

STYLE



labour movement in Britain has never

gone in for style. Compared with the festivities of the Italian Communist party or the fireworks and flowers that greeted the election of a Greek Socialist government, the Left here has taken its politics rather soberly, tending to view style and glamour with some suspicion.

Yet, in recent years, there has been a shift in the ways that the Left has begun to communicate its politics to a wider public. The Labour party led by Neil Kinnock has taken to using the media in a directly populist way. The GLC has employed advertising on a large scale in its campaign against abolition and to attract huge crowds to festivals on London's South Bank.

During the miners' strike, independently-made videos began to be circulated as an alternative news network for striking communities. These are signs of a new awareness of the need to communicate socialist ideas in accessible and popular forms.

But what does it mean for the Labour party to commission designer sweatshirts or to launch its Jobs and Industry Campaign with a Billy Bragg tour? Is this a sell-out to populism, a packaging of serious issues for a youth audience indifferent to politics, or a genuine attempt to get to grips with the styles and fashions of contemporary popular culture?

Clearly the success of the Thatcher

government in mobilising the media in anti-socialist causes has forced the Left to think seriously about how it can get its views across effectively to a wide audience. This has meant, for example, some union journals adopting the style and tone of tabloid newspapers, and local authorities using the techniques of pop videos for their campaigns.

But perhaps more important in changing the style of the Left itself has been the impact of the different political cultures of blacks, women and gays in giving a new significance to imagery, music, poetry and dress as forms of political expression.

It is possible to overexaggerate these changes. The average party or trade union meeting still has to be endured rather than enjoyed, and the routine criticism that their style excludes rather than invites participation could be applied equally to the literature which they produce.

Does style matter, though? Should we be concerned about the contemporary 'image' of the Left? To those for whom any attempt to bring style to politics is merely Saatchi and Saatchi-type image making the answer would be 'no'. But while socialist styles and imagery cannot be manufactured by an ad agency, they are nonetheless important.

The Left has had a powerful tradition of socialist iconography, but one which, with its stress on heroic white male working class values, is no longer current

Campaign trendsetters: party leader Neil Kinnock measures up for Labour's Jobs And Industry campaign with the new pioneers of fashionable politics, designers Katharine Hamnett, Stevie Stewart and David Holah.

today. This is not simply a question of updating old styles, but of a need for the language and imagery of socialism to communicate with the knowledge, the hopes and desires of people in the present.

That means taking advantage of the new possibilities opened up by the media technologies of video and cable TV, being aware of popular cultural forms in music or fashion, and paying attention to the ways in which symbols and images are produced out of specific struggles, for example, at Greenham.

If the Left reverts to its old puritanical ways of seeing style as purely class based or else as the product of commercial manipulation, it will not be capable of generating a contemporary imagery for socialism. Striking design, visual imagination, musical energy or a sense of fun are not un-socialist qualities. They may even be crucial if we want to communicate that participation and enjoyment, as well as work and commitment, are a necessary part of socialism.

Rosemary Betterton

SELLING SOCIALISM

When the last GLC billboard disappears

from London next year, it will leave behind more than an advertising agency weeping over the loss of a big-spending client.

The council's success in winning the battle for public opinion over GLC abolition will influence political campaigning for years to come. There are already signs that an expensive contract with a West End advertising agency could become the new virility symbol of campaigning organisations, be they political parties or single issue groups.

All those billboards failed to keep the GLC working for London - the council is being abolished. But they have persuaded many people on the Left that advertising can work for us: largely thanks to the GLC, there is a new willingness to use the techniques of market research, advertising and public relations. And about time too. We lag years behind the Right, leaving them to laugh all the way to the polls.

There are, however, inherent dangers in this new-found enthusiasm. Some of us seem to have made the leap from the Left's traditional suspicion of advertising to the new enthusiasm without a pause for thought. In some quarters, advertising is being seen as an answer to all our problems: a complete campaign and publicity strategy instead of a considered part of one.

Advertising is no substitute for a vision of how society could be organised or for the policies to achieve that. It is an

Fighting rate-capping on the streets: adverts from the recent campaign to stave off cuts in local government spending

advertising agency's job to know what people are receptive to and how to turn that to the advertiser's advantage. For some on the Left, that crudely translates in the field of political advertising to watering down your policies so you can tell the public what they want to hear. Of course it doesn't have to. The challenge is to use advertising and other marketing methods without selling out our politics along the way.

