

Acts of Resistance:

Formulating Critical Humanist Documentary practice by Centralising Activists and Artefacts  
of the Committee of 100 and Solidarity, 1956-74.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Royal College of Art

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## Abstract

Acts of Resistance is a PhD by documentary film-practice, recording first-person accounts of British new left and anarchist activism between 1956 and 1974. Between 2016 and 2023 I filmed with former activists of the Committee of 100 and the Libertarian Socialist group Solidarity to contextualise artefacts and archives of their non-violent protest and direct-action campaigns for peace and nuclear disarmament, and against fascism, imperialism, and homelessness. Further research revealed recordings of predeceased activists. My research generated the theory and practice position of Critical Humanist Documentary, demonstrated in documentary film chapters: *The Committee of 100 (parts 1 and 2)*, *Spies for Peace* and *House the Homeless*.

Drawing on sociologist Ken Plummer's 'critical humanism' (Plummer, 2013) my practice prioritises the sociological, ethical, and political significance of life stories and first-person narratives. Defining 'artefact' as human-made phenomena (Smith 2007), I apply the term to activists' actions (demonstrations, occupations, illegal radio broadcasts) as well as their material creations (documents, publications, graphics, films, photographs), designed to generate support and publicity to expose hidden iniquities of states and capital in narratives of 'counter-hegemony' (Williams, 1977, p.113).

Prioritising contributors as participants rather than subjects, my role as documentarist is to visualise and edit their contributions into the historical narrative, after which I invite their comments on iterations to increase accuracy.

Participant observation underpins my retrieval and contextualisation of the participants' histories in a form that avoids emotionally manipulative audio-visual tropes.

My work is influenced by filmmakers (e.g., Kopple, Loach, McQueen and Rogan, Morris) whose critical-humanist documentaries employ participant testimony as basis for revelatory or counter-hegemonic narratives. My methodology is informed by critical, descriptive, and analytical documentary theory that draws on Western Marxism and Critical Humanism.

Research questions:

1. How does my documentary research practice and the productions of others support the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method?
2. In what respects does Critical Humanist documentary differ from mainstream forms of broadcast documentary-factual entertainment regarding editorial intentions, positioning of subjects and representational tropes?

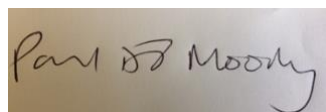
#### Sub Questions

3. In what respects were the featured activists able to engage with the broadcast and press media of the period studied?
4. How and why has the British broadcasting culture of socially engaged and historiographic documentary and current affairs been eroded and marginalised, and in favour of what?

Declaration

This thesis represents partial submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. I confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is submitted.

A photograph of a handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored surface. The signature reads "Paul David John Moody" in a cursive script.

Signed: Paul David John Moody

Date: 22/09/23

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Password for all: PHD2023

## Main Practice Chapter Submissions

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### The Committee of 100 Part 1 (1956-62)

Link: <https://vimeo.com/806989686>

### The Committee of 100 Part 2 (1963-68)

Link: <https://vimeo.com/807041088>

### Spies for Peace (1963)

Link: <https://vimeo.com/809945879>

### House the Homeless! (1963-74)

Link: <https://vimeo.com/809603425>

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My work is founded upon a cultural orientation towards literature, visual arts, song, film and history, that began with my parents David and Edith Elizabeth Moody and for which I am deeply grateful.

### Research Questions

1. How does my documentary research practice and the productions of others support the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method?
2. In what respects does Critical Humanist documentary differ from mainstream forms of broadcast documentary-factual entertainment regarding editorial intentions, positioning of subjects and representational tropes?

### Sub Questions

3. In what respects were the featured activists able to engage with the broadcast and press media of the period studied?
4. How and why has the British broadcasting culture of socially engaged and historiographic documentary and current affairs been eroded and marginalised, and in favour of what?

## Summary of Thesis Chapters

### 1. Introduction

This includes Origin of study, Researcher's Background and Motivation, Introduction to Critical Humanist Documentary, Articulation of Research Questions, Historical Context of the Period of Activism, summaries of *The Committee of 100* and *Solidarity*, Brief Biographies of Featured Activists, Comparison of Historical and Contemporary Broadcasting Contexts, and an overview of contemporary documentary and factual commissioning trends in The Privatisation and Reduction of Televisual Fora for Public Discourse.

### 2. Practice Statement

Concerns the place of my practice in the research, includes rationale for, and details of, research and filming with the participants and of their archives, and summarises iterations.

### 3. Methodology and Research Practice Method

#### 3.1 Introduction

#### 3.2 Methodology

Demonstrates my understanding of research methods, theory and philosophy informing my methodology. Includes the relation of the qualitative research paradigm to producing an interpretivist and expository account of the subject; contextualising evidence with participant recollection; outlining the useful combination of subjectivity and objectivity; Documentary Modes, including how the creation of the contemporary context for documentary, factual and news production; theorising archive usage in context of Critical Humanist Documentary;

Use of Emotional Affect and Resisting Pain Narratives. The Conclusion situates my practice as Critical Humanist Documentary.

### 3.3 Research Practice Method

Outlines of my engagement with practice and theory; reflection upon my Practice Methods of documentary as longitudinal participant-observation; contextualising evidence with participant recollection; and specificity of archive usage.

## 4. Literature Review

This defines the main documentary modes, outlines legacies of observational documentary traditions, self-inscriptional or performative documentary, and dramatic reconstruction. I consider the rise of factual entertainment and pseudo-documentary employing entertainment tropes; how post-modernist thinking has altered documentary practice and theory and present a brief overview of cultures of resistance in documentary filmmaking.

## 5. Principles of Critical Humanist Documentary in Previous Productions

This chapter outlines how selected documentaries resonate with my practice research and inform the thesis regarding formal developments. This is based partly on my viewings and transcriptions of interviews with filmmakers, maintaining my practice of using first-hand accounts.

## 6. Case Study: Activists' Artefacts in Practice Submissions

This chapter considers the featured activists' artefacts as events (e.g., occupations, demonstrations) and media production (e.g., pirate radio, publications, graphics, documentary film), and activists' extensive engagement with broadcasters and the press.

The sections are:

### 6.1 Introduction

### 6.2 The Committee of 100 part 1 (1956-62)

### 6.3 The Committee of 100 part 2 (1963-68)

*The Committee of 100* parts 1 and 2 include the organisation's pre-cursors in individual and group actions (such as those of the Direct-Action Committee Against Nuclear War) and its historical development from an anti-nuclear and pro-peace organisation into a more anarchistic, decentralised, and pluralist campaigning group. Part one deals with the formation of the movement and its major demonstrations from the successes of February 18<sup>th</sup> and April 29<sup>th</sup> 1961, at the Ministry of Defence and Trafalgar Square respectively, to the relative failure of the protests at Wethersfield and other nuclear bases in December 1962.

As well as nuclear and biological disarmament protests, Part 2 includes: 'The Hostels Campaign' (1963-5) involving Solidarity and marking the development of the peace movement into domestic, socially-focused campaigns; 'Protesting the War on Vietnam', documenting artefactual interventions against Britain's covert support for the American war in Vietnam and 'Protesting Fascism in Greece' (1963-68) including the 1963 protests in London known as 'Greek Week', the 1963 C100 Peace Convoy to Athens, and in 1967, Protesting the Greek Colonels' Coup and Occupying the Greek Embassy.

### 6.4 Spies for Peace (1963)

*Spies for Peace* (1963) documents the clandestine investigation, and UK-wide and international exposure and publication of the state's secret Regional Centres of Government and plans for elite survival of nuclear attack.

### 6.5 House the Homeless! (1966-74)

*The Friends of King Hill* (1965-66) shows the resistance, occupation, and protest to allow families to cohabit at King Hill Hostel, leading to central Government requiring local authorities nationwide to properly observe their statutory duties under the 1948 National

Assistance Act. *The Squatters* (1968-74) shows how this London originated campaign enabled homeless people to occupy long-term unused properties. This chapter records how this activism was extensively and sympathetically reported and documented by UK and international television and press.

*The Occupation of Centre Point* (1974) is a brief example of a direct-action token weekend occupation designed to highlight the iniquities of an enormous empty property generating profits for its owner. This action was documented by Steve Morrison and his film commissioned by World In Action as it was being made.

This chapter, drawn from my original documentary filmmaking research, shows that close cooperation existed between the activists and media professionals, from filmmakers and journalists to commissioners of documentary and current affairs programming and editors of the press in that period.

## 6.6 Conclusion

## 7. Conclusions

This Chapter summarises the Conclusions drawn from my research and its Contributions to the Field and to Knowledge as: the theoretical positioning of Critical Humanist Documentary as a set of practice choices regarding subject, representational style, and engagement with participants. This is as a counter-hegemonic alternative to commercially led, entertainment focused broadcast commissioning choices and tropes visible in contemporary documentary and factual entertainment. The chapter concludes with the Relevance of this Research to others in the field and Potential Directions for further research.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Origin of Study

This research practice originated in 2010 with my decision to document historical and continuing left activism of our neighbour, Jim Radford. This led to contacts and recordings with nine other British peace movement, New Left, and anarchist activists who gave their accounts of actions between 1956 and 1974. This generated documentary chapters linking individual viewpoints with specific activities, archives and artefacts. The chapters are:

*The Committee of 100 Part 1 (1956 to 1962)*. Preceded by a Prologue that introduces the filmmaker's motivations, this chapter includes the origins of the British anti-nuclear movement in the Direct-Action Committee (DAC) and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the formation of the Committee of 100 (C100) and its subsequent demonstrations to the end of 1962.

*The Committee of 100 Part 2 (1963 to 1968)*. This chapter includes: the Greek Solidarity Campaign protests and convoy to Athens (1963), the demonstration at Porton Down research institute, the link between the peace and social movement, expressed in cooperation with Solidarity in the homeless Hostels Campaign (1963), Protesting America's War on Vietnam (1966-67), and the Greek Embassy Occupation (1967).

*Spies for Peace (1963)*. This chapter relates the ideas of *Beyond Counting Arses* (Brewood Jr, D. et al, 1963) to the discovery and break-ins to the British state's Regional Seats of Government, publication, mass distribution and public reactions to *Danger! Official Secret, RSG6* (Spies for Peace, 1963).

*House the Homeless!* (1963-74). This chapter outlines the peace movement's further direct action on social issues from 'The Friends of King Hill' (1965-66) to 'The Squatters' (1968-74).

The practice chapters are considered in greater depth in my Case Study in Chapter 6.

## 1.2 Researcher's Background and Motivation

Born in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1961, my social origin is working-class and my political orientation socialist. Descended from workers involved in textiles, mining, and shipbuilding, I learned and observed histories first from relations and then from television documentary from the late sixties until leaving home in 1981. Using a reel-to-reel audio tape recorder in the early 1970s my first recordings were first-person family narratives. When older, I participated in and sometimes filmed activism such as Rock Against Racism, People's March for Jobs, Anti-Clause 28, and the Anti-Apartheid movement. This background informs my choice of and approach to documentary filmmaking with the cohort of activists who feature in this research.

## 1.3 Critical Humanist Documentary

The practice-led documentary filmmaking research of *Acts of Resistance* (AOR) led to the formulation of the theoretical and practice position *Critical Humanist Documentary* (CHD) that includes a taxonomy of characteristics, and exemplary types. CHD highlights the historical reduction of documentary and current affairs broadcasting and problematises tropes of contemporary broadcast entertainment-led forms of factual commissioning.

My films are Critical Humanist Documentary primarily in subject choice - centralising participant accounts of marginalised and often misrepresented new-left and anarchist non-violent direct-action activism for peace and equality. Where possible this has taken place in longitudinal, reasonably collaborative engagement with participants. My films combine their first-hand accounts with specific counter-hegemonic artefacts and archival evidence to revivify their challenge to hegemonic representations of states and capital.

Defining 'artefact' as human-made phenomena (Smith, 2007), I apply the term to activists' actions (occupations, demonstrations) as well as their material creations (documents, publications, graphics, film, photographs), designed to generate support and publicity to expose hidden iniquities of states and capital in narratives of 'counter-hegemony' (Williams, 1977, p. 113).

Drawing on sociologist Ken Plummer's 'critical humanism' (2013) my practice prioritises the sociological, ethical, and political significance of life stories and first -person narratives. The participants recorded, all in their eighties and nineties, were connected by membership and/or association with the British groups Committee of 100 and Solidarity. In order of initial filming these were Jim Radford, Ron Bailey, Mike Randle, Ernest Rodker, Ruth Walter, Heather Strange, Nic Ralph, Diana Shelley and Jay Ginn. Other activists feature in archive recordings, including Helen Allegranza, Andy Anderson, Terry Chandler, Ian Hutchison, Mike Lesser, Pat Pottle, Bertrand Russell and Ken Weller. The narratives of lives told by those who lived them is a central part of Critical Humanism and to the work undertaken in this thesis.

Sociologist Plummer writes:

‘The political call of stories inspires a political imagination. Listening to the stories of the lives of others whose world may be different from ours is a pre-requisite for democratic functioning...’ (Plummer, 2013)

If described as a paradigm, here adapted from Peter Hamilton’s account of “France and Frenchness in Post War Humanist Photography” (Hamilton, 1997) categories of Critical Humanist Documentary include:

1. Commonality: the filmmaker’s views resonate with those of the participants.
2. Historicity: specificity in the historical construction of the film texts.
3. Primacy: prioritising the voices of those represented.
4. Participation: extended contact with participants to inform project.
5. Preservation: recording participants and retrieving archives for posterity.
6. Critical: counter-hegemonic choice of subject and modes of representation.

Participants’ resistance to the actions and narratives of states and capital, their solidarity and commitment to a progressive politics has influenced my practice. This resonates with theorist Bill Nichols’s suggestion that documentary ‘like ethnographic fieldwork, calls for specific ways of being [...] it calls for an ethics of responsibility, and aesthetics of film form and a politics of representation.’ (Nichols, 2013). My ‘specific way of being’ is expressed by the longitudinal and collaborative engagement with the participants, the prioritisation of their voices and their histories, and the proposal of Critical Humanist Documentary as socio-political representation alternative to contemporary uses of documentary-factual forms as entertainment.

#### 1.4 Articulation of Research Questions

My primary research question is:

How does my documentary research practice and the productions of others support the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method?

From this question I was able to propose the paradigm and main features of Critical Humanist Documentary presented in the previous section.

My secondary research question is:

In what respects does Critical Humanist documentary differ from mainstream forms of broadcast documentary-factual entertainment regarding editorial intentions, positioning of subjects and representational tropes?

The secondary question generated the sub-questions: In what respects were the featured activists able to engage with the broadcast and press media of the period studied? and How and why has the British broadcasting culture of socially engaged and historiographic documentary and current affairs been eroded and marginalised, and in favour of what?

## 1.5 Historical Context of the Period of Activism



Fig. 1 Mike Randle, Paul Moody 2017. Fig 2. Mike Randle, 1956, Peace-walk to Hungary, courtesy M. Randle.

“1956... year of Suez, and of Hungary. Suez made a lot of people on the left...aware that there was this residual imperialist and colonialist attitude. ... Hungary disillusioned ... people who had put their faith in the Soviet Union. ... 56-57...the birth of the new left...who wanted a more humane kind of socialism.”

(Randle, 2017)

All interviewees recall participating in the growing peace movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s against the existential threat of thermo-nuclear war between eastern and western blocs, now armed with the hydrogen bomb. There was heightened consciousness during this period of anti-colonialist and self-determination movements in former empires and Warsaw Pact countries, of racial prejudice and domestic inequality, especially regarding Britain’s chronic housing crisis, unresolved despite Labour’s post war settlement. I recorded the activists recounting their involvement with non-violent direct-action organisations, such as *Operation Gandhi*, *The Direct-Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons*, the *Committee of 100*, and the libertarian socialist group *Solidarity*.

## 1.6 The Committee of 100 (C100)

The history of C100 is outlined in my documentary practice notably by interviews made with its first Secretary Michael Randle, and members such as Diana Shelley and Jim Radford. The history of C100 is excellently documented in *Fill the Jails': Identity, Structure and Method in the Committee of 100, 1960-1968* (Carroll, 2010). Carroll's life-story audio interviews with Ruth Walter have contributed to my practice and resonate with my own interviewing and participant engagement. After the early protest campaigns of the *Direct-Action Committee against Nuclear Weapons*, (DAC – briefly named 'Operation Gandhi') and the larger *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND), American student Ralph Schoenman discussed a new mass campaign of nonviolent direct action with Hugh Brock and April Carter of the DAC in 1960. Discussions took place in the Partisan Café (a coffee house established by the *Universities and Left Review* – later the *New Left Review*) in Soho, and philosopher Bertrand Russell was persuaded to be chair, for which he resigned as chair of CND.

The central concept was that a committee of 100 notable names were prepared to suffer arrest and imprisonment for the cause based on collective responsibility, with the slogan 'fill the jails.' At the launch on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1960, the one hundred original signatories included notable cultural figures such as Lindsay Anderson, Pat Arrowsmith, John Berger, Alex Comfort, Sheilagh Delaney, George Melly, Gustav Metzger, John Osborne, and Vanessa Redgrave. After highly publicised mass demonstrations with mass arrests in 1961 and 1962, the British state adopted a more aggressive and disruptive approach carrying out raids, using more draconian laws and handing out lengthy prison sentences to several of the leadership. By August 1963, Russell, though still sympathetic, had resigned, as had half of the original signatories.

Responding to calls from outside of the capital, the organisation decentralised, becoming more anarchist or libertarian socialist in practice, more widely concerned with social and political issues at home and abroad, with the London C100 being the largest and most active. From 1963, C100 also published its own magazine '*Resistance*'. The group's last actions included the April 1967 occupation of the Greek Embassy to protest the Greek Military's coup d'état. Michael Randle, Terry Chandler, and Del Foley were singled out to serve lengthy prison sentences for this, even though the occupiers were all equally guilty. C100 was wound up in 1968. Its legacy is summarised by Carroll as:

‘...a campaign era of trial and error, from which much was learned about the potential and limitations of NVDA. ... C100 also created an atmosphere which encouraged input from all members for decisions made over campaign direction. ...this ethos and method defines C100 as a distinct and innovative protest group... in time to harness the fresh cultural and political mood of the late 1950s. C100 was precursory to many subsequent protest campaigns in Britain and a conduit both to the era that later came to be regarded as the rebellious 1960s, and to the eventual rise of identity politics that was to follow.’ (Carroll, 2010, p. 228)

## 1.7 Solidarity

Interviewee Nic Ralph (2019) explains that *Solidarity* developed from former members of the Trotskyist *Socialist Labour League* formed in 1959 who were expelled for disagreeing with that organisation's tendency towards physical intimidation and assault. Internationalist, anti-Leninist, and ‘for workers’ control’, it was influenced by the French *Socialism ou Barbarie* (Socialism or Barbarism). Its central activity was publishing regular contributions to the libertarian socialist debate about current and past events, with Dr. Chris Pallis (aka Maurice Brinton) translating several texts of Greek French libertarian-socialist philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis (aka Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan) from French to English.

Ralph stayed with Castoradis when in Paris, and Solidarity also had links with the French Situationists including Guy Debord. Solidarity was a small group; its most important years were 1960 to 1981 and by 1992 it no longer existed. Former Solidarists, as they are known, who feature in my research include Ron Bailey, Heather Strange (formerly Russell), Nic Ralph, Ian Hutchison and Andy Anderson, with Jim Radford being close to the organisation.

### 1.8 Brief Biographical Details of Featured Activists Interviewed

In order of our meeting, activists I filmed with include the following.

#### Jim Radford (1928-2020)

Libertarian Socialist from Hull maritime family. Britain's youngest D-Day Veteran. Peace and anti-nuclear campaigner but not a pacifist. C100 member, close to Solidarity. Merchant and Royal Navy sailor, factory worker, press-advertising salesman, and social worker.

Lifelong humanist, anti-racist and social-justice activist. A major figure in the hostels, King Hill, and Squatters campaigns. A fine singer, his song 'The Shores of Normandy' based on his experiences of D-Day, reached number one in 2014, generating money for charity.

#### Ron Bailey (1942-)

Member of Solidarity and C100 from London. Former teacher, activist and more recently a campaigning researcher and bid writer successfully bringing progressive legislation to and through parliament. A major figure in the hostels, King Hill, and Squatters campaigns and one of the first people to reconnoitre Regional Seat of Government 6, exposed soon after by the Spies for Peace.

Mike Randle (1934-)

A pacifist and conscientious objector. First Secretary of the Committee of 100 after his involvement with the Direct-Action Committee. Served lengthy prison sentences on several occasions, notably as part of the Wethersfield Six (1962) and for the Occupation of the Greek Embassy in 1967. Helped convicted double agent George Blake escape prison, and covertly transported the spy to East Germany. Faced trial for this in 1991 but was acquitted by the jury. Active in supporting dissidents in the former eastern bloc.

Ernest Rodker (1937-)

Peace activist and cabinet maker. Helped organise the first Aldermaston March - producing and distributing 250,000 leaflets. Pacifist, conscientious objector and C100 member imprisoned with Randle for 'refusing to be bound over to keep the peace' before the Trafalgar Square sit-down in September 1961. Involved in Anti-Apartheid movement and Campaign Against Police Surveillance. Amassed large collection of C100 and related materials including posters, leaflets, and badges.

Ruth Walter (1943-2018)

C100 member who helped organise the Wethersfield demonstrations and was one of the Spies for Peace, involved in its organisation, document preparation and anonymous fundraising. Also involved in sheltering deserters from the armed forces. Became a social worker, adult education teacher and charity worker, working variously with immigrants and people with learning difficulties.

Heather Strange (1939-)

A former teacher, previously Heather Russell, involved in producing and distributing the Solidarity publications. Corresponded with the producers of *Socialism ou Barberie* and the Situationists. Involved in the King Hill campaign, the Brighton Church demonstration, and the occupation of the Greek Embassy. For the latter two she spent short periods in prison. Former partner of and lifelong friend to activist and filmmaker Ian Hutchison.

Nic Ralph (1942-)

CND member from the first Aldermaston March, then C100 member involved in the major demonstrations including Wethersfield. One of eight Spies for Peace involved from start to finish. Arrested for interrogation upon his return from Paris. Filmed extensively with Ian Hutchison in the 1966-7 on projects including *Punch and Judas*, *The Lost Day*, the *Occupation of the Greek Embassy* and *The Real McGregor*. Became a professional film and television maker, and then a university lecturer after gaining his PhD.

Diana Shelley (1943-)

Member of the London Committee of 100 in 1963. During teenage years involved with 1961-2 C100 demonstrations. Demonstrated during 'Greek Week' against the 1963 visit of the Greek Royal Family and participated in 1967 occupation of the Greek Embassy, from where she smuggled out Hutchison's undeveloped film of the embassy interiors during the occupation. Activist, historian, and writer for various magazines, including *Anarchy*, notably issue 50, 'Influx or Exodus? The Anarchists and the Committee of 100' (Shelley, 1965). Met Dutch Provos, and the Situationists, including Debord in Paris.

Jay Ginn (1939-)

Sociologist and researcher. CND and Committee of 100 member. Involved in various C100 demonstrations, 'The Voice of Nuclear Disarmament' pirate radio broadcasts, the 'Greek week' demonstrations, the attempted 1963 peace convoy from Britain to Athens, and the 1967 occupation of the Greek Embassy for which she was briefly imprisoned. Gained BSc, MSc and PhD and producing work concerned with gender, pensions, and health care in later life.

Roy Wilbrougham (1943-)

Committee of 100 member between 1961-65, involved with Whitehall sit-downs with Bertrand Russell, and Trafalgar Square demonstrations. Shared Westbourne Terrace flat with Terry Chandler and others.

Other C100 activists who either did not consent to or predeceased my contemporary filming include Helen Allegranza, Pat Arrowsmith, Terry Chandler, Ian Hutchison, Mike Lesser and Pat Pottle. Where available, their accounts feature in archive recordings.

1.9 Comparative Broadcast Contexts for Documentary

As the participants responded to their social and political contexts, this research is a response to historical and contemporary documentary and factual expressions in my context as viewer and filmmaker. The chapters of this thesis contribute the foundations, theories, and practice of my argument for a reinvigoration of broadcast documentary as a Critical Humanist practice and form, positioned in opposition to contemporary entertainment-led tropes of documentary and factual entertainment.

The contemporary multi-channel, multi-platform, targeted-streaming context of documentary forms is markedly different from that of 1956-1974. Britain then saw growth from one to three national television channels, (BBC1, first broadcast as the BBC Television Service, 1936, Independent Television - ITV - first broadcast 1955, and BBC2, first broadcast 1964) all with significant public service broadcasting obligations, including meaningful regional opt-outs for ITV. Cinema newsreels persisted until the early 1960s. While this study affords insufficient space to consider fully such a lengthy development, an overview of its main aspects informs an historical understanding relative to sub-questions raised by my research regarding: In what respects were the featured activists able to engage with the broadcast and press media of the period studied? - and - How and why has the British broadcasting culture of socially engaged and historiographic documentary and current affairs been eroded and marginalised, and in favour of what? The quantity and tone of documentary, news and press reporting regarding activists' activities shows that there was in the media community sufficient editorial freedom, diversity of political viewpoints, journalist commitment and resources to report on the actualities of the various campaigns. David Elstein, then Executive Producer of ITV's *This Week* current affairs documentary programme, stated in 1980:

‘...the most effective current affairs programmes are largely inhabited by left-leaning journalists, producers and directors [...] the kind of people who are interested in investigating society, in challenging subjects, in asking is the status quo acceptable.’  
(Rosenthal, 1980, p.122)

Also, a more pluralist tone and inclusion of dissident views in current affairs is indicative of wider political opinions among media professionals and greater editorial freedom in their media productions. Examples include Radford's confidential prior-warning to ITN to film the impending Brighton Church demonstration; The BBC, ITV, the Times' and Observer's

extensive and sympathetic use of the London Squatters campaign and their document *Evicted* (Bailey, Mahony and Conn, 1969) or *World in Action* editor Gus MacDonald commissioning then National Film School student Steve Morrison's insider documentary 'The Occupation of Centre Point' (Morrison, 1974) as it happened.

Third, television's power to reach viewers in an era of two, then three channels was more concentrated, generating significant audiences for news, current affairs, and documentaries.

Fourth, press ownership was less concentrated than it is now, in a larger and more politically diverse newspaper market before the 'cumulative impact of a new generation of partisan, interventionist proprietors' typified by Rupert Murdoch (Curran and Seaton, 1997, p.73).

Fifth, the post-war settlement notion of government by consensus - however fragile and widely challenged by various shades of political opinion - still held. Socialism and Trade Unionism were more powerful elements of the settlement within capitalism.

In summary, there existed a more politically variegated, relatively independent, and sympathetic media milieu in which the activists could publicise their activities. Even where media publishers produced hostile reporting of the activists' campaigns, they were at least reported.

This begs the question as to how has that former context altered? The main contributing factors are summarised as follows:

- a. A shift towards right-wing discourses: the neo-liberal thinking of successive Conservative governments from 1979 implementing successive privatisation of state assets and terminating the post-war settlement.
- b. The concentration of media ownership in the hands of proprietors motivated by economic and political concerns.
- d. The rise in Public Relations as a tool for state and corporate power to manage media presence and promote their values.
- e. Increased broadcaster concentration on factual entertainment and decline of interest in producing documentaries and current affairs factual films about challenging social issues.

Carey's (1995) analysis of what constitutes corporate propaganda in the US and Australia is applicable to discussion of these developments in Britain. He defines the corporate propaganda known as Public Relations or PR as 'a means of protecting corporate power against democracy', (Carey, 1995, p.18) and states 'the success of business propaganda in persuading us, for so long, that we are free from propaganda is one of the most significant propaganda achievements of the twentieth century.' (Carey, 1995, p. 21).

Regarding the effect of public relations practices on documentary access to contributors Ellis (2021) observes:

'The access to police procedures granted to Roger Graef for his 1983 Police series would be refused point blank by the public relations professionals who have proliferated since this series was made. The access that can be secured is for fixed rig filming (e.g., *24 Hours in Police Custody*) ... the physical investment in equipment installation together with the 'embedded' nature of the filmers alter the balance of power in favour of the institution being filmed.' (Ellis, 2021, p. 147)

Curran's (2006) evidence to *The Leveson Judicial Inquiry Culture into the Culture, Practices and Ethics of the British Press* following the News International phone-hacking scandal notes the decline of government by consensus and the concomitant rise of PR. Curran remarks:

‘During the liberal corporatist phase (1940-1979), governments tended to rule by consensus achieved through conciliation between organised groups mediated through state institutions. The dismantlement of this system has made politicians more disposed to develop populist initiatives on the basis of electoral research, and more dependent on media goodwill.’ (Curran, 2006, p. 6)

Miller and Dinan (2000) analyse the role of PR in shaping some fundamental aspects of life in Britain since 1979, noting the ‘tilt to the market’ of Conservative governments promoting a radical neo-liberal agenda by deploying public relations management to communicate core privatisation messages to the populace with impressive effect. Most nationalised industries were sold off – usually by Conservative Governments and some by Labour. (Seymour, 2012). Miller and Dinan describe the ‘promotional culture’ of PR as ‘allied to neo-liberalism and its disguise of vested interests by presenting them as neutral and natural rather than political and cultural.’ As they state:

‘A key role of the PR industry in late 20th century Britain and a condition of its spectacular growth was to make profits from, and facilitate, the marked redistribution of wealth from the poor to the rich.’ (Miller and Dinan, 2000, p. 25)

As we shall see in the case study of the activists’ campaigns, before the ‘tilt to the market’ greater documentary and journalistic commitment existed in Britain (and beyond) to represent actualities potentially uncomfortable for governments, local, regional, and national.

The gradual reduction of regular mainstream broadcast investigative and factual series such as *World in Action* (ITV, 1963-98), *Man Alive* (BBC, 1965-81), *Survival* (1961-2001), *This Week* (ITV, 1956-78, 1986-92) and *First Tuesday* (1983-93) among others, significantly reduced such programming in the mainstream.

These series regularly documented social realities in Britain and abroad, including political activism and were designed to draw attention to information for public discourse. What gradually replaced this type of programming was an increasing focus on reality television and factual entertainment. Currently the BBC has *Panorama*, ITV the very occasional *Exposure*, and Channel Four, *Dispatches* – fewer, less regular, and in the multi-channel context, arguably tokenistic.

### 1.10 The Privatisation and Reduction of Televisual Fora for Critical Public Discourse

This pivot of UK television from observational documentaries and current affairs towards constructed reality television and factual entertainment has, in my experience with broadcasters as a documentarist, been partly justified on the assumption that previous forms objectified those with limited or no agency. My documentation of first-hand participant accounts and retrieval of archive film materials and documents shows that, on the contrary, activists and those with whom they engaged demonstrated clear agency both in their campaigns, and in interactions with the makers of television news, documentaries and journalism, with whom they were able to regularly collaborate to publicise their causes.

In contrast, since the 1990s, commissioners have increasingly selected individuals to place them in particular designed situations, which are then filmed as “real”. This expression of commissioners’ control promotes a culture of voyeurism, presenting individuals as entertainment characters, the very opposite of filmmakers engaging with people and events that would have happened in any case outside of commissioners’ control. For broadcast filmmakers it was always a struggle to engage regularly and longitudinally with those protesting or resisting iniquity or campaigning for systemic change, but now it is almost unthinkable in the mainstream. This development is arguably a form of privatisation of public fora and the discourses they enabled to position contemporary viewers as consumers of distractive entertainment.

The reduction of critical discourses on broadcast television such as *World in Action* or *Man Alive*, rooted in the representation of social actualities reduces the vocabulary of ideas in circulation.

Nash proposes that the

‘...move towards so-called reality television and the quasi-abandonment of notions of quality in British television [...] The very form which developed to enable us to think about history and social change has almost turned into its opposite – we are now in a mode of iteration, an accumulation of information that can render us informed but paradoxically unable to act.’ (Nash, 2006, p. 49).

### 1.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I first outlined the historical context of the period researched, listed the participants, and demonstrated how the context motivated and shaped their activism. There followed accounts of the origin and development of the study, my background and motivation to pursue this research from which developed the theory and practice position of Critical Humanist Documentary. I conclude with a comparative summary of documentary commissioning in the period studied and since. This leads to the proposition that, in Britain, broadcast documentary and current affairs programming as fora for critical public discourse have been diminished since 1979 since the termination by successive governments, - Conservative, Labour and Coalition - of the post-1945 settlement in favour of free-market capitalism.

This section has addressed my research questions of how my film/documentary practice constitutes a Critical Humanist Documentary form that draws lessons from activists’ motivating philosophies, their own media creations and their engagement with the mainstream broadcast and press and compares the contexts of the period studied with contemporary documentary-factual editorial intentions and positioning of subjects.

## Chapter 2: Practice Statement

### 2.1 Outline of Research Practice Process

That the doctoral process focused my practice is apparent in its developing titles: from *Lessons in Liberty* (2016), to *Ways of Being* (2018) and finally *Acts of Resistance* (2019).

This research generated specific practice iterations, a better contextualised-archival project and a critical understanding of documentary methods and methodology. Longitudinal involvement with participants and extended iterations enabled clarification of formal characteristics that constitute Critical-Humanist Documentary, relative to mainstream documentary-factual productions in a commercially dominated broadcast context.

The research generated significant interview, print and archive film materials, necessitating reappraisal and reorganisation of data, and production of specific film chapters. Between 2016-22, I made twenty-two trips for interviews and archive film retrieval, plus shorter recordings in London documenting aspects of my process. In addition, I documented print archives of four activists. Video and audio interviews with activists I had been unable to meet before their demise, were made available by Alex Fry and Sam Carroll.

Participants' accounts of motivations for and details of particular actions, led to the retrieval and contextualisation of original artefacts. For example, interviewee Nic Ralph is the only one of the 'Spies for Peace' to give a full filmed account of the group's discovery and break-ins to secret Regional Centres of Government, designed to protect the British elite from nuclear attack, and the resulting creation and publication of *Danger! Official Secret. RSG 6* (Spies for Peace, 1963) that exposed these state secrets.

Other chapters focus on participants' experiences of Committee of 100 actions (including support for Greek comrades and protesting the Vietnam war) and campaigns to house the homeless.

Table 1. Participants recorded during research

Participant	Locations	Years of Recording
Jim Radford (x26)	London, Kent, Hull, Whitby, South Dalton, Normandy	2010-2020.
Ron Bailey (x5)	London, Suffolk	2015, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020
Mike Randle (x3)	Bradford, London	2017, 2018, 2019
Ernest Rodker (x2)	London	2015, 2017, 2018
Ruth Walter (x2)	London	2014, 2017, 2018
Heather Strange (x3)	Wales, Shrewsbury	2017, 2019, 2022
Nic Ralph	Sheffield	2019
Diana Shelley (x3)	London	2018, 2020, 2023
Jay Ginn (x3)	Online, Surrey	2021, 2022
Roy Wilbrougham	London	2019, 2022

At the invitation of Heather Strange I drove three times from London to Ian Hutchison's former home near Shrewsbury and recovered eighty cans of mainly 16mm film and numerous printed documents. Many of the film cans contained several smaller reels or works in progress. Using the RCA 16mm Steenbecks, I made a basic cleaning and initial cataloguing of this film material, and sometimes magnetic sound stock. I showed the rough recording of the archive from the Steenbeck to several of the participants and recorded their responses.

The most relevant negatives of the film archive dating from between 1965-69 were then professionally scanned.

Table 2. Relevant scanned archive of Ian Hutchison:

Title	Action	Date
BFI Summer School Films (x2)	Experimental assemblies of documentary material in rural and coastal locations.	1966/67
<i>Punch and Judas</i>	30-minute documentation for CND of imaginative 1966 Easter CND demonstration featuring giant speaking puppets designed by Gerald Scarfe with some dramatic reconstruction.	Easter 1966
<i>Workers Power</i> (Ford Film)	Rushes for unfinished film regarding industrial disputes with Ford in the UK.	1969
<i>Headshop</i>	Fitting out one of London's first 'headshops' established by and featuring Mike Lesser in Notting Hill	c. 1967
<i>The Lost Day</i>	Short fiction	1966
Armoured Car Jeep Protest against Coup in Greece	Filming with armoured car and jeep driving through London to demonstration at the Greek tourism office	c. April 22/24, 1967
Occupation of the Greek Embassy	Exterior and interior documentation of the protest from two cameras	April 28, 1967
<i>Squatters Arrival</i>	Occupation of empty vicarage in East London.	December 21 <sup>st</sup> -22nd 1968

I also scanned the outtakes and assemblies of this archive, revealing Hutchison's attempts to edit the unfinished *The Lost Day* and useful documentary material including a crew shot in Trafalgar Square of Hutchison, Ralph and others from *Punch and Judas*.

The enhanced film-scans entailed reconsideration of the material's usability and relevance. Sharing digitised films with participants generated further correspondence that enabled identification of people, places, and occasions. Strange and Ralph, both close to Hutchison, contributed most information. Strange recounts driving Ian around to film material for the unfinished Ford documentary. Ralph describes his and Ian's role in the documenting the Greek Embassy occupation and identified several people in it and *The Lost Day*. Other recollections regarding the Greek Embassy occupation include those of Diana Shelley – who despite being arrested and in the police station, smuggled Hutchison's exposed reel of film to the group's solicitor. Jay Ginn, Ron Bailey and Heather and Mike Randle provide contextualising accounts of the organisation, the events, and the aftermath of that occupation. Interestingly the unfinished 1966 short fiction *The Lost Day* – features Committee of 100 activists including Mike and Anne Randle, Terry Chandler, Ken Weller, Mary Tinker and Hutchison himself. Tinker, Weller, Ralph, and Hutchison were all 'Spies for Peace', and the plot involves the cast getting away with a bank robbery and being observed and followed by an agent of the security services. The film ends with the activists' surveillance of the agent which leads to his execution on Hampstead Heath by a group of gun-toting young women. I incorporated elements of this film into my *Spies for Peace* documentary chapter as illustration of activists concerns about surveillance.

Bailey and Radford viewed Hutchison's 1968 documentation of *Squatters Arrival* and gave the background to this event and events documented including the arrest of Jim and others.

These accounts increase our understanding of the film material, and such contextualisation will benefit future researchers.

Patrick Russell, Senior Curator of Archive (Non-Fiction) at the British Film Institute, appreciated the restored archive's uniqueness and the BFI acquired the original film materials in October 2022. Digital restorations and my own contextualising practice will follow after the completion of my films for broadcast. Russell wrote: 'Your commentary on the material was essential context and we would therefore want your own production(s) drawing on, contextualising, and interpreting the 'raw' footage to also come into the BFI National Archive.' (Russell, 2020).

Much of the film archive located, whether Ian Hutchison's or from other sources (BBC, BFI, ITN, Pathe, Associated Press, Getty) lacks synchronous sound. Therefore, participant interviews are historically significant, because their articulated experiences and clarify the images of recorded events currently lacking soundtrack. Where newsreel or television voiceovers demonstrate anti-activist prejudice, I use participants' accounts to variously counter dominant narratives with their accounts of events depicted.

Most physical artefacts are print items of between 50 and 60 years old. Their rough textures, and imperfections communicate their age and the makers' analogue technologies.

Such handmade artefacts demonstrate human presence and intentionality in their design, production, and distribution. In communicating document textures, I am influenced by Errol Morris's graphics assemblies in *The Thin Blue Line* (Morris, 1988) and the previously described 'Ken Burns effect' of digitally rendered rostrum-camera style movements.

## 2.2 Rationale for Research Practice Decisions

In the context of contemporary British broadcasting my choice of subject matter is unusual. Broadcast schedules rarely feature the historical actions and reminiscences of left and anarchist activists in their eighties and nineties. My decision to document activists' first-hand accounts, with no presenter or expert commentator, while minimising authorial voiceover and manipulative tropes also runs against the grain of contemporary broadcast documentary and factual commissioning. The individually made, self-funded documentary chapters of *Acts of Resistance* are prototypes, not yet as polished in sound or vision as commissioned broadcast documentaries, which employ crews of specialist creative technicians for best effect. Lack of budget means that much television and newsreel archive film is low resolution and/or watermarked. Future, funded versions will include non-watermarked, full resolution archive material for broadcast and festival screenings.

