RITE OF PASSAGE AND THE "FRIENDLY GAMES" 1956

For Melbourne now has the satisfaction of great memories to treasure and savour privately in the quiet workaday days to come, when the visitors have gone home.

The Age
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The Olympic Year opened with the expectations that it would be Victoria's "most exciting twelve months ever". However, a smooth transition from the crises of previous years was not possible. Renewed industrial problems during the final stages of construction of the MCG stand; the staging in July of the Equestrian Events in Stockholm where Brundage reminded Kent Hughes of "how things should be done"; the bitter public brawling over Tanner's unfounded allegations that the Duke of Edinburgh was being squeezed out of the Opening Ceremony; and the black-ban by overseas newsreel and television networks as a result of a dispute
over payment for rights combined to keep the atmosphere of crisis alive. Similarly, the economy remained troubled by shortages, inflation and industrial dispute to such a degree it was necessary to reassure an anxious public that predictions of an imminent depression were unfounded.

Chapters 1 and 2 have examined the purpose and preparations of the Games. The actual form of their presentation requires a full study in itself. This chapter will be limited to an examination of the ways in which purpose coalesced with form to produce harmony between the Games themselves and the broader discourse of national achievement and unity. The specific focus is the restoration of the hegemonic order and the establishment of the dominant meaning. This occurred through the absorption of the population, whose support had been claimed all along, within the metaphor of "Friendliness".

The presentation of the Games is a "cultural performance" of a Rite of Passage, defined by MacAlloon as:

More than entertainment, more than didactic or persuasive formulations, and more than cathartic indulgences. They are occasions in which as a society or culture we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others.

The Rite follows three overlapping stages.
Masquerade and separation from the everyday.

On the surface, a natural momentum seemed to be gathering. The Olympic Year opened with a spectacular fireworks display and Melbourne people began "working like beavers in all directions". The Civic Committee finalised its accommodation scheme and recruited volunteers to act as drivers, interpreters and guides. Preliminary visits by overseas officials alerted the public to the short time remaining. The preparations of Australian athletes and swimmers were the subject of enormous public interest. The spate of world records broken in training produced large crowds at the Olympic trials and created the expectation of a world-class showing at the Games. The new pool provided a focal point for the public, who swarmed over it in their thousands during the final stages of its construction. David Martin argued that it symbolised the break from a generation of war and depression, and its youthful modernism won the approval of expert and lay-person alike. The appearance of decorations, commemorative stamps and a huge range of advertising ephemera brought the Games further to the centre of daily life. The expectation of the arrival of the Duke of Edinburgh to open the Games as part of an informal "thankyou" visit after the 1954 Royal Tour further galvanised public involvement.
The OOC viewed this groundswell enthusiastically, but remained wary of its unchannelled, over-zealous nature. A riot at the 1956 VFL Grand Final, where spectators overwhelmed police and invaded the Members' reserve, reminded the OOC that they still had not succeeded after seven years of effort to make the public "Olympic-minded". Brundage's demands for a total effort by Melbourne to atone for its crises made it essential that the public be thoroughly acquainted with their responsibilities as hosts and spectators in ensuring the success of the Games.⁸ To ensure this a "reorientation of thought processes" was necessary. The Games had become a collective responsibility, but its implementation was the duty of each individual. In part this emphasis on the role of the individual renewed focus on individual members of the OOC who had been responsible for the public wrangling of the years of crisis.⁹ These crises had become part of the broader debate about "The Australian Way of Life". This concept had become common parlance by the mid 1950's but remained ill-defined.¹⁰ The vague, semi-mystical tone of the concept, which embraced both a laconic egalitarianism and the promise of maturity and possibly greatness, effectively legitimated the paradigm of post-war Liberalism, with its emphasis on private life, self-declassification and developmentalism. But the dualism of the concept remained its weakness and a source of concern to intellectuals attempting to refine it. Stanner represented the dualism in terms of
"weeds and flowers" flourishing in the same soil and manifesting themselves in the way Australians did things. This internal conflict prevented the concept from advancing from description to the point where it possessed sufficient dynamism to develop rituals that were its own celebration and internal cohesion.¹¹

The "Call to the People of Australia" in 1951 indicated the depth of concern to achieve this representation of unity. Its failure only drew further attention to the vacuum. The failure of World War 2 to revitalise the Anzac mythology; the lack of public acceptance of the iconography and ritual of the US alliance and the failure of the 1954 Royal Tour to engender a "New Elizabethan Age" all drew further attention to the absence of sustaining ritual. By 1956, the Games had become a yardstick of Australian achievement. Preparations for them seemed to have produced many more weeds than flowers, and to produce a reversal of this order, the journey through the Olympic Rite of Passage would have to develop a "new epistemological strategy, a mode of knowing".¹²

By its nature the Rite led to a process of reflexivity. As spectators, whose presence and involvement were essential to the efficacy of the whole ritual, were drawn closer to the centre of the action, they begin to reflect on the rules and structures of the ritual and the society of which they and it were a part. MacAlloon has noted that the Olympics produce
a potent form of "popular ethnography" in which storytelling and "cultural commentary" is made as much by the hosts about themselves as it is by and about their visitors. This commentary in Australia seemed to be about "weeds" rather than "flowers" and the Australian way of doing things was characterised more by bumbling, the second-rate and indifference than by unity and achievement. General exhortation and praise were not sufficient to provide the new meaning that could restore the hegemonic balance. What was necessary was the isolation of a positive national characteristic that could define all forms of behaviour related to the Games and thus provide incontrovertible evidence of a moral core in "The Australian way of Life" where the less positive aspects would appear aberrant rather than integral.

Certainly attempts had been made to mine the resources of the concept to find language to compensate for the changes to the hegemonic balance. Kent Hughes promised a "cordial and happy atmosphere" as a showcase to "the way of life of this fast growing young nation". Luxton believed he had identified an improvement in the "rather more intangible side of things" where public interest in the Games was growing. He saw the task as showing the Olympic Games and ideal to "the people of Australia". To this end he urged his colleagues of the Royal Empire Society to get the Games into "their right perspective" as part of "our way of life" and to convince others of the same.
This challenge to integrate the concepts was taken up by the Victorian Junior Chamber of Commerce (VJCC). In this its members fulfilled the role of "intellectuals" defined by Kemp as persons "specialised in the use of ideas, regardless of the purposes to which those ideas are put". The significant point is the purpose to which they were put. The VJCC existed to provide "service, Action...fellowship, Education" in support of business. It was a vigorous organisation and showed a willingness to grasp the initiative in new or difficult areas. It had developed an interest in international affairs and was closely involved in the Overseas Students Coordinating Committee, Good Neighbour Council and the World Federation of UN Associations. 16

The VJCC initially became involved in the Games when it decided that Melbourne should recreate the "impeccable behaviour" shown by the Finns in 1952. It intended to conduct the campaign through the schools, but The Sun proposed a broader public campaign. This became "Courtesy Week". The week between 14 and 20 October was taken up with a series of contests to find Melbourne's most courteous newsboy, driver, tramman and shop assistant. At the same time, the public was invited to submit suggestions on ways to take the initiative in welcoming visitors. 17
In its content "Courtesy Week" was innocuous enough. But its significance lies in the way in which it drew attention again to the issue of dualism in "The Australian Way of Life". The VJCC shifted the focus from the OOC leadership and placed it on the public. The thousands of visitors and journalists would be reporting "fully on our culture, our friendliness and our potential for development". The key to a successful presentations of these aspects of life was through a friendly, courteous first impression of members of the public and service industries. But the question remained whether Australia was "a land of friendly hospitable people— or... the home of rudeness and incivility". The VJCC did not concern itself with this philosophical issue of whether goodness was innate in Australians. Rather, it proposed a method whereby its flowers could flourish where they already existed, be planted where they did not and all "weeds" eradicated. It would "show the public" how to behave. In doing this it restored the hierarchical authority to the Games that had been lost by the OOC. Political and business leaders defined the terms and did the judging while the VJCC "invited all of Melbourne to actively participate".  

