



Creature of Circumstance: Australia's Pavilion at Expo '70 and Changing International Relations.

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Abstract

Subverting the expectation that expo pavilions incorporate recognizable markers of national identity, the Australian pavilion at the 1970 Japan World Exposition, Osaka, was conceived around a set of direct and oblique references to Japanese culture. The exposition's Japanese audience was the target of architect James Maccormick's 'East-West' approach to design, which sought to enhance Japanese opinions of Australia and Australians. Working from briefing papers prepared by the Department of External Affairs, Maccormick used references to Japanese culture to address perceived Japanese perceptions of Australians as 'coarse' and 'uncultured'. The pavilion's ambitious engineering tackled the Japanese view of Australia as under-industrialized. These themes coalesced in the design of the pavilion's canopy roof. Shaped from Australian steel as a stylized lotus and suspended from a giant cantilever arm, its hovering form appealed to purported Japanese interest in mastery over nature while showing what Australia could do with its natural resources. Drawing on archival research and secondary sources, the paper argues that the design of the Osaka pavilion bypassed the usual renderings of Australian national identity based in rural enterprise and nature imagery to demonstrate a new, pragmatic approach to national representation open to recurrent reconstruction according to changing contexts and circumstances. In referencing Japanese culture, the pavilion's design not only highlights Japan's growing economic and strategic importance to Australia but marks an important change in Australia's outlook on its inter-societal relations in the Asia-Pacific region. Despite the significance of these shifts neither the pavilion design nor Australia's participation in Osaka is discussed in the principal accounts of relations between Australia and Japan in the twentieth century.

Introduction

State pavilions at international expositions allow countries to encapsulate their national character and capacity within the framework of the expo theme. Curiously, the Australian pavilion at the 1970 Japan World Exposition, Osaka, referenced historical Japanese culture and wisdom traditions. These allusions, however, are more self-referential than at first appearance, representing a forward-looking statement on Australia's changing place in the world.¹ Japan became Australia's main trading partner in 1966, underscoring the erosion of Australia's historical ties with Britain, then involved in a protracted campaign to join the European Economic Community.² Although economics and trade dominated Australia and Japan's post-war relationship, the two countries' international and regional political interests also increasingly converged. Eager to build on this commonality, the Australian Government approached Expo '70 as an important exercise in cultural diplomacy, which allowed Australia to represent itself as something other than a combined farm and mine to the exposition's large Japanese audience (Figure 1). The design of the Australian Pavilion harnessed multiple threads of meaning to this task, resulting in a hybrid architecture that most commentators have represented as failed.³ The burgeoning relationship with Japan certainly tested Australia's self-perceptions. The Expo '70 pavilion traded Australia's historical identity for a new composite representation reflecting its shifting external circumstances, the amalgamation of symbols of modernity with references to Japanese culture constituting an intriguing speculation on Australia's future integration in the Asia Pacific region.



Figure 1. Crowd with Australian Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka, in background. NAA: 1200/L86522. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

Australian Identity and World Exhibitions

Ang and Stratton describe the representation of “Australia” as “a constant struggle ... whose equivalence with the nation-state bearing that name cannot be taken as given, but is always actively constructed and reconstructed”.⁴ Interestingly, they locate the key influences on this process of identity formation “in the transnational realm beyond the (symbolic) boundaries of the nation”.⁵ The record of Australia’s attendance and self-representation at international expositions in the twentieth century bears this out, exemplifying the projection of identity by association. In fact, Australia often revealed its identity and affiliations through its absence from official international expos, preferring exhibitions staged by nations linked to Britain’s political ambit. When Australia did attend official world expositions, its emphasis on primary products and nature and pastoral imagery was often intentionally at odds with expos’ promotion of human and technological progress in industrial modernity. This image, however, suited Australia’s largely complementary economic relationship with Britain, which until the 1960s was the main market for Australian rural exports and its chief source of low-cost manufactures and investment funds.⁶ The Australian exhibit at the 1939 New York World’s Fair, for example, was a minor attachment to the British pavilion. Although it indicated Australia’s modern infrastructure, its focus was overwhelmingly on wool and timber production.

