the steel workers. Major rallies have been planned throughout South Wales. The first takes place at Sophia Garden in Cardiff on the 28 January. All out for 28 January!

The pits that will close

Dai Coity Davies is the Compensation Secretary of the South Wales National Union of Miners.

The National Coal Board has told us which collieries in our area are likely to be closed down.

It will mean the closure of the remaining collieries in the Cynon Valley and the Aberdare Valley. Those two collieries are the Penrhinwceiber colliery and at the top of the valley, the Tower Fossil colliery, according to the National Coal Board.

Postponed is the closure of four valleys. In the new valley the Rhondda, there are two pits still working, the Mary and the Lower Merthyr and Ty Mawr — the only collieries in the Rhondda. They will be closed down.

In the next valley to the Rhondda, the Ogmore, there is only one colliery, the Windham and Western. This is to be closed and there is no alternative employment for the miners.

In the Garw Valley another colliery will be closed. In the Llynfi Valley, St John's and Coegnant are on the list for closure. Possible closures also extend to the Eastern Valleys, Monmouthshire, the Rhymney Valleys and the Western Valleys. Forty pits are open now, we



Photo: PAUL HIGHFIELD

expect the number will drop. In 1947, when the mines were nationalised, there were 115 collieries. Now there are forty. Our boys have struggled to build their homes. Transport costs out of the valleys are high. The trading estates in Treforest and Bridgend are fully staffed, mainly with female workers. These valleys are going to be derelict if the cuts go through.

The Welsh executive of the National Union of Miners is committed to strike action against these cuts.

PLAID CYMRU SPEAKS

our case. It is not clear what will now happen on 21 January about the Welsh TUC's call for action. If the proposed strike action does not go ahead I will be extremely disappointed. The Welsh TUC will be going back on the leadership they have given so far — they will be letting down their members in coal and steel.

We should be arguing that parliamentary debate like that proposed for next Thursday is useless. Nothing will be gained by this. The only thing that is really understood is firm industrial action. The miners showed this in 1972 and 1974. The only way to deal with this government is to stand firm now against the cuts and unemployment.

I don't agree with Callaghan's nonsense about waiting for the Tories to work through their mandate. This is the worst kind of social democratic nonsense from the Labour Party. This is not how things will change.

The Conservative government was not selected by the Welsh people anyway. A mandate from the Welsh people does not exist.

The left in Plaid think that the issues raised in the present steel dispute are the most important facing Wales since the 1930's.

Here the effects of steel closures will be greater than in any other parts of Britain. For us, the present call for industrial action is not just about pay. The Welsh TUC has always argued that we can't isolate the two questions of pay and jobs. They have sent many delegations up to London to press this point.

Unfortunately the TUC nationally and ISTC want to isolate these issues — they argue, let's tackle pay first and then get on to the question of jobs. From the Welsh point of view this is useless. The issues are integrated. We have to start by opposing the BSC strategy to shut down plants and cut steel jobs.

For us in Plaid Cymru, this links up with the question of autonomy for the Welsh people. This would enable us to adopt different policies and to argue

'If the plant closes, or even if there are some redundancies, I don't know what else I could do.'

'Before the steel strike I thought we would be forced to leave Port Talbot. But now I think we can stop them. If the government won't give BSC the money to keep the plant open then we will just have to keep the plant open ourselves.'

'BSC management hope that the steelworkers in Wales will fall in with the ISTC line nationally and swap an increase in their pay packets for jobs. The carrot of large redundancy payments will be waved under the noses of the union leaders and the rank and file steel workers will be expected to cave in when it comes to selling jobs.'

'But every day the strike continues steelworkers realise that they're fighting a government that's rigid on pay and jobs. It has to be forced to give in on both.'

Tom Evans works in the coke ovens:

'I think that the strike should be about jobs as well. In a way it is about jobs. If you don't have one a pay rise won't do you much good.'

By Pat Kane

PORT Talbot is very much a one industry town.

Tommy Lyons, secretary of the Electricians Union in the plant, describes Port Talbot 'as a steel works with a dormitory attached'.

Apart from several oil refineries most people in Swansea depend on the giant BSC firm for their livelihood.

Built in the boom of the fifties, on the site of the old Abbey works, the new Port Talbot workforce looked forward to a rosy future.

But competition from abroad and the general slump in trade due to the economic crisis is now threatening the workers at the newest steel plants in South Wales, Port Talbot and Llanwern.

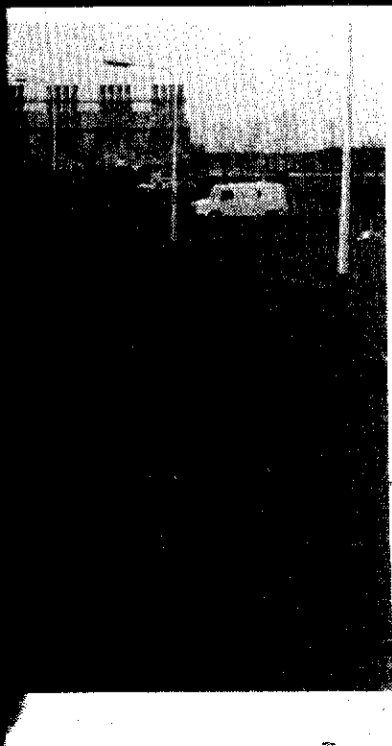
The BSC are considering closing down either all of Llanwern or all of Port Talbot or part of each. There are also suggestions of Trostre and Velindre being hived off to private enterprise.

Wyn Davies has worked in the blast furnace at Port Talbot since he left school:



1936: CYMPARC villagers pray for miners on a stay-down strike.

town fights for its future



By Geoffrey Sheridan

The rank and file must control the strike!

IT'S AN open secret that Bill Sirs, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, is not a happy man. Few union leaders have found themselves at the centre of a national strike with such publicly proclaimed reluctance.

'My members want 20 per cent with no strings attached,' he informed readers of The Times last Friday. 'I would not say it must be X per cent,' Sirs continued. 'I am prepared to do all I can to help the industry in its restructuring.'

And how far is the leader of moderation prepared to go? 'Our position has been very realistic. We offered considerable concessions they [BSC] have been wanting for years — multi-union bargaining at plant level.'

'I am not here to defeat the government,' Bill Sirs assured The

Times readers. He did not say that if the steelworkers take their lead from him they can expect to be defeated by the government, but the message was there plainly enough.

This was at the eleventh-hour negotiations held at the ISTC executive's insistence when the membership was already laying siege to the steel plants, stockholders, and docks.

The generous demand of the ISTC leadership was for 8 per cent all round and five per cent to be based on productivity [job loss] deals. 'We

were absolutely amazed when it was rejected,' Sirs commented. After all those years of the ISTC leaders' concession after concession, the rotten steel bosses wouldn't pull Sirs' chestnuts from the fire.

The TUC leadership has shown similar enthusiasm for the strike. Len Murray put himself at the head of Sirs' desperate 'peace' efforts. With the failure of these talks, Murray has joined the ISTC executive in trying to weaken the effective picketing by circulating the TUC's code.

The record, past and present, of the steel union leaders points to one conclusion — that steelworkers should run their strike democratically through the formation of a national strike committee.

It is the strike committees which have mushroomed around the country which are leading the strike in the regions. Picketing, mass meetings, advice on social security benefits, and general information on the strike have all come through these bodies.

If strike committees do it locally,

they can do it nationally.

For the first time in the history of the steel unions, local representatives were consulted during the process of national negotiations. This was a tiny step forward.

But it was the executive council of the ISTC which called the strike in consultation with the National Union of Blastfurnacemen, and the strike could be called off in the same way.

Representative from each local strike committee should be sent to a national strike committee convened by the executive, or by a local strike committee if the executive refuses.

Action should be coordinated between areas and with other unions to make the strike 100 per cent effective.

A national body of those directly engaged in the struggle should decide whether the strike continues, whether it stops, and whether its objectives have been won — not Bill Sirs.

THE UNION WITH A BUILT-IN AUTOOCRACY

By Patrick Sikorski

PRESIDING over a loss of 10,000 jobs every year for 14 years is the record of the leadership of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

Formerly BISAKTA (British Iron and Steel and Kindred Trades Association), the union was created in 1919 from the amalgamation of 14 or so craft unions.

The lack of any notable tradition of militancy in steel was, in large part, due to the 'contract system' which dominated the industry a century ago.

Leading workers in the various processes were paid a lump sum by the employers on a tonnage basis. These workers distributed the money through their own gang. Steel worker was set against steel worker.

Although this type of sub-contracting has disappeared, the feature of seniority on the job and in the union hierarchy has persisted.

