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EDITORIAL

This second issue of 'Revolutionary Student' comes out at a time of significant developments in both the world and British situations. Despite the apathy or hostility all too evident in certain sections of British student life, the brutal realities of economic recession and repression begin to impose themselves more and more on our lives, at deeper and deeper levels. Cutbacks in health and education services, fading employment prospects for larger sections of the population, declining living standards and increased use of military and political repression are but the indicators of a profound malaise and instability in British social conditions..

Above all this looms the spectre of Ireland. The recent savage killings in Armagh reflect the deep contradictions of Irish life stemming from the long history of British imperialism in that country and the untold suffering, poverty and division that that history of involvement has entailed. Obviously, the Irish people are bitterly divided among themselves. But it must never be forgotten that this division was originated, controlled and perpetuated by British imperialism to suit its own interests and to provide for the maintenance of its own control over the resources and destiny of a small, poor country. In recent years sections of the Irish people have begun to fight back, however misguidedly. To fight back against not only imperialism and sectarian domination but also against the situation whereby the north of Ireland was consigned to the ignominious silence of fifty years of disregard and neglect.

It is in this context, as we go to press, that the future 'government' of Northern Ireland is being debated at Westminster. Never, mind you, at Belfast, Dublin, Derry or even Armagh. At Westminster. Because Westminster has the power and control to determine the future of part of Ireland. And this power and control is exercised through the euphemistically termed 'security forces'.

The British army in Ireland plays the role of the watchdog of imperialism in Ireland. The most casual look at its historical role there not only in the past seven years but also in the past seventy years, indicates that it has never played a peace-keeping role. Indeed, the point is that it never can play any peace-keeping role. The contradictions have been too great and the human suffering too enormous to toy around any more with attitudes of indifference or neutrality or plain ignorance. Liberal platitudes relating to 'Ulster' or vague patronizing sentiments towards these wild 'romantic Celts' are as insulting as they are dangerous.

As we approach the fourth anniversary of Derry's Bloody Sunday, the truth and agony of this become all too clear. On that cold January day in 1972, fourteen innocent civilians, unarmed and on a protest march against that other barbarity - internment without trial - were gunned down by British paratroopers. On that day it became obvious that the role of the British army was not for peace-keeping. Torture, false arrest, internment, road-cratering, quiet unreported murders - these are the hallmarks of British army presence in Ulster. The sectarian killings which reached their horrific crescendo last weekend go on unchecked and uncontrolled by the self-same army which has played such an insidious role in their origins.

In light of this, it is the responsibility of all socialists in this country to actively work and campaign for a situation where the Irish people can be allowed to determine their own destiny. To bring this more fully home to the working class of this country, to spell out how and why British troops are engaged in Ireland, a demonstration is being held in London on Saturday, 1 February, organized by the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee. The Hull International Marxist Group will work actively to secure as large a turnout as possible for this vital manifestation of solidarity with the Irish struggle. We hope there are many others who will support this.

We are pleased with the response to our first issue of 'Revolutionary Student'. In this second number we have tried to bring out some of the issues which affect not only the course and history of the world revolution (Spain and also the relationship of literature and marxism) but also more local and pressing issues of relevance to us all (battered women and the cutbacks in services). Once again we would like to stress that we welcome contributions from others outside the IMG who would like to debate or supplement some of the points we have attempted to raise.

Alan Bruce
January 1976

CUTS IN THE WELFARE STATE - WHO SUFFERS ?

by Steve Twigg

The working class in Britain today is facing an unprecedented attack on its living standards. Since Labour took office in February 1974, dole queues have grown at the rate of 1000 per day: 5.2% (over 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million) of the working population are unemployed.

The introduction of the £6 limit - presented by the Labour Party and the T.U.C., as "part of the fight to save jobs", is in fact one of the biggest redundancy creators of them all. When living standards fall, demand will also fall, and production will also have to fall in line with this creating yet more redundancies. What is important here is that by entering into a deal with the Wilson Government, the trade union bureaucracy has pledged its support for the 'social contract' - a contract to safeguard the capitalist economy no matter what privations this may bring upon its members. Even before the introduction of the £6 limit, real wages in the second quarter of 1975 had dropped by 3% against prices. However, these cuts it seems were not enough: widespread cuts in social expenditure have been reported from all over the country - cuts that were demolishing the housing programme, impoverishing state education and bringing the National Health Service to the verge of collapse. Against this background, Dennis Healey introduced the concept of the social wage.

The Social Wage

The social wage is arrived at by dividing total public expenditure by the numbers of the population. So the government spends about £1000 per person in Britain. This concept is a convenient way of making public spending visible and bringing home the personal responsibility of members of the public for the situation. From here, Healey goes on to show how this 'social consumption' must be reduced, if inflation is to be fought and British industry restored to health. In the government's view, the size of the budget deficit (almost 1/5th of total public expenditure) is the extent to which the people are consuming too much. To quote Healey: "Either the Government has got to spend less or tax more, and I ask everyone of you, particularly the trade unionists among us, to think very hard which you prefer". So according to Healey, it's time to tighten our belts, time for a cut in both real wages and the social wage, time for closure of hospitals, for jobs to disappear and nurseries not to open.

The social wage is produced by the working people. It is important to know what this money is spent on before we accept such conclusions. In 1973, of this £1000, £91 went to the banks, insurance companies and international money lenders in the form of interest. Another £112 went to industry. Then £126 went on defence. Some £78 was spent on communications, £27 on law and justice, £50 on sewage, waterworks etc., and £5 on museums and arts. This leaves £487 divided between: Housing (£69), Education (£129), Health (£116) and Social Security (£173).

Will the cuts be spread equally over all these areas? The simple answer is no. The government's argument is that while we are all tightening our belts, money must be found to regenerate industry and Healey believes this money must come from cutting the welfare state. This goes some way to explaining the apparent contradiction between rising public expenditure and the simultaneous news of cuts.

It is important to notice the sequence of events - the introduction of wage controls preceded cuts in social spending. The government has been able on the strength of its socialist rhetoric to impose an incomes policy far harsher than that which brought down the Heath Government in 1974. Clearly the government could not be seen to be imposing savage cuts in the Welfare State as well, winning official union backing for pay cuts only previously matched in the 1930s. So, the wage cuts came first. While the social wage concept encourages people to take personal responsibility for the public spending deficit. The wage is linked to the social wage - both must be cut for the good of the country. The government is making the working class bear the brunt of the crisis through unemployment, wage restraints, and cuts in the Health Service, Education and Housing. Yet we can see clearly that there are diverse beneficiaries of public spending.