Following the New York World’s Fair, Australia did not attend an official international exhibition for nearly three decades.⁷ When it did exhibit again, in Montreal in 1967, closely followed by Osaka in 1970, its self-representation had shifted markedly. Australia produced major independent pavilions for both expos, with James Maccormick,⁸ Principal Architect for the Commonwealth Department of Works, Canberra, serving as pavilion architect and Robin Boyd as exhibit designer. Initially, Maccormick rather fell into the role of pavilion architect. Prime Minister Robert Menzies confirmed Australian participation in Expo ‘67 in July 1965, shortly after which Maccormick was asked to provide Cabinet with “a notional design” to demonstrate “what an Expo building could be like”.⁹ Maccormick conceived the design around four dramatic, wood-ribbed pillars that doubled as light and ventilation wells, fusing form and function in way typical his work (Figure 2). Although he had been told the government would brief a private architect to do the actual design, John Gorton, Minister of Works, subsequently informed Maccormick that his design so impressed Cabinet he would be appointed pavilion architect.¹⁰ The success of the 1967 pavilion and the perceived greater experience of the Department of Works in managing government work overseas saw Maccormick design the Osaka pavilion as well, despite

significant lobbying by the RAlA and others to have a private practice undertake the work in order to promote Australian architectural consultancies to the world.¹¹



Figure 2. Model, Australian Pavilion, Expo '67, Montreal. NAA: AA1982/206. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

Australia's Expo '67 and Expo '70 pavilions demonstrate the purposeful reconstruction of national identity under the influence of the nation's changing external circumstances. Australia's experience in WWII had shown that membership of the British Empire did not ensure protection, Australia progressively refocusing its international and defence relations over the 1950s and 1960s on the United States and Japan. Similarly, Britain's intention to join the EEC was widely regarded as a crossroads in relations with Australia.¹² During the 1960s the percentage of total Australian exports to Britain dropped from 26.5 per cent in 1959–1960 to 11 per cent in 1969–70.¹³ By the late 1960s the development of alternative markets meant that the Australian government looked on economic disengagement from Britain with comparative acceptance.¹⁴ Even so, Australia's return to world expos after 30 years suggests the Commonwealth Government saw a need to develop the country's international profile. Australia's Expo '67 pavilion projected an image of a modern, independent nation with strong capacity in design, engineering and science. The Osaka pavilion echoed this, but had a much more specific diplomatic mission, aiming to positively influence Japanese perceptions of Australia, its design highlighting Australia's cultural literacy and technical facility while positioning the nation between Asia and the West.

Australia and Japan

The declaration of the 1957 Australia–Japan Agreement on Commerce re-established

economic relations between the two countries that had been disrupted by the Imperial trade bloc of the Depression years and the hostilities of WWII, initiating massive reciprocal trade growth. By 1966, Japan was Australia's largest trading partner while Australia was a major supplier of the raw materials that drove Japan's extraordinary post-war development.¹⁵ The strengthening relationship with Japan reflected growing Australian interest in engaging Asia through diplomacy, economic and technical assistance, and cultural and educational exchange.¹⁶ In February 1967, Prime Minister Harold Holt identified a special role for Australia in serving as a 'bridge' between Asia and the West.¹⁷ His July 1967 Inaugural Deakin Memorial Lecture listed "the encouragement of a special relationship with Asia" among the important issues of growth, welfare, foreign affairs and security for Australia.¹⁸ However, the relationship with Japan was the most advanced because of mutual political, strategic, and economic interests. These included Australia and Japan's comparative isolation in the region, the effects of an internationally dominant United States, the Cold War, the rise of Communist China, and the Vietnam War, a number of these factors being directly mentioned by Cabinet in relation to the decision to participate in Osaka.¹⁹

The development of the Japan–Australia relationship, however, faced various impediments. Japan inspired deeply negative associations for many Australians following its army's actions during WWII, the authenticity of its renunciation of military aggression being frequently doubted.²⁰ For the Japanese, perceptions of ongoing Australian preference for British business, investment, and immigration suggested a continuation of earlier discriminatory 'White Australia' immigration policies.²¹ Analysis of Japanese newspaper articles on Australia in the 1970s reveals that the Japanese saw Australia as dependent and lacking strength because of its historical links with Britain and recent closeness to the United States.²² Although the majority of articles describe Australia as a vast, wealthy land with plentiful national resources, this invited both positive and negative interpretations.²³ It revealed Japan's interest in Australia to be primarily economic and suggested that Japan had become powerful without such natural advantages, fostering a sense of superiority over Australia.²⁴ Given the strong media–government connection in Japan, these were significant views.²⁵ Each required effort to dispel if the Australia–Japan relationship were to be mutually advantageous.²⁶ The Australian government, however, had reasons to expect progress here. Japan was known to fear economic isolation through the growth of regional trade blocs in Europe, Latin America, and the Atlantic, prompting its interest in forging regional partnerships in the Asia–Pacific region.²⁷