My practice centralises and contextualises these marginalised first-person histories to create a space for audiences to reflect on contemporary social and media contexts relative to those of the activists depicted, and to compare the form and content of these productions to other documentary practices. This relates to my linking archive film material and other documents with participants' accounts to create more specific archive usage, rather than stock footage or superficial assemblies of 'the 1960s' that reduce that period's complexity and cultural diversity. Repeated iterations of such reductive signification creates a shallowing effect that impoverishes signifiers, reducing historical complexity and ambiguity. These prototype documentary chapters are designed not to overwhelm with emotionalised editing and musical cues, but rather to enable viewer concentration on this historical activism and reflect on their relevance to contemporary broadcast factual representations of social and political struggles.

Presenting these fuller significations relates to the critical-humanist urge that generated the featured activists' production of their own counter-hegemonic artefacts.

On a positive note, occasional contemporary televised documentary productions, such as *Nae Pasaran* (Sierra, 2018), *Summer of Soul (or when the revolution could not be televised)* (Thompson, 2021) or *The Nilsen Files* (Ogden, 2022) utilise participant interviews to variously contextualise and historically enrich specific archive, centralising and challenging past depictions of marginalised histories.

### 2.3 Conclusion

Material retrieval of artefacts, and documentation of memories of specific events has enabled greater knowledge of the subject and of my research practice, by developing documentary iterations. It enabled a more realistic perspective on what my research is, namely Critical Humanist Documentary and its significance. My initial exploration of the subject was a more narrowly focused practice in which I struggled with formulaic documentary tropes. The doctoral process enabled me to re-evaluate and extend my practice to create a significant archive of first-hand participant accounts, and to recover and contextualise with those accounts hitherto unseen archival materials thus revivifying and preserving histories of events rapidly passing from living memory. My research has generated awareness of and reflection on documentary's historic and contemporary expressions and enabled me to position my own practice relative to those expressions. The arguments that developed from it imply that the ethics of documentary and factual commissioning and programming in Britain would benefit from re-evaluation.

## Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Practice Method

### 3.1 Introduction

My qualitative, interpretive, and historiographic research practice methods are the data generating activities through which my practice as research is conducted and expressed as Critical Humanist Documentary. My methodology represents the theoretical positioning of my practice and my reflection upon it through accounts of: The Qualitative Research Paradigm; Contextualising Evidence with Participant Interviews; Objectivism: Integrating Objectivity & Subjectivity in Qualitative Research; Modes of Documentary Filmmaking; Towards Specific and Accurate use of Archive Materials; Use of Emotional Affect.

### 3.2 Methodology

#### 3.2.1 The Qualitative Research Paradigm

With reference to *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* (Holliday, 2007, pp.16-17) my methodological paradigm is qualitative. It draws on critical theory and participant observation sociology and acknowledges that reality is socially constructed. It demonstrates reflection upon my role in the research setting, and reflexively problematises hidden realities to initiate discussion. This research problematises broadcasters' choices of subjects and forms of documentary treatment and leads to methodological propositions to reconsider practices of documentary commissioning and production.

My modes of enquiry resemble ethnographic case studies, in that I explore ‘the nature of a specific social phenomenon’ using relatively ‘unstructured data, a small number of cases, interpretation of the meanings and functions,’ and participant observation: (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994, cited in Holliday 2007, p. 32) with elements of participatory action research that ‘emphasises the political aspects of knowledge production’ (Reason 1994, p. 328). My use of the qualitative paradigm produces an interpretivist and expository account of participants’ artefacts (including actions) underpinned by organisation of supporting evidence. In this sense my filmmaking is epistemological in that I communicate accounts as accurately as possible from artefacts and documents, interwoven with participants ‘interviews, that also become archival material. This specificity of documentary practice; presenting truth by organising supporting evidence is a legally bounded process which, Nichols (1995) states, embodies:

‘a politics of phenomenology, a recognition of the priority of experience not as a structure to bracket and describe but as the social ground or foundation for actual practice. ... Like the legal system, documentary discourse insists on the principle that we must be presented with the body. Witness and testimony, deposition and refutation, accusation and denial – all depend on direct encounter and physical presence.’ (Nichols, 1995, p. 232)

In standard professional practice it is reasonably sufficient that documentary representations are themselves documented (for example by release forms, written rules regarding process) ethically obtained (openly, not paid for) and reasonable in law, for that is where the documentary claims to represent truthful, accurate accounts of antecedent reality are ultimately decided. My practice returns to those directly involved in the creation and distribution of their artefacts to create contextualised film chapters as conduits through which individuals represent themselves, their motivations, and actions.

### 3.2.2 Contextualising Evidence with Participant Interviews

Centralising participants' accounts of their marginalised histories to contextualise archive and artefacts produces a verifiable historiography that offers alternative reference points for posterity in choice of subject and practice methods. As noted, this centralisation of voice resonates with the practice of Oral History. Initially I eschewed my own voice-over entirely, but the interest of others in the longitudinal journey of participant-filmmaker relations, and the protracted retrieval and restoration of the films of Ian Hutchison and Nic Ralph, has led to its occasional inclusion, brief, foregrounded, and personalised, to avoid the disembodied claim to authority of the professional voiceover. These inclusions are kept to a minimum and mostly it is the participants who are centralised in sound and vision.

Filmmaking's inherent manipulation - from choice of subject and shot, through juxtaposition, excision, or inclusion – as well as the potentially unreliable subjectivities of participants and filmmaker - raises problematic issues of objectivity and subjectivity when attempting to communicate verifiable truths. Sandino observes that thematic life-histories produce 'multivalent' content as interviews move between: 'performance-oriented narrative, content-oriented document, subject oriented life story and theme-oriented testimony.' (Sandino, 2012, p. 54). In order to mitigate such multivalence, my documentary texts combine participants' accounts with specifically related archive and artefacts to produce reasonably accurate depictions of the events recollected and the activists' motivations.

As a prepared researcher I was able to question possible inaccuracies, such as Nic Ralph's confirmation on re-reading the Spies for Peace document, that, as I had earlier mentioned to him that he and the group had stated names and ranks of elite figures selected to shelter in the

nuclear protection bunkers that were the Regional Seats of Government. Extended communication with participants often involved making several interviews and ongoing correspondence as research developed.

I filmed several participants viewing and commenting on newly discovered film archive and shared edit iterations for feedback. This generative mixture of subjectivity and objectivity has enriched the films and improved the practice. For example, the long involvement with Radford and Bailey regarding two anti-homelessness actions: The Friends of King Hill (1965-66) and the Family Squatting Movement (1968-74) involved screening newly discovered archive film material and documenting their comments and recollections.

### 3.2.3 Objectivism: Integrating Objectivity and Subjectivity in Qualitative Research

For one documenting human-produced data, subjectivity is an inevitable, integral, and useful part of objectivist qualitative research. In relation to apparent post-modernist denials of ‘objectively knowing’ external reality, Ratner (2002), citing Gergen (2001) summarises the objective-subjective debate in qualitative research:

‘The researcher’s subjectivity is said to negate the possibility of objectively knowing a social psychological world. Gergen (2001) outlines this subjectivist position under the moniker of postmodernism. [...] "To tell the truth, on this account, is not to furnish an accurate picture of what actually happened but to participate in a set of social conventions [...] "Arguments about what is really real are futile" (p. 806).’ (Ratner, 2002, p. 2)

For those seeking fuller understanding of phenomena, Ratner sees this relativistic perspective as limiting if “social relations are construed as distorting mechanisms rather than potentially augmenting one's understanding of social and physical matters” and argues for integration of subjectivity and objectivity in the objectivist strand in qualitative methodology, stating:

‘...objective knowledge requires active, sophisticated subjective processes—such as perception, analytical reasoning, synthetic reasoning, logical deduction, and the distinction of essences from appearances. Conversely, subjective processes can enhance objective comprehension of the world.’  
(Ratner, 2002, p. 3)

Ratner’s proposal for a sociological use of hermeneutics corresponds with my own interpretive practice to better comprehend others’ documented experiences in an understandable external reality. As he states: ‘If there is no independent reality, or if reality cannot be apprehended, or if reality is merely the concoction of the observer, then the notion of objectivity is moot.’ (Ratner 2002, p. 3).

Constructing legally defensible truthful depictions to illuminate viewers is necessary for a Critical Humanist Documentary practice predicated upon acceptance of recognisably depicted independent realities, that are audio-visually constructed through the combination of relative objectivity and subjectivity. It is axiomatic that documentarists require a referent to represent and interpret. Our subjective recognition and depiction of phenomena (people, places, things, events) are central to the work. Depicting phenomena necessarily involves combining subjective and notionally objective viewpoints. Renov (2004) states, ‘subjectivity has frequently been constructed as a kind of contamination, to be expected but minimised. Only recently has the subjective/objective hierarchy, (with the latter as the favoured term) begun to be displaced, even reversed.’ (Renov, 2004, p. 174).

My research, beginning from the subjective and the personal relationship, has generated a relatively participatory practice method, a form of making-with the participants, aimed at producing contextualised, reasonably accurate participant-filmmaker generated histories from this interweaving of subjectivities.

### 3.2.4 Documentary Modes

If we apply Nichols' 'modes of documentary film' (Nichols, 1992) to my practice we see it combines the participatory – in creating extensive interviews; the observational – in recording particular actions; with the reflexive – in foregrounding filmmaking processes. This filmmaking is nuanced and negotiated, participants have agency, and recordings document both participant's statements and actions and their relation to the filmmaker. My work observes the:

‘Centrality of participants in ethical filmmaking; the importance of a collaborative model in which agency is encouraged; the requirements of personal integrity and self-awareness in the filmmaker; and the necessity of ongoing review as a mode of reflexive ethical practice.’ (Thomas, 2017, p. 3).

In similar vein Rabiger proposes that

‘Unlike other arts, documentary cannot be made in retreat from life but is created by moving within it – and by consciously and conscientiously living with the consequences...’ (Rabiger, 1992, p. 313).

I acknowledge my subjectivity as shaper of documentary texts from interview accounts to create a set of specific historical texts that centralise and illuminate histories that have been marginalised and obscured.

This marginalisation is readily observable in the evident lack of contemporary documentary broadcasting about historical left activism and its contemporary expressions, compared to the volume of projects made popular through repetition concerning, for example histories of war, royalty, business leaders, and criminals. When political activists die without their life-stories recorded, eye-witness accounts are lost, facets of truth fail, erasure occurs, and speculation begins. The ownership of who might construct and speak a particular historical text passes to filmmakers, academics, or journalists – or to no one. Preservation to avoid such erasures is a central intention of this critical-humanist documentation of, as Renov states: ‘a culture of dissent [...] the surest hedge against the violation of human dignity [...] the systematic implementation of counter-stereotyping...’ (Renov, 2004, p. 68)

Regarding the centralisation of marginality in *Documentary Resistance* Aguayo (2020) cites Michelle Holling who, considering diversity under threat from the Trump administration and its supporters, asked: ‘What do we gain if/when we centralize marginality and marginalize the centre?’ answering: ‘We upend standards of what and who is central to society and, by extension, to the discipline.’ (Holling, 2018, p.5). The centralisation of the marginalised resonates with the ethical intention of my practice to document participants’ voices and represent their contributions to under-regarded histories. They challenged, in word and deed, the mainstream narratives disseminated by states and commercial interests. Given that this process is interpretive and that documentary as a pure truth is an unattainable ideal - my practice is a legally ethical conduit for the selected accounts, an interplay of subjectivity and objectivity in human relations. As Nichols states, documentary, ‘...like ethnographic fieldwork, calls for specific ways of being [...] it calls for an ethics of responsibility, an aesthetics of film form and a politics of representation.’ (Nichols, 2014, p. xv)

My practice is therefore a theoretically informed alternative to commercially motivated, entertainment-led choices and tropes of form and content in documentary and factual production that have flourished at the expense of current affairs and critical humanist documentary broadcasting, especially in the last two decades. Referencing Beattie (2002) and Corner (2004), Lipson and Baque (2019) propose that ‘entertainment or diversion is part and parcel of documentary practices and receptions. ... a general blurring of genres and functions in which “news and documentary are increasingly presented in the same terms as entertainment, using its forms of presentation”.’ (Lipson and Baque, 2019, p. 11). The centralisation of entertainment in competition for audience attention diminishes available space and resources for documentary and current affairs, and influences which documentaries are commissioned or purchased. There is a readily observable utilisation of entertainment derived tropes such as emotive extra diegetic music or editing to create tension, motivated in commercial television by the timing of commercial breaks. Editorial subject choices of documentary as entertainment are inevitably influenced by political-economic concerns and the seeking of higher audience ratings. Keane (1991) regards media funded by advertising as ‘incompatible with freedom of communication among a plurality of citizens. Advertising tends to edge out from the public domain... non-commercial and non-market forms of life.’ (Keane, 1991, p. 87) One contemporary example is the Channel Four programme *Celebrity SAS: Who Dares Wins* (Turner, Foss-Smith, 2022), a programme with its commercial breaks bracketed throughout by Ford motor company sponsorship stating that the company ‘proudly sponsors documentaries on Channel Four’. Whatever this programme’s merits, its classification as documentary is nonsensical given that the show is clearly an entertainment competition - a kind of game show.

Sponsorship by commercial firms is a form of seemingly benevolent publicity. As Berger remarks:

‘Publicity turns consumption into a substitute for democracy. ... choice of what one eats (or wears or drives) takes the place of significant political choice. Publicity helps to mask and compensate for all that is undemocratic with society. ...it also masks what is happening in the rest of the world. Publicity adds up to a kind of philosophical system. It explains everything in its own terms. It interprets the world.’ (Berger, 1972, p. 149)

### 3.2.5 Theorising Archive Usage in Context of Critical Humanist Documentary

The documentary accounts represented in my practice centralise activists’ experiences, recording and structuring their telling of their own histories. Lefebvre’s 1932 phrase ‘history seen from below and not from above’ which E.P. Thompson popularised in his influential 1966 essay ‘History from Below’ (Thompson, 2001) was influential on the development of the Oral History movement. This approach offers alternatives to the centralising representations of higher profile, notionally ‘popular’ public figures, and questions the mediated creation and maintenance of popularity. This also relates to problematised ‘invented traditions’ (Trevor-Roper, 1983). though detailed analysis exceeds the scope of the current study My combination of participant’s accounts with archive film of the events in which they were involved, attempts a reasonably accurate use of specific archive. This runs counter to non-specific or inaccurate archive use, which as we shall see has a long history. As Leyda (1971) notes, the history of archive film of actuality being re-used deceitfully, in this case for commercial gain, stretches back at least to 1898, when one Lumiere exhibitor responded to the interest of Russian Jewish communities in the antisemitic prosecution of French army Captain Dreyfus, falsely imprisoned for allegedly selling military secrets to Germany.

To capitalise on this interest the exhibitor combined disparate unrelated materials with narration in a film purporting to illustrate Dreyfus's arrest and imprisonment. Such illustrative falsification has remained part of documentary in repurposed archive.

Referencing both early Soviet filmmaker Shub's creative montages of 'visual mood' and the 'found footage' assemblies of then contemporary video artists, Haggith (2012) asserts the compilation technique as contrary to '...the ethos of the archivist and historian, as the original identity and meaning of a film becomes lost... the erroneously termed 'found footage', encourages further this process of decontextualising archive film – so it becomes nothing more than a cinematic swatch, indexed only by its superficial pictorial context.' (Haggith, 2012, p. 259)

In 'From Wallpaper to Interactivity: Use of Archive Footage in Documentary Filmmaking' de Jong's taxonomy of archive use notes its role in 'the creation of collective memories of important social, cultural, and political events' (de Jong, 2012, p. 465). De Jong cites ethnographic filmmaker MacDougall who, preferring immediate recordings of developing actualities, considered documentaries recounting past events as 'cobbled together'. For documentarists the ideal is of course to film events as they happen, but unless impressionistic visuals or dramatic re-enactments are created, archive film and television recordings of the events under consideration are an invaluable source of historical knowledge. In attempting specific contextualised usage, my practice is arguably not 'cobbled together' and eschews using archive as 'cinematic swatch' or 'wall paper' – metaphors implying insubstantiality, superficiality, or a handy cover for editorial discontinuity. Screening archive materials for participants has reinforced my principle to use archive ethically, respecting both the viewpoints of the participants and the historic significance of the contextualised archive.

When we viewed Ian Hutchison's film archive a former Committee of 100 member remarked: "You've got a unique time capsule there, a window onto the past." (Wilbrougham, 2022).

Developments in post-production software have enabled significant enhancements in archival manipulation, including higher definition, colour, speed and image size adjustments - once inaccessible tools now relatively easily available. Also, wider public knowledge of image manipulation through mobile applications elevates the status of material that is verifiably accurate, raw, or uncut. Police, military or terrorist murders or spectacular events recorded by dashcams, bodycams, surveillance cameras and citizens deliver a brute indexicality, rendering faked or reconstructed elements insignificant.

The seeking of accuracy, of authenticity is one aspect of our interaction with the audio-visual that is at the heart of Critical Humanist Documentary. The desire of filmmaker and audience for a verisimilitude now technologically possible must play a part in the move towards deeper televisual representations of verifiable knowledge expressed variously in: *Three Minutes: A Lengthening* (Stigler, 2022), *Uprising* (McQueen and Rogan, 2021), and *They Shall not Grow Old*. (Jackson, 2018). The potential for audiences to engage with lengthy streamed archival retrieval in series such as *Get Back* (Jackson, 2022) is arguably another aspect of the desire for more detailed and authentically observed work on the parts of both filmmaker and viewer. Ellis (2012) observes the tendency of 'media witnessing' - where audiences respond empathically to interviews and situations from the privileged position of observer - and notes the 'reality/textuality' paradox - common awareness of the actions of filming or being filmed, and that recordings from choice of subject onward, are manipulations of representation.

Audiences know that a documentary is a text, a discursive operation of inclusion and exclusion made for viewing, purporting to be at least *a perceived version of the truth*, product of decisions to represent the ‘indexical trace’ (Cowie, 2000, cited in Pollock, Griselda and Mainz, 2000) of the light upon and sounds from the reality captured by the camera lens and microphone.

Film, and documentary film in particular is a medium of education, and therefore manipulation, and is therefore carries a significant social, cultural, and political weight. Haggith (2012) and de Jong (2012) reference the UNESCO (2023) ‘memory of the world register’ established in 1992, that confirms the significance of documentary heritage in the widest sense and the importance of its preservation, and within that, film’s status as a heritage artefact resting on its verisimilitude. Even where film’s mirroring function is fictionalised, or distorted to produce falsity, the resulting material is evidence of intent that can be used and investigated to reveal what it misrepresents or obscures. This is shown in my practice when I use participants’ interviews to revoice, contradict or recontextualise prejudiced or inaccurate news archive.

In the contemporary context of contested accounts, numerous instances of digital data contribute to the remarkable critical humanist documentations of *Forensic Architecture* which produces highly detailed web-based reconstructions to ‘investigate state and corporate violence, human rights violations and environmental destruction all over the world.’ (forensic-architecture.org, 2023). Starting with witness testimony, audio-visual recordings, and photography, they employ other data sources, such as satellite imagery or drone recordings to graphically reproduce the circumstances of particular events.

Freely available online – where states permit - though not broadcast, each case is an act of documentary resistance, designed to represent the truth of complex and contested events by untangling and cross-referencing data from media-rich environments.

Regarding the more regular use of documentary film archive Haggith states ‘...because film is not transparently knowable or self-revealing, it is vulnerable to manipulation or misappropriation. Even footage which seems to show the most obvious scene or piece of action will require some information to give meaning for the viewer.’ (Haggith, 2012, p 261).

The Critical Humanist Documentary approach to this basic problem is to prioritise the recorded voices of the participants in supplying this information. Other methods include voicing or visually representing written accounts, or the filmmaker’s own reflections on information present in the material. The moves from the disembodied voiceover artist or commentators, and towards those more directly involved. Enabling people to voice their own histories also entails a degree – though not total – of authorial self-effacement. To comprehend and contextualise archive film material using participants’ accounts creates documentary texts that exceed shorthand archive usage, and question assumptions regarding historical film and its representations. As film-archivist Kuhn states:

‘If they are serious about doing good history, film makers cannot simply pluck photographs, newsreels, and other documents out of their historical context; to do so is fundamentally misleading.’ (Kuhn, 1996, p. 320).

The mainstream archival emphasis on notionally popular figures and events, marginalises other issues of social importance thus shaping representations and perceptions of audio-visually recorded history, clearly apparent when using search engines and databases.

This is observable when using search engines such as Google, or of commercial archives such as Getty Images, to which the Public Service Broadcasting archives of the BBC and ITN have been licensed. In fairness the Getty Images database has been greatly improved during the life of this research. Documentarist Rothwell observes that ‘The problem with a database driven culture of the contemporary archive is that if something is not entered in the database, it is as though it does not exist. We found materials in other places and in other films that were not in a database.’ (Rothwell, quoted in Glynne, 2008, cited by de Jong, 2012, pp. 467-8).

In my current expressions of Critical Humanist Documentary archive is contextualised with participants’ accounts contextualising or explaining their involvement in the action depicted, and in some cases, how and why the archive materials were created. Audio-visual examples include the ITN television recording of the Vietnam Action Group’s interruption of then Prime Minister Harold Wilson’s pre-conference prayers at the 1965 Brighton Church demonstration; Ian Hutchison’s and Nic Ralph’s activist archive documenting the 1967 occupation of the Greek Embassy, Hutchison’s recording of the London Squatters first weekend occupation in December 1968, and Steve Morrison’s insider documentary of *The Occupation of Centre Point* (Morrison, 1974).

My practice is to ethically produce legally defensible interpretive accounts of marginalised British dissident activists. This historiographic centralisation implicitly questions why such subjects are not included in the current documentary-factual context, and provides a position from which to consider the history of histories. However, my practice is *not* historiographic in seeking to categorise the entire history of histories concerning dissident protest movements or documentary film, which is beyond the scope of this study.

This questions how, why - and in whose interests - certain histories are privileged, arguably to over-consideration, while we can consider why are there no major broadcast documentaries about the Committee of 100, Spies for Peace, and the Squatting movements? The argument that these were the work of minorities does not hold given the regular televisual particularisation of other minorities and individuals. Similarly, the mass broadcast television and radio attention which focused over several years on Jim Radford as Britain's youngest surviving D-Day veteran, was not matched by interest in his arguably more significant long-term social activism. When I proposed a project based on that to Channel Four and BBC documentary commissioners, one of them responded: "No one wants to hear about crusty old lefties."

### 3.2.6 Usage of Emotional Affect and Resisting Pain Narratives

Documentaries typically include emotional participant responses to evoke audience empathy and communicate the human impact of what generated the emotion. When filming with octo- and nonagenarian survivors of generations reduced by mortality all are aware that the recordings will outlast them and that our encounter is for posterity. Emotional moments do occur as they contemplate their younger selves, their lost friends and loved ones, and actions of seven or eight decades before. If integral to the moment, I include these, but reject emotionally manipulative journalistic tropes, such as the stealthy zoom in on the tearful subject. With few exceptions, the participants did not cry, but they did evince passion in their expressions. Aguayo notes documentary's 'long legacy of collecting pain narratives and using these real stories of human suffering as a foundation for storytelling.' (Aguayo 2020, p. 17).

While most of the participants variously suffered imprisonment, police harassment, physical violence, loss of employment, flight abroad and even suicide, my work does not indulge this tendency.

Acts of Resistance documents the activists' organised conscientious power to collectively attempt and sometimes succeed in making social change - or at least publicise the issue. Several of the activist campaigns featured – Spies for Peace, Friends of King Hill, The Family Squatting Movement were largely successful in their immediate aims. Even token publicity actions, such as the Vietnam Action Group's Brighton Church Demonstration or the occupation of Centre Point – the first of which saw activists fined and imprisoned - achieved wider publicity for the activists' causes. ITN news archive shows that the Committee of 100 also participated in the anti-apartheid movement, providing support for South African exiles and heightening awareness of the iniquities of that racist regime. An interesting offshoot from this research is provided by working with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF). Russell was interested in syndicalism and his foundation supported the Institute for Workers' Control (IWC). The BRPF supplied several archive films (as yet undated but made between 1968 and 1970) including *In Mans' Labour is his Dignity and Pride* ( Taylor, c. 1968-70) and *Give Us the Works* (Ryan, c. 1968-70). Therein British broadcasters, respectively the BBC and ITV, engage with the IWC to produce remarkably radical documentaries in which the lives of working, middle and upper management people were documented and compared, while working class people directly challenged the bosses and answered fundamental questions such as 'what kind of world do we want?' *Give Us the Works!* ends with documentary material of a French Union mass meeting at a Renault car factory.

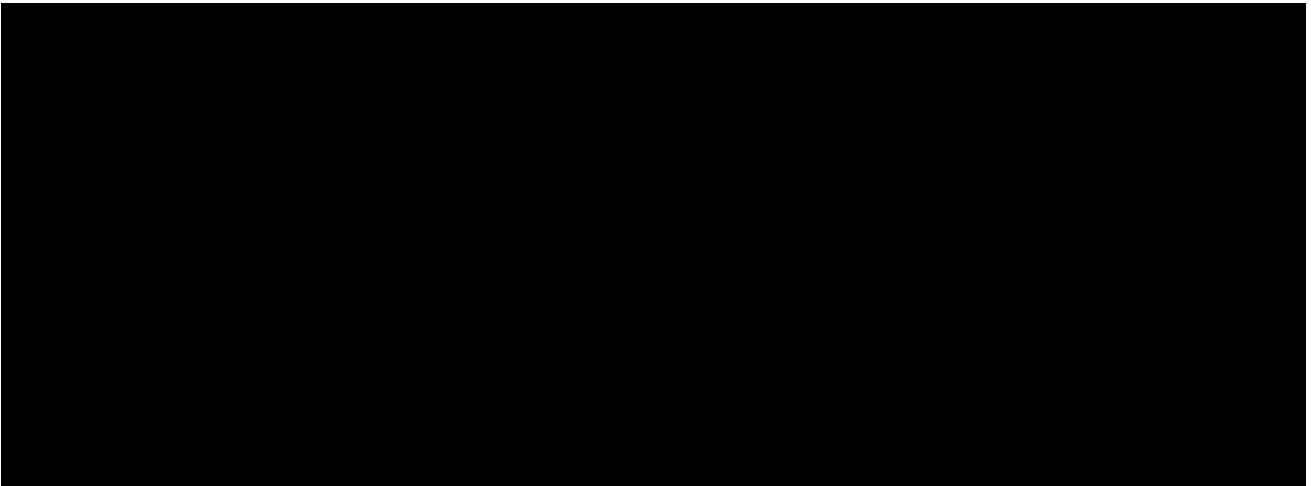


Fig. 1 Intertitles from *Give us the Works! World In Action*, Granada Television, c. 1968-70.

### 3.2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that my filmmaking methods of longitudinal Critical Humanist Documentary, of contextualising evidence with participant recollection and specificity of archive usage are expressions a qualitative, interpretive, and historiographic methodology. This practice centralises and revivifies under-regarded historical activism through participants' eyewitness accounts as subject matter of legitimate audience interest, to offer an alternative that questions the ethics of contemporary mainstream documentary production and commissioning practices. Relative to contemporary broadcasters' centralisation of distractive entertainment, this atypical choice of content - presented in a relatively unadorned audio-visual style - creates a documentary space in which to consider counter-hegemonic histories and reflect on how these relate to the mainstream, and question what composes the mainstream and why. Issues of documentary content, form, and context relative to my practice will be explored in greater detail in the Literature Review chapter.

### 3.3 Research Practice Method

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

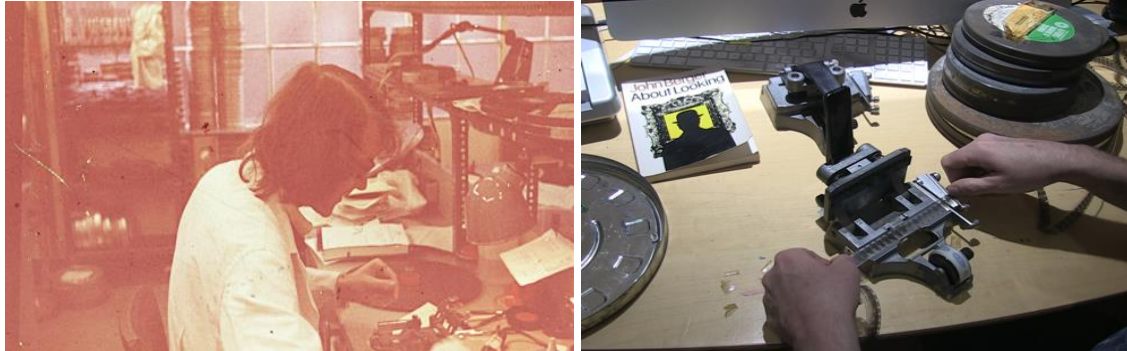


Fig. 2 Ian Hutchison editing, c.1970.      Fig. 3 Paul Moody assessing Ian's archive, 2019.

This section focuses on my research practice method of documentary filmmaking, shaped and refined by working longitudinally with its participants. This extended research enabled the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary. Frayling (1993/4) states ‘Research is a practice, writing is a practice, doing science is a practice, doing design is a practice, making art is a practice. The brain controls the hand which informs the brain.’ (Frayling, 1993/4, p. 4). For the solo filmmaker, the inseparability of embodied research and practice and the resulting dialectic are givens. Ingold (2019) proposes research a ‘second search’ combining subjectivity and objectivity, wherein observed phenomena inform and shape the researcher’s journey:

‘...we should be anxious about the fate of truth ... there can be no proper facts without observation. ...it is not enough merely to look at things. We have to join with them ... observation goes beyond objectivity ... truth goes beyond the facts. ... the things with which we study begin to tell us how to observe. ... in attending to them – we find that they are also guiding our attention. ... Research, then, becomes a practice of correspondence, and of care.’ (Ingold, 2019, p. 666)

This resonates with my practice experience, in which participants consistently guided my attention through filming, sharing space and time, conversations, conservation, care and correspondence. My practice first involves the selective creation of its own materials by visual and audial recordings of pre-existing phenomena: people, places, artefacts, and archive. Through assembly and re-editing, iterations progress towards greater coherence and sharper focus. My practice method incorporates:

1. Historical research of actions and artefacts described by participants, retrieval and digitisation of specific artefacts and evidence, and reconnection of these with participants' accounts to create a contextualised documentary text.
2. Observational filming of participants' activities and/or travel to significant locations.
3. Recording participants' responses to archive and my practice iterations.
4. Prioritising participants' accounts to relate first-hand accounts or as voiceover. My voiceover does feature where the filmmaker's research journey briefly becomes a foreground narrative element.
5. Use of intertitles (explanatory on screen text) instead of voiceover narration, for concise communication and also to engage viewers as literal readers of the text.

Interviews were qualitative and semi-structured (Robson and McCartan, 2011). These involved prior correspondence and discussion with interviewees to establish my position as independent researcher, ethically concerned to truthfully represent *their* first-person accounts of *their* activism. The founding interviews with Jim Radford took place over three full days in 2010 and led to numerous further interviews and activism filming with him, as I discovered archive and artefacts he could help contextualise.

Our final recording was Jim singing at a Deptford *Black Lives Matter* rally in June 2020. He died from Covid 19 in November of that year.

Repeated interviews also took place with Bailey, Strange and Randle while other people were only available to interview once. Most interviews lasted between four and six hours. I documented participants explaining their artefacts or viewing retrieved archive films. Wayne (2008) cites Rubin and Rubin's concept of 'qualitative interviewing' as relevant to documentary as critical research, in that it concerns the interviewees' milieu and their witness-status, to turn 'everyday conversational skills into 'a tool of research, an intentional way of learning about other people's feelings, thoughts and experiences' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995 cited by Wayne, 2008, p. 85).

My interest in interviewing to elicit and record first-person accounts, stems from my first reel-to-reel recordings of family narratives in the 1970s and has continued since 1982 through consistent filmmaking with a wide range of participants and contributors – striking Kent Miners, Anti-apartheid demonstrators, World War II Dutch Resistance workers, British filmmakers, Irish Travellers, underage Mothers on Tyneside and so on. My undergraduate documentary filmmaking and participant-observation sociology practice were informed by the Marxism and semiotics of the Goldsmiths' Media Department, as well as phenomenological approaches encountered in its Sociology Department. My approach in *Acts of Resistance* is not consciously or rigorously phenomenological, but its influence is apparent in my active interpretation, based on qualitative documentary interviewing and observation of participants regarding their histories and depictions of particular artefacts.

This resonates with ‘Interpretive phenomenological analysis’, defined as ‘a blended approach that aims to provide detailed examination of the lived experience of a phenomenon through participant’s personal experiences and personal perception of objects and events.’ (Neubauer, Witkop and Varpio, 2019, p. 91).

My Critical Humanist Documentary practice attempts a *making-with* participants rather than *about subjects*. I limit editorialising to give form to participants’ accounts for brevity, clarity and accuracy. Filming is at the interviewee’s convenience and our shared understanding of my approach to the topic are discussed prior to filming.

The first ethical check in Acts of Resistance came from the participants. Each new contact resulted from another’s referral. I completed the RCA Ethics course and here include examples of RCA approved participant interview and archive release forms in the appendices, minus personal details. Interviewees received two copies of release forms to complete, returning one so that I can legally utilise the recordings. Most sign without amendment. Others amended for a variety of reasons.

As noted in the Methodology section, this is work of an informed subjectivity. The notion of ‘making with’ is in my case a matter of degree, it is not a pure participatory method. I author the films, but they represent a collaboration with the participants, who guided my research through insightful contributions. One of many examples came from Ron Bailey, who, when I filmed him viewing retrieved archive film of the Greek Embassy occupation (in which he participated) said: ‘Remind me to tell you the relevance of this to the Squatting campaign’. (Bailey, 2019). Through such observations and numerous recollections, the participants deepen understanding of recounted and recorded events.

My practice also involves sharing edit iterations, where possible. I request feedback to adjust for factual accuracy.

Prioritising participants' narratives precludes any attempt to seek a notional political 'balance' or 'impartiality' as stated in UK's Broadcasting Code (Ofcom, 2021). These state that authored or personal-view programmes must be marked as such and regarding 'due impartiality' suggest: 'presenters of "personal view" or "authored" programmes or items [...] may express their own views on matters of political or industrial controversy or matters relating to current public policy. However, alternative viewpoints must be adequately represented either in the programme, or in a series of programmes taken as a whole.' (Ofcom, 2021). These guidelines state that 'a matter can still be a "matter of current public policy" even if the UK Parliament has a settled policy on it.'

Many of the activists' campaigning issues, that variously faced scepticism, denial or outright prejudice and hostility, have been overcome or enshrined in law such as their stances against racism and sexism, for gay rights, and towards environmental protection and regulation.

This historical phenomenon struck me as I moved my camera over Hutchison's paper archive, recording pamphlets that publicised the environmental dangers of lead in petrol, the gross iniquities of apartheid or various cases for equal rights.

### 3.3.2 Interruption and Reclamation

My practice involves replacing or interrupting pre-existing newsreel or documentary voiceovers with participants' interviews, so they revoice and reclaim narratives such as the material from their protest against the Labour government's covert support for the American military in Vietnam at the Brighton Church Demonstration or actions of the Friends of King Hill. Similarly, they give voice to visuals lacking soundtracks such as Ian Hutchison's films of the London Squatters or the occupation of Greek Embassy. Participants contributed original documents, press items, film, and photographic archive. In the case of Russell and Ralph this included the original - mostly unseen - film archive of Hutchison. None could supply institutionally held film and television archive, but as a professional researcher, I was able to access relevant archive materials, both commercial and public domain.

My practice is in part a response to de-contextualising and sensationalist tendencies observed in documentary and factual production. Kuhn, a film archivist and historian, registers concerns regarding '...heavy manipulation of images; re-enactments; an evocative musical score; special effects and authoritative-sounding narration, all of which may serve to detach historical sources from their original context.' (Kuhn, 1996, p. 314). Eschewing representational practices that I, like Kuhn, find problematic, enables the following formulation of my documentary practice.

1. My practice is the authored product of an informed subjectivity. I do not seek notional 'journalistic balance', or 'due objectivity' as outlined above.

2. The participants accounts provide narration, except when my own observations are required as previously noted, e.g., in the Prologue to the Committee of 100 or regarding retrieval of Hutchison's film archive.
3. Wherever possible I use specific archive in specific relation to participants' accounts.
4. The films use no additional musical or dramatic soundtrack cues. Featured soundtracks are either connected to or performed within a film's diegesis.
5. My visual style avoids hyperbolic media tropes such as the quick-cut preview introduction - known as the 'grabber sequence' - a form to which I was introduced when producing for ITV, or the 'cliff-hanger' where programmes are structured around commercial breaks. The narrative develops according to the histories recounted.
6. Special effects are limited to digital imitations of filmic effects, such as rostrum camera movements (the 'Ken Burns effect') guiding viewer attention over images, or processes such as slow motion, enlargement, and colour correction.
7. Historical accuracy is paramount and juxtaposition of interviewees with press and television and other documents enables verifiable accuracy. Complex or contradictory issues may be represented, irrespective of the effect upon narrative coherence or flow.
8. There is a subtly foregrounded relationship between filmmaker and participant. Where my voice and/or image are an integral part of the recording, or when the filmmaker's journey has become an interesting part of the story, then these may be included.

However, this foregrounding is not the performance of the on-screen ‘celebrity’ or ‘expert’ as point of viewer recognition - when arguably the presenting personality becomes the focal point over the subject matter.

### 3.3.3 Interviews

The late 1950s-and early 1960s ‘new left’ thinking of ‘Socialist Humanism’ rejecting Stalinism, Soviet Communism and crude economic determinism (Thompson, 1957) (Wright-Mills, 1960) (Hall, 1960) that underpins the phenomena documented in *Acts of Resistance*, also influenced the *Labour History* movement, the Journal *Oral History* (1969) and the 1973 *British Oral History Society* (OHS), from which developed the international oral history movement. The OHS, with its socially inclusive orientation to Lefebvre’s aforementioned concept of ‘history from below’ (Smith, 2008) and recognition of ‘hidden histories’ (Rowbotham, 1973) began as a one-day conference at the British Institute of Recorded Sound in 1969. Perks (2015) outlines how recordings of participants transformed the study of history, into a more inclusive and socially representative practice.

‘working-class men and women, indigenous peoples, or members of cultural minorities ... inscribed their experiences on the historical record and offered their own interpretations of history. ... uniquely, oral historians speak to their sources, and this active human relationship transforms the practice of history in several ways. The narrator not only recalls the past, but also asserts his or her interpretation of that past...’ (Perks, Thomson, 2015, p. xii).

This resonates with my documentary practice to centralise the recounted experiences of marginalised activists.

Smith's (2008) overview of the field's development mentions British broadcasters making what would become formalised as the oral history method, in BBC and ITV programmes such as 'The Great War (Essex et al., 1964), 'Yesterday's Witness' (Peet et al., 1969-81), and *The World At War* (Elstein, 1973). These utilise the evidential power of interviews with first-hand witnesses-to or participants-in particular phenomena. Given the increasing dominance of the audio-visual as historical account, the archival value of recorded video interviews is apparent. Such programmes influenced first my consciousness of what documentary might entail, and later my own practice, which shares with oral history the recording and organisation of interviews with people whose first-person accounts might otherwise disappear from the audio-visual record and so from widely accessible history. This intentional recording of participants' accounts aims to create alternative reference points for future generations. Richie (2003) defines the field of Oral History practice as:

'a method of gathering, preserving, and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events. ... Oral history does not include random taping ... or other sound recordings that lack the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee.' (Richie, 2003, p. 19).

Early critics of this method and field claimed distortions would result from unreliable memories, bias, individual and collective hindsight, or nostalgia. However, given that subjectivity is inescapable and applicable to both documentarists and oral historians privileged to interact with primary living sources, it must also be applicable to historians whose research involves interaction with primary material records, artefacts, and pre-existing histories. As noted in the Methodology section, interpretation is not only inevitable, but desirable. No text is unmediated, although there are degrees of mediation, from the raw uncut interview to the condensed edit free of pauses, interruptions, and digressions.