At the conclusion of "Courtesy Week" a significant shift in meaning had been achieved. The VJCC believed that prior to the week Melbourne had a reputation for friendliness, but contained the capacity to tarnish it through the actions of a minority. After the week, VJCC President, D.S. Joy stated
It is our profound hope that the people of Melbourne will now show the utmost respect, courtesy and tolerance... not only during the Games but for ever after. (author's emphasis)

This observation reveals two significant shifts in the perception of the human agency in the national way of life. First, if goodness was not innate, the way had been shown to eradicate all non-conforming behaviour. Secondly, such behaviour was to be the expected standard in the post-Games period.19

While the VJCC was not a major body in its own right, it played a crucial role in defining the manner in which the Games would be staged and the final meaning ascribed to them. It articulated and set the terms of reference for themes that in the writings of others had seemed to have emerged almost of their own accord without reference to the broader culture. After "Courtesy Week", the innate goodness of the people was taken as given. This was both an assumption and an ascription for behaviour. The form of behaviour expected from "our warm hearted people" was to be such that "Class, creed, politics, color or race should not matter". The form was to be smiles and hand shakes. But the new meaning still lacked a unifying metaphor that could combine assumption and ascription in a unified whole that would carry this dominant meaning through the remainder of the passage.20.
The metaphor of "Friendliness" emerged from the content of "The Australian Way of Life" discourse, Olympic philosophy and the genuine support of the population. But its sum was greater than its parts, in that it gave clarity to what was previously uncertain. This was unassailable proof that the positive aspects of the discourse—unity and classlessness, could be enacted naturally. "Friendliness" was not prescribed. Rather, it developed during the process of reflexivity as the crowd or spectators steadily came closer to the centre of the action and reflected on the structure of both the performance and the society of which it was a part. In this way, "Friendliness" became the frame or filter through which the reflection occurred.

"Courtesy Week" had taken place as overseas athletes began arriving at the Village and the final Australian team trials were occurring. The Village was the first place at which the metaphor was defined. The Village, opened on 29 October, had been among the original sites of the crisis. It now stood as a triumph of Australia's capacity to organise. All teams agreed it was the best accommodation ever provided. 21 These were the first Games held out of the shadow of World War 2 (although the threat of a new one was looming). No doubt any group of young, keen and well-fed athletes would provide its share of laughter, spontaneity and warmth. This was present in abundance in Melbourne. But the Village was more. Religious services were forbidden there because of the impossibility
of catering for so many denominations. In the place of religion the Olympic ideal seemed to flourish like a glimpse of an ideal world. This ideal was held up to all Australians as "the standard by which we measure our own manners and habits". But it had not occurred entirely spontaneously. 23

The athletes were anxious to get on with each other. They were assisted in many ways by the people of Melbourne. The Village was conducted as a model of Australian suburbia, with individual houses and domestic duties, housekeeping and "mothering" conducted along the lines of gender division of Australian society. The people besieged the Village. 35,000 drove past on a weekend day, while children maintained a vigil in their quest for autographs. Police claimed it was "driving us mad", but the naive enthusiasm that saw an unknown Uruguayan fencer sign autographs for 4½ hours, was overwhelming. 24

This mutually created atmosphere between guest and host was increasingly recognised as an "infectious" friendship. Actions of all types by competitors, officials and the population in general were now measured in terms of their "Friendliness" as an all-embracing description. Eight days before the Opening ceremony, The Age could observe without the need to comment, that an Australian and Indian discussing running spikes marked an occasion in which "THE FRIENDLY SPIRIT of the Games is typified". 25
This "Friendliness" had been moved onto a higher plane by the way in which the Games had been engulfed in international conflict. The overlap of the Western attack on Egypt and the Soviet invasion of Hungary posed many problems for the IOC and IOC. A number of countries threatened boycotts in protest at one or other action, while the threat of world war was real. The Hungarian team became a symbol of its nation's troubles and struggle. It was only able to get out of Europe after the direct intervention of IOC chancellor Mayer. The conflicts had mixed results for each of the invaders. Britain, France and Israel succeeded in re-opening the Suez Canal. But the price was a rift in the Western Alliance as the US had opposed the "police action". This secret attack smacked of treachery and led to loss of face worldwide. This was true in Australia since Menzies' comic opera attempts at statesmanship had been an integral part of the whole farce. Similarly, the Soviet Union succeeded in crushing the revolution and kept Hungary in the Warsaw Pact. But its attempts to throw off the taint of Stalinism at the XXth Congress now seemed hollow in the light of the tanks sent into Budapest. The real result was the acknowledgment that the world had been divided into blocs. Western aid to Hungary consisted of words and financial assistance. Soviet assistance to Egypt consisted of the same. Both refused to commit military sources and tacitly acknowledged the other's sphere.
A large part of the Soviet team arrived on the liner Gruzia on 8 November. The ship also contained the bulk of the Hungarian team. They knew nothing of recent events where the apparently successful revolution had been irrevocably crushed. The Hungarians were a microcosm of their society. Most appeared to support the revolution—a few as fascists, some as a return to capitalism and the majority as a step towards an independent socialist Hungary. They were united in replacing the official, Soviet-inspired Hungarian flag with the traditional Kossuth version. But they were met by émigré groups who were implacably anti-socialist and anti-Soviet. 27 This posed a serious problem for the IOC. Brundage had made it clear that nations being in conflict was no reason to prevent their athletes from competing. The Soviets had been the most eagerly awaited team, not only by the Left in Australia but by a curious public in general. MacAlloon has observed that at each Games one nation is singled out as the object of curiosity and crowd favouritism. In many ways the Soviets filled this role. 28 The solution to the problem lay in the unfolding "Friendliness" metaphor. The IOC wanted the Games to go on; the athletes wished to compete; the Soviets needed to present a human face; while the West required a morally unassailable position to compensate for their refusal to assist Hungary. "Friendliness" was adopted as the mechanism by all parties, and took on new levels of meaning as it became the form of resolution of international conflict. 29
Each side enthused over the other's friendliness. The remainder of the Soviets who had arrived by air were reported as perfectly behaved and very friendly. The voyage of the Gruzia had been "a good trip, everyone was very friendly", according to the manager. Another Soviet official promised, "You have been very friendly—we too want to be friendly." In the Village, the British and Soviet managers met by accident and promised that "friendliness" would be shown to all competitors.30

The growing, but still ill-defined concept was given sharper focus by official pronouncements. Mayer decreed:

The Games must contribute to friendship among peoples and this is just the moment for the Olympics to fulfill their humanitarian role in the interests of peace.

The OOC banned political, religious and racial discussions at the Village, and "Friendliness" was placed on a level of moral integrity above politics and international tension. Rock and Roll became its currency in the Village.31

The catalyst in requiring such edicts was the continuing protests of Hungarian emigrés. Their actions were portrayed as a betrayal of Australia, no matter how much the population in general supported their cause. Their demonstrations were banned by police. The reason given was that they caused "damage to Australia's reputation for hospitality". Again the focus was on Australia's way of life and the role of the
individual in defining and defending it. Kent Hughes appealed to the press not to exploit misunderstanding of "our ways of life or modes of thought" on the part of athletes in an attempt to obtain material on the international crisis. He appealed to individual athletes and spectators to support the higher ideals. These ideals directly affected Australia's reputation and drew public attention to the way in which the "Friendliness" metaphor had already removed much of the legacy of the earlier crises.\(^{33}\)

Kent and Merritt see "more than a little irony" in this action, given the Cold war stance of Kent Hughes in particular and the press in general. But this was recognised at the time as a "supreme test of tact" and a responsibility in the greater hegemonic need. Continued demonstrations would be linked with earlier disputes that gave the impression that Australians were a "quarrelsome race". The Governor reminded guests at the Lord Mayor's dinner that overseas critics regarded "our national way of self criticism as an expression of inability".\(^{34}\)

The clear and urgent solution was that the demonstrations had to be stopped. At Darwin a final plane-load of Eastern Bloc athletes was preceded by a broadcast warning that demonstrators would be dealt with severely. Two years previously demonstrating emigrés at airports had produced an enduring "iconography of national consciousness" during the
Petrov affair. That had been about clear cut images of good and evil. In 1956 the qualities remained, but the alignment in the needs of the dominant hegemony shifted. The need was to "PROVE that we are a warmhearted and friendly people". 35

This was first achieved by the absorption of the Soviets into the "Friendliness" metaphor. The Soviets visited US coaches and officials at the Village for a "chat" that quickly turned into a vodka party. The following day 80 Australian athletes applauded the Soviets in training and exchanged gifts with them. 36 The Village was portrayed as the "miracle of Melbourne", a measure of Australia's ability to achieve what no other country would have dared or cared to take on. "Friendliness" had been moved to a higher plane by the world events that threatened to destroy it and the Games. This seemingly apolitical friendliness now became the yardstick by which all subsequent aspects of the Games were to be perceived and portrayed. 37

The full definition of the metaphor and its integration as the previously absent moral core of Australian life occurred as an atmosphere of carnival and inversion began. Although Melbourne remained rather staid (Coles Cafeteria extended it hours until 8pm, licensed establishments "bent" theirs) it exhibited the fundamental characteristics of carnival. Carnival is a time of joy where the street becomes the place where spatial organisation and relations between
groups are homologous (while remaining complex and contested) to national and domestic relations. "Friendliness" was the common element of both. The arrival of the Olympic torch and commencement of its relay, public viewing of newly introduced television, and the illumination of the city produced "a carnival spirit... bubbling like wine." The Olympic fever reached its peak when 300 000 people packed the city, police calls to have the city blocked having failed. The carnival threatened to get out of hands when police had to be called to prevent a riot by a crowd seeking to gain entry to the pool to watch the training taking place. Over 800 police paraded through the city to remind the crowd that there were limits to their behaviour, and that tactful firmness would be the order of the day to ensure the continued function of "the commercial activities" of the city.