Australia's Expo '70 pavilion was an important gesture towards Japan. It is thus surprising that none of the major studies of post-war relations between Australia and Japan mention either its design or Australian participation in Expo '70, especially when most acknowledge both governments' use of cultural relations to foster inter-societal amity and understanding. Meaney's *Towards a New Vision: Australia and Japan through 100 years* has a dedicated section on 'Collaboration in the Arts' from the 1950s'.²⁸ The essays in the anthology *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia* make frequent mention of cultural contacts.²⁹ Similarly, Rix's *The Australia–Japan Alignment 1952 to the Present* emphasizes Australian governments' use of cultural exchange to address tensions between the two nations.³⁰ In each case the omission of Australia's participation in Expo '70, as an example of the merger of cultural orientations with economic and political imperatives, is a significant oversight.

1970 Japan World Exposition

Expo '70 was the first official international expo awarded to Asia, a previous one planned for Tokyo in 1940 having been cancelled because of WWII and Japan's conduct in China.³¹ Securing Expo '70 underlined Japan's post-war rehabilitation to international citizenship, the expo theme of 'progress and harmony for mankind' being highly symbolic in this sense.³² In roughly marking the centenary of the *Meiji* restoration when Japan reopened relations with the world after 300 years of isolation, principles of modernization were to the fore, this being noted when Cabinet approved Maccormick's design.³³ The expo site was conceived as a city of the future, suggesting how synergies in science, technology, and the arts might humanize modern urban life. Before 1958 Japan had felt obliged to represent itself at international exhibitions through reproductions of historic architecture, Bell describing Expo '70 as fulfilling a "long-desired opportunity to take the lead in determining the setting and parameters in which both it and other nations would be ... displayed for critique and consumption".³⁴ That Japan emphasized industry and new technology at Expo '70 over a culturally essentialist and historical self had significant implications. Morley and Robins argue that an economically and industrially dominant Japan challenged the imagined binary divide between the West and non-West. Although clearly not Western, in embracing modernity Japan refused to conform to Western conceptions of an Oriental country, its success at being modern disrupting the character and dominance of Western modernity.³⁵ For Australia, the convergence of its resources with Japanese industry suggested reciprocal prosperity, except for underlying issues of unequal bargaining power connected to negative perceptions of Australia. Japan's decision to identify itself with social, scientific, and technological progress complicated Australia's efforts to shift Japanese views of Australia as culturally and industrially

underdeveloped, Australia's categorization as part of 'the West' only underscoring its peripheral role in the unfolding of modernity.

Australia at Expo '70

Officially, Australia's Expo '70 pavilion subscribed to the expo theme, but James Maccormick's main design guides were two briefing papers from the Department of External Affairs that established that the pavilion's actual role was to "strike a cord of sympathy" in the Japanese audience "by showing that certain values of the Japanese, held to be good, are also respected and striven for in Australia".³⁶ Subsidiary to this was reinforcing Australia's location in and connection to the economically dynamic Asia-Pacific region.³⁷ The commissioning group stressed this was to be achieved through "an architecturally imaginative and aesthetically pleasing building".³⁸ However, Maccormick struggled against bureaucratic processes to attain creative autonomy within the project, even though a Cabinet memo to the Director of Works plainly stated the design team "should have complete freedom of action to exercise its initiative to the maximum possible extent and produce a first-class building".³⁹ Maccormick only learned of this after the principal design work was complete.⁴⁰ Otherwise he felt he had surprisingly little practical information on which to base a design, the Australian Exhibit Organisation only sketching in some basic requirements for V.I.P. accommodation, office areas, and staff rooms in the pavilion.⁴¹ The interval for design was also very short. Cabinet made the decision to attend Osaka on 20 July 1967 while Expo '67 was still underway.⁴² The decision that the Department of Works would be responsible for design and construction came on 23 February 1968. Maccormick received the design brief on 15 March 1968, leaving him three weeks to prepare three alternate designs for submission to the Cabinet meeting on 7 May 1968 that selected the pavilion design.⁴³

