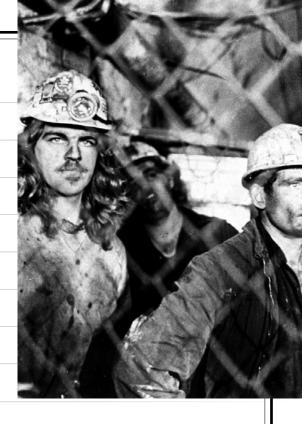
# Fight: Kemira's to Industrial



## BY REBECCA COYLE AND LISA MILNER

Join together our forces, put B.H.P. on the rack, We must take some action, and jobs we all need, And stop this big company raping Australia for greed. So workers of Wollongong, we must all unite, Back up thirty-one miners for showing some fight.<sup>1</sup>

HIS POEM extract was written by a miner who appears in Tom Zubrycki's 1984 documentary Kemira: Diary of a Strike (henceforth Kemira). The lines are quoted while workers and their families travel to Canberra to protest the shutdown of a coalmine in Wollongong, south of Sydney. This paper presents a case study of Zubrycki's film that documented the 1982 sacking of 400 miners and the sixteen-day occupation of the Kemira<sup>2</sup> pit by thirty-one miners. The event represents a specific moment of workplace upheaval in the 1980s but, twenty years later and in the context of current industrial relations laws, we explore Zubrycki's documentary within a framework of films associated with industrial relations.

Film derives from wider historical processes and events, and this is evident in *Kemira* not just in terms of a literal representation of events (as suggested by the diarised narrative approach), but also in the documentary's

broader theme of worker relations in capitalist societies. Besides documenting the dayby-day organization of the strike, *Kemira* follows the fortunes of the families involved and the profound personal changes they experienced. The strike focused attention on the plight of the people of Wollongong, which was typical of other small Australian cities profoundly affected by the economic recession in the 1980s. Representations of work, its daily operations, and its laws, organization, celebrations and disputes, are essential to our culture, past and present.

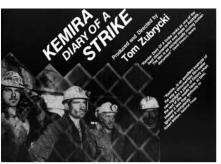
In their 2005 book, Australian Cinema After Mabo, that deals with cinema as public sphere, Felicity Collins and Therese Davis are particularly concerned with representational relations between settler and Indigenous peoples, but this can apply to relations between working groups. If, as Collins and Davis argue, the 1992 High Court decision overturning the founding doctrine of terra nullius destabilized Australians' relation to the land and was a turning point in shaping Australian cinema, then to what extent can specific moments in industrial relations be mapped through filmic representations, such as Zubrycki's Kemira documentary? And to what extent can (and should) documentary per se be an advocate for change? Before addressing these broader issues, the Kemira storyline must be outlined.

# The Kemira story: context and content

In 1982, following two consecutive losses by its steel division, the Broken Hill Propriety Limited corporation (BHP), then Australia's monopoly steel producer, restructured its steel operations. It closed its steel-related Hunter Valley and Illawarra coalmines and a blast furnace at Kwinana in Western Australia, adopted new technology in its remaining plants and threatened further steelwork closures. At Australian Iron and Steel (AIS), BHP's Wollongong steelworks, the workforce was cut from over 20,000 in 1981 to just under 15.000 in 1983.3 The Kemira strike began when BHP announced that, despite a profit of \$300 million the previous year, it would sack 400 miners. The union sought to prevent the sackings by taking BHP to court, but many miners did not believe that arbitration would achieve their desired outcomes and so resorted to their own action.

Kemira opens with a reenactment of the descent into the mine where thirty-one miners staged their strike twenty days before the sackings were due to take effect. Their daily vigil is heard through excerpts of Union Lodge Secretary Jim Roach's diary entries and seen in underground recordings<sup>4</sup>, plus to-camera interviews with wives and children, with miners who stayed above ground in the pit-top strike centre, and Sally Bowen who ran the Women's Auxiliary providing meals for the strikers. Threaded through these perspectives are dramatized recordings of the Coal Industry Tribunal, excerpts





To what extent can specific moments in industrial relations be mapped through filmic representations, such as Zubrycki's *Kemira* documentary? And to what extent can (and should) documentary per se be an advocate for change?





of local and national radio and television coverage of the strike, and archival film and newsreel footage documenting Australia's coal industry.