It is hard to argue with the claim that modern marketing techniques have worked for the Tories. But just because some people on the Left think Mrs Thatcher and her sophisticated publicity machine have managed to fool enough people enough of the time to win two general elections is no reason for us to try to outdo her. That approach smacks of contempt for people as a blank sheet of paper on which you can write anything. If we are to embrace advertising, let us do it to promote our values and principles, not to manipulate people.

Manipulation wouldn't work in the long run. Advertising cannot sell a bad or unpopular product - not forever anyway. Mrs Thatcher isn't fooling enough of the people at the moment, if you believe the opinion polls. Labour's unhappy experience of advertising in the 1983 general election also illustrates the point. Research in the run-up to the campaign showed that Labour was seen as divided and negative, always critical and never constructive. But a slogan telling people to 'Think positive, act positive, vote Labour' wasn't the answer. It was a mechanistic response to the research findings. It didn't convince anybody.

To return to the GLC campaign, we have to remember that it wasn't selling *socialism* at all. The GLC and its advertising agency knew their targets. They were

after the people, many of them Alliance or even Tory voters, who could be persuaded to support the need for a London-wide strategic authority. So the real product on the GLC billboards was liberal democracy. The billboards told Londoners their right to vote was under threat and the knee-jerk reaction was outrage, even among people who had never bothered to exercise their vote in past GLC elections.

In the early days of the campaign, the advertising agency avoided attacking Mrs Thatcher head-on. Her political position appeared too strong for that. That's why the agency instead chose to exploit the commonly-held view of bureaucrats as remote, out of touch, and unfriendly. It was an example of advertising that recognised what people were receptive to and turned it to the advertiser's advantage.

The billboards certainly had impact. But were huge images of the Whitehall bureaucrat as a slow moving snail or a brick wall really compatible with a socialist strategy? Should a council or a political party committed to the public sector be attacking civil servants? Why are County Hall bureaucrats any better than Whitehall ones? And will they suddenly become the good guys when there's a Labour government at Westminster again?

The GLC has produced some good examples of potentially socialist advertising, particularly in the areas of race, women and disabilities. The billboard on racism which asked people if they were part of the problem or the solution is a case in point. The council and the agency had clearly identified the basic problem in society they wanted to tackle. The billboard demonstrated clear goals and values, translated in an imaginative way.

It's that final step - the translation of policies and ideas in a way which will attract people - where so much of the Left's campaign work falls down. We fail to come up with the language and images that project socialism in a positive way. That is where advertising agencies can help us.

Inevitably, there will be tension in any relationship between organisations on the Left and commercial advertising agencies. They're more used to selling soap than socialism. But then we're better at producing policies than projecting them.

Mike Roberts



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If you have been set the task of getting

something printed - a leaflet, poster or pamphlet - and have no idea how to go about it, read on. First, organise your thoughts *before* you phone the printer. Be able to specify at least quantity and size that you need. If you are working to a set budget, tell the printer or print buyer what it is. They will then be able to cut your fantasies of a full-colour billboard poster down to an A4 single-colour flyer with a single giggle. If you are working to a deadline, tell the printer immediately what it is. Do not expect the impossible.

Having established your requirements the next step is to provide the printer with **artwork** (a facsimile of the printed product which is photographed by the printer as the first stage of the printing process).

If you are preparing your own artwork, ask the printer to provide you with the necessary number of **layout boards**, which have blue guidelines printed on them to make layout easier. Use one *side of the board only*. The images on the artwork must be sharp and clear. You can draw extra guidelines for yourself with a pale **blue pencil** (not pen) as these will not be picked up by the camera.

If you are typing the text, use a typewriter with a carbon ribbon, or get it **typeset**. Drawings or diagrams should be drawn in black or red (which the camera 'sees' as black). It is also possible to use photocopied material as long as the image is clear and sharp.

Grey or indistinct images reproduce badly, lower the quality of the finished product and can increase the price. You will also need a tin of cowgum, a **cowgum spreader** (see Yellow Pages under Art and Craft Materials for stockists), and a **ruler or set square**.