Rule book

Workers rise to more responsible jobs through experience and every job has its own rate. For example, in the mid-Sixties, the workers at the Port Talbot works were organised into 1300 different job categories and virtually every one had its own wage scale. Under these conditions trade union solidarity does not emerge easily.

The rule book of the union is autocratic. Under rule 4, clause 3, 'no member, branch or official shall have the power to order to sanction any strike or stoppage of work or any act that might be deemed unfair industrial practice.'

Just in case anyone tries to do just that, rule 4, clause 15 empowers the Executive Council to 'suspend, terminate or close down any branch or branches where it shall, in its absolute discretion, consider that (it) shall be necessary or expedient...'

Unaccountable

The latter rule was widely used in the South Wales area in the 1920s when branches supporting the Minority Movement, the national trade union opposition, were



JOHN HODGE. President of the old British Steelworkers Union. One time minister in Lloyd George's cabinet.



Annual Delegate Conference of ISTC in 1978. Still not a policy-making body.

Programme for reform

A BIG step towards the reform of the ISTC seemed on the cards in 1978.

At that year's delegate conference a motion was passed to amend the structures of the union to allow the executive council to reflect accurately the membership's interests through divisional representation.

A year afterwards no action was forthcoming. Activists and officials in the union from South Yorkshire, Wales, and Scunthorpe set up the Liaison Committee for Constitutional Reform.

The reforms the committee is proposing are of burning concern to all ISTC members. The abolition of trades sections, one of the heritages of the union's craft history, and their replacement by divisional representation are top of the committee's priorities.

In addition, they propose that candidates for executive council office should set out a manifesto for the members to decide on.

Other reforms aim to transfer control to the membership. So the committee proposes that the executive council should cease to be the sole policy-making body of the union and that the annual delegate conference should be sovereign; that there should be a lay president, and that other full time officials should be elected.

A pamphlet setting out these proposals can be obtained from the secretary of the Liaison Committee for Constitutional Reform: Brian Molyneux, 16 Saint Mary's Road, Darfield, Barnsley.

dissolved and militants expelled.

Today the leadership of the union is still one of the most unaccountable in the trade union movement. The first ever national conference of the

ISTC was held in 1976.

The development of any rank and file leadership through shop stewards committees has been stunted by the immediate referral of all but the

smallest disputes to joint arbitration machinery.

'Socialisation'

The old BISAKTA leadership was responsible for this joint union/management approach to all problems in the industry. From the '30s onwards its 'socialisation' policy and nationalisation plans contained detailed administrative plans for running the industry under joint management-union-government control. In the eyes of the trade union leadership, the interests of BISAKTA members and the employers coincided.

The Green Book signed by the unions in 1969-70 empowered the British Steel Corporation to run down the labour force in other ways than through direct closure. Management was able to carry through, in consultation with the union, a vast range of changes in working practices, demarcation and grading.

One example of a full scale deal was that at the Steel Company of

Wales (now Port Talbot) between 1964-69.

Over a five year period some 5485 workers were affected by 'de-manning', a further 3431 by changes in working practices and 2054 as a result of technical change.

Allowing for retirement and deaths, the hard redundancy figure over the period was just under 3,000 workers.

In January 1976 the Labour government proposed a £179 million cut in the wage bill of the industry at the price of 40,000 jobs. Unofficial strikes at Port Talbot and other South Wales mills, with overtime bans in Sheffield and elsewhere, were able to turn back the frontal assault on redundancy and guaranteed weekend working.

But after a three week strike the TUC Steel Industry Consultative Committee signed an agreement with the employers which called for 9,300 redundancies in the South Wales mills by 1978.

The ISTC South Wales organiser Stan Biddiscombe said: 'I do not think there will be a violent reaction amongst the men. Most of them are reconciled to the fact that jobs must go although it still has to be negotiated on a local basis.'

In September last year Bill Sirs was quoted on the proposed Corby closure: 'We are not talking about redundancies, but if it was a question of restructuring that would reduce costs, we would be prepared to look at that.'

Warning

Despite the magnificent mass demonstration by 10,000 workers in the town on 1 November, Sirs went on to betray his own members and the whole of that steel town.

Last week as he was putting the finishing touches to the pay strike, the union signed a £30 million severance deal for 5,500 workers.

The whole history of the leadership of the steel unions is one of selling jobs for productivity deals. Strikers should be warned.

SUPPORT THE STEEL STRIKE

Clyde strike leader calls for TUC action

PAT McKenna, secretary of the ISTC staff branch at the Clydesdale steel works and a member of the union's national negotiating committee, called last Thursday for the TUC to stop running around arbitrating between unions and management in the steel strike and to dramatically increase its support for the steel workers.

'Everyone who works with steel should be called out, whether they're in the private or public sector,' McKenna said. 'Steel is used in cars and engineering — they've all got to come out. We need an integrated strike.'

Speaking in the Scottish strike headquarters at Motherwell he said that every steel worker was convinced that it was the Tories who were forcing the BSC's hand.

In McKenna's opinion the original 2 per cent offer had been better in a sense than the present one, which would involve the loss of the guaranteed working week.

'Due to the nature of the industry, demand for steel varies considerably. Some weeks you only get orders worth 2 or 3 days' work. The guaranteed week which the corporation now wants to abolish is worth 13 per cent of the weekly wage on average.'

McKenna challenged the figures that BSC is using to justify the closures. 'We don't operate at a loss,' he argued. 'We have to pay back £200m a year in interest payments to the banks. This figure shouldn't be included in the accounting.'

Dockers

John Hamilton, another member of the Clyde strike committee and an ISTC branch secretary at Ravenscraig, had been to Grangemouth docks that morning to see the dockers. Rumours had been circulating that the corporation was attempting to re-import its steel via Grangemouth and Leith from Rotterdam, after having exported it in the run-up to the strike.

According to the reports, the steel was being imported either as European steel or, once on the road, as privately-produced British steel.



SCAB steel protection — a cop warns a picket outside a steel stockholders' yard in Wishaw

The dockers were solidly behind the strike and no steel would be moving out of Grangemouth or Leith from then on.

The picketing was now concentrating on the steel stockholders.

At Steel Stockholders (Birmingham) Ltd in Wishaw last Saturday, boards with nails protruding and broken glass were found in the roadway by the yard. A hundred pickets confronted lorry drivers who had been threatened with the sack if they didn't smash through the pickets.

The lorries were stopped while talks were held between ISTC officials and the manager of

the yard, who eventually agreed to halt the movement of all steel. But the agreement was broken as soon as the mass picket was withdrawn. 'There will be no more agreements,' said John Hamilton.

GKN Stockholders in Rutherglen is being picketed on a 24-hour basis. Pickets told Socialist Challenge that they had turned back all the lorries attempting to enter the yard, and stopped four lorries from leaving it.

The confrontation had developed first thing in the morning as the four lorries formed a convoy with headlights blazing and approached

the line. The 80-strong picket line stood firm against the lorries, all driven by non-union 'cowboys'. The manager of the yard finally ordered the lorries back into the sheds.

Thatcher, the pickets said, had reckoned the steel workers would be a soft option, but she was finding out differently. 'Villiers is Thatcher's puppet. We've got to get rid of this government, just like the miners did with Heath.'

Army

One picket said: 'The Tories got elected and immediately handed massive pay rises to the police and the army. Then workers in steel are offered an insulting 2 per cent as well as 52,000 redundancies. It's the same with BL. They've got to go. Every steel worker in BSC and in the private sector has to come out.'

Workers on the Rutherglen picket came from three plants in the area. Only one, the massive fully-integrated plant at Ravenscraig, is certain of remaining open under BSC's closure plan. Hallside is definitely closing at the end of March with a loss of 600 jobs.

The strikers on the picket line had already received their redundancy notices. 'We're trade unionists. It's a matter of solidarity. They've got to learn they can't push us around anymore.'

The other plant, Clydesbridge, was not yet definitely up for closure but is to be reviewed this month. The strikers considered that they wouldn't win on pay or jobs without the support of workers in the rest of industry who used steel.

Pat Shevlin, spokesperson for the Scottish steel workers' strike committee, is insistent that the strike should be extended to the private steel companies.

'In our opinion,' he says, 'these factories have everything to do with our dispute. We are not simply on strike for the steel workers but for every British worker whose pay claim is in the pipe line.'

'If the government and BSC grind us into the ground every other settlement will suffer.'

Middlesbrough

Steelworkers in Cleveland will be among those taking part in an anti-cuts demonstration in Middlesbrough on 9 February.

The protest has been backed by the TUC's Northern Regional Council and will bring together council workers, nurses, clothing workers, and the Fire Brigades Unions, as well as the steel strikers.