Maccormick's various design reports reveal his careful compliance to key points raised by the External Affairs briefing papers, but these only abstractly defined Australia's interest in the pavilion. Maccormick had to exercise considerable conceptual dexterity to accommodate their various requirements in a single design. He also knew his design would have to battle for attention, typifying expos as a highly competitive architectural context where "affluent countries" rivalled each other through buildings conceived "in the international style of modern architecture", each "depend[ing] to a large extent on the structural solution of a unique type to excite the imagination".⁴⁴ This, in fact, suited Maccormick's architectural perspectives. His work typically employed a reduced architectonic with interest provided by the play of forms and materials. Yet the role of the

Osaka pavilion was not just to make an impressive architectural statement. A chief requirement was to demonstrate Australian knowledge of Japanese culture and society, External Affairs arguing that, “It is the general Japanese attitude that, although they understand other countries, the foreigner does not understand Japan.”⁴⁵ Maccormick sought to change this perception for Australia by basing the formal and iconographic program of his design on Japanese thought and culture.

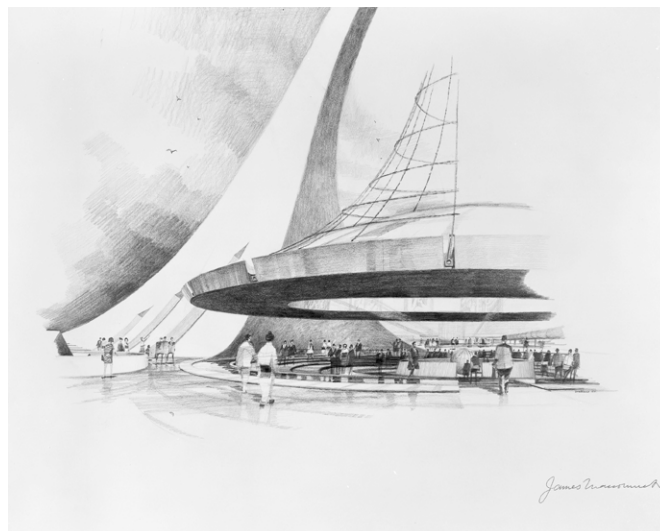


Figure 3. Sketch of exterior of Expo '70 Pavilion by James Maccormick. NAA: 1200/L72474. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

Maccormick gained a sense of the pavilion's Japanese context from a visit to Tokyo and Osaka in December 1967, during which he gleaned various design ideas. The most direct borrowing was the lotus shape of the pavilion's canopy roof, derived from the base of a temple column. Other references drew on Maccormick's basic ideas about Japanese metaphysics and intellectual preferences, his report on the pavilion's 'design philosophy' revealing a set of assumptions that, following Edward Said's 1978 critique of the Western construction of the 'Asian Other', can only be read as Orientalist. Maccormick approached national culture and subjectivity as discrete and exclusionary entities, depicting Japanese thought and culture as unique but alien. "To see a Japanese", he writes, "sitting alone contemplating nature, the delicate hanging of a cherry blossom, raked sand around a rock, moonlight reflected in the water, a mountain stream and other aspects of the world that surround him is peculiar to a westerner, but significant to Japanese."⁴⁶ Various elements of the pavilion design were configured to appeal to this purported appetite in the Japanese. For example, the pavilion's suspended roof, in suggesting the transcendence of gravity, aimed to satisfy Japanese interest in "control of their physical environment"⁴⁷ (Figure 3). Similarly, the main exhibition area was accessed through an underground

tunnel and then a 90° turn, echoing Maccormick's observation that circulations in Japanese buildings and landscape designs were often conceived to affect an element of surprise.⁴⁸

Maccormick's attempt at an 'East–West' approach to design was unprecedented and unrepeated in his work. It also relied heavily on the potential for complex, cross-cultural communication and representation. Binary exchange was intrinsic to the pavilion's design logic. The robustness of the giant cantilever, for instance, was an intentional contrast to the "precision and delicacy" of the canopy roof.⁴⁹ More strategic, political meanings also underpinned the exchange of elements. The design's audacious engineering aimed to demonstrate Australia's technical capacity while acknowledging modernization to be a primary ambition for Japan. The canopy roof played off the old and new, the Japanese and Australian, introducing a historical Japanese element while being equipped with advanced 360° projection screens showing images of everyday life and the natural environment of Australia.⁵⁰ For Maccormick, the emphasis on visual and symbolic exchange was validated by his idea of a Japanese metaphysics. For example, he based the twin circular shapes of the pavilion's canopy roof and exit structure on the interlocking forms of the Japanese symbol of *tomoe* (Figure 4).⁵¹ Yet Maccormick defined *tomoe* by recourse to the Taoist principles of 'Yin' and 'Yang', which he described as fundamental to the design. Although these are related, Maccormick's explanation stressed a Taoist concern for the duality and equilibrium of universal forces over the more tripartite structure of Shinto cosmology, with its emphasis on the interplay of earth, heaven, and humanity, the most common form of *tomoe* having three interlocked forms rather than two.