When you have assembled the text and illustrations, tape the layout board firmly to a flat surface at all four corners. Work within the guidelines shown on the layout board. If you do not have layout boards, use a sheet of firm card, draw a box the size of the paper on it and then draw another box in blue pencil 10mm smaller all round. The text must stay within this inner box.

Spread the cowgum thinly and evenly (be sure to get it right to the corners) on

the back of the text and stick the various bits down where you want them. You now have camera-ready artwork.

Take this to the printer, accompanied by clear written instructions - name, address, daytime telephone number where you can be contacted if required, size, quantity and colour of ink and



GETTING INTO PRINT

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Of the 35 video tapes listed in the catalogue, 15 are available for hire or sale from the Archive itself. The others can be obtained directly from the producers (addresses and telephone numbers supplied.) Also in the catalogue are lists of contacts for photographic collections/exhibitions, books and plays about the strike.

THE CATALOGUE WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER

If you would like to order a copy of the catalogue, to hire or buy the video tapes, or to get more information contact: Sue Kennedy or Belinda Williams, the Northern Film & TV. Archive, 36 Bottle Bank, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear, NE8 2AR. Tel: 091 477 3601.

paper that you want, the date you require finished copies and a delivery address.

If your budget allows, you can have your material **typeset** (which allows you to get a lot more words legibly on a page, as well as look professional). The typesetter will need to know how many words you require typeset and what size the finished product is to be. An A4 page of typing in single line space with a one-inch margin all round will be approximately 650 words; line and a half space will be 420 words, and double line space 330 words. (Typesetters prefer to work from double line spaced typed copy).

The typesetter will ask if you are providing **marked-up copy**. This is text where the typeface, size, line-length and so on are clearly marked. If you do not have the skills to do this, the typesetter will do it, but they may charge extra.

The typesetter will provide you with **bromides** which you paste down on your artwork. Complicated figure work (i.e. tables or accounts) costs more so specify if this is part of your manuscript.

If you have even more money, ask the typesetter or printer to prepare the artwork for you. The finished artwork will then be top quality which means that even if you've opted for the cheapest print process, the finished product will look good. Saving money on artwork can be a false economy.

If you have a reasonable budget and a professional product is needed, hire a designer. Make an appointment and go armed with all the facts and figures mentioned above, a copy of your manuscript and any photographs or illustrations you want to include plus your organisation's logo or letterhead, if you have one.

How much you participate in the design process is up to **you**. You can choose your typeface and indicate the general style that you want (if you've seen a product that you particularly like, take it along to give some indication of your preferences) or you can leave it entirely to the designer to come up with a design. Co-op printers and typesetters will be able to recommend a sympathetic designer.

There are several different categories of printer, each suited to a particular size and type of job. At the smallest end of the spectrum, if what you want is 50 or 100 **leaflets**, then a decent photocopier is all you need. Photocopiers usually have a fixed price per copy, whereas offset litho printing has a lot of fixed costs, but the cost per copy drops dramatically as the quantity increases.

For colour or quality work, litho printing is the best process to use. For small jobs such as a couple of hundred posters or 500 A5 **leaflets**, an instant print shop is probably best. They specialise in a quick turnaround and use a mixture of photocopy and small-scale litho printing.

For high quality or a large quantity, use a litho printer. Different printers specialise in different products depending on the type of machinery they have, so the only way to find the best printer for you is to phone around for quotes. You can find a printer through Yellow Pages, or find a sympathetic co-op printer through the co-op directory.

Isabel Thomson and Tony Swash



You've seen the campaigning videos, tried on the politicised tee-shirts — now try the books. *The Alternative Printing Handbook* by Chris Treweek and Jonathan Zeitlyn (Penguin 1983) is crammed with no-nonsense information and hints on DIY printing methods and lay-out and paste-up techniques. Sue Ward's *Organising Things* (Pluto 1984) is similarly useful for all kinds of campaigns, and her checklists and good format make it an excellent basic guide. Advice on getting media coverage for campaigns is contained in Denis MacShane's *Using the Media* (Pluto 1979), *Voluntary Organisations and the Media* by Maggie Jones (NCVO Bedford Square Press 1984) and Jane Drinkwater's *Get It On* (Pluto 1984). For some really zany suggestions for campaigns, learn something of how it's done in the US from the introduction to James Pitt and Maurice Keane's booklet *Community Organising: You've Never Really Tried It* (from LVSC, 68 Chalton Street, London NW1).