The steel strike itself hotbed up last week in Middlesbrough when management at steel stockists Hadfield and Partners called in the police in an attempt to intimidate pickets.

The pickets had been nearly run down by a lorry leaving the factory carrying scab steel. When the pickets attempted to talk to other lorry drivers Hadfield's general manager John Crow called in the cops.

But even the police were a little aggrieved at being summoned by Crow. 'The pickets were behaving quite reasonably,' commented a police officer.

Corby

WITHIN the past few days, picketing the steel plant in Corby has become redundant. Members of the Engineering Union employed at the plant were the last to join the strike, at the beginning of this week, and now nothing moves in or out.

The main work of the strike committee is despatching flying pickets. On Monday, for example, a couple of car-loads went off to the docks at King's Lynn, where dockers have agreed that if a 24-hour picket is maintained no steel will pass the gates.

Private steel stockholders are a major target, and on Monday 74 pickets from Corby went to John Lee in Grantham, Lines, where their assistance was requested by women strikers. Only six lorries managed to leave the plant, instead of the usual 40.

'Morale has improved a great deal,' says Alisdair Sinclair, an ISTC

member at the Corby plant, which is now virtually certain to close.

'There is a lack of experience. When 84 of us went on a flying picket to Birmingham last week, I was the only one who had been on a picket line before. But that's rapidly changing, and more and more people are saying: "Christ, they're asking us to give up our jobs and they want to cut our pay".'

Lanarkshire

DETERMINED picketing has closed down a steel stockists at Wishaw, Lanarkshire. Management at the company, Steel Stockists Ltd, agreed on Wednesday of last week to shut their depot gates for a month after a 100-strong picket line had prevented a number of lorries from entering the works.

Because such picketing has been

Scunthorpe

THE strike committee in Scunthorpe jointly organised by ISTC, the Blastfurnacemen's Union, and the General and Municipal Workers, is determined that no steel will move on Humberside. A thousand flying pickets are in operation around the clock at the ports of Goole and Immingham, and there are pickets outside the gates of 22 private steel stockholders in the area.

Scunthorpe, like Shotton, Corby and Consett, is a one-industry town and already local traders say sales of food have dropped by 20 per cent. Before the strike there was little enthusiasm for action, but now attitudes among the 18,000 steel workers and their families are hardening. They are prepared for a long dispute.

'I have never known trade unionists in this area anxious to picket before,' says the ISTC joint committee chairperson Stan Sheridan. 'They are beginning to realise that their quarrel is not with British Steel but with the government.'

The dockers at Immingham are unloading steel but, with the support of railworkers, are refusing to let any steel leave the port. At Hull, on the other side of the Humber, the dockers are refusing to unload any steel cargoes. In Scunthorpe the Steel Action Committee, formed to fight BSC's closure plans, is busy taking soup to the picket lines.

BSC has said that Scunthorpe is to lose 4,500 jobs by August, but the figure is expected to be around 6,000 — a third of the workforce. 'If the men take their redundancy what work will there be for my sons when they leave school?' asks Penny Jackson, an action committee leader who is married to a steel worker. If the closures go ahead Scunthorpe will be decimated. The Labour Council is vainly seeking to attract new industry to this isolated spot on the north Lincolnshire plain.

This Saturday the local action committee is organising a regional conference on the steel struggle to mobilise opinion against the closures.

seen to be effective it has been labeled 'secondary' by the head of the Scottish Confederation of British Industry, John Davidson.

Davidson described the closure of the Wishaw stockists as 'industrial anarchy in the extreme', and demanded that the Tories' anti-union legislation be introduced at once.

Such frenzied attitudes are further proof of how important 'secondary' picketing is, and how the struggle in steel is closely linked with the battle against the threatened laws of Tory Employment Secretary, James Prior.

One-day strike against Tories

THE South Yorkshire Association of Trades Councils has set in motion a 24-hour local general strike on 18

February against government policies.

All the main unions in the South Yorkshire area — including the 66,000-strong NUM and the AUEW — are presently meeting to support the call and finalise preparations.

The Yorkshire Campaign Committee, which mobilised impressive support for the 28 November national anti-cuts demonstration, has begun a programme of factory gate meetings, motorcades, and public meetings to ensure a massive turn out on 18 February.

Summing up the mood of the Yorkshire labour movement, councillor Roy Thwaites, leader of the South Yorkshire county council, remarked: 'I am delighted that the trade union movement here has taken the lead in the fight, not just against the spending cuts but against the government's economic and industrial policies as a whole.'

The meeting of the Yorkshire Association of Trades Councils earlier this month expressed disgust at the TUC's inactivity on this front, particularly its delay in leaving a national day of action against the cuts until 14 May.

Euro MP Dick Caborn commented: 'A day of action on 14 May will not help Labour councils which are fighting the cuts. The TUC should be leading from the front not from behind.'

Trade unionists from other parts of the country have decided that they cannot wait for the TUC to act. The Manchester confederation of engineering shop stewards has called for a day of action against the cuts and unemployment on 18 February. So, too, has Manchester Trades Council. Tony Benn and Derek Robinson will be speaking at a rally to be held on the day of action.

Trade unions and Labour Party branches throughout the country should be pulling out the stops to support the strike calls and resolutions should be flooding in to the TUC demanding that they extend this action.

Lancaster anti-cuts demo

By Roger Smith

'STOP the cuts, defend our unions' is the slogan adopted by Lancaster and Morecambe Action Committee for a demonstration and rally against the Tories on 19 January. Support for this protest has come from the trades council, student unions, the local Labour Party executive and left-wing organisations.

Speakers at the rally will include Len Brindle, one of the victimised shop stewards at BL, and John Deason, national secretary of the Right to Work Campaign.

The demonstration in Lancaster next Saturday begins at 11am in Fenton Street, behind the GPO. Bring banners and placards. Further details from Roger Smith, tel. 0468 21474.

Bristol teachers' action

By Mike Eaude

TEACHERS at three schools in Avon are refusing to implement the timetable for the new term. Avon's Tory-controlled county council, a front runner in education cuts, has reorganised school timetables to assimilate the effects of job loss.

The Avon division action committee, officially representing NUT members in the area, has called a strike for 16 January. Of the 27 schools where teachers voted by a two-third majority to take strike action in a ballot held last November, a third will be called out for three days each week.

The Avon action committee has also sent a motion to the NUT executive calling for solidarity action. For strike action to be officially approved by the union, it has to be endorsed by the NUT's national action committee. So far no date has been set for this body to meet.

Pressure needs to be put on the national action committee to make the Avon strike official.

IRELAND

A pantomime with no good jokes

By Geoff Bell

THE PANTOMIME season started a bit late in Belfast, but with the opening last week of Humphrey Atkins' constitutional conference it is now under full swing.

As a curtain raiser to the conference, on 3 January Atkins joked that the British Army in the North of Ireland contained 'the best trained and most dedicated soldiers of any Army in the world'. Next day the following article appeared in the Daily Telegraph. Here it is, believe it or not, without a word changed:

'The Army ambush in Ulster on New Year's Eve, in which an officer and young soldier were shot dead by their own comrades, was carried out "properly and very-effectively" the men's commanding officer said yesterday.

"We are operating in a terrorist situation", said Lt-Col Colin Thomson, CO of the 2 Bn, Parachute Regt. "It is every bit as hazardous and difficult as Palestine, Malaya, Cyprus or any other counter-insurgency operation."

Professional

'Harsh as it may sound, said Col Thomson, the ambush was extremely professional and successful. It had achieved what it had been set up to do.

"It was not a question of people running around the place shooting at each other. It was a controlled action and the only thing that was wrong was in the question of mistaken identity."

'The battalion now has the unenviable record of collecting the most casualties of any unit during a tour of Northern Ireland since the troubles started more than ten years ago.' Boom, boom! Atkins followed this up by an old, but nonetheless popular joke among members of his profession. 'Of course the IRA are not beaten yet. We all know that. But they can be and we all know that.'

The only thing Humphrey didn't know was how. Never mind, on to the conference itself at which the cast was enlarged to include Ian Paisley of the Democratic (a joke in itself) Unionist Party, John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labour Party and Oliver Napier of the Alliance Party. Napier and Alliance have been figures of fun in the North of Ireland for some time, but like coconuts in a fairground every time they get knocked down the stall-owner — who goes under the grand title of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland — keeps putting them back on their stand again.

Lubrication

Still, Alliance are always good for an easy jibe and perhaps the best crack came from an anonymous participant at the conference who said

Belfast constitutional conference—

WE ARE IN HERE FOR YOU, YOU ARE OUT THERE FOR US



SMASH THE H BLOCKS

that the party was 'just lubrication'. But as the conference began it seemed that it required more than Alliance to make the affair run smoothly. The cynics got an early dig when Atkins opened the talks in front of the lights of the TV cameras by

complaining, 'We're getting a bit hot here'. At which a TV camera operator, being no respecter of important persons, shouted the reply: 'Don't worry it will get hotter for you yet.'

