## "We have given the whole country an international standing". The Australian Film Industry and Australia's 'Cultural Cringe'

sistently emphasizes the industry's contribution to world culture, rather than its sion, "we have given the whole country an international standing" (ABC, 1996). to finally end Australia's parochialism. "My God", Beresford said with some pas local culture and audiences. Ending the fourth part with the telling title Days of produce a four-part documentary on Australian film production. Narrated by no dile Dundee (Ibid.) In 1996, Australia's national TV company ABC used the 100-Glory, director Bruce Beresford claimed that only Australian films had been able less a person than Dr. George Miller of Mad Max fame, the documentary conyear anniversary of the first screening of a film in Australia as the occasion to in the 1980s after the great international success of Paul Hogan and his Crocowhich had been dormant for much of the post-war period, but suddenly took of because its director had liked Picnic at Hanging Rock, or the tourist industry, film 'revival': a business contract with a South American country, brought about Adams also cited what economists call 'value-added factors' as corollaries to the politicians during the years of the 'Australian Film Revival' period and after international attention" were sought after, and enjoyed, by many Australian once before (1994, 67), adding that "image, glamour, photo-opportunities, and White House had picked up an international trend. Adams had made the claim been asked about the newest Australia films. Clearly, presidential advisors of the more than one Australian PM visiting the White House had "in recent years" writer, editor and newspaper columnist Phillip Adams. In his address, Adams, Studies, the guest of honour was the celebrated film producer, director, scriptproviding a survey of the international standing of Australian films, claimed that the 1995 conference organized by the German Association for Australian

## Australia's Cultural Self Image and its Relation to the World

When we talk about the historical dimensions of 'Australia's place in the world', the all-too-familiar phrase *cultural cringe* will crop up. As is the case with many myths, there is a kernel of truth to the assumption of a cultural deprivation in Australia, and the absence of a film industry was a contributing factor. Reasons for and consequences of said absence will be discussed later in this paper. The

The later in this paper. The

main obstacle for the development of an indigenous culture lay in Australia's long history as a British colony, which produced a cultural history that is overwhelmingly determined by the colony's need to erase its convict past. Charles Chauvel, the pioneer of Australian cinema of the 30s to the 50s, captured the mad spirit of this need in a scene of his movie *Heritage* (1935), in which Captain Arthur Phillip, the commander of the First Fleet addresses his men and officers in these ringing words: "Colonisation is like a battle in which retreat is impossible, for the eyes of England are upon you, and future generations reviewing your history will lavish praises or pronounce disapproval as you shall truly deserve" (Chauvel, 1935). We have no evidence that Cpt. Phillip actually gave that address to his men, but it is highly plausible that he and the whole officer corps were imbued with a sense of a mission, just as Charles Chauvel saw it in the described scene.

written at the time. In Thomas Hardy's Jude the Obscure Jude's first wife, who deported there; the Irish were by definition second-rate citizens in the Australia was for the 'second-rate'; that is also why so many Irish went or were afresh in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land." (Manning Clark, 89) personal strategy for those who had failed: "The rumour ran through London scribed by the authorial narrator thus society. He describes for us the discomfiture of a vain upper-class lady who exploitation are more at home there. The prejudice underlying this narrative grates to 'New Holland' because she has been advised her talents of sexual has tricked him into marriage and is generally an unsavoury character, emibourgeois English mind. The prejudice found expression in English novels has dined side by side with the daughter of her servant. Her disgust is de (1876), an earlier novel, Hardy castigates the class prejudices of 'polite detail is: Australia is good for the morally inferior. In The Hand of Ethelberta Town and all over the land that (...) the failures and the misfits could The common prejudice in 19th century England perceived immigration as a

Impressiveness depends as much upon propinquity as upon magnitude; and to have honoured unawares the daughter of the vilest Antipodean miscreant and murderer would have been less discomfortable to Mrs Doncastle" (Vol 2, 189-90).