As the public moved from the role of spectator to active involvement, didacticism gave way to reflexivity. Kapferer explains this as the point at which the "self" is formulated. Individuals are able to see, and engage in conversation with the "other" that in combination with "I" makes up the "self." Reality is seen in new ways and in a new language people are able to talk about what they normally talk. The self they saw appeared to be the embodiment of "The Australian Way of Life" which to that point had been regarded as a problematic ideal rather than a lived experience.
The first stage of reflexivity consisted of an awareness of the process of analysis commencing. This occurred through the observations of visitors who affirmed the undoubted existence of "Friendliness" as the crux of "the Australian Way of Life". Such affirmations led The Sun to remark:

Makes you feel good to be an Australian, makes you feel proud we're an Olympic city, don't you think?

More significantly, the affirmation came from within. Sports Illustrated suggested that the years of wrangling might make it necessary for outsiders to remind Australians how good their way of life was. This was not necessary. "Friendliness" indicated Australians were basically sound. Reg Leonard of The Sun had played a key role in Courtesy Week. He was now moved to observe: "There's much more GOOD than bad in this community—and I reckon we should all be looking for it." 42

This innate goodness had been brought to the surface by the capacity of "Friendliness" to create in its own image a microcosm of a potentially harmonious world. It remained to develop this analysis into a fully articulated legitimation of "The Australian Way of Life." 43 Although the innate goodness in the Australian character was taken as given (if sometimes dormant) it still remained a duty to present Australia as an orderly nation, "able to control our own affairs, our own passion, and our own people." 44 As the carnival reached a peak in the final days prior to the Opening Ceremony on 22 November, "Friendliness" occupied the
centre of meaning of Melbourne's Olympics. The hegemonic crisis became a "bad dream", and the worldwide criticism "no more than dusty headlines in the newspaper files". In this way the inversion of carnival exorcised the crises and in the now semi-mystical state of "wordless friendship", the metaphor of "Friendliness" became the measure of success of the Games which had not yet commenced.  

The final affirmation required was that of Brundage. Over a period of days he was badgered into guaranteeing the success of the Games on the basis of the Australian way of doing things. On 17 November he claimed they would be "an undoubted success". Luxton interjected "the most successful ever", an amendment accepted by Brundage. Two days later he remarked that "in 50 years of Olympic activity, I have never seen a higher level of public interest in, and enthusiasm for, the Olympic movement." Brundage's admission of the success of the Games was absorbed into a celebration of "The Australian Way of Life." Brundage admitted:

It is not to be denied we were worried and had our doubts at times, until we discovered that the Australians were different—that while Australians do insist on doing things in their own peculiar way, when they say a thing will be done, they mean it.

This admission implicitly legitimated the euphemisms that disguised the internal conflicts of the way of life concept, and was strikingly similar in its wording. A representative
example explained that "The Melbourne worker might give the impression of being lackadaisical, even lazy. But he always manages to get the job done on time." In his response, the Governor Sir Dallas Brookes cemented the process when he claimed that the Australian way of life went far beyond an interest in athletic contests. Australia was building a civilization based on friendliness, equality and freedom from want.

2. Liminality and the achievement of "Communitas."

The inversion became complete as 300,000 people swarmed over the city streets on the eve of the Opening Ceremony. On 22 November most city businesses were closed for the public holiday, and the few open "reported the biggest degree of absenteeism in history". The Opening Ceremony was unusual. Over 100,000 packed the Main Stadium and an inestimable number gathered to watch the passage of the athletes from the Village. The actual rituals were relatively ineffective. The Duke of Edinburgh's speech took less than ten seconds, while those of Kent Hughes and the Anglican Archbishop were pompous and doleful respectively. Only the lighting of the flame by Ron Clarke seemed to be in tune with the highly charged emotional atmosphere.
Yet to all present, the moment was one of unparalleled emotional power. It was recognised as "the highest and most unifying experience to have occurred in Australia's history. In the struggle to ascribe a valid meaning to the experience in the failure of official speakers to do so, the awareness grew that the experience itself was its own meaning. The actual achievement of the moment, which had seemed so unlikely on so many occasions, was cause for wonder in itself. The moment, the achievement and the emotion were all one—the crowd itself. The "sheer physical impact of that enormous, hot, generous crowd" produced Melbourne's "new Olympic calm". Thus the predefined metaphor of "Friendliness" became the dominant meaning of the Games from their first act, and the source and vehicle of the liminality essential to the success of the Rite of Passage.\(^{51}\)

Liminality is variously defined as that point and place in the Rite where a "pure truth", usually in the form of a single word emerges from the reflection of all participants on their society and their place in it. The shared experience of "Friendliness" became the means by which "in the mind of each lives the image of their communion". This was achieved adductively—the crowd shares with the athlete a common emotional bond on a higher level than the surface appearance of their activities, so that "the "truth" is experienced in the indicative mood as an absolute is".\(^{52}\)
The role of the crowd in creating this "communitas" was instantly recognised. The unbridled enthusiasm of the crowd, which packed the Main Stadium and pool each day, and which keenly took to lesser known sports, overcame the inevitable organisational difficulties, Melbourne's staidness and the lingering international tensions. MacAlloon has observed that the Olympics are a unique, "ramified" performance genre. It consists of its constituent parts of game, festival, ritual and spectacle. The spectacle threatened to absorb all others. But in Melbourne they existed in unique harmony. Melbourne's provincialism and isolation from the rest of the world meant that the Games dominated the city and its life. The vast crowds at the Main stadium and elsewhere provided the spectacle by their sheer magnitude. Yet by the pervasiveness of the "Friendliness" metaphor, the crowd remained a central and defining part of the other genres. No one part dominated the other, and the potentially destructive spectacle element enhanced the other genres in the development of the overall arching "Friendliness".

In the course of the Games the coalescence of genres occurred on many occasions to allow that reimagining and reencountering of the fundamental structures of life that produced a sense of "communitas." The repetition of these moments when time seemed to collapse, produced enormous emotional intensity. Shirley Strickland was a mature adult in
1956. Her conflict with petty officials and struggle to combine parenthood and a career with athletics left her no illusions of an idealised notion of sport. Yet she found the emotion overwhelming:

I couldn't believe the involvement of the crowd and the immensely powerful emotion which was expressed. For months afterwards I would wake up at night and could still feel that emotion.

Murray Rose had to stop looking out of his bus window en route to the pool, as the power of the expectations of spectators lining the route prevented him from concentrating on his race tactics. Similarly, the victories of the Soviet distance runner Kuts produced remarkable transformations. The Soviet journalist Vanyar observed how the emotional involvement with Kuts overturned traditional arrangements. In the city, "even the imperturbable policemen left their posts and joined the crowds in front of their TV sets." Inside, the universal acclaim of the crowd produced an "emotion which transcended every kind of worldly barrier".  

This absolute centrality of the crowd in the Rite had two effects. First, it reinforced the "Friendliness" metaphor as an apparently natural aspect of Australian life. Secondly, the crowd gradually came to be seen in their full context as the Games unfolded. The facade of Melbourne's staid suburbia was drawn back to reveal a parallel world of poverty and housing shortages. Its archaic licensing laws hinted at a far deeper
conflict and repression, manifested in the frequent sound of breaking beer bottles at events. As Da Matta has observed, the state of "communitas" is achieved only by overcoming the risks produced in the temporary overwhelming of the existing order. The Rite remained incomplete. The crowd, now at the centre, were in a liminal state, and experiencing the state of "communitas". But it was unfocussed, and ran the risk of moving off into uncharted waters.\textsuperscript{56}

The success of the Games had quickly become apparent. The magnitude of the overseas blackout of television and newsreel coverage was obscured and minor problems with facilities brushed aside. Even the highly publicised water polo brawl between Hungary and the Soviet Union was reabsorbed within the overall "Friendliness" when it was seen that the Soviet offenders would be punished and the crowd hostility had come from emigrés rather than mainstream Australians.\textsuperscript{57} In the process of becoming a central actor, the crowd had espoused diffuse causes including the acceptance of Soviet athletes, that appeared to be at variance with broader dominant values. Their temporary power was enormous, and remained unfocussed. The final stage of the Rite was to ascribe a specific meaning to the crowd's action that would be binding in future.\textsuperscript{57}

3. Reaggregation and the ascription of meaning
The successful conclusion of a rite of Passage to ensure that liminality supports the host society and does not drift off into alternative meanings, requires conciliation and mediation. The metaphor of "Friendliness" fused Olympic and "Australian Way of Life" discourses into a seemingly indivisible whole. Yet both lacked adequate resolution. "The Australian Way of Life" remained problematic and unfinished; the Olympics had as yet to develop a suitable concluding form. The risk was that the crowd would see its own agency and place "Friendliness" into a different relation within the dominant discourse. 58

Stanner had predicted that the indivisible Australian core would be recognised by "the wise traveller, the external observer, even the satirist". John Ian Wing, the architect of the Closing Ceremony provided these three outsider qualities, while also being an Australian. A shy, but deep-thinking 17 year old, Wing wrote anonymously to Ken Hughes during the Games. He argued that as the Games had been the most successful ever on the basis of the friendliness of the people, which had erased all the earlier "muddle", it was appropriate to consider a Closing ceremony that reflected and acknowledged this. Olympic Closing Ceremonies were rather lame affairs. Each nation was represented by a sole flag bearer, and most athletes had already left or failed to attend. For spectators it was an anti-climax. Wing proposed that athletes and spectators form a final unified
acknowledgment of the Olympic ideal. He suggested that the athletes assemble as a group, defined by their common humanity rather than in national formation. They would then "walk freely and wave to the crowd". Wing was adamant that "THEY MUST NOT MARCH." He hoped that at that moment, the whole world would be "1 NATION".  