The miners and supporters are filmed on a train to Canberra where the 2000-strong protest rally appealing for government intervention culminated in protestors breaking open the doors to enter Parliament House. The company agreed to a temporary reprieve but continued to layoff miners and, in the end, the jobs were not reinstated. Union negotiations merely resulted in two weeks of extra pay. Nine months later, the current situations of several of the miners are recorded, and many are found to be unemployed, marriages have ended due to stress, and families have split as miners seek employment in Queensland mines. This narrative is supported by the documentary's style and approach, which was influenced by its production history.

When he first started filming at Kemira in 1982, Zubrycki had \$3,000 of his own money to open the budget. The film was also produced with \$1,000 assistance from the Southern District of the Miners' Federation<sup>5</sup> and other filmmakers donated stock.<sup>6</sup> Two weeks after he started filming, Zubrycki sought funds from the Australian Film Commission (AFC) using the two best rolls of footage that he could afford to print.<sup>7</sup> It was not until 1984 that Zubrycki was awarded \$75,000 from the AFC's Australian Documentary Fellowship Program<sup>8</sup>, a funding project that aimed 'to move documentary into the forefront of discussion and to raise

the profile of documentary in the film and television industries and in the Australian community in general'.9

A filmmaker for over thirty years, Zubrycki's films cover industrial disputes, international politics and overdevelopment, sharing an overriding concern with social justice issues through the perspective of individuals and families caught up in conflict. In 2006, *Encore* magazine selected Zubrycki as one of Australia's top producer/directors and the judges commented on his 'knack for extrapolating the political from the personal'.<sup>10</sup>

Kemira has engaged the public in discourse and attracted their attention to relevant issues through various exhibition forms directed to specific 'communities of interest'11 and broader audiences. The film was launched at the Wollongong Trade Union Centre and screened at local branches in the area. At the Sydney Film Festival in June 1984, following the Kemira screening and a standing ovation, Wollongong miners and their families were invited onstage to answer questions. Zubrycki described it as a cathartic event for the strikers, arguing that 'they didn't get a fair outcome from the company but at least the film managed to document their efforts and their emotions'.12

Distributed by the Australian Film Institute (AFI) at the time, the film received theatrical release, most notably at the Sydney Opera House, which at that time showcased independent documentaries. Interest generated by the theatrical release resulted in the

ABC buying *Kemira* for television broadcast, one of the first independently produced documentaries highlighting the actions of working class people to attract such a purchase. <sup>13</sup> As well as the standard venues of film festivals <sup>14</sup> and cinemas, Zubrycki toured the film to mining districts and other large working sites (such as Cockatoo Island).

The film continued to be screened in Wollongong at celebrations of the area's history. <sup>15</sup> In 2003, Mairi Petersen, a labour, human rights and environmental activist well known in the Wollongong region (and currently Secretary of the Illawarra branch of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History), screened the film as part of an industrial celebration in Wollongong. In addition, there has been sufficient interest in the film for Zubrycki to consider a remastered digital version on DVD.

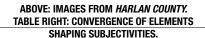
# Charting a different social history: approach and viewpoint

Zubrycki termed the type of *vérité* films exemplified by *Kemira* as 'process-oriented'<sup>16</sup> productions, describing his way of filming 'grassroots' community activities in the 1970s and 1980s (such as Resident Action Groups, workers' strikes and rallies) as they occurred rather than retrospectively.<sup>17</sup> He associated this with the Canadian National Film Board's 'Challenge for Change'

IMAGES: KEMIRA: DIARY OF A STRIKE.







project that in turn was stimulated by Marshall McLuhan's exhortations to experiment with new forms of participatory video production. Zubrycki was also influenced by UK director Ken Loach<sup>18</sup>, whose 1971 BBC miniseries Days of Hope centred on the 1926 General Strike. The 1970s represented a period when filmmakers were aware of their potential power to affect opinions and attitudes. An important international precedent was the US film Harlan County (1976), for which director Barbara Kopple won an Oscar. Based on a miners' strike in rural Kentucky, the film was produced by funding from church groups, foundations and individual donors. Many 1970s community-activist films emerged from Australian funding of local production, and were distributed by the Sydney Filmmakers' Co-operative (SFC).19 Launched as a distribution outlet, the SFC became the nation's largest distributor of independently produced film. By accessing an extensive range of non-theatrical exhibition venues separate to mainstream commercial cinema circuits, the filmmakers of the Coop engaged the interest of people who might never have otherwise had access to their point of view. The Co-operative nurtured the energies of new filmmakers, encouraged the adoption of progressive themes and styles, and promoted a closer interaction between the filmmaker and the work's distribution. The AFC's non-feature funding supported the broad aims of the Co-op and enabled the production of innovative works that were