Sandino (2007) problematises life histories (in her case audio recordings) as: ‘deeply mediated texts, that do not transparently reflect their authors’ intentions, nor present any immanent ‘truths’, nor construct a unified subject.’ (Sandino, 2007, p. 191). While Sandino’s point is legitimate, the listener’s hearing of disembodied voices or the reader’s understanding of a transcribed life history is qualitatively different from the documentary audience’s audio-visual encounter with the recorded utterance of a living human’s first-hand account. This is apparent in *Acts of Resistance* where Sam Carroll’s oral history audio recordings (Carroll, 2011) enable Ruth Walter’s contribution to enrich and contextualise archive of the C100 and Spies for Peace. However, Walter’s short (and perhaps only) filmed interview recorded at the C100 reunion dinner (Walter, 2015) demonstrates that the synchronous visual embodiment of the interviewee is more impactful and therefore accessible to the viewer than audio-only. Documentary interviews typically focus on how the speaker’s life relates to particular events. The person’s recorded presence is utilised to communicate particular experiences and points of view, with corroborating or contrary accounts from multiple interviewees, and/or archival evidence. The direct, time-based, embodied appeal to the viewer’s consciousness is central to the power of the documentary interview as expression of audio-visual indexicality. When considering conscious historic interventions by and counter-hegemonic artefacts of the participants in *Acts of Resistance*, Foucault’s concepts of ‘discourse’ (1981) ‘archaeology of knowledge’ (2002) and ‘technologies of the self’ (1988) are helpful in comprehending the historically provisional exercises of power. To question its social practices and in whose interests these now operate, Foucault proposes:

‘to show people that they are much freer than they feel - that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticised and destroyed.’ (Foucault, 1991, p. 10)

The participants recorded in Acts of Resistance effectively challenged, criticised, literally interrupted and sometimes overturned discourses of state authority through their activism. As we have seen, in revivifying these accounts my practice raises questions about how and why certain documentary discourses have become privileged at the expense of others.

### 3.3.4 Specific Archive Usage

Archive film is regularly used as a form of audio-visual shorthand, such as using images of dancing hippies to signify the sixties. Such simplifying practice presents reductive inaccuracies and risks eviscerating images and sounds of meaning through repetition. Comparing filmmakers' often emotionally motivated audio-visual archive usage with the more logical and linear and archive use of print-culture historians, Kuhn (1996) observes an

‘inherent tension between what is historically accurate or significant and what works best visually. Many artefacts of print culture are difficult to present on film; too lengthy, too dry, too visually unappealing, too particular, too factual ... often removed from the circumstances in which they were created, in short, from their historical context.’ (Kuhn, 1996, p. 314)

As noted in Methodology, my practice links specific archive materials with participants' first-hand accounts that directly relate to or stem from specific archive materials. In it, Kuhn's points are addressed regarding specificity of practice iterations of truth-telling through interview, archive film, photographs, and filmed artefacts. The re-representation and re-contextualisation of archive material, especially newsreel and press reportage, show that what was once sufficient or acceptable, may later become insufficient or unacceptable.

For example, the participants' media presence and interventions in the late 1950s and early 1960s occurred when cinema newsreel and television reportage overlapped. Newsreels especially utilised knowing, patronising, white male voices to deliver judgemental voiceover using received pronunciation, with non-diegetic music and sound effects added for emotional manipulation and verisimilitude of atmosphere. Recalling wartime propaganda or the voices of imperialism, these newsreel reports sometimes belittled the protests recorded. When Radford, Strange (then Russell), Andy Anderson, Sue Abrahams, and others are manhandled into Police vans after the Vietnam Action Group's non-violent interruption of the Labour Party's pre-conference prayers, cheering has clearly been mixed under the received pronunciation voiceover: 'It's always amazing how pacifists often get belligerent when other people don't agree with them.' (British Pathe, 1966) to convey popular approval for the arrests, although there is no synchronous soundtrack.

My practice involves interrupting prejudiced archive by re-contextualising or juxtaposing it with activists' accounts. Participants contradict the original voiceover, as does the archive film itself, showing the protestors' non-violent resistance, and that it was Labour Party supporters who violently sought to silence the protestors. Similar interruption and revoicing of events occurs in other practice chapters such as the Greek Embassy accounts of Shelley, Strange, Randle, and Ginn.

For filmmakers and commissioners alike, recorded actuality or archive material can seem insufficiently dramatic to warrant inclusion. Archive film may also be mute or monochrome. In my experiences with commissioning editors, they have reported monochrome as unpopular with viewers.

Older or amateur archive film usually lacks the rapid editing, close-up details and movements that constitute ‘intensified continuity’ (Bordwell, 2002) now apparent in both contemporary fiction and documentary-factual forms.

While incorporation into fictional works of observational documentary’s mobile camerawork, televisual shooting styles and editing protocols form part of intensified continuity, the reverse trend is observable in the adoption by documentary and factual producers of fiction film tropes, such as emotional music scoring, dramatisation or editing to create suspense and revelation and the use of celebrity or star presenters or participants. Audiences have been inculcated to expect impactful montages of heavily scored dramatic juxtapositions, especially at the film’s outset in the previously noted ‘grabber sequence’, featuring key moments from the coming film, as a short advertisement to interest and hold the viewer. These sequences are often repeated in shorter variants post-commercial breaks. This formal element is eschewed in my current practice.

My practice is restorative in reconnecting specific archive and artefacts with oral histories to construct resilient accounts of reasonable legal veracity. The BBC1 *Uprising* series (McQueen and Rogan, 2021) demonstrates how, when resourced and delivered within a mainstream broadcast context, the reconnection of first-hand participants in- and witnesses to- historic events with specific archive film, photographs and documents works to powerful effect. This approach gives participants a dignity and the subject an integrity often missing when archive is utilised as mere shorthand.

### 3.3.5 Documentary as Critical Humanist Practice

In *A Manifesto for a Critical Humanism in Sociology* (Plummer, 2012) proposes a humanist sociology that centralises the person, and aims for a documentary specificity in its analysis, drawing on the:

‘archival documents...artefacts ... autobiographies and life stories; of diaries, documentary films ... everyday people ... telling about their lives. ... the importance of this account is the way it runs against the grain of more totalizing, abstract and general accounts of social life.’ (Plummer, 2012, p.12)

Plummer further develops his position in *Narrative Power: The Struggle for Human Values* (2018) and *Critical Humanism: A Manifesto for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2021). Plummer’s critical humanism relates to the current positioning of my practice outside of the commercial broadcast context currently dominated by entertainment-focused pseudo-documentary and factual forms. Critical-Humanist Documentary is a category and mode of production that produces knowledge by engagement with and humanist representation of participants who, in this case, explain and contextualise their historical activism. Said (2003) states:

‘... “humanism,”...to use one’s mind historically and rationally for the purposes of reflective understanding and genuine disclosure... Humanism is centred upon the agency of human individuality and subjective intuition, rather than on received ideas and approved authority ...humanism is the only, ...the final resistance we have against the inhuman practices and injustices that disfigure human history.’ (Said, 2003 pp. 6, 9-10)

Plummer’s and Said’s positions resonate with my suggestion that reformulation of current practices of broadcast documentary and mainstream factual entertainment would help reconfigure the viewer from escapist consumer-subject to engaged citizen-participant.

Such a movement would counter what Postman (1987) described as ‘Amusing Ourselves to Death’.

Under the aegis of mainstream broadcasters, more and regular critical observations of actuality and questioning of current systems, illuminating and rigorous representations of documents and artefacts, including surprise and originality, playfulness, or uncompromising points of view, would – at the very least – contribute to Britain’s cultural and social reinvigoration. In documentaries peer-reviewed and acclaimed as outstanding, the critical-humanist position is normally apparent. For example, the audio-visual archaeology and juxtapositions in *Uprising* (McQueen and Rogan, 2021) of riot material features interviews with participants proud of what they consider justified violence against the institutionally racist police force who for years had been harassing the Afro-Caribbean community. The power of such documentaries derives from communicating in-depth and in detail observed lives of human beings, producing verifiable knowledge to stimulate audiences emotionally and intellectually. Such specific focus highlights the inconsequentiality of less committed projects. When there is a determined move away from the critical-humanist production of documentary knowledge to a repetitive factual entertainment designed to maximise and maintain viewing figures, one result is gratuitous sensationalism or sentimentalism that is properly labelled tabloid television. This tendency is readily observable in mass-produced luridly titled exploitation series that featured to entertainment ciphers for audiences configured as consumers.

### 3.3.6 Conclusion

This section situates my documentary practice method relative to my research question:

How does my research practice and those of previous productions support the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method?

In answer I have outlined the ethical and philosophically informed approach of my practice, regarding what I will and will not do or include in this making. *Acts of Resistance* centralises and prioritises the critical voices and documented actions of activists who consciously created their own counter-hegemonic discourse against state policies and covert actions of Britain and other nations. This choice of subject and the representative form I employ offers an alternative to subject choices and dramatised and emotionalised tropes of contemporary entertainment focused broadcast documentary and factual programming.

With regard to subject choice there are certain historical areas obviously and repeatedly over represented in British television documentary: copious accounts exist of most aspects of World War II and relatively little on the Korean war; numerous UK and US documentaries portray the effects of the attacks of 9/11 but little about the persistent attacks on Arab nations by the West; many hours of documentary and popular factual works depict historical and contemporary iterations of British monarchies, but almost nothing of historical and contemporary iterations of arguably more significant phenomena such as British Socialism, Trade Unionism, anti-Clericalism, and Republicanism.

This is common knowledge requiring little research - a month of watching British broadcast television will suffice to prove – especially during events such as the deaths in the monarchy.

Given the outlined interdependencies of state, advertising and public relations, it is reasonable to conclude that the media milieu in which these forms dominate mainly excludes Critical Humanist Documentary making. To tell truth in opposition to power in critically focused documentary texts that attempt to communicate enlightenment, comment upon current events and surprise audiences is, as we shall see, an aspect of media commissioning that has been eroded since its brief and nonetheless contested flowering during the period studied.

## Chapter 4: Literature Review

### 4.1 Introduction

After methods and methodology this literature review examines themes developed from and relevant to my research of the field and my conceptualisation of Critical Humanist Documentary. In keeping with my practice of centralising activists' accounts this includes transcripts of interviews with filmmakers' accounts of their own practices where ever possible.

From Grierson onwards in *Documentary Definitions*, this chapter outlines: Disputed Legacies of Observational Documentary; Self-Inscriptional or Performative Documentary; Reconstruction and Manipulative Tropes; The Impact of the "Linguistic Turn" on Documentary and Documentary Theory; Factual-Entertainment as Pseudo-Documentary And Cultures Of Resistance In Documentary Filmmaking. The chapter considers the increasing preponderance within late capitalism of sensationalist pseudo-documentary forms as factual entertainment, demographically designed for audiences defined as consumers, to which my practice runs counter.

### 4.2 Documentary Definitions

Grierson's coinage of 'documentary' (Grierson, 1926) and definition of it as 'the creative treatment of actuality' (Grierson, 1932, p. 8) suggests the referent – the actuality to be recorded and creatively treated, of which the documentary is a representation, and to which the documentarist has a relationship – has its own relatively unproblematic existence.

Grierson's formulation and practice, legitimately problematised by theorists and superseded by practitioners, nonetheless show a founding practitioner-theorist who was cognisant of the form's sociological potential. Nichols (1992) sees documentary as poor relation in comparison to what he terms established 'discourses of sobriety' such as:

'...science, economics, politics, foreign policy, education ...these systems assume they have instrumental power [...] they regard their relation to the real as direct, immediate, transparent [...] They are vehicles of domination and conscience, power and knowledge, desire and will. Documentary, despite its kinship, has never been accepted as a full equal.' (Nichols, 1992, pp. 3-4)

Nicholl's proposal of documentary as the 'poor relation' indicates its relative novelty, and its indexical power to raise troubling questions merely by representing the reality before the camera. Given documentary's relation to the fiction film, its unethical use as instrument of mass persuasion and imperialist domination, promoting falsity and murderous persecution, scepticism to it as a 'discourse of sobriety' is understandable. However, the more institutionally respected sober discourses, as Said notes, of science, law, of anthropology – 'the one historically most closely tied to colonialism' (Said, 1993, p. 184), sociology, pedagogy – have been no less involved in, imperialist domination, oppression and mass murder. De Jong (2008) situates Grierson's coinage within the institutional context of the 1930s and 1940s as 'utilitarian, pedagogic, impersonal and serving a social purpose' and shows documentary's contemporary development into multi-format entertainment as similarly reflective of the late capitalist context:

'...cultural pluralism, lifestyle diversity and niche marketing have arguably produced fragmented and self-reflexive selves. ...the documentary project has increasingly shifted from a focus on the public sphere to the private sphere ... undoing its shackles from its utilitarian and pedagogic past, and has found new forms and voices, all of which illustrate and confirm documentary's hybrid history.' (de Jong, 2008, p. 144)

Though undeniable, this begs the question, if documentary has escaped its formative utilitarian and pedagogic context, then within what new boundaries is it expressed?

Research indicates a milieu in which Public Sector Broadcasting (PSB) is eroded as commissioner of documentary and factual material and largely supplanted by the private sector, generating new forms and formats of entertainment driven ‘reality TV’. As summarised by Biressi and Nunn (2005) in *Reality TV, Realism & Revelation*:

‘...post Thatcher, with the landmark 1990 Broadcasting Act and the resultant increasing de-regulation and marketisation of the television arena, the PSB has arguably been eroded by the impulse to produce popular programmes driven by audience viewing figures. ... subject to market competition and the demands of networks’ commissioning editors. ... performance-led criteria increasingly informed decisions by networks on their adoption of factual programming. ... more serious or educationally driven programmes have been supplanted by the more economically driven, less demanding entertainment-led forms of popular programming.’ (Biressi and Nunn, 2005, p. 16)

As noted, Critical Humanist Documentary still exists on television, but its presence is significantly outweighed by the factual-entertainments outlined above, demographically targeted, calculatingly sensationalist, formulaic, exploitative and voyeuristic constructions – attractive for commissioners as returning, repeatable and therefore internationally saleable formats. For example, embedded cameras on the side of police actions; programmes that centralise bailiffs and denigrate the poor, who, their faces digitally obscured, become faceless ciphers of failure; guided tours of the luxury homes of celebrities; centralising the dynamic activities and judgements of bosses and rulers rather than the opinions and struggles of workers and so on. This development occurred during the movement from a public service broadcasting model of limited available channels to an increasingly privatised, demographically targeted multi-channel media environment.

The 1960s and 70s saw the development in British broadcasting of a culture of observational, politically and socially concerned documentary and current affairs programming, made by professionals (as I will examine further in the case study chapter) to whom activists participating in this research gained direct access. During the decades of one, two and three channels, documentary and current affairs programming commissioned for limited analogue public service channels reached large, relatively concentrated audiences. That analogue space has been fractured technologically and demographically, mainly to serve the needs of advertisers. Various entertainment tastes are catered for but, with honourable exceptions, the frequency of regular documentaries and current affairs that challenge the status-quo is substantially diminished.

#### 4.3 Documentary Modes

Nichols, writing from a left perspective (he dedicates *Representing Reality* to Marxist documentarists Emile de Antonio and Joris Ivens) categorised documentary into six basic, non-exclusive modes: poetic, expository, observational, participatory, reflexive and performative. Individual films, though largely expressive of one mode, may utilise others.

Nautsch and Hawkins (2014) outline the modes as follows.

‘The poetic mode... fragmentation, emotionalism, expressiveness, and ambiguity. The expository ... to disseminate information or to persuade. ... The observational ... to chronicle a scene as it occurs ... The participatory ... relies on interviews, considering them to be a credible source of knowledge ... The reflexive ... focuses on the act of filming to apprise the viewer of the filmmaking process. ... The performative ... Performed acts ... to express the director’s personal vision or enhance the narrative.’ (Nautsch and Hawkins, 2014, pp. 104-105)

Bruzzi (2002) criticises Nicholl's 1991 categories as simplistic, but as a practitioner I consider them sufficient to define Acts of Resistance as participatory (interview based), observational (recording moments in participants' lives), reflexive (occasional foregrounding of filmmaker and process) and expository (conveying persuasive information).

Given ubiquitous camera technologies we might add the 'Surveillance Mode' to Nicholl's categories as a formal element widely used within documentaries to expose the otherwise concealed. My own broadcast practice began on a 1990 Channel Four documentary as an undercover participant-observer using a hidden camera. Increasing use of miniature concealed cameras, closed circuit television, helicopter and drone material surveillance, as well as dashcam and bodycam material, enables a large corpus of journalism, documentary and factual entertainment involving police chases, road accidents, plane crashes and so on.

Documentation of phenomena, however truthful seeming, are representations, the result of human agency. From a post-modernist position, in which the real, the referent, may be denied in theory, documentary representations of referents are problematised and undermined.

Lyotard's (1984) 'incredulity towards metanarratives' and Baudrillard's (1994) 'loss of the real,' 'simulation' and the 'hyperreal', are provocative and prescient in light of contemporary realities, such as targeted algorithmic surveillance and digital manipulation. However, when attempting practical documentary production, the impact of post-modernist theory tends to be negative and disempowering, inviting relativism and a self-referential playfulness that undermines the serious documentarian's purpose - to accurately depict actuality. As Bruzzi (2002) reasonably states, documentary's inevitable negotiation of the objective and subjective is not necessarily cause for a crisis of representation.

#### 4.4 The Issue of Authenticity

Authenticity here denotes the conscious embodiment by the activists of politico-philosophical ideas to create counter-hegemonic acts of resistance: purposeful acts consciously designed and enacted in response to contested situations as they developed an alternative, oppositional culture. Their courageous and intelligent campaigns, usually on behalf of others, came at a great cost to themselves in terms of imprisonment and loss of employment.

Foucault (1988) rejects authenticity's implied essentialism and proposed an 'auto-poesis' meaning 'self-making' while Adorno's Marxist critique of Heidegger's 'jargons of authenticity' problematises authenticity as populist, sentimental and right-wing (Adorno, 2002). However, such pointed critiques do not invalidate authenticity as an understandable category of social fact central to documentary, which Nichols states:

'...relies heavily on being able to convey an impression of authenticity. ...a powerful impression, made possible by some basic qualities of moving images ... the use of non-actors engaged in their daily lives ... exploration of social issues like global warming or social justice - the sense of an authentic representation of the world we share can be powerful indeed.' (Nichols, 2014, p. xiv)

Despite its problematisation, the notion of authenticity as reference to verifiable social reality, or firmly held beliefs as recounted by first-hand participants with reference to archive and artefacts, is a key aspect of Critical Humanist Documentary.

#### 4.5 The Disputed Legacies of the Observational Documentary Tradition

Marxist polemicist filmmaker Emile de Antonio rejected and challenged the verité tradition's claims to objectivity:

“...much better, I think, to make a film from the position you really occupy, rather than pretend you occupy no position, since that is almost a physical impossibility.” (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 212)

The reaction against observational or direct cinema occurs because the observer and the camera and the self-presenting subject are inevitably engaged in a relation that cannot be objective or value free. Camera and crew presence, and pretence or performance by the subject as though unobserved are tropes, conventions that audiences have come to accept. Documentary filmmaking observation, like photography, is a creative, constitutive act, incorporating subjectivity, whether the works demonstrate minimal intrusiveness or overt manipulation. For the practitioner Longinotto's position that “I want you to forget about me” (Brown, 2015) though theoretically open to challenge, is not practically indefensible. Many significant films result from documentary filmmakers' attempts to record and communicate truth-claims by employing varying degrees of the trope of self-effacement. Implicit in this is that the people and events filmed are of greater interest than the filmmaker or the filmmaker's relation to the participants. My relation to participants and practice is briefly foregrounded, in the prologue to *Acts of Resistance*, through the account of my archive processes in *Spies for Peace*, by my voice during interviews, *the hand-held camera* and occasional voiceover when the filmmaker's journey becomes more clearly part of the narrative. Without this urge to demonstrate the filmmaker's proximity to what is filmed, it is arguable that the form would be impoverished.

Theory attempts to dwell in the absolute. Theorists attempt clear and definite answers - essaying the best and, if not the last, then at least the latest word – on their subject.

Documentarists dwell in the negotiated. Some attempt to create the best last or latest word, or offer a unique perspective, but texts are a negotiation between the filmmaker, the reality encountered, and the material's edited potential. Saunders (2007) references Drew's 1955 Harvard research paper 'See it Then' that outlined a new documentary form inspired by Life magazine's candid photography to supersede the more obviously staged sociological and naturalist works of Grierson and Flaherty. 'Drew wanted to combine Flaherty's engaging style – a marriage of cinematic narrative conventions to footage based on 'discovery' – with ... unobtrusive recording methods.' (Saunders, 2007, p. 9). Drew's 1960 film *Primary* (to be discussed further in chapter five) vividly exemplifies Drew's vision through proximity to action and relatively long takes.

'The filmmakers promised never to ask or suggest an action. They only wanted continued access – at speeches, meetings, strategy sessions, interviews, telethons, motorcades. No previous film had so caught the euphoria, the sweat, the manoeuvring of a political campaign.' (Barnouw, 1983, p. 238).

Observational documentarists such as Longinotto – with her sustained concern to document the lives of women across different cultures – and the Maysles Brothers, Pennebaker and Wiseman - capture illuminating accounts of otherwise unseen realities. Of the solidification of these once novel approaches into cinematic tropes, Saunders suggests that the

'...manifesto for a new artistic attitude in documentary now serves as a shorthand cipher for candid honesty, appearing in television 'docu-soaps' and dramas, 'reality shows', feature films and advertisements to lend a semblance of Robert Drew's avid vision. (Saunders, 2007, p. 191)

Regarding such tropes, Bruzzi (2006) cites BBC journalist John Humphrys' 2005 Mactaggart Lecture in which he accused reality television producers of "turning human being into freaks for us to gawp at" stating that "It is frankly outrageous even to think of it in the same terms as the sort of reality television pioneered by Roger Graef with his fly-on-the-wall documentaries." (Humphrys quoted in Bruzzi, 2006, p 150). Bruzzi dismisses this with 'This state of innocence was characterised in Humphrys' mind, one could surmise, by documentaries possessing clear sobriety and seriousness. Humphrys probably believes in the "proper documentary".' (Bruzzi, 2006, p. 150). However, Humphrys' statement is accurate. It is outrageous to compare Graef's exacting rule-based method, usually documenting serious institutional practices, with contemporary faux-observational or surveillance-based factual entertainment. Graef stated his rules:

"film only what we agreed to cover ... we wouldn't show the film until we both agreed it was time ... we demanded access to everything to do with the one or two subjects we agreed to film. ... never use lights ... not do interviews nor would we ever stage anything. ... people in the film to see the edited version beforehand ... key participants tell us if they think its accurate or not. ... We don't use the word objective because that's nonsense. But if the people in it say: "Yes, bearing in mind that it's an hour, what you have represented of my activities and words is fair," then we reckon that's as good as is required." (Rosenthal, 1980, pp. 175-176.)

Humphrys' point implies no 'state of innocence' but notes a qualitative difference in intention and method between two forms. Reality-television's creation of freakish situations and hyper-manipulative tropes is not comparable with intentional observation of situations that without the camera's presence would have occurred in any case. Reality-television draws not only on observational-documentary, but also from the previously noted 'surveillance mode' of observation now almost ubiquitous in developed societies.

On television the surveillance mode represents a superficially anonymised imposition of the power to observe upon those within recording range. While the product of human agency, it is not the qualitative relation of filmmaker and subject in an observational filmmaking situation, just as accidental recordings of speech do not constitute the method of oral history. Observational documentary retains formal power to make content strange and surprising if audiences see less constructed records of events not usually depicted. The authentic attempt to depict reality as directly as possible is arguably viable in opposition to arch contrivance. The powerful, institutionally unsettling impact of the kinds of documentaries that Graef and others produced, plus the rise of Public Relations controls, may indicate why they are rare as broadcast commissions in Britain.

#### 4.6 The Self-inscriptional or Performative Documentary

My presence as solo interviewer and filmmaker is part of Acts of Resistance. I am audible off screen, and my camerawork, especially when mobile and responding to participants' actions is obviously an extension of my vision. When foregrounding my process, I also appear before the camera. However, this project is not 'the filmmaker's journey' so notably utilised in the works of Moore and Broomfield. My focus centralises participants who explain their own histories, avoiding the trope of explanatory presenter. This runs counter to contemporary broadcast television trends to employ recognisable public 'personalities' for their attractiveness, expertise, or expressiveness – and usefulness as cutaways. That trend demonstrates a relative disengagement from the participant or subject, towards engagement with the presenter whose presence places the nominal subject at a further remove from the audience.

This decentralises and diminishes those whose lives provide subject matter in favour of explanatory presenters, to whom the general focus of the documentary shifts. Actualities recorded become moving illustrations for explanations and justification for the familiar and authoritative celebrity presence, typified by pieces to camera where the presenter-celebrity reveals feelings or thoughts, or when they engage in post-colonial tourism amidst other cultures. Films scripted to carry presenters limit audience potential to engage more actively with what a more independent filmmaker might otherwise have attempted to depict in a non-presenter led situation.

Documentarists have used the performative mode to make their depictions original and entertaining, such as Broomfield's and Moore's self-involving confrontations with and pursuits of potential contributors. Morris's use of direct address to camera interviews through the 'Interrotron' gives interviewees a performative power usually the preserve of high authority figures. Performance is taken a step further in Joshua Oppenheim's bizarrely operatic, bleakly humorous, and disturbing dramatisations in *The Act of Killing* (Oppenheim, 2012) featuring Indonesian mass murderers, lauded as heroes by their own media, who remain largely convinced of the rightness of their crimes against humanity. Jonathon Caouette takes another approach in his self-inscriptional *Tarnation* (Caouette, 2003), with its unflinching, home-made, sub-professional kaleidoscopic evocation and exposure of painful family life in which he features heavily.

These however are exceptional documentaries. In the more quotidian sphere of broadcast television, Bruzzi (2006) notes the rise of televisual formats, historical dramatic reconstructions, performative documentary and corresponding diminishment of observational documentary since 2000.

With regard to so called Reality TV formats as exemplified by Big Brother and its successors, Corner (2002) observing factual-entertainment formats designed as diversions, suggests the development of: ‘post-documentary’ culture ... in which many conventional elements of documentary will continue to develop but in a radically changed setting - economic and cultural - for all audio-visual documentation.’ (Corner, 2002, p. 255)

Two decades later the setting is indeed radically altered, when, as noted, *Celebrity SAS: Who Dares Wins* (Turner, Foss-Smith, 2022) is in a Channel Four Television strand of ‘Documentaries sponsored by Ford’. Commissioners prioritise entertainment, consumerism, sensationalism, and celebrity. Bruzzi notes documentary’s increasing adoption of

‘overt forms of performativity: reconstruction, acknowledgement of and interplay with the camera, image manipulation, performance. Documentary now widely acknowledges and formally engages with its own constructedness, its own performative agenda; it is not that reality has changed, but rather the ways in which documentary – mainstream as well as independent – has chosen to represent it.’ (Bruzzi, 2006, p. 252)

Of course, reality does change, as do methods of - and motives for - recording it. Bruzzi’s latter point begs the question, in what context and by whom are choices decided? The false binary of debate around objectivity masks a sensationalist-distractive turn away from broadcast documentaries attempting intelligent mass communication about relevant and important subjects. The ‘post-documentary’ period is a choice of commissioning editors in a competitive market seeking to maximise ratings by hybridising and creating hyper-televisual or hyper-cinematic forms. This marginalises and effectively excludes films designed not as sensationalist entertainment but as Critical Humanist Documentary in form and content. Commissioned broadcast British documentaries on serious subjects - such as BBC1’s outstanding *Uprising* (McQueen and Rogan, 2021) - are exceptions that prove the rule.

Ellis (2021) proposes that documentary veracity requires not only analysis of the film-text, but of its production context . He cites a ‘crisis in documentary credibility’ since 1999, around the constructedness of ‘reality TV’ formats, and their failings, as well as those of factual television (e.g., Bashir’s manipulation of documents to secure his BBC interview with Diana Spencer ) regarding duty of care for participants. Observing fictional methods of emotional manipulation in documentary he proposes observational filming as a form, is now:

‘just one form of evidence among many potential sources. ... to be perceived as ‘documentary’ such films have to inscribe into themselves the markers of their authenticity as records of past encounters. ... the documentary genre has shifted away from the once common definition of documentary as ‘observation’ towards a different emphasis, one that sees documentary as evidence of past encounters.’ (Ellis, 2021, pp. 148-149).

My practice includes this shift towards the evidential through particularisation of activists’ accounts that contextualise their artefacts, as well as observational filming, to offer, in choice of subject matter and representation, an alternative to mainstream broadcast practice.

#### 4.7 The Linguistic Turn and Documentary

The term ‘linguistic turn’ denotes the impact of a particular form of qualitative analysis regarding mass media and culture, consisting of semiotics, structuralism, post-structuralism, psychoanalysis and post modernism. Wayne (2004) states that post-modernism offers:

‘...an implicit rebuke to either the humanist orientation of earlier qualitative methodologies ...which assume that concepts, language and representations generally can have a more or less unproblematic correspondence to or reflection of the real world.’ (Wayne, 2004, p. 88)

The issue of the referent, that reality upon which rests the authenticity of documentary depictions is problematised. Nichols points out that documentary:

‘has always posed the question of the referent, that post-structural linguistics has done so much to eliminate. ... Once selection and arrangement occur in less carefully regulated ways, all the issues of truth, objectivity, authenticity, power, knowledge, and control that make the interpretive arena so vital and contentious arise. ... the indexical film image, as utilised by non-fiction, has as its referent a temporal dimension. And is this temporal dimension not the domain of lived experience ... Is it not, in other words, history? (Nichols, 1995, p. xi)

While the ‘linguistic turn’ enriches theory and is powerfully thought provoking, the problematisation of the referent is not a documentarist’s first concern when filming with people concerned about aspects of reality. Wayne points to weaknesses shared between the qualitative methodologies of the ‘linguistic turn’ and the social sciences as:

“...subjectivism (where the real world as a set of material forces shaping the values and perceptions of the subject disappears) and relativism, (where one point of view, one set of values, is as good as any other and there are no grounds for making evaluative judgements between different value systems and perspectives). If Errol Morris’s problematisation of testimony and perspective had collapsed altogether into subjectivism and relativism in *The Thin Blue Line*, then in all probability, a wrongful conviction for murder would not have been overturned.” (Wayne, 2008, p. 88).

From a Marxist perspective he critiques the undermining effect of post modernism, referring to the complaint of Christopher Norris’ (1992) in his *Uncritical Theory: Postmodernism, Intellectuals and the Gulf War*:

‘that subjectivism and relativism had so undercut the confidence of intellectuals to make truth statements about the world, that the arbitrary and deeply self-interested exertions of state power (and media representations) involved in Gulf War 1 were being given a free ride.’ (Wayne, 2008, p.88).

Therefore, Wayne proposes a return to the Frankfurt School’s critical theory, summarised as:

‘Reflexive theorising ‘critical of itself and of the social forces that make up its own basis’ (Marcuse, 1989: -72) ... Practising ideology critique – “exposing the way antagonisms generated by the dominant social interests of a capitalist society (capital and state) are concealed, displaced and rationalised. ... Following Marx’s eleventh thesis on Feurbach “that philosophers have only interpreted the world but that adequate knowledge of it meant that it must test and be tested by transformative action (i.e., to change the world.)’ (Wayne, 2008, p. 89)

In the context of the subjectivism-objectivism debate on qualitative analysis, the above commentaries provide theoretical basis for the referential signification of documentaries to depict or reconstruct, with agency, aspects of reality considered important by those who actually make the documentary.

#### 4.8 Cultures of Resistance in Documentary Filmmaking

Considering 1960s US left newsreels, Renov (2004) cites Gramsci’s formulation of ‘hegemony’ utilised by British New Left writers such as Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams.

‘Williams... urged an adjectival usage - “the hegemonic” as an active inscription of the transformational character of power relations experienced in cultural terms. ...an inversion of the traditional Marxist paradigm: material conditions produce consciousness. ...Marcuse could claim “...radical change in consciousness is the beginning, the first step in changing social existence: emergence of the new subject.”’ (Renov, 2004, p. 7)

This applies to the activists' counter-hegemonic media productions featured in my practice. For example, the Committee of 100's illegal radio broadcasts (1961-2), its magazine *Resistance* (1963), *Free Greece Radio* (1967) Solidarity's extensive publishing output (1960-92) and Hutchison's and Ralph's activist and counter-cultural filmmaking (1966-68).

Counter-hegemonic cultures of resistance variously expressed and embodied by public figures such as Gandhi, Doctor Martin Luther King Jr., Bayard Rustin, and Bertrand Russell directly influenced development of British non-violent direct action peace activism such as the Direct-Action Committee, Operation Gandhi, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Committee of 100. The international moral concerns of such cultures of resistance contrast with both historic and contemporary populist nationalism and so were and are accused of being unpatriotic. Radford recounts his arrest with four others at a Committee of 100 demonstration, and being berated as they were carried into the police van by an 'Empire Loyalist' counter-demonstrator shouting 'my father fought in the war for the likes of you!' (Radford, 2010) Those arrested were of course all active-service veterans of World War Two. Citing Anderson, Gellner and Barabantseva, Robinson Et al. (2010) propose patriotism and nationalism as elite and state-generated social constructs:

'...the nation is an 'imagined community' (see Anderson 1991; Gellner, 1983) ... patriotism is constructed through various processes ... not innate or natural ... we assume also that patriotism/nationalism is constructed, in large part, through complex processes emerging from both elite groups and the institutions of the state (Barabantseva, 2010).' (Robinson et al. 2010, p. 8)

Randle and Bailey recount the persistent stereotyping of activists by the British press and media as pro-Soviet, despite C100 public disavowals of and opposition to Soviet

communism, including occupying London's Soviet Embassy to protest nuclear arms testing, longitudinal support for Eastern-bloc dissidents and demonstrating in Moscow itself.

Renov notes 'the erosion of popular memory and the evacuation of meaning attached to sixties activism' (Renov, 2004, p. 5) to which *Acts of Resistance* is in part a response.

Radical documentary film as a culture of resistance and field of study is apparent in the *Visible Evidence Series* (Renov, Ginsburg, and Gaines, 1993), *Global Activism, Global Media* (de Jong, Shaw, and Stammers, 2005) and *Contemporary Radical Film Culture: Networks, Organisations and Activists* (Presence, Wayne, and Newsinger, 2021) - the latter inspired by the 2013 establishment of the 'Radical Film Network'. While entirely supportive of this my position is that for documentary to make a significant, liberating impact beyond those already committed, the authoritative territories of broadcast television need reclaiming as free to air, public service broadcasting fora, otherwise documentarists risk preaching to dwindling congregations of the converted.

#### 4.9. Conclusion

Consideration of perspectives on the themes of this chapter have enabled me to develop and situate my practice as Critical Humanist Documentary, informed by critical humanism and critical theory. This form of documentary rejects contemporary dominant conceptions of pseudo-documentary as factual entertainment for consumers in a privatised context. Instead, it proposes a revitalised conceptualisation of documentaries as expressions of and for public fora, generating critical reflection, enlightenment and engagement for citizens in the public sphere. Aspects of this will be explored in the following chapter 'Critical Humanist Documentary in Previous Productions.'

## Chapter 5: Principles of Critical Humanist Documentary in Previous Productions

### 5.1 Introduction

This section considers documentaries expressive of Critical Humanist Documentary principles. Wherever possible I quote or transcribe filmmakers' accounts of their practice to show the filmmakers' points of view regarding their works, often guided by the people or phenomena the filmmaker *chooses* to represent. Regarding audio-visual style, again this represents a *choice* of aesthetic, or modes of representation drawn from or in response to the featured phenomena.

### 5.2 Direct Cinema: Drew and Tsuchimoto

#### Primary (Drew, 1960)

Drew's motivation was to centralise the story of then presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, whom the producer felt unlikely to succeed for his Catholicism, wealth, and Eastern origins.

‘Kennedy said, ‘What do you want?’ ... I said I want to place a camera with you, day, and night for five days in Wisconsin. ... this is a new form of journalism and we're just going to watch what happens. ... he said, ‘But why should I do it? ... I said this will be a new form of history also and it will be a true history of what happened in Wisconsin.’ (Drew, R. 1999 interview by Peter Wintonick)

While Drew's prediction about Kennedy was mistaken, his instinct was correct. Yet as Barnouw (1983) notes, all networks rejected this outstanding example of early direct cinema and it screened on only a few Time media company stations.

Barnouw observes that ‘the special glories of the genre were its unpredictability and its ambiguity, qualities that scarcely made for comfortable relations with sponsors.’

(Barnouw, 1983, p 238)

Nevertheless, it led to a significant contract with Time-Life/ABC – from which developed US direct cinema - and sponsorship from camera manufacturers Bell and Howell.

Direct Cinema’s dynamic, close observation of actuality using relatively longer takes in proximity to subjects contrasted sharply with factual productions which were often illustrated lectures. Director Leacock summarised Direct Cinema’s rules as: ‘...handheld, no tripod, no lights, no questions. Never ask anybody to do anything.’ (Leacock, R. 1999, interview by Peter Wintonick).

Using handheld camera with synchronous sound Maysles delivers points of view that move with Kennedy, close to both his and/or the crowd’s points of view. This sustained proximity to candidates – filmed on the street offering handshakes to unenthusiastic citizens, while Humphrey is filmed napping in his car - are shown without commentary and offer freshness and surprise in recording events that would have happened without the filmmakers’ presence. Given that these were politicians seeking approval, performance obviously features, but events are allowed to play out. The effect of the relatively long takes recording actions beyond the filmmakers’ control, is predicated on the unfolding indexical documentation of developing actuality. This way of filmmaking relates to my own practice when documenting commemorations such as those for Hiroshima Day 2015, for murdered Afro-Caribbean immigrant Kelso Cochrane, the fiftieth anniversary of the Greek Embassy Occupation, *Veterans for Peace UK* meetings at Housmans Bookshop, and demonstrations,

including *Black Lives Matter*, *Stop the Arms Fair*, anti-deportation of refugees, and the protest against the visit of then President Trump.

*Minimata: The Victims and Their World* (Tsuchimoto, 1971)

Tsuchimoto's film develops Drew's Direct Cinema by virtue of longitudinal critical-humanist and political commitment to work with the victims of Minimata Disease (caused by ingesting fish contaminated by mercury pollution outflow from a fertilizer factory) to publicise their long battle for recognition and compensation for the sufferers of severe neurological damage and birth defects. Tsuchimoto's several productions about this directly opposed vested interests of the polluters. The first film's strikingly clear title sequence explains the epidemic's causes and outcomes, giving the audience time to reflect before documenting fishing polluted waters, sufferers of the disease, and families' campaign for recompense. This film culminates at the polluting company's – still denying liability - annual general meeting, which protestors attend, having purchased minority shares. A two-minute, almost uncut sequence shows the highly emotional confrontation of the Chairman of the board by a woman named Dezuki, who, amidst jostling, yelling people loudly berates him for the death of her parents. Powerful by any standards, it is more so considering this is a lower status woman publicly accusing a high-status male Chief Executive in 1970s Japan.

Tsuchimoto's sustained commitment and proximity to key action in collaboration with the protestors - who after seventeen years and three films won their case - is an inspiring example of Critical Humanist Documentary.

He centralises the campaigning of marginalised people to depict facts institutionally denied by state and capital, making documentaries with the participants to express truth as counter-hegemonic discourse. Tsuchimoto's house was searched by the police, and he states: "...people who supported the Minamata cause were called communists, Trotskyists, and terrorists...". (Tsuchimoto, N. 2011, interview by Miguel P. Terca-Feira)

Initially neglected in Japan as politically suspect and nationally embarrassing, the film garnered international recognition. Tsuchimoto was invited to Canada where the disease had developed amongst first nation peoples and enabled one thousand further claims from victims in polluted areas.

The AGM scene would be almost impossible to film today without the use of concealed cameras. In the 1960s, direct access to developing situations and revelation through proximity to subjects hitherto inaccessible was a promotional benefit for broadcasters and publicity for the subjects. In *Primary* direct cinema assists the more photogenic and charismatic Kennedy with corresponding disbenefit to the older Humphrey.

Subsequently, vested interests have learned to restrict access and filming opportunities.

