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GREEKS IN AUSTRALIA
LES GRECS D'AUSTRALIE

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Acknowledgement

Introduction

LES GRECS D'AUSTRALIE

Stephanos Constantinides *

I. L'émigration grecque

Les diasporas constituent aujourd'hui un phenomène majeur du monde contemporain dont on commence à peine à mesurer l'importance. Les déplacements de populations continuent de nos jours avec un rythme accéleré pour des raisons économiques, politiques et culturelles. Dans certains cas ceci renforce de vieilles communautés alors que dans d'autres de nouvelles communautés sont créées. L'écart qui sépare le Sud du Nord et les conflits politiques vont continuer à accentuer le phénomène.

Pour les Grecs, émigrer fait partie de leur histoire, de l'antiquité à nos jours. Rappelons qu'en 1830, au moment de la création de l' Etat grec moderne, sur un total de 3 millions de Grecs celui-ci en englobait seulement 700 000.

Certes Ulysse, figure légendaire, est l'incarnation du Grec errant. Ce qu'on oublie cependant de mentionner dès qu'on parle d'Ulysse - le mythique ou son incarnation moderne - c'est la nécessité ou l'intérêt qui le pousse à ces courses errantes. Longtemps, on a présenté l'émigration comme étant une manifestation de la curiosité du Grec, comme si cette curiosité seule pouvait envoyer aux quatre coins du monde des milliers de gens, dans les conditions difficiles et pénibles du déracinement.

Il existe des causes plus importantes pour expliquer ce déracinement. L'émigration s'insère dans un processus de développement des forces productives à travers le monde, de division internationale du travail et d'un développement inégal ayant créé des métropoles

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industrialisées et des pays à la périphérie qui exportent soit de la main-d'oeuvre à bon marché, soit des matières premières.

Au point de vue historique, l'émigration grecque commence à partir du VIIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ avec la colonisation du bassin méditerranéen. Une seconde vague d'émigration, surtout vers l'Asie, aura lieu quatre siècles plus tard avec Alexandre le Grand. La troisième vague commence après la chute de Constantinople en 1453 date qui marque la fin de l'Empire byzantin, empire devenu grec à partir du 10e - 11e siècle par sa population et par sa civilisation. Composé au début de l'élite intellectuelle, de la noblesse et même du haut clergé, ce troisième courant migratoire des Grecs sera renforcé par la suite par les éléments les plus dynamiques de la population grecque qui veulent échapper à la répression de l'Empire ottoman. Les émigrants grecs iront s'installer en Russie, en Italie, en France, en Autriche, en Europe occidentale d'une façon générale. Ils s'occuperont du commerce et ils constitueront l'embryon de la future bourgeoisie grecque, cette bourgeoisie de la diaspora qui préparera la guerre de l'indépendance.

Après l'indépendance *(1830)*, commence l'émigration grecque moderne. Même s'il y a un effort de rapatriement, la situation du pays - économique, sociale et politique - pousse plutôt à l'émigration. Les émigrants se dirigent au début vers les pays où l'élément grec est solidement enraciné depuis plusieurs siècles, à savoir la Russie, la Roumanie et l'Egypte. Mais à partir des années 1880, commence le grand courant migratoire vers les Etats-Unis.

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale les Etats-Unis adoptent des mesures restrictives si bien que l'émigration se dirige plutôt vers l'Australie, le Canada et l'Europe occidentale. De 1900 à 1920, 400 000 Grecs *(sur un total de 2 500 000)* quittèrent le pays, dont 95% pour les Etats-Unis. Mais depuis cette époque, avec les mesures restrictives prises par ce pays, en particulier après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, l'émigration se dirige vers l'Australie, le Canada et vers l'Europe occidentale.

De 1960 à 1971, 919 917 Grecs émigrèrent dont seulement 88 010 aux Etats-Unis. Ainsi l'émigration absorba essentiellement pendant un

premier temps tout l'accroissement naturel de la population allant même jusqu'à la depasser après 1962.[1]

Cependant, à partir de 1972, l'émigration est freinée. Deux cau-ses sont à l'origine de ce phénomène : d'un côté les restrictions imposées par les pays d'accueil à cause de la crise économique et de l'autre côté l'accélération de l'industrialisation de la Grèce.