While Wing was inspired by a vision of international unity, his experiences as an outsider from "The Australian way of Life" informed his desire to form "1 NATION". As a Chinese-Australian he had observed much of life from his bedroom window above his parents' Bourke St. restaurant. As an athlete he spent hours running each day, always training alone. He developed an obsessive interest in the Games, and felt a growing fear that incompetence and world tension would prevent the Games being held. He waited outside the MCG during the Opening Ceremony, again an outsider. The military precision and stilted speeches seemed to be creating unnecessary tension. It was then that he decided to act.

Wing's Closing Ceremony achieved successful mediation in a number of ways. First, it provide a final recapitulation and condensation of the whole Rite to that point. As such, it became a new Rite in itself. In this case "Friendliness" and "communitas" were taken as given, not as problematic and didactically constructed. Thus the pre-conditions for its own formation were absorbed. Secondly, the new Rite moved these
states to a higher level. The individual and the nation appeared indivisible in the total absorption of "Friendliness". Thirdly, this was achieved by the manner in which the Closing Ceremony included the crowd in the full range of spatial relations of the Rite, but concluded with one meaning only. The crowd was moved to the absolute centre when the disorganised athletes paid homage to the ordered crowd, which became both spectator and actor when it recognised this and cheered first itself, and then the athletes in thanks. At this moment of complexity and unity, societal ambiguities seemed to give way to a higher level solidarity. Periphery and centre seemed identical and posed a model for the metaphorical representation of the nation itself. 61

Unlike the Opening Ceremony, the Closing ceremony worked as a cultural performance. Its subjunctive messages to be brought back into everyday life drew from the dignity and maturity of both the ceremony and the whole Rite. So great was the overlap of the elementary with the everyday, that "Friendliness" seemed innate and organic to both states. These moments seemed to reconcile the fundamental problem of the relationship of the individual to social structures—each is identical with the other. 62 The enactment of these themes provided a message to the whole world of an unassailable evidence (rather than didactic onus of proof) of Australia's innate ability to provide for
itself and others "bonds of friendship and respect transcending barriers of language, ethnicity, class and ideology." But as Gruneau reminds us, the making of the meaning of any "cultural text" is as important as the meaning one must always be careful that when attempting to understand what a cultural text means one does not lose sight of how it has been made, of who has made it.

What occurred was that the "cultural text" of the Closing Ceremony, and thus the meaning of the entire Rite, was transferred to the society at large. First the possibility and practicability of this process was established. Newspaper Leaders and clergymen were adamant that the "Friendliness" which proved that "our national character can be lifted" to the heights recognised by Australians and visitors alike, must not be allowed to dissipate. The second stage marked a substantial development in the restoration of the Games as an unquestionable vehicle of hegemony. The success of the Games was the result of the "whole community" acting in conjunction with, but always behind, the OOC. Continued local assessment and the flood of overseas praise reinforced the sense of achievement through an innate Australian unity. This was increasingly presented in semi-mystical terms. The Sydney Morning Herald observed that while "The Australian normally shies away from such abstractions... the Games clearly gave hundreds of thousands of us a memorable lesson in the power of intangibles."
The claim that Australia possessed a unique capacity for unity opened up a number of possible interpretations. David Martin pleaded that that the meaning was "The people can be trusted, the people can be relied on." The Left attempted to develop themes of international peace and cooperation from the experience of the Games. The Guardian praised "the strength of the people" in keeping the Games and recalled Menzies' warning of 1952 that the nation should prepare for war within three years. 67

But this was a minority opinion. The "Olympic-go-get-it-done-spirit" was portrayed as the inevitable driving force of a burst of national development. In local terms it set "the apostle for action" Bolte on his way:

It became a matter of national pride. The success of the Games gave everyone a lift. "We've done it" was a universal reaction. Those Games made the State government for its drive, morale and confidence received a boost from that time on which it never lost. 68

In some ways there was a direct flow from activities begun in the lead up to the Games. These included tourist promotion and a general "booster" tour of the US by Bolte in May 1956 in which he linked Melbourne's sporting prowess to a more general "potential as a developing nation". More
significantly, the Games were seen as having a crucial role in the overall development of Australia. The Games were the biggest thing to happen to Australia, particularly for younger people for whom they would assume a significance as great as the world wars had for older people. Unlike the Royal Tour of 1954, about which similar claims had been made, the Games were understandable in their own terms. The youthful athletes, the huge crowds and the amassed technology formed the iconography of "Friendliness". 70

"Friendliness" achieved this by embodying in a whole and real form that which before had seemed intangible and flawed. First, the Games provided solid cultural ground and "firm, viable new things proved and ennobled by use", the absence of which had made so much of "The Australian Way of Life" rhetoric empty. The Closing Ceremony had shown that an innate goodness had prevailed and formed a cohesive Australian whole. This had been observed and acknowledged by both local and overseas critics. The emergence of "Friendliness" from the liminality of the Closing Ceremony meant that it retained the vague, mystical aspect that made "The Australian Way of Life" so amenable to dominant values. This amorphousness allowed for the elision of the experience of the Games with claims for a more general satisfaction with daily life. Australians were not only laconic—as a result of the Games they were purposeful, united and "above all they are proud of being Australians". 71
The general consensus was that a fundamental change had occurred in which "young Australia reached full maturity". This maturity was seen in a new capacity for understanding ourselves and others based on confidence to successfully undertake the largest projects. The process by which this occurred was a final and irrefutable proof that, with clear leadership, the guiding force of "The Australian Way of Life" was good. Stanner had proposed a theory of opposites based on flowers and weeds. In the most perceptive of contemporary analyses, Gavan Souter proposed opposites of a different degree from within the discourse. Souter pointed out that green was the dominant colour of the 1956 Games. It was the colour of the uniforms of Australian athletes, officials and volunteers while Melbourne's parks, gardens and boulevards were "beautifully green". The colour was particularly apt for Australia. On the one hand green represents "vitality, not withered or worn out"; while on the other it means "immature, undeveloped, inexperienced". Souter argued that the latter meaning typifies the "hysterical" preparations; while the presentation was one of vitality and therefore maturity. Souter was frank about the disastrous preparations and the inevitable imperfections of the presentation. But the unity and maturity was beyond question. As the weeds of immaturity disappeared, the cultivated flowers of "Friendliness" gave the appearance of
permanence that belied the recentness of their planting. The maturity and unity of the Games produced the consensus missing in the struggle of Menzies' attempts to weld a Liberal ideology embracing all Australians to the section interests of private capital. His 1958 Election slogan "Australia Unlimited" with its combination of growth in harmony became the articulation of the achievement of the Games. Elemental life experienced in the mass of the Main Stadium provided the moment of self-declassification as the dominant way of the Menzies years. While the Liberal hegemony may have been established in the electoral landslide of 1955, it consolidated itself on the unsurpassed national emotion that produced Menzies' "green and pleasant memories".74

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For these memories to remain as a manifestation of an innate seamless character of Australian life, it was necessary to obscure their metaphorical and historical origins. This first arose in response to the Official Report. Here the old brawling between amateurs and business threatened to surface again in the dispute over the ownership of the original idea for the Games. Further brawling would endanger the seamless quality that "Friendliness" had assumed. Moir believed "Big business", notably Beaurepaire and his companies were out to seek all credit. But the national significance of the
hegemony was greater than the claim of any faction. The Games had left an "indelible imprint on...our national life and thought" that Menzies recognised would have an "enduring human significance". As a result, the Official Report was unable to accurately chart the origins of the Games for fear of revealing the full extent of mismanagement. 75

The meaning ascribed to the Games, and thus to national life appeared powerful. But the circumstances of its achievement had been risky and dangerous. Kent Hughes admitted privately that the public had not forgotten the crises that preceded the triumph. In contrast to his ebullient public pronouncements he admitted that up to ten days before the Games he had strong doubts about the support of the people. He confessed to McGovern that "None of us could have foreseen the atmosphere that they created". The delight and surprise in ruling class circles over the organisers' influence "on the behaviour on the people generally" gave way to the recognition of its national significance. 76 Accordingly the Official Report gave recognition to both amateurs and business in getting the Games, without ever indicating the bitterness of the factional fighting. Other contemporary reports gave the impression only of farcical "squabbles." The whole period of crisis was ignored on the basis of its being "of local interest only." 77

Instead the meaning of the Games as limited to an
ahistorical account of "Friendliness". The people were acknowledged for playing an active role in accepting responsibility to smooth over international tensions. But all agency for the broader meaning of "Friendliness" was denied. In its place images of "subtle contagion" and the Games' "own momentum" appeared. Kent Hughes, so frank in private could only speculate on "whatever the reason" in public. 78 In the Official Report E.A. Doyle claimed that the Games both made and unmade history in their contribution to world peace. He left it for the "historian who writes in future time to assess this role. A similar pattern occurred within Australian class relations. The huge, mighty crowd "made the Olympics". The people made history. But their incorporation unmade that history. The mighty, unpredictable crowd was reduced to a collection of affable individuals deserving "a pat on the back." David Martin hoped that the lesson of the Games would be that the people could now prove that they could be trusted and relied upon. This was not the case. Kent Hughes observed

The more the general public realizes the effect of their actions, the more they are likely to carry on the good work in the future.