An important international precedent was the US film Harlan County. Based on a miners' strike in rural Kentucky, the film was produced by funding from church groups, foundations and individual donors.

personal, political and experimental.

Documentaries about feminism, Indigenous cultures and environmentalism flourished, and a thematic strand focused on workers and their issues. As Zubrycki notes, 'there were a number of films that tried to chart a different sort of social history that was unfolding at the time'.20 Alongside his Kemira and award-winning Waterloo (1981), such films included Protected: the Truth about Palm Island (Alessandro Cavadini, 1975) and Pat Fiske's Rocking the Foundations (1985). Fiske believed that, with films of this oeuvre, Australian documentaries had come of age, and were 'certainly a more original force in Australian cinema than many of our feature films'21, insofar as they questioned the notion of a single version of a story, and showed industrial conflict from a perspective not told through the anti-union astigmatism of mainstream media. Many examples eschewed standard documentary conventions, abandoned the aim of objectivity, and attempted to mobilize audiences to action. Such filmmakers employed a collaborative approach, and organic connections with the subjects of their films.

For Kemira, Zubrycki worked with the striking miners and their families from the outset. His interest in the dispute was sparked by a retired miner, Fred Moore, who contacted him about filming some of the activities at the pittop. The miner saw the urgent need for independent coverage. In fact, the film adopts a sympathetic view of the miners and is partisan in several aspects, such as its address to the interviewees, the absence of those

views often well represented by media news and the empathetic line of questioning. The first footage was shot six days into the strike, and three versions of the film, edited by Gil Scrine, were taken back to the southern mining community for comments and criticism. In contrast, the representation of the company comprises dramatized readings of comments from the court hearing, accompanying on-screen typed text. In this sense, when the Tyneside Festival praised the film for 'addressing issues rather than personalities',<sup>22</sup> it may have been presenting a binary that is not evident in the film. In his *Representing Reality*, Bill Nichols argues that:

When the empirically verifiable fails to answer more fundamental questions of assumptions and goals, we return once again to the shakier, less comforting ground where human subjectivities prevail and purpose is all.<sup>23</sup>

The 'truth claim'24 of Kemira is its assertion that the subjects of the work are 'real people', not anonymous statistics in reports of 'job cuts' or even as generic 'miners'. The impact of the viewpoint is also carried in the representation of miners as members of families, all of whom are affected by job losses. One of the miner's wives, Ngaire Wiltshire, is interviewed several times (together with her children) and filmed as she greets her husband when he comes up from the mine, bathes her children, watches television news coverage of the strike and works on the milk run. Portrayed as fragile and emotional in the early period, she gains independence and resilience that suggest a model for how workers must adapt to the changing situation.

In 1984, Zubrycki said of Kemira that:

A film can only ask questions – it can't lecture. If you do the latter, then you ghettoise political films by making them propaganda. I think political film has to be able to reach a wide public to be truly effective.<sup>25</sup>

More recently, Zubrycki asserted that 'the best way to move and affect an audience' is as a storyteller. Retrospectively, he notes that the *Kemira* 'aesthetic was partly determined by the need to inspire people to take on struggle' and quotes the film's conclusion in which he refers to other strikes (through archival footage) and observes that 'they'll continue as long as workers are oppressed'.