Durant la décennie de 1980 la situation est tout à fait renversée. La Grèce de pays exportateur d'immigrants devient pays d'accueil. Il y a actuellement environ un million d'immigrants en Grèce, soit 10% de la population du pays. L'effondrement des pays du bloc soviétique et en particulier la situation dans les Balkans explique cette nouvelle situation.

II. L'hellénisme d'Australie

Les Grecs commencent à arriver en Australie au début du 19ième siècle. Cependant leur nombre tout au long de ce siècle demeure minime. A tel point qu'en 1901, on ne denombre que 977 Grecs dans toute l'Australie.

L'immigration massive des Grecs vers l'Australie a lieu surtout après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Aujourd'hui leur nombre est estimé aux alentours de 420 000.[2]

Au delà des premières difficultés, les Grecs d'Australie se sont bien intégrés à la société australienne tout en faisant l'effort de préserver leur identité par la création de multiples réseaux communautaires. Comme dans bien d'autres sociétés et communautés ethnoculturelles, la question de l'identité occupe une place centrale dans les débats qui se déroulent au sein de la Communauté gréco-australienne. Si la première génération reste très attachée au pays d'origine, les générations suivantes tentent de se forger une nouvelle identité dans un contexte de multiculturalisme - politique officielle australienne - et sous le poids démographique et culturel des Anglosaxons. La référence grecque ne s'efface pas mais elle est d'une autre nature que celle de la première génération. Les Greco-australiens de la deuxième génération assument leur identité australienne tout en ayant intégré une partie de

leur héritage hellénique.

On pourrait ici faire le parallèle entre les Grecs de l'Australie et ceux du Canada. Dans les deux pays l'immigration remonte à la même époque, les immigrants ont les mêmes caractéristiques socioculturelles et proviennent essentiellement de la campagne grecque. Les pays d'accueil sont des anciens dominions britanniques et tous deux ont adopté la politique du multiculturalisme. Dans les deux pays, les Grecs suivent le même modèle organisationnel communautaire: communautés, associations, églises, écoles, etc.[3]

Dans ce volume, nous avons essayé de présenter - dans la mesure du possible - une vue d'ensemble des Grecs d'Australie. Les articles qui constituent ce volume traitent de la présence grecque dans ce pays de diverses perspectives : historique, identitaire, éducationnelle, politique, littéraire.

Tous les articles posent la question centrale pour ce groupe ethno-culturel à savoir : comment s'intégrer à la société australienne tout en gardant une forme d'identité hellénique. Si la diversité culturelle est considérée comme un acquis à l'entrée de ce troisième millénaire, rien n'est acquis pour les Greco-australiens qui doivent mener une lutte difficile: s'opposer à la force assimilationniste d'une société post-industrielle, moderne et très avancée sur le plan des nouvelles technologies à l'heure de la troisième grande révolution de l'humanité.

NOTES

1. Données citées par Stephanos Constantinides, **The Greeks in Canada, Studies and Documents**, Montréal, Editions Le Métèque, 1991 et **Les Grecs du Québec**, Montréal, Editions Le Métèque, 1983.

2. Les données citées sur les Grecs d'Australie proviennent de différents articles de ce volume.

3. Voir l'introduction de Helen Nickas et Stephanos Constantinides in **Allochtona Topia, poésie de langue grecque, Australie-Canada**, Melbourne, Owl Publishing, 1998 *(en grec)*.

