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‘Showing Some Fight’: *Kemira*’s Documentary Challenge to Industrial Relations

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REBECCA COYLE & 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.[1]

This poem extract was written by a miner (known as The Phantom Poet) who appears in director Tom Zubrycki’s 1984 documentary *Kemira: Diary of a Strike* (henceforth *Kemira*). The lines are quoted while workers and 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 documenting the 1982 sacking of 400 miners, and the 16-day occupation of the Kemira[2] pit by 31 miners. The event represents a specific moment of workplace upheaval in the 1980s but, 25 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.

Two conceptual approaches can be used to unpack both the contemporary function of Zubrycki’s documentary and broader questions of the uses of historical film theory and criticism. Film derives from wider historical processes and events and this is evident in *Kemira* not just in terms of a literal representation of happenings (suggested by the diarised narrative approach) but also in the documentary’s broader theme of worker relations in capitalist societies. Besides documenting the day-by-day organisation 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, typical of other small Australian cities that were profoundly affected by the economic recession in the 1980s. Representations of work, its daily operations, and its laws, organisation, celebrations and disputes, are essential to our culture, past and present. In their 2005 book dealing with cinema as public sphere, *Australian Cinema After Mabo*, 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 these authors argue, the 1992 High Court decision overturning the founding doctrine of *terra nullius* destabilised Australians’ relations 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 taking that further, 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.

Context and Content

In 1982 following two consecutive losses by its steel division, the Broken Hill Propriety Limited (BHP) corporation, then Australia’s monopoly steel producer, restructured its steel operations. It closed 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. The workforce at Australian Iron and Steel (AIS), BHP’s Wollongong steelworks, was cut from over 20 thousand in 1981 to just under 15 thousand 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 resorted to their own action.

Kemira opens with a reenactment of the descent into the mine where 31 miners staged their strike 20 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[4] plus to-camera interviews with wives and children, miners who stayed above ground in the pit top strike centre and Sally Bowen who runs the Women's Auxiliary providing meals for the strikers. Threaded through these perspectives are dramatised recordings of the Coal Industry Tribunal as well as excerpts 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 in a train to Canberra where the 2000-strong protest rally appealing for government intervention culminated in protestors breaking the doors to enter Parliament House. The company agreed to a temporary reprieve but continued to lay off miners and, in the end, the jobs were not reinstated. Union negotiations merely resulted in two weeks 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.

Production and Exhibition

In 1982, when he first started filming at Kemira, 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[5] and other filmmakers donated stock.[6] 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.[7] It was not until 1984 that Zubrycki was awarded $75,000 from the AFC's Australian Documentary Fellowship Program[8], 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 producers/directors and the judges commented on his 'knack for extrapolating the political from the personal'.[10]

Kemira has engaged in public discourse and attracted the public 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]

The film was distributed by the AFI and received theatrical release, most notably at the Sydney Opera House that then showcased independent documentaries. Interest generated by the

theatrical release resulted in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation purchase of *Kemira* for television broadcast, one of the first independently produced documentaries highlighting the actions of working-class people to attract such a purchase.[13] As well as accessing the standard cultural venues of film festivals[14] 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 as a component of celebrations of the area's history.[15] 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 the production of a remastered digital version on DVD.

Approach and Viewpoint

Zubrycki termed the type of verite films exemplified by *Kemira* as 'process-oriented'[16] productions, describing his way of filming 'grassroots' community activities in the 1970s and 1980s, such as Resident Action Groups lobbying for action and worker's strikes and rallies, as they occurred rather than retrospectively.[17] He associated this with the Canadian National Film Board's 'Challenge for Change' 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[18] 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 Film-Makers' Co-operative.[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 Co-op engaged the interest of people who might never otherwise have 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 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 mobilise 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 pit-top. 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 dramatised 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',[22] it may have been presenting a binary that is not evident in the film. In his *Representing Reality*, Bill Nichols argues,

> …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.[23]

The 'truth claim'[24] of *Kemira* is its assertion that the subjects of the work are 'real people', not anonymous as 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 suggests 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.[25]

More recently, Zubrycki asserted that, 'the best way to move and affect an audience' is as a storyteller.[26] 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 de-personalised 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 in the following table:

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

Table 1: Convergence of elements shaping subjectivities.

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, the worker unity is fragmented by the end 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 localised 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.

Representations of Work and Workers

Films about Australian workers most clearly commenced with the output of the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit 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 WWFFU model, filmmakers are not just producers but activists and film unit members took their Kombi van-turned projection unit 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]

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 organisation's representation.

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 weren't 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 industrial disputes, such as *FilmWork* (John Hughes, 1981) or *How the West was Lost* (David Noakes, 1987) and dramatised 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 conveying particular perspectives on events, activities and organisations. *The Bastard Boys* is a four-part ABC miniseries[33] that was funded by the Film Finance Corporation, and 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 to be '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 to be made in Australia (the sort of Michael Moore approach lauded in the USA[35]). At the same time, however, these factors have resulted in proactive activities 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 bringing 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 given more contemporary ways of giving voices to workers.

Documentary's Contemporary Role

> Documentary seeks to inform, but, above all, it seeks to influence…[37]

In a serendipitous connection with Elsaesser's notion of '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.[39]

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 (eg eschewing downbeat and non-clearly resolved 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] Furthermore, 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 propagandise to any one particular point of view but 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.