SCREEN PLAY

general the Left has been slow to

catch on to the uses of the new media, including film and video, preferring on the whole the more traditional approaches of selling newspapers and leaflets. But, following the lead of the GLC, some organisations have begun to include film and video in their materials, thus opening up their campaigning methods to new audiences. For film and video-makers these initiatives have provided an impetus to re-examine many of the assumptions which we have worked with in the past.

Over a decade ago, political film-makers were not too worried about technique. The accepted orthodoxy was that it did not matter much if the camera shook or the sound was difficult to catch (by definition, political films were made

on a shoestring anyway), the priority was getting the politics right.

The films, many of them innovative and challenging, were shown in **clichéd** settings of small halls with ropey equipment and, even if the content was exciting, the presentation was generally poor.

Several things have happened since then to **transform** the situation. The **first**, interestingly enough, is the advent of Channel 4. With many radical film groupings, particularly around *The Eleventh Hour*, commissioned to work for the Channel, film-makers themselves have had to think about how to address a far wider audience than they previously had access to.

The setting up of local workshops, funded jointly by Channel 4, local authorities and the British Film Institute,

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has established regional production centres. These provide both greater security for film workers, allowing them to develop their expertise, and also the kind of access for smaller organisations to professional film and video-making at a local level which was previously impossible.

Lastly, the video revolution has made the medium more attractive to campaigning and political groups. Nowadays, every issue spawns its own video presentation and every exhibition stall its own video loop. For the Left, video has finally become a boom industry.

The plethora of films and videos around now begins to raise questions. Just how useful is a video to a campaign? There is an increasing suspicion that many videos gather dust on office shelves and only see the light of day at a handful of meetings, despite a conviction that film and video should be able to reach the audiences that other materials fail to reach. After all, in these times of all-day television, visual media is where most people are at. In tackling this problem, radical film-makers are having to confront ideas that the Left traditionally shies away from.

Sickness or 'gloss' is still something that is distrusted by large sections of the Left, the assumption being that if a video looks like a Gas Board advert its politics must somehow be compromised. Likewise the use of 'stars' can either be written off as pandering to commercialism or alternatively, viewed as a concerted attempt to break into new audiences.

Yet precisely what has made the GLC campaigns, for instance, so effective is that they have moved into the traditional preserves of commercialism and in doing so imposed their own style on them. They have taken little for granted, working from forms which are familiar to the vast majority of the population

(like billboards) and using them to take their politics forward. If film and video are to follow the same path, then at least some of the techniques of programmes like *Coronation Street* have to be taken seriously and incorporated into our own approach. Without using such populist styles, how else is it possible to win an audience to think about new issues?

A film that *Parallax Pictures* recently made for the GLC posed this question very sharply. *Policing London* is a dramatic introduction to the GLC's policy on policing, starring David Yip (television's Chinese Detective). Much that the GLC has produced about the police has been



A scene from a recent 60-second film made for cinemas to highlight the dangers of transporting nuclear waste by rail.

more critical, more outspoken, less compromising. Yet *Policing London* caused a storm of controversy from the police, Leon Brittan, Tory GLC councillors and finally in parliament itself; and as a result the video has had so much news coverage that the GLC is inundated with requests to use it.

The reason for the uproar is that very 'slickness' from which the Left so often distances itself. To make something that is entertaining as well as political, attractive as well as committed, is seen by the Right to be dangerous and worth trying to stop.

Yet the Left cannot purely copy the Right. While its techniques have to be competitive - a CND cinema advert, for instance, must be able to stand up next to the Benson and Hedges advert in the Odeon, Leicester Square - its tone has to

be different. The blatant manipulation of people and ideas which the Saatchi brothers and others indulge in, cannot be our weapon. Rather, we have to be continually linking promotion to campaigning, exploring new outlets and new ways of involving the audience in our approach. Thus, in the case of the CND advert, local groups booked it into their cinemas (so solving some of the cost problems), which also allowed them to leaflet and publicise their own activities at the same time.