The issue in relation to Zubrycki's approach, therefore, is not *whether* he is trying to influence but *how* his documentaries approach

this task. In contrast to much media news and current affairs, Zubrycki's approach is reflected in two aspects: first, its interest in the long-term overview of the event, and second, its emphasis on complex intertextual elements including audience consumption of news reports, promotional media (for Wollongong as a thriving 'leisure centre') and discourses of documentaries. The authoritative voice-over in the archive documentaries is subverted by the to-camera voices and the use of depersonalized court transcripts. Ultimately, it seems, the documentary represents a convergence of elements - event, participants in the event, and the documentary maker/s - all of which shape subjectivity. These elements draw on a range of techniques to direct audience attitudes to the film's perspective. The elements operating in Kemira can be charted with their referents (See Table right)

Kemira offers a complex set of issues about industrial relations. The documentary is about unity amongst the workers who take the matter into their own hands and beyond the strategy adopted by the central union officers. As such, the miners show a lack of faith in both government (Liberal and Labor) and the unions. Despite Zubrycki's intended upbeat message, by the end the 'worker unity' is fragmented as relationships fail and workers disperse. The documentary ends with Glen Hidasi, one of the stay-in miners, equivocally observing:

I was never really in unions before that but, um, I thought it was a necessary thing to be done – the sit-in – to fight for the rights of our families, our livelihoods. And, ah, no, I, I whole-heartedly agree with it today, although we have been victimized since and we haven't been able to get another job ...

In the end, then, the film refers to class and localized workers' responses to broader mitigating factors and inevitable technological change. The abiding 'message' of the film could therefore be that it may not be possible for workers to deal with the big picture, and that it is the responsibility of the union, corporations and the government to plan for this future. It may also be that, along the lines of the unions' challenge to today's individually negotiated contracts, Kemira expresses opposition to the fracturing of the workplace, and the careless collusion of government and big business against unified workers. In this sense, the film makes an important contribution to a generic collection of films about work in Australia.

### Which side are you on? Representations of work and workers

Films about Australian workers most clearly commenced with the output of the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit (WWF-FU) in the 1950s.27 Their productions about wharfies, miners and other workers that recorded their struggles for safe and just working conditions offered a legacy influential on Zubrycki's films. In the WWF-FU model, filmmakers are not just producers but activists, and Film Unit members took their Kombi-van-turned-projectionunit onto street corners and factory sites to reach their audiences. Film festivals and film societies, as well as union branch meetings, screened their films. Zubrycki refers to this heritage in Kemira's opening scenes sourced from Hewers of Coal, a 1956 film that the wharfies made for the Miners' Federation, and the Eddie Allison film Coaldust (1946). Zubrycki explains that it was his 'intention to pay homage to earlier representations of miners' struggles'.28

Kemira expresses
opposition to the fracturing
of the workplace, and
the careless collusion
of government and big
business against unified
workers. In this sense, the
film makes an important
contribution to a generic
collection of films about
work in Australia.

Since the 1970s other networks of labour organizations and activists, as well as community broadcasters, have aired stories like Kemira. However, films depicting strike actions have often been the cause of controversy – and not just in Australia. Ken Loach's 1984 strike film Which Side Are You On? was commissioned by ITV in the UK, but not broadcast because of its 'highly partial view on a controversial subject'.29 However, after its screening at an overseas film festival, the British attitude towards the film changed and it was broadcast on another London television network. Amongst Equals (1991), the film that Zubrycki made on the history of the ACTU, has not been released due to a long-running dispute about the organization's representation.

Elements	Subjectivity inputs
1. Event	<ul><li>What is covered</li><li>Elements of narrative/ drama/conflict</li></ul>
2. Participants	<ul> <li>Navigation between perspectives</li> <li>Passion of participants</li> <li>Accessibility to relevant people</li> </ul>
3. Documentary- makers	<ul> <li>Personal perspective/s</li> <li>Experience of similar events/situations</li> <li>Approach to telegenic subjects</li> <li>Aesthetic elements of: cinematography, dialogue, sound/music, voice-over, editing, etc.</li> </ul>

The strand of workers' films of the 1970s and early 1980s coincided with a wave of union militancy that has since dissipated.30 Other films have been made more recently although they have not been widely distributed or screened. Trish Nacey made two films on the aftermath of the 1998 Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) dispute: Solidarity and Unity and Redundancies ... and Other Minor Matters.31 Debra Beattie's documentary Manufacturing Dissent (1997) examined industrial struggles during the period of the Bjelke-Peterson state government in Queensland. Several works made within the union movement (such as wharfie and production assistant Viron Papadopolous' 2006 film The Stolt Stand for the MUA) have been screened in-house but have rarely been circulated more widely. While television's increasing programming of short films has given some filmmakers a career break, these do not offer ongoing and full-time employment: 'it is the back door of film-making. It is not a way to survive, but to make an impression and get a track record'.32