The power of observational filming and critical interviewing to damage reputations and carefully managed public images means press, television and public access is limited and liable to revocation, with vocal dissenters liable to be ejected or excluded.

### 5.3 Critical Documentary: de Antonio

*Point of Order* (de Antonio, 1963)

*Rush to Judgement* (de Antonio and Lane, 1966)

*Year of the Pig* (de Antonio, 1968)

*Underground* (de Antonio, Lampson, and Wexler, 1976)

De Antonio's documentaries are rooted in his Marxism. While *Year of the Pig* exhibits greater editorial complexity, all are evidence based, critical, didactic works concerned with political and media representations of significant events (the McCarthy-Army Hearings, the Kennedy assassination, the Vietnam war, The Weather Underground) combining extensive archive material with newly filmed interviews. De Antonio considered the disembodied professional voiceover as "inherently fascist and condescending" (Rosenthal, p. 209) An edit memo regarding his 1965 BBC film *That's Where the Action Is* states: 'No narration. Voices will be the voices of the real people.' (Kellner and Streibel, 2000, p. 25) This relates to my own practice of prioritising the voices of the participants.

*Point of Order* resulted from de Antonio's inspired purchase from Columbia Broadcasting Systems (CBS) of the 200 hours recorded proceedings of the 'McCarthy-Army Hearings' that from April to June 1954 presented America with gripping live television, which de Antonio concentrated into a 97-minute documentation of the end of Senator Joe McCarthy's power as a public demagogue. While McCarthy's influence ended in 1954, de Antonio's film, made in the mid-sixties amidst growing left activism, was a reminder of the perils of right-wing demagoguery and a revenge attack on the erstwhile persecutor of the American left.

This revisiting of histories relates to my own practice of representing activists' past campaigns for peace and disarmament and against homelessness – issues that maintain contemporary relevance.

*Rush to Judgement* (de Antonio, Lane, 1966) counters the Warren Commission's findings regarding the 1963 Kennedy assassination. Newsreel and television archive is intercut with interviews with Dallas witnesses, whose testimony was ignored or misrepresented by the Commission. Structured in chapters that challenge the official history, other insertions include travel with witnesses to significant locations, FBI reconstructions, photographic and autopsy evidence, and a presenter staged at a desk before shelves of law books. Witnesses assert that there was at least a 2<sup>nd</sup> shooter behind a fence and that these head shots killed the president, directly contradicting the Commission's findings. This film vividly highlights the solidifying effect of accrued, repetitive mass media representations upon human consciousness, when one witness says he now believes the Commission's findings that Oswald was the lone gunman, despite previously giving eyewitness evidence to the contrary. The differing audio-visual iterations of the assassination show the power of state and capital to shape public perceptions, and this independent critical documentary questions the mediated transformation of questionable judgement into historical fact. De Antonio again filed to purchase CBS television archive including extensive eyewitness interviews to the assassination.

'...dozens of hours of filmed interviews ... including many who contradicted the official indictment of Oswald (some of whom had since died). [...] Suspiciously, the network withdrew its offer to sell, apparently having it destroyed.' (Kellner and Streible, 2000, p. 27)

*In the Year of the Pig* is an anti-imperialist film that, in contrast to usual television coverage of the conflict, offers an historical perspective on the origins and development of American involvement, as de Antonio states:

‘...we saw dead Americans, dead Vietnamese, bombings, all kinds of rather interesting things, but never one program on why: never one program on the history of it; never one program attempting to place it in context...’

(Rosenthal, 1980, p. 214)

His contextualisation juxtaposes archive with frank interviews, several from US state representatives, including a Republican Senator who compares North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh to George Washington. The interviews question the morality of the war, its material foulness, its roots in imperialism, and elevates the status of Ho Chi Minh. In an open letter to Bill Nichols, de Antonio called it an:

‘...organizing weapon, a collage/history of the people’s struggle in Vietnam. . . .a Marxist, historical line, not free from error. ... If we forget history, we are only a convulsive twitch to today’s media output. That output is false, bad, and works to blot out yesterday’s reality.’ (Kellner and Streible, 2000, pp. 224-225)

In *Underground* (1976) de Antonio interviews five members of the American revolutionary group ‘The Weather Underground’ on May Day, 1975, relating their accounts of political awakening and actions.

‘It was a political collaboration, and this is what disturbs the government. We never made any pretence of objectivity. It’s a film by us *and them*. This film was made together with them.’ (Kellner and Streible, 2000, p. 285)

To avoid participants' visual identification interviewees are obscured by a semi-transparent cloth, and filmed reflected in a mirror, in which cinematographer Haskell Wexler and director de Antonio are visible. Though later criticised by various of The Weather Underground, it nonetheless achieves remarkable documentary power simply by recording participants - who at the time were hunted by the US authorities – telling their own first-hand accounts, largely uninterrupted, though interspersed with interview material from Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Dr Martin Luther King Jr., and Fidel Castro. De Antonio commented:

‘Our perception of them was formed by the media. McLuhan got it wrong. The message really is whoever owns the media, owns the message. ...the people who wrote and distributed *Prairie Fire*\* weren't crazed terrorists. Their voices were strong, analytical, rational. I wanted to make a film with them, collectively, and to find people who would be interested in making a new kind of didactic, revolutionary film. We formed a collective, Mary Lampson, Haskell Wexler, and I. (Kellner, D. and Streible, 2000, p. 280)

(\* *Prairie Fire: Political Statement of the Weather Underground*, 1974)

Because the participants were on the FBI's 'Most Wanted' list, and living clandestinely, the filmmakers had to respect close agreement with the group.

‘They laid down all the ground rules; ... their collective sense was an example to us. ... as a revolutionary film, the duty of this film is to seek an audience wider than the audience that already shares our ideas. ... Ordinary films, which are by definition non-revolutionary, act on an audience, force an audience to be passive. Whereas we are trying in our film to make you become a part of that film, to question that film and the world you live in.’ (Kellner and Streible, 2000, p. 283)

These remarkable independent documentaries offer critical alternative viewpoints to more mainstream representations of the same subjects during periods of significant social and political upheaval in the United States.

“...in the age of Ford, is what we might call the discontinuity of history. History is broken up for us each day into tiny fragments on television, which means there is no continuity; ...no historical perspective. ...part of the idea behind this film when we originally talked with the Weatherpeople was ...we believe in history, and we don't want to see the 1960s washed down the drain.’ (Kellner and Streible, 2000, p. 292)

De Antonio's characterisation of *Year of the Pig* as a collage relates to the use of archive previously discussed in Methodology, though his usage creates overviews of events through powerful juxtaposition, rather than my contextualisation of specific archive using the accounts of those directly involved in the phenomena depicted. Similarly, de Antonio's concerns to centralise the voices of first-hand witnesses or participants, to revisit and reconstitute history by making films with historical participants resonate with my practice in *Acts of Resistance*.

#### 5.4 Reconstructive Documentary: Morris

*The Thin Blue Line* (Morris, 1988)

This much analysed, highly influential documentary utilises various cinematic forms – notably what Morris calls ‘re-enactment’ by costumed actors of the shooting of a police officer with close-up gunshots and flashing police lights. Morris visualises and combines actual and re-enacted evidence, including event timings, a detective's office, press cuttings,

written statements, bullet trajectory and wound diagrams, a bloodied jacket, presenting an accumulation of evidential aspects of events normally beyond the observational documentary tradition. Morris maintains standard documentary tropes such as evocative location establishers and numerous interviews with key figures in the case - and uses voiceovers sourced from those involved. Morris's prioritisation of witness and participant testimony, relates to my practice of centralising participants' accounts, while his visualisation of details of artefactual evidence has influenced my representations of the participants' physical artefacts. Referencing detective and criminal procedure drama, the material textures of evidence augment the veracity of the interviewees and the film's argument, convincing the viewer that what we see constitutes proof of wrongful imprisonment. That Morris encountered the story when working as a private investigator is significant: the documentary eventually helped overturn the state's judgement and free an innocent man accused of a capital crime. Critical reactions varied, with some vehemently anti-re-enactment. Morris argues:

'...People talk about re-enactments, 'why do you use re-enactments?'  
 ...reality is re-enacted inside of our skulls, routinely ... We take in evidence of our senses, and we try to figure out on the basis of what we learn ... The issue is, what is out there? What is true? What is false? What really happened?'  
 (Columbia Journalism Review, 2008)

Morris's re-enactments, non-diegetic music, and forensic focus on textures of detail are now mainstream tropes of documentary-factual productions. Most however, lack the originator's committed focus, achieving a decorative superficiality rather than evidential integrity.

My practice relates to Morris's film in its representation of detailed artefactual evidence – original documents, publications, banners, and activist film - that specifically refers to historical first-person interview accounts of particular historic phenomena, often contradicting accounts propagated by the state and the mass media. Given Morris's rhythmic

assembly of textures of evidence there has been much debate and theorising - some post-modernist - of this evidently truth-seeking documentary. Regarding this Morris stated:

‘they say, ‘well I’m a post-modernist’ and I really don’t care about truth, truth is subjective or there are all kinds of different versions of truth...’ – and then you say... it doesn’t matter to you who pulled the trigger? ...whether someone committed murder or not? Whether someone in jail is innocent or not? That’s just a matter of - *personal opinion*? ... It matters a great deal – what happened in the world.” (Columbia Journalism Review, 2008)

Morris’s documentary creatively reclaims the referent to investigate and evidentially assemble a tenable focal point of truth generated by evidential specificity, deft visualisation and the circular, generally minor key score of Philip Glass underscoring as Morris states, the ‘existential dread’ (Glassman, M. 2005) of an innocent man whose chance encounter with the actual murderer led to his twelve-year imprisonment on death-row and whose

“... life was forever changed, and there’s nothing he could do about it. ... It’s a very dark and very desperate story, and what I tried to do in the making of the film ... was to convey some of that, through my use of my re-enactments, through my use of the score by Philip Glass.” (Moyers, 1989)

### 5.5 Critical Humanist Documentary: Kopple

Harlan County USA (Kopple, 1976)

In 1972, Kopple began filming with ‘Miners for Democracy’ who sought to oust their union’s corrupt leader, a man later convicted of murdering his rival for the leadership.

Four years in the making, this Academy Award winning film was made with a community of striking Kentucky miners. Director/Sound recordist Barbara Kopple and Cinematographer Hart Perry lived with the mining community for over a year, stating:

“We did everything from butchering hogs with them to starting a newspaper called The Harlan Labor News. ... scabs and gun thugs told us that if we were ever caught alone, we would be killed... we carried weapons but only at night. ...to go to the bathroom ... we always went outside on the “buddy system”. ... Hart had an M-1, and I had a .357 Magnum. And that was just to go to the bathroom.” (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 303)

The film focuses on issues motivating the strikers, a theme repeated by the community that feels the strain of struggle and squabbles at meetings. The filmmakers’ longitudinal proximity includes participants actions and voices at picket lines and union meetings, contextualised by depictions of governmental and macro-economic issues. The crew’s access to mines, homes, union meetings, picket lines, company shareholder meetings, courtroom, hospital, and a funeral communicates consistent proximity to the action. Their engagement augments the Critical Humanist aspect by centralising the participants so that the subject guides the research as previously noted by Ingold. This longitudinal approach to filming with activists and relative self-effacement of the filmmakers is relevant to my own practice.

“The time period for the filming ... gave us a chance to discover what we were doing. ...sometimes people\* find it easier to identify with the filmmakers than to get to grips with the real issues ... it was very important to me that the people really dealt with the struggle ... I really tried to minimise the sense of the crew as much as possible.” (Rosenthal, 1980, pp. 308-309)

(\*meaning the audience)

Around minute 104 there is night filming of a picket line with gunshots. The camera is knocked to the ground with the sounds of a beating off screen, Kopple recounts that:

“...out of nowhere came shots and tracer bullets. ... (the strike breakers) ... got me, got Hart, got Ann. Took each one of us individually and beat us up. ... I had a long aluminium fish pole with the mike on the end and just started beating them back. ...But we continued filming.” (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 307)

Thereafter the mining community, led by the women and all armed with guns and staves, block the scabs’ access to the road. The scab leader approaches as before, hand on pistol, but is sent back. When the Sheriff arrives to clear the road, the women refuse, presenting him with an arrest warrant for the scab leader. All this the filmmakers record, including following the Sheriff to the scab leader’s vehicle, who along with his convoy of ‘gun thugs’ is sent back.

*Harlan County USA* is a Critical Humanist Documentary of (then) current events of grass roots activism, mainly observational, clearly contextualised with the realities of business and union dealings within a wider national economic setting. There is no voice-over other than that elicited from the people involved. The film also intersperses contributions from older members of the mining community who remember the poverty and hunger of the 1930s and the state’s deployment of armed forces to break strikes. Throughout Koppel uses Kentucky and Appalachian folk songs, several sung by members of the community on camera. Their approach depicts working-class people possessing agency, who know their history and express it through culture and resistance. This is a Critical Humanist Documentary in its commitment to observe, record and contextualise historic counter hegemonic activism made *with* the communities involved, in a fine piece of participant observation.

The film concludes with: ‘Cabin Creek Films wishes to thank the people of the coal fields who let us become part of their lives and participate in their struggles, who fed us and let us live in their homes.’ (Cabin Creek Films, 1976.)

## 5.6 Contemporary UK Broadcast Critical Humanist Documentary: McQueen and Rogan

*Uprising* (McQueen and Rogan, 2021)

McQueen and Rogan's BBC1 documentary trilogy (*Fire, Blame, The Front Line*) concerns significant events in 1981, namely the investigation and UK wide riots stemming from the New Cross fire in which 13 young black people died and others were injured. Speculation persists that the fire was arson, although no conclusive evidence proves this. Suspicion of foul play is understandable given the history of racist attacks in London. (An activist pamphlet in Radford's archive concerns *The Sunderland Road Bombings* racist attacks made in 1970 in Forest Hill, London.)

The trilogy is critical and humanist in that the filmmakers enable first-hand witnesses to and participants in the events – including police and fire services – to relate experiences of the fire, protests, inquests, and riots. Archive use is usually highly specific and the experiences of British Afro-Caribbean people, the attitudes of the British state, press and public are historically contextualised. The films demonstrate solidarity with participants, communicating issues and events from insiders' perspectives. The films do not over-emotionalise despite the horror of the fire and its aftermath, and the painful issues of societal racism and state attitudes then led by Prime Minister Thatcher.

Co-Director and Executive Producer McQueen stated:

‘We can only learn if we look at things through the eyes of everyone concerned; the New Cross Fire passed into history as a tragic footnote, but that

event and its aftermath can now be seen as momentous events in our nation's history.' (McQueen, 2021)

James Rogan, Co-Director and Executive producer, stated:

'...survivors and the key participants will give their account of the fire, the aftermath, the impact it had on the historic events of 1981 and the profound legacy it has left behind.' (Rogan, 2021)

Both filmmakers stress the importance of testimonials, activists, participants, and history – concerns central to Critical Humanist Documentary. *Uprising*, broadcast on BBC1 and freely available on BBC iplayer, centralises the marginalised and shows that there can be a place for Critical Humanist Documentary in the context of British public service broadcasting.

## 5.7 Conclusion

The films in this chapter are selected points of reference that inform my practice. They demonstrate care for humanity and history, which led their makers to their critical and creative representations. Whether the filmmakers engaged directly with actuality or in the extensive use of archive or re-enactment, they centralise the voices of interviewees or actions of participants in the direct address to the viewer's intellect and emotions. Their observational, reconstructive, performative, historical and critical humanist methods produce films with participants about contextualised events through specific use of archive and artefacts depicted.

These aspects inform my position as a shaper of documentary texts: that working to enlighten, to record and preserve cultures of human interest is a critical humanism, an activity arguably too socially valuable to remain superseded by tropes of entertainment in the service of commerce. The films considered in this chapter are of course mostly

commissioned works produced by specialist crews, while my current iterations are self-financed, individually made prototypes of independent research. The next stage for this research is to further refine these prototypes to secure funding, broadcast commissions and deliver public exhibition. The reality of digital media exhibition and the fact that televisual distribution can be accessed through other avenues than British mainstream broadcasters means these aims are not unachievable, while the historical documentation of counter-hegemonic activism is, if only for posterity, a worthwhile activity.

‘...focus on present ‘events’ sometimes obscures our view on longer term social ‘processes’. And we know from a longer-term, historical perspective, that people’s campaigns and non-violent struggles against oppression and injustice can succeed. ...the activism of ‘progressive’ social actors has impacted positively on longer-term processes of social transformation and will do again’ (de Jong, Shaw, and Stammers, 2000, p.13)

The next chapter ‘Case Study: Activists and Artefacts in Selected Campaigns’, presents accounts from this research of how activists engaged with mainstream broadcast media and produced their own media artefacts in opposition to iniquitous practices of states and capital.

## Chapter 6: Case Study: Activists' Artefacts in Practice Submissions

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter is an account of my prototype chapters documenting activists' artefacts produced during their campaigns.

6.2      *The Committee of 100 part 1* (1956-62)

6.3      *The Committee of 100 part 2* (1963-68)

6.4      *Spies for Peace* (1963)

6.5      *House the Homeless!* (1963-74)

The practice generated theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary involving longitudinal, relatively participatory research engagement to accumulate and organise material as a form of *making-with participants*. Recovery and representation of activists' histories to centralise first-hand accounts of their artefacts is counter hegemonic in several respects.

First, in the filmmaker's independent subject choice – despite broadcasters' rejections - concerning dissidence and non-violent direct action.

Second, notwithstanding editing, in enabling self-representing participants to explain artefacts and motivations without intermediaries.

Third, in creating documentaries that in process, form and content question aspects of contemporary broadcast documentary and factual entertainment dominated by state and commerce.

After Smith (2007) artefacts include actions, events and material creations.

‘...events in particular, are artifacts. ...structures that act to control or “make” an action (or thing) into a cognitive frame. They change what we do from what might be described as an action (life), whether it is simple or complex, into a mediated act (art).’ (Smith, 2007, p. 4)

Artefacts documented include demonstrations of solidarity and dissidence, occupations, engagement with and manipulation of press and media. Physical artefacts include publications, photographs, films, and graphical works.

Longitudinal Critical Humanist Documentary centralises activists’ resistance as marginalised histories of significance, combining first-person accounts with archival materials. After Ingold (2019) the subject – here primarily participants - guided the practice that generated theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary. This problematises the diminution of documentary and current affairs programming and ‘move towards so-called reality television and the quasi-abandonment of notions of quality in British television’ (Nash, 2006, p. 49) within the context of the previously outlined public relations influenced ‘tilt to the market’ (Miller and Dinan, 2000, p. 25) which has seen most British broadcasters prioritise commissioning of pseudo-documentary forms as entertainment within commercially dominated contexts.

Centralising participants obviates the need for presenters, and literally guides the research. For example, Radford’s 2010 account of throwing from high over London’s Oxford Street during rush hour thousands of facsimile US dollar bills stating ‘Is this worth all the slaughter in Vietnam’ motivated my asking participants if they had any. None had.

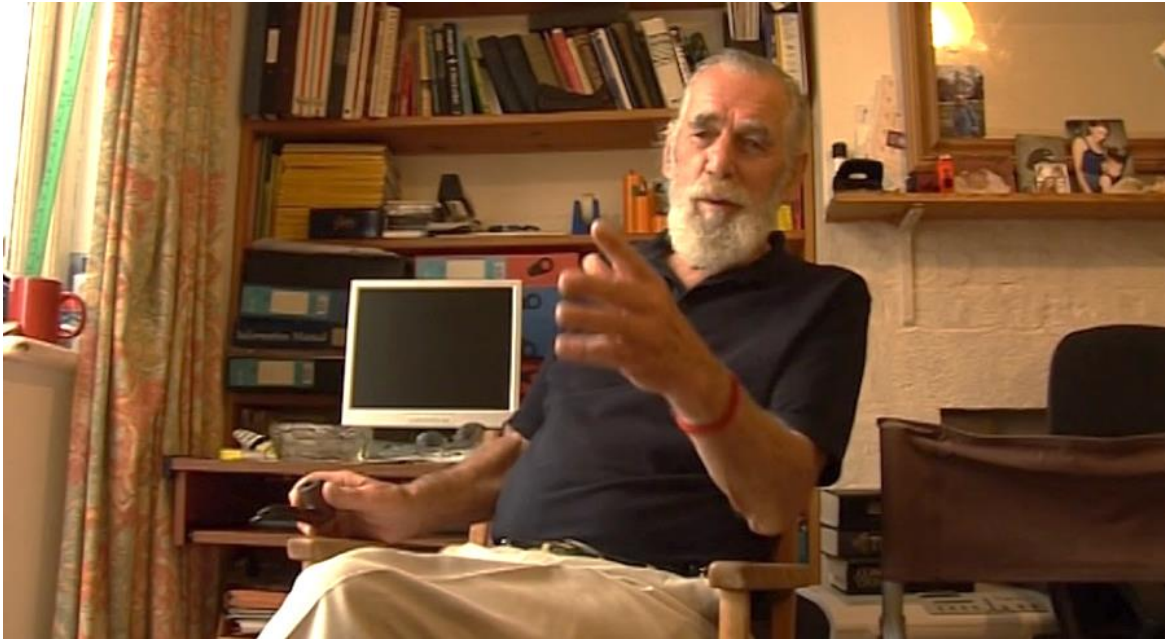


Fig. 1 Jim Radford recounting the story of facsimile US dollar bills, Paul Moody, 2010.

Then one bill was retrieved by Heather Strange during filming of clearing Ian Hutchison's house in 2018.



Fig. 2 Heather Strange with retrieved facsimile US dollar bill, Paul Moody, 2018.



Fig. 3 Terry Chandler's facsimile US dollar, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody, 2018.

When filming handing this bill to Radford in 2019, the artefact prompted new recollections to intercut with his 2010 interview.

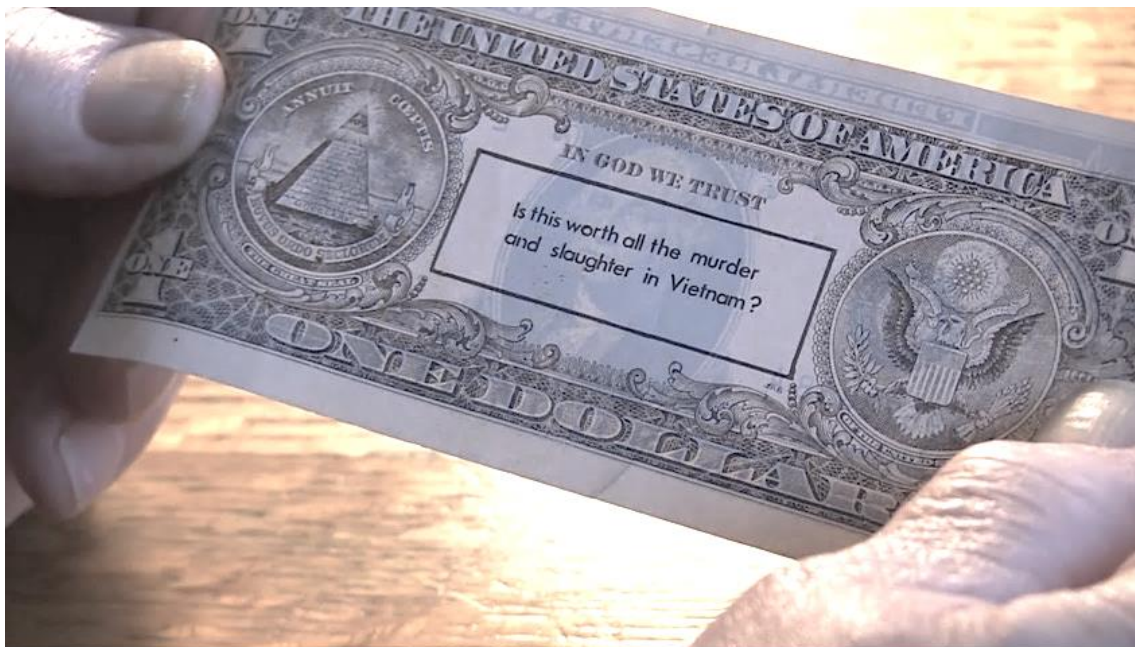


Fig. 4 Radford with Chandler's facsimile US dollar, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody, 2019.

This longitudinal practice also involves sharing with participants newly discovered archive film by Hutchison and Ralph depicting events such as the *Squatters Arrival* or the *Greek Embassy Occupation*, to increase our understanding by recovering new details about the events documented.

Disillusion with the C100's open politics, and the CND's orderly protests was apparent since the 'DIY politics' outlined in *Beyond Counting Arses* (Brewood Jr. et al., 1963). In Sam Carroll's 2008 audio interview with Ruth Walter, the activist states that it was the failure of the 1962 airbase blockades at Wethersfield and elsewhere, due to the C100's openness, giving the authorities advance warning, and suffering punitive prosecutions, that led to the clandestine activism of Spies for Peace. (Walter, 2008) The more secretive and confrontational activism post-1962 from a regionalised Committee of 100 exceeds the focus on nuclear weapons to contest states on global issues (Greece, Vietnam, disarmament, Anti-apartheid etc) moving towards locally based direct actions for practical change and to influence policy, such as housing the homeless.

My practice was guided by activists' artefacts and accounts of phenomena they considered significant. After initial interviews, research progressed to finding and documenting archive and artefacts, usually with the participants. I also retrieved film and television material from public and commercial archives. Archival images from Bailey, Ginn, Hutchison, Radford, Randle, Ralph, Rodker, Shelley and Strange, plus new participant interviews, collected newsreel, television and audio archive from Carroll and the British Library's Hasted collection, forms a reservoir of material, the use of which extends beyond this current research.

## 6.2 The Committee of 100 part 1 (1956-62) and part 2 (1963-68)



Fig. 5 Committee of 100 poster by Robin Fior, 1961, archive of Ernest Rodker, Paul Moody, 2017.

This practice chapter begins with the global context and precursors to the C100 from pacifist Michael Randle, the Committee's first secretary, and leads to others including Ralph Schoenman, Terry Chandler, Diana Shelley, Nic Ralph, Jim Radford, Ron Bailey and Ruth Walter. Archive interviews with members who pre-deceased this research include Bertrand Russell, Helen Allegranza, Pat Pottle, and Mike Lesser.

### 6.2.1 Committee of 100 part 1 - Precursors to Formation (1956-60)

Randle describes small initial protests leading to the Direct-Action Committee Against Nuclear War organising the first Aldermaston March (1958), documented in *March to Aldermaston* (Film Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, 1959). These included future C100 signatories filmmaker Lindsay Anderson and poet Christopher Logue. Noted actor Richard Burton voiced Logue's text.

### 6.2.2 Committee of 100 part 1 (1960-62)

This period includes the Committee's high and low points and the state's legal prohibitions and persecutions of its leaders to undermine the founding notion of collective responsibility. The activists' print media presented detailed, legally defensible strategies, arguments, and factual representations.

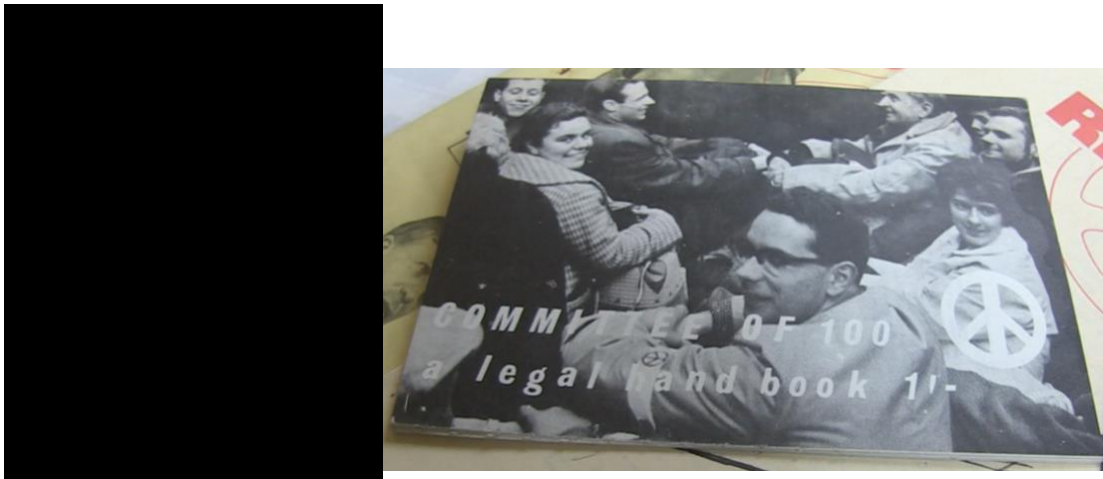


Fig. 6 Committee of 100, Advice to All Demonstrators for Ministry of Defence Demonstration, 18<sup>th</sup> February 1961 from McMasters University. Fig. 7 Committee of 100 Legal Handbook, archive of Ian Hutchison.

This practice chapter focuses on the following demonstrations against development and testing of nuclear weapons by Eastern and Western blocs, and for British neutrality.

1956-60 Beginnings of the Movement, Direct Action Committee, CND. Formation of the Committee of 100 in October 1960.

18<sup>th</sup> February 1961 Sit Down at the Ministry of Defence. 5000 people. No arrests.

29<sup>th</sup> April 1961 Parliament Square Sit Down (banned) c. 1000 arrests.

6<sup>th</sup> August 1961 Hiroshima Day Remembrance – interrupted by police action.

17<sup>th</sup> September 1961, Trafalgar Square demonstration – banned – 15000 people demonstrate.

1314 arrests.

18<sup>th</sup> October, Soviet Embassy demonstration. 250 arrests.

9<sup>th</sup> December, air-bases blockade. Wethersfield, Ruislip, Brize Norton, Cardiff. 800 arrests.

The C100's plan to generate national and international media coverage of its protests was successful. ITV cancelled programmes to report live from Trafalgar Square in September 1961. Following successful London demonstrations, Randle observed that the committee over-estimated its strength in attempting blockades of nuclear air bases, with the state sufficiently concerned to 'nip this thing in the bud'. (Randle, 2017) Beforehand six leading C100 figures were arrested under the Official Secrets Act, jailing them for 12 and 18 months and the Committee's coach hire was disrupted. At the bases police and military outnumbered demonstrators. A later demonstration calling for 50,000 people to blockade the Air Ministry was greatly downscaled when it failed to secure 50,000 participants.

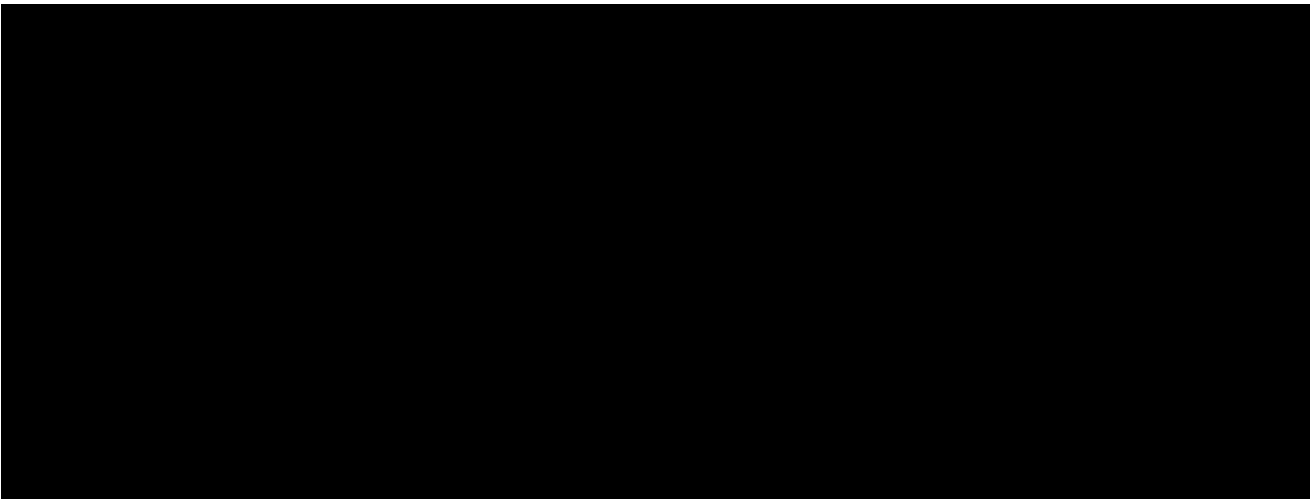
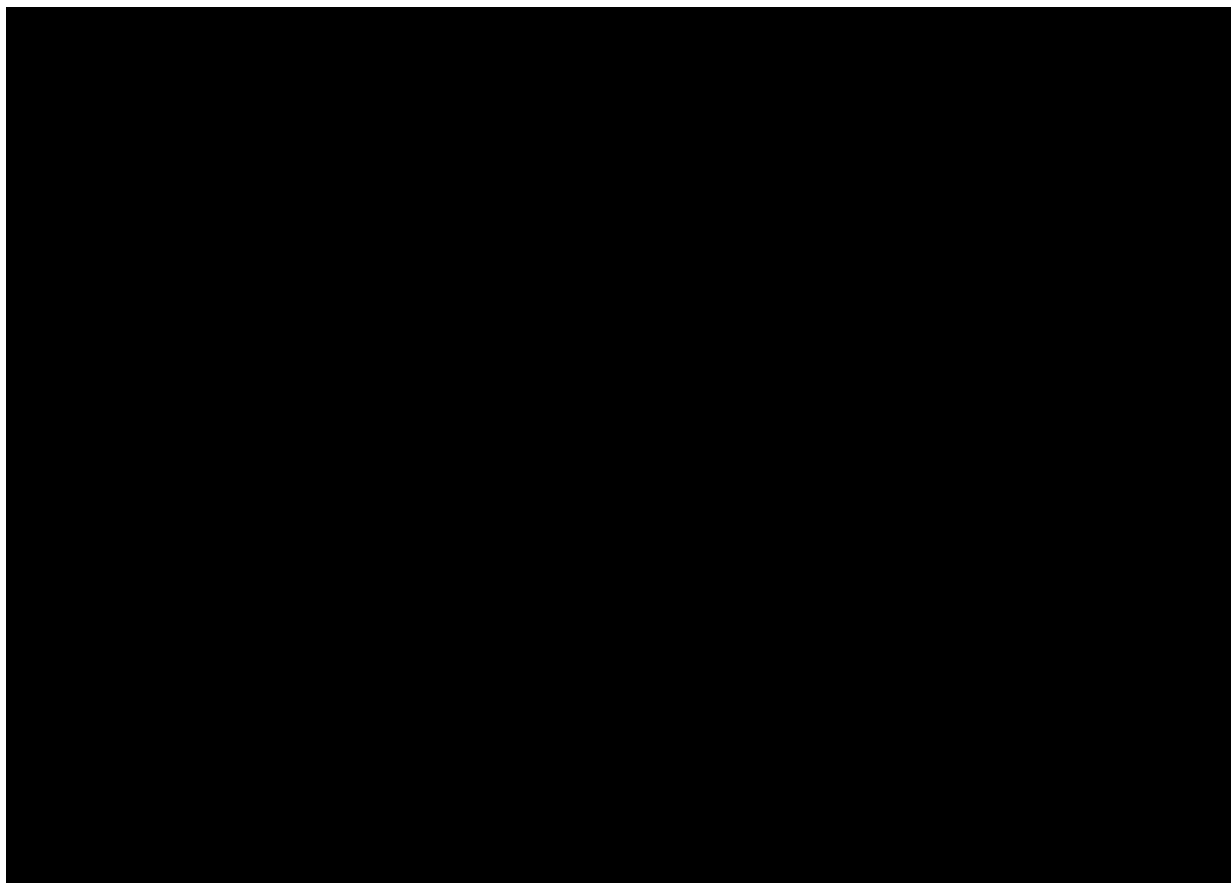
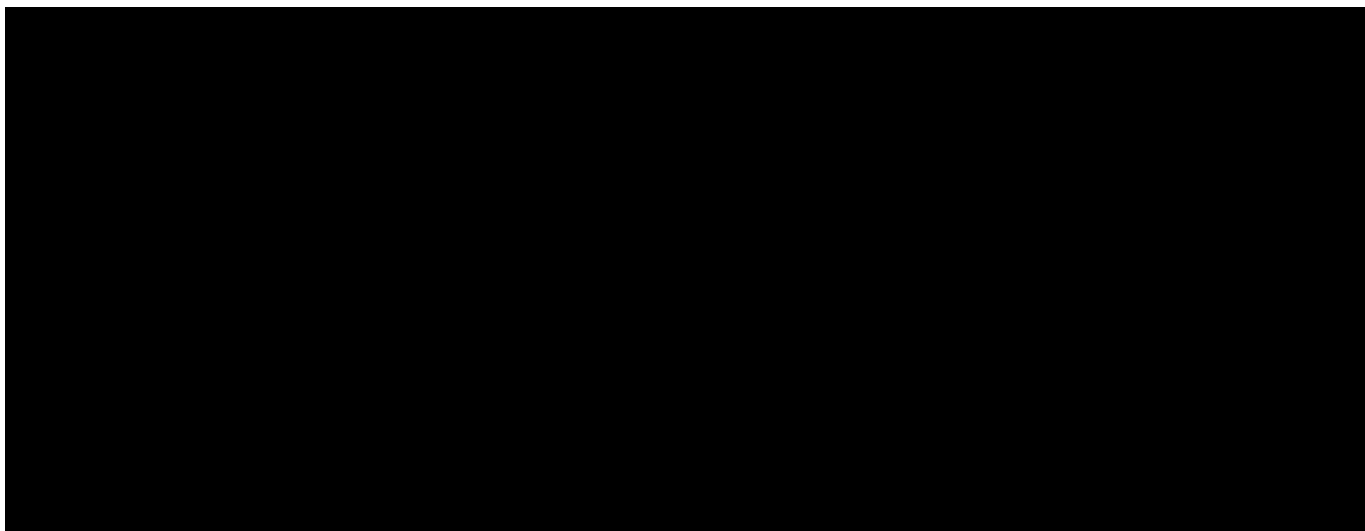


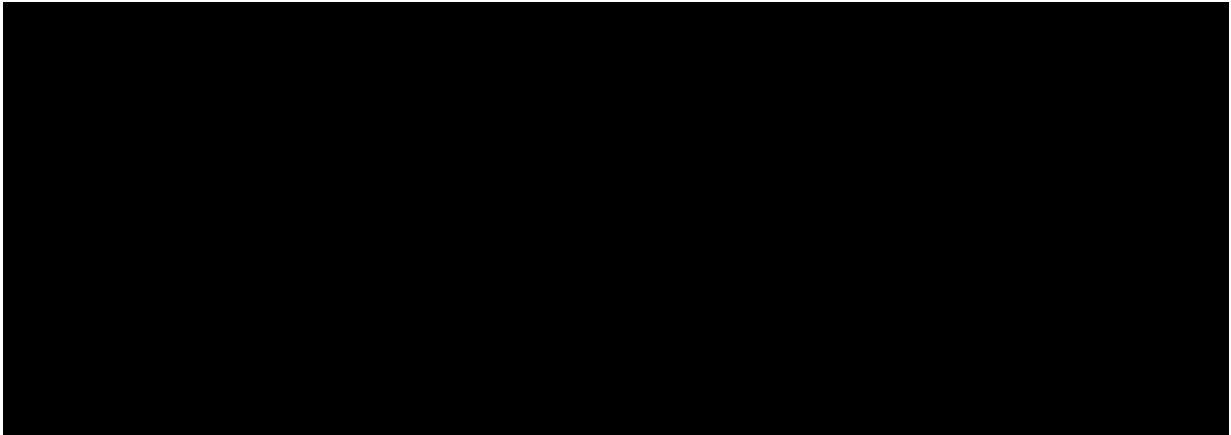
Fig. 8 ITN film frame, Bertrand Russell, Ministry of Defence sit down, 18<sup>th</sup> February 1961.

Fig. 9 ITN film frame, C100 march, Ministry of Defence, 18<sup>th</sup> February 1961.