The stumbling-block to this approach, for small campaign groups, is of course finance. But for national organisations

the cost involved is a fraction of the money spent on written material each year. And, at the end of the day, an engaging well-produced video or a glossy cinema advert do open up new avenues and audiences to issues. Even without the resources of the Right, local councils and the labour and trade union movement have to espouse the new media, to ensure that the Left continues to have a voice transmitted through the most popular forms appropriate to the 1980s.

Sally Hibbin

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HIGH TECH TALK

icrotechnology – the technology based on

silicon chips - affects just about every type of communication other than talking face-to-face. Telephones, libraries, printing, even the visual arts are rapidly changing due to the introduction of systems using the fast, cheap and small circuits available on silicon.

Some uses seem designed to hinder rather than help the sharing of ideas and information by making it accessible only to those with money. But the technology itself can be used to facilitate what we want to say, too. Much has been, and should be written on the political problems posed by the uses of microtechnology - but little on how we also need to use it, if radical movements are to survive against governments and business investing heavily in more sophisticated ways of communicating what *they* want to say.

The most obvious use of a micro-computer for a group is in automating their mailing or subscription lists. It isn't always worth it - for, say, under 500 subscribers it's probably less work doing it by photocopying labels.

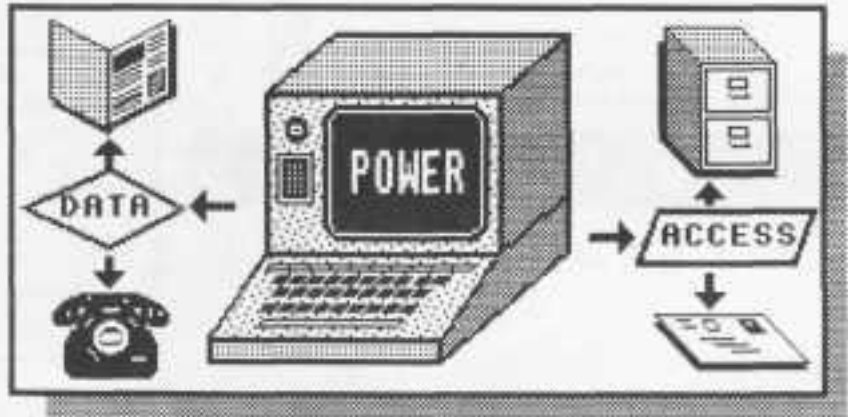
But for larger numbers, or for lists that contain more than names and addresses, a computer not only cuts down routine

work but also allows you the possibility of contacting people more effectively.

You can use a micro to do what is virtually impossible manually, to cross-reference in a multitude of ways, making networking easy. The National Women and Computing Network, for example, can put women in touch with women in

— an effective way to 'target'.

It takes a leaf out of the *Readers' Digest*, although the Mailing List, unlike the *RD*, only contains the names of women who choose to be on their list and carefully avoids collecting any information that could be used against individuals.



their area, with their same interests or with particular computing skills. And the National Women's Mailing List in the USA maintains details of the feminist interests of more than 60,000 women, giving women's groups the opportunity to contact women with a specific interest

It's certainly how the Right in the USA - the Moral Majority targeting Christians and the arms lobby targeting hawks - increasingly chooses to work to get their word out.

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DESIGNS ON THE LEFT

as the Right - is much more than just a technique to write your novel. It allows groups much more flexibility in collective writing, since endless drafts can be made without anyone having to retype, and different people can merge what they write.

It levels out differences in typing ability, and even confidence in writing to some extent, and you can even get packages to check spelling. For the majority of groups who don't have their own micro to hand for day-to-day writing, access to someone else's can still make producing leaflets, newsletters or even magazines much easier.

Since the Left deals disproportionately in the printed word, word processors are obviously a useful thing to have around.

However, we could branch out into electronic means of reproducing words: sending news around the world via computer-phone links, which aren't very expensive to set up once you have the computer, or even setting up 'databases' that can be reached by the same link-ups.

There's a computer network based (unofficially) at the University of Wisconsin for people to find out the latest information about anti-apartheid demonstrations and their effects on companies who invest in South Africa, for example.

Computers, even small ones, can now store a great deal of information - cross-referenced - that we could use: bibliographies, contact addresses, statistics. *Microsystem* is talking at the moment with groups about databases on research on the effects of technological change on women, 19th century women, and feminist historians.