The Beneficiaries

The City: This financial year the public authorities planned to spend about £54 billion in all. That, it was expected, would be £9 billion more than they had coming in from income tax, rates etc., despite the increases in taxation in the 1975 budget. That £9 billion would be found through borrowing in the money markets. It is when you look at one major element of this deficit that the implications of this borrowing begin to sink in. For of that £9 billion deficit this year, the Government expected that no less than £5 billion would go on paying interest alone on previous and present borrowings. And that interest goes largely to private capital. The irony of this situation is illustrated by the fact that interest is still being paid by taxpayers to private capital for the money borrowed to 'compensate' private capital for the nationalisations of over two decades ago. Apart from the fortunes a few people make from lending money to the Government, they wield an enormous amount of power over government spending.

Industry: This relationship between the government and finance capital has its counterpart in the relationship between the government and private industry.. This is reflected in the government commitment to "regeneration of British Industry". This is echoing Labour policy in the latter half of the 60s, when the industrial re-organisation corporation, through manipulation of state funds, created many of the major British monopolies as they stand today. Amongst these are G.E.C., Courtaulds, I.C.I. and British Leyland. The main instrument of their policy today is the National Enterprise Board. This is not so much an instrument to extend public ownership; the government has been swift to reassure industry that its role will not be interventionist. Its funds seem limitless as shown by the £1000 million handed to British Leyland recently. The Government plays this role in proping up ailing enterprises like British Leyland because other companies such as Lucas, I.C.I. and Dunlop depend on it as a profitable outlet for their products.

The public sector provides lucrative contracts to private industry - the Post office between 1975 and 6 spent £800 million on equipment from Plessey and G.E.C., whose annual profits are in the order of 14 and 16%. Major companies have also been able to negotiate fixed price long-term contracts with nationalised industries, the result being that companies are now paying for below market prices for gas, telephones etc. Lucrative contracts are also gained for defence equipment and motorway construction. As a result public contracts play an important role in maintaining private corporate profitability during the recession. The Government plans a substantial increase in expenditure through the N.E.B. and is currently engaged in a major analysis of the private sector to direct Government aid to the most profitable and competitive industries. Given this commitment and its refusal to raise tax on corporate profits the only real target for cuts is the Welfare Services.

Where the Cuts Will Come

The current cuts were begun by the Tories when in 1973 the 'Barber cuts' amounted to £1350 million. Things seemed to improve briefly under the Labour Government until after the October 1974 election when they chopped a further £900 million off public spending. This meant an overall cut in public expenditure of 1.3% but specific sectors such as Health Education and Social Services took cuts of 10%. Yet the fundamental conflict between private profit and social need is nowhere more glaring than in the Welfare Services; in a very brief examination it is not difficult to see how this conflict has been resolved.

The National Health Service

In the beginning the ideal of a National Health Service was strongly opposed by the British Medical Association. Their consent was bought with a compromise which has become the basis of inequality and mismanagement in the N.H.S. today. The doctors could not only practice privately alongside their N.H.S. commitment but they could do so inside N.H.S. hospitals with full use of their staff and facilities. By this method, private patients are subsidised by the N.H.S. Private practice thus allows those who can afford it to jump the queue whilst those in greatest need face a long wait. There are more than $\frac{1}{2}$ million people on hospital waiting lists at present, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of hospital beds are in buildings constructed before 1918.

The most insidious parasites on the N.H.S. is the private drug industry. The Roche Company produce Valium for £20 a kilo and sold it for years to the N.H.S. at £1962 per kilo. Companies spend some £32 million on advertising in the U.K., i.e. some £300 per Doctor with profit margins measured in hundreds of per cent. While from the day of patent a company has twenty years of grace to create a new drug and a new monopoly. It is against this background of an already inadequate health service, that we must view the cuts.

Cuts in health spending have resulted in the closure of small hospitals, cancellation of building programmes of district hospitals and health centres. This has resulted in longer waiting lists, fewer beds and cut-backs in certain areas of research and health care. At the same time the rapid growth of private medicine is extending the two-tier health service, not only because of queue jumping in the N.H.S., but also because resources and staff are drained from the N.H.S. to the private sector. N.H.S. services, deliberately curtailed by the part time consultants in the interests of private practice, will deteriorate further under the impact of the cuts. Castle's proposals to phase out pay beds will actually license and legitimise private practice outside the N.H.S., allowing private insurance companies to create a private health service alongside the N.H.S.

Housing: There are currently 170,000 construction workers unemployed, yet 100,000 people are homeless. Even though Government expenditure has been rising, the number of houses provided by the public sector has dropped drastically. The Government deficit on housing is increasing yet council rents have risen more rapidly over the last seven years than prices generally. One of the main reasons for this has been an increase in the interest rate, from 7% in 1968 to around 14% today. Another reason is that old and poorly built houses cost a lot to repair. Despite the Labour Government promises, council house building has been cut back to the 1970 levels. Expenditure is to be cut from £572 million to £271 million in 1975-6, and reduced in stages to £230 million by 1979. Though the emphasis has been at present on cutting corners, clearly with interest rates rising, more drastic cuts are to come.

Education: The attacks on the education system through budget cuts, have their ideological back-up too. the 1960s saw widespread support for progressive education: now there is a campaign to return to traditional methods. This is both to find a scapegoat for the lowering of standards that is bound to occur as class sizes grow, and a method to undermine teachers' organisations. The effects of the cuts so far have been to increase the costs of school meals, to stop clearance of slum schools and shelve plans for the replacement of old buildings. School terms are to be shortened to reduce overheads, local authorities employing less than their quota of teachers are not to fill present vacancies, remedial education has been frozen while in further education discretionary awards have been slashed, tuition fees increased, 13 Colleges of Education have been closed and another 16 are to be closed. So far the cuts in education have been savage enough, but with the prospect of zero growth in this sector and the directives to cut £500 million off anticipated expenditure, the Government must put increasing pressure on current expenditure which could mean further unemployment among teachers. Nursery education, an already neglected area, was one of the first sectors to be hit. For example, in March 1975, Clwyd had several completed nursery units but no staff, and some of the buildings were being used by the infant school. In Croydon the whole programme was cancelled.