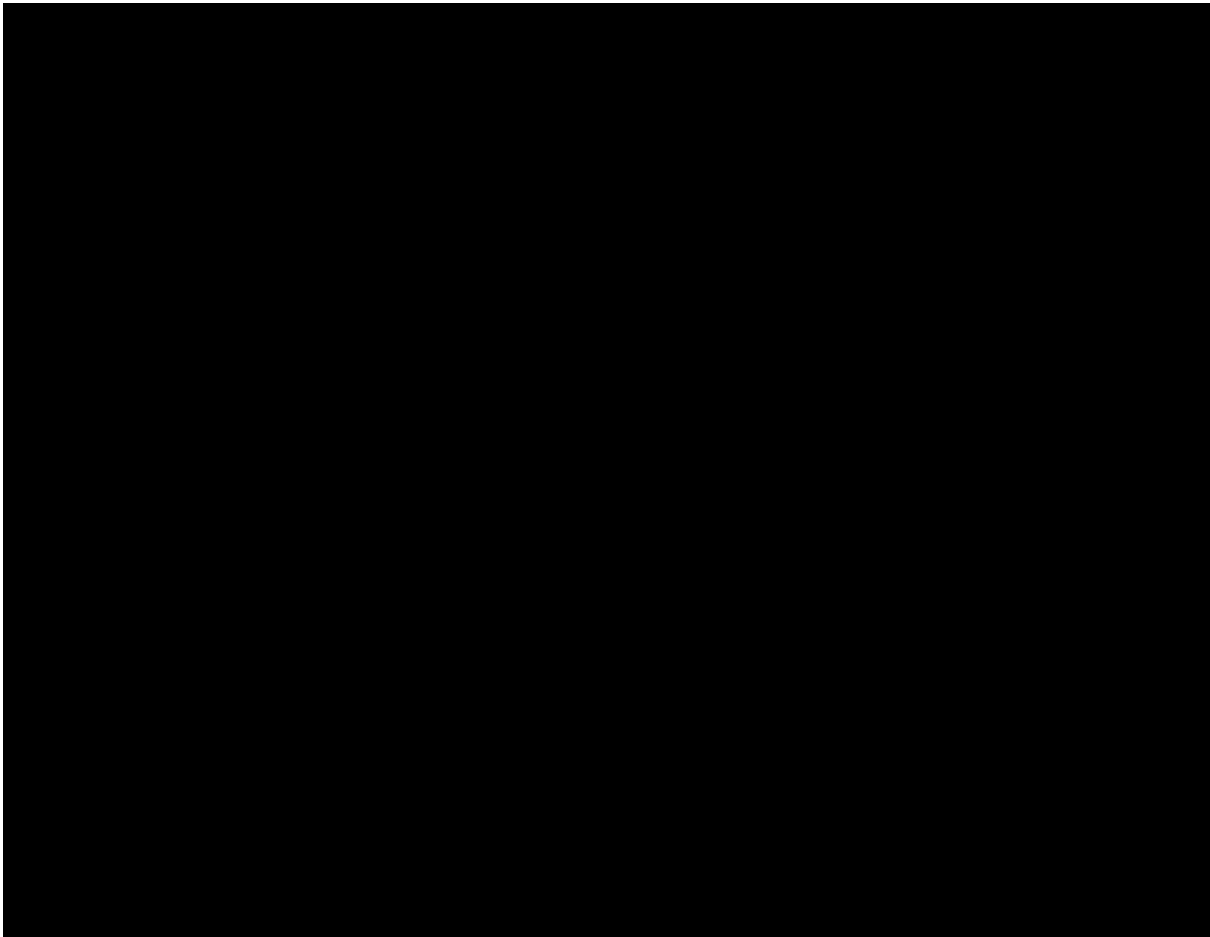


13 ITN film frames of Parliament Square sit down (access banned), 29<sup>th</sup> April 1961.





Figs. 14-17 Associated Press and ITN film frames of Trafalgar Square sit down (access banned) 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> of September, 1961. From top left protestors sit down in the road, 15,000 sit down, Author John Berger walks to the sit-down, Playwright Shelagh Delaney interviewed on release after arrest.



Figs. 18-21 East Anglian Film Archive and ITN film frames. From top left Pat Arrowsmith interviewed, demonstrators' approach, demonstrator arrested, 'The Wethersfield Six' arrive at the Old Bailey.

Activist media artefacts include the 'Voice of Nuclear Disarmament' (VND) pirate audio broadcasts in 1961-62 on BBC Channel 1 Television, recorded by John Hasted and held at the British Library. Activist Jay Ginn recounts driving radio equipment to and from broadcasts from different locations so as to avoid detection. Another, 'Free Greece Radio' transmitted briefly from the 1967 Greek Embassy occupation. VND recordings (Hasted, 1962) include demonstrations, statements and interviews from public figures and demonstrators.

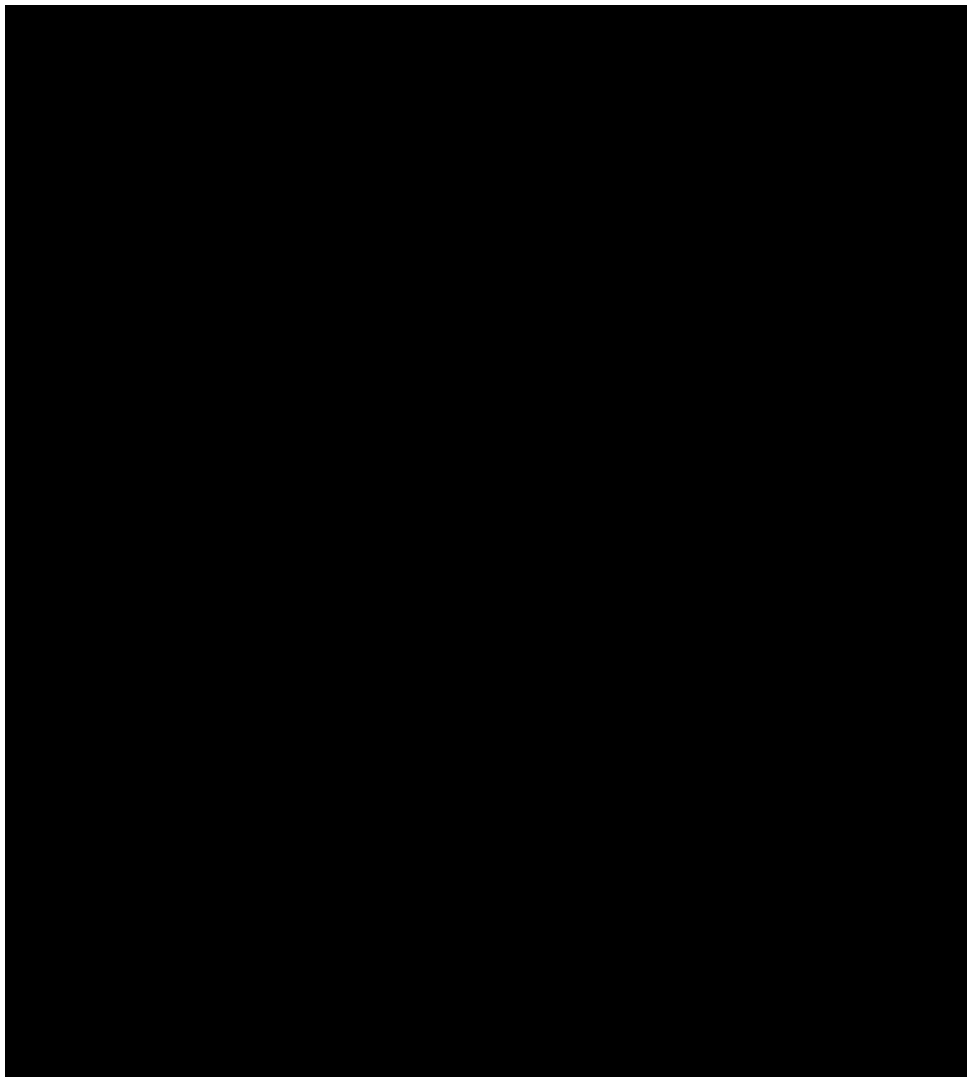


Fig. 22 Frames from film on Voice of Nuclear Disarmament pirate radio broadcasts. c. 1961-62, British Movietone Archive. From top left: blindfolded contributors are taken to the recording location, technicians at work, an aerial is erected, Voice of ND disguised presenter recording, Bertrand Russell sticker.

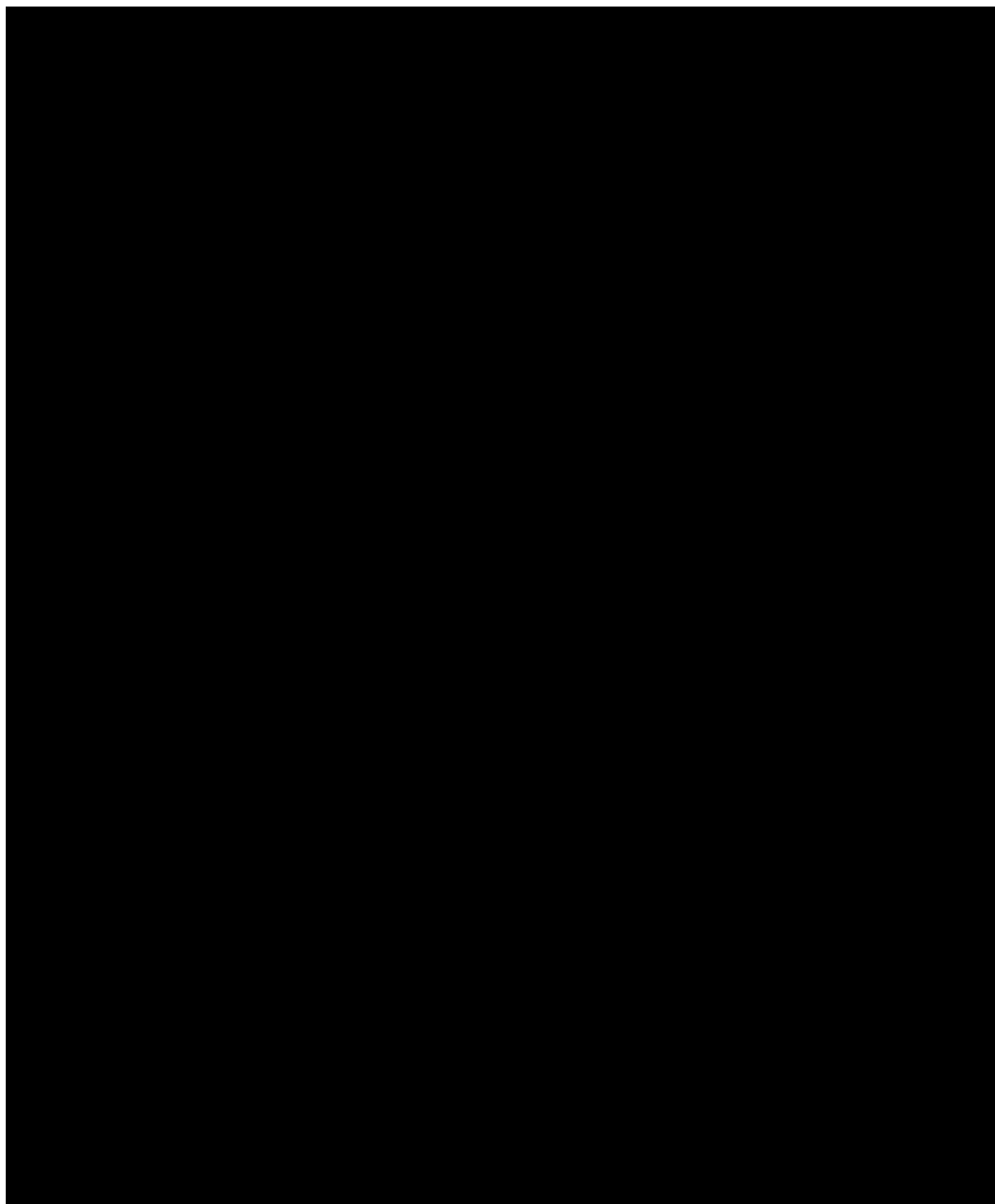


Fig. 23 *Voice of Nuclear Disarmament* leaflet (undated), History Workshop, 2020.

The state refused to engage with the C100's strategy of collective responsibility, repeatedly imprisoning leading figures with lengthy sentences.

### 6.3 The Committee of 100 part 2 (1963-68)

Some participants recounted increasing involvement with domestic social issues. In 1962, the C100 established an Industrial Relations Sub Committee, on which Ken Weller and Radford sat. Radford (2010) recalled a docks-gate meeting where a docker challenged the Committee's global focus with his desperate family circumstances in substandard rented accommodation.

Activists including Anderson, Bailey, Radford and Strange, became involved with homelessness to change circumstances and influence policy. Radford and Bailey, practically focused on providing housing solutions, were labelled 'sell-outs' by erstwhile comrades, including Anderson (with whom they had worked closely) for making deals with authorities such as Redbridge, Lewisham and the Greater London Council - to secure short-term squats for homeless families. The practice chapter *House the Homeless!* documents the anti-homelessness activism of the Hostels Campaigns, the Friends of King Hill, the Squatters and the occupiers of Centre Point.

From 1962-3 the London C100 was the largest and most active of the regionalised organisation. A growing global issue was the American-led war against North Vietnam. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation publicised civilian casualties, accounts of torture, extra-judicial executions, and chemical weapons use - such as napalm and white phosphorous - in publications such as *Appeal to the American Conscience* (Russell, 1966).

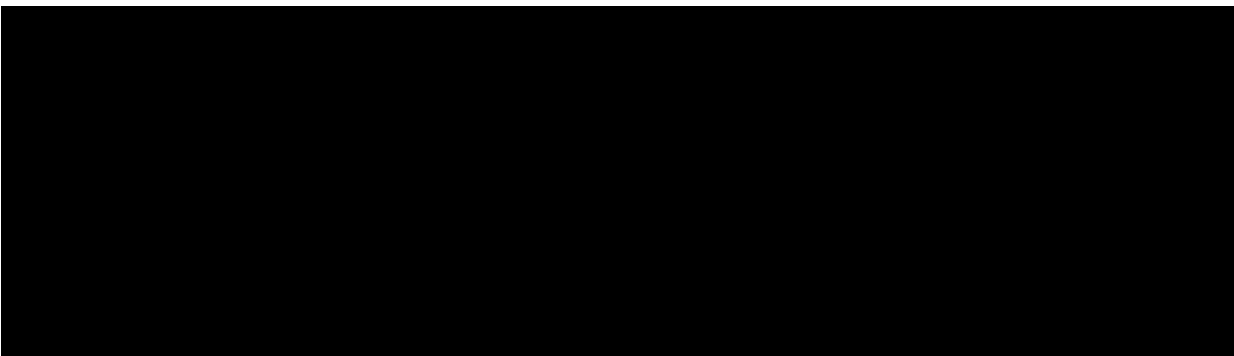
### 6.3.1 Protesting Fascism in Greece (1963)

This section documents aspects of C100 support for the Greek peace movement.

Post the 1944 British occupation, the banning of the Communist Party, and the civil war of 1946-49 the Greek left had suffered imprisonments without trial, torture, and execution.

Without airpower, the left was defeated by 1949 and in 1952 Greece joined NATO.

During the cold war, as fears of nuclear conflict increased, the Greek peace movement developed, with a Bertrand Russell Committee of 100 established in Athens. Notable Greek peace activist and Member of Parliament Dr. Grigoris Lambrakis attended the 1963 Aldermaston March and established a Greek peace march from Marathon to Athens. The Greek authorities banned the march and arrested the organisers. Lambrakis used parliamentary privilege to attempt the march solo, but he too was arrested.



Figs. 24-25 Grigoris Lambrakis attempts Marathon to Athens peace march and is arrested, April 1963, Getty Images.

In May 1963 Lambrakis was beaten to death in the street by two right-wingers, sparking major protests in Greece and Britain, notably when the British Queen hosted the Greek Royal family in London in July 1963. During what became known as ‘Greek Week’, Jay Ginn drove through London with a tray of paint and a ‘polit-slog’ - short for political slogan - printing pad in the back of her van. She or a colleague would jump out, press the pad into a tray of paint and print ‘Lambrakis Lives!’ on walls and windows. (Ginn, 2020)

Ginn Shelley (2020) and Strange (2018) recount protracted demonstrations, disturbances and arrests in central London, and these are well documented by extensive television reporting. Shelley (2020) recounts that arrested men gave their names as “Lambrakis”. The Greek C100 organised a peace march for August 9<sup>th</sup> (Hiroshima Day). In solidarity Terry Chandler instigated a Committee of 100 convoy from London of vehicles featuring peace symbols, that set off for Athens as documented below by Jay Ginn. The convoy was finally stopped at Yugoslav-Greek border– though some individuals did make it to Athens.



Figs. 26- 27 Jay Ginn with photographs of the C100 Peace Convoy, Paul Moody, 2020.





Fig. 28-31 C100 London-Athens Peace Convoy 1963, photographs by Jay Ginn.

### 6.3.2 Protesting the war on Vietnam (1966-67)

Jim Radford explains the galvanising effect of the Russell report into US atrocities in Vietnam. Archive films of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (mentioned as a ‘guerrilla film’ in the leaflet below) show the Vietnamese National Liberation Front resisting US bombardment and with captured US air crew.

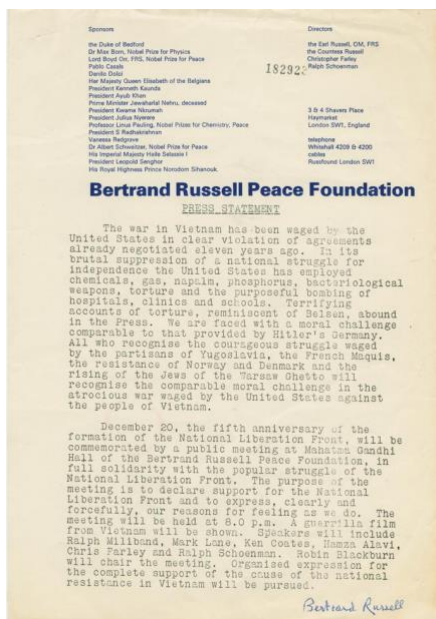


Fig. 32 Press Statement on Vietnam war, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1966.

6.3.3. West End Theatre Interventions (1966)

Radford had worked in Fleet Street, then the centre of the national press, and with his eye for publicity organised a series of scripted interventions for the C100 Vietnam Action Group in several West End theatres. He calculated that this significant national press coverage would have brought the issue of Vietnam and ‘Britain’s complicity in it’ in covertly supporting America’s escalating intervention (Radford, 2010). Each London theatre intervention involved several people. The first speaker would ring a bell or blow a whistle at the interval and sometimes jump on the stage, with a back-up speaker if the first was silenced.





Figs. 33-36 Press clippings after the Vietnam Action Group's West End Theatre interventions, 1966. Left from top: *The Sun*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, *Observer*, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2010.

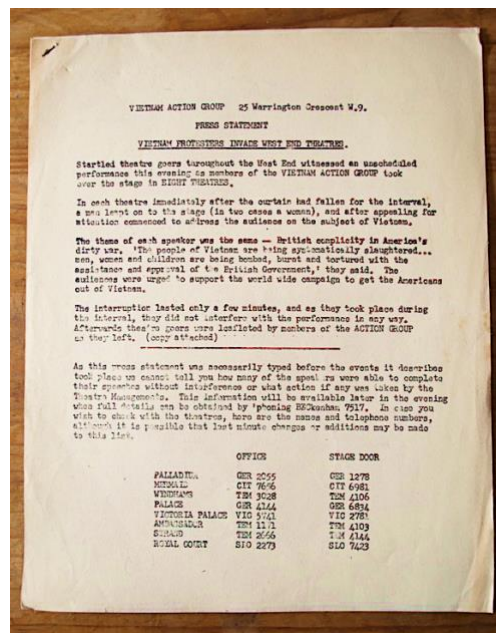


Fig. 37. Vietnam Action Group Press Statement, 1966, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2019.

### 6.3.4 *Indecency in Church* or “Interrupting the Labour Party at Prayer” (1966-7)

This staged intervention was developed by the Vietnam Action Group outgrowth from the C100, for the Methodist Church service of October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1966, at the start of the Labour Party Conference in Brighton. The group had been outraged at horrific research findings from Vietnam published in Bertrand Russell's ‘Appeal to the American Conscience’ (Russell, 1966) presented at the public meeting at Conway Hall.

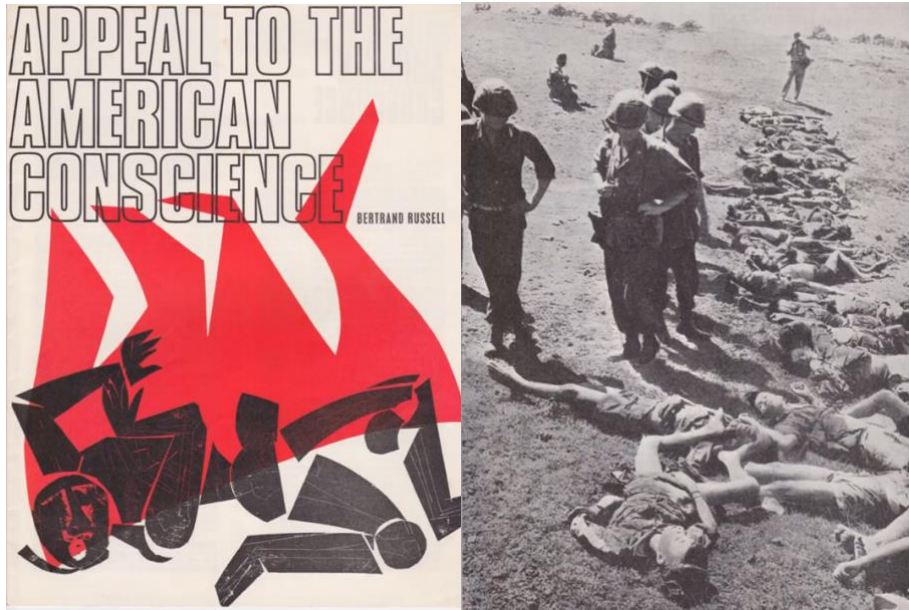


Fig. 38 *Appeal to the American Conscience*, Bertrand Russell, 1966, archive of Jim Radford. Paul Moody, 2019.

The group knew the Order of Service would include prayers for global peace and understanding and call for the ‘beating of swords into ploughshares’ from then Prime Minister Wilson and Home Secretary George Brown. As with the West End theatre protests, they devised a short condemnatory speech of Britain’s covert support of the US war in Vietnam. These included the British Army’s construction of air bases for use by the clandestine CIA air force in North Thailand close to Laos (Renwick, 2014).

A sympathetic member of the Labour Party (whose identity Radford would not reveal, even in 2020) gave Radford their invitation to the service. This was duplicated by Terry Chandler, anarchist, Committee of 100 member, and regular printer for the peace movement. The plan was that as each speaker was silenced and carried out, another would continue. Chandler however, printed more invitations than requested, and sent these out to others, including Heather Strange (then Russell) of Solidarity, and anarchist Nicholas Walter.

The C100 group knew that while arrivals to the church would be filmed outside by newsreels and television, cameras were not normally allowed within. Therefore, Radford contacted Richard Lindley then of ITN (later of Panorama), offering a scoop on condition of secrecy. Lindley agreed, and so an ITN news camera and sound crew were permitted in the public gallery. On the day, the protestors in church awaited Prime Minister Wilson's 'swords into ploughshares' address, when Walter unexpectedly shouted "Hypocrite!" during the Home Secretary's address. ITN archive shows Walter being roughly bundled out. The police were called, and the service resumed, but the element of surprise was lost, so that as Andy Anderson began his address, he was violently attacked by several men. Other protestors tried to carry on, but eight were eventually arrested and led or carried out, including Strange, Sue Abrahams, Faith Barron, Meg Walsh, Anderson, and Radford. They were held in custody with initial short spells in Holloway for the women and Brixton for the men. ITN broadcast its record of the dramatic events, and participants' archives show that press coverage was extensive.



Fig. 39 Press clippings, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Sketch*, archive of Heather Strange, Paul Moody 2021.

At trial Walter and Radford defended themselves to extend the procedure and thereby maximise publicity. Radford recalls that Don Soper, then Head of the Methodist Church, testified for the defendants, stating the action was in the best traditions of Methodism. ITN supplied 40 photographic stills to Radford, which he later shared with me on camera, that showed non-violent protestors being physically assaulted by Labour party supporters. The accumulated evidence rendered the prosecution unable to secure the charge of riotous assembly. Therefore, it invoked section 2 of the obscure Ecclesiastical Courts Jurisdiction Act of 1860 - by which it became an act of indecency to interrupt a church service. Therefore, the accused were charged with 'Indecency in Church' which became the title of the defendants' publication pictured below. (Radford, 1967)

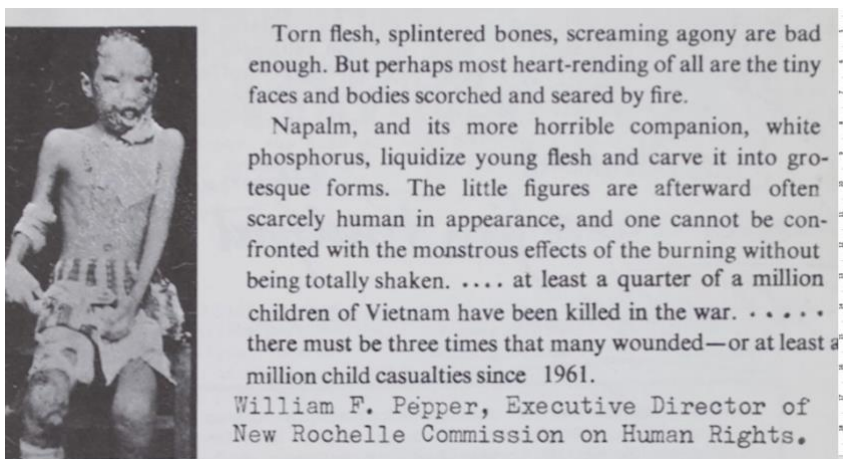
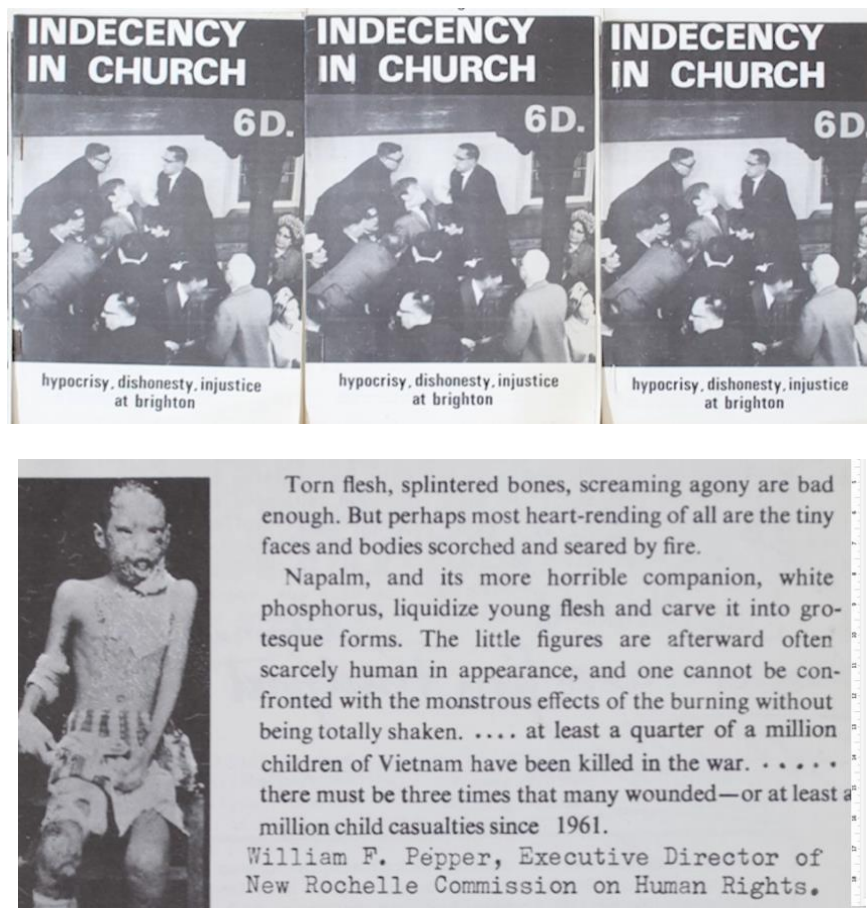


Fig. 40 *Indecency in Church*, pamphlet, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2019.

While other defendants received minimal sentences and fines, Radford and Walter were sentenced to two months in Brixton, from where they generated publicity during imprisonment and upon release.



Fig. 41 Nicolas Walter (left obscured) and Jim Radford leave Brixton Prison greeted by Ruth Walter and Jenny Radford and children, 1967, Daily Express, Getty Images, Paul Moody 2021.

#### 6.3.5 The March of Shame (1967)

Radford (2010) recounts the organisation of the anti-Vietnam war *March of Shame* (1967) as one of the last major C100 demonstrations. The march featured floats that included theatrical impersonations of Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Philip, and political figures delivering scripted addresses to a rally in Trafalgar Square. Beforehand, Radford was called to Scotland Yard by the Chief Inspector who banned the event, stating that impersonating the Queen was treason. Radford gleefully informed the press – the ban guaranteeing increased turnout - and the march proceeded without permission. For the march Radford designed a much-reproduced version of the US flag, with stars replaced by swastikas and stripes replaced by lines of bombs.

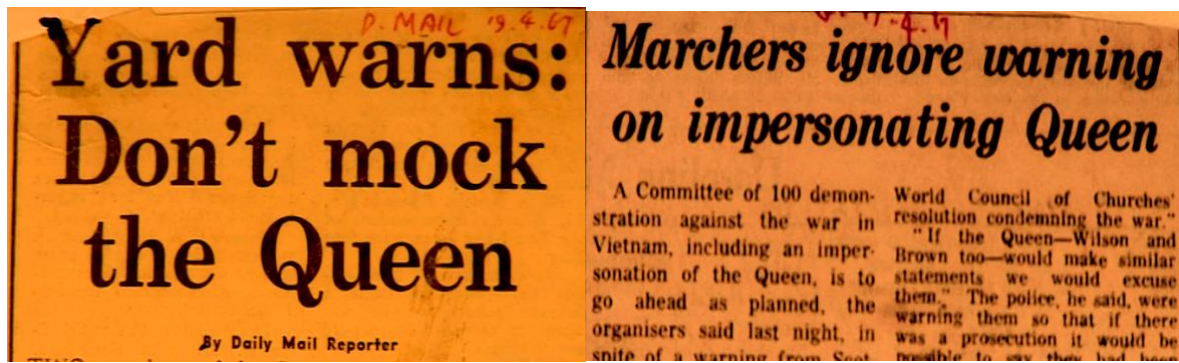


Fig. 42 Press clippings, Daily Mail and Guardian, 1967, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody 2010.

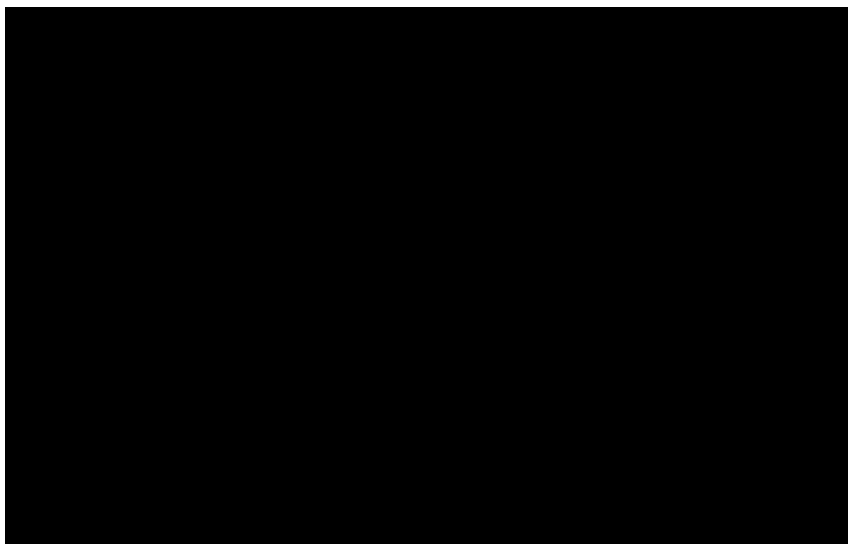
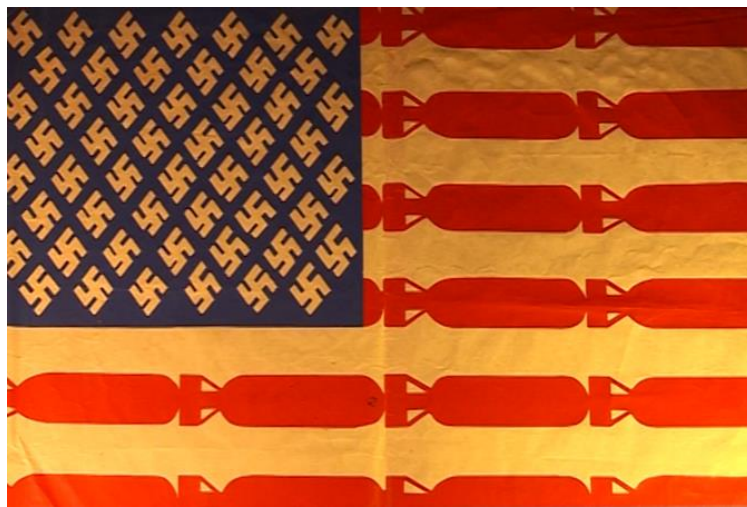


Fig. 43 Swastikas and Bombs US flag placard for March of Shame, 1967, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2010 and film frame of placard during March of Shame, 1967, Associated Press.



Fig. 44 Jim Radford (with microphone), and Kathy Farr as Queen Elizabeth II, March of Shame, 1967, film frame, Associated Press.

#### 6.3.6 Protesting the Greek ‘Colonel’s Coup’ and Occupying the Greek Embassy (1967)

By 1967 the Greek left party PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) was poised to win the May elections. In covert opposition to this, the Greek King, and a separate group of Army Colonels each prepared coups to subvert the will of the majority. The Colonels struck first on April 21<sup>st</sup> installing - with initial Royal support – a military dictatorship that lasted until 1974.

In 1967 London saw immediate public protests at the coup. One film retrieved from the archive of C100 member Ian Hutchison, features a British military Jeep and armoured car complete with two-pounder gun, driving through central London, emblazoned with ‘Free Greece! and ‘Greece! Don’t Holiday there in 1969!’ The vehicles park at an ongoing placard protest outside the Greek tourist office where bemused police officers assess the vehicles and arrest the drivers.



Fig. 45 Jeep and Armoured Car protest, film frames, archive of Ian Hutchison, April 1967.

That week, activists from the C100 and Solidarity joined with Greeks and students from the London School of Economics to plan the occupation of the Greek Embassy for April 28th. This included Randle, Chandler, Weller, Strange, Shelley, Rodker, Ginn, and Bailey. Ralph and Hutchison documented the action on 16mm film from two points of view. Ralph recorded exterior action from a distance. Four demonstrators posing as Easter well-wishers knocked at the Embassy door, proffering bunches of daffodils. As the door opened, 40 activists rushed from a nearby removals van, pushed in and occupied the embassy, intending to display a banner and radio broadcast condemnation of the Colonels' coup from 'Free Greece Radio'.



Fig. 46 Demonstrators entering the Greek Embassy, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1967, filmed by Nic Ralph, archive of Ian Hutchison.

Hutchison's filming begins in the darkened van from where he jumps out, filming with the crowd as they enter the embassy. He films inside and upstairs.



Fig. 47 Ian Hutchison films activists exiting the van, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1967, archive of Ian Hutchison.



Fig. 48 Nic Ralph films Hutchison entering the Greek Embassy, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1967, archive of Ian Hutchison.

Hutchison's unlit interiors were unused and unseen until digital scanning and correction improved image legibility. Cameras show Police arriving quickly and in force, breaking barricaded doors as activists broadcast 'This is Free Greece Radio. Defend Democracy in Greece.' (Shelley, 2020)

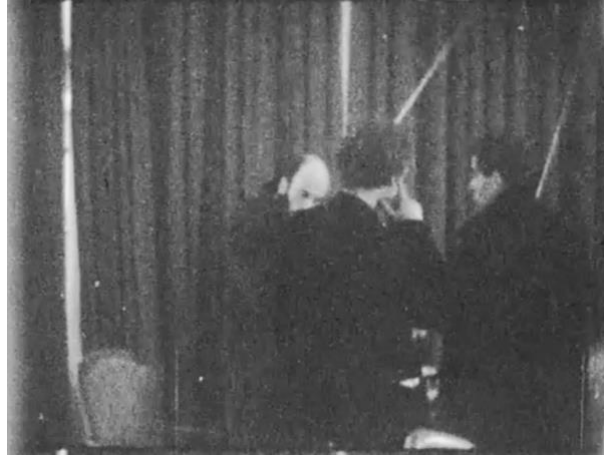


Fig. 49 'Free Greece Radio' left/centre unknown, r. Ken Weller, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1967, archive of Ian Hutchison.



Fig. 50 Police arrival, protestors detained, filmed by Nic Ralph, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1967, archive of Ian Hutchison.

Ginn recalls the police breaking down the doors, with one twisting her arm almost to breaking to force submission of her photo camera, from which he exposed the film roll. (Ginn, 2020). Hutchison had wound his unexposed reel of cinefilm into a can and gave it to Diana Shelley, who, despite being arrested, secreted it in her coat before passing it to her lawyer. (Shelley, 2020)



Fig. 51 Greek Embassy occupation film can, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody 2019.

The exterior film material was processed at ITN, where Ralph and Hutchison had connections and broadcast that night on News at Ten. One frame of the demonstrators entering the embassy featured on the cover of the Daily Express. Press coverage however was generally unsympathetic, accusing demonstrators of damage and violence, charges that all involved reject as police fabrication.

The trial saw the state make examples of three demonstrators: sentencing Chandler to 15 months, Randle 12 months, and Del Foley to 6 months. Chandler and Randle had long been thorns in the side of the establishment, and while the C100 position was that all demonstrators were equally guilty of the same offence, the state again ignored collective responsibility, targeting those with previous convictions. Bailey's extensive research at the British Library for his trial defence led to his discovery of the legal loophole that would enable the 1968 squatting movement.

### 6.3.7 Conclusion of the Committee of 100 (1968)

In 1968 the Committee was officially wound up by its Secretary Peter Cadogan. Carroll (2011) remarks that the C100 slogan to 'fill the jails' proved unrealistic and a weakness, given the state's targeted imprisonment of leading members, such as Chandler, Randle, and others, helped speed its demise. In summary Carroll states that the C100

'introduced a new method of protest to Britain, not only because of their mass NVDA sit-down demonstrations, but also because their campaign efforts were creatively developed over time in response to policing methods. [...] C100 also created an atmosphere which encouraged input from all members for decisions made over campaign direction. [...] C100 was precursory to many subsequent protest campaigns in Britain and a conduit both to the era that later came to be regarded as the rebellious 1960s, and to the eventual rise of identity politics that was to follow.'