Since 2000, there have been few filmic representations of workers' issues and industrial disputes outside news and current affairs genres. An exception is *Standing Together* (Carmel McAloon and Joan Robinson, 2003) that focused on a 2002 dispute between BHP and the Electrical Trades Union. It appears that the energies and risks required to make *Kemira* are, seemingly, too much for many filmmakers to take on in the twenty-first century. Historical works about industri-

al disputes such as *FilmWork* (John Hughes, 1981) or *How the West was Lost* (David Noakes, 1987) and dramatized features like *Sunday Too Far Away* (Ken Hannam, 1975) or *Strikebound* (Richard Lowenstein, 1983) do not generally attract such anxiety, possibly due to their supposedly fictional and/or heritage qualities.

Documentaries like those mentioned have their own 'truth claims' that sometimes conflict with unions, government and corporations, all of whom have their own public relations and marketing units to convey particular perspectives on events, activities and organizations. The Bastard Boys is a fourpart ABC miniseries33 funded by the Film Finance Corporation that stars Jack Thompson as a wharfie and Geoff Morrell as Patrick Corporation's Chris Corrigan. However, even before shooting was completed, a Liberal Senator branded the production as being 'biased in favour of the unions and against the employers and the Government', and 'another example of wasteful spending by the ABC being used to drive an anti-government, pro-Left agenda'.34

The prevailing politics and government intervention, lack of funding and self-censorship in media representation have all worked as disincentives for polemical documentaries being made in Australia (the sort of Michael Moore approach lauded in the USA35). At the same time, however, these factors have resulted in proactive initiatives on the part of the unions. After much discussion within the Maritime Union of Australia, and with the advice and support of others, including John Hughes, Zubrycki and co-author Lisa Milner, the MUA 2005 conference agreed to support the establishment of an MUA film unit to bring together progressive, professional freelance filmmakers and actors with rank-and-file workers.36 A film competition was held to source talent within the union, and some of the winners of this competition have gone on to make more films for the union movement. The increasing use of electronic communications systems (websites, blogs, email systems, as well as compact digital cameras) in the union network has created more contemporary ways of giving voices to workers.

# Documentary's contemporary role: challengers, not entertainers

Documentary seeks to inform, but, above all, it seeks to influence ...<sup>37</sup>

In a serendipitous connection with Elsaesser's notion of the 'social imaginary',38 Zubrycki argues that 'the work of a documentary filmmaker and that of a contemporary historian are related in important ways' insofar as 'watching and listening is at the very heart of documentary filmmaking'. However, Zubrycki goes on to add that so also is 'the process of discovery, of finding drama in everyday life and then telling a story with a point of view'. This is where social documentaries have an essential function along a continuum of factual programs ranging from reality television and infotainment, through promotional and sponsored items, nature and science documentaries, to current affairs and news. Extending Bluem's 1965 observation quoted above, in 2000 Zubrycki argued that documentary filmmakers have:

... the duty of giving a vehicle to these voices and adding their own to it. To the extent that this will continue to happen, documentary will remain a permanent feature of our cultural landscape and will continue to provide crucial insights into who we are as Australians.<sup>39</sup>

In her examination of history and its operation in popular culture, Meaghan Morris discusses our need for history as (re)presentation and argues against an epistemological model of 'history as progress'. 40 Applied to *Kemira*, the progress of the strike and its compromised resolution is not the primary concern as much as the documentary's critical themes and their meaning today. The theme of worker unity is not necessarily so welcomed in the era of AWAs, and the role of trade unions has been sufficiently undermined as to be almost an embarrassment to a cynical, economic rationalist viewer.

In this context, it is worth considering how such a situation would be represented today and what form such a documentary might take, particularly in light of contemporary funding options.41 Television funding is increasingly tied to apparently non-partisan content, limited duration and conservative formats (e.g., eschewing downbeat and unresolved endings). Furthermore, documentary-makers Gillian Leahy and Sarah Gibson critique many television documentaries as 'rarely creating debate'.42 In his article asking 'Whatever happened to the social documentary?', Steve Thomas argues that the primary intention of this genre has always been 'to argue and to influence ... We have been and are challengers first and foremost, not entertainers'.43 He charges social documentary-makers with the responsibility of

engaging in 'new forms of analysis and argument' rather than entertainment and diversion. Whereas reality TV educates audiences to competitive individualism, the call is for social documentaries to be made and exhibited that challenge audiences to actively interpret and engage in social events.

