

**IF YOU
DON'T HIT IT
IT WON'T**

FREE

NUMBER 22

FALL

Oui

**usines
occupees**



**HASTA LA VICTORIA
SIEMPRE**



**LIBERTAD PARA
ANGELA DAVIS
FECH'71**



**BOURGEOIS
VOUS
N'AVEZ
RIEN COMPRIS**



Save our Services

a plea from the Nottingham Busmen

To all bus passengers . . .

Last year the Busman produced a leaflet informing you of the changes that were taking place in the Public Transport Services. We warned you that it was the District Council's intention to reduce the fleet to 380 buses and that this would lead to higher fares. In the last resort it will be you who decide the level of bus services in Nottingham.

You can help yourself by supporting the Busmen in their campaign. If you belong to an organisation such as a Trade Union, Tenants Association, Bus Users Association or any organisation that is indirectly affected by a reduced bus service, get them to support the busman. Act now!

You have a right to know why . . .

- * there is a bus shortage
- * that there are no joint meetings with the City and County and other interested parties

The busmen want to know why . . .

- * buses are being sold (80 approx.) and being used in other areas of the country
- * no vigorous attempts are being made to see that existing orders for new buses are delivered

The busmen did oppose the sale of Lilac Leopards

Can you afford to wait for change in Local Authority attitudes. The winter is almost upon us — by acting now your wait at the bus stop may be shorter.

PRESS THE LOCAL COUNCIL TO ACT NOW

Thank you for your support in past campaigns, send letters of protest to:

Councilor Jack Green,
The Council House,
Nottingham.

Published by 5/92 Branch Committee, Transport and General Workers Union, 292 Mansfield Road,
Nottingham
Printed by the Russell Press Ltd (TU)

"Why do I do it?

For one thing it's not as much work as organising the work-class and it's a lot less boring."

Follow your desires, release your aggressions in a positive, creative way. The Open Road and Yipster Times are calling for a international week of Pieing. NOV 4 - 11 Arise you downtrodden masses and strike a blow for freedom. Choose a suitable target, whether he, she or it be of local, national, or international infamy, and pie away.

So far, the pie throwing has been carried out by 'organizations' like Yippie! and the Groucho-Marxists and a small group of lone conspirators. Now all the piepeople, pieverts, groups, isolated nuts etc will join together for an International week of pieing.

Send details of your activities to the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist) Box 758, Station A, Vancouver.

NOTTINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

THE NOTTINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP NOW MEETS ALMOST REGULARLY.

ALTHOUGH WE ARE ONLY JUST GETTING TO KNOW EACH OTHER AND MOST OF US DISAGREE ABOUT SOME THINGS, WE ARE WILLING TO LISTEN TO EACH OTHERS ARGUMENTS. WE OFFER SUPPORT TO EACH OTHER/YOU AS ANARCHISTS IN EVERYDAY LIFE AND WITHIN THE BROADER 'LEFT' MOVEMENT (UNFORTUNATELY THERE IS A DIFFERENCE). WE DISCUSS OURSELVES AND THE SITUATION(S) IN WHICH WE LIVE. WE ARE ACTIVE AND HOPE TO BE MORE SO. INTERESTED?

CONTACT VIA 'MUSHROOM', HEATHCOTE STREET.

OR 'IF YOU WANT...'



DIARY

- Wed 2 Nov MASS PICKET E&H Architectural, Langley Mill, 7AM
- Fri 4 Nov FRIDAY FILMS: Ireland Behind The Wire. Film Theatre 7.30
- Mon 7 Nov MASS PICKET Grunwicks 'Day of Reckoning' Coach leaves Salutation Inn 3.00AM. Reservations Tel Nottingham 622923
- Wed 9 Nov ABC DEFENCE Nottingham Group meeting 7.30PM. For details of place ring Mushroom (Nottingham 582506). Anyone who can help distribute leaflets please contact the group via Mushroom.
- Thur 10 Nov IRELAND: Brian Lyons of the NUS Student Movement Campaign on Ireland speaking at University Portland Bldg 1PM and at Trent Poly, Byron Bldg, Shakespear Street, 7.30PM
- FILM: The Road to Life. Based on Anton Makevenko's book. Presented by S. Notts CP to celebrate 60 years of 'socialism' in USSR. 7.30 at ICC* Speakers and discussion. 4Op
- ALIENATION: The Quality of Life Under Capitalism. Marxist-Leninist Forum, Nottingham Communist Gp. 8.00PM at ICC* 10p
- Fri 11 Nov FRIDAY FILMS: Battle of Chile 1&2. Film Theatre NB STARTS 6.30
- Sat 12 Nov FILM: How Yukon Moved The Mountains 'The Pharmacy' The first of four brilliant films on China by Joris Ivens. Film Theatre
- Sun 13 Nov FILM: Yukon series 'The Oilfields' 4.30 and 7.45^{4.30 and 7.45}
- Thur 17 Nov FILM: La Cecilia. Benefit for the Other Cinema. Film Th. 7.30
- Fri 18 Nov FRIDAY FILMS: Minimata. Film Theatre, Broad Street. 7.30
- Sun 20 Nov CUTS IN PUBLIC SPENDING Conference. Bernard Dix, Broadside Theatre, Film 'Fight The Cuts' 2.00PM - 7.00PM at ICC*
- Thur 24 Nov THE THREAT OF FASCISM and how to fight it. Marxist-Leninist Forum, Nottingham Communist Group. 8.00PM ICC* 10p
- Fri 25 Nov FRIDAY FILMS: Letter to Jane/Vietnam Journey. Film Th 7.30PM
- Sat 26 Nov FILM: Yukon Series 'A Woman, A Family' Film Theatre 4.30 & 7.30
- RANK & FILE delegate conference MANCHESTER 11.30 New Century Hall, Corporation St. Detail 265a Seven Sisters Rd, London N4
- CACTL National Conference (& Sunday) Digbeth Civic Hall, BIRMINGHAM. Detail CACTL c/o 35 Wellington St, London WC2
- Sun 27 Nov FILM: Yukon Series 'Fishing Village' Film Theatre 4.30 & 7.45
- HOLDING UP HALF THE SKY The Story of Women in China, Society For Anglo Chinese Understanding. 3.00PM at ICC* Creche. 3Op
- *ICC - International Community Centre, 61b Mansfield Rd, Nttm.

WOMEN'S MEETINGS

WOMEN'S AID Dates not provided. Phone

LESBIAN SOCIAL GROUP. Tuesdays. Phone

SEX DISCRIMINATION GP. Tuesdays. Phone

ABORTION CAMPAIGN. Wednesdays. Phone

ANTI RAPE GROUP. Sundays 7.30. Phone

WOMEN'S GROUP every Thursday at the

26 Newcastle Chambers, Angel Row, Ci

'RECLAIM THE NIGHT' Torch light march

For further details telephone Jackie

IF YOU DON'T HIT IT, IT WONT FALL. c/o
Telephone Nottin

. Hyson Green, Nottingham

* BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS THEATRE are performing 'NOW YOU SEE IT-NOW YOU DON'T' at the Trades Council 'CUTS' conference on Sunday Nov 20. See details above. *

BOOKS

Books at Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. Tel 582560
Open daily except thursday and sunday 10.30-6

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| BIG RED DIARY 1978 | This year on the politics of food. £1.50 |
| SITA | Kate Millett £1.85 Virago |
| PRIVACY-THE INFORMATION GATHERERS | Patricia Hewitt. Covers police and security services, cash, credit and computers, education and medical records etc. NCCL £1.25 |
| THE ROAD MADE TO WALK ON CARNIVAL DAY | The battle for the West Indian carnival in Britain. Race Today 50p |
| SOLIDARI Y PAMPHLETS | A wide range now in stock |
| TRADE UNIONS UNDER CAPITALISM | Tom Clark & Laurie Clements (Trent Poly) Fontana £1.95 |
| MENSTRUAL TABOOS | Matriarchy Study Group 30p. |
| POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HANNAH ARDENT | Margaret Canovan. Paperback £1.95! |
| WHAT SOCIETY DOES TO GIRLS | Joyce Nicholson Virago £1.35 A simple explanation of how girls and boys are conditioned in our society. |
| NUCLEAR POWER-NO THANKS | Produced by Cambridge Friends of the Earth 25p |
| GRUNWICK | Penguin Special by Joe Rogaly 80p |
| THE HOMELESS AND THE EMPTY HOUSES | Penguin Special by Ron Bailey 95p |
| THE WEALTH OF SOME NATIONS | Malcom Caldwell. First introductory text to integrate western energy crisis with third world food shortage. Zed Press £3.00 |
| REPUBLICAN PRESS CENTRE, BELFAST | Several pamphlets on prison struggles etc. |
| UNDER HEAVY MANNERS | Report of the labour movement enquirey into police brutality and the position of black youth in Islington. (July 23rd 1977) 25p |
| A WINDOW ON SOWETO | Joyce Sikakane IDAF 80p. |
| OPEN ROAD | Issue 4. Articles on Anarca-Feminism, Nazi bashing, pie throwing and more. 35p. |
| COMING SOON: LENIN FOR BEGINNERS | Cartoon introduction from the publishers of Marx for Beginners. £1.25 |

CO-COUNSELLING

Co-Counselling is a process whereby people can learn how to exchange effective help with each other in order to free themselves from the present effects of distressful experiences in the past.

After learning the basic techniques co-counsellors meet in pairs as equals. In a session the available time is shared equally and each person has the role of client or counsellor in turn. The client is in charge of his or her time and decides what to work on, how to work on it and how long to work on it. The counsellor does not evaluate, interpret or advise.

Two workshops for learning the basics of co-counselling are being held in Nottingham: SUNDAY 20th NOVEMBER & SUNDAY 22nd JANUARY. The cost is £3 for each day but anyone who has difficulty in affording this may have a reduction.

If you want a place at the workshops or just to know more about co-counselling get in touch with us on Nottingham 704844.

- * CARF. Paper of the anti racist, anti fascist co-ordinating committee Oct/Nov issue now in Mushroom 10p. Its a good issue with articles including: *
- * NF Hands Off the Kids. Police in the Front. Extracts on Beatlemania and *
- * Websters 'Why I am a Nazi' from the old National Socialist paper. Details on *
- * Peter Marriner. The 11th Hour Brigade. Lewisham. Carnival 77. NF Attacks etc. *

BOOK REVIEWS

MUSHROOM BOOKSHOP now have a collection of books, pamphlets and magazines on a variety of topics, recently supplied. Some are FREE, some reduced, others not generally available.

FOR FREE

Several back numbers of the BIG FLAME newspaper

Womens Struggle Notes

Irish Bulletin

BF Nat'l Secretariat Document : towards a new revolutionary socialist organisation.

These will be of interest to those who find Big Flame's approach to organising a valuable one and to those who wish to see the politics of one of the groups in SOCIALIST UNITY. Members of BF are going to be visiting Nottingham in the next few months, anyone who wishes to meet them should write to Nat'l Secretary, 217 Wavertree Rd, Liverpool 7

REDUCED IN PRICE

Portugal, Women and the struggle for popular power RedRag
Don't be too hard on Soft Cops. This pamphlet looks at the role of the State and everyday life. It has some wrong conclusions about the role of community workers.

TV Handbook (20p) this handbook is not for politicians, celebrities, 'experts', industrialists, right-wing eccentrics or members of the royal family.

Case against the Social Contract (5p) the story of the worst bargain of all time, by a group of independent socialists.

CHILI SI (20p) Big Flame pamphlet on Chile

HUMPTY DUMPTY (10p) Radical psychology journal

STRIKERS HANDBOOK (5p) Claimants Union Movement.

Although this pamphlet is out-of-date in some ways (for example the Social Security rates have since increased and, more important, it was written for a period of more continuous yet limited struggle than now when, under the Social Contract, all struggle is discouraged) its politics is still very useful to strikers. It starts: "Strikes, as they're fought at present, tend to work against our own interests.....Some (unions) are prepared to negotiate us back to work on worse terms than we came out with.....in future, we need to find new ways of organising so that we hurt the bosses and not ourselves."

Squatters' Handbook (5p) Again, this is a bit out-of-date but contains a lot of valuable information and politics. The 'Handbook' was produced in London where, until recently, squatting was a large and growing movement. This had several consequences: a long-term politics of survival didn't seem important to very many people because squatting was thriving - this is no longer true as the Criminal Law and the State are trying to end independent squatting; as such, the need to know how to fix the electric, repair rooms and so on gets a majority of space in the Handbook. On the other hand, sticking together and organising unions etc is well covered.

FULL PRICE

Italian State Massacre (20p) published by Libertaria Books (1972) gives information on the frame up of a group of anarchists; it places the bombings in the context of the 'growing Italian political crisis' and 'growing authoritarian repression'

REVIEWS - continued

Under New management (5p) and Great Flint Sit-Down Strike (10p)

two of the best Solidarity pamphlets.

GLC RENT STRIKE TO THE HOUSING FINANCE ACT (2p) and TAKE OVER THE CITY (20p) Probably the two best Housing pamphlets of early '70s

CLAIM THE WORLD (2p) NATIONALISATION: STATE BOSS (4p)

LOOKING AFTER CHILDREN DURING THE RECENT REGIONAL WOMENS CONFERENCE

During the weekend of 22nd/23rd October, half a dozen men and one woman organised a Playgroup for 20 children, at the request of the Nottingham Womens' Liberation Group.