And what they were being told was that the success of the Games had come about because all Australians worked to "a schedule of their own" known only to Australians. Not content with truncating the story to obscure its construction, Kent
Hughes observed that contentment with this achievement would not be tolerated as

Doing what is expected of him is not good enough for an Aussie. He is always striving to get one better.79

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The people had entered the stage well prior to their expected call, and during the Games shared centre stage with athletes and officials. This agency was incorporated into a commonsense legitimation of "The Australian Way of Life" by emphasising the passive spectator and consumer roles.80

The Games provided an unprecedented message in consumerism. While the crowd was an active agent in its direct participation, the people in general also played a passive role by their indirect involvement through television viewing of the Games. The relationship between the two is complex. Internationally the Games were black-banned by networks because of the OOC's refusal to waive fees for broadcast of footage. As most local television interests were interlocked with overseas interests, the direct telecast of the Games locally was uncertain. But a compromise was struck whereby the OOC received a nominal, but precedent-setting fee, with private sponsorship on commercial stations. Television had been on the verge of introduction to Australia for 15 years, and indeed had commenced transmission before, and independent of the Games. The Games played a
crucial role in its immediate and widespread acceptance. They provided cheap, but immensely popular material and overcame anticipated consumer resistance that advertisers and stations believed they would have to carry for a number of years. The Games also deflected some of the hostility from critics who saw television as having no redeeming features. As only 5000 sets had been sold, viewing usually took place communally. In this way the "Friendliness" of the Olympic crowd was replicated in a consumer form, as the existing three-hour transmission each day was expanded to 12 hours during the Games.\textsuperscript{81}

Television had been promoted as an instrument that could combine profit and stability. Its promoters promised that "TV IS ALSO CLASSLESS". The Games overcame ethical opposition and financial resistance to television by locating it within the dominant "Australian Way Of Life" discourse. To consume and buy a television set was to be Australian:

TV programme schedules have been completely disrupted for the Olympic Games—and the upheaval will continue until the Games are over. But viewers don't mind missing their regular programmes. Letters have poured into all three stations expressing admiration at the clarity and scope of the coverage. Some had been sceptical of TV until they saw the Olympic games coverage, and were now buying sets.\textsuperscript{82}
The "Friendly Games" gave the appearance of inevitability, progress and stability. Kent Hughes admitted that the Games had been developed "in a period of general expansion which has placed very heavy demands upon Australian manpower and material supplies". The 13 Gold Medals won by Australians and the apparent ability of capitalism to provide television for the broader consumption of the Games indicated the national capacity to overcome adversity. The "conjoint articulations" of interest in achieving this position initially acknowledged the "concentrated enthusiasm of the Australian people themselves". In a relatively short time the Games took on an abstract tenor. The benefits resulting from them increasingly become "invisible assets". These benefits were considered "beyond argument". But rather than the specific, material benefits that informed the initial proposal in 1946, their greatest benefit was their unassailable certainty. To deny "Friendly Games" was to exclude oneself from being an Australian. 83

As the Games disappeared into the horizon their stature as certainties grew and the conflict and crisis of their origin concealed. For a time the Games had led to the state being revealed as a confused collection of disparate parts lacking a moral core. The absorption of the "Friendly Games" and moves to revive them for 1996 are an example of what Donzelot sees as an increasingly beleaguered state grasping for the few certainties that can be identified. The "Friendly
Games" can be used for this purpose in a unique combination. They can allow an uncertain future to be deduced on the certainty of a fixed past while proving capable of being renewed for the needs of the immediate future.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


4 Stuart Macintyre Winners and Losers The pursuit of social justice in Australian history Sydney,1985,p.x for "historical categories".

5 Malcolm Fraser Address On the 25th anniversary of the Games n.d.;Bob Hawke speech opening AGOS 22 November 1986 where the author was in attendance.

6 Carter,p.xvi;1996 OLYMPIC GAMES MELBOURNE.


9 Jon Stratton "Australia—the sporting life" in Geoffrey Rowe and David Lawrence (Eds) Power Play Essays in the


14 Mayer to Kent Hughes 18 November 1956 in Avery Brundage Collection 1908-1975, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (hereafter Brundage) Box 164.

15 Mayer to OOC Chief Executive Officer Bridgeford 14 November 1956 in Brundage B.164.

16 See Leaders in Argus and SMH 30 July 1956 for a summary of the allegations and the IOC reaction. The Duke was to represent the Queen who was the Patron of the Games.

17 Interview with George Moir 6 January 1987.


20 John Hargreaves Sport, Power.. pp. 111-112

21 Ibid. p. 33.
24 Jennifer Hargreaves "Theorising Sport..." pp.18,10.
26 John Hargreaves Sport, Power... pp.1,3-4.
27 Ibid pp.5-6.
29 Anderson pp.19-20.
31 Jim McKay "Hegemony, the state and Australian sport" in Lawrence and Rowe p.110.
32 John Hargreaves "Sport and Hegemony..." p.119.
33 Paul James "The ideology of winning: cultural politics and the America's Cup" in Lawrence and Rowe pp.144-146.
36 Ibid p.130.
37 Ibid p.133.
38 Ingham and Hardy p.93.
39 Anderson p.58; Stratton p.111.
40 Mayer to Kent Hughes 18 November 1956, Brundage Box 164.
42 Tim Rowse Australian Liberalism and National Character

43 Connell p.150;Rowse p.6.
44 Alomes pp.157-159.
45 Gruneau Chapter 3 proved useful in suggesting the shape of the study as did Hilary Kent and John Merritt "The Cold War And The Melbourne Olympic Games" in Curthoys and Merritt n.45 p.208 where they suggest the need for "a comprehensive study of the planning, staging and celebration of the games as both an expression and a product of the conflicts and shared assumptions within Australian politics and culture."

46 Leader SMH 30 July 1956 on the pervasiveness of the years of wrangling.

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1 BRINGING THE GAMES TO MELBOURNE 1946-1949

1 SG 23 October 1948.
2 VOC minutes 21 June 1946. In VOC Minute Book September 1911-October 1950, held by AOF South Melbourne.
3 Herald 17 November 1956.
4 Reet and Max Howell Aussie Gold The Story of Australia at the Olympics Albion,Qld.,1988. For Australia's first IOC representative Richard Coombes see ADB Vol 8 pp.104-105.
6 MacAlloon 1981 pp.84,264.
8 Roe p.12; see the career of Professor Harvey Sutton, a 1908 Olympian, in the national fitness movement in the 1930's, SMH 5 November 1936.

9 Shane Cahill *Olympism, Imperialism and Nationalism* 1893-1939, Paper presented to postgraduate Nationalism Seminar, History Department, University of Melbourne, May 1986, p.5.

10 Mangan 1986.

11 Cahill 1986, p.10.

12 Ibid, pp.10-12.

13 Interview with C.R. Aitken 12 December 1986 for his recollections of these visits; Cahill 1986 p.6.


16 VOC minutes 21 June 1946; telephone conversation with W.J. Uren 5 November 1986 in which he recalled that the Games in Australia had been a "pipedream" for many athletes and officials.

17 C.R. Aitken "Speaking Notes Australian Institute of Management 1946". These papers were sent to the author on 7 July 1987, and are now located at AGOS. Aitken was undertaking a public speaking course and he used his notes from the VOC meeting as the basis for this talk.

18 *Argus* 8 March 1912; *VFD* Vol 220-221, pp.513-514 19 December 1945; Moir was actively involved in housing reform and was engaged as a consultant by the Repatriation department, Moir Interview.