This English prejudice has never completely gone away – we only need to think of Dame Edna Everadge and Australia's 'cultural attache' Les Patterson, both launched with riotous success in England by Barry Humphries, both working on the stereotype of the uncultured, uncouth (and frequently drunk) Australian. Humphries is not, as his defenders say, an unproblematic comedian: he panders to English quasi-racist stereotypes and can be critiqued as

dian: he panders to cityiion a

The Australian Film Industry and Australia's 'Cultural Cringe'

contradiction in terms? of Australian Culture, her reply typically was: "Australian culture? Isn't that a England in the 1970s. On hearing that I had moved my enquiries into the field sation I had in 1990 with a fellow undergraduate of my college days spent in an example of self-colonization. As a personal anecdote, I recall a conver-

distance fostered doubts in the colonial mind about the reliability of the distant mother cation problematic. Blainey should have also thought about the ways this distance between the colony and England made not just trade, but all communistudy The Tyranny of Distance was one of the first to point out that the mere must suspect that it has been cast off and cast out. Geoffrey Blainey's seminal does not have the safe status of one of England's home counties. Far from it: it tantamount to cultural self-annihilation. At the same time, the colony knows that it from outside, by a 'mother culture'. To reject the mother culture would be than Great Britain. Any colonial society has a cultural identity largely determined that Australia became politically and economically dependent on the US rather culture rose in its power to influence Australian cultural praxis at the same pace totally shaken off. Where British influence waned, America stepped in. American in the post-war period, and while the influence is diminished, it has not been of Australian culture than in its relation to a 'mother' culture. Australia's dependence on England as a provider of cultural norms was very much a reality even The problematics of the 'cultural cringe' syndrome thus lies less in the substance

colony never tires to assure its colonizer of its loyalty and devotion. If we look for dilemma, the choice of foregrounding either loyalty or independence. And this series of foreign wars, starting with the Boer War of 1901-1903, the 'Great War historical evidence, we need only point at Australia's voluntary participation in a has persisted, in residual ways, even up to the present. On the one hand, the exception of World War II, did Australia defend national interests of its own: the spring of 2003. In none of these seven 20th century wars, with the possible as the Gulf War, and only recently, the invasion and conquest of Iraq in the Thus, Australian cultural discourses of the 20th century were characterized by a point was always to ensure the colonizer of its doggish loyalty (1959-61), the Vietnam War, Operation Desert Shield of 1990-1991, also known 1914-1918, the second World War, the Korean War, the Malayan Insurgence

But on the other hand, a part of Australia has always protested accusations of cock during the Boer War) to the merciless satirizing of Australia by British Kitchener allegedly said in relation to the trial of Lieutenants Morant and Hancharacterization of Australian soldiers as "those wild colonial boys" (as General cultural or moral inferiority. Such reproaches have always existed, from the

> entertainers (e.g. John Cleese and the Monty Python's Flying Circus sketches Re-writing Australia's early history, the opening titles proclaim in the following: vainly tries to conceal the most essential feature of colonial Australia, convictism. cringing" can be found in Charles Chauvel's historic film Heritage (1935) which titled "Australian wine" or "Australian university"). An early example of "cultural

most remote continent in the world. In this settlement these people slaved handful of British exiles (sic!) established a settlement upon the shores of the In the year 1788 an English seaman Captain and Governor Arthur Phillip, with a

They starved

They fought!

phant, giving to history the greatest story of colonisation the world has ever And through a baptism of suffering and dogged struggle, they emerged trium-

The birth of Australia! (my transcription)

Chauvel conveniently forgot that the alleged "British exiles" were convicts

school of nationalist writing were acceptable for so long to Australian readers not notion of 'home' being England. The typical bush heroes of the Lawson/Furphy Ray Lawler, the famous 1950s playwright, made the subject his main concern in developed a comparably acceptable model, and that is why this archetypal male which the colonized could counter the colonizer's allegations of dependence on least because they provided an alternative model of social organization, one with Australian perceptions of an antipodean 'master race' that is yet beholden to the his play The Piccadilly Bushman (first staged 1959); it satirizes collective George Lazenby, - or even as Alan Bond or Rupert Murdoch keeps cropping up as Mad Max or Crocodile Dundee or the James Bond actor English cultural patterns and norms. In fact, Australian literature has never

son.' The Loyalists repress their anger and resentment, the Republicans, their and Gretel myth, who has locked up the potential of the antipodean 'prodigal agenda includes retaining the Queen as the figural head of the nation) and the Australia into a Republic, we see that the conflict between Loyalists (whose If we bring the picture forward in relation to the never-ending story of love. The Loyalists see Australia as defined by a European heritage, the Repubbanisher, the 'Teeth Mother' as Robert Bly would say, the witch of the Hänsel has already turned multicultural.) The Republicans wish to banish the former (which is why they are also opposed to multiculturalism, when in fact England pre-Federation Australia one century earlier. The Loyalists wish to deny history. Republicans (or secessionists) plays out the same tensions that had wracked they claim that there are no significant differences between Australia and the UK furning

licans regard it as more important that Australia is located in and shaped by Asia. The Loyalists deny the existence of a culturally independent Australia and worship Buck House as the centre of their world, the Republicans play down the existence of English cultural roots and most decidedly refuse to worship the monarchy.