The jokes came thick and fast

after that. Harold McCusker got things underway by protesting that no Union Jack was flying on the top of Stormont Buildings, in which the conference was meeting. The amusing aspect of this protest was that McCusker is a member of the Official

Unionist Party which is boycotting the conference. Accordingly it was a bit cheeky of him to complain that the flag of the United Kingdom and British Commonwealth had adopted the same attitude.

Rude gestures

Meanwhile inside the conference itself an SDLP delegation member (sic) walked into the discussions with his fly open. Perhaps this was involved in a second protest from Harold McCusker who reported that a 'rude gesture' had been made at him from a window in the conference room.

But then down to business and the cheerful admission from David Wyatt, one of Atkins' officials, that no agenda had been fixed for the conference. This was because the SDLP and DUP could not agree on what should be discussed. The problem was Paisley's insistence that no mention should be made of either power sharing or an Irish dimension.

No agreement

Arguing that the Irish national question was irrelevant was Paisley's attempt to win the 'joke of the conference' award, but at least he showed some seriousness when he said: 'As an Ulsterman, I don't think they (the British) understand Northern Ireland: they have made a mess of it. Therefore, it would be better for Ulstermen to shape what they want'.

The first day of the conference ended with no agreement on what should be discussed and when the same happened on the second day it seemed that the show was in for a very short run indeed.

But then Humphrey Atkins made a bold attempt to turn the pantomime into a farce by suggesting that a second conference should be organised to discuss things which people wouldn't agree to discuss at the first conference. Hardly a diplomatic stroke of genius, but again good for a laugh. Atkins' lack of seriousness was underlined by his comment, 'if we can't find agreement then never mind'.

Spoil-sport

The only spoil-sport in these whole proceedings was Gerry Adams, vice president of Sinn Fein. Gerry had been arrested and held for a couple of days on the eve of the conference so perhaps he found it difficult to sustain his usual sense of humour. Anyway, Adams said that the talks were 'a diversion'.

Now Adams knows that, Paisley knows, Atkins knows and Hume knows. But for Gerry to tell the world is a bit like giving away the ending of a good joke. But then again, maybe the joke wasn't so good after all.

Ireland—assessing the prospects

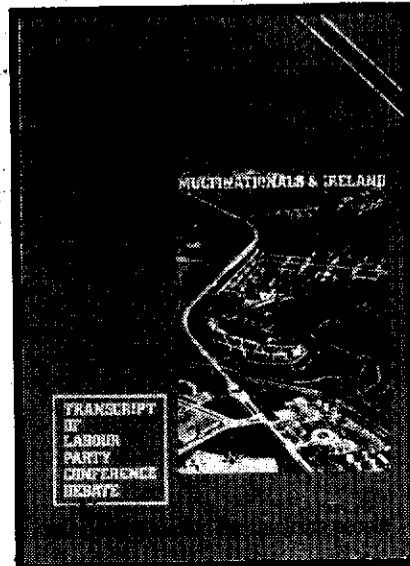
THE CURRENT issue of Ireland Socialist Review (no 6, winter 1979/80) features two major articles on the debate on Ireland at the 1979 Labour Party conference, and on the position of Ireland in the world economy.

In Ireland and the world economy Marie Smith examines the reasons for the relatively high rates of economic growth experienced in Ireland over the last three decades. She asks if this can be accounted for through government policies of regional aid to industry which might have encouraged private capital investment.

She argues the greater importance of low wages and abundance of labour as the main factors attracting multinational capital to Ireland.

The consequences of this for an anti-capitalist strategy for the Irish working class are drawn out in detail and the importance of the unresolved national question to such a strategy is clearly stated.

The second feature article analyses the debate on Ireland which



took place at the 1979 Labour Party conference in Brighton. Written by Don Flynn, one of the delegates who

participated in that debate, the article describes the background pressure and lobbying that took place to force Ireland onto the conference agenda.

Flynn assesses the prospects for continuing the battle to get Ireland raised in the Labour Party and concludes that the current turn to the left among constituency party activists provides the best opportunity for building a 'Troops Out' current for a decade.

This discussion of the Labour Party also includes a full transcript of the debate itself, from the speeches of the 'Troops Out' supporters to the replies from the National Executive Committee.

Ireland Socialist Review no 6 can be obtained from most left bookshops or by post from: ISR, 60 Loughborough Road, London SW9, price 50p, including postage. A subscription for 4 issues of the Review costs £2; cheques made payable to Ireland Socialist Review.

WHAT'S LEFT

ENTRIES are 5p a word; semi-display £2 a column inch. Deadline: 5pm Friday before publication. All payments in advance.

BOOKS for Southern Africa comrades. Money desperately needed for this vital field of internationalist activity or any books you can spare. To 'Books for Southern Africa', Box 102, Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1.

SOUTHERN Africa. The Imprisoned Society public rally. Just arrived in London are Alex Mumbaris, Tim Jenkin and Stephen Lee the three South African political prisoners who escaped last month from Pretoria's top security prison made headline news. Monday 21 Jan, 7.30pm Conway Hall, WC1.

MARCH for abortion rights in Newcastle: stop the anti-abortion Corrie Bill. 2 February, Newcastle, 2pm. Organised by NAC, supported by Northern Region TUC.

'THE PATRIOT GAME': a film of Irish struggle, shown by NW London TOM. 24 January, 8pm at White Horse Pub, Church Rd, Willesden. Nearest tube Neasden, 288 and 8 buses.

MANCHESTER Hands Off Ireland! Public meeting: Remember Bloody Sunday! Milton Hall, Deansgate, Thur 24 Jan, 7.30pm.

TYNESIDE Socialist Centre and Newcastle North CLP. Day school on the Labour Left and the Struggle for Socialism. Speakers include Stuart Holland MP, Alan Freeman (IMG), Duncan Hallas (SWP), Audrey Wise, Robin Blackburn, Jeff Price. Sat 26 Jan, Quaker Meeting House, Jesmond, Newcastle. 10am-5.30pm.

WEST LONDON NAC. Public meeting to discuss what to do about 3rd reading of Corrie Bill. Wed 23 Jan, 8pm, The Tabernacle, Powis Sq, W11.

'WOMENS LIBERATION and the Socialist Revolution' — a day school organised by Hemel Hempstead IMG. Sat 2 Feb, Chaulden Hall, Long Chaulden, Hemel Hempstead. Starts 11am; social (bar/band/disco) starts 8pm. Admission £1.50 for whole day, £1 for special only.

RED LADDER Theatre is a socialist/feminist collective, which tours Yorkshire and the North of England. We need a second administrator to start as soon as possible to help with the booking and organisation of performances. Please write giving full details of relevant experience to Red Ladder Theatre, Cobden Avenue, Leeds 12. Tel 0532 792228/9. Closing date 31 Jan 1980.

OXFORD NAC: Labour movement conference against Corrie. 19 Jan, 1.30-6pm, OCCR Hall, Princes St, off Cowley Rd, Oxford. For more information tel. 0865 47624.

LONDON MEETING. Remember Bloody Sunday! Victory to the Irish People! In support of the Provisional Sinn Fein Bloody Sunday Commemoration March in Birmingham, 27 January. Speaker from Hands Off Ireland! Other speakers invited. Mon 21 Jan, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1. 7.30pm, entrance 20p.

RARGIG on Fri 18 Jan at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet St, London WC1. Bands — the Mighty Tubes and the Vincent Unit. 8pm.

CONGRATULATIONS to Liz and Dominique on the birth of their second son. From friends and members of Southampton IMG.

The mercenaries who run Rhodesia

THE British Governor, Lord Soames, wields no authority in 90 per cent of Southern Rhodesia. This is the area which continues to be ruled by martial law. Here another group of Britons hold the power — the several thousand mercenaries serving as regulars in the Rhodesian army.

Although the security forces are in theory no longer 'operational' against the Patriotic Front, they still retain their political role as military governors. In addition, Soames has now given them the task of seeking out 'ceasefire violators'. The mercenaries play a disproportionately large part in the success of these operations.

Thousands

Estimates of the numbers run as high as 15,000. This is probably a considerable exaggeration, but they can undoubtedly be counted in thousands. As long ago as 1976 Major Nick Lamprecht, in charge of mercenary recruitment, reckoned that foreigners made up half the applications to join the Rhodesian army.