Figure 4. Australian Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka. NAA: 1200/L86220. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

Maccormick supported the design's complex iconography by arguing that what made the Japanese different from "most other people" was their appreciation of "symbolism and the deeper meaning of life".⁵² He backed this up, however, with instances where important international buildings used twin elements, highlighting the Sydney Opera House's major and minor halls and, most pertinently, Kenzo Tange's swimming pool and basket ball complex for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, which in plan reveals the two structures to be based on the comma-like forms of a *tomoe*.⁵³ The Japanese audience was, in fact, open to active interpretation of the pavilion's architecture, many seeing the image of the cantilever and network of cables supporting the pavilion roof as echoing the view of Mount Fuji in Hokusai's famous woodblock print, *The Great Wave at Kanagawa*.⁵⁴

Media reports for Expo '70 focus on the pavilion's attention-grabbing cantilever, which fulfilled the expectation for monumental feature architecture at international expositions.⁵⁵ The cantilever, in being clad in Australia steel, encapsulated External Affairs' aim that the pavilion should "make the Japanese people realize that our industries are expanding and extremely important to our future even though we can provide food and raw materials".⁵⁶ Some bureaucrats had initially argued that primary industry should be the focus, given the great value of Australia's mineral and energy exports to Japan. Some wanted the pavilion to stress how Australian resources had fuelled Western industrial development.⁵⁷ Maccormick's design reports reveal others warning it was "not desirable politically to place undue emphasis on raw materials", believing the pavilion design should minimize the perception of Australia as the "quarry of Asia".⁵⁸ The simplicity of these discussions frustrated Maccormick, who argued a design could deliver concurrent messages. He thus conceived the cantilever to reflect Australia's exploitation of its minerals *for* inventive design and manufacturing, aiming to reverse the Japanese perception that Australia's dependence on mining and agricultural exports made it less developed than Japan.⁵⁹ Similarly, the underground section of the pavilion evoked mining activity *and* demonstrated architectural ingenuity, a design report enthusing that "no other country at either Brussels in 1956 or Montreal in 1967 ever conceived putting its exhibition space underground"⁶⁰ (Figure 5). Above all, the pavilion design strove to show that Australian primary industry depended on advanced infrastructure and social organization while supporting industrialization.⁶¹ Yet expressions of modernity and industrialization alone were insufficient here; hence the use of references to Japanese cultural tradition, which sought to represent Australia as a complex society with strong cultural and intellectual foundations that understood Japan.



Figure 5. View of exit ramp, Australian Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka. NAA: 1200/L86404. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

A Failed Architecture

In architectural circles the pavilion design was not seen as successful although it was popular with expo visitors, attracting an average of 65,000 people a day. *The Architectural Review* accepted that it “was prominent at Expo because of its eye-catching silhouette”, but questioned the value in capturing attention with “a structure as clumsy, as vulgarly pretentious and as meaningless as this”.⁶² Aspects of the design were not well resolved because of difficulties in coordinating Maccormick’s ideas and responsibilities with those of Robin Boyd. The two designers worked under different arms of government, Boyd being engaged by the Australian Exhibit Organisation to curate exhibits in the pavilion and develop the main exhibition area. He was also engaged several weeks after Maccormick had commenced the pavilion designs, which had to be modified to accommodate Boyd’s plans for the exhibition area⁶³ (Figure 6). Dubbed the ‘Space Tube’, the exhibition area was a long tunnel fitted with moving walkways that transported viewers past a mosaic of display compartments. Raisbeck and Wollan describe it as an “immersive and partial multimedia environment” that stressed dynamic reception and viewer experience, not set information.⁶⁴ However, the exhibits area was largely developed as a self-contained entity, its awkward attachment to the side of the pavilion criticized.⁶⁵



Figure 6. 'The Space Tube' or exhibits area for the Australian Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka. NAA:1200/L86223. Reproduced with permission of the National Archives of Australia.