It is fairly clear that the Labour Government is making the working class pay for the present crisis, a crisis for which it was in no way responsible. All sections of the labour movement must overcome sectarianism and unite in a common struggle to protect our living standards. We must smash the £6 limit and support every fight against wage cuts and cuts in the Welfare Services. We need a programme of useful public works to bring down unemployment and build schools, hospitals and houses where they are most needed. We must solidarize with workers in Health and Education in struggles for better pay and conditions. As part of the struggle against the cuts, the highly successful October 11th Conference "The Fight Against the Cuts in the N.H.S." organised by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice (MCAPP) has put forward a programme for struggle which incorporates the demands for: 1. a health service under the control of the working class. 2. no cuts in services. 3. the protection of the N.H.S. against inflation through a sliding scale of social expenditure. 4. immediate injection of £1000 million. 5. solidarity with health workers' struggles. 6. nationalisation of the drugs industry. 7. the abolition of all private practice. . 8. a free comprehensive occupational health service and 9. a health service responsive to the needs of the working class.

Local action committees should be formed from workers' organisations to monitor cuts and the growth of the private sector. Such an enquiry will indicate the need to struggle against them with the united labour movement in support. A Spring 1976 demonstration has been called by NAIGO and the National Committee Against Cuts. This is a decisive step in building a movement against the betrayals of the Labour Party. We must not allow the Government or the TUC to sacrifice our living standards in the interests of capitalism.

THE LESSONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

by Claire de Casparis

The defeat of the Spanish civil war and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in 1939 was one of the greatest tragedies suffered by the European working class. The fascist victory after nearly three years of war left 600 000 dead out of a population of 24 million and ushered in 36 years of brutal repression in Spain in which all the independent organizations of the working class were smashed and all left-wing opposition was met by repression of the severest kind. The fundamental policies of Francoism still last today despite the dictator's death and the re-establishment of the monarchy under Juan Carlos.

In answer to this situation, the Spanish working class has begun to head a vast popular movement whose potential has recently been realized through its actions on 11 and 16 December. These recent mobilizations prove that the time is now ripe for concerted action on a national scale and that Spain is once again the centre of European class struggle. The final victory of the working class over fascism will ultimately be determined by the programme and organizational methods adopted by the leadership of the working class movement and it is here that the Spanish proletariat must learn from its defeat in the civil war. The bankruptcy of class-collaborationism, the impossibility of defending democratic conquests through the capitalist state machinery, the necessity for the working class to take power through its own organizations - these are the lessons of the Spanish civil war; lessons which must be hammered home if fascism in Spain is to be defeated once and for all and if there is to be a victory for socialism.

Franco's fascist uprising was the answer of the Spanish capitalist class to a situation it could no longer control by traditional methods. The collapse of the military dictatorship under General Miguel Primo de Rivera at the outbreak of the Great Depression in 1930 led King Alfonso XIII to call a general election, the result of which was a decisive defeat for the monarchist parties. Not prepared for this, Alfonso left the country and in 1931 a republic was proclaimed which rested on coalitions of social democrats, liberals and socialists. The alliance based on the defence of democratic civil rights and of bringing in limited social reforms engendered high expectations among the masses. Workers and agricultural labourers expected rapid changes under the new regime. When these did not take place, the masses began to challenge the ruling class directly. The popular government reacted with the methods of a capitalist regime, i.e. police clubs and bullets. In July and August a general strike swept Spain. It was brutally crushed by the army in Seville leaving 30 dead and 200 wounded. Asaltos, the republic's special police, moved in to break up a land occupation in the village of Casas Viejas by shooting down the peasants - 12 prisoners were shot without trial.

In November 1933 new elections were held. After the experience with the liberal bourgeoisie, the masses withheld their votes from the republican parties and the social democrats. This led the republican government to be replaced by an openly rightist one under Lerroux who began to lean more and more on the ancient pillars of Spanish conservatism - the church, the army and the monarchist parties.

The combativity of the workers and peasants remained, however, unbroken. In October 1934 Lerroux for the first time invited into his cabinet representatives of the right-wing catholic party of Gil Robles. The reaction to this was swift. The socialists and anarchists opened a general strike. In Asturias the miners seized Oviedo and declared a socialist commune. The government called in a General Franco who had made his name in the colonial war in Morocco and the Army of Africa. Oviedo fell on 12 October and Franco took a fearful revenge. The death toll in the fighting and reprisals that followed topped 5000. Jails were filled with more than 3000 political prisoners. The policy of massive executions would be central to the strategy of fascist terror in the cities that fell to Franco in the civil war.

Instead of intimidating them, the repression of the Asturian miners created a rallying point for the masses. Massive street demonstrations took place as hatred for the regime deepened. The regime staggered from crisis to crisis and finally new elections were called in February 1936 which placed Azana in office at the head of the Popular Front coalition of the bourgeois republican left and Socialist and Communist parties. The anarchists, in their first fateful step towards dalliance with the liberal bourgeoisie, abandoned their principle of abstention in elections and encouraged their supporters to vote for the Popular Front. Even the POUM gave it critical support.

Here are some of the points in the Popular Front's programme that these groups, supposedly groups acting in the interests of workers and peasants, gave their support to: 'the republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants...'; 'the republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployment (dole) solicited by the workers' delegation...'; 'the republicans do not accept the measures of nationalization of the banks proposed by the workers' parties.' In addition, the Popular Front programme had nothing to say about the right of Morocco to independence or the right of Basques and Catalans to self-determination.

The workers and peasants, however, had other ideas. A great strike wave began. Land occupations were mounted against the big estates. Workers broke open the jails without waiting for the promised amnesty for political prisoners. Azana sought to temporize with reaction, assuring the fascist Falange party that his government could stave off workers' insurrections. Press censorship increased. Anarchists were arrested and their headquarters were closed down. Azana, like Allende in Chile, flattered the military hierarchy and used governmental power to prevent the arming of the masses for their defence against the right, even when the fascist rebellion had already begun in Morocco on 17 July 1936 and fifty garrisons in Spain had already joined in. The republican government assured the masses that everything was under control. However the class polarization had gone too deep to be solved in the Cortes. Who would rule Spain would be decided, not in the rhetoric of parliament, but on the streets. Unfortunately, the right understood this far better than the forces of the left.