And we could organise to demand space on Prestel, British Telecom's TV-telephone link where 'information providers' put up pages, in colour, on our screens: if we don't demand it, it will all be home banking and telly-shopping.

Computer-based technology is considerably cheaper than it was five years ago, and also much simpler to use. This doesn't mean that a radical group can necessarily either afford their own equipment or take to it instantly, especially since they may know too much about some of the terrible problems associated with its use to feel happy about using it themselves.

If we are to turn it to our advantage, we must share access to it, be very clear about how and why its developed - and share knowledge of uses that the developers may not have intended.

Microsystem

Open the pages of the latest issue of *Crafts*,

the magazine of the Crafts Council, and you will see the influence of radical design in mainstream British publishing. The new art director of *Crafts* is David King, doyen of the dramatic stars and arrows of the Anti-Nazi League in the early 1970s. Now advertisements for Swedish looms and potters' equipment sit somewhere uncomfortably between spreads of glowing red duotones, bold underlines and photographs of professors of furniture at suitably dynamic angles. The crafts community has abandoned William Morris for the power and impact of constructivism.

Another designer who, though less politically explicit, has entered the mainstream with a splash from the banks of



the counterculture is Neville Brody. Brody first came to prominence with the success of the then-radical face before moving on to redesign *City Limits*, previously shaped by King.

Brody's approach is a far cry from the constructivist commitment of King. His style is eclectic and daring in its mix of old, new and hand-drawn faces and unconventional lettering. His obvious love of rule-breaking, in-joking, parody and pastiche celebrates a post-modern age where technology makes anything possible whilst reducing the image to the fleeting ephemera of the televisual age.

Brody's work has been widely imitated. It is difficult to find a young women's magazine today which does not contain some sub-Brody device employed to greater or, usually, lesser effect. Even packagers are grabbing at the potential impact of Brody's style to shift their clients' paper handkerchiefs

and biscuits from supermarket shelves.

Yet despite the widely acknowledged importance of radical designers like King and Brody, the Left has often maintained a hesitant and cautious commitment to innovation in the graphics of its own publications. In part this results from a basic mistrust of the techniques employed by the advertising industry to create artificial demand in a world where starvation and poverty abound. The old purist's view that the message of socialism is powerful enough not to need dressing up in jazzy presentation still has its advocates.

But it is also true that the Left's failure to exploit the potential of graphics has stemmed from a basic lack of resources. Expensive design studios have always been outside the reach of the Left who have decided, rightly, that a choice between producing costly, highly-designed publications, or none, is no choice at all.

There are signs today that these problems are being overcome. In the first place the path-breaking work of the GLC and the other metropolitan councils has shown that it is possible to apply conventional marketing techniques, with their emphasis on graphic impact, without compromising the progressive message they are designed to deliver.

The facilities available to the Left to design its output are also vastly superior to those which existed only a few years ago. In part this results from developments in typesetting technology which has reduced the cost of previously complicated and expensive graphics.

But there is another reason. The incursions of the Left into the margins of mainstream publishing, particularly notable in the success of feminist and socialist book publishers, have provided a material base for the growth of a range of design facilities run by the Left for the Left.

If the creativity which individual designers of the Left have consistently displayed can be married with the day-to-day production of radical literature in a consistent manner the advantages of good presentation will become obvious. Design sells ideas. And, in today's highly-competitive ideological market, it is something socialists can ill-afford to treat lightly.

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PEACEFUL MESSAGES

In trying to change the climate of opinion, CND (in common with most campaigns) is not in a position to conduct major advertising or publicity campaigns. So much of the work of getting CND's message across is done by local groups, who have thought up a wide range of creative initiatives.

In many ways, CND has the advantage of a message which can be presented symbolically in a clear and straightforward manner. Everyone is afraid of nuclear weapons, everyone has some vision of a peaceful world. When this is combined with the peace movement's concentration on the power of people to change the world, it can produce new and moving images and events: the ribbon of people surrounding the Pentagon, the dragon at Greenham, and doves of peace are all instantly comprehensible, as are processions of mourners carrying cruise missiles.

But images do not by themselves convince people: the arguments also have to

be won. The best and most successful of the peace movement's attempts to impinge upon the outside world are characterised, I think, by this combination of *image* and *argument*.