GREEKS IN AUSTRALIA

Maria Herodotou *

Introduction

Diaspora forms a significant characteristic of modern world history and it is created either by voluntary immigration of people leaving their homeland in an effort to achieve a better life for themselves and their families, or as a result of expulsion from their homeland because of political reasons or conflicts. Greece has a long and complex migratory record which stretches back to ancient times and lasting for centuries. Greek diaspora played an important role and sometimes was a determining factor in the history of the Greek nation. The immigration which occurred in modern times, especially after WWI, has greatly affected the history of Greece and has been an integral factor of the political economic and social evolution of the modern Greek state and modern Greek society. It has also affected the formation of the societies of the host countries such as USA, Germany, Australia and Canada by enriching them demographically, socially, economically, politically and culturally (Vryonis 1993:12).

The number of Greek immigrants is massive. It is estimated that one third of the entire Greek population (between 3-4.5 million Greeks) lives outside the geographical boundaries of the Greek state (Hasiotes 1993:11-12). Despite their numerical power, however, Greeks remain minority groups and thus try to survive and preserve their ethnic, religious and cultural identity using various means and creating trans-state relations. This attempt to fight against assimilation is very important for the diaspora itself, the country of origin and the host country. The Greek diaspora sustains its identity through community organisations, culture, religion and language.

In Australia, a country which belongs to the "New Worlds" with a predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture and language, lives an important

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part of the modern Greek diaspora. The first Greeks were sent to Australia as convicts by the English courts in 1829. Voluntary immigration started in the 1850's during the "Gold rush". Throughout the 19th century, however, the number of Greeks immigrating to Australia was very limited. Those who arrived in this continent came mainly from the islands and did not intent to stay permanently. Their aim was to acquire wealth and return to Greece,[1] so the number of Greek immigrants in Australia up until 1901 was only 977 people (Harvey 1988). Massive immigration to Australia occurred after WWII, specifically in the 1960's, because of the destruction that Greece suffered during the German occupation and the civil war which followed and because of the immigration programmes applied by Australia.[2] The post-war immigration rapidly increased the number of Greeks who formed organized communities and transformed community life.[3] Today, the number of Greeks in Australia is estimated between 375 000- 420 000.[4] For most of them Australia offered security, social stability and opportunities for economic or personal success. Vryonis argues that the peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon institutions fitted the highly individualistic and regionally oriented trades of the Greek society. He supports the view that many Greek characteristics such as self governance, self-family-cultural prides, the strong desire for education, personal initiative, and self improvement found rich, legal and corporate underpinnings in the Anglo-Saxon legal and political system (Vryonis 1993:13-14). Thus, although the first Greeks in Australia experienced hardships, alienation and at times a hostile environment, gradually overcame the initial problems of their migration, they acquired material rewards and moved up on the social and economic ladder. They integrated successfully into the Australian community by accepting and influencing its way of life. At the same time they tried to sustain their distinct ethnic identity by developing ethnic community structures. However, even today in multicultural Australia, where ethnic diversity is officially recognized, they remain part of the "other", the "ethnics".[5] In their own communities their leaders are entirely first generation Greeks whilst the participation of the second generation is almost non existent. The result is that they try to preserve a culture that existed in the society they left behind at

the time of their migration. As Mary Kalantzis argues, to be a Greek in Australia is not simply a matter of maintaining the culture of the homeland. "It is a dialogue between tradition and changing social context; between historical experience and visions of the future. In this dialogue, the dominant culture and the culture of 'ethnic community' are always reshaping and redefining each other" (1997:30). Looking at Hellenism from an Australian perspective, she stresses the need of development of a postnationalist sense of common purpose where the oppositions of Australian/ dominant versus Greek/ marginal are abolished and both cultures are recognized as equal (1997:31).

This volume aims to analytically explore aspects of the settlement of Greeks in Australia where they form a significant community, *paroikia*. The knowledge developed through these papers will enable us to understand and re-evaluate the past, as well as further reflect critically on our future prospects in this country. It helps us to understand not only the Greek history and culture, but also that of Australia because of the cultural exchange between the two communities and the formation of an ethnically diverse society. The interest Australia has is reflected in its policies such as the policy of multiculturalism. The latter was introduced in an effort to socially and culturally accommodate the different ethnic groups that exist in this country. Furthermore, the knowledge of the past and present will help us understand our strengths and weaknesses in maintaining our ethnic identity and interacting with the wider Australian community. As we move from the first to the second, third and succeeding generations we must redefine our ethnicity and develop new strategies for its continuity.