The inability of capitalism to solve the problems facing Spain had been demonstrated during the failure of the regime of 1931 - 1933 and by the record of the Popular Front in power. It was proved once again by the republican reaction to Franco's rebellion.

Had the conduct of affairs been left to the republican politicians, the fascists would have come to power in Spain as in Germany, without a fight, effortlessly. It was the spontaneous uprising of the working masses in city after city that prevented this. Barricades were erected, armories seized and garrisons stormed. The civil war had begun. In Catalonia workers pushed the capitalist government completely aside in their response to the fascist uprising. The trade unions took over all transportation, public utilities and big industrial plants. Factory committees were elected by the workers and worker militants rapidly conquered all four Catalonian provinces. Under workers' control, industry was converted for war production. In a word, a viable dual-power situation existed. Indeed, the relationship of forces overwhelmingly favoured the organizations of proletarian power.

Azana was unable to remain in power for two reasons. First was the wavering and indecision of the leadership of the anarchists and the POUM. Instead of moving to unite the local workers' councils on a national level and establish a workers' government, they waited until the liberals had regained the initiative and then joined the Popular Front government themselves in September 1936, grudgingly giving their assent to the forcible destruction of all the achievements of the revolution.

The second factor was the policy of the Comintern, under the tutelage of Stalin. Militarily, in conventional terms, the fascists had every advantage over the republic. They commanded a trained army, a superior air force and an unlimited supply of arms, equipment and men from their German and Italian allies. The only defence against such an apparatus, as the victorious Vietnamese revolution clearly proves, lay in the mass mobilizations of the workers and peasants. This is precisely what the Communist Party, with its insistence on maintaining bourgeois property relations and a regular army, rejected. Stalin was above all concerned with securing a military alliance with the imperialist democracies against Nazi Germany. In Spain he aimed to prove to his prospective allies that he was uninterested in promoting the spread of revolution and was willing to contain the workers' movement within the limits of bourgeois democracy. Thus the counter-revolutionary role of the Communist Party in Spain was a conscious policy to be condemned far more than the vacillations of the anarchists and the POUM. Despite the fact that the bourgeoisie had gone over to the fascists en masse, the Communist Party was determined to preserve capitalism in Spain.

'It is absolutely false that the present workers' movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship after the war has been terminated. It cannot be said we have a social motive for our participation in the war. We communists are the first to repudiate this supposition. We are motivated exclusively by our desire to defend the democratic republic' (El Mundo Obrero - paper of the Communist Party - 6 August 1936).

The constant slogan of the Communist Party was 'Protect the property of the small industrialist!' In December 1936 Pravda, the Soviet Communist newspaper wrote, 'So far as Catalonia is concerned, the cleaning up of Trotskyists and Anarchists has begun and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the USSR.'

Indeed, the greatest problem for the Communist Party was Catalonia where its influence had been minimal. The Communist Party carried out the threat mentioned in Pravda and promoted the slaughter of thousands of working class revolutionaries under the political leadership of the anarchists and the POUM, stating that POUM members were fascist agents in the pay of Franco. The same occurred in Barcelona where anarchists, POUM members and militiamen were arrested on sight after a fierce battle had taken place between the Barcelona police, sent in by the Communist Party, and the workers of Barcelona, mostly under the hegemony of the anarchists. On 16 June 1937, the Communist Party managed to pass a bill in the central government outlawing the POUM.

From this point on, the fortunes of the republic began a steady decline. Although the war was to carry on for another twenty-one months, the revolution was already dead and with it passed any hope of halting the march of fascism. In rolling back the social revolution, the Stalinists cleared the way for the triumph of fascism.

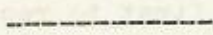
On 23 September 1938, the International Brigades fought their last battle in the Ebro campaign. On 29 September France and Britain signed the Munich pact with Hitler thus foreclosing the possibility of an anti-German alliance with the Soviet Union. To this brutal scenario, Stalin had sacrificed the Spanish revolution.

The ultimate tragedy of the Spanish proletariat was not only that it was beaten by its avowed enemy, fascism, but also that it was betrayed by those who claimed to be its leaders. When the fascists took Barcelona on 26 January 1939, it fell without giving a single shot. Hundreds of thousands of refugees fled across the frontier into France and into long exile. In March 1939, Madrid and Valencia surrendered. The liberal politicians and the Communist Party had long prepared their escape and had already fled abroad. The Spanish working class, however, could not flee. Consequently, up to this day it has remained prisoned in the hands of fascist barbarism.

Needless to say, these brutal conditions have stayed fundamentally unchanged even with the death of the old dictator and the assumption to power of his protege,

Every condition for socialist victory had existed in Spain save one - the existence of a mass revolutionary party that aimed at the establishment of a workers' government. Stalin acted in Spain on the assumption that with the aid of the Communist Party bourgeois democracy could be preserved when the bourgeoisie had already abandoned it itself in favour of fascism. Fascism was the only means of clamping down on the revolutionary energy of the Spanish working class and peasants. Moscow feared the socialist revolution as much as did the bourgeoisie. In the name of democracy it acted as the most ruthless agent of capitalism in the struggle with the workers' movement. Only a genuine mass revolutionary party could have succeeded in destroying the betrayals of Stalinism and the history of Spain and the world revolution would have taken a very different course.

Now that the Spanish working class is once more heading the fight against fascism, the central aim of revolutionaries throughout Europe must be to build that party. This is the central task facing the Fourth International in Spain today.



MARXISM AND LITERATURE

by John Nunson

To the non-marxist, literature and marxism have very little in common. They consider literature, indeed all art, to be produced entirely separately from the social processes that marxists and the working class are involved in. This is one misconception. Another is that held by many marxists. They claim that literature and art are subsidiaries of the class struggle and should merely exist to reflect the party line. Both of these ideas lack any basis. Marxists have been very prolific both in the creation of literature and in literary criticism. Also, Marx, Engels and Trotsky consistently argue in their writings on the importance of all literature to the class struggle. Art is seen by marxists as a reflection of historical reality and is valuable to the proletariat because it gives him the basis for his new art.