19 Avery Brundage to Edgar Morriss 28 September 1945 in Brundage Box 187; Brundage competed at the 1912 Games and became a successful engineer and developer. He became President of the US Olympic Committee and in 1952, the
IOC. He was aloof and abrasive and zealously guarded Olympic ideals. He was anti-Semitic and pro-Axis during the war.

20 Ben Kerville "Script of Broadcast 3DB 9 April 1955", copy in the author's possession. Kerville identified three main factions: "amateur idealists... hard headed businessmen... and the realists among the amateurs". Kerville wrote and broadcast extensively on the Games. Interview with Ben Kerville 14 August 1986.


22 VOC minutes 13 September 1946; E.A. Doyle "The XVIth Olympiad, Melbourne, 1956", VHM, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 December 1957 p.2. Doyle was a member of the business faction and as such his is a useful, but selective account.

23 Victorian Olympic Council "To all delegates to the Australian Olympic Federation 30th September 1949". In Moir Papers held at AGOS. Moir had retained a valuable collection of letters and papers from all factions. The author arranged for these to be placed in AGOS in January 1987. For an account of Connelly see "The Origins Of Our Olympiad", Laurels, Vol. 16, No. 58, November 1956. The publication was the organ of the Old Xaverians Amateur Athletic Club.

24 VOC minutes 25 February 1947 record that the IOC response had arrived on 12 November 1946.

25 VOC minutes 13 May 1947.

26 Doyle p.2; VOC minutes 25 February 1947.

27 Moir interview.


29 Brian Head and James Walter (Eds) Intellectual Movements and Australian Society Oxford, 1988 p. ix cite Lasswell on the rarity of individuals to excel in the expression of ideas, administration and the ability to persuade mass publics.

30 Interviews with Aitken and Moir. Moir was adamant that the
amateurs were conscious of their rights; "MAJOR EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE AWARD OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES OF 1956 TO THE CITY OF MELBOURNE" in Bearepaire Papers. Olympic Games File, University of Melbourne Archives. This document was produced after April 1949 and was marked for "press information and not for publication in that form." It avoids all mention of the VOC and Bearepaire's entry to the bid through that organisation.

31 "VOC to all..." p.1.

32 Lomas p.160; Moir interview in which Moir stated that Bearepaire exaggerated his Olympic achievements.

33 Argus 20 June 1947; Aftonbladet (Stockholm) 17 June 1947 acknowledged Melbourne's interest, before the official application had been made. Presumably Edstrom had made this known, Brundage Box 75.

34 "Melbourne For 1956 Olympics 15th October 1947" in Bearepaire.


36 Argus 21 January 1948.

37 Argus 28 February 1948.

38 Doyle pp. 2-4.

39 Doyle pp. 3; VOC minutes 23 March 1948; "Memorandum from L.M. Connelly Melbourne As Venue for 1956 Olympic Games" n.d. (February 1948) in Bearepaire.

40 Melbourne's Olympic Invitation n.d. (c. May 1948), p. 27. Three volumes were eventually produced. As will become clear, changes were made to the location of the Main Stadium. However, the general text remained the same. All references will be to the First Edition, and the contemporary generic term Invitation Book will be used.

41 Invitation Book p. 13.


43 "US Influence On Australia's Future", Australian American
Cooperation, Vol. 2, No. 9, October 1942; "A New Air Map from The Australian View Point", ibid, Vol. 3, No. 9, October 1943.

45 Carter pp. xii-xiii, xxiv; "What The Olympic Games Will Mean To Melbourne" n.d. in Beaurepaire.
46 IOC London 27 July 1948 in Brundage Box 90.
47 Doyle p. 4.
48 Edstrom to IOC members, 6 July 1948 in Brundage Box 76.
49 SG 12 May, 2 June 1948.
50 Brundage Box 187. The document was a general report to IOC members on the applicants for the 1956 Games.
51 NYT 20 July, 10 September 1947.
53 SG 31 July 1948.
54 Invitation Book p. 2.
55 SG 4 September 1948.
56 SG 7 August, 26 June 1948.
57 SG 26 June 1948.
58 SG 6 November 1948.
59 SG 28 January 1948.
60 SG 22, 25 September 1948.
61 Edstrom to Members of the IOC 17 December 1948 in Brundage Box 76.
62 SG 25 September 1948.
63 Doyle p. 5; SG 4, 8, 25 September.
64 SG 14, 25 September 1948.
66 SG 22, 25 September 1948.
67 "Report by Sir Frank Beaurepaire on Prospects of Holding the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne Strictly Confidential Not For Publication" in Beaurepaire; SG 22 September refers to a "Citizens' Committee".
68 VOC minutes 13 December 1948.
70 SG 23 October 1948.
71 SG 18, 22 December 1948.
72 Argus 22 December 1948.
73 SG 18 December 1948.
74 Argus December 22, 23 1948.
75 "MAJOR EVENTS..." in Beauraire: Official Report.
76 Herald 17 November 1956.
77 Age 17 August 1948; Argus 18 August 1948; McKay p. 97.
78 "Draft reasons For My Entry..." in Beauraire.
79 Kate White John Cain and Victorian Labour 1917-1957
80 Lomas p. 47.
81 Reiss passim.
82 "Notes on Olympic Games Conference Held at Parliament
House Thursday 3/2/49" in Beauraire.
83 Beauraire to Doyle and McPherson 15 January, 3 March
1949 in Beauraire.
84 "Notes for Lord Mayor for Meeting of Invitation Committee
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85 McPherson to Beauraire 16 December 1948 in
Beauraire. SG 15 December 1948, 22, 26 January
1949; interview with Fanny Blankers Koen 24 November 1986.
86 Brundage to McPherson 9 March 1949 in Beauraire.
87 NYT 24 March 1949; Beauraire to McPherson 11 April 1949
in Beauraire.
88 Doyle p. 4.
89 Beauraire to Doyle and McPherson 2 March 1949 in
Beauraire; Gruneau p. 75.
90 Reiss p. 62.
91 Olympic Invitation Herschell Films, Melbourne, 1949. Copy
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92 SG 12 March 1949; Detroit Free Press 10 April 1949; SG 23
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93 NYT 25 April 1949.
94 Brundage Box 187 contains details of bids; statements made
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90.
2 "THE BATTLE OF THE SITES"

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2 John Hargreaves Sport, Power... pp.1-2.
4 Jurgen Habermas Legitimation Crisis London, 1976, McKay, pp.118-119 suggests "hegemonic crisis".
6 Argus 30 April 1949.
7 SG 4 May 1949.
8 SG 8 June 1949.
9 Argus 9 October 1949; SMH 14 October 1949.
10 SG 12 November 1950; Moir Interview.
11 "Conference of Stadia Sub-Committee, 14-16 December 1949"; "Memo About Discussion which Sir Frank had with the Premier (The Hon. T.T. Hollway MLA) 23 January 1950 Confidential" in Benaurepaire.
12 SG 5, 19 October 1949. The alliance was organised in May
1950. See Moir Speaking Notes May 1 1950, Moir to Weir 4 May 1950 in Moir.


14 "Report from Sir Harold Luxton 10 May 1950" in General Minutes IOC Session, Copenhagen May 1950, "leur laisser une large latitude " in Brundage Box 162.

15 Brundage To Luxton 6 June 1949, 28 January 1950 in Brundage Box 187.


17 Argus 23 June 1950; White pp. 146, 155, 139.

18 MCG Trustees Conference 16 February 1950.

19 SG 14 June 1950.

20 SG 17 June 1950.

21 SG 27 September 1950.

22 Moir to Alderson 30 October 1950; SG 11 October 1950, in Moir.

23 Uren to Beaurepaire 6 December 1950, Moir to Weir 23 December 1950, Uren to Aitken 23 January 1951 in Moir contain details of the bitter factionalism.

24 Moir to Alderson 26 January 1951 in Moir.

25 SG 24 January 1951. In November 1950 Beaurepaire had been part of an unsuccessful attempt to oust Hollway. Moir believes this may have affected Olympic negotiations.