There are a number of papers included in this volume which have approached the subject Greeks in Australia from different perspectives such as: the history and settlement of Greeks in Australia; issues of identity; education; literature; politics. All perspectives are interrelated and interwoven. They have to do with the presence of this diasporic group in Australia, its attempts for integration into the wider Australian community and at the same time its struggle to maintain its ethnic and cultural identity and survive into the new millennium.

I. History of the Greek Immigration in Australia

This first section deals with the history of Greek immigration in Australia. Anastasios M. Tamis's paper gives an account of the pre-WWII period. It refers to the Australian migration and settlement policies, their characteristics and to the formation of a culturally diverse society. It continues with reference to the problems and the achievements of the Greeks as well as to their impact on government policy formulation and implementation. Finally, he expresses the view that due to their economic prosperity, professional achievement and successful social adherence, large numbers of Greek migrants and their children were accepted by the wider Australian community. The emergence of second generation as successful professionals, technocrats, public administrators, merchants and business persons gave the Greek community prominence and seriously affected the entire society.

Christos Fifis's paper gives aspects of the Post-World War II Greek Australian community. He discusses the causes of Post-WWII migration; experiences of Greek migrants and problems of settling in; the development of the organized Community and relevant issues; the Greek language media and the dispute between Church-Communities. He concludes with a brief discussion on the contribution of the Greek community to the Australian multicultural society and its possible future prospects.

II. Issues of Identity

In her paper Gillian Bottomley analyses the activities of several Greek Australians who demonstrate the 'connectedness' of social relations, of living across difference in a multicultural society. Some of the themes discussed are: the participation of women and the elderly, intercultural activities, studies of institutional racism, and of the consequences of multicultural policies. She also refers to the achievements of Greek Australians in the arts, as a means of 'conversation' between generations and ethnocultures. She argues that this narrative knowledge increasingly caracterizes public discourse reflecting a heterogeneous Australian society.

Vrasidas Karalis critically examines the general *weltanschauung* of the Greek Australian intellectual and academic community, and argues that they failed to construct concrete cultural symbols which would express the mixed social reality they live in. He expresses the view that the trauma of immigration never became a political force and was restricted to the narrow perception of a self-excluded community which believed in the superiority of its language and its culture. Only few people succeeded in establishing new perceptions of identity and therefore symbols of collective recognition. The paper ends by mentioning the political factors which contributed to the creative immobility of the Greek-Australian community and to the absence of a political counter-proposal to the hegemonic Anglo-Celtic cultural paradigm.

In his paper Stathis Gauntlett examines the issue of Hellenic identity from a different perspective. He explores some signal instances of Greek songs functioning in the contestation of cultural identity in Australia by reference to three significant musical events of the 1990s. He explains why, whereas in metropolitan Greece the "rebetomania" of the 1980s has abated to the extent that it is nowadays viewed as an historical curiosity, the dynamics of ethnic self-assertion and multicultural bricolage seem set to ensure its continuing prominence of the genre in the Antipodes.

III. Education

Nicholas Ganzis in his paper presents an analysis of the achievements of the Greek community in the area of Greek education and suggests what else needs to be done to ensure the continuation of Hellenism in South Australia. His view is that although Greeks in South Australia believed strongly in the role of Churches and their community schools to pass down to succeeding generations their culture and traditions, they proved to be inadequate in ensuring the maintenance and promotion of the Greek language and Hellenic values.

IV. Literature

Con Castan examines the origins of the term Greek-Australian Literature and its function. He relates the term with politics, nationalist multiculturalism, group identity, minority literatures and national literature. He concludes that Greek-Australian literature, though but one of many minority literatures, has probably been the one that has gained most critical attention and been the most successful in the above terms.