Later accounts of the pavilion design represent it as compromised by tensions between Maccormick and Boyd. Serle suggests the choice of Maccormick as pavilion architect was simply a case of the Department of Works installing 'its man' in order to control the project, a list of suitable private architects requested from the RAIA ignored.⁶⁶ He depicts Boyd as aggravated that Maccormick, his former student and employee, received a second chance to design an expo pavilion.⁶⁷ This tension apparently only increased when Boyd saw the chosen design.⁶⁸ In a commentary on Expo '70 in *The Architectural Review* Boyd labelled the exhibitionism of Osaka pavilions the "worst ever".⁶⁹ While he only directly named Japanese pavilions as culprits, there is a sense he had Maccormick's design in mind when he described some pavilions as "symbolic clowns" and wrote of architects who had recently designed for Expo '67 taking extreme approaches in their search for "some new shape to excite attention".⁷⁰

Maccormick wrote several highly critical reports to government on the design and construction of the pavilion, noting the exceptionally short time for design development, the convoluted chain of responsibility, the role of the departmental project manager in modifying aspects of the design without consultation, and the building's poor standard of finish.⁷¹ Maccormick ultimately felt "cut out" of the project, resigning from the Department of Works in 1970 because of conflicts with its director.⁷² In working through the long list of recommendations outlined by External Affairs it is perhaps unsurprising that aspects of the design were over-determined. The pavilion was not selected among the top three designs, the judging committee from the Architectural Institute of Japan looking for "future construction and architectural techniques".⁷³ The need to demonstrate sympathy for

Japanese values and culture effectively discounted any aspiration to architectural advance. Raisbeck and Wollan argue that, by contrast, Boyd's Space Tube showed evident awareness of contemporary experiments in new technologies and architectural form such as those of the Japanese Metabolists'.⁷⁴ Yet in seeking to gain the attention of a Japanese audience, Maccormick's design seems the more effective, the 'modern' not a recognizable sign for Japan or Australia in 1970, both being, as Ang and Stratton contend, "de-centered in relation to the source of the universal project of modernity".⁷⁵

Albro argues that in the quest for identity the nation-state is often assumed to be "the unproblematic subject of traditional cultural expression", culture here approached "as a rivalrous resource that nation-states defend from competing interests".⁷⁶ In 1970, audacious engineering and references to Japanese culture were obscure signposts to Australian nationhood. However, in the late 1960s, when the Australian pavilion was being planned, expanding industrialization and world trade, immigration, investment, and travel were already making international relations more complex and coincident. The Osaka pavilion's post-essentialist rendering of Australian identity reflects this unfolding situation, speaking most intently to the Japanese audience that visited the pavilion. The Australian audience that experienced the pavilion through the media was also a target. While relations between Australia and Japan were normalized in the 1950s, in 1970 ordinary Australians did not necessarily accept this. Longstanding popular and political debate represented Australia as a European country, quite different from those Asian countries to its north that had long been represented as a threat to Australia's integrity and security.⁷⁷ For the Commonwealth Government, Expo '70 was an opportunity to raise awareness at "the popular level" of the closeness of the relationship with Japan and its importance to Australia's economic development and security.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The association that arose between Australia and Japan in the 1960s was founded on economic and trade ties, the Australian government seeing participation in Expo '70 as an opportunity to develop the relationship. The architectural hybridity of James Maccormick's design proposed points of cultural intersection between the two societies. In relinquishing an autonomous cultural identity to address Australia's place in a changing world, it stands as one of the most intriguing representations of Australia at an international exposition. The design's expansive referentiality, although risky, echoed the pragmatism with which Australia rapidly re-established economic relations with Japan after WWII.⁷⁹ The design pre-empts the 1974 Cultural Agreement between Australia and Japan, which sought to develop "deeper understanding" of the other's "culture, history,

institutions and general way of life".⁸⁰ As an amalgam of elements and allusions, the pavilion acknowledged the range of external influences on identity construction, not only breaking with past representations of Australia but also with the idea that the contemporary expression of identity had a basis in history. Other nations at Expo '70, including Japan, did something similar by throwing their lot in with modernity. The Australian pavilion identified international and cross-cultural relations to be relevant drivers of national identity, jettisoning familiar and reassuring symbols to actively address Australia's relationship with Japan, thereby accommodating a major policy imperative for the Australian government.