The number of local whites liable to conscription has dwindled because of emigration. One solution adopted by the authorities was to introduce conscription of blacks. This was politically useful because it allowed the army to present itself (quite dishonestly) as an African force defending the black government of Bishop Muzorewa. But militarily the black draft had two drawbacks.

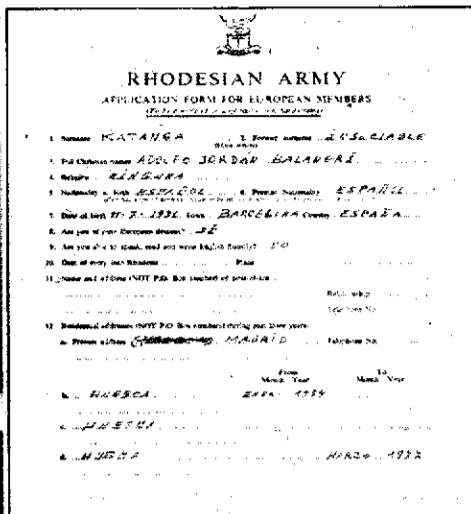
First, only a tiny proportion of those called up responded. Out of the first intake of blacks in 1978, only 300 out of 1,500 reported for duty. The authorities have refused to release subsequent figures.

Secondly, black troops were not considered wholly reliable in a bush war against the Patriotic Front. In military communications it was the all-white Rhodesia Light Infantry which claimed over half the 'kills', and that left out of account the activities of the various elite counter-insurgency units.

SAS

This is where the mercenaries fit in. They come from all over — France, West Germany, Israel, Portugal, Spain and Scandinavia. But the largest contingents are from the United States, South Africa, Britain and the white Commonwealth.

Since the trial of British and American mercenaries in Angola in



1976 the sort of person who is attracted has become well known: criminal psychopaths, military veterans or both. Combat in Vietnam, Oman or Ireland is useful experience for an army fighting a similar counter-insurgency war. The Rhodesian SAS has been able to attract a good flow of recruits from its more famous British counterpart.

Racialists

Often the Rhodesian mercenaries are the very same people who played such a brutal role in Angola. One such is Peter McAleese, the former British SAS sergeant who was second-in-command of the British mercenaries in Angola and now holds the same rank in the Rhodesian SAS. The recruiters are the same too — men like David Bufkin in the US and Leslie Aspin in Britain.

In an interview in *Soldier of Fortune* Major Lamprecht has explained why foreigners join up: 'Rhodesia has many things to offer such as good Rhodesian beer, a friendly populace, and what I would describe as a free and easy, unhurried way of life, lots of wide open spaces.'

But most mercenaries have a rather more specific motive. According to one of them, Frank Sweeney, 'Most of them, like myself, are racialists. One doesn't join the

Rhodesian army because he wants to make a lot of money.'

Mercenaries in Rhodesia are employed as ordinary soldiers, which is why they make so little money (as well as making it so difficult to estimate their numbers). This is important because it weeds out the half-hearted and the ideologically uncommitted who made the mercenary operation in Angola such a military disaster.

As well as their role in the SAS there is evidence that mercenaries are assigned to the notorious Selous Scouts. Captain Selous has spoken of serving with French, English, South African and American mercenaries. US recruits have been used as mercenaries being assigned to a unit where they put themselves black, speak the language, and actually filter into the terrorists' camps — the precise methods used by the Scouts.

Liaison

Mercenary recruitment is one of the ways Western governments have connived in keeping the white regime in power. Bufkin received CIA money and so did the British recruiters. Leslie Aspin claims they had a direct liaison with the US Embassy in London.

By Richard Carver

John Banks, the leading British recruiter for Angola, maintained under oath that he had a three-year contract with Inspector Ray Tucker of the Special Branch. This is how he was able to get his men through Heathrow with so little trouble.

Illegal

Banks' contacts went right to the top. Early in 1978 he and Aspin had a meeting at the House of Commons with John Davies, the Tory Shadow Foreign Secretary, Julian Amery, leader of the pro-Rhodesia lobby, and William Shelton, another right-wing Tory.

Under the 1870 Foreign Enlistment Act, mercenary recruitment in Britain is illegal. The Angolan fiasco showed that the law was not working, so the Labour government set up a parliamentary committee under Lord Diplock to investigate its workings.

Diplock's recommendation was that mercenary recruitment should be decriminalised because the existing law was an infringement of personal freedom (the mercenary's, not his victim's!)

Diplock also explained that in the case of Rhodesia the 1870 Act was irrelevant. 'The Act would have no application to service in the army or air force of the regime in Southern Rhodesia, since this still remains, de jure, a Crown colony. Yet this regime was a rebel force against the Crown, an offence which can still technically carry the death penalty.'

'Kith and kin'

Thus large sections of the British state and political establishment simply defined their responsibilities as to help their 'kith and kin' in the Rhodesian army and mercenaries. It was a matter of loyalty, not of morality. It was a matter of loyalty, not of morality. It was a matter of loyalty, not of morality.

Yet that same British army which directly or indirectly trained the bulk of the Rhodesian security forces now poses as a neutral arbiter monitoring the ceasefire. Out of a Commonwealth force of about a thousand, only 60 come from Fiji and Kenya. The rest are from Britain, Australia and New Zealand — the very countries which provide the largest number of mercenaries. Guess whose side they'll be on when it comes to the crunch?

By Geoff Hunt in Nigeria

South Africa bombs Angola

THE South African racist government has begun systematic aggression against Angola in retaliation for its support for SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement.

Last month I interviewed Manuel Pedro Pacavira, the Angolan Minister for Agriculture, while he was on a brief stop-over to appeal for Nigerian support. He gave a precise list of South African acts of aggression in the three month period September-November, following a peak of violence in July when up to 1,000 Angolans lost their lives and \$60 million of property was destroyed:

Aerial violations 53; land violations 6; bombings 7; attacks by land 5; aerial drops 10; laying of mines 14; civilian deaths 84; Angolan army deaths 12; civilian wounded 168; Angolan army wounded 8; stolen cattle 56; vehicles destroyed 7.

Pacavira told me: The present situation in Angola is one of constant and systematic aggression from South Africa. The terrorist actions which have been

carried out by UNITA, Savimbi's puppet organisation, are fully supported by the racist regime. There has been great loss of life and damage to property, especially in the provinces of Cuando Cubango, Cunene, Huila and Mocamedes.

Children

There have been brutal attacks on the civilian population and entire villages have been bombed and terrorised to force the people to flee. The racists during these raids always carry off our cattle to our people, causing great hardship to our people. Thousands of cattle have been lost in this way.

South African aeroplanes (Mirage) have even attacked schools and recently bombed a school killing dozens of Angolan children. They carried out a particularly vicious attack on Lubango, one of our most important towns in southern Angola, totally destroying a furniture factory and killing and wounding many.

Recently, two of our most important road and rail links, between the provinces of Mocamedes and Huila, were destroyed. Also destroyed in the latest action were five bridges.

All the reconstruction we shall have to undertake will take a lot of our time and money. The railway has already been rebuilt and traffic is now back to normal.

South Africa has recently been dropping paratroopers near some of our fishing villages in the south and these have laid mines on roads in the area. The South African action appears to be increasing, with the use of armoured cars, aeroplanes, helicopters, ground troops and mines.

Reconstruction

Of course, the Angolan people and their armed forces (FAPLA) have responded vigorously to these attacks, and have succeeded in destroying some of their aircraft and causing loss of life and material

damage to the South Africans. But they persist and retaliate even more brutally.

Defensive

Naturally, their objective is the destabilisation of our economic life; they want to divert our attention away from our other problems — the problems of national reconstruction in the wake of the Portuguese colonialist war. Their attacks force us into constant defensive action. Also, they want to discourage us in the material and moral support we give to SWAPO.

Again, their objectives transcend these immediate ones; SWAPO and the MPLA are not their sole enemies, they know very well that the whole of Africa is their enemy. Therefore they want to contain the opposition of Africa to imperialism and are trying to create difficulties across the entire continent. In every way they wish to thwart the economic development of Africa to a real and complete independence.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

THE Soviet offensive in Afghanistan 'is an aid to the oppressed in their battles against imperialist domination, not only in Afghanistan, but also in neighbouring Iran and throughout the entire region and the colonial and semi-colonial world. It is a sharp blow to imperialism's efforts to hold back the world revolution.'

This is Ernest Harsch's view in the latest issue of the weekly Intercontinental Press/Inprecor [Vol 18, No 1]. Single copies cost 30p plus 10p p&p, but subscriptions work out much cheaper at £11 for one year (48 issues), £6 for six months (24 issues), or £3 for an introductory offer of 10 issues. Please make out cheques POs to 'Intercontinental Press' and send to: IP/1, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

Support the steel workers — Kick out the Tories
A series of meetings

BIRMINGHAM: Thurs 24 Jan, 7.30pm, Dugan Civic Hall, Selly Oak. Topic: 'The Tories'.