John Vasilakakos in his paper examines the most essential theoretical and practical problems and problematizations which arise in the study of Modern Greek Literature of the Diaspora and gives a concise profile of Greek-Australian Literature. He argues that Greek-speaking literature has been one of the most dynamic minority literatures of Australia. However, despite its boom, the cessation of large-scale migration and the passing away of first generation Greek migrants, Greek-Australian literature has been shrinking continuously. He believes that English-speaking writers of Greek origin play a leading role in the development of mainstream Australian literature and many of them are in the forefront of the Australian literary scene. He concludes that further research is needed in the field.

Leo Papademetre in his paper explores the 'contemporariness' of Hellenic drama internationally. He expresses the view that the ever-contemporary need to keep examining our theatre tradition has become the focus of many drama practitioners who re-evaluate our worldly perceptions through the performing arts. The Hellenic Studies section of Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia, recognizing the importance of theatre, has been encouraging and fostering research and study of Hellenic theatre culture and its evolution with the assistance of the performing collective FRAGMENTS. The collective provides a cross-fertilizing 'space' for performers to resource the energies of their personal and collective bicultural and bilingual experience, (dis)placed and diasporic in nature. He gives examples of some of the collective's projects which are based on fragments of texts by Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Marguerite Yourcenar, Heiner Müller, Aristophanes and Ionesco.

George Kanarakis approaches his subject from an Australian perspective. He examines literary works by contemporary Australian writers to ascertain how Greeks and Greek culture are portrayed. He pays particular attention to the change in the mentality and attitudes of the society, and in what ways this change is reflected in literature. Thus literature is discussed within its socio-cultural context. He believes that the externalized images and impressions which the body of Australian literature contains will influence, to some extent, the perceptions and possibly even the attitudes of its reading public towards Greeks and Greek culture.

In her paper Maria Herodotou refers to the immigration of the Greek Cypriots in Australia and examines how Greek writers of Cypriot descent identify themselves with Greece, Cyprus and Australia as a place and as a culture. The writers are distinguished into three broad categories depending on the language they use (English, Greek & English, Greek). She believes that, although the use of language is not the most important factor of their identity, it is an indication of the extent of their connection to a particular place. The examination of the texts reveals that for some writers the bicultural identity creates a tension or even a conflict whilst others are more at ease with their Greek identity, they develop a nostalgia for Cyprus and try to recreate or reconstruct, in a painful way, the place and its culture. She concludes that for all writers, Greece and Hellenism become a conceptual world and that the expression of their identity is a constant process.

V. Politics

In his paper, Michalis Michael discusses the Cyprus issue in Australian politics with particular reference to the federal parliament. The paper claims that the Cyprus issue occupies a visible position within Australian politics which under normal circumstances would have been treated as marginal, due to the role that the Greek-Australian community has played especially since 1974. Furthermore, it claims that the formation of an Australian policy on Cyprus rests on the capacity of the Greek-Australian community to act as an interest

group within a pluralist political environment. Australia, however, can not undertake a substantive role in the conflict because the issue is not relevant to Australia's immediate national interest and sphere of influence.

The paper also examines how and to what extent the Cyprus issue in Australia has been determined by the triatic relationship between the Greek-Australian community (diaspora), the host country (Australia), and the home country (Greece and Cyprus).

NOTES

1. Details about the immigration and settlement of Greeks in Australia during the last century and up unti WWII, see Gilchrist, 1992 and 1997 and Tamis 1997.

2. About the causes of immigration from Greece as well as about the immigration programmes created by various countries including Australia, see: Hasiotes 1993: 127-152 and Vgenopoulos 1985.

3. For the formation of the Greek Community since the 1880's, see Tsounis 1993.

4. The number is based on the 1996 census. See also Fifis 1997 and Hasiotes 1993.

5. For the relationship between multiculturalism and ethnic Greek identity, between dominant/mainstream and marginal/ethnic culture, see Kalantzis 1997.