26 Harvey p. xviii.

27 Weir to Moir 28 January 1951 in Moir.


29 SG 24, 28 February 1951; RAS minutes 12 December, 9 January 1951, held at RAS Ascot Vale.

30 SG 24 February 1951; SMH 2 March 1951.

31 Argus 6 April 1951; White xv points out that no records for Cain exist.
32 Argus, NYT 7 April 1951.
33 Ibid.
34 SG 8 April 1951.
35 Argus 9 April 1951.
36 SG 9 May, 29 September 1951.
38 Norman Banks The World In My Diary From Melbourne To Helsinki for the Olympic Games Melbourne, 1953 pp.62-71.
40 Argus 10,18 April 1951; NYT 7-11 May 1951; "IOC 45th Session Vienna May 7-10 1951" in Brundage Box 90.
41 SG 19 May 1951; "Summary to Daily Papers" in Kent Hughes Papers NLA, series 1 correspondence Sport V.1. Box 2.
42 SG 17 October 1951; RAS minutes 29 June 1951.
43 SG 15 August 1951.
44 SG 25 July, 15 August 1951.
45 RAS 20 September 1951.
46 SMH 27 October 1951.
48 SMH 3 December 1951; MCC Club Standing Committee 8 January 1951.
49 Argus 22 October 1951.
50 NYT 17 December 1951; SG 2 January 1952.
51 SG 9 February 1952; NYT 12 February 1952.
52 SMH 12 February 1952; IOC 46th session Oslo February 1952 in Brundage Box 90.
53 NYT 24 February 1952.
54 SG 16, 27 February 1952; SMH 1 March 1952.
55 SG 19 March 1952, SMH 17 February, 1 March 1952.
56 SMH 20 March 1952.
57 SG 19 March 1952.
58 SMH 4 April 1952.
59 SG 12 April 1952;
60 Control Committee minutes in OOC; SG 12 April, 17 May 1952; "Spartan of the Olympic Games", People, 1 July 1953.
63 SG 7 June 1952.
64 Leader Argus 21 March 1952.
66 Age 3 April 1952; "Open Letter..."
67 "Spartan..."
68 IOC 47th Session 16-18 July 1952 in Brundage Box 90.
69 SG 2 July 1952.
70 SG 27 August 1952.
71 SG 17 September 1952; SMH 8 November 1952; SMH 26, 27 December 1952; Carlton Football Club 88th Annual Report for Season 1952

7 2
The overlap of personnel and issues drew the state and the dominant ideology into sharp, and unfavourable focus.
73 Moir Interview.
74 Weir to Brundage 26 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
75 SG 13 August 1953.
76 SG 22 October 1952.
77 Dunstan p. 183; MCG Trustees 13 October 1952.
78 White p. 149.
79 Argus 1, 9, 15 January 1953.
80 CC Minutes; Argus 16 January 1953.
81 SG 21 January 1953.
82 NYT 18 January 1953.
83 NYT 17 January 1953.
84 "Olympic Follies" Leader Argus 21 January 1953, SMH 22 January 1953.
85 Argus 22, 26 January 1953; Tanner to Archdeacon Schofield 26 January 1953 in Kent Hughes; Luxton in "Transcript of Proceedings before a Special Meeting of the Representatives of The Melbourne Cricket Ground Re XVith Olympiad 1956" held in MCC Club and OOC Box 3 1/40.
86 Tanner admits that lies were told about Carlton at Oslo, Transcript..
87 Age 3 February 1953.
88 Argus 27 January 1953 contains letters hostile to the Games; G.L. Chandler MLC in Transcript..
89 Transcript..p.8
90 Transcript..p.12.
92 Transcript..28 January.
93 Argus 28 January 1953.
94 Moir Interview; Transcript..2 February 1953.
95 Kent Hughes to Brens 30 January 1953 in Kent Hughes.
96 Coles returned to the final session. his. son had been killed in an accident on 30 January.
97 SMH 8 February 1953.
98 SG 7 February 1953.
99 SMH 23, 26 February; SMH and NYT 27 February.
1 SMH 28 February, 1 March 1953.
2 SMH 3 March 1953.
3 NYT 4 March 1853.
4 Kent Hughes to Brens 30 January 1953 in Kent Hughes.
5 Luxton to Brundage 13 February 1953 in Brundage Box 162.
6 NYT 26 February 1953; Brundage to Weir and Luxton 21 February 1953 in Brundage Box 162.
7 NYT 4 March 1953.
8 Kent Hughes to Cabinet 23 February 1953 in Kent Hughes.
9 Aitken Interview.
10 NYT 26 February 1956.
12 NYT 19 March 1953.
13 SMH 19 March 1953.
14 SMH 29 March 1953.
16 SG 18 February, 7 March 1953.
18 Guardian 26 March 1953.
19 Turner
20 SMH 23 February 1953.
22 Kent Hughes to Burghley 2 April 1953, Luxton to Brundage 8 April 1953 in Kent Hughes.
23 SG 18 April 1953; 48th IOC Session Mexico city 17-18 April 1953 in Brundage Box 90.
24 SG 22 April 1953.
25 NYT 9 April 1953.
26 Kent Hughes to Alderson 31 March 1953 in Kent Hughes.
27 This section follows the divisions suggested by Kerville.
28 SG 19 May 1953.
29 Weir to Kent Hughes 15 May 1953 in Kent Hughes; Weir to Kerville 15 June 1953, copy in the author's possession.
30 Nette to Kent Hughes 15 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
31 Kent Hughes to Weir 19 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
32 SG 23 May 1953.
33 SG 16 May 1953. This story was written by Kerville. He claimed when interviewed that he now believes Coles was looking for an exit.
34 "Spartan...".
35 SG 23, 27 May 1953.
36 Brundage to Kent Hughes 21 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
37 Brundage to Kent Hughes 21 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
38 Weir to Brundage 26 May 1953 in Kent Hughes.
39 Brundage to Kent Hughes 21 May 1953.
40 John Murphy "Populism and democracy: a reading of 
41 Guardian May 14 1953.
42 Guardian 14 May 1953; Murray Rose indicated that he wanted 
to meet Soviet athletes above all others. Interview 26 November 1986.
43 Guardian 21 May 1953. The Left actively supported the 
Games and made them a focus of its own cultural 
activities. Interviews with Ruth and Maurie Crow 25 February 1987 
and Fred Lester 27 February 1987

4 Robert Sherrod "Australia Puts Out the Welcome 
Mat", SEP, 27 June 1953 p. 36.
45 White; Ch. 3 below examines the arguments in detail.
46 Robert Sherrod "What Ails the Australians?", SEP, 25 July 
1953; E. Daniel and Annette Potts Yanks Down Under The 
American Impact on Australia 
Melbourne, 1985, pp. 170, 71, 300.
47 Kent Hughes to Sherrod 21 September 1953 in Kent Hughes.
48 The notion of spatial arrangements involving audience 
will be developed in Ch 3.
49 Kent Hughes wrote on the Games in Pacific Neighbours 
Vol. 9, No. 3, 1954; W. Wede (Kent Hughes' Secretary) to 
Bridgeford 27 January 1954 in Kent Hughes.
50 NYT 28 October 1953.
51 SMH 8 June 1951 contains the earliest reference to 
difficulties.
52 Open Letter Burghley to IOC members November 
1953, Burghley to Brundage 20 November 1953, in Kent 
Hughes.
53 Brundage to Weir and Luxton 15 December 1953 in Kent Hughes; Brundage to Prince Pierre of Monaco 28 January 1954 in Brundage Box 162.
54 Brundage to Kent Hughes 2 February 1954 in Kent Hughes.
55 Brundage to Bolanaki 10 March 1954 in Brundage Box 162.
56 IOC 49th Session Athens 11-14 May 1954 in Brundage Box 91.
57 Ibid; Kent Hughes to Brundage 12 April 1954 in Kent Hughes.
58 Brundage to Kent Hughes 9 June 1954 in Kent Hughes.
59 Kent Hughes to Brundage 12 March 1954 In Kent Hughes.
60 Murphy p.96.
63 Interview with Don Chipp 24 June 1985; "A message Concerning Accommodation for Visitors to the XVIth Olympiad" in Beaurepaire.
64 Interview with Molly Smith 21 July 1985.
65 A comprehensive display of this material is held at AGOS.
66 Bridgeford to Brundage 21 October 1954 in Brundage Box 162.
67 The state of Australian hotels was a source of wonder and concern for Americans generally.
68 Weir to Brundage 25 February 1955 in Brundage box 164.
69 MCClub General Committee minutes 26 October 1954.
70 Ibid 12 October 1954.
71 details are obtained from Carpenters News and VTHC both held in the University of Melbourne archives.
72 Ibid.
73 MCClub Building Committee minutes 11 November 1954.
74 Ibid Special Meeting 3 December 1954.
75 The ban was lifted on 14 December 1954.
76 Brundage to Luxton and Weir 3 February 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
77 Argus 23 February 1955.
78 Brundage to Weir and Luxton 23 February 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
Weir to Brundage 28 February in Brundage Box 164.

Age 5 March 1955.

SG 9 March 1955

McFarlane: Argus 22, 23 March 1955.

MC Club Building Committee 16 March 1955.

Argus 29 March 1955.

SG 26 March 1955

SG 29 March 1955.

Guardian 31 March 1955.

KH to Brundage 30 March 1955 in Brundage Box 164. Kent Hughes was in Taiwan, seeking amongst other things to have that country admitted to the IOC.

From this point most of his Olympic correspondence was concerned with Brundage's personality.

"Olympic planners face many problems" n.d. in Brundage Box 164.

Argus 5 April 1955.

SG 6 April 1955.

Argus 6 April 1955.

Anzac to Brundage 5 April 1955 in Brundage.

Brundage's travels and his initially carefree manner are similar to that exhibited by Niemeyer.

Argus 12 April.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Argus 12, 13 April 1955.