colonial mother "protects her child from itself, from its ego, and from its physioof a deferential, ingratiating behaviour towards the former colonizer. An obliging logy, its biology and its own unhappiness which is its very essence" (Fanon unhappy appeals to the mother culture to come to their help against reproaches bourgeoisie will however accuse its class antagonists of ingratitude, making felt pangs of guilt: their secessionism had killed the Queen. The postcolonial Victoria, the "Mother" Queen, died. Her wayward antipodean children must have gratitude. After the Federation of 1901, those who had clamoured most loudly for Federation became the fiercest loyalists. What else happened in 1901? Queen to repress and manipulate its own memory in regard to its former lack of the former mother country" (Fanon 120). In turning to the colonial mother, it has of the colonial bourgeoisie. Typically, it "will send out frenzied appeals for help to country thrown out the colonizing power than a great insecurity seizes the mind Loyalist-Republican dichotomy. Fanon observed that no sooner has a colonized into the realm of social psychology, on occasion it seems fruitful to do so. Frantz is disputed as to whether findings of individual psychology can be transferred Wretched of the Earth has provided parameters that seem applicable to the Fanon in his famous study of the decolonisation of the colonial world The A foray into social psychology will shed further light on this problem. Although it

Opponents of maintaining a loyal link to the colonial mother will face the problem of constructing an indigenous national culture. In that enterprise, they will play down all the cultural influences of the colonizing power, while at the same time exaggerating indigenous cultural achievements. The result will be an overblown cultural construct. In the words of Fanon: "The passion with which native intellectuals defend the existence of their national culture may be a source of amazement" (Ibid.,168).

Otto Kemberg's important study (1988) on the "inner world and external reality" of so-called "borderline" patients is also relevant here. The symptoms of "borderline", also known as "identity diffusion" are as follows: self-aggrandizement, aggressive behaviour, some features of paranoia, feelings of emptiness, contradictory self-perception, violent mood swings and a "striking tendency" to view all significant others only in black/white fashion. An underdeveloped sense of ego was seen by many working in the field as the main reason behind the syndrome

of the collective Über-Vater), which is still a feature of contemporary Australian aggressiveness of the White Australia policy (officially revoked only in 1975); or argues, elements of guilt (for not having loved the parent enough) as well as the a second grappling with the Oedipus complex. In that process, so Kernberg und Melancholie", 1917) had claimed that the loss of a parent demanded a drome after the loss of one or both parents. Sigmund Freud (in his essay "Trauer interesting causal connection: many 'borderline' patients developed the syning out that the syndrome mostly develops in adults. And here he points at an that see 'borderline' always as a consequence of a weakness of the ego, pointafter only a brief interlude of relative liberalism, once again viewed as a menace were, well into the 1970s, lumped together as 'the yellow peril'; and who are, jokes. Finally, there is the inability to properly assess its Asian neighbours, who the collective trend towards denigrating both 'pommies' and 'Yanks' (as models as the 'coming man' and the vilification of 'homo Britannicus' as a weakling; the Australian mind in the postcolonial phase: the wild praise of 'homo Australiensis' antipodean child. brought with it a 'loss' of the mother. Significantly, Queen Victoria as symbolic they waver between love and hate, grieving and condemnation. Typical are fanborderline patients fail. Unable to bring their labour to a successful completion, have to be dealt with and reconciled. And exactly at this "labour of mourning" latent aggression towards him/her (because not enough was done for the child) (following the 'Tampa' affair of 1999). Kernberg disagrees with orthodox views (Kernberg, 3-8). These descriptions fit most assessments of the collective mother did die in 1901, almost as if she had been murdered by her wayward fierce attacks on the mother country in the 1890s, the 1901 Federation suddenly 150-152). Once again, the analogy to Australia's history is striking. After the tasies of parenticide, suicide or being overwhelmed by external forces (Ibid. "working over" (Durcharbeiten) of the ambivalence towards the parent, and thus