LIVERPOOL: Thurs 24 Jan, 7.30pm, Liverpool 7th St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

MANCHESTER: Thurs 24 Jan, 7.30pm, Manchester 22 St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

PORT TALBOT SWANSEA: Mon 29 Jan, 7.30pm, Swansea 4th St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

ABERDEEN: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Aberdeen 10th St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

BATH: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Bath 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

BRADFORD: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Bradford 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

BIRMINGHAM: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Birmingham 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

BRIGHTON: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Brighton 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

BRISTOL: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Bristol 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

COVENTRY: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Coventry 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

DUNDEE: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Dundee 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

HACKNEY: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Hackney 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

HUDDERSFIELD: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Huddersfield 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

LAMBETH: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Lambeth 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

SWINDON: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Swindon 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

TEESIDE: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Teeside 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

TOWER HAMLETS: Sat 20 Jan, 7.30pm, Tower Hamlets 1st St. Topic: 'The Tories'.

STRIKE against Corrie! 5 February mass lobby of parliament, Central Hall, 2pm. 8 February: women's assembly, an all women's protest against the third reading of the Corrie Bill, Central Hall, 2pm — bands/theatre/dance/songs/speakers, National Abortion Campaign/Campaign Against Corrie.

Dancing to Carter's tune?

I WAS quite shocked to find Socialist Challenge dancing to the tune of the US State Department ('Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!', 3 January):

There has been a more or less continuous build-up of Soviet troops in Afghanistan ever since the fall of the Daoud regime — recognised by all the bourgeois press, and by Socialist Challenge in its previous articles. Roughly concurrently with the latest coup, Carter & Co have started denouncing the 'massive Soviet build-up' and, after a little hesitation, the British bourgeois press has followed suit in calling this an 'invasion'.

But this is by no means the product of Carter's concern for human rights or (Eric Heffer notwithstanding) for the self-determination of nations. It is a part of the US government's war drive aimed at legitimising an armed intervention in the Middle East to defend the interests of US imperialism.

Whatever the shortcomings of Babrak Karmal — and for that matter, of Leonid Brezhnev — if the forces backed by US imperialism win out, then no way will Afghanistan get national self-determination or revolution. What it will get is feudal reaction and a US puppet government.

What's at stake for workers in the West is not an abstract moral question. It's more imperialist support for the Zia regime in Pakistan, and it's US workers being sent out to die for the interests of US imperialism.

Revolutionaries have to be quite clear which side they're on in this development. We have to fight for:

- * Imperialist hands off Afghanistan!
- * No aid to the Pakistani regime! No aid to the counter-revolution!
- * No sanctions against the USSR! Britain out of NATO!

Tariq Ali's article managed to find itself to the right not only of Socialist Worker but even of the Guardian. Let's have a line of intransigent opposition to imperialist manoeuvres — not a series of moralistic half-truths and concessions.
MIKE MACNAIR (London E9)

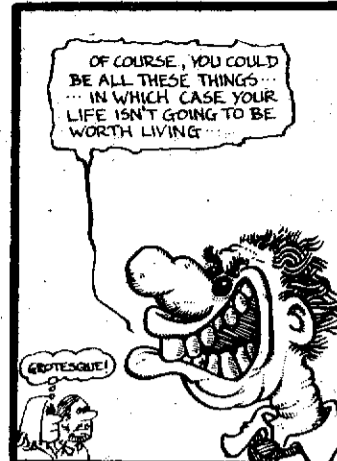
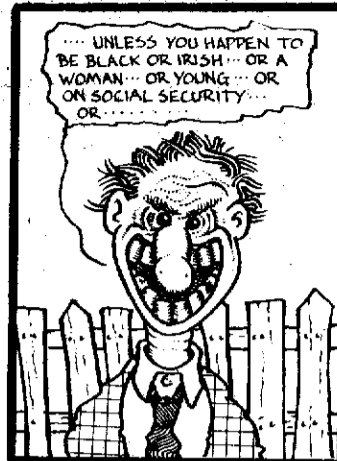
Aid to create working class

THE article on Afghanistan by Tariq Ali (3 January) created more problems than it solved. Terms and concepts are undefined while theories are imposed onto situations that bear little relation to them.

With no working class or bourgeoisie ('only two factories'), what would be the class nature of the 'thoroughgoing revolutionary democracy' proposed? Considering the alleged predominance of tribal land ownership, and given no industrial support, what 'radical social measures' could win 'mass support' for the 'genuine revolution'?

To understand the relationship between the situation in Afghanistan and the international struggle for socialism we must examine its dual character. The 'internal' dynamic of contradictions within the Afghan social formation is mediated by the 'external' dynamic of international class struggle. The national question is an international question. The internal variables are the productive relations while the external variables are imperialism and the workers' state.

The interests of the international proletariat favour a workers' state solution, but for this a working class must exist. The expansion of the proletariat has not and cannot be accomplished through reliance on the imperialist world market. Also there is no internal dynamic towards such an expansion; no viable internal market, agricultural surplus, industry nor capitalist agriculture; and export-led growth is unobtainable. Democracy as a form of class rule would be impractical to impose on the tribal peoples; there is little basis for



democratic revolution.

The only way forward is to create a working class from above with Soviet help. Ali is incorrect to forecast failure. Social transformations need not rely on 'mass revolution' (although socialist transformation does). The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, isolated, faced over-whelming opposition from tribal reaction. Without Soviet intervention the result would have been a dictatorship armed and backed by imperialism, endangering the USSR on its southern border.

The Soviet bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary but its own interests, in survival, occasionally concur with those of the proletariat. This is the case in Afghanistan. Real conflicts of interest are not solved by education, while 'radical social measures' may indeed be applied with force where such conflicts exist.

In not specifying the class nature or dynamics of 'autocratic regimes' versus 'revolutionary democracy', or 'genuine revolution' versus substitutionism, Ali transforms these terms, abstracted from reality, into principles. Using an idealist methodology and attempting to outflank the Soviet bureaucracy he fails to defend the workers' states and ends in joining the imperialist chorus — 'Soviet troops out of Afghanistan'.
PAUL ANDREWS (Lambeth)

Could the Russians succeed?

NOT very long ago, Tariq Ali rightly condoned Vietnamese action in Kampuchea. But he has now condemned Soviet action in Afghanistan (3 January). This is inconsistent.

In the beginning of 1979 the Kampuchean revolution reached a critical stage, and might have collapsed but for the timely Vietnamese assistance for the forces of revolution in that country, which were thereupon able to rid Kampuchea of the tyrannical regime of Pol Pot and counter American and other neo-colonialist and imperialist conspiracies in Indochina. The revolutionary process was at an even more critical stage in Afghanistan when the Russians intervened.

To say that a genuine revolution had not taken place in Afghanistan would be inadmissible. There is the traditional argument about the smallness or absence of a working class as laid down in the Marxist textbook. But where did such an idealist textbook revolution ever take place? In China? In Vietnam? Indeed, in the Soviet Union itself?

In our times the criterion of a genuine revolution might be stated as being, primarily, that the revolution must have emerged from a people's own experience and be true to the gut of their being even while it is in accord with the logic of Marxist theory.

What was required of a genuine revolutionary movement after the overthrow of Daoud in April 1978 was first of all to change the country's feudal condition, and this the administration of Taraki attempted to do as soon as it came to power. Among its first reforms was the halting of the sale of girls. This was a rampant evil, a part of the feudal system in which slavery and serfdom flourished.

To people outside Afghanistan, the steps that Taraki took might seem of little more than passing importance. But it was a revolutionary measure of historical

significance for Afghanistan, where it gave people for the first time a right to a kind of living, and held out promise of fundamental human rights.

Comrade Tariq talks about the 'extremely small' working class and deeply-rooted tribal structure with tribal property rights, making obvious 'the magnitude of the tasks' facing the new leaders. But is that any argument for saying that Afghanistan is not fit for revolution and social progress? Is Tariq being realistic when he complains that the regimes which took over from Daoud were autocratic; does he really think that in the conditions of Afghanistan any measure for democratic procedures as we know them would have made sense?

There is of course truth in his comment that 'genuine revolutions can only succeed with mass support'. This squares with his view that there is need for 'a patient process of educating the masses coupled with a series of radical social measures'. But who will help in putting through such radical social measures?