Argus 13 April 1955.

Ibid.

Ibid. Philadelphia renewed its offer to take the Games.

Dunstan pp. 184-186.

All contemporaries agree he was not a likeable person. He was nicknamed "Aviary Birdcage" and "Old Umbrage".

7 Adelaide Advertiser 13 April 1955.
8 SG 13 April 1955.
9 Argus 17 April 1955.
10 Argus 14 April 1955.
11 SG 13 April 1955.
12 MClub Special General Meeting 18 April 1955; Carpenters
13 Lester interview on the Left's support for the Games.
15 Most interviewees accept that Melbourne took Brundage's
   advice, irrespective of their attitude towards him.
16 Weir to Brundage 13, 24 May 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
17 Kent Hughes to Burghley 28 April 1955 in Kent Hughes.
18 "Confidential Memo On the Visit of the President of the
   IOC" n.d. in Kent Hughes.
19 Argus 12 April 1955.
20 Argus April 19 on Bandoeng Conference.
21 Ingham and Hardy.
22 NYT 1 June 1955.
23 Brundage to Warner 23 May 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
24 Argus 22 April 1955.
25 Argus 29 April 1955. Construction was slowed for fear of
   occupation by squatters.
26 Luxton to Brundage 10 May 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
27 Brundage to Luxton 12 May 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
28 Warner to brundage 21 July 1955 in Brundage box 164.
29 NYT 13 April 1955.
30 IOC 50th Session Paris 13-18 June 1955 in Brundage box
   91; Warner to Brundage 21 July 1955 in Brundage Box 164.
31 IOC 50 th.;
32 Interview with John Ian Wing 26 November 1986.
33 Phinzey.
34 Brundage to Warner 20 August 1955 in Brundage box 164.
35 Kent Hughes to McGovern 5 September 1955, McGovern to Kent
   Hughes 23 August, October 20 1955 in Kent Hughes.
36 Bridgeford to Warner 11 November 1955 in Brundage.

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3 RITE OF PASSAGE AND THE "FRIENDLY GAMES" 1956

1 Argus 1 January 1956; Ladurie pp.55-6 on Carnival and prosperity.

2 Weir to Brundage 18 January 1956 (stadium), Brundage to Kent Hughes 19 July 1956 (Equestrian) in Brundage Box 164; Argus 30 July (Duke of Edinburgh); Cahill 1987 (television).

3 Age 14 November Menzies warns "not yet out of the woods"; consumer goods such as potatoes were in short supply Sun 4 October 1956; cost of living rises blamed for drop in Show attendances Age 1 October 1956; Sir Norman Myer warns against depression talk Age 9 November 1956


6 MacAlloon "Olympic." pp.252-253; Ladurie p.54.

7 Weir to Brundage 24 April 1956 in Brundage Box 164; SMH 4 February 1956 (Civic C); SMH 22,31 October 1956 (teams); SMH 14 March 1956 (visit of Soviet officials); David Martin "After the Games", Overland, Autumn 1957 (pool); Age 11 October 1956 (Duke of Edinburgh).

8 Age 16 September 1956. This was the last Grand Final without allocated seats. Harry Cox "Games Fever", People, 30 May 1956.

9 Carter p.69; Argus 7 January 1956.


12 Alomes pp. 140-145; Peter Spearritt "Royal Progress: The Queen and her Australian Subjects" in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (Eds) Australian Cultural History, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 143, 149-150; Carter p. 69.


14 SMH 12 April 1956.


16 VJCC Official Olympic Guide Book Project XVIth Olympic Games Melbourne 1956 held by VJCC Melbourne (I would like to thank Michael Tanner for allowing me to view VJCC material.) Brian Head "Introduction: Intellectuals in Australian Society" in Head and Walter p. 30; David Kemp "Liberalism and Conservatism in Australia since 1944" in Head and Walter p. 16; Boiggs p. 36, 40; Gramsci p. 377.

17 On Behalf Of The Olympic Civic Committee of the Melbourne City Council the Junior Chamber of Commerce Presents Olympic Courtesy Week October 14-20 in VJCC; VJCC Executive Minute Book 7/3/56-27/2/57 13 June 1956; Sun 15-20 October 1956.

18 On Behalf of p. 1; Age 12 October 1956; Sun 4 October 1956.

19 Sun 13 October 1956.

20 Sun 30 October 1956; Carter pp. 30, 181-182, 92, 98.

21 Age 15 November 1956.

22 Age 5, 14, 15 November 1956; Sun 13 November on food.

23 Age 6 November 1956; Guardian 15 November.

24 Age 14, 18 November 1956; Sun 3 November 1956 (suburbia), October 29 1956 (gender); Age 2, 5, 19 November 1956 (crowds).


26 Mayer to Kent Hughes 18 November 1956 in Brundage Box

27 *NYT* 12 November 1956.
28 MacAlloon 1981 pp. 218, 239; *NYT* 7 November 1956; Crowe Interview.
29 Kent and Merritt pp. 175 -176. They misplace the liminal stage prior to the Opening Ceremony.
30 *Sun* 6-9 November 1956.
31 *Age* 6, 9 November 1956.
32 *Age* 13 November 1956; *Sun* 5, 9 November.
33 Draft to Editors-National Dailies, AAP and AUP in Kent Hughes; *Readers Digest* November 1956; *Sun* 8 November; Kent and Merritt pp. 171-2.
34 *Sun* 7, 10 November 1956; Fewster on the ambiguities of hegemonic relationships.
36 *Age* 16, 17 November; *Sun* 16 November; *Herald* 18 November.
37 *Sun* 12 November 1956.
38 Kerville Interview; *Sun* 14 November; Robert Da Matta "Carnival in Multiple Planes" in MacAlloon, 1984, pp. 209-211.
39 *Age* 1, 16 November 1956; *Sun* 14, 16 November 1956; Kent Hughes to Mayer 12 November 1956 in Kent Hughes.
40 *Age* 20 November 1956.
41 Kapferer pp. 186-187; *Age* 21 November 1956.
42 *Sun* 16, 19, 20 November 1956; *Age* 17 November 1956; *Sports Illustrated* November 1956.
43 Age 19, 20 November 1956.
44 Sun 10, 13 November 1956.
45 Age 17, 19 November 1956; Sports Illustrated 19 November 1956.
46 Age 17, 19 November 1956.
48 Age 21 November 1956; Brundage transcript of Broadcast on ABC 26 November 1956 in Brundage Box 94.
49 Age, NYT 22 November 1956.
50 Martin (Archbishop); Age 20 November 1956 (dress rehearsal of convoy took 15 minutes to pass); Adelaide Advertiser 23 November 1956 (crowd and Kent Hughes).
51 Australia Your Host n.d., p. 4; Herald 22 November 1956; Westralian 22 November 1956; Adelaide Advertiser 23 November 1956.
54 MacAloon "Olympic Games..." pp. 258-265.
56 Sports Illustrated 3 December 1956; DaMatta p. 228; MacAloon "Introduction..." pp. 9-10.
57 Cahill 1987; Sun 10 December 1956; DaMatta 223; MacAloon "Olympic Games..." p. 261. The water polo match is worthy of a detailed study. Kent and Merritt pp. 209-210 observe that images of that match are among the most enduring from the Games. It is significant that to contemporaries it was regarded as a mixture of three elements—a rough sport; international tension and resolution through "Friendliness". The Sydney "yellow" press pursued the
story and broke the agreement that Cold War issues would not be pushed. See Ken Knox cited in *Guardian* 13 December 1956, *Sun* (Sydney) 8 December 1956.

59 Stanner pp. 8-9, 12.
60 Wing Interview; Wing to Kent Hughes undated and 13 December 1956 in Kent Hughes

61 This paragraph draws on DaMatta and Kapferer generally. Martin made the point of the crowd's recognition of itself.
62 *Age* 10 December 1956 (dignity); *Pix* 22 December 1956 (spectacle); MacAlloon "Olympic Games..." p. 261 (overlap).
63 MacAlloon "Olympic Games..." p. 277 n. 35 refers to "order in disorder".
64 Gruneau p. 75.
65 *Westralian* 7 December 1956; *Sun* 8 December 1956.
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67 Martin p. 12; *Tribune* 12 December 1956; *Guardian* 22 November 1956.
69 *Land Of The Southern Cross* n.d. pp. 150-151.
70 Tipping in *Herald* 22 November 1956; Spearritt pp. 146, 19-151; *NYT* 9 December 1956.
71 Stanner pp. 6-13; DaMatta pp. 234-235; *Australia Your Host* p. 7.
73 Stanner pp. 9-10; *SMH* 8 December 1956.
76 "Farewell Dinner for Billy Holt 8/2/57, Kent Hughes to Fairhall 15 January 1957, G. Noall (stockbroker) to Kent Hughes 17 December 1956, Kent Hughes to McGovern 10 December 1956 in Kent Hughes; Menzies "I had dared not expect it" in Official Report p.23.

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