(Carroll, 2011, pp. 220-1)

#### 6.4 Spies for Peace (1963)

Spies for Peace was a group of activists, drawn mainly from the Committee of 100 and Solidarity, dissatisfied with established rituals of marching, protesting, sit-downs and arrests. Their aims were expressed in a collectively authored document, in a format notably similar to Solidarity publications, entitled *Beyond Counting Arses* (Brewood Jr. et al., 1963) dated 6 February 1963. This proposed a more subversive non-violent direct activism as ‘Do it yourself politics.’ Nic Ralph confirmed the list of names on this document matches those arrested for questioning at Scotland Yard – though not all were part of the Spies for Peace group. The names of Nicholas and Ruth Walter, who joined that group later, do not feature, and their home was not raided. (Ralph, 2019)

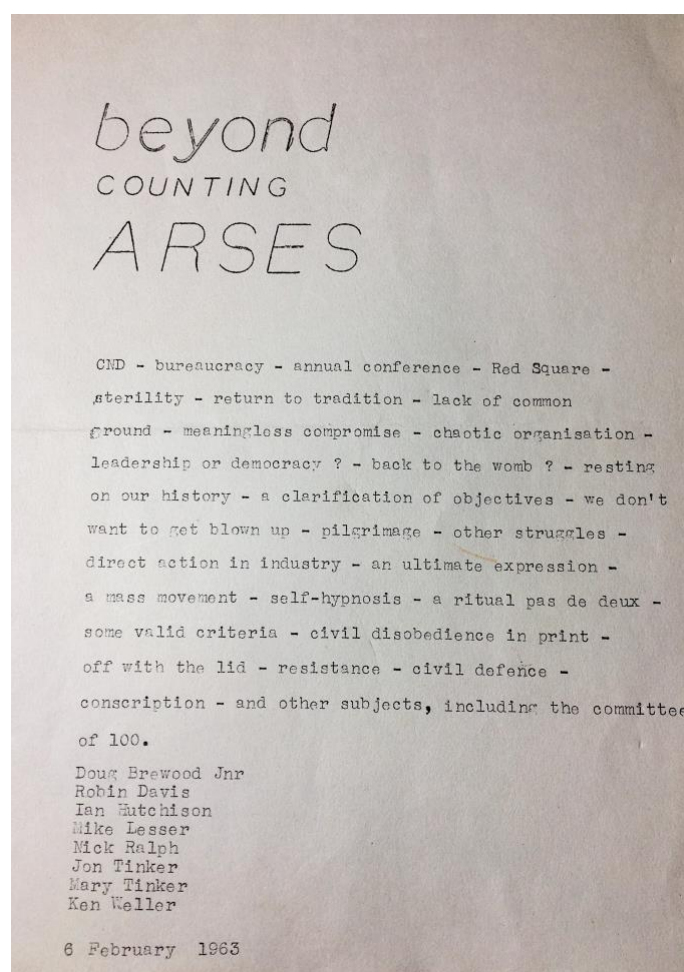


Fig. 52 *Beyond Counting Arses*, 1963, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody 2019.

In filmed interviews Ralph (2019) and Lesser (2015) confirm that on a snowy day in February 1963 they, with Hutchison and Weller, acting on intelligence from an installer of electrical equipment, located Regional Seat of Government 6 (RSG6) and broke in. Prior to this, Bailey (2021) stated that he and an electrician colleague visited the rumoured site but did not enter the enclosure. On the first brief incursion, Ralph, Lesser, Hutchison and Weller recovered documents proving the purpose of a network of secret, hitherto publicly unknown bunkers, designed to shelter selected politicians, civil servants, academics, the military and so on, in the case of nuclear war. The group met and decided what to do.

Lesser states that he “lost his nerve”, eventually leaving for Denmark, to play no further part. (Lesser, 2015) To Sam Carroll in 2006 he stated ‘Labour MPs were calling for, you know, that they\* should be hung. ... if you look at the headlines that were around the time, it was absolutely gut-churning.’ (Carroll, 2011, p. 66). In her 2008 audio interviews with Carroll, Spy for Peace Ruth Walter confirms core group membership of two women and six men. (Walter, 2008) (\*meaning the Spies)

Hutchison, Ralph and Weller returned to RSG6, minus Lesser and plus Nicolas Walter. Making a fuller assessment, they photographed documentation they found there, including lists of names and ranks of those to be sheltered from nuclear attack. They also found the government’s secret report assessing the emergency planning exercise “Fallex ‘62”, which demonstrated how devastating even a very limited nuclear attack would be. The group including Ruth Walter and the other woman then concentrated the materials into a fourteen-page document, with Nic Ralph’s photograph of a snowy RSG 6 on the cover, to publicise the state’s proposed shelter of a privileged minority, while the majority of the population could fend for themselves.

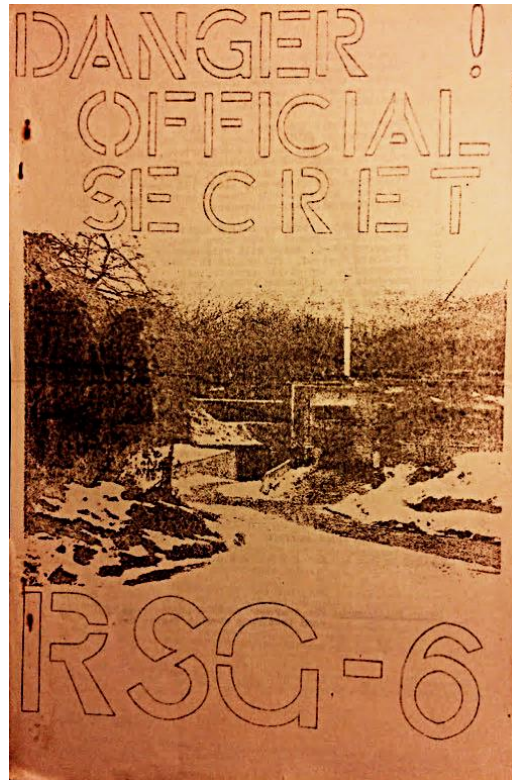


Fig. 53 *Danger! Official Secret RSG-6*, Spies for Peace, 1963, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2021.

Under exacting secrecy, ‘we wore gloves the whole time...drove us bloody mad!’ (Ralph, 2017) the document was assembled and duplicated. 3000 copies were mailed and driven to the media, politicians, and other activists ahead of the 1963 Aldermaston march. Radford and Cadogan produced numerous further copies for the march using hand cranked duplicators. On the morning of the march, Special Branch raided Radford’s home, but the copies had already been distributed. (Radford, 2010) The document achieved wide distribution on the march, during which - against advice of CND organisers - demonstrators broke off to occupy the exterior of RSG6, as recounted by Shelley, Ruth Walter and Radford and documented by ITN. Although the British government placed a ‘D-Notice’ to deter reporting of the document, media coverage was legally enabled when Czech radio broadcast a reading of the entire document.

Post-Aldermaston, Ralph, fearing arrest, left for Paris, to find on arrival that *La Nouvelle France Observateur* had reproduced extracts in excellent facsimile.



Fig. 54-56 *La Nouvelle France Observateur*, April 18th 1963, archive of Nic Ralph, Paul Moody 2019.

Despite police camera and telephone surveillance, Special Branch raids, arrests, and interrogations of suspects, no prosecutions ensued. Ralph refers to Cabinet Papers obtained by Weller that revealed the government's position. Prosecution would only increase damaging publicity with little chance of success, primarily because the data in '*Danger! Official Secret*' derived from verifiable state documents, and public opinion would likely view the state's position as morally, not to mention literally, indefensible.

Correspondence retrieved from the archive of Ian Hutchison also shows links between Solidarity and the Situationists. Both were connected to Socialisme ou Barbarie, as was the Situationist's leading theorist Guy Debord. In using the British state's own documents to demonstrate its iniquity, the Spies for Peace enacted 'detournement' – the hijacking or diverting material from its usual course or purpose. (Debord and Wolman, 1956)

In October 1963 Situationists in Odense, Denmark staged an exhibit recycling *Danger! Official Secret*, creating the atmosphere of an atomic shelter, publishing maps of nuclear war megadeaths and commending the Spies for revealing:

'...the degree already attained by state power in its ... establishment of a totalitarian functioning of authority. ... to salute and extend this first attack against the ruling organization of social space, we have organized this "Destruction of RSG-6" demonstration in Denmark.' (Debord et al., 1963)

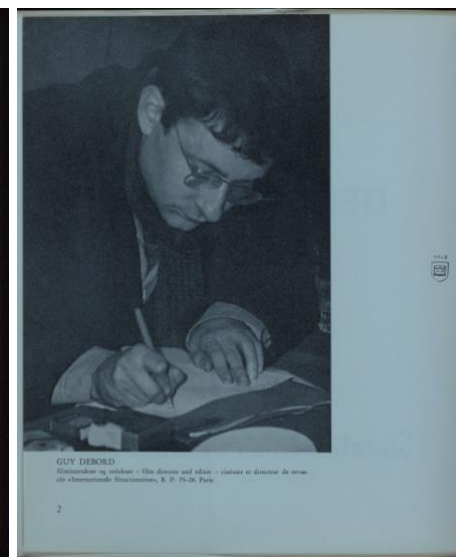
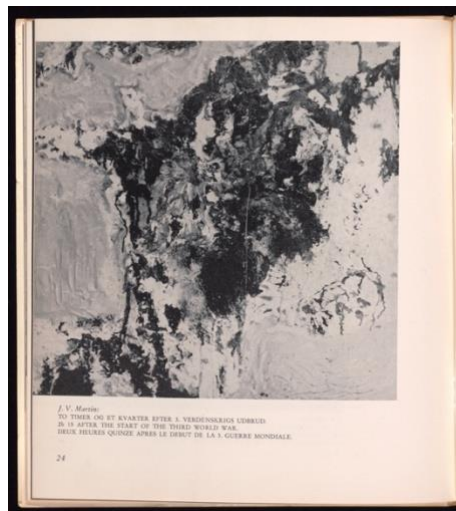
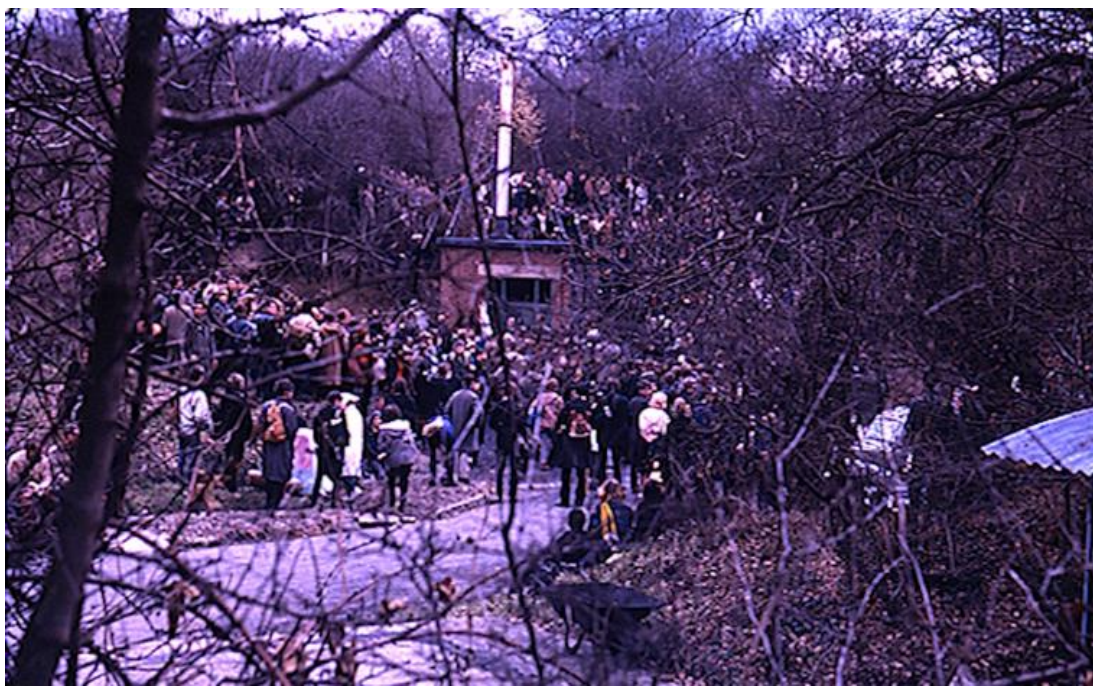


Fig 57-62 Excerpts from *Destruction of RSG 6, A Collective Manifestation of the Situationist International*, Odense, 1963.

As noted, *Danger! Official Secret RSG-6* (Spies for Peace, 1963) inspired a literal detournement when a section of marchers left the official CND route to assemble at RSG6.



Figs. 63-64 Aldermaston marchers at RSG6, April 13<sup>th</sup> 1963, photographers unknown.

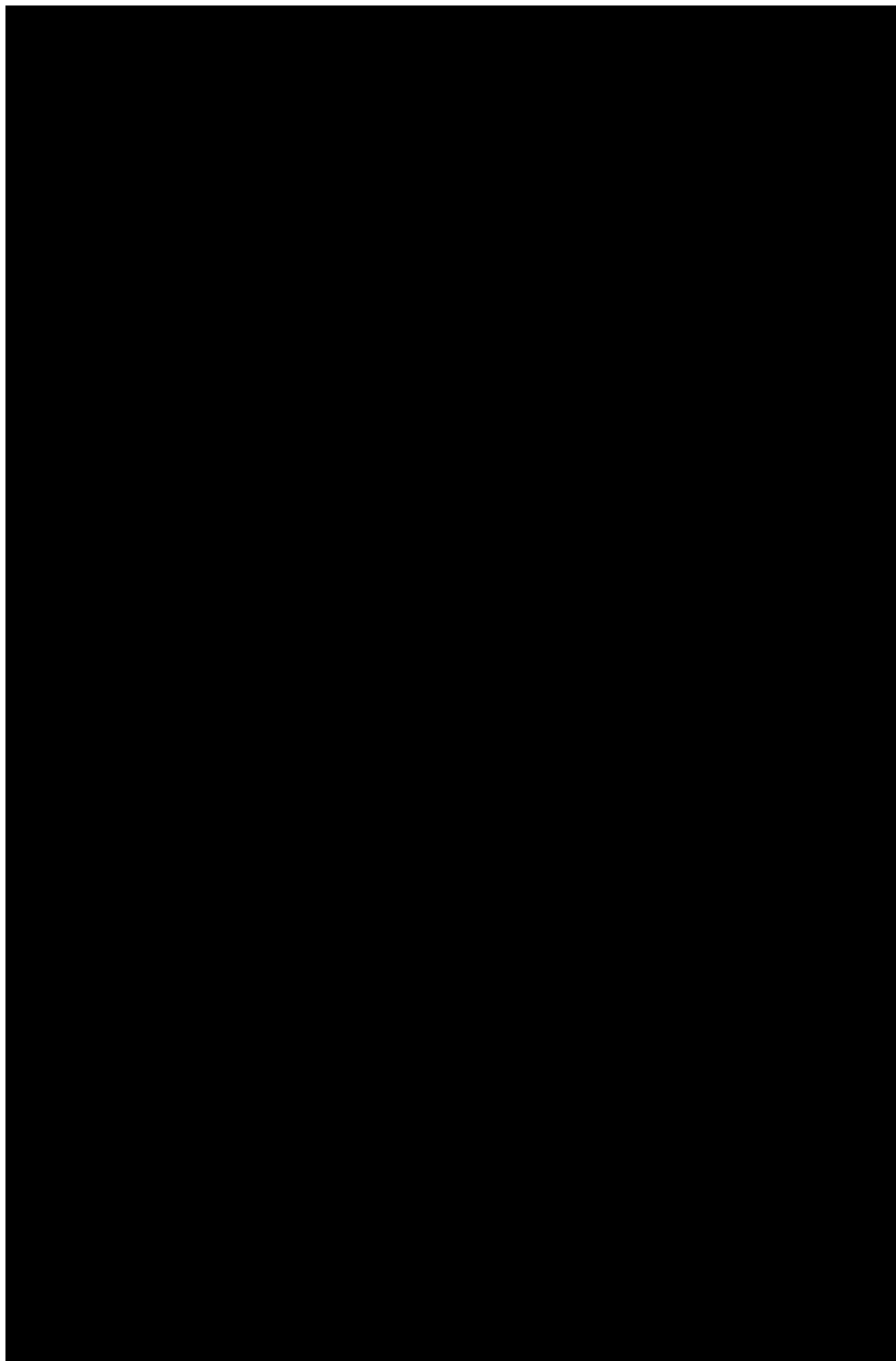


Fig. 65-72 Frames from ITN news film showing Aldermaston Marchers detouring from authorised CND route onto the grounds of RSG6, Warren Row, April 13<sup>th</sup> 1963, ITN/Getty Images.

The person pictured above in leather coat and beret is Peter Cadogan, future secretary of the C100, was like Radford, one entrusted by Ruth Walter to further duplicate *Danger! Official Secret*. While maintaining he was not one of the Spies, Cadogan acted as unofficial spokesperson, a distraction Ruth Walter appreciated. (Walter, 2008) In September 1963 anarchist Nicholas Walter produced the Solidarity pamphlet below.

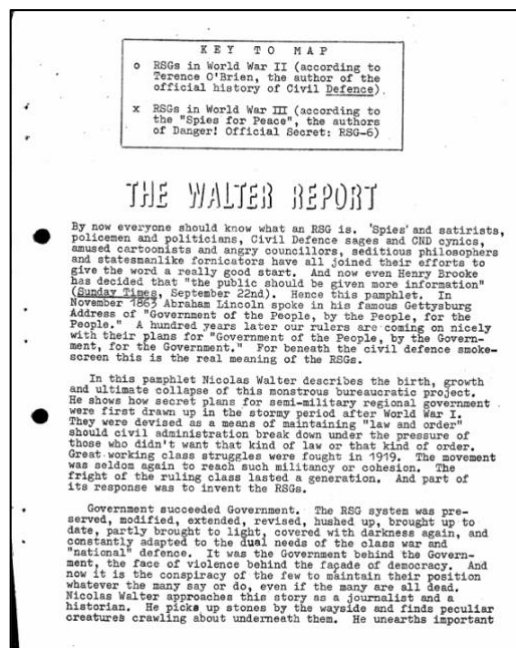
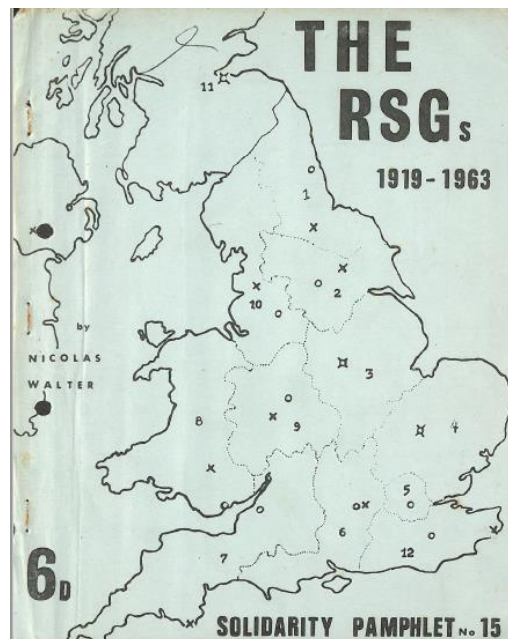


Fig. 73 *The RSGs 1918-1963*, Solidarity Pamphlet no. 15, September 1963, by Nicolas Walter, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody 2020.

## 6.5 House the Homeless! (1963-74)

### 6.5.1 The Hostels Campaign (1963)

Of the activists documented, Bailey, Radford, Strange and Andy Anderson (who predeceased this research) were prominently active in the campaign to oppose, publicise and relieve inadequate public solutions for housing problems that for decades had caused misery for those who were as Bailey stated, with reference to Orwell – ‘Down and out in thehovels of England.’ (Bailey, 1973, p.7) Solidarity member Bailey reports that this group published the detailed document ‘Homeless! “Half-way House” Tenants Speak Out’ (Solidarity, 1963) made ‘largely by homeless people themselves... the first link between the peace movement and the social movement.’ (Bailey, 2017)

This is a critical humanist documentation of first person accounts of families housed in terrible conditions in government homeless hostels such as Newington Lodge, where demonstrations took place in 1963. Their 1960s campaigning drew on the mass squatting of returning homeless military and their families between 1946-48 (Bailey, 1973, p. 21).

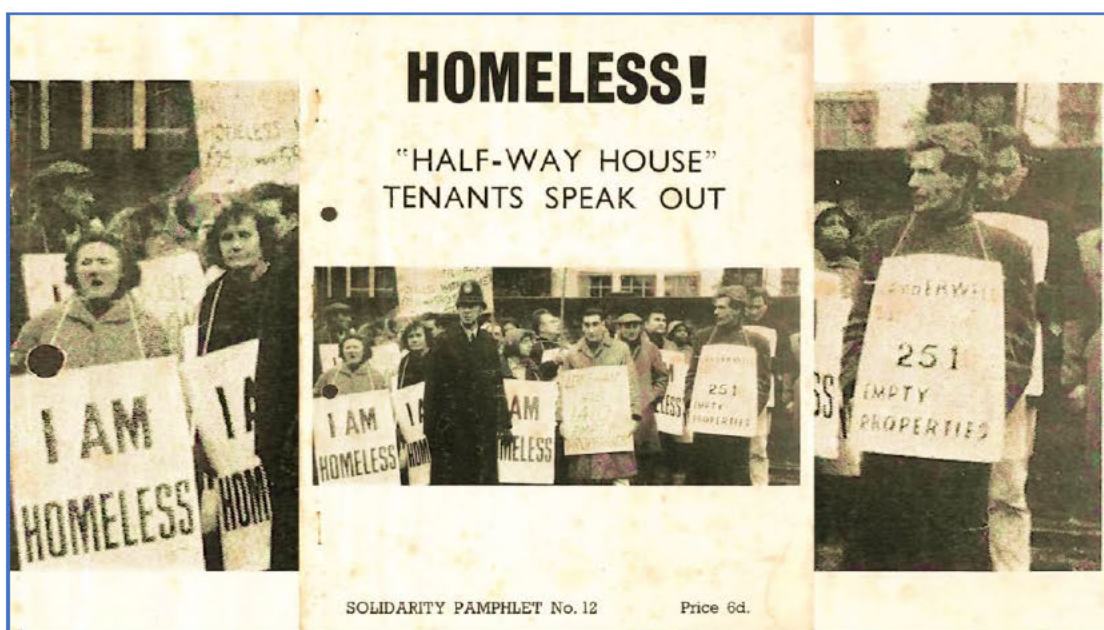


Fig. 74 *Homeless!* Solidarity Pamphlet No. 12, 1963 in *Acts of Resistance House the Homeless!* assembly by Paul Moody, 2023.

### 6.5.2 The Friends of King Hill (1966-67)

The Friends of King Hill was a campaign support group to help occupants of King Hill Hostel for the Homeless resist and overturn unreasonable institutional rules in an isolated and decaying former RAF camp near West Malling, Kent. Solidarity activist and Friend of King Hill Heather Strange (previously Russell) describes it.

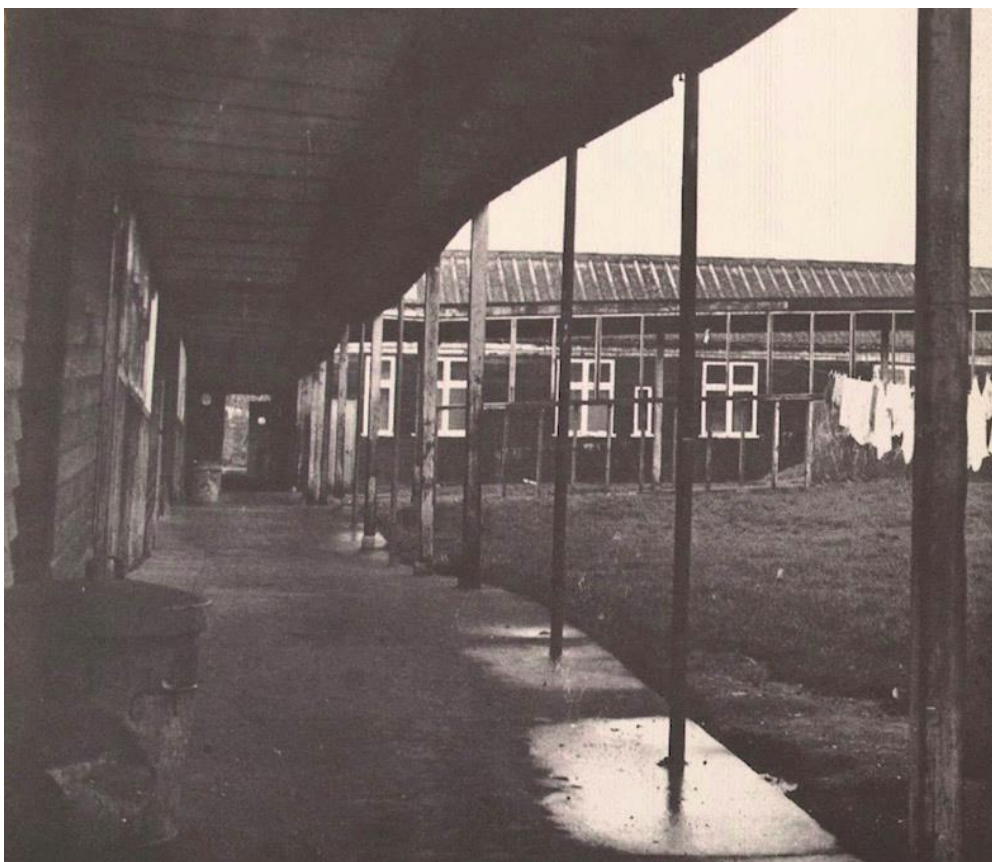


Fig. 75 King Hill Hostel, 1966, photographer unknown.

‘Cold, rat infested, no heating, no hot water, pretty desolate, with no good transport system at all. Those women were living in appalling circumstances with their children, no access to dentists or doctors... There were babies there.’ (Strange, 2017)



Fig 76 Heather Strange (Solidarity), Paul Moody, 2017.



Fig. 77 Children at barricades, *Friends of King Hill vs KCC: Kent Homeless Win!* Solidarity 1967.

Women and children were only granted accommodation for three months while husbands and older boys were barred from staying overnight, resulting in their sleeping rough or living in cars. This contributed to familial breakup and numerous children being taken into care. Some husbands ignored the rules and stayed with their families.

Kent County Council prosecuted husbands caught staying overnight and jailed two men. Referencing Dicken’s Pickwick Papers, the judge dubbed the case, “Dingley Dell” which the press repeated.



Fig. 78 King Hill press clippings, 1966, archive of Jim Radford, assembly by Paul Moody, 2021.

Joan Daniels wrote to the Kent and South London Press to protest her husband’s imprisonment. This motivated Andy Anderson of Solidarity to offer help and visit the camp. He, along with Radford, Strange, Bailey and others offered support. Radford recounted their offer of solidarity: “Some of us may go to jail, and it may be you and it may be us, but whatever happens, we will not abandon you.” (Radford, 2010)

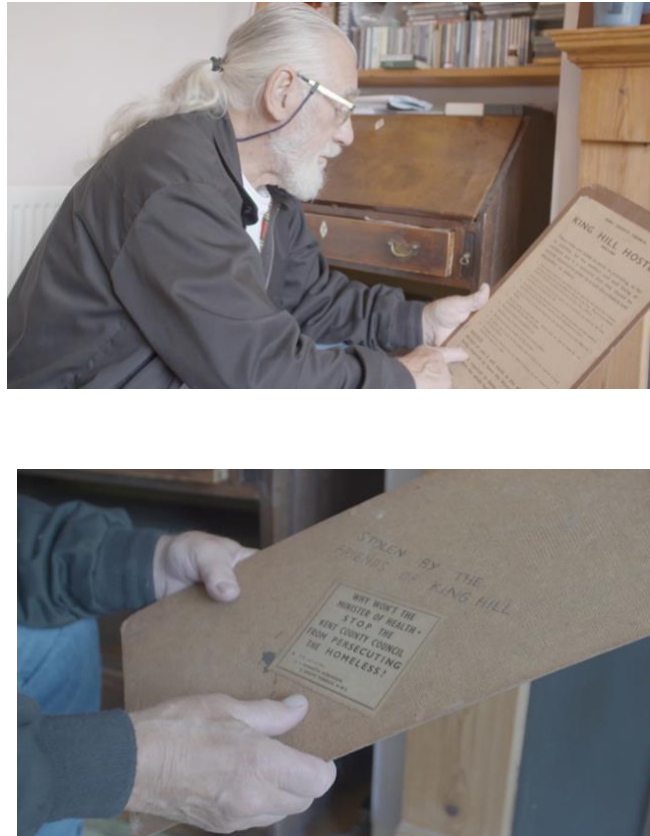


Fig. 79 Jim Radford, 2018, with stolen King Hill Hostel rules, Paul Moody, 2018.

While the immediate aim was to help the occupants improve their living conditions and fight their case, the wider objective was to generate sufficient publicity and debate so that central government would order local authorities throughout the country to end these discriminatory practices. The situation was but one example of a nationwide failure of local and regional councils to observe and implement the recommendations of the 1948 National Assistance Act. The newly created Friends of King Hill then invited and searched for the excluded husbands and helped them move in *en masse* to occupy the camp, demanding ‘the official repeal of the two inhuman rules and the improvement of conditions at the hostel.’ (Bailey, 1973, p. 25)



Fig. 80 Daily Mirror, October 31<sup>st</sup> 1966, British Newspaper Archive.

For the next eleven months the King Hill residents and Friends sustained their activities, the Friends giving solidarity, campaigning know-how, press and media contacts, and access to means of communication and publication.

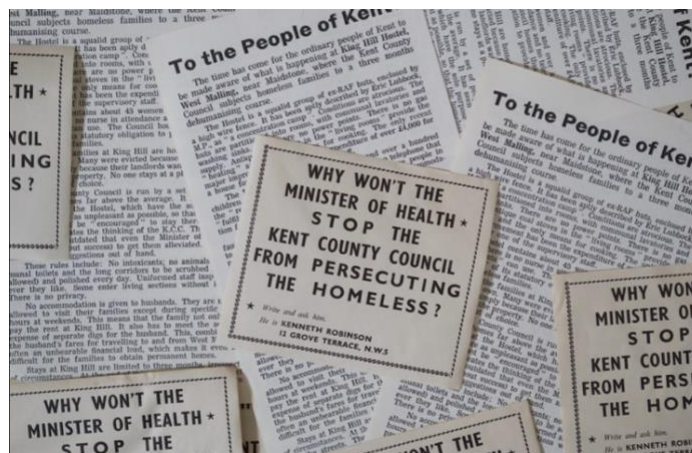


Fig. 81 King Hill artefacts, 1966, archive of Jim Radford, assembly by Paul Moody 2021.

Court cases were contested, police raids resisted, a housing office was invaded and leafleted, and both the Government Housing Minister and the Kent Director of Housing had their homes picketed by the families and the Friends. Extensive press coverage resulted, more sympathetic than negative. The families asked Kent County Council to impose a speed limit and crossing for their children to negotiate a dangerous road to get safely to school, but the council took no action. Subsequently a young girl was knocked down and killed.





Fig. 84 Frames from ITN news film of homeless families and the Friends of King Hill visiting the Housing Minister's home in Highgate, London, 1965, Getty Images.

Solidarity documents include *KCC versus The Homeless The King Hill Campaign* (Solidarity, 1967) stamped with 'Kent Homeless Win!' Radford's archive includes numerous print and graphic creations, such as "The Friends of King Hill News", press releases; stickers, and the first of Radford's radical Christmas cards. This first one he sent to the Queen as well as the press, generating publicity.



Fig. 85 King Hill Christmas Card, 1965, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody 2021.

The eleven-month campaign of direct action by homeless families and the Friends of King Hill was instrumental in persuading Kent County Council and then others to rescind the three-month limit and the rule barring husbands and male children over the age of fourteen.

The government issued a circular to all local and regional councils regarding the overnight stay ruling, and that they must properly observe the 1948 National Assistance Act.

‘...they gave in completely. They improved conditions, they scrapped the nine-month rule, husbands were then allowed to move in with their wives. From that other struggles developed, similar types of battles in other places. In Abridge they caved in *because* of King Hill. King Hill was the battle that started the struggle of homeless people against these kinds of poor laws, and it won.’ (Bailey, 2017)



Fig. 86 Ron Bailey, Paul Moody, 2017.

‘As the Observer later remarked, the campaign had achieved in twelve months what twelve years of Government admonishment to the Kent County Council had failed to achieve. It was a victory for direct action.’ (Bailey, 1973, p. 26)

### 6.5.3 The Squatters (1968-74)

As noted, Bailey's legal research for his trial defence regarding the Greek Embassy occupation revealed the Forcible Entry Act of 1831 as a legal loophole that might enable 'Squatting' - the occupation of empty properties. In 1968 such occupation was a *civil* offence - *not* criminal - and property owners must obtain a court order to remove the named squatters. Forcible removal of squatters 'with strong hand or multitude of people' (Bailey, 1973, p. 48) was itself an offence. Furthermore, there was the relatively successful example of the 1945 'Vigilante Movement' of homeless post-war returning military who had occupied a wide range of empty properties, from 1000 military camps and then luxury properties in London. Government figures in October 1946 report 39,535 squatters in England and Wales, and 4000 in Scotland. (Bailey, 1973, p. 22) I recorded Ron reading aloud the quotes in this section from 'The Squatters' but use the page numbers for ease of reference. Widespread concern from public and politicians regarding increasing homelessness and slum landlordism – both private and council run - led Bailey and others to direct action, including marches, pickets, demonstrations in council chambers and taking homeless families and children to play on the lawns of the homes of housing officers.

The BBC1 television drama 'Cathy Come Home' (Loach and Sandford, 1966) instrumental in the formation of the housing charity Shelter, was repeated on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

Despite the problem's increasing profile and its significance for politicians and campaigners Bailey describes a worsening housing situation 'By the end of 1968 local authority housing lists in London alone increased from 100,000 to 160,000' – the list being comprised of people awaiting a local authority home. (Bailey, 1973, pp. 30-31)

A diverse group involving anarchists, Solidarists, unattached libertarians, young liberals and non-political activists met at Bailey's flat and formed The London Squatters Campaign. On December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1968, the group's first action was a token squat— up to four hours - of the Hollies, a block of luxury flats in Wanstead, east London. Press and television were informed in advance. The police and property owner were legally and practically unable to remove the protestors from the roof from where they had hung their banner, threw leaflets, and addressed the people below.

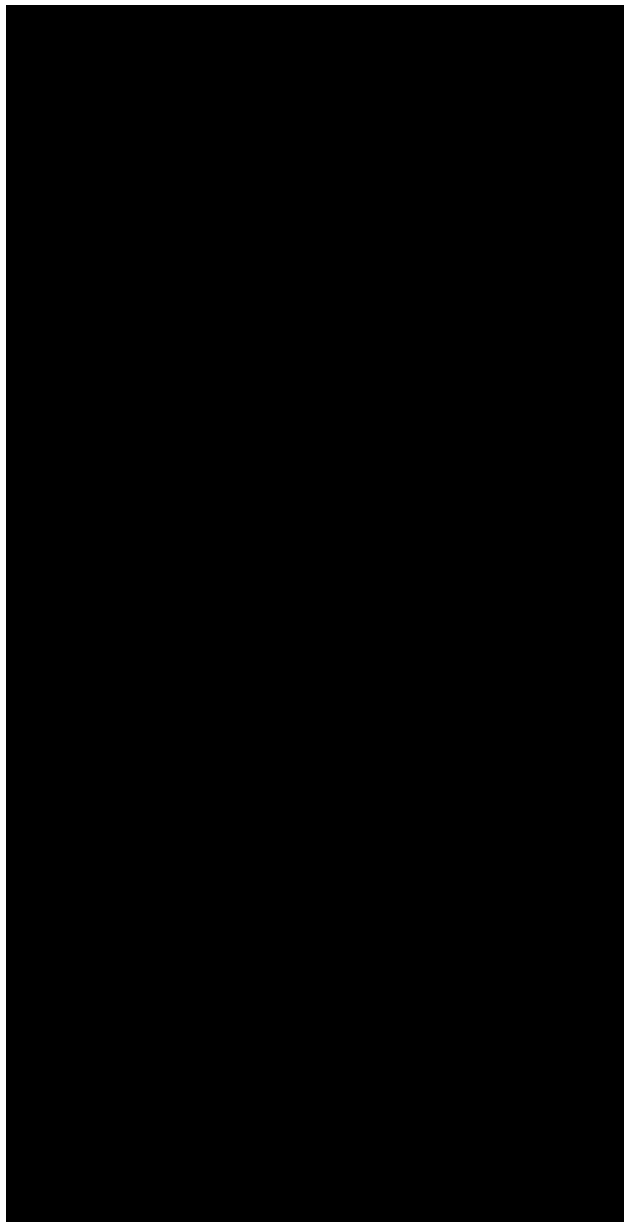


Fig. 87 The London Squatting movement begins with a leaflet drop at 'The Hollies', December 1st 1968, photograph: *The Daily Telegraph*.



Figs. 88-91 ITN news film frames, 'London Squatters' at 'The Hollies' December 1<sup>st</sup> 1968. Bottom right Fig. 91 Andy Anderson is interviewed. Getty Images.

The London Squatters descended to awaiting press and television reporters.

'Never in our wildest dreams did we anticipate the amount of coverage we received ...something like 250 calls ... nearly all the publicity was sympathetic and a least a dozen pressmen asked to come to our next meeting.' (Bailey, 1973, p. 40)

Radford was woken by a live on-air call from Canadian Radio seeking an interview. (Radford, 2010) The Guardian quoted the 1966 census, proving 500,000 empty houses, while the Financial Times noted 5000 empty properties owned by the Greater London Council. (Bailey, 1973, p. 40) Ian Hutchison, who had been active in the Friends of King Hill campaign, filmed the group's first weekend occupation of a large vicarage in East London as Squatters Arrival (sic). This 'could have housed several families and had been empty for years.' (Radford, 2010) Requests to the Church for the Vicarage to house homeless families, as Christmas approached, had been ignored.



Figs. 92-99 Frames from Hutchison's film *Squatters Arrival*, 21<sup>st</sup>- 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1968, archive of Ian Hutchison. From top left to right: Squatters occupy empty vicarage on 21<sup>st</sup>; Taxi carrying activists arrives on 22<sup>nd</sup>; Occupied Vicarage; Policeman and banner; Police arrest Radford and student despite crowd protests, Royal Mail van drives through the banner and crowd.

Hutchison's mute, black and white 16mm film shows the 'entry party' of Squatters which included homeless people from the Council Buildings; an early police presence, the late arrival of Bailey and other activists with banner and supplies in a taxi after Bailey's van had broken down; the arrest of Radford and one other for 'assaulting a police officer'.

Radford, throwing bedding up to the vicarage windows recounts that 'the string from one of the sleeping bags brushed his helmet and so he says "Gotcha! Assaulting a police officer' and promptly arrested me.'" (Radford, 2010) Hutchison's film records the squatters' attempts to block the arrest, and hold back the departing van, which dangerously accelerates to break through the cordon. This minor brush with the law – which saw Radford acquitted, and another who sprang to his aid guilty of a minor offence - was indicative of things to come.

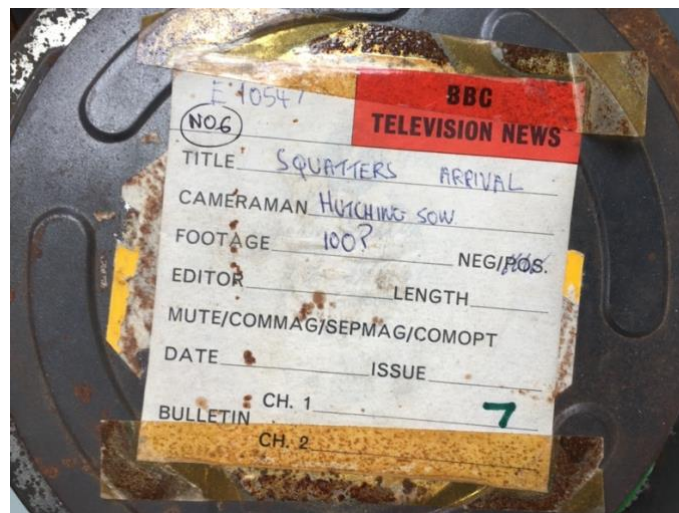


Fig. 100 Original film can, *Squatters Arrival*, archive of Ian Hutchison, December 1969, Paul Moody 2019.

While the pictured film can is labelled with 'BBC Television news' I found no other evidence to suggest that Hutchison was working on a BBC commission.

Although this first weekend occupation gained far less media attention than the token squat of the Hollies, Bailey and Radford regarded it as valuable rehearsal for more ambitious occupations already planned for Redbridge beginning on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1969. These would culminate first on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1969 where squatters organised to defeat Redbridge Council's brutally violent private army of bailiffs, and then take protracted legal action that, in conjunction with direct action, eventually persuaded Redbridge council to make properties available to the squatters through housing associations. This process took until Spring 1972. The Squatters generated and involved significant press, television and radio coverage, regional, national, and international. As the following mailing list demonstrates they were able to directly access a diversity of press and broadcasters as well as fellow activists and influential figures.