Endnotes

¹ This is an extrapolation of ideas advanced in Ien Ang and Jon Stratton, 'Asianing Australia: Notes toward a Critical Transnationalism in Cultural Studies', *Cultural Studies* 10:1 (1996), 16–36.

² Britain applied for entry to the EEC in 1961, 1967, and 1970 before gaining membership in January 1973. See Andrea Benvenuti, "'Layin' Low and Sayin' Nuffin": Australia's Policy towards Britain's Second Bid to Join the European Economic Community (1966–67)', *Australian Economic History Review* 46:2 (2006), 156–75.

³ For an early example, see J.M. Richards, 'Round the Pavilions', *The Architectural Review*, CXLVIII:882 (1970), 123. Such early criticism is reported by later writers. See Eugenie Keefer Bell, 'Celebrating Equivalence: Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan', *The Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2005, 45.

⁴ Ang, Stratton, 'Asianing Australia', 17.

⁵ Ang, Stratton, 'Asianing Australia', 17.

⁶ Peter Drysdale, 'Did the NARA Treaty Make a Difference?', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60:4 (2006), 492.

⁷ Australia missed the official expositions held in Brussels (1958), Seattle (1962), and New York (1964–5).

⁸ James Clayton Maccormick MBE FRAIA ARIBA was born in Narranderra, NSW, on 10 June 1926. He was educated at Xavier College, Melbourne, and the University of Melbourne (B.Arch 1950). Maccormick started work as an office boy for Frederick Romberg in 1948. After completing his architecture degree he worked in Romberg's office in Newburn Flats from 1951–1953 before leaving Australia to work in Montreal from 1953–1959. On returning to Australia, he took up a position in the office of Grounds, Romberg and Boyd (later Gromboyd) from August 1959–August 1962, becoming an associate in July 1960. Romberg remained a lifelong friend. From 1963–1970 Maccormick was a Principal Architect at the Commonwealth Department of Works, Canberra, for which he designed a wide range of buildings in a late-modernist style, including Deakin High School and the Data Acquisition facility, Orroral Valley ACT, for the Weapons Research Establishment and the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration. From 1970–1978 Maccormick was University Architect at the University of Queensland. He designed the Australian pavilions for the international exhibitions at Montreal (1967), Osaka (1970), and Spokane (1974). From 1976 he was heavily involved in promoting the idea of an international exhibition for Brisbane in the 1980s. Once this was granted in 1983, Maccormick joined with Graham Bligh to form the partnership Bligh Maccormick 88, which acted as consultant architects for the 1988 Brisbane World Exposition site.

⁹ James Maccormick, *Letter to Geoffrey Serle*, 2 April 1996, Personal Archive of James Maccormick (hereafter *AJM*), Brisbane.

¹⁰ *AJM*.

¹¹ C. R. Kelley (Minister for Works), 'Cabinet Submission No. 18: Australian Participation – Osaka (Japan) 1970', January 1968, NAA: A5882, CO137, 1.

¹² Benvenuti, "'Layin' Low and Sayin' Nuffin'", 156.

¹³ Benvenuti, "'Layin' Low and Sayin' Nuffin'", 158.