The purpose of this article is to try and introduce the reader to the basic concepts and ideas underlying the marxist theory of literature. The first section traces the history of the two main ideas that must be considered - that of tendentious literature as opposed to all literature of value.

It was Friedrich Engels, writing in 1888 to the English novelist, Margaret Harkness, who first put forward the controversial marxist idea on literature. Certainly he believed in the need for commitment even if it was only a vague commitment to 'art' in itself. But he was controversial in his assertion that he saw no need for progressive literature to be a mere reflection of socialist politics. Where there was an idea or message in a book Engels believed that it had to emerge from the plot and not be inserted simply as a political idea. Engels went further, using this idea to criticize the new realists. He felt that Balzac was a superior realist to Zola because his descriptions of the degeneration of the French nobility were undogmatic and well-written.

Engels' idea of letting the message emerge from the plot certainly requires more skill from the author. It means that a socialist novel or play can also be interesting from a literary and artistic viewpoint. Engels was the first to recognize the difficulties that his thesis entailed as many artistic works were also dogmatic, for example works by Tolstoy. Lenin was one of the marxists influenced by Engels' literary ideas. Through his correspondence with the writer Maxim Gorky and through some of his own critical works, Lenin is seen to be interested in the relationship of the classics to the revolution.

In the first decade after the Russian Revolution, Russian society put its new-found freedom to good use. As well as many debates between opposing factions on politics and economics, literature was also considered to be of the utmost importance. Groups such as the futurists worked alongside socialist authors and grew to understand the vast significance that the revolution had for mankind. This very progressive and productive time for literature ended abruptly with the rise to power of Stalin. It was at the first Soviet Writers' Conference in 1934 that the Stalinist Zhdanov first put forward what has been called the 'orthodox' marxist line on literature. Like other facets of the Stalinist regime, literature had to reflect the proletarian struggle which, of course, meant the Stalinist party line.

This reduction of literature to mere propaganda had the sad effect of suppressing any originality. For writers who would not conform, the purges were a very real threat. Some, like Mayakovsky, could not stand the pressure and killed themselves. Mandelstam was hounded across Russia to his death. Even a brief glance at the lives of writers such as Sholokov and Solzhenitsyn shows a constant struggle against the Stalinist state. From Sholokov's claim that Soviet writers must inherit their past to Solzhenitsyn's recent expulsion from the USSR some Soviet writers have fought against 'orthodoxy'. Indeed, it is in their work that the best of Soviet literature resides. Stalin thought literature should merely reflect the party line. The antithesis of this approach is to be found in the writings of Trotsky, particularly in his book, 'Literature and Revolution'.

Like other marxists Trotsky re-emphasizes the important effect of the political, economic and social world on the outlook of the writer. With this in mind he does not consider an author to be in any way unique as he shares the same social experiences with the reader. The task of literary criticism is to reveal this link. The result is to raise the cultural level of the working class.

Contrary to Stalin's idea of tendentious literature from above, Trotsky recognizes the mutual importance of workers and an author for each other. Without at least a recognition of the evils of capitalism and the opposition to it the author is doomed to a retrogressive isolation or a dependence on narrow petty bourgeois ideas. Also, without some sort of cultural and literary understanding that enables them to have a basis for their new art, the working class are doomed to low-grade capitalist culture.

One of the most important sections in 'Literature and Revolution' is that devoted to a polemic against the formalists. In 1924, when it was written, the formalists were a literary school composed of the remaining elements of the old tsarist culture. Tsarism had been defeated militarily and politically but still had some literary influence. They considered the word to be the most important thing in a novel or poem and consequently were isolated from the progressivism just starting to gain a firm hold on Russian literature. Trotsky realized the reactionary outcome of such an approach to art. A logical, supposedly objective, analysis of a poem's syntax and grammar would set it apart from the people making it the province of a few intellectuals only. The formalists ignored the social composition of their readers and concentrated on just an elite. Trotsky's writings on this subject are of great relevance today as contemporary bourgeois literature is also largely based on form and, consequently, is remote from the lives of ordinary people. Trotsky devotes much of his book to the literary policy of the socialist state and the classless society. With the conclusions of marxism in mind, ignored by Stalin, Trotsky refutes the claim that all literature must be tendentious. The new socialist man will want lyric poetry as well as comedy. Yet for the author to be considered as progressive, he must at least recognize the progressive nature of revolution. Whether the proletariat can create its own culture, in the socialist state, Trotsky argues it is their task to abolish class. Certainly there will be proletarian culture. It will reflect the new order. But there will also be free access to the culture of the past as it will contribute much to the form and basis of the new art.

Much is made by non-marxists of the repressive policy that all marxists are supposed to have towards art. Again Trotsky shows that this is not true. Because the working class is occupied with building socialism it will not always have time for art. Therefore non-working class artists will be necessary as long as they accept the principles of the new art, and the new society. Trotsky envisaged a broad and flexible policy towards art with no censorship and with progressive non-marxist authors making valuable constructive criticism. The advantages of such an approach to a writer like Solzhenitsyn are obvious. Trotsky sees the art of the classless society as reflecting in many different ways the benefits of a classless state. New emphasis will be placed on human relationships, on basic human values and on artistic and scientific research and pursuits - all of which will be the subjects for the new literature.

The field in which marxists have had the most success has been that of literary criticism. The main contributions in this field have been by Lukacs and Goldmann. Broadly they both believe in the integrity of the artist and his work but they consider this conditioned by the economic and social experiences of the author and that his ideology and the dialectical processes are of more importance than 'true form', a belief they share with Trotsky. In their critical works they attempt to show how the social and economic reality of the period expressed itself in the writings of authors. Neither a writer's personality nor the aesthetic value of a work are considered to be the determining influences, although both are considered. One of the great examples of this criticism is by Lukacs, 'Studies in European Realism'. This book represents and broadens Engels' famous distinction between the realists Balzac and Zola. With this in mind, the critical concepts that allow a marxist to admire non-marxists' work need to be introduced.

The most important is the concept of dissociation. It is a prevalent notion of Engels' school that there is nothing absurd in a reactionary writer actually writing something of significance for the working class. People like Balzac and Kipling did not comprehend the objective social reality of their works, which picture ideas and institutions in decay according to marxist theory. Thus they are of artistic merit whereas the ideas that inspired them are completely dead.