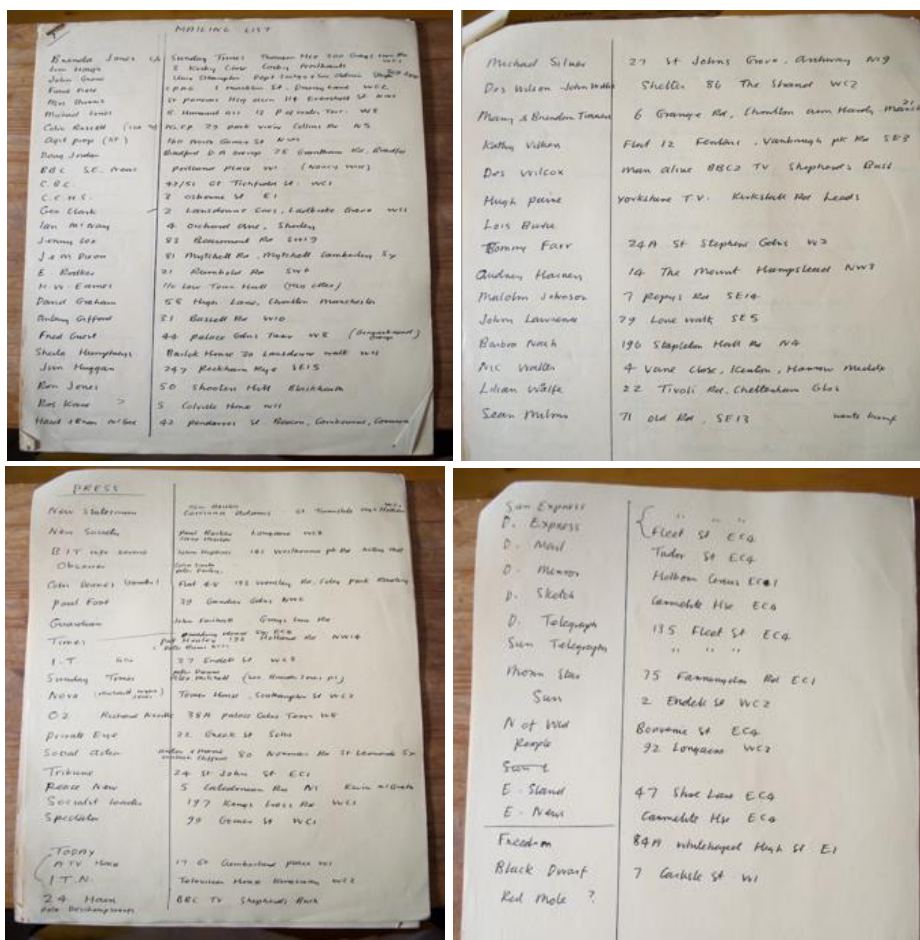
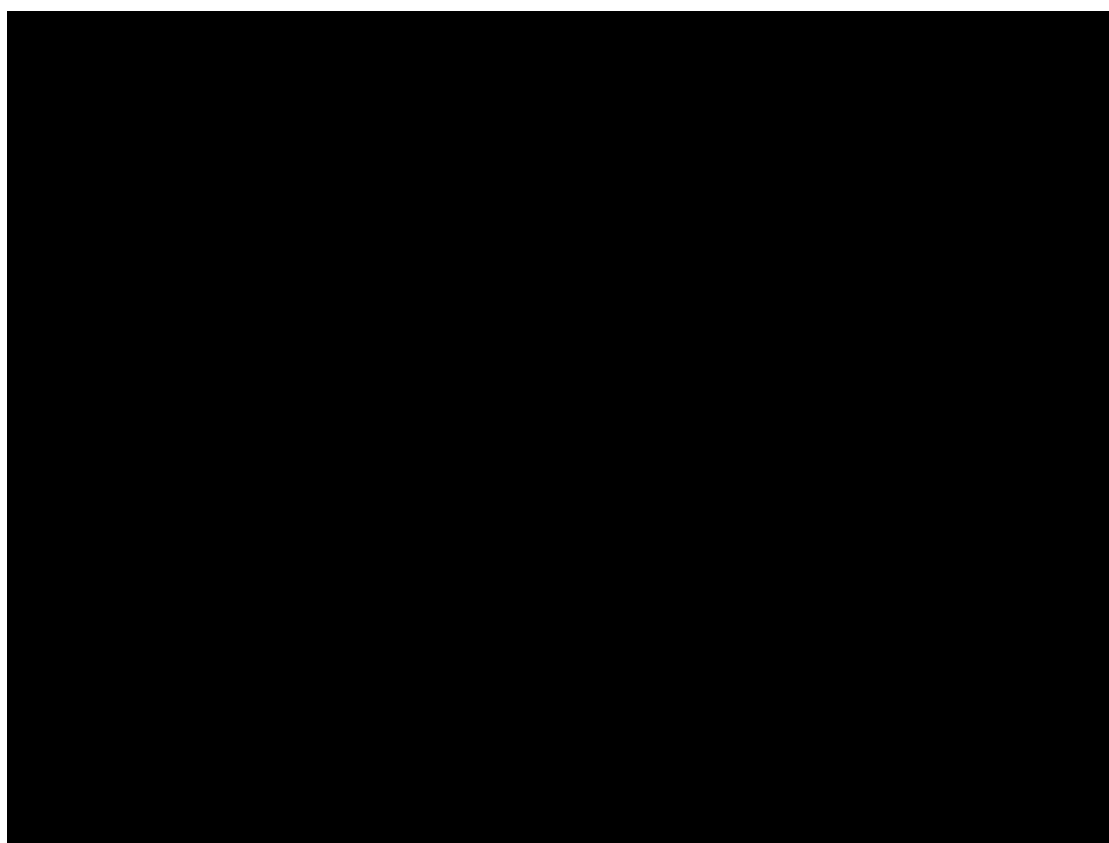


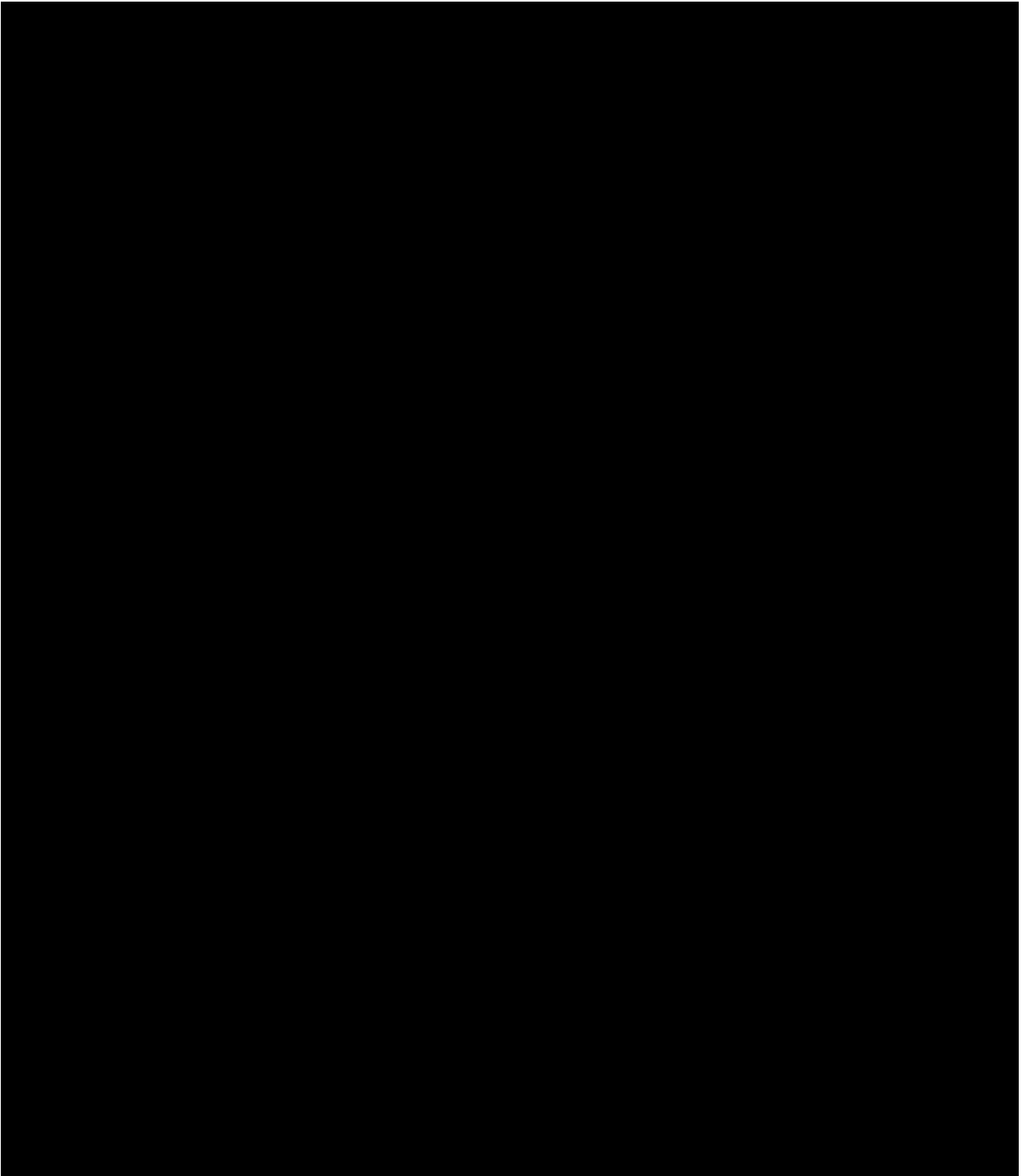
Fig. 101 Mailing List, c. 1960s, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2021.

Television coverage included news, current affairs, and participation in debate programmes. That programme makers and activists were collaborating is notable in an unfinished ‘cutting copy’ of ‘The Squatters Part 1’ (Wilcox, 1969) an episode of *Man Alive*, supplied by the BBC. Filmmakers documented preparations, demonstrations, and occupations. This programme is a sympathetic mix of observational documentary and interviewer-led current affairs that constitutes a ‘making-with’ activists. Bailey notes that the BBC crew

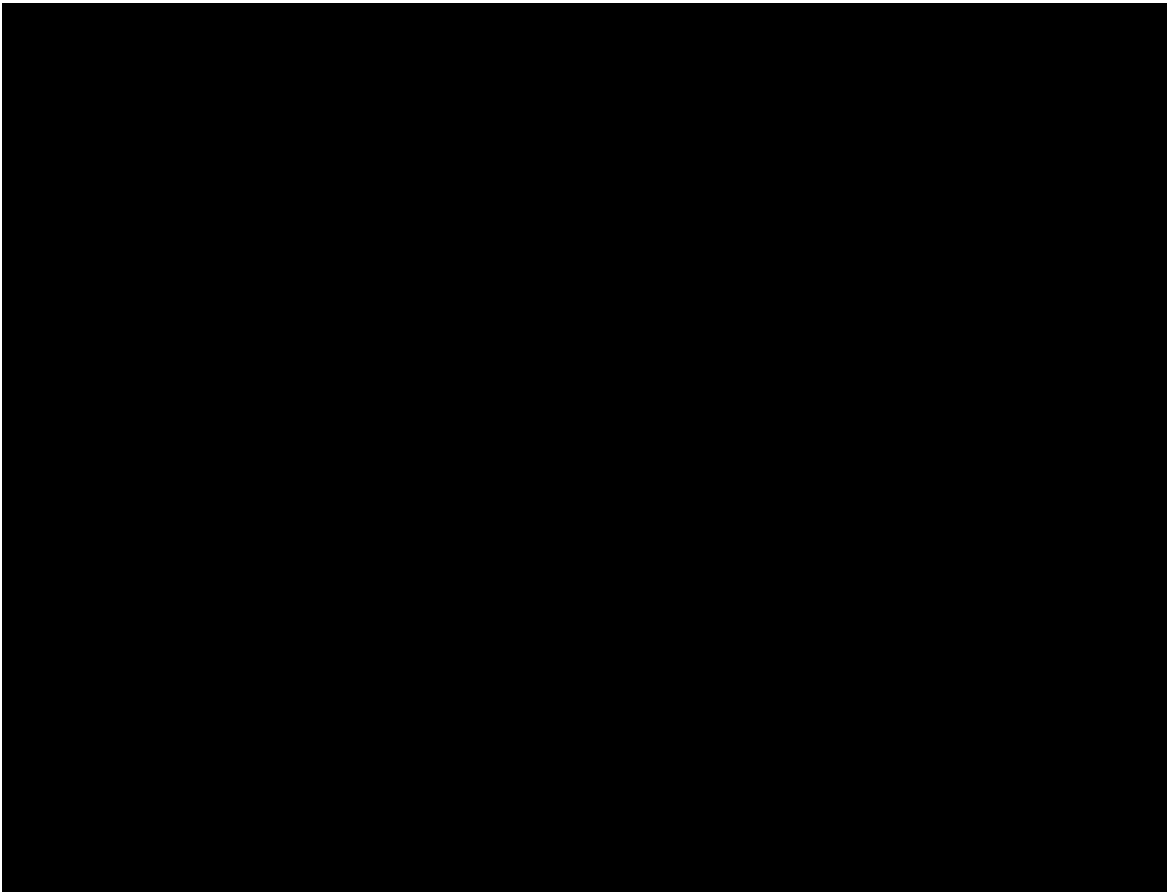
‘extensively filmed the preparations for the squat ... they continued to cover virtually every move we made. ...there is nothing more calculated to embarrass local authorities than a television camera constantly focused on them.’ (Bailey, 1973, pp. 54-55)



Figs. 102-105 London Squatters in Redbridge, February 1969, film frames from BBC *Man Alive: The Squatters*, 1969, From top left: Ron Bailey explains the process to the McNally family; At night, in snow, the Squatters move the McNally’s possessions to the squat; Mrs McNally explains the barricade; the Squat the next day.



Figs. 106-111 London Squatters in Redbridge, February 1969, film frames from the BBC *Man Alive: The Squatters*, 1969. From top left: Ron Bailey arguing with a Police officer; Mrs Beresford and children in a hostel awaiting their squat; Notting Hill squatter Maggie O'Shannon addresses demonstrators; The March; The sewing of a banner; Squatters' fly poster on squatted home.



Figs. 112-115 Frames from 'The Squatters' *Man Alive*, BBC and ITN News, February 1969, from top left: Ron Bailey and other squatters take over an empty house in Redbridge; Angry confrontation between a South London Squatter and Greenwich Council Officers; Frame from ITN News of the march to the squatted houses, Getty Images.

Radford and Bailey's success in publicising the family squatting movement's activities is shown in the volume of media interest this campaign attracted, both in the UK and abroad. This included current affairs documentaries and news coverage from the BBC and ITV, Cinema Action's documentary, plus UK press coverage. Radford was invited to Germany for a Bayerischer Rundfunk (Bavarian Broadcasting) discussion on squatting, after that broadcaster had made a documentary on the Squatters in London. Bailey (1973) records television crews arriving from Australia and the Soviet Union, while Radford's archive contains a 'thank-you' note and £21.00 campaign donation (£505 in 2023) from Japanese Broadcasting Corporation NHK.

Extensive media productions, demonstrably made *with* activists and often sympathetic in tone are striking from a contemporary perspective. Journalists from the pre-Murdoch *Sunday Times* and conservative *Evening Standard* stayed overnight in a barricaded squat to gain insiders' views of the campaign. Both produced accurate and sympathetic pieces.

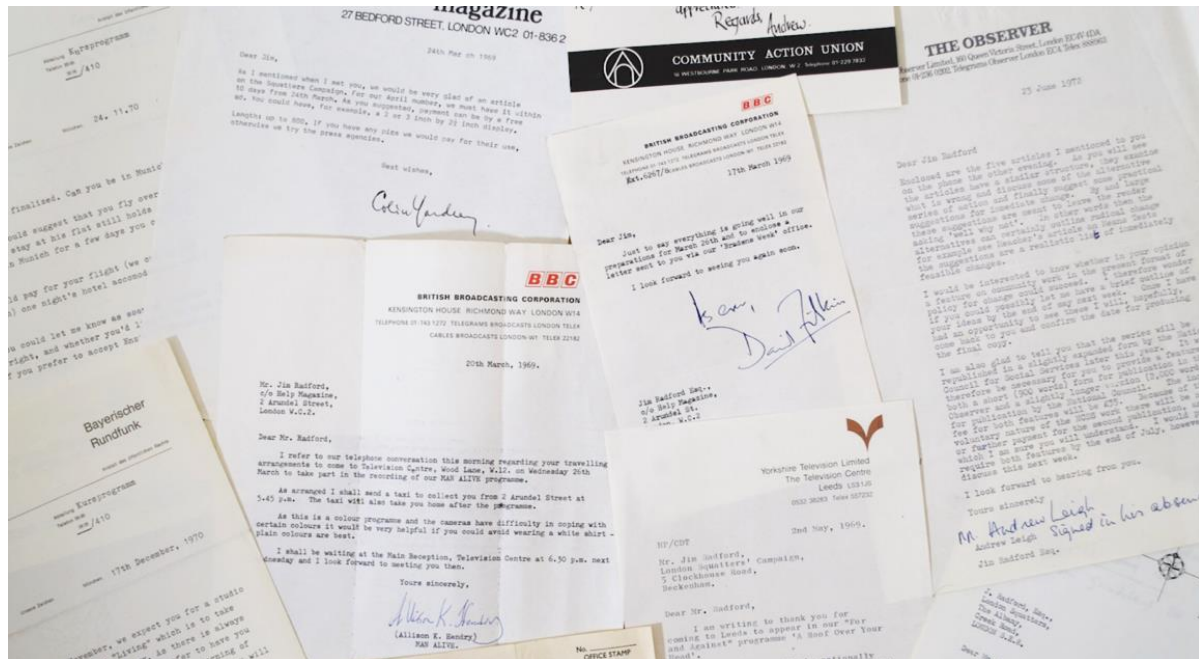


Fig. 116 Squatters' Media Correspondence, archive of Jim Radford, assembly by Paul Moody 2021.

### Regarding June 1969 Bailey further recounts

'...full television crew plus equipment arrived; ...old friends from Thames Television 'Today' ...dozens of other news items... American press and radio, Australian television ... leaders in the national press – Guardian 26 June, The Sun 26 June, Daily Sketch 26, Evening Standard 27 – condemning them ... Redbridge council had to do something.' (Bailey, 1973, pp. 89-95)

The story lived because the politics was being lived and the activists were producing effective publicity such as the 46-page pamphlet 'Evicted'. (Bailey, Conn and Mahoney, 1969)

This thorough document contained sworn affidavits, arguing a strong legal and moral case for squatting families facing Redbridge Council's bureaucratic callousness towards vulnerable people, their illegal evictions, and deployment of brutally aggressive bailiffs.

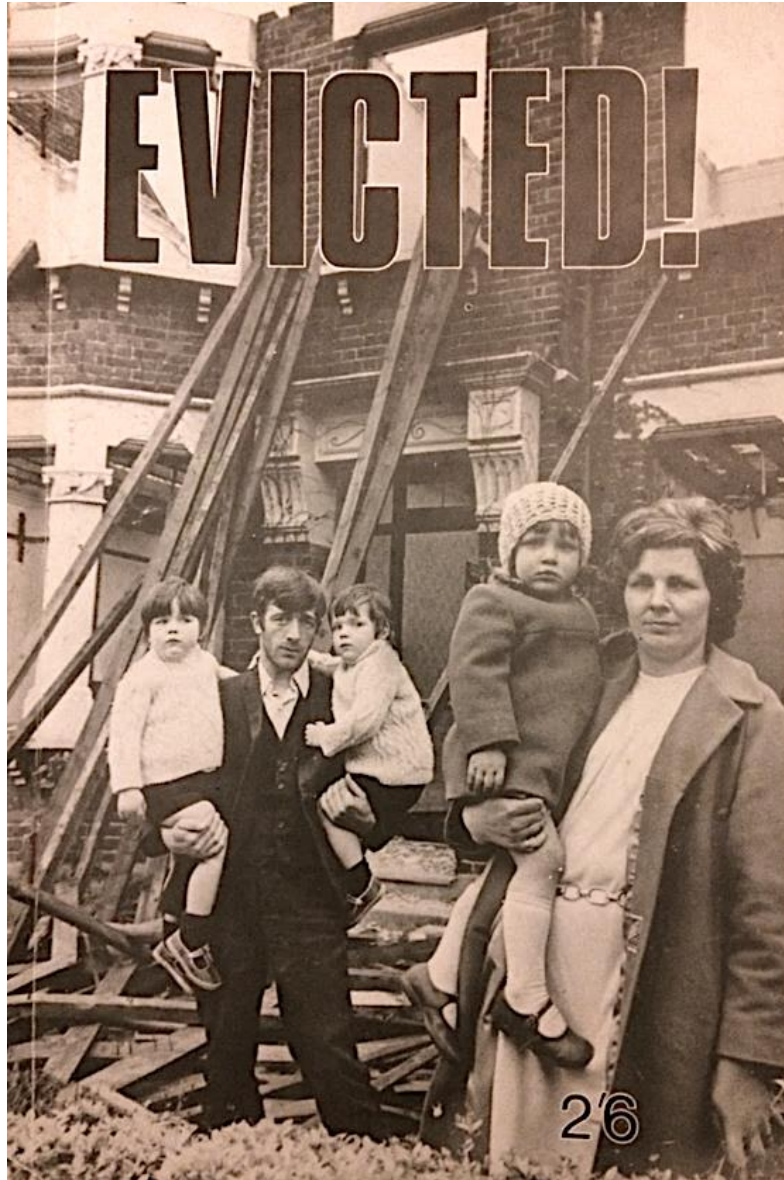


Fig. 117 *Evicted!* pamphlet, 1969, archive of Ian Hutchison, Paul Moody, 2019.

*Evicted* was launched at a press conference and ‘the twenty column-inch write up on page 3 of the Times of 14 June, which included an address from which people could obtain the pamphlet, exceeded our wildest expectations.’ (Bailey, 1973, p. 83). The Times and other media outlets continued to feature the story. Bailey, as a former Committee of 100 member, was usually committed to non-violent direct-action, although when his glasses were broken by council-hired bailiff Barry Quartermain, he did – in self-defence - black the bailiff’s eye.



Figs. 118-121 Press clippings from *Ilford Pictorial*, *Guardian*, *Daily Express*, *Morning Star* 23<sup>rd</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> June, 1969, archive of Ron Bailey, Paul Moody 2017.

Redbridge Council's employing extremely violent private bailiffs increased sympathy for the Squatters' cause. Bailey (1973) and Radford (2010) state that these armed, helmeted gangs threw bricks through windows and assaulted people with iron bars – causing a miscarriage and smashing a jaw – creating a climate of fear that saw some squatters having breakdowns.



Fig. 122 Hired by Redbridge Council, Quartermain's bailiffs attack Woodlands Road, 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1969, press photo, photographer unknown.

The squatters re-organised, barricaded the occupied houses, and repelled the attacks of June 25<sup>th</sup> by dropping bricks and car batteries from the windows. Bailey stated: “It was the only time in my political career that I have ever used violence...we gave the bastards a fucking good hiding.” (Bailey, 2017) Radford recalls bailiffs charging through one front door only to fall into the gap left by the squatters’ removal of the floorboards. He also stopped one activist he discovered making petrol bombs. (Radford, 2010)

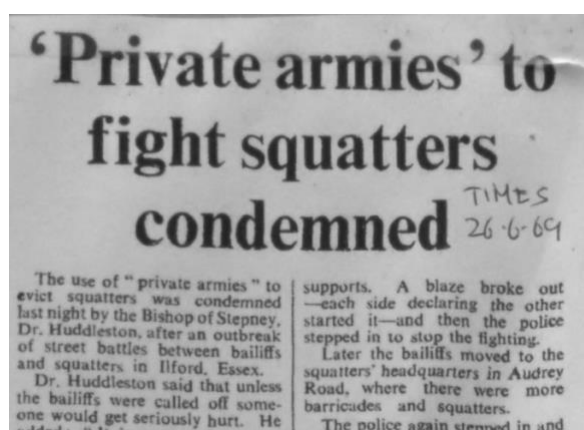


Fig. 123 Press clipping, *The Times*, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1969, archive of Ron Bailey.

By early 1971, after lengthy occupations and legal challenges Redbridge Council agreed to give empty houses for the homeless via a housing association. The council had its redevelopment plan rejected by the Secretary of State, and the case against the illegal evictions was won - proving that court orders were required to remove squatters. As noted, the councils, Conservative controlled Lewisham, Tower Hamlets, Greenwich, Camden, and the Greater London Council, did deals with the Squatters and handed over significant short-term properties, usually administered by housing associations. Labour councillors in Lewisham opposed the deal there ‘on the basis that the Tories were selling out to the anarchists.’ (Bailey, 2017)

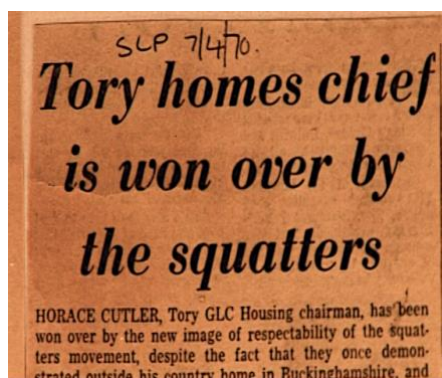


Fig. 124 Press clipping, *South London Press*, 1970, archive of Jim Radford, Paul Moody, 2017.

As well as the overall success of the Squatting movement, both Radford and Bailey referred to the positive impact of activism on those with whom they worked.

“You’d see people gaining confidence. People would come along to Lewisham Squatters, and they’d be...*cowed*, if you like, by the system, and in the end, they’d end up actually being proud of their own organisation. Weekly meetings of a *hundred people*, not just your politicians ... just ordinary people. It remoralised these people who had been demoralised by the system. That’s what acting together does.’ (Bailey, 2017)

Bailey and Radford also mention criticism from their own comrades. This is apparent in the Solidarity pamphlet *The Squatters’ Ilford: A Report And Critique* (attributed to Andy Anderson, part of the original London Squatters, and who features in the ITN news material and the *Man Alive* film) for allowing themselves to be presented as leaders, for involving Shelter, the Liberal party, or Christian groups, and for making financial deals with broadcasters, and becoming ‘intoxicated’ by the presence of documentary crews. Anderson criticises Radford and Bailey in all but name and perhaps prematurely, given that he published in September 1969, while the Redbridge struggle continued to 1971.

London councils, Conservative and Labour, and the Greater London Council, rather than face protracted, highly visible, and politically unpopular struggles, made available for the squatters significant numbers of houses marked for demolition. As Colin Ward put it: 'The London Family Squatters Association then applied a kind of Gandhian moral blackmail before the court of public opinion to enforce the collaboration of borough councils in handing over short-term accommodation to squatting families.' (Ward, 2008, p. 92)

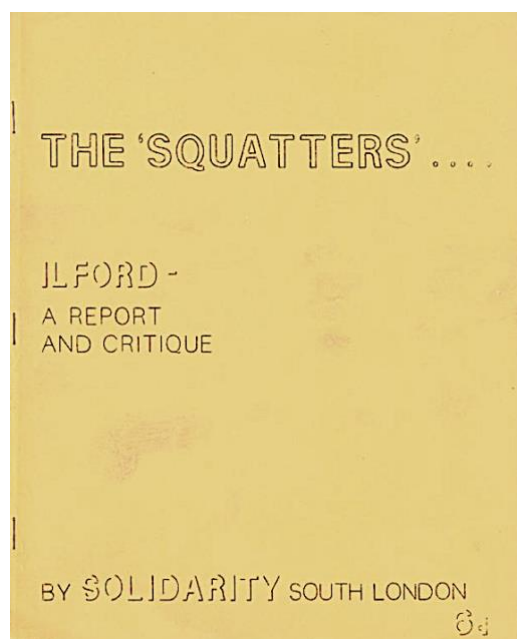


Fig. 125 *The 'Squatters'.... Ilford – A Report And Critique*, Solidarity South London, September 1969. Attributed to Andy Anderson.

Bailey and Radford maintained that disputes about ideological purity were irrelevant given the urgency of working with homeless or inadequately housed people to secure decent housing. Their longitudinal involvement with Squatting supports this, as does the evidence of correspondence, press cuttings and publications. The two ran the 'Family Squatting Advisory Service' until 1974, when it was superseded by the 'Squatting Advisory Service', which now supports the still-legal squatting of unoccupied commercial properties, squatting of domestic properties being criminalised in 2012.

The BBC *Man Alive: The Squatters* film (Wilcox, 1969) begins with a street theatre agit-prop performance by the *Angry Arts* group protesting years of vacancy of tower block Centre Point nearby Tottenham Court Road. Recorded after one of the Squatter's legal victories over Redbridge Council, Radford and Bailey are present in support of the protest and are interviewed promoting the benefits of squatting.

#### 6.5.4 The Occupation of Centre Point (1974)

By 1974, the 117-meter high, 34 stories (main block), and the 9 stories (east block) of Centre Point had remained empty since 1966. With 27000 square metres of floor space, it could have housed thousands of the homeless. In 1974 a token occupation of one weekend was designed to highlight successive governmental failures regarding homelessness while such resources lay empty. Even vacant, it generated yearly profit for the owner, who was not charged half-rates – as was Camden Council's legal right - losing, according to Radford, £70,000 per annum (£933,388 in 2023). “We'd told Camden Council about this, but they didn't do anything.” (Radford, 2010) The subsequent non-violent occupation used similar tactics to the Greek Embassy occupation. Activists disguised as Security Guards arrived, the legitimate guards opened the doors and some fifty activists poured in from the nearby stairwell. The entire occupation was documented by then National Film School student Steve Morrison in close collaboration with the occupiers, producing an insider's story, with additional film stock being hauled up by rope. Remarkably, *The Occupation of Centre Point* (Morrison, 1974) was commissioned as it was being filmed by *World in Action*, rapidly edited and broadcast the day after the occupiers left to the cheers of a massed crowd on Tottenham Court Road, conveying the event to a mass ITV audience amidst widespread press coverage.

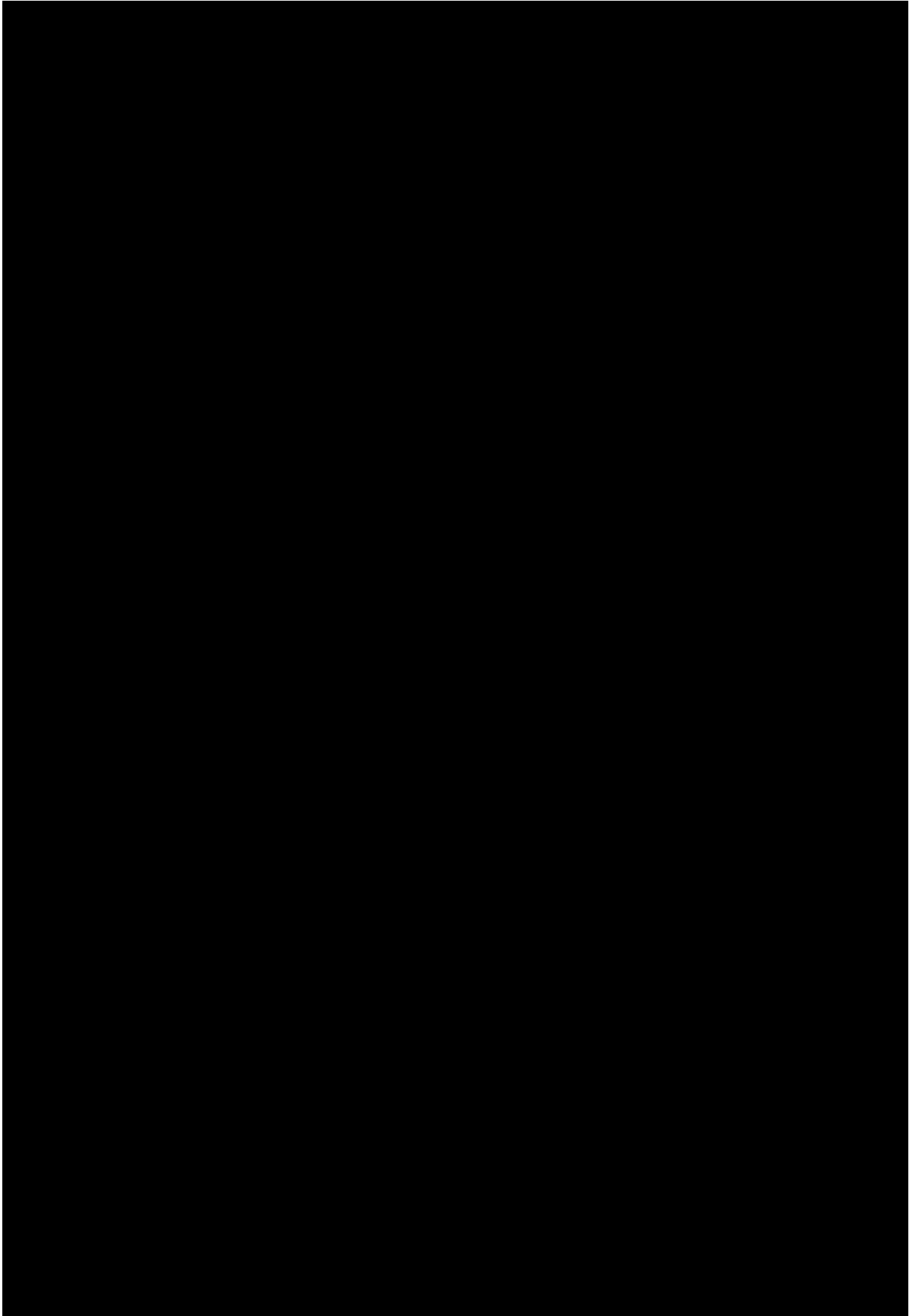


Fig 126. Film frames from *World In Action: The Occupation of Centre Point*, Granada Television, 1974.

## 6.6 Conclusion: Case Study Chapter

From interviews and examination of the archives, the activists' artefacts can be categorised as:

1. Occupations of physical space. e.g., C100's sit-down protests at the Ministry of Defence, Trafalgar Square and Wethersfield, and the anti-Vietnam war *March of Shame*.  
  
Shorter term incursions and occupations e.g., Regional Seats of Government, the Soviet, US, South Vietnamese and Greek Embassies and Centre Point.  
  
The picketing – non-violently and within legal limits – of the homes of politicians and national and regional government officials e.g. The Friends of King Hill.  
  
Longer term occupations e.g. The Friends of King Hill and the Squatters movement to enact legal rights beneficial to the homeless but habitually unobserved by the authorities.
2. Interruptions of ceremonies and performances such as the Vietnam Action Group's Brighton Church Demonstration and West End theatre protests.
3. Demonstrations of solidarity e.g. protests against South African apartheid, Soviet oppression in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the 1963 'Greek week' and C100 Peace Convoy to Athens, and the 1967 armoured car and jeep protests in London highlighting the 'Colonel's Coup'.
4. Graphic materials and publications e.g., Holtom's Nuclear Disarmament sign, the 'peace symbol' for the Direct-Action Committee, Fior's C100 posters and leaflets, Chandler's facsimile US dollar bills, *Beyond Counting Arses*, *Danger Official Secret: RSG 6*, *Resistance*, *The King Hill News*, *Indecency in Church*, and *Evicted!*

5. Audio-Visual documentation e.g., *The Voice of Nuclear Disarmament* pirate audio broadcasts, *The Occupation of the Greek Embassy* and *Squatters Arrival*.
6. Television and press documentation generated by activists collaborating with Broadcasters and Journalists e.g. ITN broadcasting live the September 18<sup>th</sup> Trafalgar Square demonstration, ITV recording the Brighton Church Demonstration, BBC *Man Alive The Squatters*, *World In Action's The Occupation of Centre Point*, and extensive engagement with international press and broadcasters.
7. Theatrical and musical performances e.g. the impersonation of Queen Elizabeth II and other public figures for The March of Shame; A Programme of Christmas Carols to Be Sung in Grosvenor Square featuring alternative lyrics critical of the war in Vietnam, at the American Embassy, December 1967; the march to the Australian Embassy with performers dressed as Vietnamese being beaten (with realistic batons made of foam rubber) by others clad as Australian army; CND's anti-Vietnam war puppet show extravaganza filmed by Hutchison and Ralph, and the Angry Arts 1970 agit-prop performance outside of Centre Point.
8. Detournement - most explicitly in the re-use of NATO and British State documents taken from Regional Seat of Government 6 in *Danger Official Secret!* by Spies for Peace. Similarly, the occupation of spaces by demonstrations such as Trafalgar Square, Whitehall, military bases, West End Theatres, or the Brighton Church are detournements: the performative hijacking or diversion of the regular use of these spaces to generate attention for the activists' campaigns.

As noted, after the failure of the nuclear bases blockades in December 1962 and the arrest of leading figures in the movement, 1963 marks a growing division between the former, more centrally organised trespass and sit-down demonstrations against nuclear proliferation and the threat of war, to a more anarchistic, decentralised practice of non-violent direct action, described in *Beyond Counting Arses*. Post-1963 direct actions were focused both on raising consciousness of international issues (such as fascism in Greece, the American war on Vietnam and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia) and on direct interventions towards legally and materially beneficial outcomes in domestic issues such as the Hostels Campaign, the Friends of King Hill, and the Squatting Campaign. With regard to the anti-homelessness campaigns, study of law was central in deciding what actions to take. As Radford and Bailey put it, they strove to be as reasonable as possible. By incorporating legality and reasonability in their protests and demands, the activists were able to highlight the unreasonableness of the situations they opposed. That media attention played a part in enabling activists to gain government support to win battles with, for example Kent County Council, is remarkable given recent Labour and Conservative governments' contempt for activism and demonstrations that far exceeded even the largest of the Committee of 100.

This indicates greater awareness of the power of media representations by subsequent governments. Filmmakers, journalists and commissioners who documented the struggles in these case studies were at times demonstrating a critical and humanistic world view that is visibly different to the more editorially constrained political views demonstrated by those now making and controlling documentary, factual and news production within a flawed notion of journalistic 'balance' that all viewpoints must be represented. As former BBC Newsnight journalist-presenter Emily Maitlis stated in her 2022 Mactaggart lecture:

‘...it might take our producers five minutes to find 60 economists who feared Brexit and five hours to find a sole voice who espoused it. But by the time we went on air we simply had one of each. We presented this unequal effort to our audience as balance. It wasn’t. I would later learn the ungainly name for this myopic style of journalism—“both sideism,” which talks to the way it reaches *a superficial balance whilst obscuring a deeper truth.*” [my emphasis] (Maitlis, 2022)

My independent critical humanist documentary practice obviates the broadcasters’ need for a notional ‘balance’ by documenting and centralising activists’ first-person histories and contextualised artefacts. The eventual viewers can reflect on these assemblies to draw their own conclusions.

Given the context of contemporary broadcast documentary and factual entertainment programming this practice is an example of counter-hegemonic expression that draws both from the activists’ actions and recollections, and from historic examples of documentary filmmaking previously theorised as Critical Humanist.

## 7. Conclusion

### 7.1 Conclusions from the Research

First a reiteration of main research questions followed by my findings.

1. How does my documentary research practice and the productions of others support the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method?
2. In what respects does Critical Humanist documentary differ from mainstream forms of broadcast documentary-factual entertainment regarding editorial intentions, positioning of subjects and representational tropes?

Regarding question one, theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as practice method began with participatory documentary practice to centralise first-person accounts and marginalised histories of counter-hegemonic activists. Theorisation developed by considering existing productions that exemplified the aspects of critical humanist documentary as discussed in chapter five. Documentary history and theory research enabled the positioning of Critical Humanist Documentary as theory and method as stated in chapters three, four and six.

Regarding question two, my prototype documentaries differ from entertainment-focused and commercially led broadcast factual entertainment productions, because my intention is to represent participants' histories of counter-hegemonic resistance to dominant narratives of states and capital. It is research that is unconcerned with audience demographics, or the preferences of advertisers and commissioners, and was guided mainly by the elderly participants. Turning away from recording *subjects* towards working with *participants* involves eschewal of representational tropes such as on-screen presenters, omniscient narration, and over-use of musical cueing, tropes by which audience response is instructed. These expressions of difference are not absolute, but a matter of degree, given that documentary communication rests upon convention, and my position in this nexus makes no claim for neutrality.