Perhaps the most important role for documentary today is to stimulate political argument rather than superficial chat. Documentary need not propagandize to any one particular point of view but rather, more broadly, to spark lively debate about social structures and informed social engagement. Through these means, all parties may participate in genuine discussion about work, industrial relations and the future.

Thanks to Tom Zubrycki for invaluable provision of research materials and interview, and to Kevin Baker for insights. Thanks also to anonymous referees for useful input, and to conference delegates at The XIIIth Biennial Conference of The Film and History Association of Australia and New Zealand, Melbourne, 2006 for their comments at our presentation of an early draft of this article.

Rebecca Coyle is Course Coordinator for the Media Program at Southern Cross University. Her research into Australian feature film music has resulted in the anthology Reel Tracks: Australian Feature Film Music and Cultural Identities (John Libbey, UK, 2005). She has published numerous other studies of Australian cultural production in the areas of radio, film and music.

Lisa Milner lectures in Media Studies at Southern Cross University. Her main areas of research are non-feature and community film and television productions, particularly documentaries. Her book Fighting Films: A History of the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit was published by Pluto Press in 2003.

### Endnotes

- Extract from 'The Ballad of Kemira' as told to Fred Love by 'The Phantom Poet', South Clifton Colliery. *Common Cause*, 27 October 1982, p.11.
- The Kemira Colliery is located between the Mt Keira coalmine and the Port Kembla steelworks. In 1955 the name of the Osborne-Wallsend mine was changed to 'Kemira', derived from combining Kembla and Ke-ira. It closed as a working mine in 1991.
- Liza Tonkin, 'Place-based Action in Wollongong: the role of union-community al-

- liances in constructing labour geographies of steel', *Australian Geographer*, vol.35, no.1, March 2004, p.63.
- <sup>4</sup> Filmed by a stay-in miner.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'Kemira: Diary of a Strike
   Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John
   Hughes', FilmNews, October 1984, p.13.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'Study Guide', Kemira: Diary of a Strike, http://www.tomzubrycki.com Accessed 1 March 2006.
- <sup>7</sup> Tom Zubrycki, 'Profession, privilege and passion', paper presented at 'Persistence of Vision', the Australian Screen Directors Association conference, 2002 http:// www.tomzubrycki.com.
- Peter Burden, 'Grants for Film Makers', Australian Financial Review, 12 July 1984, p.29.
- Peter Hughes, 'Innovation or audience: the choice for documentary. An examination of the Australian Documentary Fellowship Scheme, 1984–1989'. Screening the Past online journal. Accessed 15 September 1998.
- As quoted on http://www.tomzubrycki. com Accessed 1 March 2006.
- Peter Hughes, 'Strangely Compelling: Documentary on Television', *MIA*, no. 82, November 1996, pp.48–55.
- Cited by Garry Maddox and Sacha Molitorisz, 'Doing their lolly', Sydney Morning Herald, 7 June 2003, http:// www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/06/06/10 54700382750.html Accessed 1 September 2006.
- Zubrycki notes that the ABC would not fund production because it was 'biased' but bought it later. Tom Zubrycki, 'Kemira: Diary of a Strike; Notes on the film's production', Sydney Film Festival Bulletin, no. 3, 1984, p. 2. The ABC had, thirty years earlier, bought The Housing Problem and You, a film sympathetic to workers made by the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit, which was included in ABC Television's Sunday News Magazine in Sydney on 29 September 1957 and in Melbourne on 28 December 1957.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'From Video to Film and Back Again', *Metro*, Melbourne, no. 107, 1996, p.53. *Kemira* was screened at several festivals in Australia, Europe and San Francisco and, among other awards, won the AFI Best Documentary Award in 1984.
- Louise Turk, 'Films, Tours Recapture City's Past', *Illawarra Mercury*, 17 November 2000, p.4.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'From Video to Film and Back Again', *Metro*, Melbourne, no. 107, 1996, p.49.