The Western press and leaders have constantly gloated that Russia has been getting 'bogged down' in Afghanistan. Yet suddenly the West is moving fast to put an end to Russia's intervention, crying out in pious horror and demanding withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The reason is obvious. Imperialists, the Chinese leadership, and their allies and supporters, are frightened that the Russians will succeed where no one else has succeeded before. That the Afghan revolution will succeed and will have a profound effect on that part of the world, where the minorities like the Baluchis, Pakhtuns and the Kurds are waiting to put an end to the tyranny to which they have been subjected for centuries.

That is why we, as revolutionaries, should fight every imperialist action which is directed against the Afghan revolution.
AHMAD SHUJA (London W14)

Clip Corrie's wings

THE CAC Clip Collective, a group of women media workers, are making a cinema commercial to assist the Campaign Against Corrie. The 45 second commercial will be screened in independent cinemas throughout Britain early in the New Year. It's a fast, witty animation aimed at publicising the drastic consequences of the Corrie Bill if it is passed on 8 February.

The women involved are working without payment and production costs are being met by public donation. Money is still needed to strike extra prints. Join the fight and send your donation to: CAC Clip Collective, 2 Chichele Road, London NW2.
CAC CLIP COLLECTIVE

SWP membership

YOUR issue of 3 January contains a letter stating: 'Duncan Hallas has been quoted as admitting that the effective membership of the SWP is about 1,500...'. Quoted by whom, when and where? It would be interesting to know.

Certainly I have never made any such statement. The membership of the SWP in Autumn 1979 was 3,600. This figure was obtained from actual registrations in the branches and, far from being intended to 'mislead militants', was part of the detailed

confidential information on the state of the party given in a document for delegates.

As to 'effective' members, I believe that all our members are effective.
DUNCAN HALLAS (London E2)

Men are part of the problem

YOUR correspondent Tommy Cusack (13 December) seems very hostile to a politics which says that 'men are part of the problem in building socialism'. This phrase summarises the points I was trying to make when I originally wrote to you (8 November).

It is those who perpetuate the oppression of their sisters and brothers who are scabs, not those who challenge them in doing so. Given that, you can't overcome the divisions in the working class created by these different sorts of oppression by pandering to them. In the case of sexism, not only must it be challenged but this must be done by women, because men always have something 'more important' to do.

Now in my view that strategic understanding of what the attitude of socialists should be towards divisions within the working class flows from the opinion that men have a material but not a class interest in oppressing women. To me this is evident from their social power over women, but it is this assertion which aroused comrade Cusack's wrath in the first place.

I didn't intend to carve out a theory around this, and I haven't really got the time, but if anyone is interested they should have a look at Heidi Hartmann's article 'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism' in the summer 1979 edition of *Capital and Class*.

But after the points comrade Cusack made I don't need to worry, because none of them dent the assertion I made. His strongest, most rational point was that to prove a material interest you have to show that there's no alternative to the sexual division of labour.

The trouble is, you don't have to prove that no-one else can do 'women's work' to show a material interest because you are dealing with oppression, not exploitation. With the relation of capital to labour, labour power is the only thing which can create value, hence the relation of exploitation. But Marxism, as Heidi Hartmann explains, is sex and race blind.

Moreover, Marxists, as Hartmann points out, have only analysed the relation of women to capital, not the relation of women to men. The latter is the sphere of this whole debate, so I'm afraid the safe, old categories comrade Cusack is using — Engels not least of them — may just not be applicable.

For example, if men controlled women's sexuality in order to pass on private property to their heirs, how did they get control of that private property? Presumably something in the sphere of early relations between women and men. See what I mean?
SUE LANDAU (London NW3)

Rock Against Thatcher

1980 is Rock Against Racism's year of the RAT. It's the year when we crank up a Rock Against Thatcher campaign and roll the Tories out of

power. The steelworkers' strike is the first major fightback of the '80s against Tory policies, which are also wrecking our health and welfare services and education opportunities.

Organise RAT benefits for the strikers in your area; if there aren't any, do one anyway and send the donations to the 'RAR Steel Workers Strike Fund', c/o Box M, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. Ring RAR on (01) 802 8773 for bands and advice.
ROCK AGAINST RACISM

PTA arrests

THE Christmas issue of Socialist Challenge sent its greetings to the women in Armagh jail, Northern Ireland. At least you made a token gesture but what about the Irish prisoners in English jails at the present time?

There were no Socialist Challenge supporters or sellers to be seen on the pickets organised after 27 Irish people, several of them women with children, were picked up on 12 December under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. There are still seven people — four men and three women — in Brixton awaiting trial. It looks as if the police intend to keep them locked up for weeks before the trial.

Please will you publicise their case and ask your supporters to attend the next picket of Brixton prison, called for 26 January. Meet outside the prison at 10am. Bring banners and placards.
DEBORAH KELLY (London SE14)

IMG attacked

A SHARP attack on the International Marxist Group was made by John Strauther (13 December) in the guise of a demand for the expulsion of the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency from its ranks. According to comrade Strauther, 'This result would then have the welcome effect of removing the chief obstacle to the formation of a unified revolutionary organisation.'

But the effect would be the exact opposite. The political views of the LTT are absolutely within the framework of the politics of the Fourth International. If we are to build a mass party a much greater disparity of views will need to be incorporated in a single organisation. The LTT in Britain, through their action here and internationally, played an important part in furthering the building of such a party by defending the integrity of the IMG and the FI. These comrades have fought loyally for their views inside the IMG and the FI, implacably opposing the splittist course of the majority of the LTT and the Bolshevik Faction.

It is ideas like those defended by comrade Strauther which are the recipe for building a sect. They are not just attacks on the LTT but on the whole IMG, which has the proud record of defending the democratic rights of all minorities which operate within the framework of democratic centralism.
BRIAN GROGAN (IMG)

LETTERS published on this page will normally be cut to at least 400 words, to ensure that the maximum number of readers can express their views.

Anonymous letters will not be published unless there is a very special reason, but real names will be withheld from publication on request.

Socialist photography in focus

Bist Du



schon Mitglied der Arbeiter-Fotografen?

Are you a member of the Worker Photographers yet? (propaganda postcard, Germany, 1928)



By Larry Herman

THE first left-wing photographic annual to be published in Britain, *Photography/Politics: One*, is a breath of fresh air at a time of attempts to establish photography as an art commodity and wholesale attacks on the working class through news management.

Not only is it exceptionally good in giving examples of how subtle the bourgeois media can be, but it excels in articles examining how photographers organised themselves into worker photographer groups in Europe and North America during the 1920s and '30s.

Much can be learned from that period by

socialist photographers today, who should themselves be organising to argue out ideas and foster a coherent offensive against the capitalist media. In this way we could begin to face up to the essential political compromise we make as individuals — periodically working for the left media while also shoring up the capitalists' view of the working class.

The importance of being clear on these questions is shown in Nick Hedges' criticism of the housing charity Shelter. Hedges was staff photographer for Shelter several years ago, and his analysis is generally correct. Where he goes wrong, however, is to criticise Shelter's propaganda in the same way as that of the

revolutionary left, without pointing to the very different role they play in the conflict between capital and labour.

Because *Photography/Politics: One* has contributions from 24 individuals and groups, its general political content is inevitably uneven. It could also have done with more illustrations, particularly as some of the prose is unnecessarily obscure and cumbersome.

An example of how language can unwittingly be used to confuse occurs when Jo Spence writes 'that there is a binary opposition within systems of signification in which what is present is definable only in relation to what is absent: thus "woman" is signified in relation to

"man", or "feminist" in relation to "masculine".'

If photographers are to write about themselves and their work they must always be very careful to avoid any suggestion of mystification. Nevertheless in general the annual is very readable and is a real testimony not only to what some left media workers have done in the past but also to what those like Hackney Flashers are doing today.

Photography/Politics: One is published at £4.95 by Photography Workshop, 152 Upper Street, London N1, and is distributed by PDC (27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1).

Preston Worker using latent skills

THE RISE and fall of Hull News, the weekly paper launched by Hull Trades Council, has been much discussed in these pages.

Preston Trades Council, however, adopted a rather different approach to bringing out its journal, *Preston Worker*. Trades council members JOHN PARKINSON and JIM HAMMONDS explain below.

WE first discussed bringing out a journal after Labour lost the election. The demoralisation and confusion in the movement caused by the Labour government made it necessary to clarify and debate why the defeat occurred. We needed a vehicle to develop the struggles and campaigns of working people in Preston.

Of course different political tendencies have their own ideas on how the journal should be developed. But all are agreed on the need for an active working class paper. The first issue contains a number of different viewpoints from the left and labour movement — something we see as vital to create the type of debate required.

At the moment we will be producing the journal quarterly and bringing out special supplements to deal with immediate problems like the wave of redundancies locally. We have to prove we can do our own thing

and develop a challenge to the capitalist media.