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[1] Extracted from 'The Ballad of Kemira' as told to Fred Love by 'The Phantom Poet', South Clifton Colliery. *Common Cause*, 27 October 1982, p. 11.
[2] 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 Kem-bla and Ke-ira. It closed as a working mine in 1991.
[3] Liza Tonkin, 'Place-based Action in Wollongong: the role of union–community alliances in constructing labour geographies of steel', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 35, no. 1, March 2004, p. 63.
[4] Filmed by a stay-in miner.
[5] Tom Zubrycki, '*Kemira: Diary of a Strike* - Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John Hughes', *FilmNews*, October 1984, p. 13.
[6] Tom Zubrycki, 'Study Guide', *Kemira: Diary of a Strike*. www.tomzubrycki.com. Accessed 1 March 2006.
[7] Tom Zubrycki, 'Profession, privilege and passion'. Presented at 'Persistence of Vision', The Australian Screen Director's Conference 2002. www.tomzubrycki.com.
[8] Peter Burden, 'Grants for Film Makers', *Australian Financial Review*, 12 July 1984, p. 29.
[9] 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.
[10] As quoted on www.tomzubrycki.com. Accessed 1 March 2006.
[11] Peter Hughes, 'Strangely Compelling: Documentary on Television', *MIA*, no. 82, November 1996, pp. 48-55.
[12] Cited by Garry Maddox and Sacha Molitorisz, 'Doing their lolly', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 2003, http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/06/06/1054700382750.html. Accessed 1 September 2006.
[13] 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.
[14] 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.
[15] Louise Turk, 'Films, Tours Recapture City's Past', *Illawarra Mercury*, 17 November 2000, p. 4.
[16] Tom Zubrycki, 'From Video to Film and Back Again', *Metro*, Melbourne, no. 107, 1996, p. 49.
[17] See *The Painters and Dockers Strike* (Tom Zubrycki, 1976).

[18] 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).
[19] For example, *Woolloomooloo* (Pat Fiske, Peter Gailey and Denise White, 1978).
[20] Tom Zubrycki, interview with Lisa Milner, Sydney, 12 October 2006.
[21] Quoted in Margaret Smith, 'A Topical Twist to a New Look at the BLF', *Australian Financial Review*, 29 November 1985, p. 48.
[22] Quoted in Meaghan Morris, 'An Experience of Uneasy Compromise', *Australian Financial Review*, 23 November 1984, p. 40.
[23] Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality. Issues and Concepts in Documentary*, Bloomington & Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991, p. 198.
[24] 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*, Basingstoke (UK)/New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2004.
[25] Tom Zubrycki, '*Kemira: Diary of a Strike* - Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John Hughes', *FilmNews*, Oct 1984, p. 14.
[26] 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. www.tomzubrycki.com
[27] See Lisa Milner, *Fighting Films. A History of the Waterside Workers' Federation Film Unit*, North Melbourne (Aust): Pluto, 2003.
[28] Tom Zubrycki, '*Kemira: Diary of a Strike* - Interview with Tom Zubrycki by John Hughes', *FilmNews*, October 1984, p. 12.
[29] 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.
[30] 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.
[31] Nacey was an unsuccessful applicant for AFC funding for these projects. Personal communication 1 November 2006.
[32] Belinda Hickman, 'Sting in the documentary tale'. *The Australian*, 22 March 2001.
[33] The first ABC drama to be shot in high definition video. 'Bastard Boys ready to storm the docks'. ABC Media Release, 03/07/2006. http://abc.net.au/corp/pubs/media/s1677195.htm. Accessed 11 November 2006.
[34] Concetta Fierravanti-Wells, quoted in Michael Bodey, 'Bias fears over ABC wharfie war series', *The Australian,* 12 August 2006. http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20098910-7582,00.html Accessed 1 October 2006.
[35] Anita Kazmierczak 'The Year of Living Documentarily', *Inside Film*, no. 73 Feb 2005, pp. 30-31.
[36] Maritime Union of Australia, 'MUA March 2004 Resolutions', http://www.mua.org.au/journal/parapr_2004/resolutions2.html, Accessed 12 July 2006.
[37] William A Bluem, *Documentary in American Television: Form, Function, Method*, New York: Hastings House, 1965, p. 71.
[38] 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.

[39] Tom Zubrycki, 'The documentary filmmaker in the age of extremes', The 2000 New South Wales Premier's History Awards Address, delivered at the Wollongong Art Gallery on November 17, 2000. http://www.aftrs.edu.au/index.cfm?objectid=D2EBFD98-D0B7-4CD6-F9CF24E25F1DB Accessed 1 September 2006.
[40] Meaghan Morris, *Too Soon Too Late. History in Popular Culture*, Bloomington & Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998, p. 10.
[41] Marcus Gillezeau and Ellenor Cox, 'Digging for Dollars', *Inside Film*, no. 73, Feb 2005, pp. 48-49.
[42] Gillian Leahy & Sarah Gibson, 'Repression and Expression: The Film-maker's Voice in Australian Documentary', *Metro*, no. 135, 2003, pp. 91.
[43] Steve Thomas, 'Whatever Happened to the Social Documentary?', *Metro*, no. 134, 2002, p. 157.