Marxist critics have also made a distinction between realism and naturalism. Realism is felt to be the relating of the imagination to reality, something that is to be found in the writings of the classical realists. Naturalism, on the other hand, is merely felt to be an attempt to make an extremely detailed picture of the world independent of the fate of the characters. But, of course, much naturalism may be of considerable political and artistic value. So far we have considered the history of marxism in literature and its practice in literary criticism. In the last section, consideration must be given to the place and role of the author in contemporary society.

We live in an age of ever deepening economic and social crises caused by the basic inability of capitalism to provide for the needs of all. We see the ruling class cutting back on the basic rights of housing and welfare for the working class. Faced with this situation, what is the author's role in society?

There are a number of stances he can adopt. He can refuse to ignore the class struggle and just write aesthetically rewarding novels that have no basis in reality. Or he can write for the lucrative pop culture. But any serious committed artist must reflect in his work the horrors of a capitalist society in decay. Trotsky warned that not to do so is to ignore the progress made towards socialism. A large number of contemporary artists are concerned with the problems of alienation. The characters in their novels are shown to be alienated from their social backgrounds and, indeed, from their friends and families. Like the title of Camus' novel, modern man is an Outsider in his own world. Marxists blame this on a society based on the accumulation of profit and the separation of the worker from his product and they advocate socialism as a remedy. But not all the writers who deal with this are marxists. Nevertheless they are of great value in raising the consciousness of the people.

There are more immediate social problems that need depiction. Playwrights like Jim Allen and Barry Hines have attempted to portray some of the horrors and the meaningless brutality of working class life. Allen's recent play, 'Days of Hope', dealing with the workers' movement in the 'twenties was a masterpiece both of characterization and political meaning. With examples such as these, there is no reason why much of contemporary literature should not continue to play a large part in the class struggle.

BATTERED WOMEN - AN INTERVIEW

by Glen Spray

In a society which is fundamentally based upon divisions of class and sex, the perpetuation of the bourgeois family is crucial. From birth the child is socialised into accepting existing sexual roles as normal. Despite the fact that woman forms a vital part of the workforce, her primary role is seen as being that of housewife and mother. Anything which questions the 'happy family' stereotype, such as homosexuals or single women, is therefore seen as threatening and either ignored or treated as abnormal.

For the thousands of women in this country continually subjected to brutal attacks, both physically and mentally, by their husbands, the bourgeois myth of fairytale romance and a life happy-ever-after becomes a cruel joke.

Public indifference to the problem is remarkable. The response of many is either that the wife 'asked for it', or that she should accept it as one of the normal and inevitable aspects of marriage. The lack of help which women receive from most doctors, social workers, councillors and other public figures also reflects the general indifference with which society views the question and reinforces sexist ideology which assumes that a woman's first duty is to her husband and children.

Where such conflict is recognised emphasis is frequently placed upon reconciliation. In such a situation of hypocrisy and intolerance, the individual is pressurised into self-doubt and depression. Where has she gone wrong? Why has her marriage failed? How can she face the neighbours and cope with her humiliating situation?

Faced with lack of interest - and often the hostility of local authorities, women's groups all over the country have started refuges for battered women. Numbers of women seeking refuge far exceeds the space available. This results in severe overcrowding and a situation where a woman and her children are forced, through fear, to live in intolerable and humiliating conditions. For many women the only choice is to return home and face repeated violence.

Hull is no exception to this. A refuge for battered women has been open for two years. It is frequently overcrowded, and while the local authority has made full use of its facilities, it has provided very little aid. Officially the problem does not exist. While this article was being written, one of the women in the house was brutally attacked by her husband who was waiting outside for her with a knife.

Margaret and Joan came to the house before Christmas. Here they express some of their thoughts and problems.

MARGARET: Age 42. Arrived at the house from hospital before Christmas. Has four children ages 19,17,15 and 8.

"I've been married for 20 years and he's been hitting me from the start. He's quiet normally, it's just the drink. When he's had a drink he gets physically violent. I had some trouble before I married and he brings it up all the time. He accuses me of having affairs with other men. Even when people come into the house he says things.

I've four boys. The two youngest are with their father in the house, but I'm terribly worried about them. I don't know whether he's drunk when they come home from school or whether he's looking after them. They're good kids. The three eldest are okay, but they've no feeling for their father. He's knocked them around and they've seen him hitting me. It's amazing how well they've come out of it. I worry a lot about the youngest.

One of the worst things was trying to pretend that I was happily married. I'd hope the neighbours hadn't heard the noise. You try to hide it from the family that you've made a terrible mistake. They never knew I had a problem. You want to pretend to the world that you're happy, you're scared what other people will think. I didn't want to get the police, I didn't want the neighbours to see. It gets really bad when you see other couples going to the shops, or even going for a drink together and you wish it could be you. You know it can't. The woman next door says her husband's great, they do things together all the time - that really hurts.

Did I ask for it? The only way I asked for it was to want something nice - a nice house. He just couldn't settle down. But it's him who is showing us up, not me.

It helped a lot going out to work. Stopped me sitting at home moping and brought me back to myself. You'd pick yourself up and put on some make-up to hide the bruises. You learn to hide your emotions.

I've been to so many people for help. They told me they couldn't do anything. I felt ashamed telling them all my private life - and then having them leave me on my own. People are okay with advice but they leave you to it. You could go back home and not be seen again.

They should have some way of coping with husbands. When your husband threatens you you're terrified. I'm still frightened, I don't know where he is.

When I came here I thought it was charity. I was appalled at the condition of the place - out of the frying pan into the fire! It does help talking to other people though. I feel happier since I've got it out into the open.

At the moment he is in the house with the kids. But why should it be me that has to move? Why should he be able to stay in the house with the kids when I've put as much into it as he has? He should be compelled to move. He should have to find out what its like going round the streets looking for somewhere to live.

The police should try to distinguish between a plain row and when there's something really wrong. He's repeatedly hit me, but says he doesn't need help. Even when I've been in bed pretending to be asleep he's woken me up to hit me. This is the second time I've come to this house. Now I'm going straight for a divorce. How can you argue with a drunken man?"

JOAN: Age 29. Arrived at the house, for the second time, just before Christmas. Has two children age 4 and 5.

"I've been married for six years and he's hit me more or less all the time. The drink made it worse, but he was bad at other times too. You stick it - resent the kids because you can't walk off, and then take it out on them. My mother said hit him back, but you can't can you? Once I did hit him back, but never again. You're forever wondering where the next thump's coming from.