However, turning from hyperbolic tropes in my practice and in that of other practitioners cited, implicitly questions the form and the underlying ethics of contemporary broadcast documentary-factual entertainment. My documentation of historic representations of activism by newsreel film, television, radio, and the press also raises questions concerning current mainstream media representations - or lack thereof – of contemporary activism.

Therefore, documenting first-hand accounts of new-left and anarchist activists to centralise their counter-hegemonic artefacts as acts of resistance to orthodoxies and dominant narratives of states and capital, has generated the theory and practice of Critical-Humanist Documentary as a counter-hegemonic practice method and theoretical position. My research practice followed the example of the activists' movement from research into practice as praxis, echoing that of the critical-humanist oriented filmmakers and journalists with whom they collaborated. Drawing on accounts and depictions of past actualities, the research reconstructs tenable revivifications of the featured campaigns. The new left and anarchist activists documented sought systematic change by centralising dissent to publicly problematise structural iniquities and demonstrate alternatives for progress towards societies founded on equality.

As the case study and practice chapters demonstrate, these activists were able to closely collaborate with often sympathetic mainstream broadcast television and press publications, in order to communicate their aims, regionally, nationally, and internationally. Post 1979 and the Thatcher government's 'tilt to the right' (Miller and Dinan, 2000, p. 25) Britain has experienced sustained state promotion of privatisation, centralisation and normalisation of right-wing discourses dominated by neo-liberalism, and corresponding diminution of public services, including public service broadcasting.

In this context commissioning outlets for critical-humanist documentary practices are minimised and marginalised by mainstream commissioners and commissioned practitioners in favour of constructed ‘reality television’ and factual entertainment formats, operating within a media milieu dominated by commercial interests. (Keane, 1991, Biressi and Nunn, 2005, Nash, 2006) As noted, the Ford motor company proudly stated that it ‘Sponsors documentaries on Channel 4’ before each segment of the physical challenge competition *Celebrity SAS: Who Dares Wins* (Turner and Foss-Smith, 2022). This begs the question: how can a carefully cast, reality-television construct designed to glamourise militarism and hyper-masculinity qualify as documentary?

One conclusion from my research is that re-creation of a sustainable milieu for Critical Humanist Documentary and the reconceptualisation of audiences as more than entertainment seeking consumers, would require political action to reduce the dominance of state and commercial interests in broadcasting. It would require the re-evaluation of taken-for-granted forms, content, and social purposes of documentary and factual production.

Critical Humanist Documentary proposes reconfiguration of the subject into participant, centralising the voices of those represented while rejecting hyperbolic tropes of presenter-guided, prurient subject choices, non-specific archive usage and crudely emotive music cues. Were commissioning editors to eschew titillative, glamourising or mystifying representations of unusual, speculative, or constructed ‘phenomena’, and more fully represent people’s lives in actuality, this would help revitalise and reclaim the vocabulary of documentary forms as engagements with and extensions of civil society. As noted, exceptions to entertainment-led practice still exist, variously finding distribution through television, internet streaming and public screenings.

The films of de Antonio, Kopple, McQueen and Rogan, Morris, Tsuchimoto and others demonstrate the work of Critical Humanist Documentary as a creative, ethical engagement with phenomena to offer alternative visions. Given British broadcasters' de-prioritisation of documentary and current affairs, these exist as relatively minority practices while factual entertainment programming is repeatedly commissioned.

## 7.2 Contributions to the Field

My research practice contributions to the field include the following:

The creation of a body of original prototype critical humanist documentaries eventually accessible through the British Film Institute that centralise and revivify marginalised activist histories and contextualise Hutchison's archive of activist and counter cultural films. The documentaries *History of the Committee of 100, parts 1 and 2*, *Spies for Peace* and *House the Homeless!* are fulsome iterations of significant historical events, told mainly by the participants involved, and featuring unseen archive film and documents. Dissemination of the refined, completed projects is planned for televisual, online, festival and public screenings.

The creation of a substantial primary-research archive of first-hand participant interviews with elderly activists – some of whom have since died or have had their abilities reduced by age - and the discovery, retrieval, digitisation, and participant-led contextualisation of substantial, previously unseen archive film material, audio recordings and original documents. These would otherwise have been lost or audio-visually decontextualised. The British Film Institute acquisition of the Hutchison film archive and my contextualising practice and thesis is for the long-term public benefit for researchers, filmmakers and audiences.

My research offers a practitioner's overview of the historical diminishment of television documentary within a comparison of historic and contemporary broadcast documentary representations.

Themes emerging from participants' accounts and contextualised artefacts include:

The movement from rituals of mass non-violent *protest* against global issues such as nuclear proliferation, to more focused non-violent *direct action* to subvert and challenge social iniquity. This was formulated in *Beyond Counting Arses* (Brewood Jr. et al., 1963), exemplified by the Squatters Campaign, and publicised in the post-1963 C100 magazine, *Resistance* (Committee of 100, 1963), of the then decentralised, more anarchist organisation. Occupation of territory entails greater commitment and risk, and when longitudinal, marks a change from short-term protest to sustained resistance that proposes self-determination. Post 1963 direct actions increasingly involved the invasion of state-run or state-occupied territory - as in Spies for Peace or the Brighton Church protest; or where possible – the lengthy holding of state territory - as in the 'Friends of King Hill' and the Squatters' campaigns; or the symbolic, gestural occupations of the Greek Embassy and Centre Point designed to highlight respective iniquities.

Humanist motivation to supportively engage with the oppressed or disadvantaged, e.g., supporting Greek activists facing state oppression, protesting the US war on Vietnam, building the anti-apartheid movement or working with homeless people in the hostels and Squatters campaigns.

Documentary research and reporting to contradict official pronouncements and reveal unreported actualities such as the impact on civilians of the US led campaign against North Vietnam and Britain's covert support for it, the miseries of inequality suffered by those living in homeless hostels, or the existence of Regional Seats of Government nuclear shelters for the selected elite.

That filmmakers, journalists, commissioners, and editors working in television and the press

demonstrated awareness of these themes, felt an editorial duty to represent them as matters of current significant public interest, and engaged directly with activists' organisations and supporters to document their actions – most notably in the Squatting campaign.

That television and press during the period constituted public fora in which mass dissemination of programmes and publications publicised activists' campaigns to the population, so they and government might listen and engage, as evidenced in the King Hill and Squatters' campaigns.

One aspect to consider is the duality of protests. Normally – though as we have seen not always - permitted by the state, political protests exist as proof of civil liberties. Protests have exhibited varying power in different eras, such as the perceived relatively effective worldwide pressure of anti-Vietnam war protests, and the ineffective global outcry against the 2003 US led invasion of Iraq. Protest in the UK, however radical seeming, occurs within the democratic system that many activists wish to at least radically reform. As Foucault states 'where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.' (Foucault, 1981, p. 95).

### 7.3 Contributions to Knowledge

My first contribution is the practice-led definition of Critical Humanist Documentary. What unites films cited as diverse as Kopple's *Harlan County: USA*, Tsuchimoto's *Minimata: The Victims and Their World*, McQueen and Rogan's *Uprising*, and Morris's *Thin Blue Line* is a humanistic concern and commitment to truthful, critical documentary depictions of actuality made in collaboration with those who lived those realities.

The term offers a theory and practice position from which to propose enlightened forms of practice and problematise the contemporary dominance of entertainment focused factual productions.

In my practice Critical Humanist Documentary is a counter-hegemonic choice of subject to centralise marginalised activists who directly explain their motivations and practices to problematise iniquities of states and capital. My longitudinal engagement with these participants enabled retrieval, contextualisation and clarification of their artefacts and archive. These materials are utilised with relatively high degrees of specificity to interviews. Filming in collaboration with the participants enabled them to suggest specific actions, other contributors, and which materials I should record or locate.

The relative roughness of the prototype documentaries partly reflects my aim to represent analogue textures and decay of original archive materials produced between the 1950s and the 1970s. In future iterations I will develop this aspect, and also the human-interest content of the films, which is currently subsumed in the attempt to accurately render essential historical narratives.

My research begs the question: given that society does not appear to be greatly inclined toward the awkward questions of critical humanist documentary, then why propose it?

The answer is that dissenting voices of critical humanism are minoritised, that historical and contemporary acts of resistance, and their often-beneficial impact (universal suffrage, the welfare state, progressive equalities legislation, heightened awareness of climate change and environmental degradation etc) are deliberately under-regarded. If dominant voices in society are by their actions – lip service aside - demonstrably against critical humanism, then documentarists can problematise this to demonstrate other ways of being, other lessons in liberty, other acts of resistance that centralise human needs and the collective good and properly minoritize the culturally reinforced dominance of profiteering individualism.

The activism here documented, whatever its particular focus, was to highlight the need for systemic change. This resonates with my observation of the reduction of documentary and current affairs broadcasting and my proposal that broadcasting and society would benefit from its revival and dissemination through television channels that, despite digital diversification and relatively fractured audiences, remain powerful tools of communication.

I propose Critical-Humanist Documentary as a form that recognises, documents, and expresses a more active citizenship over the self-evident broadcaster prioritisation of what might be termed 'consumer-ship'. This research does not propose broadcast Critical Humanist Documentary as a panacea for social enlightenment, but it does propose it as a means towards a healthful reconsideration of broadcasting practices in this audio-visually saturated society. This would entail prioritising the documentary depiction of realities inhabited by actual participants in those situations, and not the factual-entertainment construction of situations wherein cast members compete for audience approval.

Curran in 'Media and Power' (Curran, 2002, pp. 217-247) proposes a 'third way' for the media, drawing on western European broadcasting cultures for a publicly empowering, truly consensus building democratic media system, sufficiently independent to hold the powerful and the state to account. Given the pressures of late capitalist society in 2023, this proposal from 2006 might in any case seem unduly optimistic, but considering Britain's current post-Brexit situation, with further cutbacks proposed for an already denuded public sector, it reads as positively utopian. However, material circumstances and public consciousness do change, and within an improved system the reworking of documentary forms and the reawakening of the current affairs format, produced by editorially free filmmakers working with participants and communities, would supersede current tropes of commercial, entertainment-led commissioning choices.

Given the accessibility of digital media tools the opportunity exists to produce in depth, critical reports and observations from a revitalised *regional* broadcasting system, as well as at national levels, as an alternative and antidote to the limitations of 24-hour *global* news values.

#### 7.4 Relevance of this Research to Others in the Field

The relevance of this research to others in the field of documentary filmmaking is in the theorisation of Critical Humanist Documentary as both practice and theoretical position. This questions contemporary methods and tropes in mainstream documentary-factual production, inviting reflection from makers and viewers to consider how and why and in what context various forms are used, and arguing for a reformulation of what constitutes documentary production. This rests upon the problematisation of hyperbolic media practices that I propose are not ‘discourses of sobriety’ (Nichols 1991, pp. 3-4) but are rather discourses of *intoxication*, a word connotating impairment of function, its etymology indicating poisoning.

The creation of a new, contextualised primary-research archive forms a publicly accessible audio-visual reservoir useful to other researchers. The newly discovered Hutchison film archive was acquired in 2022 for preservation by the British Film Institute.

The digitised archive along with this thesis and my submitted practice iterations will be made publicly available through the British Film Institute archives in 2025.

## 7.5 Potential Directions for Further Research

Subsequent to completion for the doctorate, the works will be further developed, produced, and made available through screenings and discussions both public and academic. Projection onto sites particular actions or activities is envisaged, and I am further developing the current iterations into projects for broadcast and/or other forms of distribution, festivals, and exhibition. I will seek funds and broadcast commissions to bring the works to the largest possible audience.

My research proposes critical-humanist documentary practice that can find its place in the movement to reform UK public service commissioning and broadcasting practices such as the Media Reform Coalition based at Goldsmiths' College. Such reform has significant potential for both researchers and practitioners.

The counter-hegemonic challenge to orthodoxy so that it may be progressively superseded is at the core of my thesis and resonates with the actions and philosophies of the activists documented. The disruptive and consciousness-raising activist methods of the period studied resonate with contemporary protests concerning the long gestating contemporary environmental crisis - successfully denied by the polluters for forty years - in full knowledge of the data - to maintain private profit as evidenced in the BBC series *Big Oil versus The World* (McMullen, Mohammad and Barnwell, 2022).

More recent challenges to commercially motivated orthodoxies include those against British press phone-hacking, tax avoidance or illegal data usage by private sector and trans-national corporations. Legal challenges have been made to the fatal impacts of Britain's low air quality and high levels of particulate matter emissions and to the distribution of harmful online content leading to self-harm and suicide in the young.

Given these examples, it is not inconceivable that further activism and legal challenges will counter the arguably harmful emissions of corporate media ownership as profit-motivated pollution designed to promote unhealthy over-consumption demonstrably degrading to the physical and ethical environment of civil society. These are areas of relevance to other researchers and practitioners concerned with the depiction of realities through critical humanist documentary.

END

Appendices

Appendix A

Correspondence with Patrick Russell  
Senior Curator (Non-Fiction)  
British Film Institute National Archive

Mon, 24 Feb  
2020, 14:31

Patrick Russell <Patrick.Russell@bfi.org.uk>  
to me

Dear Paul,

With apologies for delay, please find below an initial assessment of the film collection you are looking after, from the perspective of the BFI National Archive.

Thank you for showing me samples of this material.

Based on that sample viewing and your explanation of the context of the footage, I am pleased to confirm it is definitely of some interest as a potential acquisition by the BFI National Archive. We do not ordinarily collect amateur material currently, however this is clearly not 'home movie' footage but rather a combination of experimental material and record footage of London activism. The former apparently relates at least in part to Hutchison's background as an employee of the BFI and the latter to his closeness to political sub-cultures of the late 1960s.

Our taking the material in for permanent preservation on the nation's behalf would be dependent on a donor agreement with the physical owner of the material and on as much clarity as is possible about the rights in the content, and (those circumstances allowing) the granting by the rights holder of maximal rights to the BFI to make the material available to the public. I understand this may all need to wait until you have exploited the material in connection with your own research and we are happy to wait until that point. Thereafter we would want to discuss the above points as soon as possible to clarify the terms of prospective donation. We would seek to acquire for preservation and access purposes both original film elements and (clones of) the digital copies of them that you have made. As discussed, elements in the collection which are non-unique professional material and not shot by Hutchison we would want to exclude from the donation.

Please let me know of any further queries or comments.

Thanks again and best wishes,

Patrick

Patrick Russell | Senior Curator (Non-Fiction), [BFI National Archive](#)  
BFI | 21 Stephen Street | London W1T 1LN  
Tel +44 20 7957 8926

Staff profile: [bfi.org.uk/people/patrick-russell](https://www.bfi.org.uk/people/patrick-russell)  
Twitter: [@NonFicPatrick](#)

Appendix B

Participant interview and archive release forms (addresses redacted)

**Release form regarding the filming of interviews, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.**

FROM : RON BAILEY regarding 'Acts of Resistance' (Working Title)



TO: PAUL MOODY, Producer, International Media Productions Ltd

Of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are making a film television and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding all recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

In addition I grant you permission to quote from and draw upon my published material under the same terms as above.

You Paul Moody as Director and Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media and academic works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you understand to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film or related works.

I have read and understand these terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

Signed

Age 78

Ron Bailey

Date: 11/11/21

Signed

Paul Moody

Date: 11/11/21

Age 59.

Release form regarding filmed interviews, use of film, photo, print and audio archive, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.

J. Ginn

FROM CONTRIBUTOR:

CONTRIBUTOR'S ADDRESS:



TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer,

PRODUCERS ADDRESS:

International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work (working title "Acts of Resistance" previously "Ways of Being") that will feature stories from my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, films, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations and political activism I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the research, film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

I have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

*+ I wish to be able to edit any content that seems inappropriate to me.*

IMP represented by Paul Moody undertakes not to misrepresent my contribution and use said contribution fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnifies me from any legal issues arising from the completed project.

Read understood and agreed by

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Age 81

JAY GINN

DATE:

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody for and on behalf of IMP Ltd,

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Age 59

DATE:

PAUL MOODY

Release form regarding filmed interviews, use of film, photo, print and audio archive, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.

FROM CONTRIBUTOR: Diana Shelley regarding "Ways of Being"  
(working title)

CONTRIBUTOR'S ADDRESS: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer,

PRODUCERS ADDRESS:

International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4  
1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, films, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations and political activism I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the research, film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

I have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

IMP represented by Paul Moody undertakes not to misrepresent my contribution and use said contribution fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnifies me from any legal issues arising from the completed project.

Read understood and agreed by Diana Shelley

Signed Diana Shelley Age 76

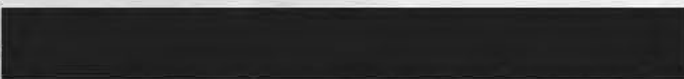
DATE: 23 January 2020

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody for and on behalf of  
IMP Ltd,

Paul Moody

58

## Recording Release Statement

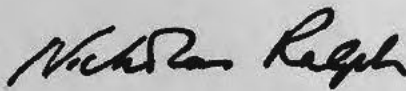
FROM: Nic Ralph, 

TO: Paul Moody, 146 Tressillian Road, LONDON, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are working on a PhD project entitled "Ways of Being: Activists and Artefacts of the New Left in Britain, 1956-74". This will comprise a number of portrait videos in which people who were politically active at this time contextualise the various artefacts and archives that we have from this period.

Following your request in July 2019, I agreed to undertake a filmed interview for this project and this took place in my house on October 5<sup>th</sup> 2019. The interview covered many elements in my political life between circa 1958 and 1974, but was mainly focused on my participation in the Solidarity group, the Committee of 100 and the Spies for Peace.

I understand that it is your intention to submit all or parts of this filmed interview as an element in your PhD submission to the RCA and I herewith give my permission for this use of the interview. Permission for any other use of the filmed interview will be considered when the precise nature, circumstances and context of such other use is known to me.

Signed: Date: *19<sup>th</sup> February 2020*

Release and permissions agreement regarding use of archive film and audio recordings  
from the estate of Ian Hutchison

FROM : Nic Ralph regarding "Ways of Being" (working title)

Contributor's address: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer of IMP Ltd

Address: International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work concerning stories from my life and work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism. I understand that the working title for both research and any film, television or media work or publication arising from said research is Ways of Being and I am aware that this working title may alter depending on the development of said research and films.

I hereby give my permission for you to use without further consideration or compensation all archive film and audio material from the estate of the late Ian Hutchison in whole or in part, for the purposes of producing the academic research and making film television and media works for publication, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories throughout the known universe in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

It is a stipulation of this agreement that Paul Moody gives due written reference or on-screen end credit to Ian Hutchison and Nic Ralph as appropriate as the makers of the film and audio archive material utilised and to Heather Strange as the owner of these materials under the terms of Ian Hutchison's will. Paul Moody agrees to supply two DVDs of the scanned archive films to my address above once completed. Paul Moody will lodge the original archive film and audio archive materials with a public archive such as the University of Bradford or the British Film Institute by 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2020 subject to the archive being willing to accept and preserve the materials.

I Nic Ralph have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent and full agreement.

I Paul Moody have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my full agreement and undertake not to misrepresent the film and sound archive materials and use said materials fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnify Nic Ralph from any legal issues arising from the completed projects.

Read understood and agreed by Nic Ralph

Signed Nicholas Ralph Age 77

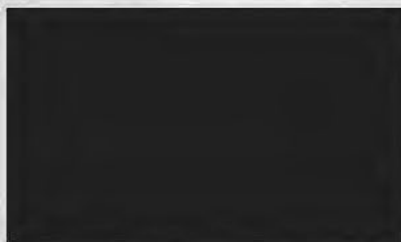
DATE: 21/11/2019

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody

Signed Paul J Moody Age 57

DATE: 17/11/19

Paul's Copy



15 February 2021

Relating to the Release Form from me to Paul Moody regarding the filming of interviews and personal items in 2017:

To Paul Moody, Director/Producer, International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

As discussed earlier on the phone I agree for you to use all and any recordings you have made of and with me about my life, in films you are making that include my active involvement in the Brighton Church Demonstration and Court case in 1966 and the Kinghill Campaign in West Malling in Kent in 1965.

I further remind you that use of the material described above is only permitted for purposes of presenting accurate and necessary information in the production of historical documents relating to political activism in the fields of pro-peace, anti-war and the promotion of social justice or understanding, and is not to be used in the production of films depicting individual personalities.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

Heather Strange

Print name

HEATHER STRANGE

Date 15 Feb 2021

Signed

Paul D J Moody

Print name

PAUL D.J. MOODY

Date


15<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2021

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations, archives, and personal items

Dated: 19<sup>th</sup> March 2019

From:

Heather Strange



To Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

As executor of the property of the late Ian Hutchinson, I give you the same permissions as in the preceding paragraph and donate to you his film and audio materials for incorporation into your filmmaking and academic work. Any further copyright or permissions regarding the film and audio materials are the responsibility of you, Paul Moody.

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media and academic works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

*Heather Strange*

Print name: Heather Strange

Signed

*Paul DJ Moody*

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

Release and permissions agreement regarding use of archive film and audio recordings  
from the estate of Ian Hutchison

FROM : Heather Strange regarding "Ways of Being" (working title)

Contributor's address: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer of IMP Ltd

Address: International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out academic research and making film television and media works concerning stories from my life and work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism. I understand that the working title for both research and any film, television or media works or publications arising from said research is Ways of Being and I am aware that this working title may alter depending on the development of said projects.

I hereby give my permission for you to use without further consideration or compensation all archive film and audio material from the estate of the late Ian Hutchison in whole or in part, for the purposes of producing the academic research and making film television and media works for publication, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories throughout the known universe in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

It is a stipulation of this agreement that Paul Moody gives due written reference or on-screen end credit to Ian Hutchison and Nic Ralph as appropriate as the makers of the film and audio archive material utilised and to Heather Strange as the owner of these materials under the terms of Ian Hutchison's will. Paul Moody agrees to supply two DVDs of the scanned archive films to my address above once completed. Paul Moody will lodge the original archive film and audio archive materials with a public archive such as the University of Bradford or the British Film Institute by 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2020 subject to said archives being willing to accept and conserve the materials.

I Heather Strange have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent and full agreement.

I Paul Moody have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my full agreement and undertake not to misrepresent the film and sound archive materials and use said materials fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnify Heather Strange from any legal issues arising from the completed projects.

Read understood and agreed by Heather Strange

Signed Heather Strange Age 80

DATE: 22 November 2019

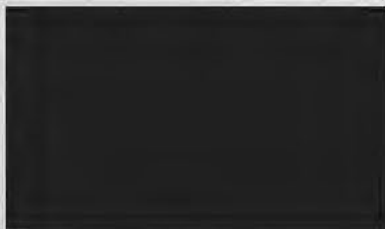
Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody

Signed Paul Moody Age 57

DATE: 17/11/19

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations and personal items

From



To Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration <sup>other than the exceptions at \* below,</sup> or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity, <sup>\*</sup> but excluding film of me and any references by me to Jim Radford <sup>from the film you are making about him.</sup>

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media works in any way you choose <sup>subject to the exclusions at \* above,</sup> but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed *Heather Strange*

Print Name *Heather Strange*  
 & Date *28 August 2017*

Signed *Paul Moody*  
*8<sup>th</sup> August 2017*

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations and personal items

From  
Michael Randle



To

Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road,  
London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

Michael Randle  
17 August 2017

Signed

Paul Moody  
8<sup>th</sup> August 2017

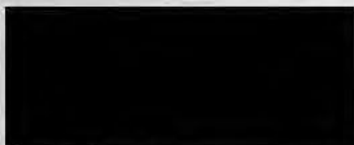
Print Name

& Date

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

MICHAEL RANDLE



## ASSIGNMENT OF LIFE RIGHTS FOR FILM AND MEDIA


Dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 2015

To: Paul Moody  
International Media Productions Ltd.  
146 Tressillian Road  
London  
SE4 1XX

Dear Paul

I understand that you are making a film and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding the assignment of life rights to you for the film and media work you are making about my life and activities this is to confirm that I Jim Radford of   hereby assign to you all and exclusive rights and permissions in my life-story and reminiscences, my image and my personal creative works including but not limited to my performances, artworks, compositions, writings, interviews, demonstrations and speeches to develop and produce your film and media work "Radical Radford" (working title) for theatrical, exhibition, television, digital distribution and home formats in all territories in perpetuity in all media whether now known or hereafter invented for the nominal sum of one pound sterling - of which I hereby acknowledge receipt.



You as producer are entirely free to record and post-produce the film and media work in any way you choose, but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film. I look forward to continuing to cooperate with you to complete and promote the film.

Read understood and agreed

Jim Radford

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jim Radford".

Dated June 30th 2015

Permission from Alex Fry to Paul Moody to use his recording of Mike Lesser

On Tue, 28 Apr 2020 at 15:21, Alexander Fry <[alexanderfry@me.com](mailto:alexanderfry@me.com)> wrote:

Thanks for your kind words Paul, it was great talking to you too. Your work sounds fascinating. I watched the Headshop footage, it's a remarkable archive and great to see Mike at his young, mischievous looking best! You are right there is such energy there, he clearly was full of enthusiasm for what he was involved in if nothing else.

I've forwarded the footage to Anthony, and will come back with any responses, I spoke to him and he said he has a lot of other anecdotes about Mike's life and work which we weren't able to cover in the interview.

I'm happy for you to use the film in your research. I'll send you a link to download it in a separate message.

Speak again soon

Best  
Alex

Alex Fry

[BLINKCUTSLIP](#)

**Release form regarding the filming of interviews, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.**

FROM : RON BAILEY regarding 'Acts of Resistance' (Working Title)



TO: PAUL MOODY, Producer, International Media Productions Ltd

Of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are making a film television and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding all recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

In addition I grant you permission to quote from and draw upon my published material under the same terms as above.

You Paul Moody as Director and Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media and academic works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you understand to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film or related works.

I have read and understand these terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

Signed

Age 78

Ron Bailey

Date: 11/11/21

Signed

Age 59.

Paul Moody

Date: 11/11/21

Release form regarding filmed interviews, use of film, photo, print and audio archive, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.

J. Ginn

FROM CONTRIBUTOR:

CONTRIBUTOR'S ADDRESS:

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer,

PRODUCERS ADDRESS:

International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work (working title "Acts of Resistance" previously "Ways of Being") that will feature stories from my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, films, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations and political activism I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the research, film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

I have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent. *+ I wish to be able to edit any*

*content that seems inappropriate to me.*  
IMP represented by Paul Moody undertakes not to misrepresent my contribution and use said contribution fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnifies me from any legal issues arising from the completed project.

Read understood and agreed by

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Age 81

DATE:

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody for and on behalf of IMP Ltd,

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Age 59

DATE:

*Paul BB Moody*

*Paul D J Moody*

JAY GINN

Release form regarding filmed interviews, use of film, photo, print and audio archive, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.

FROM CONTRIBUTOR: Diana Shelley regarding "Ways of Being"  
(working title)

CONTRIBUTOR'S ADDRESS: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer,

PRODUCERS ADDRESS:

International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4  
1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, films, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations and political activism I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the research, film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

I have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

IMP represented by Paul Moody undertakes not to misrepresent my contribution and use said contribution fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnifies me from any legal issues arising from the completed project.

Read understood and agreed by Diana Shelley

Signed Diana Shelley Age 76


DATE: 23 January 2020

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody for and on behalf of  
IMP Ltd,

Paul Moody

58

## Recording Release Statement

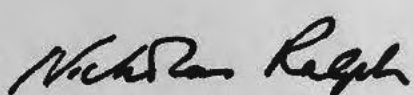
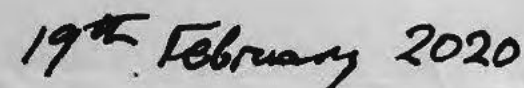
FROM: Nic Ralph, 

TO: Paul Moody, 146 Tressillian Road, LONDON, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are working on a PhD project entitled "Ways of Being: Activists and Artefacts of the New Left in Britain, 1956-74". This will comprise a number of portrait videos in which people who were politically active at this time contextualise the various artefacts and archives that we have from this period.

Following your request in July 2019, I agreed to undertake a filmed interview for this project and this took place in my house on October 5<sup>th</sup> 2019. The interview covered many elements in my political life between circa 1958 and 1974, but was mainly focused on my participation in the Solidarity group, the Committee of 100 and the Spies for Peace.

I understand that it is your intention to submit all or parts of this filmed interview as an element in your PhD submission to the RCA and I herewith give my permission for this use of the interview. Permission for any other use of the filmed interview will be considered when the precise nature, circumstances and context of such other use is known to me.

Signed: Date: 

Release and permissions agreement regarding use of archive film and audio recordings  
from the estate of Ian Hutchison

FROM : Nic Ralph regarding "Ways of Being" (working title)

Contributor's address: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer of IMP Ltd

Address: International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out research and making a film television and media work concerning stories from my life and work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism. I understand that the working title for both research and any film, television or media work or publication arising from said research is Ways of Being and I am aware that this working title may alter depending on the development of said research and films.

I hereby give my permission for you to use without further consideration or compensation all archive film and audio material from the estate of the late Ian Hutchison in whole or in part, for the purposes of producing the academic research and making film television and media works for publication, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories throughout the known universe in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

It is a stipulation of this agreement that Paul Moody gives due written reference or on-screen end credit to Ian Hutchison and Nic Ralph as appropriate as the makers of the film and audio archive material utilised and to Heather Strange as the owner of these materials under the terms of Ian Hutchison's will. Paul Moody agrees to supply two DVDs of the scanned archive films to my address above once completed. Paul Moody will lodge the original archive film and audio archive materials with a public archive such as the University of Bradford or the British Film Institute by 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2020 subject to the archive being willing to accept and preserve the materials.

I Nic Ralph have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent and full agreement.

I Paul Moody have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my full agreement and undertake not to misrepresent the film and sound archive materials and use said materials fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnify Nic Ralph from any legal issues arising from the completed projects.

Read understood and agreed by Nic Ralph

Signed Nicholas Ralph Age 77

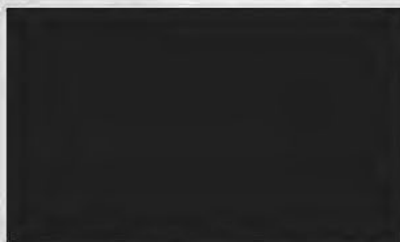
DATE: 21/11/2019

Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody

Signed Paul J Moody Age 57

DATE: 17/11/19

Paul's Copy



15 February 2021

Relating to the Release Form from me to Paul Moody regarding the filming of interviews and personal items in 2017:

To Paul Moody, Director/Producer, International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

As discussed earlier on the phone I agree for you to use all and any recordings you have made of and with me about my life, in films you are making that include my active involvement in the Brighton Church Demonstration and Court case in 1966 and the Kinghill Campaign in West Malling in Kent in 1965.

I further remind you that use of the material described above is only permitted for purposes of presenting accurate and necessary information in the production of historical documents relating to political activism in the fields of pro-peace, anti-war and the promotion of social justice or understanding, and is not to be used in the production of films depicting individual personalities.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

Heather Strange

Print name

HEATHER STRANGE

Date 15 Feb 2021

Signed

Paul D J Moody

Print name

PAUL D.J. MOODY

Date


15<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2021

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations, archives, and personal items

Dated: 19<sup>th</sup> March 2019

From:

Heather Strange



To Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

As executor of the property of the late Ian Hutchinson, I give you the same permissions as in the preceding paragraph and donate to you his film and audio materials for incorporation into your filmmaking and academic work. Any further copyright or permissions regarding the film and audio materials are the responsibility of you, Paul Moody.

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media and academic works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

*Heather Strange*

Print name: Heather Strange

Signed

*Paul DJ Moody*

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

Release and permissions agreement regarding use of archive film and audio recordings  
from the estate of Ian Hutchison

FROM : Heather Strange regarding "Ways of Being" (working title)

Contributor's address: [REDACTED]

TO: Paul Moody researcher/director/producer of IMP Ltd

Address: International Media Productions Ltd, 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are carrying out academic research and making film television and media works concerning stories from my life and work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, housing actions and anti-war and pro-peace activism. I understand that the working title for both research and any film, television or media works or publications arising from said research is Ways of Being and I am aware that this working title may alter depending on the development of said projects.

I hereby give my permission for you to use without further consideration or compensation all archive film and audio material from the estate of the late Ian Hutchison in whole or in part, for the purposes of producing the academic research and making film television and media works for publication, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories throughout the known universe in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

It is a stipulation of this agreement that Paul Moody gives due written reference or on-screen end credit to Ian Hutchison and Nic Ralph as appropriate as the makers of the film and audio archive material utilised and to Heather Strange as the owner of these materials under the terms of Ian Hutchison's will. Paul Moody agrees to supply two DVDs of the scanned archive films to my address above once completed. Paul Moody will lodge the original archive film and audio archive materials with a public archive such as the University of Bradford or the British Film Institute by 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2020 subject to said archives being willing to accept and conserve the materials.

I Heather Strange have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my consent and full agreement.

I Paul Moody have read and understand the above terms and conditions and hereby give my full agreement and undertake not to misrepresent the film and sound archive materials and use said materials fairly and reasonably and hereby indemnify Heather Strange from any legal issues arising from the completed projects.

Read understood and agreed by Heather Strange

Signed Heather Strange Age 80

DATE: 22 November 2019

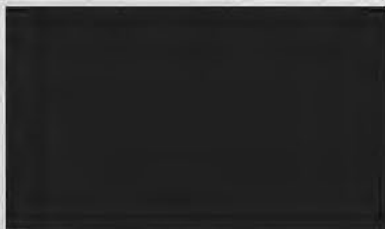
Read understood and agreed by Paul Moody

Signed Paul Moody Age 57

DATE: 17/11/19

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations and personal items

From



To Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration <sup>other than the exceptions at \* below,</sup> or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity, <sup>\*</sup> but excluding film of me and any references by me to Jim Radford <sup>from the film you are making about him.</sup>

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media works in any way you choose <sup>subject to the exclusions at \* above,</sup> but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed *Heather Strange*

Print Name *Heather Strange*  
 & Date *28 August 2017*

Signed *Paul Moody*  
*8<sup>th</sup> August 2017*

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

Release form regarding the filming of interviews performances locations and personal items

From  
Michael Randle



To

Paul Moody Director/Producer International Media Productions Ltd of 146 Tressillian Road,  
London, SE4 1XX

I understand that you are making a film and media work that may feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation pro-peace activism, anti-war, and other activities designed to promote social justice.

Regarding recordings you have made of by way of example but not limitation me, my home, photographs, graphical items and other publications I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings of my voice and/or written extraction in whole or in part for the purposes of making documentary films, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner and in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

You Paul Moody as Director Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you undertake to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings directly resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film.

Read, understood and agreed

Signed

Michael Randle  
17 August 2017

Signed

Paul Moody  
8<sup>th</sup> August 2017

Print Name

& Date

Print Name: Paul DJ Moody

MICHAEL RANDLE

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]



**Release form regarding use of archive audio recordings.**

FROM : Samantha Jane Carroll regarding 'Acts of Resistance' (Working Title)

Of (address here) Dr. Sam Carroll, School of Humanities and Social Science,  
10-11 Pavillion Parade, University of Brighton, BN2 1RA. UK.

TO: Paul Moody, Producer, International Media Productions Ltd

Of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

I understand that you are making a film television and media documentary work that may include audio-recordings of Ruth Walter produced by me.

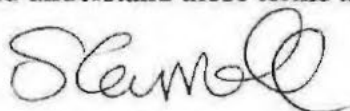
Regarding these recordings I Samantha Jane Carroll hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation these recording in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the prototype films towards broadcast, promotion, exhibition, and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

If the project is commissioned or purchased by a broadcaster or streamer and my recordings are included, Paul Moody promises to pay within reasonable budget limits to Samantha Jane Carroll an industry standard fee, proportionate to the amount of recordings present in the final broadcast works.

Paul Moody as Director and Producer is entirely free to produce his film and media and academic works in any way, but a condition of Samantha Jane Carroll's signature is that Paul Moody will utilize these recordings fairly and accurately and in good faith and hereby indemnifies Samantha Jane Carroll from any legal proceedings resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film or related works.

I have read and understand these terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

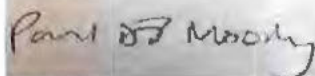
Signed



Samantha Jane Carroll

Date: 17/02/2022

Signed



Paul D. J. Moody

Date: 17/02/2022

Permission from Alex Fry to Paul Moody to use his recording of Mike Lesser

On Tue, 28 Apr 2020 at 15:21, Alexander Fry <[alexanderfry@me.com](mailto:alexanderfry@me.com)> wrote:

Thanks for your kind words Paul, it was great talking to you too. Your work sounds fascinating. I watched the Headshop footage, it's a remarkable archive and great to see Mike at his young, mischievous looking best! You are right there is such energy there, he clearly was full of enthusiasm for what he was involved in if nothing else.

I've forwarded the footage to Anthony, and will come back with any responses, I spoke to him and he said he has a lot of other anecdotes about Mike's life and work which we weren't able to cover in the interview.

I'm happy for you to use the film in your research. I'll send you a link to download it in a separate message.

Speak again soon

Best  
Alex

Alex Fry

[BLINKCUTSLIP](#)

**Release form regarding the filming of interviews, use of home location, appearances at demonstrations and in archive films and publications.**

FROM: ERNEST RODKER regarding 'Acts of Resistance' (Working Title)

Of: 

TO: PAUL MOODY, Producer, International Media Productions Ltd

Of 146 Tressillian Road, London, SE4 1XX.

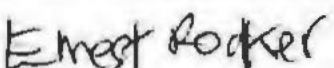
I understand that you are making a film television and media work that will feature stories from my life and my work in the fields of by way of example but not limitation social justice, anti-war and pro-peace activism.

Regarding all recordings you have made of me, my home, photographs, news clippings and other personal items and various other locations including but not limited to various demonstrations I hereby give my permission for you to record and use without further consideration or compensation all material recorded of me and/or recordings made of my voice and/or written extraction, in whole or in part, for the purposes of making the film, illustration, broadcast, promotion, exhibition and distribution in any manner in all territories in all media whether now known or hereafter invented in perpetuity.

In addition I grant you permission to quote from and draw upon my published material under the same terms as above.

You Paul Moody as Director and Producer are entirely free to produce the film and media and academic works in any way you choose but a condition of my signature is that you understand to represent me fairly and accurately and in good faith and to indemnify me from any legal proceedings resulting from the exhibition and distribution of the film or related works.

I have read and understand these terms and conditions and hereby give my consent.

Signed 

NAME ERNEST RODKER

Date: 5/12/2022

Signed 

Paul Moody

Date:  11/12/2022

Appendix C.

Ethics Course Certificate  
RCA approval of project, and participant releases.

# Certificate

Number: 1775420003

This is to certify that

**Paul Moody**

Successfully completed the course

**Ethics 1: Good research  
practice**

as part of the Epigeum Online Course System with a score of 80%.

Dated: 24 March 2018

Ethics confirmation.

RCA Ethics (sent by bethany.crenol@rca.ac.uk)

11:51 (4 minutes ago)

to me

Reply

Hi Paul,

Thanks for your email.

Please see attached a screenshot of your ethics approval confirmation email.

This was also recently forwarded to Fran (in CC), so rest assured that we have a record of your ethics approval.

Kind regards,  
Bethany

## Re: Completed ethics form attached

RCA Ethics (ethics@rca.ac.uk) (sent by robyn.curtis@rca.ac.uk)  
to Paul Nicky, Jan

Wed, 7 Aug 2019 12:44

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your recent Ethics Application. This has now been reviewed by the Ethics Committee and we are pleased to inform you that, based upon the information supplied, your ethics application has been approved and you can progress with your research.

Please note that should you make any changes to the research subject or your methodology, you may need to apply for further ethics approval.

Good luck with your future research!

Kind regards,

Research Ethics Team

--

**Research Ethics**

Royal College of Art

Kensington Gore, London

SW7 2EU

E: [ethics@rca.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@rca.ac.uk)

T: +44 (0)20 7590 4126

[www.rca.ac.uk](http://www.rca.ac.uk)[twitter.com/rca](https://twitter.com/rca)[facebook.com/RCA.London](https://facebook.com/RCA.London)

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