One pre-weekend meeting lead us to organise a place for the Sat & Sun, trips to the pictures and a childrens theatre on Sat morning, a minibus outing to Woolaton Park on Sat afternoon, a trip to Wingfield Manor on the Sunday.....and a lot of food.

This was the first time any of us had organised such an event in Nottingham, next time there will be more experience to build on.

It wasn't very easy to cater for babies in a shared way. A place for the younger kids (a nursery) also acting as a base for us all was hard to come by; it needed to be warm, fairly big, have plenty of toys and cooking facilities. The Church Hall we used for most of the weekend provided most of these necessities.

Hiring a minibus was very helpful; the trips were pretty successful and also getting a lot of tired children and adults home proved easier. Both halls and transport as well as food required money. This was a problem and some debts are still not paid off.

For future womens' liberation conferences we would be wise to send out advance information to mothers, asking children's ages, asking for scruffy clothes for trips, explaining what the programme is.

Out of the maximum number we looked after (26) only THREE OR FOUR kids had mothers actually at the conference. A large number came from the Womens' Aid Refuge for a while and others from single parents who needed a Playgroup. Why were there so few from the conference? Was it because those with children didn't realise that their children would be 'enthuisiastically' looked after or because the majority of conference goers were young, single and didn't have responsibility for children?

On the other hand it showed a considerable need and interest in organising Play facilities for children in Nottingham. A meeting after the weekend involving five men raised several questions:

Our interest was because we enjoyed being with children, because (in two cases) we were single parents, because its important politically to challenge the sexual division of labour including lifting the sole responsibility for kids from women, giving men a chance to relate to kids as more than discipline-giver (Wait 'til your father comes home), and making certain facilities available which single parents or families couldn't afford.

Our attitude to different parts of the Womens' Movement

Our feelings as men, with and without children, about children
And many more considerations.

WE DECIDED to arrange some kind of bonfire party with food and with Parliament on the Pyre rather than Guy Fawkes 'the only person to enter Parliament with good intentions'. (contact Keith Venables 789826)
To encourage children to go to the picket on Wed Nov 2nd at E & H
To take children to the pictures than out for the day on Sat 12 Nov
To hold a further meeting on Wednesday 9th November at 10am at 118 Mansfield Rd, Nottingham. On the agenda is Baby Sitting in the Evenings and a continuation of the last discussion.

KLV

** The word 'Playgroup' is preferred to 'Creche' through out this account

RACE TODAY is an excellent magazine. Available from Mushroom Bookshop and, on subscription, for £3 from 74 Shakespeare Rd., London SE24 or from Nottingham Anti Fascist Committee it appears about every 6 weeks.

Starting originally as a magazine of the race relations industry a group of blacks fought a struggle and took it over to eventually produce an independent and revolutionary magazine. The content has changed over the last few years, originally including a lot of short news item but more recently covering struggles in greater depth. The magazine's editorial collective gauge the magazine by the practical involvement in the struggle of the people around RACE TODAY. For example, one editor, Darcus Howe (who despite the existence of a collective seems to be the editor-in-chief) has played an active part in the development of the West Indian Carnival. Others have worked within the Bengali Housing Action Group, Black Parents Movement and a Black Womens Group.

This is both a strength and a weakness. RACE TODAY's strength is that this kind of political involvement in the various struggles of the immigrant community builds up these organisations - a vital necessity. More than this, it means that the analysis in the articles is clearer and has grown up within these contemporary struggles, their lessons, discoveries, failures.

There is a great stress on how the working class, and most especially the black section of that class, can gain power; power in the battle to resist racist attacks, to live a little better, to turn the class struggle in its favour. As such there isn't much debate on the ideological politics of the countries of origin, and neither is there a 'Third Worldist' perspective; ie assuming that all the struggle that counts happens in the poor underdeveloped countries.

The weakness has been shown in recent issue where the imprisonment of one of the editors and the events around Carnival have taken up most of the time of the editors and the pages of RACE TODAY. Important questions like the attitude of blacks to the NF marching at Lewisham are not considered.

RACE TODAY's EDITORIALS are particularly valuable. I consider it a major task of any group of revolutionaries to analyse the present state of the class struggle and offer that analysis to the movement. In doing this RACE TODAY have provided a sounder politics than I've seen anywhere else.

ON ANTI FASCIST DEMOS

"A gathering of white left-wing and liberal forces can not be mistaken for a mobilisation of the white working class" (1)

WHITE WORKING CLASS when discussing the suggestion that Enoch Powell should be prosecuted under the Race Relations Act they point out

"...prosecutions under any act will not stop Powell. ... Here is a man whose political power and future depends on the white working class reaction to his call to arms, against the black population. (Powell's defeat) ... can only be brought about when white workers' recognise, as a contribution to their own struggles, the power, the method, the very mood of the blacks who make a move on the streets of Notting Hill, in the Asian ghettos of London, on the shop floors of factories, in the industrial centres of Babylon." (2)

Powell is seen as a politician who fears the power of the black working class because he has correctly analysed it.

INTERNATIONALISM a particularly important editorial (3) explains:

"As black workers in Britain, we are, by definition, part of an international working class...we are both part of the working

class of the metropolis and the exported muscle of the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa."

MULTIRACIAL WORKING CLASS the interdependence of immigrants inside and outside the metropolis is considered along with the changed class composition in Britain. For example,

"Of the 23,000 workers at the Ford Dagenham Estate 60% are black - West Indian and Asian. In the body plant 70%, in P.T.A. 60% of 5,000 workers" (3)

BLACK WOMEN an excellent article 'Black women and the Caribbean Community' described some of the problems of 50s West Indian immigration for women and some of the organisation such as the backbone of the nurses strike which they developed.

ROOTS, ROCK, REGGAE there is always political coverage of cultural events - poetry, U.K. asian festival, C.L.R. James on the T.V. programme ROOTS. Further, one of the editors has written an excellent collection of short stories 'EAST END AT YOUR FEET'.

BLACK YOUTH VANGUARD an important part of RACE TODAY's analysis is to argue that its black and asian youth who are showing the way against police harassment, racist attacks or the tightening up of work discipline in the crisis. This is certainly true, but RACE TODAY only indicate the positive side of this, the power against capital. While this power does insist that more passive sections of the working class wake up, little is said about relationships to other sections, for example black to asian and especially the hostility of a lot of black and white women to sexist black men.

Although RACE TODAY may sometimes give the impression that things are going better than they really are I would suggest it to be valuable reading : so, subscribe!

RACE TODAY voice of the black community in Britain 25p
THE ROAD MAKE TO WALK ON CARNIVAL DAY (Race Today Collective) 50p
EAST END AT YOUR FEET Farukh Dhondy 40p

KLIV

SEARCHLIGHT Britains Anti Fascist Journal 30p monthly

No-one on the left has got better contacts to keep tabs on the organisations of the extreme right than Maurice Ludmer, editor of Searchlight. Established quite a few years now (I think, since the elections in the early 60s when a racist gained a seat in Birmingham) Searchlight has consistently exposed the Nazi background of the National Front's leadership, shown various links between different extreme right organisations in Britain and throughout the world.

This issue (NOVEMBER) includes NF-Nazi and KKK Links Exposed NAFF and Racism and What Fascist Papers Say (regular feature).

Searchlight is undoubtedly very useful, informative and usually accurate. The politics, however, are not so good. What claims to be 'Britains Anti Fascist Journal' spends the vast majority of its effort on Nazi and International Fascist Linkages, rarely covering racism, sexism or any of the wider aspects of modern extreme right politics except to insist how similar to past fascisms they are.

The situation before the Second World War in which Hitler and Mussolini rose to power no longer exists. Capitalism is different and fascist groupings must have a different role to play. Just to compare the NF with the Nazis, as Searchlights influential leaflet 'Exposing the Hatemongers' does can leave the scope wide open for British nationalism of the kind which says 'We (the British!) won the war and defeated German faascism'.


KLIV

How can women fight the National Front?



Ever since the Red Lion Square scramble where the left tried to stop the fascists barehanded, but in fact got smashed open by a ruthless, mounted police, some women in the Women's Liberation Movement have been discussing how to counter fascists, using different tactics. On 13 August 300 women marched in Lewisham, London, under the 'Women Against Racism and Fascism' banner to oppose a National Front march through an area where many black people live.

We asked two women from the London Women Against Racism and Fascism Group, and one from a local women's group, to write about the march.

 We were there as part of a united front against a bunch of avowed racists and fascists who are arrogant enough to believe they can openly harass, assault and intimidate blacks, socialists, women and gays. Together we form the target of their attacks both ideologically and physically and we form the hard core of the anti-fascist movement.

As there was no organised women's presence on the April 23 anti-NF demonstration in Wood Green, London, the Women Against Racism and Fascism group was formed — we subsequently saw part of our work as initiating and helping build a national Women's Liberation Movement contingent on the Lewisham counter-demonstration. We had already affiliated to the All London Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Campaign Committee. This was because we saw ourselves

as part of a united and broad-based movement against the NF and the growth of the extreme right. We also wanted to raise feminist issues and develop a socialist-feminist analysis and approach in the anti-fascist movement. So representatives from our group were involved in the planning stages of Lewisham.

As many women have found in local anti-fascist work, the left, unfortunately, often have narrow conceptions of the struggle against fascism. Focusing solely on the "public face" of fascism ignores all the other ways that fascism gains ground. For example, the NF have traditionally exploited racism in the community by diverting tenants associations from housing struggles to racist activities. In not seeing aspects such as sexuality, the family and the links between sexism and racism as mainstream issues in the rise of

"National Front is a Racist Front" — as they readily admit in their posters

fascism, opportunities are lost for combatting the growth of the right. We have been treated with lack of understanding by many of the male "comrades" who, although they were often too "polite" to say so, viewed our political identity as feminists against racism and fascism as an anomaly within that movement.

Building for the Lewisham counter-do was both tense and harrowing since there were so many unknowns — the size of the NF march, the role and tactics the police would adopt, and matters were further complicated by the decision of the All London Campaign Against Racism and Fascism to hold a march at 11am which would disperse at the police blockade a good mile from the NF assembly point. The police then announced that anyone found in the area between the dispersal point of the march and New Cross where the Front were assembling, "looking like a counter-demonstrator", would be arrested.

The Socialist Workers Party relentlessly and individualistically pursued their own planning for confrontation, and the coordinating committee meetings became a battle ground for these two positions, neither of which we supported

As with all "united fronts" there was the usual infighting for leadership and political dominance which posed a problem for us as feminists, since debate was restricted and polarised.

Acknowledging Fear

When the morning came, we were all utterly amazed at the size of the Women's Liberation contingent, which, with the gay groups, was one of the largest there. The level of solidarity and concern which women showed each other was apparent to other demonstrators. Not separating off "politics" as a completely different sphere in our lives enabled us to give each other a lot of support and to acknowledge the fear we individually felt as real areas of political relevance.

Our experience at Lewisham, particularly when the police horses charged us after sealing us in, has made us feel that a complete re-appraisal of tactics is necessary.

Firstly, much more anti-fascist work must be done and links found in the community so that, on occasions such as Lewisham, when it becomes necessary physically to prevent the NF having any public platform, this is seen as a culmination of such work, and not as an isolated battle of two opposing forces.

Secondly, recent intensification of police offensives, against trade union militancy, black struggles, anti-fascist work, etc., and their ever-increasing expertise in militaristic tactics for crowd control and dispersal, have rendered obsolete attitudes we have held and strategies we have adopted. As feminists we wish to question the standard forms of resistance which the trade union movement adopts, and work towards more flexible ways of showing our strength, other than "brute force".

We hope Lewisham was just the beginning of an organised feminist resistance to fascism. We think it's important that racism and fascism are taken up as of vital concern to all of us. As we become more solid in our opposition and in the development of our analysis, we will be able to bring our perspective to the anti-fascist movement and create initiatives as well as responding to those of others. □

This was written by Sue Lee and Angie Todd, and doesn't necessarily represent the views of all the women in the group.

SPARE RIB OCTOBER 1977

John Merrington —

It's not a Thirties rerun

HOW far can the fascist tendencies visible today in the capitalist West be seen as signs of a repetition of the Twenties and Thirties?

The memory of the greatest-ever defeat of democracy and the labour movement dies hard. But simple parallels and "lessons" are drawn too easily — fascism is a convenient bogey on the left.

Fascism was only one alternative political solution among others to the universal capitalist crisis of the inter-war period. It succeeded where the democratic organisation of the state had broken down, where no secure Parliamentary majority could be found to ensure mass support behind national policies for reconstruction and full employment.

Left organisations — who might, in theory, have benefited from the situation — had no policies, and by default were identified with the universal policy of austerity and wage cuts. Reformists and revolutionaries alike believed nothing needed to be done either to kill capitalism or to save it. If this was an ordinary crisis, it would blow over, and the main thing was to preserve organisation and bargaining power at all costs.

If it was not an ordinary crisis, capitalism was finished and no action was necessary to reveal this to everybody. They failed to use the armed force they had available, waited, and participated in elections. The fascists had no such qualms about illegality.

Fascism replaced the liberal state by a one party "movement-state" which operated by means of terror and the militarisation of everyday life; and destroyed all independent working class organisation. But the tendency towards new and stronger forms of state control was a universal feature, common to the democracies as well. At the end of the Twenties British and German social democrat governments collapsed. In Britain, right-wing labour leaders joined the National Government of 1931 on a platform of austerity designed to save sterling. With such a coalition a fascist solution was unnecessary from the start.