The conflict between the Loyalists and the Republicans broke out with full force during World War I, as we know. I particularly think of Prime Minister Bill Hughes' hysterical claim made in 1916, that without the protection of 'mother' England ("Australia's guarantor in a hostile world"), the defenceless 'child' Australia would be vanquished in a Japanese invasion (Hirst 1999, 65). It is my argument that a latent and collective 'borderline' syndrome was the result of a separation from the 'mother' country, in which the Oedipal components (guilt, pain, longing) were not properly recognized and dealt with. The result is that both Australian factions have something in common, namely an almost manical desire to match up the colonized nation against the colonizer, whether this be in sports (Cricket and Rugby come to mind), in military matters, in physical fitness – or in film produc-

tion. A relaxed comparison with the 'mother' culture, as it characterizes such discourses in Canada, is a rare thing in Australian discourse. The loyalist faction wishes to establish sameness and therefore a sense of cultural belonging, the separatist aims at superiority and difference (in this order). The Loyalists were and are mostly in the conservative camp, and in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Australia has only had about one year of Labour rule to four years of conservative rule.

## Australian Cinema, 1900-1970: Self Expression vs. Finance

should submit quietly to foreign exploitation, have its individualism undermined instances in 250 films screened in Sydney at matinee times: "97 murders, 19 unidentified cultural critic said: "It is deplorable that a country with such a regard disparaging American culture, we would prefer to keep our own." (Ibid., 96) An Women's Citizen Movement catalogued the number of socially undesirable American films". (Ibid.) Australia's 'moral brigade' also weighed in: the Victorian Adams, 45). An editorial of the Sydney Morning Herald tactfully stated: "without dumping ground for pictures made in other parts of the world?" (qut. Shirley, seems to have been that a nation with an already underdeveloped sense of a in his report that even in "serious" American films, the [female] characters were seductions, 25 disreputable women" and so on. One of the official censors wrote industries. In 1921, Theatre Magazine warned: "Is Australia going to be a mere of Trade Herbert Pratten declared in a speech made in April 1927: "We recogwhat precious national identity and overseas reputation it might have. Secretary cultural identity, and a weak cultural presence overseas, was in danger of losing habitually shown "without their nether garments" (lbid.) The general concern American film industry now had on the Australian as well as other national film wood's resounding global success, resulting in a global stranglehold that the public subsidies, but these gradually petered out. The main reason was Hollynize that the film is a great means of instilling a national Australian spirit in the propaganda films, the Australian film industry became highly dependent on ing. From the end of the Great War, which had provided government orders for was as yet unencumbered by the norms and paradigms later imported from the USA. As has already been noted, the productivity of those years was astonish-Australian film industry responded exclusively to Australian cultural needs, and already. It astounds the Australian film scholar to learn that in its first decade, the That Australia has a film industry older than Hollywood has been mentioned characters and ideals practically shaped by a battering invasion of

Australian people" (Ibid., 75). Subsidising Australian films thus becomes justified by a 'national interest', which is also culturally inscribed. The ensuing dilemma – defining which films are in the national interest and which not – has dogged Australian cultural policies to this day.

An example. In the 1930s, Ken Hall and Raymond Longford created a series of entertainment films based on the *Dave and Dad* novels. (The most successful was *On Our Selection*, 1932). Unlike most other films produced in that decade, these films actually made some money and had export value. But since the essence of these movies was the stereotyping of the selector as a loveable, but ignorant and bungling hick, politicians and other public leaders began to attack Longford for his denigration of the Australian national character.

The same thing happened again in the early 1970s, when Tim Burstall, Brian Adams and others produced a series of commercially successful 'Ocker' comedies with a considerable amount of sexual content. These comedies were an embarrassment to cultural politicians: "[q]uestions were asked in parliament whether government funds should be expended on this type of product" (O'Regan, 1989, 77). But this issue has already been discussed in chapter 2 under the heading of "The Ocker Films".