- See The Painters and Dockers Strike (Tom Zubrycki, 1976).
- Loach's 1983 miners' strike documentary series, *Questions of Leadership*, was banned by the Thatcher government and his 1984 documentary *Which Side are You On?* was made from the striking miners' point of view. Other influential British productions included the television series *Boys from the Blackstuff* (Philip Saville, 1982).
- For example, Woolloomooloo (Pat Fiske, Peter Gailey and Denise White, 1978).
- Tom Zubrycki, interview with Lisa Milner, Sydney, 12 October 2006.
- Quoted in Margaret Smith, 'A Topical Twist to a New Look at the BLF', Australian Financial Review, 29 November 1985, p.48.
- Quoted in Meaghan Morris, 'An Experience of Uneasy Compromise', Australian Financial Review, 23 November 1984, p.40.
- Bill Nichols, Representing Reality. Issues and Concepts in Documentary, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indiana, 1991, p.198.
- See Keith Beattie's discussion in Chapter 1, 'Believe Me, I'm of the World': Documentary Representation, in *Documentary Screens. Non-Fiction Film and Television*, Palgrave/Macmillan, Basingstoke (UK)/ New York, 2004.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'Kemira: Diary of a Strike
   Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John
   Hughes', FilmNews, October 1984, p.14.
- Tom Zubrycki, Talk given to the Independent Scholars Association of Australia, as part of a series of 'Conversations with Cultural Pacemakers' NSW Chapter. State Library of NSW, 2003. http://www.tomzubrycki.com
- <sup>27</sup> See Lisa Milner, Fighting Films. A History of the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit, Pluto Press, North Melbourne (Aust), 2003.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'Kemira: Diary of a Strike Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John Hughes', FilmNews, October 1984, p.12.
- As quoted on the British Film Institute's information site for the film. http://www. screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/530268/index. html Accessed 2 October 2006.
- As has public comprehension of union activity. See Marian Tulloch and John Tulloch, 'Television, Industrial Relations & Audiences: Representing & Reading Strikes', MIA no.70, November 1993, pp.34–42.
- Nacey was an unsuccessful applicant for AFC funding for these projects. Personal

- communication, 1 November 2006.
- Belinda Hickman, 'Sting in the documentary tale', *The Australian*, 22 March 2001.
- The first ABC drama to be shot in high definition video. ABC, Bastard Boys ready to storm the docks. Media release, 3 July 2006. http://abc.net.au/corp/pubs/ media/s1677195.htm Accessed 11 November 2006.
- Concetta Fierravanti-Wells, quoted in Michael Bodey, 'Bias fears over ABC wharfie war series', *The Australian*, 12 August 2006, http://www.the australian.news.com.au/story/0,20867, 20098910-7582,00.html Accessed 1 October 2006.
- Anita Kazmierczak, 'The Year of Living Documentarily', *Inside Film*, no. 73, February 2005, pp.30-31.
- Maritime Union of Australia, 'MUA March 2004 Resolutions', http://www.mua.org. au/journal/parapr\_2004/resolutions2.html Accessed 12 July 2006.
- William A Bluem, Documentary in American Television: Form, Function, Method, Hastings House, New York, 1965, p.71.
- Thomas Elsaesser, 'Film History and Visual Pleasure: Weimar Cinema', in Patricia Mellencamp and Philip Rosen (eds), Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices, American Film Institute Monograph IV, 1984, p.77.
- Tom Zubrycki, 'The documentary film-maker in the age of extremes', The 2000 New South Wales Premier's History Awards Address, delivered at the Wollongong Art Gallery on 17 November 2000, http://www.aftrs.edu.au/index.cfm?objectid=D2EBFD98-D0B7-4CD6-F9CF24E25F1DB Accessed 1 September 2006
- Meaghan Morris, Too Soon Too Late. History in Popular Culture, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indiana, 1998, p.10.
- Marcus Gillezeau and Ellenor Cox, 'Digging for Dollars', *Inside Film*, no. 73, Feb 2005, pp.48–49.
- Gillian Leahy & Sarah Gibson, 'Repression and Expression: The Film-maker's Voice in Australian Documentary', *Metro*, no.135, 2003, pp.91.
- Steve Thomas, 'Whatever Happened to the Social Documentary?', *Metro*, no.134, 2002, p.157.