In no case did fascist movements seize power by force: their leaders took office as caretakers of National Governments. Even Mussolini's March on Rome was stage-managed in collaboration with conservative parliamentarians. Conservative leaders turned to the fascists as a last resort because only they had a right-wing mass following. The fascist revolution is a myth, but a myth that had to be fostered in order to give their supporters the illusion of real change.

The recovery programmes of the democracies did not differ very much from the fascist ones. The "National Self-Sufficiency" programme Keynes advocated in 1933 was followed through more fully in fascist countries than elsewhere.

It is no accident that the most radical and plausible proposals to deal with the mass unemployment of the early thirties came from Mosley, later leader of the Blackshirts. They were Keynesian proposals, they could have been applied by any party, but were rejected by all,

forcing Mosley to found the British Union of Fascists. Too radical for Britain at the time, they were put into practice by Roosevelt in the USA, and by the Nazis, and subsequently in Britain. People who still say that Mosley could have been leader of either the Tory or the Labour Party forget how much this reveals about both.

Keynes himself had a sneaking admiration for the radical possibilities of the Nazi economic system. In 1936 he wrote in the preface to the German edition of his *General Theory*: "The theory of production as a whole which is the goal of this book, can much more easily be adapted to the conditions of the total state... in which state intervention is more extensive."

Fascist regimes were not an aberration in this context, let alone proof of the "bankruptcy" of the system (as the marxist left claimed) — they represented one political way to reach a planned, full employment capitalism, satisfying the demand for work through militarisation. As such they were widely admired in Western ruling circles.

What can we learn from this about the situation that confronts the Left today?

Fascism is not, as is often thought, the same as it was 40 years ago. The liberal state, that the fascists overthrew, has died long ago. The incorporation of the Trades Unions into the state planning apparatus is now accepted by all parliamentary parties; it is the condition upon

Martin Webster: National Front.



which capitalism today can continue to function. To abolish working class organisations, as the fascists did, is unthinkable to modern capitalists. Putting Jack Jones in a concentration camp would not serve anybody's interests. Who needs fascism when you've got the Social Contract?

Secondly, the masses will no longer accept work at any price, as they were driven to in the '30's. The industrial reserve army cannot be manipulated and subjected to military discipline in the old way. Unemployment is now a permanent feature of a more capital intensive industrial system, and it was after all the success of the Nazis in providing work that was their main source of mass support. Nobody is going to march happily along in a labour battalion singing patriotic songs in 1976.

If fascism today is not an alternative project for power, what is it? It is reduced to its racist, anti-minority component, which was not the force that brought any fascist regime to power between the wars. But it has a no less important function today: exploiting competition for jobs, dividing and isolating different sectors of struggle, and thereby contributing to the overall "strategy of permanent crisis." This is essential to the state's policy of austerity now being forced on the working class throughout the capitalist world. THE LEVELLER NOV 76

TO REG BUTLER, A
SCULPTOR OF BRONZE
HARLOTS.

Like Adam

You have created woman
But without the divine
touch.

Your bronze woman is a
timeless whore

Her genitalia splayed
Are yours, not hers,
Are all mens'

As men perceive women.
As if to expiate your lust
You tell me of compassion
For the rose grown old,
The shrunken hag
This Cleo must become.

You,
The man, the artist,
Remain agelessly aloof,
Plucking in painted bronze
New Blossoms.

So men depict, their prize,
Their perfect specimen,
The flawless bloom.
Her lower lips
Are childlike, closed.
The rape has just begun.

Ruth Wilson

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FOR A DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM

The Present Situation

Fascism is on the advance in Britain. As capitalism staggers on from one crisis to another mass unemployment rises, living standards fall, housing conditions worsen and spending on education and social services is ruthlessly cut. These are the concrete conditions out of which fascism emerges and grows. The fascists are able to win a following because they offer "solutions" to these very real and immediate problems.

At the same time no effective anti-fascist movement has been developed to combat the ideological challenge of fascism. Up to now the anti-fascist movement has mostly consisted of a loose amalgam of small left-wing groups. Its main tactics have been physical confrontation with the fascists and more recently the standing of anti-fascist candidates in elections. As for any overall strategy against fascism, this has been totally absent.

The important point to grasp is that the fight against racism and fascism is primarily a matter of ideological struggle and only secondarily a matter of physical confrontation. Fascists are able to gain influence because they take up the issues that people are really concerned about - unemployment, rising prices, housing, education, etc. These are the fronts upon which the fascist assault is concentrated and it is in these areas that the main thrust of the counter-attack must be mounted.

The fascists certainly must be confronted when they hold marches in the streets and meetings in public places. But it should be remembered that if the fascists can arrange such events then they have already won considerable influence for their outlook. Opposing them at this stage alone is shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted. As for standing candidates in elections, this has proved to be a public display of weakness on the part of some left-wing elements. The National Front candidates easily beat the left-wingers who typically receive the sort of derisory vote normally reserved for flat-earthers. The whole emphasis of this style of anti-fascist work is organisational rather than political. The struggle against racism and fascism is seen as essentially a competition between the left and right in terms of numbers: who can mobilise the most people for a demonstration or election campaign. As for the great mass of people, they are effectively treated as an inert object, something which can be pulled this way or pushed that way according to the relative organisational strengths of the left and the right. This approach to the anti-fascist struggle is devoid of any real political content and in the long-run could easily be a recipe for disaster.

An effective campaign against racism and fascism can only be waged on the basis of a strategy and tactics which clearly recognises the ideological character of the struggle and which sets out to combat racism and fascism at their roots.

Strategy

Fascism is, in its essence, a political strategy resorted to by the monopoly capitalist ruling class when faced with grave economic crisis and rising working class unrest. Its real aim is to shore up the decaying capitalist system of mass exploitation of the working class. This can only be done by holding down and reducing working class incomes so as to increase capitalist class profits. At present in Britain the monopoly capitalists are trying to bring this about by using trade union leaders and the Labour Party to deceive the working class and trick us into voluntary acceptance of cuts in our living standards, as in the case of the Social Contract. It will be only if this strategy fails to work, if the working class stops co-operating and starts resisting, that the monopoly capitalist class will turn to outright fascism. Then they would begin to pour money into the National Front, use the police and army in an increasingly oppressive way and eventually place a fascist government in power in order to quickly and violently smash any resistance and abolish our democratic political and economic rights.

The capitalist state has already begun to whittle away our hard-won democratic rights. Successive Tory and Labour governments have implemented a whole series of racist immigration laws. In addition to depriving many people of their British citizenship this legislation has contributed to making racism respectable. Civil rights are being curtailed by a growing body of oppressive laws such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Criminal Trespass Law. Economic rights are being restricted by measures like the legally-enforced closed shop which increasingly incorporate the trade unions into the state apparatus. The monopoly capitalist class in Britain are slowly sliding down the slippery slope leading to fascism. The democratic rights of the great mass of people are steadily being eroded.

Racism and fascism are endemic to monopoly capitalism and become contagious during periods of crisis. In the long run the only final way to defeat fascism is through the abolition of capitalism by means of proletarian revolution. But the revolutionary movement in Britain is in its infancy. It will be many years before an effective revolutionary movement and party are built. What is more, if the fascists ever did achieve state power this would be a massive defeat for the working class and a great setback for its revolutionary movement. Under a fascist dictatorship revolutionary political work would become a thousand times more difficult than it is now. Indeed, the maintenance of bourgeois democratic rights is a necessary condition for the building of a revolutionary movement. The struggle for revolution must be accompanied by a struggle against reaction.

However, the struggle against fascism is not identical with the struggle for socialism. The struggle for socialism is directed against capitalism in all its forms, both dictatorial and democratic. It must be clearly understood that the struggle against racism and fascism is in its positive aspect the struggle for the retention of bourgeois democratic rights. The hostility of fascism to bourgeois liberal democracy makes it the objective enemy not just of the working class but of all classes except for the monopoly capitalists and their immediate functionaries. Therefore, it is in the real interests of the great mass of people to oppose racism and fascism. Consequently, our strategic aim must be to unite anyone and everyone who can be united on the basis of uncompromising opposition to racism and fascism in all their various forms. The correct approach to anti-fascist work is to build a broadly-based democratic campaign against fascism.

Facism will not be kept at bay solely by a collection of left-wing groups. It can only be held in check if large sections of the population are drawn into the struggle against fascism and for the preservation of democratic rights.

Our strategic aim must be to build the widest possible democratic campaign against racism and fascism.

Tactics

How can a democratic campaign against fascism be brought into existence? Only the most politically conscious sections of the working class are capable of taking the initiative. Many people of a bourgeois liberal outlook are opposed to racism and fascism but historical experience shows that if left to themselves such elements only recognise the necessity for active opposition when it is too late. It is the task of the left to win these people over to a democratic campaign.

The building of a democratic campaign must begin with those persons and organisations who are in the front line of the fascist assault:

1. Minority Ethnic Groups - the fascists black people and Jews for the social ills we suffer as a result of capitalism. These people have a most important place in a democratic campaign.

2. Employment - the fascists claim unemployment and falling living standards are due to the presence of black workers in Britain. Trade union branches and claimants unions must be drawn into a democratic campaign.

3. Housing - the fascists blame poor housing conditions on black people. Building workers, tenants associations, community associations and housing action groups must be part of a democratic campaign.

4. Education - the fascists claim black children pull down educational standards. Teachers, parent-teacher associations and various organisations concerned with education must be won over for a democratic campaign.

5. Social Services - the fascists assert that black people place a strain on the various social services. Medical workers, social workers, etc. have a role to play in a democratic campaign.

6. Women - the fascists oppose changes in the subordinate status of women. Women's organisations, both the newer ones and the more traditional ones should be involved in a democratic campaign.

7. Youth - the fascists make a particular point of recruiting young people, especially the unemployed. Student organisations and youth organisations must take a part in a democratic campaign.

In brief, anybody and everybody who would firmly oppose racism and fascism must be drawn into a democratic campaign. This could include various religious organisations and voluntary bodies such as the Workers Educational Association. The main part of the work of a democratic campaign would be conducted within its constituent organisations. For example, the best way to combat racism and fascism in the area of housing is through tenant and community associations.

What about the major political parties? Can they and their constituent political bodies be part of a democratic campaign? The Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties have enacted and supported racist immigration laws. Furthermore, they have implemented legislation restricting political and economic rights. They all claim to be opposed to racism and fascism but their policies legitimise the former and open the way for the latter. At the present time these parties are ineligible for membership because they do not uncompromisingly oppose racism and fascism in all their various forms.

However, it is most important to expose the challenge the anti-democratic character of their policies. And individual members of these parties should be encouraged to do so by means of allowing such persons to participate on an individual basis in a democratic campaign. At election times the correct approach is to challenge the candidates of the major parties to unreservedly commit themselves to outright opposition to racism and fascism. This would have to include a pledge to oppose the policies of their own parties that are of an anti-democratic kind. A broadly-based democratic campaign truly representative of large numbers of people, could effectively make this kind of challenge. Candidates who failed to respond in a positive way would be actively campaigned against by encouraging people not to vote for them.

Organisation

It will not be an easy task to bring into existence a democratic campaign against racism and fascism. Much patient hard work is required. Many of the eligible organisations will not be immediately responsive. The building of a democratic campaign will take a considerable period of time to achieve.

In the first instance those organisations with the most immediate reasons for wanting to participate should be approached. For example, those trade union branches with a high proportion of black members are more likely to affiliate than are ones with few black members. Once the participation of some branches has been secured these can be the base whereby approaches can be made to other branches. The same considerations apply to other types of organisations. In the case of women's organisations those who are already concerned about racism and fascism would be the stepping stone to ones that are at present less aware. And so on.

A democratic campaign must have definite aims, a formal constitution and clear conditions of affiliation for organisations and individuals. The initial aims should be as general as possible without at the same time compromising on basic principles:

To actively oppose racism, fascism and all
anti-democratic tendencies in British society

A detailed list of demands, e.g. "No Platform for Fascists", is not appropriate at the outset. It has to be recognised that the various participants in a democratic campaign would be at different levels of political awareness. Many of them would not at the outset be willing to take up the sort of positions that the left groups already hold. People must learn through their own experiences in active struggle what are the necessary measures to effectively combat racism and fascism. The stance of a democratic campaign would become increasingly militant as the struggle developed. We must

begin by understanding the level of political consciousness now generally prevailing and take this as our starting point for further development.

This need in no way inhibit the actions of the left wing groups. They could continue to pursue their work against racism and fascism in addition to work within a democratic campaign. But there is no point in adopting a stance of opposition to those who seriously oppose racism and fascism but who, in our opinion, are at present unwilling to take certain necessary actions. Such persons must be criticised but in such a way as to encourage them to go beyond the limitations of their present outlook.

A Proposal for Joint Action

In short, we say that we do not believe the threat of racism and fascism will be kept down simply by means of left wing groups physically harrassing and standing against fascists at elections. Racism and fascism must be primarily engaged at their roots in the various aspects of the life of the community. This can only be done by means of progressively drawing in the widest and largest number of people possible into this essentially democratic struggle.

The Nottingham Communist Group welcomes constructive comments on this statement and would like to enter into discussion with any organisations and individuals seriously interested in implementing proposals along the general lines set out here.