## Australia's Honour Saved by the Period Films

The dilemma described above was solved by the timely appearance of a number of sensitive, visually stylish and aesthetically pleasing film that foregrounded Australia's past. The first of these was Peter Weir's *Picnic at Hanging* Rock (1975), which was received ecstatically by Australia's critical as well as political establishment. It had been hoped that it might be the first Australian feature ever to win one of the coveted awards at the 1976 Cannes Film Festival. As it was, it received an honourable mention, which was 'close enough', to use a popular Australian idiom. Graeme Turner has written extensively on the success of the genre and how it secured a future for the industry as such. His central argument runs as follows:

The preoccupation with historical drama seemed designed to demonstrate that Australia had a history and therefore was a culture. Key films from this period (...) deferred to European models of cineastic taste rather than American objectives of entertainment, the models for many of the period films were the BBC historical drama and the open ended narratives of the French nouvelle vague. Beautiful, untroubling films, they were politically conservative, and (...) said virtually nothing about contemporary Australia (1989, 103-4)

Why did it take so long so long to facilitate that "revolution" as Phillip Adams called it? The reasons are primarily political. As late as in 1963, Prime Minister Menzies had argued in a TV interview (it is included in part 3 of the ABC documentary 100 years of Australian Film) that Australia did not need an independent film industry. The Americans, so he said, were the best movie makers in the world, just as the Australians were the best wool producers; one could more cheaply import their products with the revenue earned in the wool trade than pour money into a local film industry. It was a simply awful statement, no wonder the artistic/intellectual community was incensed by it. After increased pressure, the Gorton government did in the end grant 300,000 dollars in subsidies in 1969, the first time in 40 years. Once Gough Whitlam came to power, these subsidies were considerably expanded, until they gave way to a system of tax incentives in the 1980s (the so-called '10BA' clause). A brief look at production statistics shows the policy was successful:

cording to the script, she was welcomed by the Australian PM. The Australia PM cultural mission to London (of course), arrived at Sydney Airport, where, acencouragement of films. Towards that end he not only quadrupled film subsidies at the time was Gough Whitlam. The actor playing him was none other than sador, Edna Everadge (portrayed by Barry Humphries), back from a successful (entitled Barry McKenzie Holds His Own, 1974), the unofficial cultural ambas-Film Commission (AFC). When Philip Adams (producer) and Bruce Beresford he also created the Australian Film and Television School and the Australian running of the Australian National Gallery) but his special emphasis lay on the interest in all the arts (he created the Australia Council and enacted laws on the Gough Whitlam (Murray, 63). How many other nations in the world can claim to (director) made the sequel to the highly successful Barry McKenzie sex-farce productivity explosion (Verhoeven 1999). Gough Whitlam took a great personal ductions, increasing the productivity of the Sixties by almost 800%, a veritable Australian Cinema his own memory, Whitlam wrote the introduction to a collection of essays on the have had an acting Prime Minister? 20 years later, in a truly remarkable twist of at all during those 25 years, they "were almost entirely funded from overseas (Ibid., 2). The next decade, however, (1970-79) saw no fewer than 167 film profilms (...) most of which are now forgotten". (1992, 1) If feature films were made Mayer claim there were "less than two dozen wholly Australian-backed feature Looking further back, i.e. at the period between 1945 to 1970, MacFarlane and larly unsuccessful Ned Kelly (1969) starring 'Rolling Stones' singer Mick Jagger film index). Not all of them were Australian productions, one being the spectacu-In the decade 1960-69 only 22 films were made in Australia (Verhoeven 1999,

I believe the best Australian films have certain obvious qualities in common ... a certain wholesomeness, a certain decency, a fundamental seriousness of purpose (...) our films are robust, energetic, honest, frequently beautiful in pictorial terms and made with great craftsmanship. They are more often than not attuned to the lives and feelings of common people: the working class, the pioneers, the soldiers, the battlers. They are an index of our values and aspirations. (1994, 3)