I left once, and then went back. He made all sorts of promises and it was okay for a while, but not for long. It was no good really. When it happened again I thought, that's it. I was so frightened I knew I had to get out. I can't understand people who leave and keep going back. Most of them don't really change do they?

Help? I felt I wasn't wanted. People just weren't interested. You get sympathy but no real help. He threatened me that if I went to the doctors he'd knock my head off. I felt really ashamed. I made up loads of excuses about having bruises - I daren't say why. I've had more help since I've been here than ever before. It helps talking to other women about their husbands. You think, blimey, he's ten times as bad as mine, or I've been through a lot more than she has. I did go the the Marriage Guidance for help. They said this house was not very nice - that it was for the riff-raff, you know. All they want to do is get you back together. They don't want to know the real problem.

One of the worst things is fear. You can only stand so much. I got to the stage of seeing a psychiatrist. Fear makes you do it. I took a handful of tablets. You don't know what you're doing you're so frightened - you just can't think. You feel there's no way out of it. I kept going to the doctor and was on librium with my nerves. He said it wasn't helping, that I should make up my mind what I wanted to do about my marriage - either put up with it or leave him. That made me feel much better. When you decide to do something you feel much better.

The fear goes. It's when you feel you're not getting anywhere, when you can't see a way out that you feel depressed. Once I got away I felt smashing, but the last week or so here and I'm beginning to feel a bit low again. You think you'll be here for ever.

I think the kids have suffered. The little boy saw me being hit from when he was born - and he's got a bad temper just like him. He doesn't like it here. There's nowhere to play and he misses his friends. He's all cooped up and behaving worse now. I don't know what will happen when he gets older. He'll probably grow up to think that he can hit women too.

Working makes a big difference. It helped a lot. I had my own money and it was good to get out of the house. Didn't have to ask for money - well I daren't ask for money, and anyway I know what the answer would have been.

The council house is in his name, and I'm trying to get it. The council has done nothing to help. They said "well you did walk out". I think whoever gets the kids should get the house. You can't get a flat, not with two small kids, and if you find anything, you can't afford it on social security.

Marriage? Well I've just come back from selling my wedding ring. What's the point of keeping it? It doesn't mean anything to me now. You feel you don't want to get married again, but you don't know. It takes a long time to trust anybody again. My husband told lies. I've had all the responsibility for these kids since they were born, he took no interest at all. If I met anybody else he'd have to be a bloody sight better than him. I don't hate him now. I don't feel anything at all. I'm just glad to get away and feel free.

Lots of people say you ask for it, but I didn't. I used to sit and say to myself what have I done wrong, but I can't think. I cooked his meals and cleaned up. Sometimes he wouldn't eat the meal I cooked. Now that's really depressing isn't it? If you've gone to that trouble.

I did get the police in once but they were hopeless. They said they couldn't do anything about it, they hadn't actually seen him hitting me. The neighbours don't want to know either. They didn't want to get involved. But I don't like making people get involved - if they have to go to court, you don't like to do it.

Wife beating seems to be a general problem. I read that even some doctors hit their wives. I used to feel that it was only me, but when you come here you see lots of people - why should you feel ashamed? There should be more places for women to go. Wouldn't you think they'd have places like this for us in each area?

The welfare people can't really do anything about it. They were sympathetic but couldn't get me a house. I hate going to social security - they're not sympathetic at all. I had some glasses ordered with private frames, and they said to me - why did you get those? Why don't you get cheap ones? When she said that about my glasses I felt like smashing her across the face. But that's no good. You just get bitter. If you're staying at this house they know why you're here - it's humiliating.

International Women's Year? - All I know is that when you're on your own with two kids you've got to fight for everything you get.

A PLAIN PERSON'S GUIDE TO REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM AND THE
JARGON OF THE LEFT

Bureaucracy Everyone knows what it is but fewer know what the solution is. Since Marx tendencies towards bureaucratization have been regarded as ubiquitous features of workers' organizations which must be combatted with two simple principles: the wages of officials must not exceed those of skilled workers; and all officials should be elected and subject to recall at any time by those who elected them (see also Workers' Democracy).

Capitalism Mode of production characterised by 'generalised commodity production' - ie where not only the output of industry but also labour power and the means of production take the form of commodities, regulated by competition and markets.

Centrism Term used by Trotsky and others for tendencies in the workers' movement which stand or vacillate between reformism and Marxism. Examples today: the PSU and PSIUP in France and Italy, on the right; Lotta Continua, the MIR and the IS, on the left.

Comintern Communist or Third International. Organised under Lenin's leadership as a revolutionary successor to the Second International (see Social Democracy). The theses of the first 4 congresses of the CI are the programmatic cornerstone of revolutionary Marxism. The CI subsequently degenerated under Stalin's 'leadership' and was formally wound up in 1943 to please Churchill and Roosevelt.

Democratic Centralism Organising principle of the Leninist party. Combines maximum democracy in determining the party's line with maximum discipline in its implementation, as the only effective way of learning from the experience of the working class, evaluating strategic and tactical alternatives, and rooting out bourgeois ideology. Formation of tendencies is not only a right of party members (contrary to what happens in the USSR etc.) but a normal and necessary part of democratic centralism (contrary to the views of much of the revolutionary left in this country).

Dual Power State of affairs where the working class and its allies create representative bodies with functions parallel to those of the bourgeois state - eg the soviets (q.v.) in Russia in 1905 and 1917.

Economism Tendency among Russian socialists at the turn of the century but very common today too. Defined by Lenin as "the conviction that it is possible to develop the class political consciousness of the workers from within, so to speak, their economic struggle - that is, starting only (or at least chiefly) from this struggle, basing oneself only (or at least chiefly) on this struggle." Lenin argued against economism that "Class political consciousness can be brought to the worker only from without, that is, from outside the economic struggle, outside the sphere of the relations between the workers and the employers."* The only field from which it is possible to extract this knowledge is the field of relations of all classes and strata to the state and government, the field of interrelationships between all classes." (* emphasis added, because it is customary to misquote this sentence.) Economism today usually takes the form of saying that the (only) real struggle against capitalism is "the struggle on the shop floor".