NOTTINGHAM COMMUNIST GROUP
c/o Flat 2
10, Villa Road,
Nottingham.
NG3 4GG.

OCTOBER, 1977

BOOKS FOR BOLSHIES

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Mao Tse-tung

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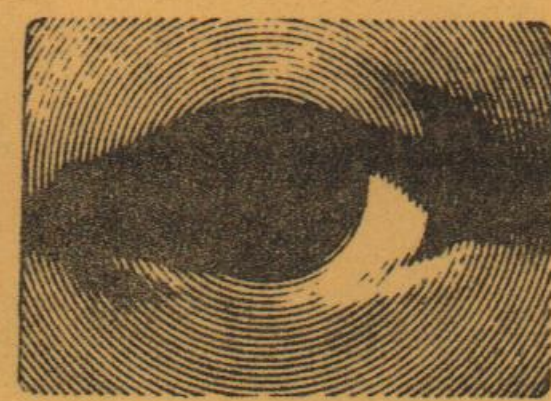
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NOTTINGHAM FILM THEATRE



HOW YUKONG MOVED THE MOUNTAINS



愚公移山

For the first time in the history of the People's Republic of China, a Western film-maker has been given carte blanche to film a living portrait of the people of China - one which "amounts, perhaps uniquely, to portraying a way of thought, as well as a way of life" (*The Times*). Not by chance, the privilege was granted to Joris Ivens, one of the world's greatest film-makers.

Over the past 50 years, Ivens has filmed in most parts of the world where people were making history - in Spain (*SPANISH EARTH*), in Vietnam (*SEVENTEENTH PARALLEL*), in Cuba, Chile and Laos; in the U.S.A.

(*THE POWER AND THE LAND*); in his native Holland (*THE NEW EARTH*) - and twice before in China.

For the past ten years he has worked together with Marceline Loridan (on *SEVENTEENTH PARALLEL*, *THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GUNS* and *MEETING WITH PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH*) - and it was at the personal invitation of Chou En-Lai that they spent 18 months living and filming in China - and a further 18 months editing their material into its final, 12-hour form: *HOW YUKONG MOVED THE MOUNTAINS*

How Yukon Moved the Mountains is made in five self contained programmes which do not require any special order of viewing. Nottingham Film Theatre is initially showing four of the programmes only.

When *HOW YUKONG MOVED THE MOUNTAINS* opened in Paris, amidst the acclaim was the following comment from French philosopher Michel Foucault: "I had the impression not only of learning about China but of seeing, in this intense political reality, that no discussion can convey, the only place where 'political life' is the very existence of the people. This is what makes the film both beautiful and politically intense."

NOTTINGHAM FILM THEATRE, BROAD STREET
'HOW YUKON MOVED THE MOUNTAINS'

Sat 12 Nov *THE PHARMACY/ AN ARMY CAMP*
Sun 13 Nov *THE OILFIELDS/ A CITY*

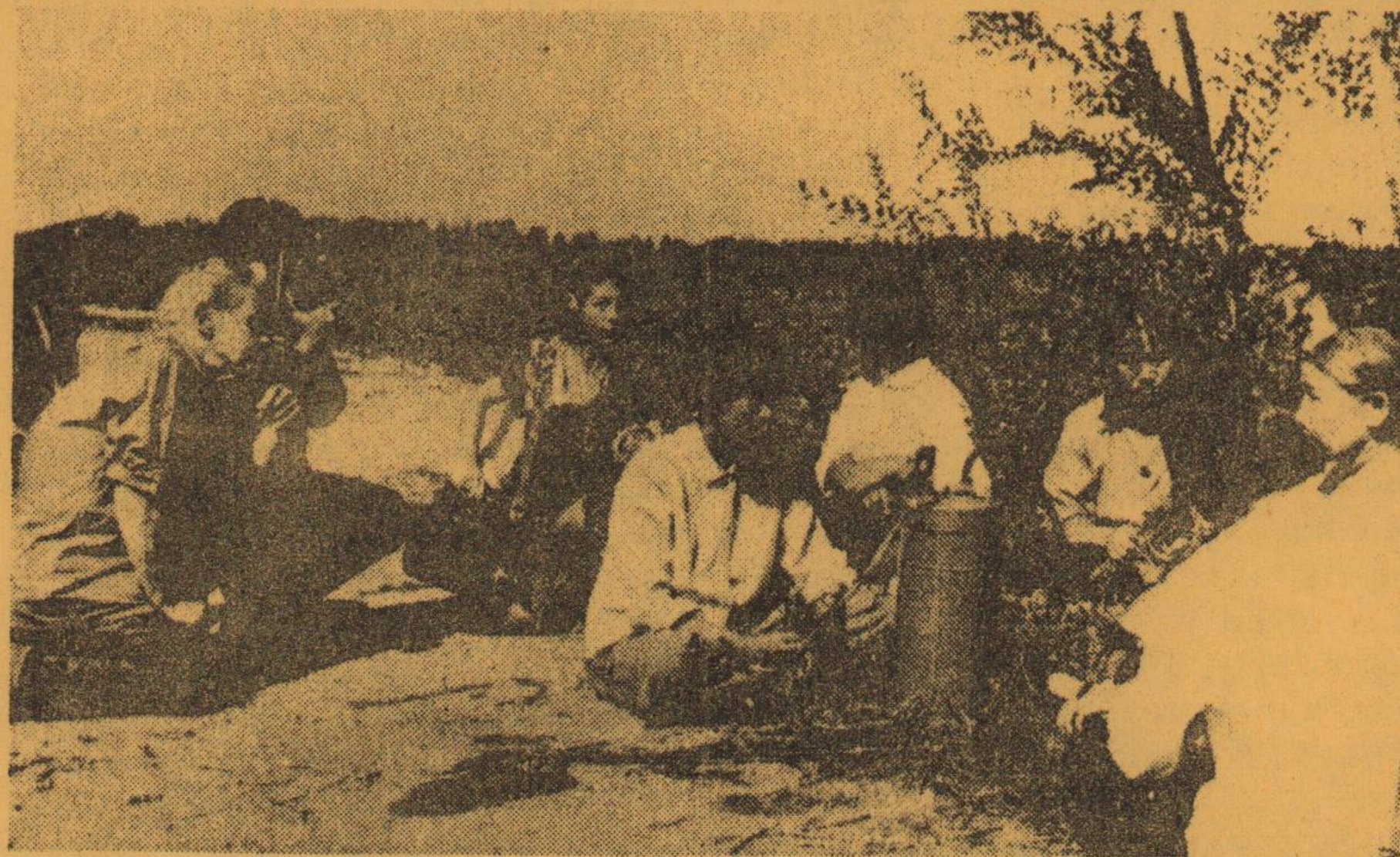
Sat 26 Nov *A WOMAN, A FAMILY/ THE OPERA*
Sun 27 Nov *THE FISHING VILLAGE/ CIRCUS*

4.30 & 7.45 except Sat 26 Nov 4.30 & 7.30

INTERVIEW

No-one, before you, had been able to film in China under such favourable conditions. How do you account for the exceptional facilities made available to you?

Joris: For a long time I have been in touch with the Chinese revolutionaries; and I think this explains, at least in part, our privileged situation. In 1937, when I was filming the struggle between the Spanish Republicans and the Fascists, the same anti-fascist battle was going on at the other end of the globe, where the Chinese people were trying to stop the Japanese invasion. To film this invasion, I went to China in 1938 and made 400 MILLION. At this time, the Communists were allied with the Kuomintang. After I finished the film, I met Chou En-lai and he explained to me the difficulties the revolutionaries had in Yenan. "We do have a few cameramen," he said, "but no camera." I was ready to go back to the States, my job finished, so I decided to give them my portable camera. Chou En-lai himself arranged the secret meeting during which I gave my camera and 2,000 meters of film to an envoy from Yenan. We had to be very cautious because we were watched very closely by Chiang Kai-shek's agents. This very same camera was, for the revolutionaries, the



Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan, filming in China.

beginning of the Chinese cinema; and all of the pictures of Mao Tse-tung in particular and the ones of Norman Bethune taken in Yenan were filmed with it. The Chinese do not forget such circumstances and this is why I was invited, in 1958 by the Chinese filmmakers to come back to China. There, in the Museum of the Revolution, I happened to see the same camera I had given them years before. I met Chou En-lai again, and he was now Prime Minister. It was at the time of the Great Leap Forward and the Chinese filmmakers had just discovered colour film. We worked together and experimented on films to produce a colour process to the best of our ability. The one

made in Mongolia at -30°C was probably the most successful. This continual relationship brought strong ties with the Chinese leaders and the filmmakers. Then the British troops landed in Lebanon, which started demonstrations all over China. At that time, I produced a short film in Peking about this new situation and called it 600 MILLION WITH YOU. I went to China again in 1965, and this time Marceline was with me. Later on in 1971 we went back together for four months, to gather information soon after the cultural revolution. We wanted to know the exact facts and the meaning of this revolution. Little by little, the idea of making a film about the

revolution emerged; and soon became very real when we met Chou En-lai who reproached me for having come without my camera.

Did you have any problems financing the film?

Marceline: Yes, because we had no money. Fortunately the Centre National du Cinema (C.N.C.) gave us an advance against income, so we started with that and left for China with our movie equipment and enough film to shoot with for four months. We planned to make a film that would run for three or four hours, a film that would give a sort of synthetic image of the China of 1973.

However, when faced with reality, the problems were so big, the number and diversity of the topics so large, and the possibilities offered so great, that we worked and shot the film without interruption for a year and a half.

I had to come back to France several times to take care of financial problems. We again received several advance loans on future profits, which allowed us to continue our project; but it was not enough and we had to borrow from other sources.

In China, we had a sort of exchange agreement. Joris, who had been a professor in a documentary film school in Peking for quite some time, formed a crew of

technicians for cinema verite which was unknown in China. As for myself, I showed them how to do the sound recording, thus the cost of the film was much less than expected. However, the Chinese never considered a co-production and wanted us to be entirely responsible for our work, financially as well as politically.

Wouldn't you say that you were, more or less, a travelling cinema school?

Joris: Yes, exactly - a cinema school operating for a year and a half.

How long did it take you to edit the film?

Marceline: Also a year and a half. All together it took from 1973 through 1975 to finish the film.

Anyone familiar with Chinese cinema can see that their methods of filming and the style of their images are entirely different from yours. Did you have serious difficulties with the Chinese technicians during your collaboration with them?

Joris: When I was filming in China in 1963 and 1965 I was already in need of a cameraman. In order to find one I viewed a number of films until I found one which showed the qualities I was looking for. Subsequently, the cameraman I found was entirely satisfactory. On the other hand, another whom I chose in the same manner did not adapt to my way of working. This does not mean that he lacked talent. But Chinese cinema is different from ours; it is more contemplative and static.

The camera is not part of the action, but a witness, an observer. According to the old Chinese philosophy: "Man stands between heaven and earth and looks at the ten thousand things of the universe." The result is that the camera does not move. For a Chinese cameraman, to understand that he can move along with the camera, is confusing; and often when he finally does, he goes to the extreme and moves too much. You have to explain to him the role and function of each movement of the camera.

Another important point to bring out about Chinese cinema is that, in general, you don't have as many close-ups as in ours. It is more or less part of their cultural tradition. Generally, in their visual art, you don't see close-ups of people, except perhaps in the Buddhist tradition, so I had to explain their purpose and why close framings were necessary. It took me a long time to make them understand, because you must have patience if you want to convince them. To impose your arguments, as you can do in other countries, is out of the question. This is also part of their cultural revolution.

You don't speak Chinese; how did you manage?

Marceline: We had two interpreters with us, the same ones for a year and a half. After a few months they were like real film assistants. Sometimes they were assisted by local interpreters,



recruited on the spot to help them with dialect terms, because not only words had to be translated, but feelings and thoughts also had to be expressed. Our first big job was to put across what we really wanted, not in our words but in those of the Chinese. This was a big problem - and if the formulation of some of our questions seems strange, it's because they had to be understood by both Chinese and Western people.