- ¹⁴ Philomena Murray, Annmarie Elijah, Carolyn O'Brien, 'Common Ground, Worlds Apart: the Development of Australia's Relationship with the European Union', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 56:3 (2002), 397.
- ¹⁵ Drysdale, 'Did the NARA Treaty Make a Difference?', 492–93.
- ¹⁶ David McLean, 'From British Colony to American Satellite? Australia and the USA during the Cold War', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 52:1 (2006), 78–79.
- ¹⁷ *Australian Financial Review*, 14 February 1967, quoted in Takashi Terada, 'Thirty Years of the Australia/Japan Partnership in Asian Regionalism: Evolution and Future Directions', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60:4 (2006), 536–37.
- ¹⁸ Harold Holt, Inaugural Deakin Memorial Lecture, 31 July 1967. Quoted in Matthew Jordan, 'The Reappraisal of the White Australia Policy against the Background of a Changing Asia, 1945–67', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 2:1 (2006), 224.
- ¹⁹ See Paul Hasluck and John McEwen, 'Cabinet Submission No. 312, Japan World Exposition – Osaka, 1970', 27 June 1967, 3, NAA: A5882, CO137.
- ²⁰ Terada, 'Thirty Years of the Australia/Japan Partnership in Asian Regionalism', 536–37.
- ²¹ Drysdale, 'Did the NARA Treaty Make a Difference?', 492.
- ²² Masayo Tada, 'Japanese Newspaper Representations of Australia 1970–1996', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Sept 2000, 170.
- ²³ Tada, 'Japanese Newspaper Representations of Australia 1970–1996'.
- ²⁴ Tada, 'Japanese Newspaper Representations of Australia 1970–1996'.
- ²⁵ See Ian McArthur, 'Media Portrayal of the Cultural Relationship between Australia and Japan', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60:4, 574–89.
- ²⁶ Terada, 'Thirty Years of the Australia/Japan Partnership in Asian Regionalism 536–37'.
- ²⁷ McLean, 'From British Colony to American Satellite?' 72.
- ²⁸ Neville Meaney, *Towards a New Vision: Australia and Japan through 100 Years* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1999), 126–31.
- ²⁹ David Goldsworthy, *Facing North: a Century of Australian Engagement with Asia. Volume 1, 1901 to the 1970* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001).
- ³⁰ Alan Rix, *The Australia–Japan Alignment: 1952 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- ³¹ John Allwood. *The Great Exhibitions* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), 176.
- ³² For a general account of the 1970 Japan World Exposition, see Bell, 'Celebrating Equivalence: Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan', 41–46.
- ³³ See 'Notes on Cabinet Submission B67, Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970, 312', NAA: A5882, CO137.
- ³⁴ Bell, 'Celebrating Equivalence: Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan', 43.
- ³⁵ D. Morley and K. Robins, 'Techno-orientalism: Foreigners, Phobias and Futures', *New Formations* 16:4 (1992), 155.
- ³⁶ James Maccormick, 'Report by Pavilion Architect J. C. Maccormick Commonwealth Department of Works. Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion. Expo 70', *AJM*, 1.
- ³⁷ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion'.
- ³⁸ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion'.
- ³⁹ James Maccormick, 'Expo 70 Review of Design Procedures', *AJM*, 12 December 1968, 1.
- ⁴⁰ Maccormick, 'Review of Design Procedures', 8.
- ⁴¹ James Maccormick, 'Design Evaluation: Australian Pavilion Expo '70', *AJM*, undated, 2–3.
- ⁴² 'Cabinet Minute, Decision No. 468(M), 20 July 1967', NAA: A5882, CO137.
- ⁴³ Maccormick, 'Design Evaluation', 1; Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 1.
- ⁴⁴ Maccormick, 'Review of Design Procedures', 2.
- ⁴⁵ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 6.
- ⁴⁶ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 4.
- ⁴⁷ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 3.
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- ⁴⁹ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion'.
- ⁵⁰ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion'.
- ⁵¹ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 4.
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- ⁵³ Maccormick, 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion'.
- ⁵⁴ Maccormick, 'Design Evaluation', 10.
- ⁵⁵ See for example, Judith Vanderwall, 'Expo '70: Japan's World Fair at Osaka'. *American Artist* 34:4 (1970), 25.

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- ⁵⁷ E.K. Sinclair, 'Suggested Theme and Presentation for Australia' 14 December 1967, quoted in Maccormick 'Design Philosophy of Australian Pavilion', 5.
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- ⁶³ Maccormick, 'Design Evaluation: Australian', 2.
- ⁶³ Maccormick, 'Design Evaluation: Australian', 2.
- ⁶⁴ Peter Raisbeck, Simon Wollan, 'Boyd as "Bower Bird": Robin Boyd's Space Tube and the Global Avant-garde', in Maryam Gusheh, Naomi Stead (eds), *Progress: The Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2003, 253.
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- ⁷⁴ Raisbeck, Wollan, 'Boyd as "Bower Bird"', 256.
- ⁷⁵ Ang, Stratton, 'Asianing Australia', 21.
- ⁷⁶ Robert Albro, 'The Challenge of Asserting, Promoting and Performing Cultural Heritage', *Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Theorising Cultural Heritage*, 1:1 (2005), 6.
- ⁷⁷ Ang, Stratton, 'Asianing Australia', 16–36.
- ⁷⁸ Hasluck, McEwen, 'Cabinet Submission No. 312', 1.
- ⁷⁹ Jordan, 'The Reappraisal of the White Australia Policy', 227.
- ⁸⁰ McArthur, 'Media Portrayal of the Cultural Relationship between Australia and Japan', 575.