We can't simply operate within the capitalist system by demanding the right of reply. Of course we must do this, but you can't live within the cracks of the system because they squeeze you out when the heat is on. We have to develop our own alternative media and educational system — using our skills and their technology, under our control.

Some on the left would call our approach amateurish, but we don't think so. You have to take it slowly. Instead of trying to launch a grandiose weekly paper we obtained a printing press for £25. We made the platemaker ourselves for £15, and we were quite surprised at the response within the movement to our appeal for a photo team.

Latent skill

There really is a lot of latent skill. Once we showed that the journal was a practical proposition it became inspiring. It provided a training operation in media techniques which the stewards involved began to take back to their branches.

Take the Fire Brigades Union, for example. Through their involvement with *Preston Worker* they have now realised they can operate a press



themselves and produce their own leaflets.

What you need is someone who understands the whole process and can nurture the skills required. At the beginning there was a lack of people to help in writing, lay-out and production, but this is being resolved as we train people up.

There has been very little problem on distribution. We printed 3,000 of the first issue and sold practically all of them. We have not looked to newagents as the basic outlets, but have relied from the start on shop stewards selling at their branch meetings.

Nor do we look for commercial adverts, and we won't use Trades Council funds to give work to commercial printers. Some members of the NGA may object to this, but the fact is that if one tries to be too professional and commercial it just can't be done. We don't have the money or the resources and we get ripped off.

We encourage our printworkers to lend their skills to the movement. This is what counts. In our opinion Hull Trades Council were a little too fast and too ambitious.

Copies of *Preston Worker* are available from Preston Trades Council, c/o John Parkinson (Secretary), 24 Hammond Street, Preston (tel. 54616).

SPEAKOUT

In defence of men's groups

By Paul Morrison

IN socialist circles in the '70s, even where feminism has gained only minimal acceptance, men's groups are a phenomenon often greeted with suspicion at the very least. After all, aren't all the powerful institutions which control our lives 'men's groups'?

Achilles Heel is a magazine produced explicitly by a collective of men. One of the fundamental convictions of the collective is that consciousness raising groups, for men as well as women, have a vital role to play in organising for socialism and sexual liberation.

The emergence of the women's movement in the early '70s affected both my ideas as a socialist and changed my relationships with women. By accepting the basic positions of the women's movement it was possible, as a man, to develop some forms of anti-sexist behaviour, e.g. taking responsibility for child care/housework, supporting demands for nurseries, abortion, equal pay, avoiding sexist language and mannerisms.

But socialist feminists I was close to made it clear to me that feminism extended far beyond the struggle against institutions. I was affected by the criticisms women were making of how men on the left operated both in public and personal life.

I have been in a men's group for over six years. As men we are socialised to be competitive, out-in-the-world, objective and to suppress our emotional and subjective selves, particularly when we are with other men. Often the burden of our emotional lives is taken by women with whom we have sexual relationships, reinforcing the mothering role that women are made to play.

A painful process

The essential part of a men's group is learning to share subjective feelings with other men. This has been for me not a pampering and preserving of male ego but has been at times a painful process, facing assumptions built into my sexuality and relationships.

Achilles Heel magazine for me is an attempt to make public and share experiences and understandings gained from men's groups. I don't see this as a diversion from my activity as a revolutionary socialist. To echo *Beyond The Fragments*, socialism is not just anti-capitalist combat, it is the struggle for an alternative, creative and genuinely caring society.

The autonomous movements have shown that all oppression in our society cannot be reduced to class division. We need no clearer example than the present Tory administration, which reaches out to the greed, envy and hatred that capitalist society generates in individuals, depending heavily on sustaining oppressive forms of masculinity.

As a socialist I feel I cannot be passive in relation to my socialisation as a man, leaving it to the struggle of women and gays to redefine my role in society. I believe that men's groups and the exploration of masculinity in *Achilles Heel* indicate the part which men can play in fighting sexism, not just by giving a measure of support for feminist campaigns, but also by actively changing ourselves.

Achilles Heel costs 65p [incl p&p] from 7 St Mark's Rise, London E8 2NJ. Please make cheques/POs out to Men's Free Press.

THE OTHER BOOKSHOP

Terror or Love?, by Bommi Baumann — Platform Books, £2.50

Photography/Politics: One, by the Photography Workshop, £4.95

Histoire de L'Internationale Communiste 1919-43, by Pierre Frank (2 volumes) — Editions La Breche, £5.50 per volume

328 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ (tel. 01-226 0571)

Socialist Challenge

STOP THE TORY WARMONGERS

By Martin Meteyard

FEW sights have been more sickening in the last week than that of the Tories attacking the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan while dismissing the murder of Patriotic Front guerrillas by the Rhodesian army as 'inevitable'.

Lord Soames, the British Governor in Salisbury, is more and more blatantly exercising his powers in favour of what the Tories have been aiming for all along: a victory for white stooge Bishop Muzorewa.

It must be the strangest 'ceasefire' of all time. One side, the Patriotic Front guerrillas, are corralled into camps, powerless to intervene. Meanwhile their opponents, the forces of the white-dominated regime (backed up by the South Africans), have complete freedom of action — including the right to murder guerrillas in cold blood.

We stress: in cold blood. The seven guerrillas killed near Lupane last

force relies on being kept informed of operations by the Rhodesian command'.

The supposedly 'neutral' Commonwealth monitoring force is actually monitoring no-one but the Patriotic Front.

But the Tory warmongers aren't just trying to fix things in their interest in Zimbabwe. The architect of the 'ceasefire', Lord Carrington, is now on a trip to the Gulf and South Asia. And what he's up to there hasn't much to do with anyone's 'independence' and 'freedom from invasion'.

Secret

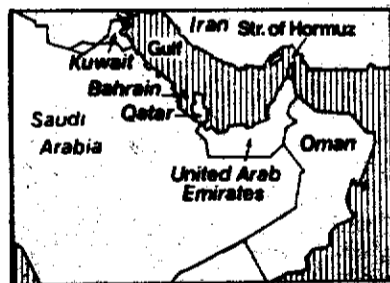
Last week he spent a few days in Oman. This is a small Gulf state where Britain fought a secret war for years against rebels in Dhofar province. There are still no fewer than 580 British officers seconded or contracted there. They virtually run the Omani army, navy and air force.

Then there's the little matter of Diego Garcia. This island was historically part of Mauritius until Britain (under a Labour government) said that the country couldn't have its independence unless it gave up Diego Garcia. Now the island has become the main US naval base in the area — the staging post for Carter's war drive against the Iranian revolution.

Because that's what it's all about. It has little or nothing to do with Afghanistan, which has been under Soviet influence for years. What scares the pants off Carter and the Tories is the outbreak of revolutions such as that in Iran which threaten the whole imperialist system of domination — or the one which could break out in Zimbabwe with equally devastating effect.

That is why we say: Stop the Tories' war drive! British troops out of Zimbabwe!

*Meanwhile the war goes on in Ireland see page 12.



Friday never fired a shot. They simply refused to lay down their arms. And for that they were gunned down where they stood.

Not one of the Patriotic Front's opponents has been asked to lay down their arms. The government's 'auxiliaries' — a polite name for Muzorewa's private army — are terrorising black areas formerly under the control of the Patriotic Front.

As for the Rhodesian army, the Financial Times reported last week that 'there are 45 two-man teams to monitor what is believed to be over 100 company bases...the monitoring



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Cheques, POs and Money Orders should be made payable to 'Socialist Challenge'.
Complete and return to: Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1

Our Fund Drive

OUR 'Fiver to fight the Tories' fund got off to a flying start this week with some 13 (not unlucky for us) supporters sending in a fiver. The first two were from Dick Hall (NUM) and Gill Butler (NAC steering committee). Close behind came a further £5 from the Avenge Scrooge Front and £35 from seven comrades in Hackney IMG. That brings the fund drive total after only two weeks to £355.54.

But as the Tories tighten the screws against the steelworkers, throw their lot behind American imperialism's cold war campaign on Afghanistan, and supervise the murder of Zimbabwean freedom fighters, spare a thought for our fund appeal. Your fiver will go straight into

the front line in the struggle against the Tories.

Our thanks this week to:	
M. Mulvihill	£5.00
R. Hurcombe	5.00
R. Hall	5.00
D. Power	3.50
Teesside SC	12.00
G. Butler	5.00
A. Herring	2.50
AHN	32.00
Hackney IMG fivers	35.00
C. Robinson	2.00
R. & A. Spalding	2.50
C. Hewitt	5.00
Avenge Scrooge Front	5.00
P. H. Wilson	23.00
Week's total	£142.50
CUMULATIVE TOTAL	£355.54