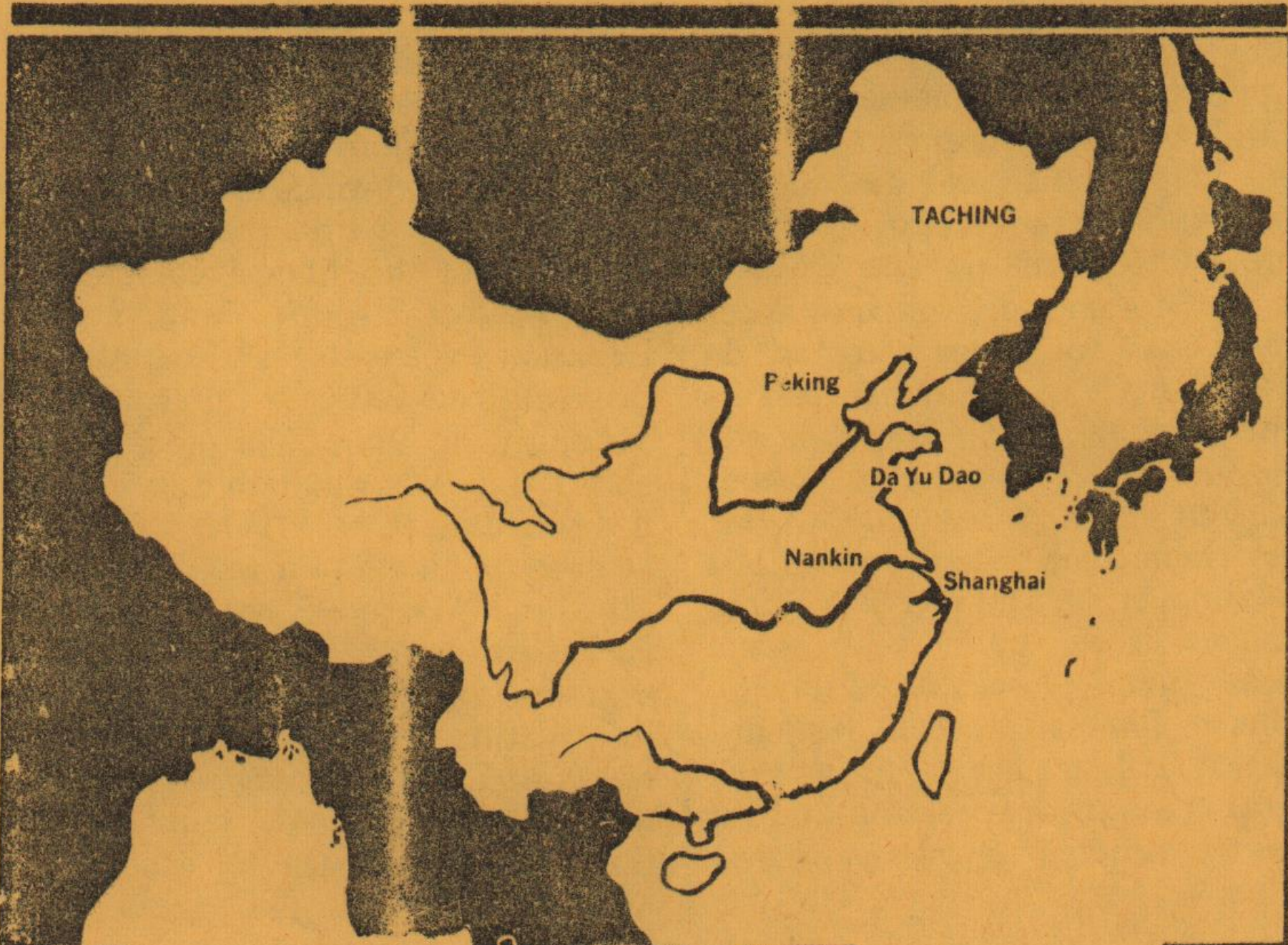
So after a time you had a crew of trained technicians and also another team, for let us say external relations (which enabled you to contact the people you wanted to). Above all, you had the general authorization to film from the

Prime Minister in person. From this background, how did you select the themes, the characters and the locations?

Joris: We really could go anywhere we wanted to, except nuclear installations. We could even have gone to Tibet, which only health reasons prevented me from doing. We were really in a very privileged position. Mind you, we had to continually earn trust and justify our projects. I have already told you that authoritarian argument does not work in China. It was true for us too. In each new area we had to struggle to gain our liberty. People's natural tendency is to only show the positive aspects of things, to embellish reality. It is, I think, a universal problem.

There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Mao Tse-Tung June 11, 1945



When you receive a guest, you clean the table and tidy up. Especially if the guest turns up with a camera...But I am very patient. I take the time it needs to convince people. We knew this was important, for we had to deal with complex and difficult problems, our main consideration being the cultural revolution and the changes that it brought in the different classes of the Chinese society; for contrary to what people generally believe, there is a diversity of social classes in China. It is not a uniform world; there are intellectuals, employees, workmen, peasants, soldiers...all of them have been affected and the relationships between people are not the same anymore. Our idea was to make an 'epic' film that encompassed all these changes, but I guess this was rather utopian.

Marceline: When making the film, we tried to synthesize, but we realized that we did not have all the necessary political elements to do it. We don't pretend to know everything about China, far from it. If we had pursued this idea we would only have succeeded in making a weak and phony film which would correspond to nothing. This is why we chose to grasp reality at its most intense - its daily aspects. Political analysis! After all, there has already been plenty in books and newspapers. What the cinema could bring was an outlook on precisely that which was always missing from these texts - the Chinese people. To see them live, work, eat, laugh and think. That is what was never shown in the western world. But to succeed in showing everyday life is possibly the hardest thing to do in our profession. In any case it's the longest. Sometime you have to spend months in one place and nothing happens.

Did you experience such a thing?

Joris: Yes, in the fishing village for example. It was every day life and nothing special really happened. In the pharmacy, same thing. Only in the factory, where they made generators, did we witness some kind of a revolt from the workers against the Management - this was because of an event related in the Chinese newspapers. There we were able to film an event happening in front of us.

How did you select this particular factory?

Joris: We wanted to film an ordinary factory, with a lot of workers, a place where spectacular things were made. The object of our project was to show the living conditions and work habits.

Marceline: We visited around fifteen factories before we chose this one. Some of them were too small or were not making things that were interesting enough to film. Some others were too like model factories. We saw one in Shanghai that was really marvelous, too marvelous. We didn't want a model factory, but an ordinary one. We were looking for one without much success when, by chance, we met two workers

continued

Interview: continued

whom we engaged in conversation at an exhibition dedicated to the Paris commune. They were very interesting to talk to and we got the idea to see the place where they worked - this was the generator factory.

How did you pick the pharmacy?

Joris: At first we thought about a large store, but we feared afterwards that would be too diffuse. We were more interested in a place where people were just passing by. Then, we thought about a pharmacy - as a place where people will talk the most about themselves and their problems. Because I was not feeling very well at that time, the employees of the pharmacy that we had chosen were coming to see me to talk about my health, about the film, and about all sorts of things. We became very friendly and we began the film. We were by then very close; there was a complicity between us.

Do you think you were able to succeed; that people were really sincere in front of the camera?

Marceline: Yes, really. It was not always easy, because as Joris said, everybody wants to make things look better and show only the best side of everything. In talking, for instance, when we went to see the oil workers, they started to tell us how much they liked their jobs, how happy they were, and everything was just great, etc. We said "To be working hard as you do, in the middle of the Steppe, takes steel nerves and the whole country is looking at you and that's good. We know that you are very proud of yourselves and that you do it for the Party as revolutionaries. O.K., we believe you, but we think that things are probably not as easy as you say." And so, they started to talk about their problems. In the West it is said that the Chinese don't talk easily about themselves, or reveal their thoughts. Wrong! This is the

proof, but first of all they must trust you - and then perhaps they will even feel affection for you. Most of the time, Western people are doing exactly the same thing; they aim their cameras and microphones four inches from a Chinese and pester with aggressive questions; so they shouldn't be surprised if they can't get more than a polite smile and evasive answers. To make a film, you must have a dialogue - and this is what we tried to do.

HOW YUKONG MOVED THE MOUNTAINS

1976/France/12 hours/U

Directed by: Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan

with the collaboration of Jean Bigiaoui and Li Tse-Hsiang

English Version: John Berry, Joyce Bunuel, Ned Burgess, Nancy Jervis, Joseph Losey and Simon Copans

Produced by: Capi Films

PERHAPS ONLY the Other Cinema, in its iron determination to bring us films other cinemas never will, would plan a season devoted to veteran Joris ("Spanish Earth") Ivens' twelve hour survey of modern China in five programmes. So far I have only seen one part of How Yukong Moved The Mountains. I can't say I looked forward to it, yet no sooner did I start watching than I felt myself there as though my soul had transmigrated.

At first, it is quite a dizzying ordeal, like visiting distant relatives on Mars, or perhaps mixing with domesticated Martians on Earth. But soon, they become less alien and more familiar, us turned through ninety degrees and facing an alternative future. This is tomorrow's world for millions more altruistic, more heroic than us. Not to explore it is a sort of cosy cowardice; to experience it, an exhausting pleasure. **Sunday Times**

.. insidiously
utopian.. Fincl. Tms

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

Tsing's dynasty disappears in 1911. The Republic of China is proclaimed. It will last thirty-eight years - marked by inner disturbances, civil war, Japanese invasion and the victory of the Communists in 1949, after twenty-seven years of struggle in guerilla warfare.

July 1, 1921 - The Communist party meets for the first time in Shanghai.

1925-1927 - The Kuomintang (nationalist party) & the Communists unified the country during the 'Northern Expedition'.

April, 1927 - Chiang Kai-shek breaks the alliance with the Communists and has progressives, trade-unionists and Communists massacred, all over China, but most of all in Shanghai.

August 1, 1927 - The Nanchang Insurrection, organised by Chu-Teh and Chou En-Lai, marks the founding of the Red Army. Communist units, hemmed in by the Nationalists, take refuge in the hills of Tsingkiang, where they found a workers' and peasants' republic - with Mao Tse-tung as President.

1934-1935 - The Long March: the Communists leave the red bases of the south for Shensi province in the north, where they set up their headquarters at Yen-an. In January, 1935, Mao Tse-tung becomes the President of the political bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

1937 - Japan, which took over the Northeastern part of China (Manchuria) in 1931, invades what is now left of the territory.

Under pressure from the Communists and the patriots, the Nationalists agree to create a united anti-Japanese front.

1945 - Capitulation of Japan.

The civil war starts now. The Kuomintang receives American military aid.

1949 - In January, liberation of Peking.

October 1st: establishment of the People's Republic of China.

The agrarian reform already applied in the liberated zones comes progressively into effect all over the country. Women get equal rights.

1953-1957 - The Chinese rural areas organise themselves as co-operatives.

1956 - Complete socialisation of commerce and industry

1956-1957 - Period of criticism known as 'Hundred Flowers'.

1958 - Beginning of the Great Leap forward in industry and agriculture the latter federates its co-operatives (villages) into popular Communes (districts). The Soviet Union disapproves.

1959 - Krushchev meets Eisenhower in the United States. Chinese agriculture is hit by natural disasters over the next two years. Opening of the Taching oilfields.

1960 - Unofficial breaking of relations with the Soviet Union, which calls experts back and stops all contracts for equipment.

1960-1965 - Reform of the Chinese army.

1962-1965 - To oppose the emergence of a new bourgeoisie, Mao Tse-tung again starts the political fight in the rural areas, in the administrations and in the schools. This educational Socialist movement will bring about the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

1966 - Start of the Cultural Revolution.

May, 1966 - Criticism of the Peking municipal administration.

August, 1966 - The Central Committee approves the formation of the Red Guards.

January, 1967 - The 'January Revolution' in Shanghai takes place and the first revolutionary committees are formed to replace the former administration.

April, 1967 - Liou Chao-Chi, President of the Republic, is criticised

October, 1968 - Revolutionary committees are established all over the country. The Central Committee excludes Liu Shao-chi from the party.

April, 1969 - The Ninth Party Congress appoints a new Central Committee and a new political bureau. Lin Piao is appointed vice-president of the Central Committee.

1970 - The conflict with the Lin Piao line bursts out during the session of the Central Committee of Loushan (August-September).

December: Mao Tse-tung announces that he is ready to receive President Nixon.

June, 1971 - Henry Kissinger visits Peking, incognito.

September, 1971 - Official announcement of a conspiracy by Lin Piao. The death of Lin Piao.

October, 1971 - China joins the United Nations.

February, 1972 - Richard Nixon is received by Mao Tse-tung in Peking.

September, 1972 - The first minister of Japan, Tanaka, comes to Peking to renew the diplomatic relations between Japan and China.

1973-1974 - Movement of criticism against Lin Piao and Confucius.

August, 1973 - The party holds its tenth congress, adopts new regulations and names five vice presidents: among them Chou En-lai and Wang Hong-wen.

January, 1975 - The national assembly holds a meeting in Peking, passes a new constitution and appoints new government members.

January, 1975 - Impressive funeral of Chou En-lai.

September 9, 1976 - Mao Tse-tung dies.

October, 1976 - Hua Kuo-feng appointed Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party.

**HOW YUCON
MOVED THE
MOUNTAINS**

THE PHARMACY

Shanghai, the big city. Ten million inhabitants. The city awakes, early in the morning, the streets get crowded, people take the ferry across the river, to go to the market, to the post office, to innumerable shops.

Amongst the shops, a pharmacy, Pharmacy No. 3, known for its pioneering vanguard work.