A striking example of the use of images was the 'shadow project' of Hiroshima Week. On the evening of Monday August 5, thousands of shadows and explanatory messages were painted on the streets of Britain's cities, towns and villages (in washable paint!) as a reminder of the 'shadows' of people blasted onto pavements in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Another of CND's attempts to appeal to people in a different way has been through the medium of alternative but

Brighton citizens contemplate the awful effects of nuclear war during CND's 'shadow project' to mark Hiroshima Week.



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Write for Autumn Lists

popular culture. This use of the creative arts was well illustrated in two recent events in Manchester. The first, called Peace in the Streets, involved taking over Manchester city centre one Saturday morning. On every street corner were performers: singers, mime artists, street theatre; all on the themes of peace, war and nuclear weapons.

As the morning went on, processions from local CND groups marched into the city centre for a short rally which included popular performers, artists and writers as well as other more obviously 'political' speakers.

In similar vein was the Free Trade Hall event, Come Alive in '85. Attracting 2,000 people, it was an enormous cabaret featuring song, dance and theatre acts to help to put across the basic campaign message.

A quite different method of bringing attention to nuclear weapons and their dangers is provided by non-violent direct action (NVDA) and civil disobedience. Here the effect lies in activists' willingness to put themselves at risk in order to make a political statement. NVDA has two aspects: its 'nuisance-value' to the authorities, and the impact of its message to the public. While some people would see the first of these as potentially bringing about a change in government policy, I think that the second is the more important, and therefore *how* the message is presented is crucial.

However, to some extent NVDA is still a concentration on *image* rather than *argument*: it depends upon people either already knowing the arguments in order to appreciate the act, or else discovering the arguments once their attention has been drawn to the issue by the act of civil disobedience. So how can the arguments be successfully presented?

Although the media is by no means always biased against CND's position, there is no doubt that the ordinary person receives a very heavy regular dose

of the establishment's case. In countering this, CND has relied upon the staple tools of traditional campaigning, public meetings and street leafletting, with some door-to-door work.

The difficulty with public meetings, of course, is that the people whom we most want to reach never attend, so one tends to be preaching to the converted. On the other hand, door-knocking and personal contact require a large number of people and confident arguments.

By rethinking the traditional approach, Greater Manchester CND has found a partial solution to the first problem, whilst Bristol CND has been tackling the second.

There are up to 100 local groups in Greater Manchester CND. So in order to cover areas without groups or normally not exposed to CND (eg, housing estates), it has been possible to bus people in from nearby groups to leaflet wards in a sort of 'mass canvass'. The last time this was done a very successful CND group was set up in the area as a result. But, perhaps more importantly, a large number of people heard CND's arguments clearly stated for the first time.

Bristol CND has just launched a campaign called The Chance of a Lifetime (or A Lifetime of Chance)? in which positive messages, good visual images, clear arguments and a variety of different methods of presentation are all combined. Bristol's emphasis is on a 'rolling programme' of activity and publicity, using for example billboard ads, ballots of local opinion and window posters. 'Follow-up' teams are constantly thinking and planning ahead to the next project in a 6-month schedule of concerted campaigning.

There is undoubtedly still a long way to go before these new attempts to persuade and motivate public opinion can claim widespread success. But the core elements of direct personal contact, the use of symbols and vivid imagery

provide us with an object lesson in new, creative forms of campaigning which do not depend upon access to the national media, or the enormous finance needed for massive advertising drives.

Elena Lieven

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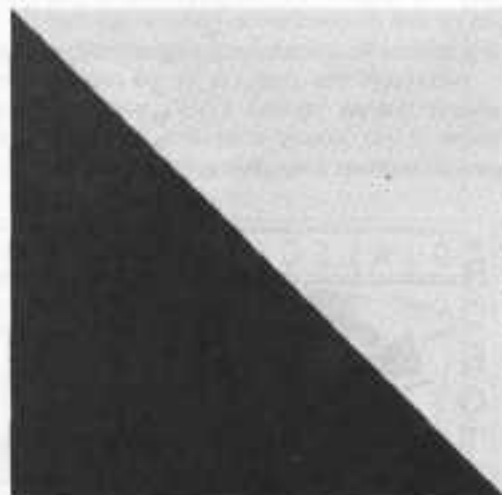
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