Imperialism Capitalism in its monopoly phase, in which capital increasingly crosses national boundaries, enhances international tensions, subordinates and distorts the development of backward regions, etc.

Labourism British variant of Social Democracy (q.v.). Peculiarities include i) a strong national chauvinist tradition - seen on eg. Ireland or EEC, ii) a conception in which the distinction between trade unionism and politics is drawn not on the basis of the consciousness of those involved in struggle but on the basis of where the activity takes place, so that the struggle within the factory is by definition a trade union struggle, and the struggle outside, in particular round elections, is by definition a political struggle. This conception is the basis of the very durable division of labour between the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy. It also underlies the division of labour between the LP 'lefts' and the Communist Party.

Pabloism Deviation within the 4th International in the 1950s especially associated with Michel Pablo. Essentially a tendency to go 'soft' on Stalinism (q.v.). Some people who ought to be in the 4th International justify staying out by saying that it is still dominated by 'Pabloism'.

Permanent Revolution "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." (Trotsky)

Popular Front In 1935-39 the Comintern's policy of allying with liberal capitalist parties by subordinating the goal of socialist revolution to the political 'needs' of fighting fascism. Based on a revision of the Leninist conception of the revolutionary nature of our epoch and the exhaustion of the progressive role of the bourgeoisie. Although not classical Popular Fronts, the basic alliances sought by the CPs today (anti-monopoly alliance, Union of the Left, Popular Unity) have a similar counter-revolutionary purpose.

Sectarianism Does not mean being rude about other political tendencies, but refers to the political practice of building the party (and/or its periphery organisations) at the expense of, rather than by way of, the unity in action of the working class and its allies as a whole. The strategies of both the Workers' Revolutionary Party and, increasingly, the International Socialists are sectarian in this sense.

Social Democracy The Second International and the associated brand of reformist and national-chauvinist politics. Not all reformists are Social Democrats (there is also the Stalinist variety) but all Social Democrats are reformists.

Socialism in One Country Theory proclaimed by Stalin in 1924. Became the ideological cover for the abandonment by the Comintern (q.v.) of revolutionary internationalism in favour of narrow nationalism, and it was used to justify the conversion of CPs throughout the world into docile pawns of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

Soviets Workers' (or peasants', or soldiers') councils.

Stalinism Ideology expressing the interests of the privileged bureaucratic stratum which rules the USSR, China, etc..

State Structure, including decisively the armed forces, police, courts, etc., which has the role of preserving the unity and cohesion of a social formation, of preserving the conditions of production and there-

fore the reproduction of the social conditions of production. It is an axiom of Marxism that the bourgeois state must be smashed before the transition to socialism can be initiated (Chile and similar attempts at a "peaceful transition to socialism" show the cost of ignoring this axiom).

State Capitalism Apart from a number of straightforward usages, this term, applied to the Soviet Union, China, etc., is exclusive to T. Cliff and his followers in this country. Basically it is an analogy which says that such countries are like large capitalist companies whose internal organisation is dictated by military competition with the West. Not to be confused in any way with the Marxist concept of capitalism (q.v.).

Terrorism Act of individual or group violence which seeks to substitute itself for mass action (rather than serving as an ancillary to such action, for example). Marxists reject terrorism as a method but solidarise with all those fighting oppression, however blindly, which almost invariably includes people resorting to terrorism.

Transitional Programme System of demands "stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat." (Trotsky) Individual transitional demands are not defined by being unrealizable under capitalism; the point has nothing to do with realizability and everything to do with the need to bridge the gap between today's consciousness and tomorrow's tasks; furthermore this function is fulfilled precisely by a set of demands and the relation between them.

Ultra-leftism Contrary to the CP practice of calling all revolutionary socialists ultra-left, this term has a precise meaning. It refers to the political practice of ignoring the present level of working class consciousness and hence of attempting to 'go round' the main reformist organisations and their leaderships, rather than seeking to combat their influence wherever it exists. Classically ultra-leftism involved abstaining from parliamentary elections and building 'revolutionary trade unions' parallel to traditional reformist organisations. Today it is expressed in such slogans as "no alliances with reformists", "the Labour Party is dead", and "Social Democrats = Social fascists". In the recent past in Portugal most of the far left and the Communist Party (for different reasons) had an ultra-left attitude towards the Socialist Party. Ultra-leftism usually involves sectarianism (q.v.) and neglect of the politics of the united front (q.v.).

United Front The policy of forming united fronts with other working class tendencies was formulated by Lenin and Trotsky and endorsed by the early congresses of the Comintern. The need for united fronts, which permit unity in action without suspending the process of programmatic clarification (cf. Popular Fronts), stems from the need to maximise the striking power of the workers' movement vis a vis its class enemies. But the united front is also the only way in which masses of people can be involved in a practical demonstration of the superiority of the revolutionary programme.

Workers' Democracy System of election of workplace or area delegates subject to instant recall (see also Bureaucracy). Superior to bourgeois democracy in as much as its representatives (MPs etc.) are not subject to recall or even frequent re-election and voting takes place in conditions of individualisation which maximise the pressure of bourgeois ideology on working class people.

The International Marxist Group is a small organization of the revolutionary left. It is the British section of the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. It struggles for an international socialist revolution as the only way to defeat capitalism and its imperialist network. In Britain the IMG is active around issues as Ireland, Spain, Portugal and solidarity with the national struggle in Angola. Also, the IMG campaigns to defeat cutbacks in educational and welfare services, to advance the liberation of women and for workers' control of industry among many other issues.

In the University, the IMG has successively fought for a sliding scale of grants and full student democracy in solidarity with all oppressed groups. For these ends we hold regular meetings, educationals and, every Tuesday, a bookstall in the marketplace. 'Revolutionary Student' is produced each term. The paper of the IMG, RED WEEKLY, is on sale each Friday in the University. If you would like more information on the activities of the International Marxist Group contact: A. Bruce in the Dept. of Sociology.

IMG University Meetings for this term:

Friday, 16 January - Council Chamber 1.15:
'Socialists and the Labour Party', Keith Russell.

Friday, 23 January - Council Chamber 1.15:
'The Spanish Situation Today', Pablo Martinez.

Friday, 6 February - Council Chamber 1.15:
'The Way Forward for the Abortion Campaign', Dodie Wepler.

Read RED WEEKLY every Friday - Price 10 pence.