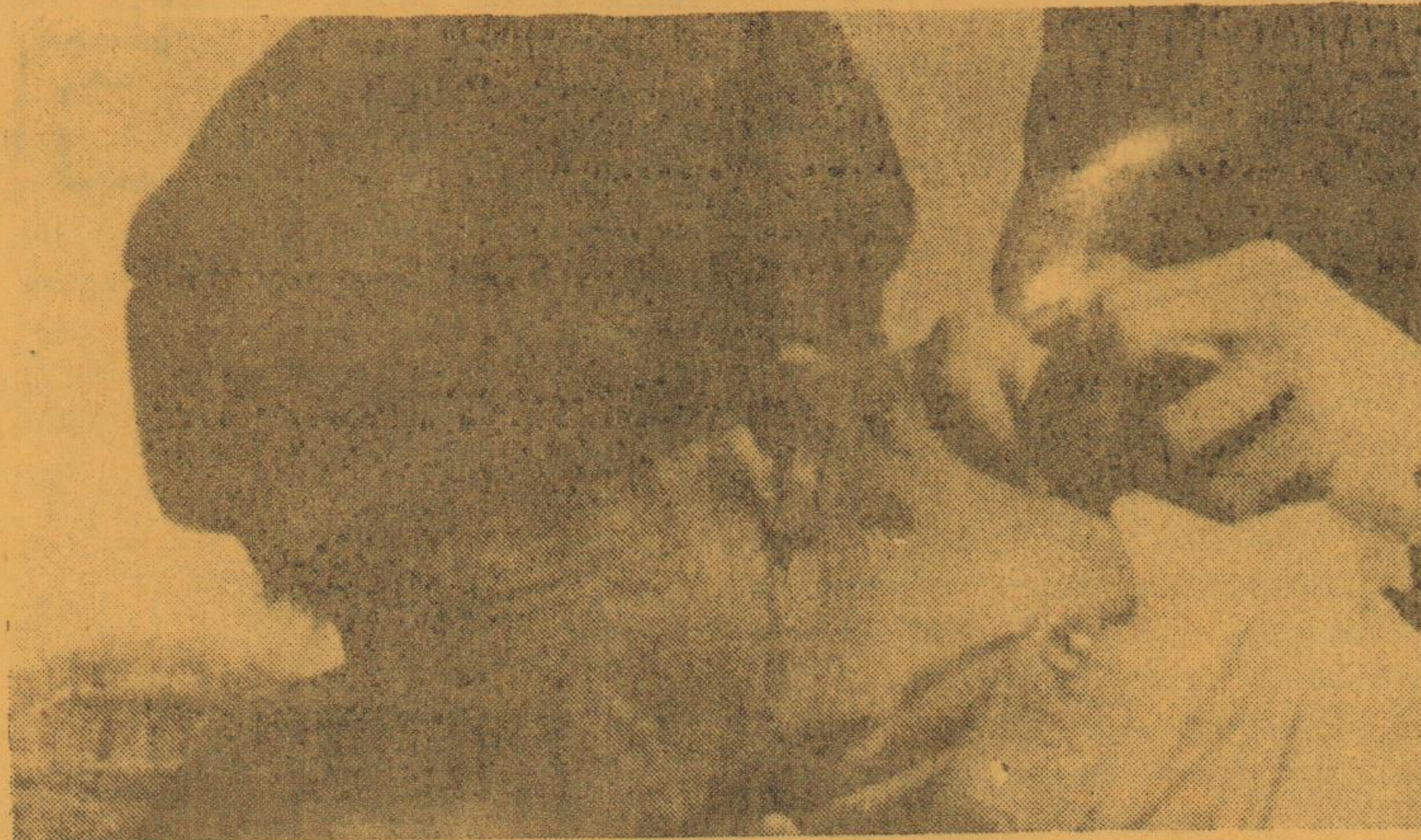
Daily life has been filmed over several weeks in this pharmacy. The shop assistants and the clients of every social class are used to the camera and behave quite naturally, buying arguing and getting information.

The employees try foremost not to limit themselves by the notion of profit, but to be "at the people's service." They have chosen to be there to help the clients, to listen to their complaints, to help resolve their problems. They have created 'care clinics'.

A group of employees go regularly to the countryside to give treatment (essentially acupuncture) and distribute medicines in a little village. Afterwards, they help the peasants with the harvesting. In this way the differences between city and country, between manual and intellectual work, tend to disappear.

Among the employees, the former owner of the pharmacy now works as a salaried sales assistant.

The pharmacy is managed collec-



tively by the employees. Once a week they must report on their activities to a Committee of local residents, workers from the medicine factory and farm workers.

In such a pharmacy, the workers aren't content with only selling goods, but health is considered as a whole. All demands and individual initiatives are accommodated.

1 hour 21 minutes

Traditional Handicrafts

Traditional art still exists in China and is passed down to the younger generation. This film shows young and old craftsmen at their work, which has been the same for centuries.

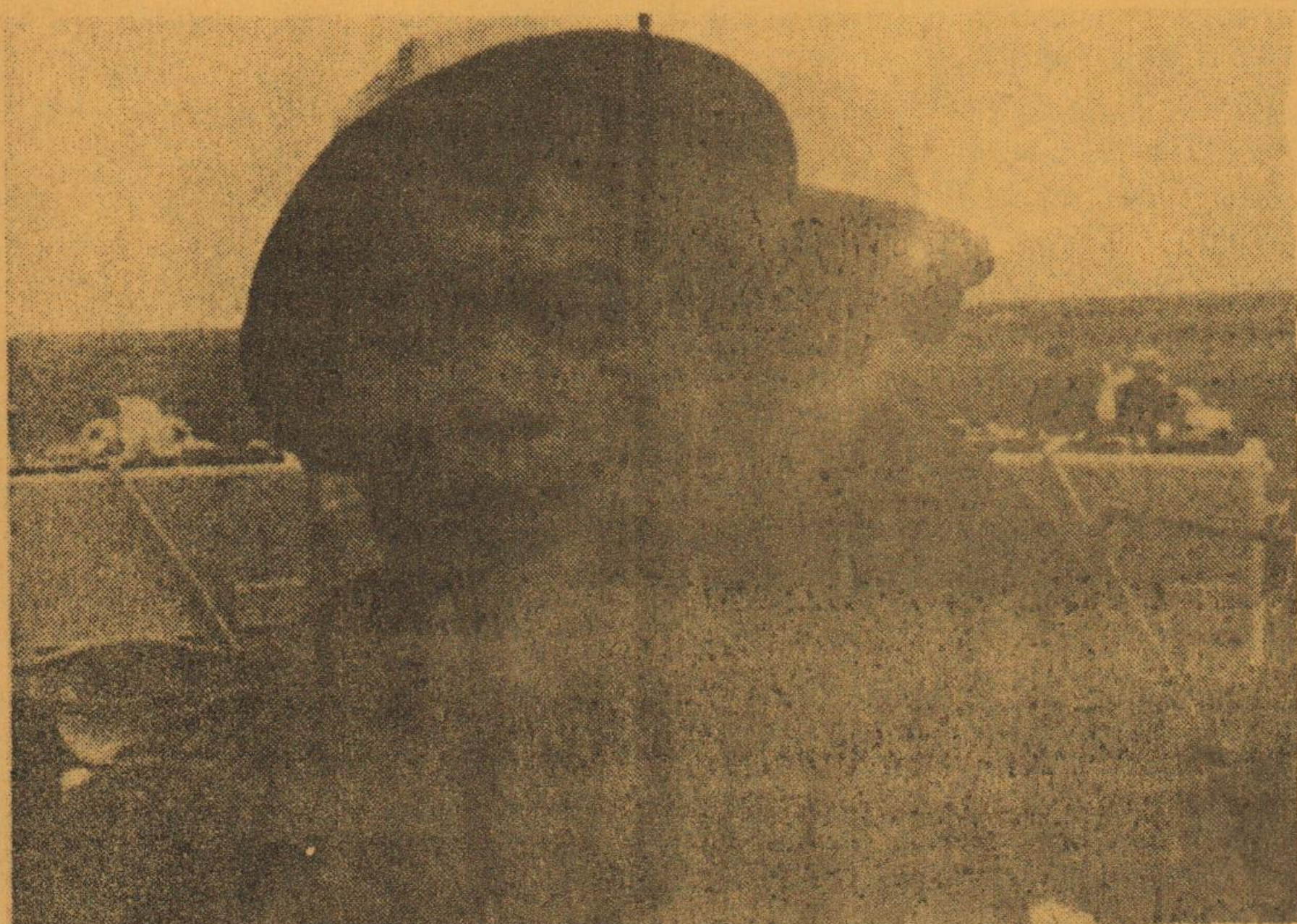
15 minutes

An Army Camp - Nanking

This film is the result of a month-long stay in an army camp near Nanking. It is a camp where, as elsewhere, everybody makes their bed, everybody marches in step, everyone trains; but also where the soldiers criticise the officers and the instructors on the internal management or about the best tactic to adopt on a manoeuvre; where the officers and soldiers eat the same food at the same table, play and discuss together. The army does not want to be a parasitic body; the soldiers work on the land and raise animals for their basic needs. The wives of the soldiers and officers also work in neighbouring factories in medicine, the production of soap, bean curd, etc. The camp is at the service of the local population for building roads, creating cultural centres, training the militia, etc.

57 minutes

THE OILFIELDS



For China to be master of her energy sources is a condition of national independence. The Taching Region is rich in oil. This was not the opinion of western experts until fifteen years ago when the first pioneers arrived on the cold and inhospitable steppe. It was necessary to be freed from the climatic conditions as well as from the opinions of experts. It was also necessary to overcome the economic blockade by the USSR.

Living conditions remain very hard for the hundreds of thousands of people in Taching. The young people who, in the climate of the cultural revolution, volunteered to join the pioneers, did not fully consider the difficulties they would encounter - even today.

But despite this, a new world is being created in Taching. The experiences to be drawn from it are that of a whole country that "does not want to be bound by the ideas of others", that believes in "self



reliance."

And there - where one would expect a polluting industrial megalopolis - one discovers a village society; a society where the men are neither workers nor peasants but both at the same time; a society where women cleverly and joyfully handle philosophy; a society which gives itself a holiday to celebrate their progress in drilling a well and to celebrate the victory over selfishness and reactionary ideas.

1 hour 27 minutes

Impressions of a City

On a Promenade through Shanghai we see many facets of the largest city in the world. At random during the walk, policemen talk about traffic, we visit an exhibition of children's drawings, a hairdresser talks about her work...

60 minutes

A WOMAN, A FAMILY



An old quarter on the outskirts of Peking. A film of every day life in the family and at work.

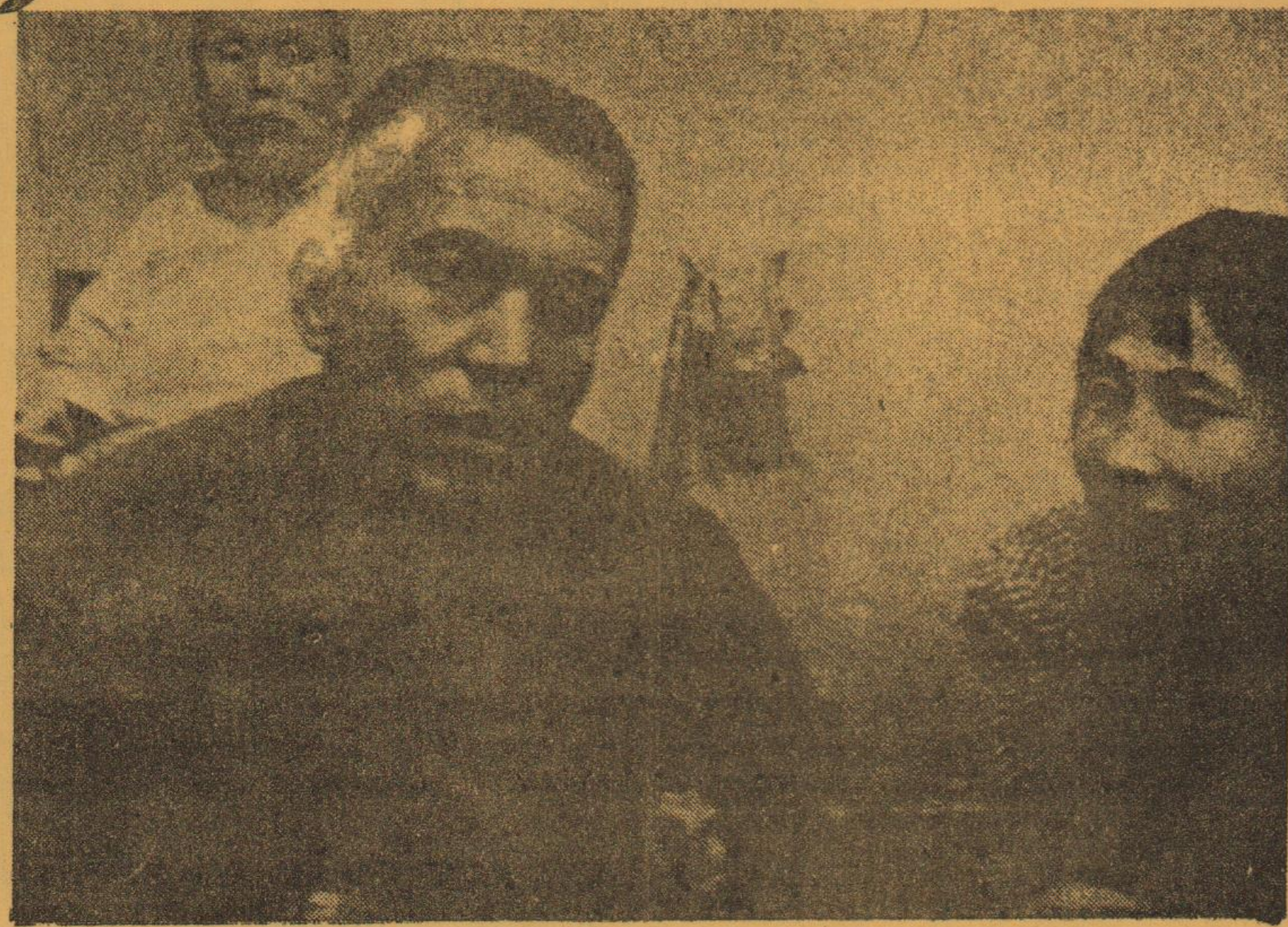
The central character is Kao Chou Lan, age 30, married with one young daughter. She has worked as a solderer in a train factory since she was 16. Since the Cultural Revolution she has become vice president of the factory's union.