avoided making, so he pointed out, was the 'Rambo' action movie. Note the and we are proud to have sunk millions of dollars into it. He claimed that little to the influence of developments abroad." Read: this is our own creation In the same article, Whitlam claimed that Australian films were unique "in owing than Johnny R. scenes from Rambo II, the only difference being that Mick is kinder to his foes purpose." Nor is the claim itself correct: Crocodile Dundee II (1988) lifts whole skills, but then Australia has "wholesomeness, decency and seriousness of attack against the cultural Big Brother, who may possess superior marketing difference to American film production. One type of movie which Australia had now we are internationally respected. He was also careful to emphasise the films are more likely to be noticed internationally than any other medium, and most creative and admired phase of [Australia's] history." Read: in today's world. claimed that the film renaissance of the 1970s (his own time of office) was "the Australian film is best when it portrays our Australianness, warts and all. He Australian film was "an expression of a distinctive local culture." Read: the

analysis of the deficiencies of Australia's cultural film policy, Elizabeth Jacka cultural administrations also took the simplistic view that films created a nothing about contemporary Australia" (Turner 1989, 104). In Whitlam's was genuinely Australian. The irony is that the Period Film "said virtually Understandably, Whitlam's idea was to present something to the world that discourse. The former debunks national myths, the latter exploits them. The But therein lies is a difference between academic enquiry and political genre relied on a re-hash of the Australian master narrative of the Lawson-Period Film of the 1970s. As was pointed out by Graeme Turner (1989), the in time. His description of Australian films is that of one particular genre: the demonstrated how "even the best contributions" in that debate "continually (...) defence, it must be said that many policy officials and top administrators of 'Lawson/Furphy' myth was for a long time perceived as genuinely Australian Furphy school, which by then should have long used up its natural shelf life Of course, Whitlam's prose contains a lot of empty rhetoric. Whitlam is frozen identity" by "adequately reflect[ing] our way of life." In a trenchant

problematizing it" (Jacka 1993, 109). take the notion of an Australian cultural identity for granted, rather than

cause Australia already is on the map. longer need to "place Australia on the map", as politicians earlier hoped, be-Australian movies of the 1990s are transgeneric, hybrid products that no and discontinuities since the Period Film era, Priscilla and with it most of the their outrageous clothes climbing heavenwards. Speaking of the continuities sacrificial virgins of the latter we now have the shrill camp transvestites and and caricatures a key scene of Picnic at Hanging Rock; instead Period Films. There is the case of Priscilla Queen of the Desert, which quotes as it stands now. Some of the newer films already refer to or quote earlier Period Film has vanished without a trace, has left little impact on the industry discourses of national self-definition. It would be incorrect to claim that the may have never happened. Also, the films provided extra stimuli towards petus towards the development of an indigenous film industry, which otherwise aberration. The popular acceptance of the genre provided an important im-There is no need, however, to denigrate the Period Films of the 1970 as

Austrian TV2 as part of the twice-weekly Universum series butions have been extremely successful, appearing with some regularity on Australia we must not forget nature documentaries, in which Australian contriare commonly called. When speaking of the increased media presence of year. This figure does not even include Australian TV-series (or 'soaps', as they lian films per year in the period 1945-70, we now have between 20-25 films per Today Australia's film industry is firmly established; where there were 1-2 Austra-

of Jimmy Blacksmith, (Fred Schepisi 1978), My Brilliant Career (Gillian Armgious) official competition of the Cannes Film Festival. They were: The Chant Festival in 1993. In 1994, Jane Campion's The Piano won three Academy Heer's Bad Boy Bubby, won the first prize at the International Venice Film Year of Living Dangerously. A largely and unfairly neglected film, Rolf de award in the 'Best Supporting Actress' category for her performance in The in the same year, and in 1982, Linda Hunt won the first Australian Academy Thompson won Australia's first palme d'or Award for 'Best supporting actor'20 strong, 1979) and Breaker Morant (Bruce Beresford, 1980). In addition, Jack years Australian films of the 'Period' genre were invited into the (highly presti-Nor has international acclaim been denied to Australia. In three successive Awards: Best Script, Best Actress, Best Supporting Actress; in 1997, Shine brought Jeffrey Rush an Academy Award for Best Actor, Russell Crowe won it

the first Australian woman to win the Academy Award in the 'Best Actress' again in 2002 for his role in The Gladiator; and in 2003 Nicole Kidman became and even crass, but it is treated with great respect in the international film may have crossed into dangerously new terrain, it may be diverse and hybrid category for her stellar performance as Virginia Woolf in The Hours. Australian world film production has come a long way. It may have abandoned old stereotypes.

Ironically, Thompson won the award for 'Best Actor' at the AFI Awards in the same year