We follow Kao Chou Lan in her private life; her time is spent between Peking with her husband and child each weekend, and her family home where she stays dur-

ing the week with her mother, brother and sister-in-law. The neighbours are also members of the family and sometimes take part in the discussions.

While they prepare the dinner, Kao's very aged mother talks of life before the revolution and in particular the oppression of women. Kao Chou Lan talks of marriage, love, education of children, the struggle of women to assert themselves before and especially after the revolution.

We also follow Kao Chou Lan right through a series of investiga-



tions that she conducts in the factory in her capacity as union representative. Through her we find out about the work on the shop floor, the canteen, nursery and the building of houses for factory workers.

We are also witness to the recycling of scrap material, and the fight against pollution.

The workers talk about Kao Chou Lan, most of them admire her, others are critical of her tendency to steal the limelight. They also criticise some of the working

methods of the filmmakers.
1 hour 48 minutes

Rehearsal at the Peking Opera

This film shows the training of acrobats and dancers in the Peking Opera, and a rehearsal for a newly created work.

32 minutes

THE FISHING VILLAGE



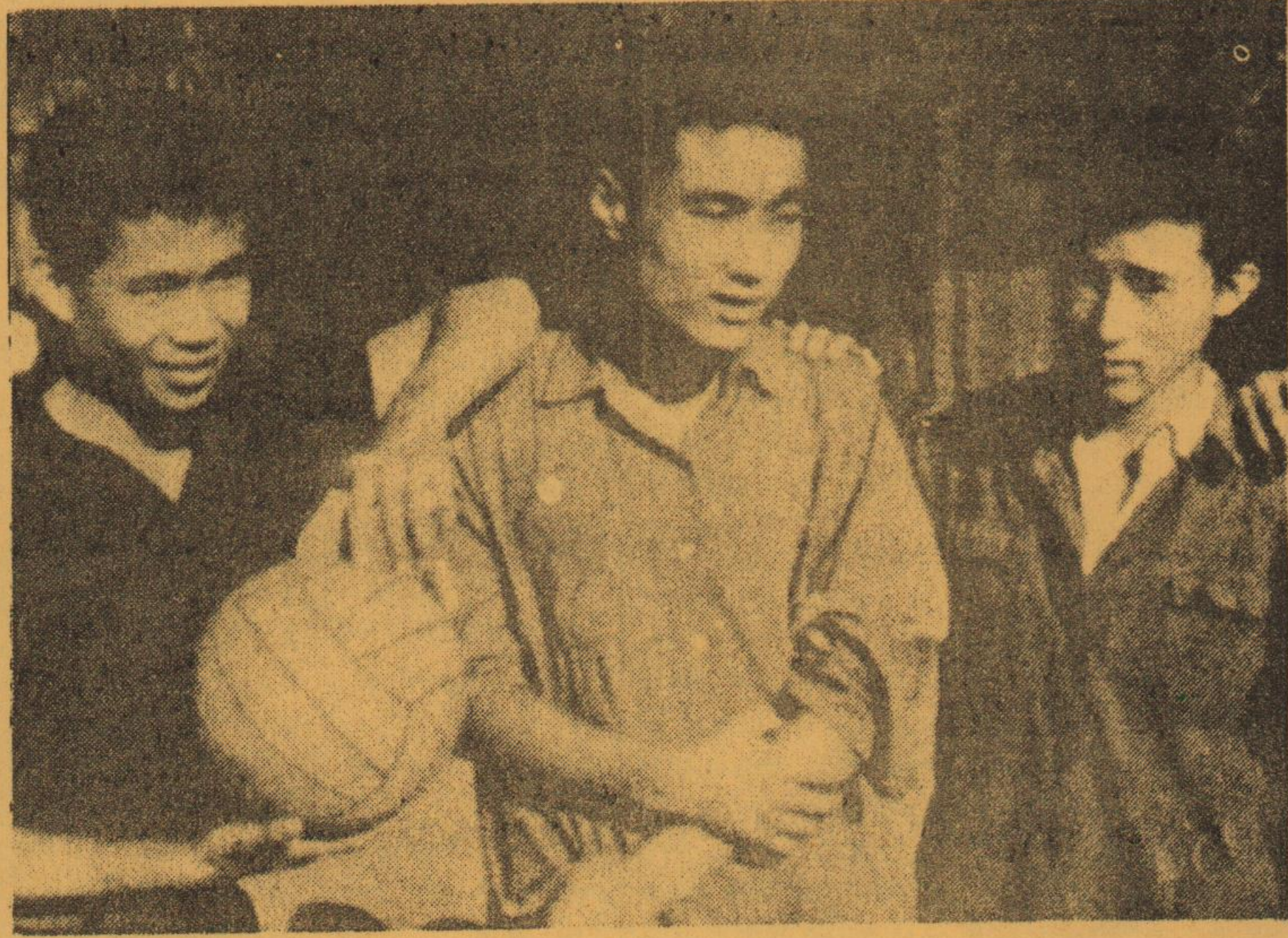
The Shangtung area is the birthplace of Confucius, who said, "a door on a courtyard is not a real door — and a woman is not a real human being".

In the village of Da Yu Dao, however, a group of young women have become sailors and 'fishermen'. The captain of the boat is a 23-year-old woman. In the film we see the daily life of the village: fishing, working in the factory, the village doctor. Some women discuss birth control and the men discuss wages. A carpenter shows the community some comic strips

about the experiences of women fishermen, and listens extremely patiently to their criticisms. An old captain expresses his perplexity in the face of all the changes. He says that he doesn't really understand the Cultural Revolution nor the significance of the politics of Mao Tse-tung. **1 hour 42 minutes**

The Football Incident

This is a little story which happened in a school in Peking. The heroes of



the film are a class of 13-year-olds and their teacher. A little scandal has erupted: when the school bell rang, a teacher asked the pupils to finish their ball game. But one pupil threw the ball towards the teacher.

The whole class discuss the problem together. This is not an attempt to find the culprit, but to encourage pupils and teachers to contribute towards resolving such conflicts. The animated discussion covers the nature of play, of sport, of passion; then it broadens as they talk of responsibility, ideology,

politics. One pupil chastises a teacher for not 'playing the game' of open discussion.
20 minutes

Behind the Scenes at the Peking Circus

The daily training of the people in the Peking Circus, ending with an acrobatic display.

16 minutes

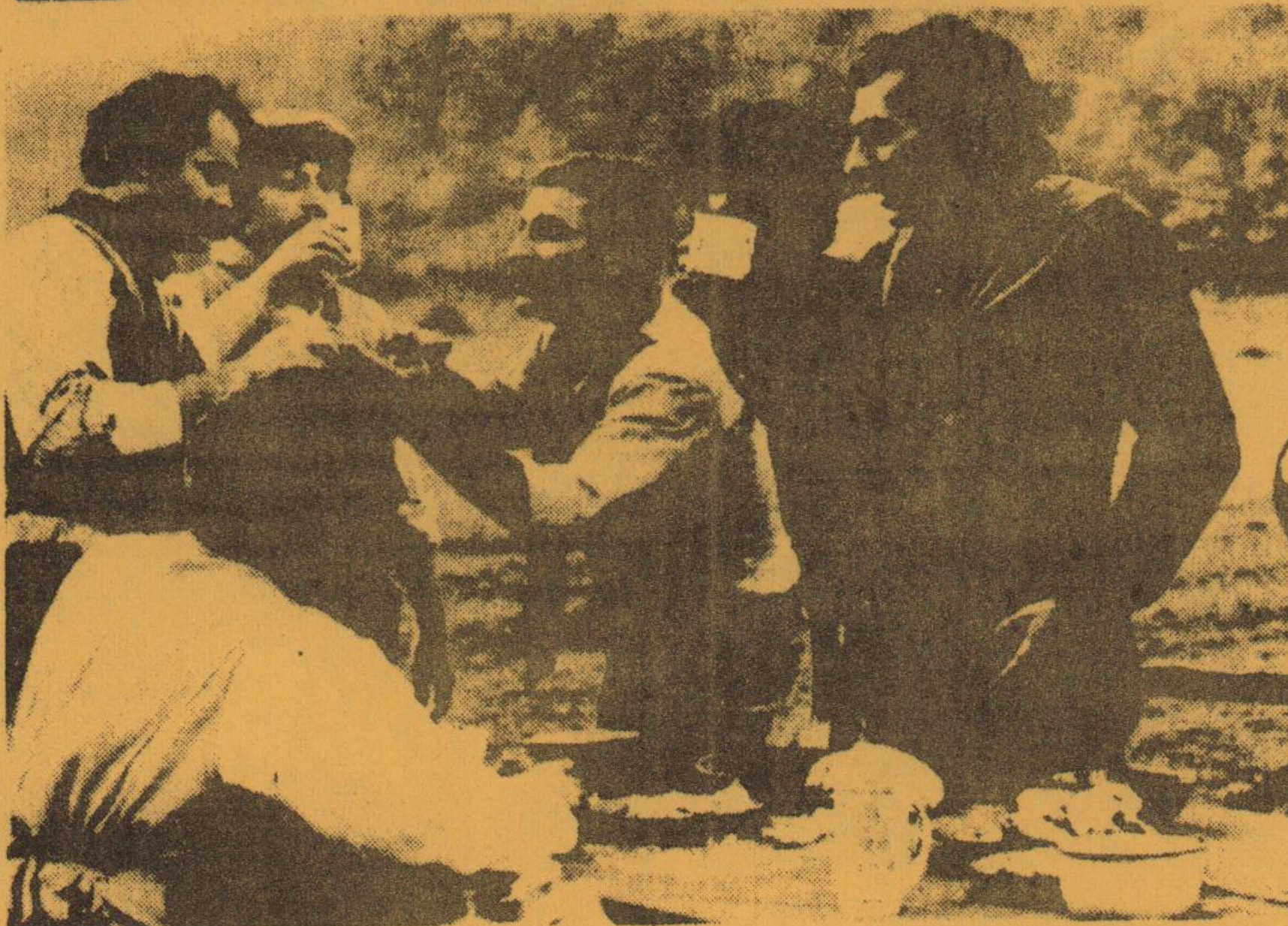
LA CECILIA is the first feature by Cahiers du Cinema editor Jean-Louis Comolli. It follows the struggles of a group of Italian anarchists to form a commune in Brazil — the La Cecilia of the title — from its inception in 1887 to its dissolution three years later. Taking this situation Comolli proceeds to explore important contemporary questions: "I didn't want to make a film about history as it was but about history as it is now, that is, I think of history as an area of contradictions, of struggles, a history which is always alive amongst us."

The first contradiction concerns the setting up of the commune itself — the land is granted to them by the Emperor of Brazil who is interested in the ideas put forward by Giovanni Rossi in his book *A Socialist Commune* and so invites its author to set up such a commune in sparsely populated Brazil. Thus the anarchists become colonialists from the outset, a fact constantly reiterated when they first arrive in Brazil. La Cecilia is perceived as a utopia outside the struggles in Brazil against feudalism and the struggles in their native Italy (Rossi is accused of cowardice and stupidity for taking revolutionaries out of Italy at a crucial moment in history by an article he reads in *Critica Sociale*). These problems are further accentuated by initial conflicts between the anarchists — splits between the farmers and the intellectuals, problems caused by sexuality (the crucial figure of Olimpia, the only woman in the group) and the problems of organisation.

But it is the problems of woman and the family that become central to the film. In a remarkable sequence we see Rossi, who has returned to Italy in an attempt to explain the rationale of La Cecilia, giving a lecture of the overriding need for anarchists to destroy the family. As he speaks, the camera pans round the room where he talks picking out objects which remind us of the power of the very notions Rossi is attacking, notions which will later prove stronger than the anarchists' conscious belief in their own credo.

It is when the families join the commune that it becomes apparent that making a decisive break with the old society requires more than this experiment will allow. There is little unity between what the anarchists preach and what they do. It becomes clear that the wives are expected by their husbands to take a traditional role — the husbands and fathers unthinkingly taking their place at the head of the family. The old structures of oppression inevitably reassert themselves, patriarchal

LA CECILIA



society is reproduced.

But there is a final contradiction that destroys the commune. As the remaining anarchists produce a play (*The Death of Danton*) a soldier of the Brazilian Republic interrupts — they have been mobilized to help put down an uprising — "In Italy you're Italians, in Brazil you're Brazilians". With only a choice between prison and the army, La Cecilia is finished. As revolutionaries, they have neglected to take an active role in the revolutionary struggle; the basic tenets of anarchism have been called into question.

Part of the film's success derives from its fine script written by Comolli himself in collaboration with Marianne di Vettimo (who also assisted in direction for language reasons) and Eduardo de Gregorio (collaborator with Rivette — *Celine and Julie Go Boating*, *Scenes de la Vie Parallele*; scriptwriter on Bertolucci's *The Spider's Stratagem* as well as his own film *Serail*). Comolli's achievement is to present a film involving ideas of some complexity in an accessible form without resorting to recasting concepts in terms of character conflict — a position of 'truth' is not mapped out for the spectator.

"This is a very revolutionary, very beautiful, thesis, that social organisation be based on pleasure and on desire, and not on order, on logic, on rationality, or on authority. Rossi tried to create an experiment where no form of organisation was imposed on those who were there. For Rossi, libertarian communism was something which had to be proved scientifically; since it was the most just, most free, most real way of living, one should be able to

demonstrate the fact scientifically, and that was the project he had at the start in getting these people to

come to Brazil, a scientific experiment. Both marxism and psychoanalysis have since shown how naive was the belief that the relationships between human beings are governed by the same logical system as governs the stars and gravity and things of that sort. What is interesting is that Rossi never saw that the people who had come there had not come to carry out an experiment, but to change things."

(Jean-Louis Comolli, *Peace News* interview)

LA CECILIA

Jean-Louis Comolli,

France-Italy/1976/113 mins/AA

Script: Jean-Louis Comolli; Eduardo de Gregorio, Marianne di Vettimo.

Photography (Eastmancolor):

Yann le Masson. Music: Michel

Portal. Sound: Tonino Testa. Pro-

duction: Filmoblic — C.E.C.R.T.

(Paris)/Saba Cinematografica

(Rome). Leading Players: Massimo

Foschi, Maria Carta, Vittorio Mezzo-

giorno, Biaggio Pelligra, Giancarlo

Pannese.

LA CECILIA

THURSDAY 17th NOVEMBER

7.30PM

NOTTINGHAM FILM THEATRE, BROAD STREET

'The Other Cinema' distributes most of the films in the Challenge to Imperialism series and many other important socialist films which otherwise might not be shown in this country or only shown in London. This benefit will help to raise the money which the Other Cinema urgently needs to survive.

the **Other** cinema
BENEFIT

**NOTTINGHAM
FILM THEATRE**

one of the key films of the contemporary cinema — which, in their own form, pose an answer to the question of what the relationship should be between a film maker's political position and the nature of the film he makes.

Colin McArthur TRIBUNE

It's not often that one sees a film as intelligent, as stimulating, and in particular as immediately politically applicable

TIME OUT

Who 'owns' a woman is also crucial to *La Cecilia* (A certificate), a haunting and surprisingly successful first-feature by Jean-Louis Comolli. Surprising, because it is that rarity, an explicitly political film of ideas which is not a boring tract.

THE SPECTATOR

campaign against a criminal trespass law

OCCUPATIONS

industrial occupations. hospital work-ins
student sit-ins. squatting. protest sit-ins.

AND

CRIMINAL TRESPASS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

CACTL is organising a National Conference, the weekend of November 26/27, at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. The aims of this Conference will be

to discuss the implications of this law for all forms of occupations.

to consolidate and extend the opposition to this law and discuss the need for mass mobilisation in defence of occupations which are threatened or attacked.

to assess the use of occupations as a tactic - in all its forms - and make widely available the experience that has been gained in its use.

to unite the many different sections of the broad working class movement which have used occupations as a tactic (industrial workers, hospital workers, students, tenants, and the homeless squatting).

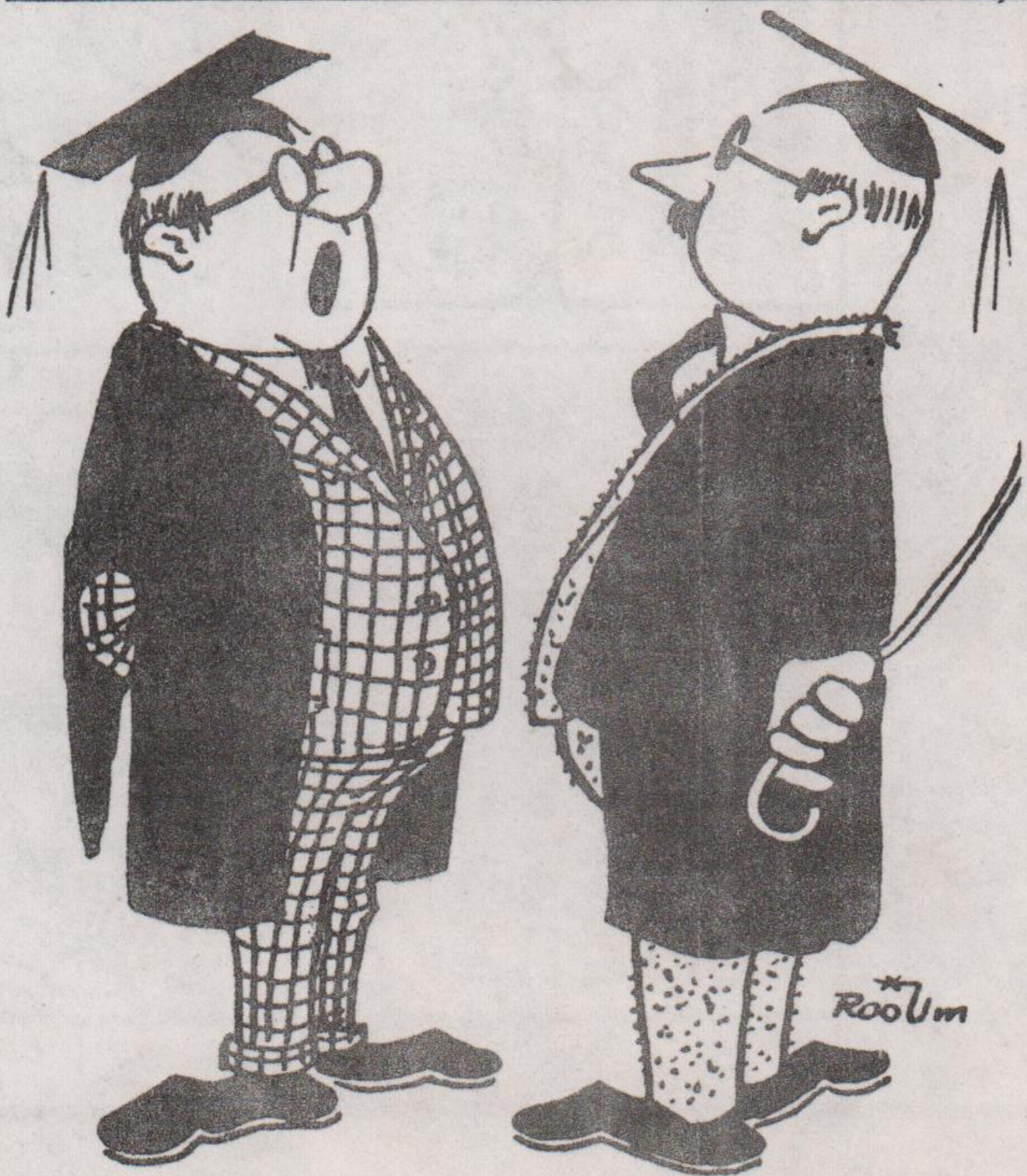
In addition to discussion of these issues, separate workshops will focus on: factory, student, embassy occupations, hospital work-ins/occupations, squatting, tenants' action, women and direct action, the media, cultural work in occupations, green bans, mass trespass.....

Registration fee: £2.50 (claimants £1.50). For agenda and full details, contact

CACTL, c/o 35 Wellington Street, London WC2. Tel. 01-289 3877

OR 15, SCOTHOLME AVE, HYSON GREEN, NOTTM. TEL. 708302

FOR A PARENTS' ALTERNATIVE TEACHING GROUP



• ANY PARENTS WILLING TO TAKE THEIR CHILDRENS EDUCATION INTO THEIR OWN HANDS,

• ANYBODY WITH SOME EXPERIENCE OF ALTERNATIVE TEACHING GROUPS (FREE SCHOOLS, TUTORIAL GROUPS, ETC...) AND READY TO HELP,

PLEASE CONTACT:

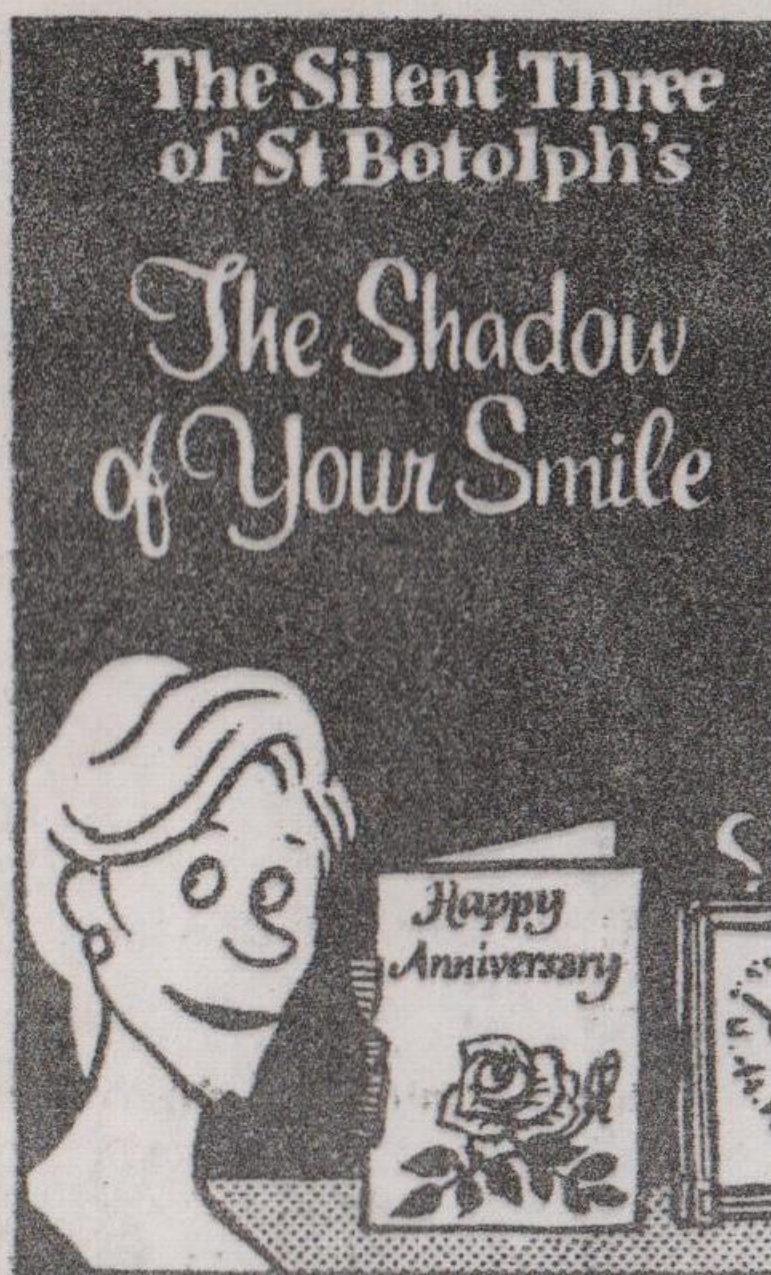
HELEN FLETCHER

16, DAGMAR GROVE

OFF WOODBOROUGH ROAD.

(BUS 31/50 - STOP AFTER ALEXANDRA COURT)

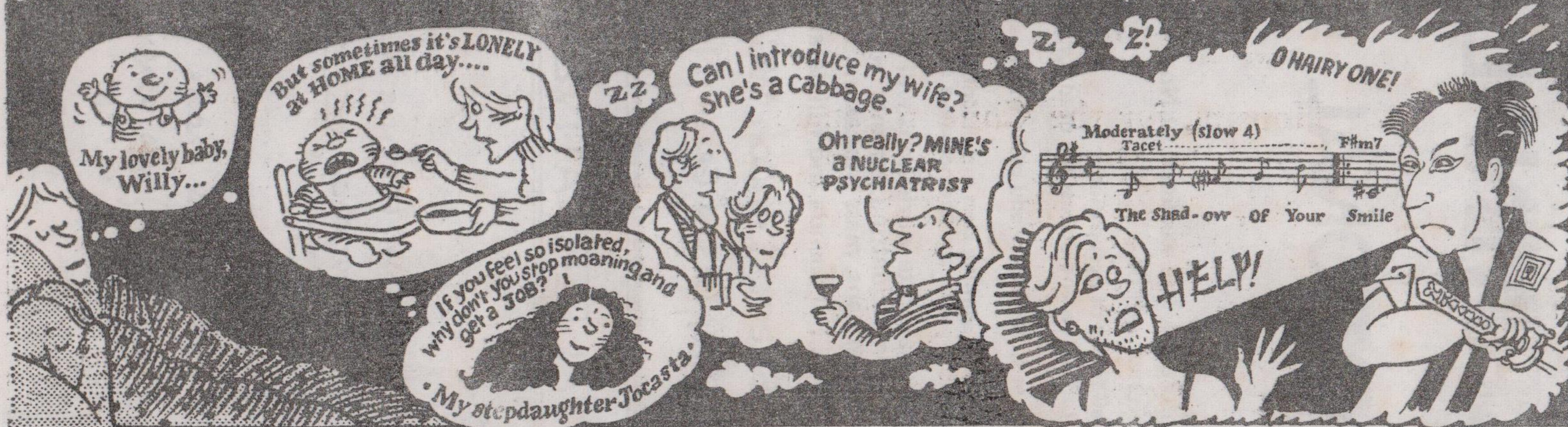
Some of the pupils seem to think this place exists for their benefit.



Here is STANHOPE WRIGHT, an advertising director, & his wife, Trish. It is their wedding anniversary. They have wine & dined....and so to BED....



Behind the barricade of Stanhope's spine, Trish reflects on her life... until she is folded in the arms of Morpheus, and dreams....



The next morning:



So Stanhope rings his DREAM FACTORY.