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Poètes Montréalais de langue grecque

ASSOCIATION DES ÉCRIVAINS GRECS DE MONTRÉAL

MONTRÉAL 1995

The Greek Settlement in Australia

Anastasios M. Tamis *

RÉSUMÉ

L'Australie, étant vulnérable aux menaces extérieures et essayant de faire decentraliser son marché de main-d'oeuvre, a réussi à développer des mecanismes de controle aussi bien qu'une politique cohérente de migration et d'établissement et elle a pu ainsi contrôler les mouvements de la population. On estime que 16 000 immigrants grecs sont arrivés en Australie pendant la période avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et que 270 000 parmi les 3 millions d'immigrants après la guerre étaient grecs. Les immigrants grecs en Australie gardent leur double citoyenneté ainsi que leur double fidélité envers la Grèce et l'Australie, quoique ce type d'identification les met, avec les autres immigrants européens et asiatiques, en difficulté parce que l'identification non-britannique cause souvent ressentiment et intolérance. Mais, avec la consolidation de la communauté grecque, les prejugés envers les immigrants grecs se sont graduellement évaporés. Les immigrants grecs ont contribué substantiellement au profil européen en Australie. Ils ont enjolivé la vie australienne avec une chaîne efficace et compétente dans les domaines du commerce, de la construction, de la restauration, de l'administration et de la vie académique. La présence surtout d'une génération des Grecs nés en Australie et qui ont réussi en tant que professionnels, technocrates, administrateurs publiques, marchands et entrepreneurs, a apporté à la communauté grecque une importance et une proéminence qui ont affecté et influencé la société australienne toute entière.

ABSTRACT

Australia, vulnerable to external threat and in attempting to decentralize its labour market, managed to develop control mechanisms as well as a cohesive migration and settlement policy, thus controlling population movements. It is estimated that during the pre-WWII period, 16 000 Greek migrants arrived in Australia bringing with them their trades, ideas and institutions. During the post WWII period, approximately three million migrants settled in Australia, amongst whom 270 000 were from Greece. Greek settlers in Australia maintain their dual citizenship as well as their dual loyalty to both Greece and their host country. This type of identification, however, places most European and Asian settlers in a deprived situation because non-British identification often triggered resentment and intolerance. But, with the consolidation of the Greek community, the traditional reluctance and suspicion of the local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural background evaporated. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance and, finally, acceptance.

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1. Australia: an Immigrant Country

1.1 Australia: the Colonial and Post-Colonial Era.

Australia is an old continent, first inhabited 40 000 years ago by people coming via South East Asia in hand-made canoes and bamboo rafts. The Aboriginal civilisation, which they created in this vast country of the South, is the most ancient continuous civilisation known. When European settlement began in 1788, the number of indigenous people was approximately 350 000. The new settlers comprised 1 000 British, 750 of whom were convicts. For the first fifty years of European settlement, the Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders were the largest part of the Australian population.

European settlement, especially British, was imposed on the indigenous people. In the main, the process was passively accepted, but it provided the breeding ground for some resistance and violence. Aboriginal attacks on British settlers were reported as late as 1860. The number of those killed is estimated at about 2 000. The number of indigenous people who died was ten times greater, mainly because their social groups did not have the necessary political structures to enable extensive, organised military resistance. Miserable living conditions, disease, and the government's lack of interest in instituting laws that would ensure their organised care, resulted in a gradual decrease in the indigenous population. Concentrated mainly in the Northern Territory *(NT)*, Western Australia *(WA)* and Queensland *(Qld)*, by 1933 the indigenous population was only 73 828. By 1991 it had risen again to 189 000, but the proportion of the Aboriginal population compared to the rest of the population was still negligible. It did not exceed 1.5 per cent of the Australian population. Europeans represented 94 per cent, and non-Europeans 4.5 per cent of the total population.

The transfer of convicts to eastern Australia from the overflowing British prisons continued until 1852 when the first Greek pioneers arrived seeking their fortune. The transfer of exiled convicts to WA continued until 1868. From 1788 to 1868, over 180 000 British and

Irish convicts arrived in Australia. By the middle of the 19th century they constituted approximately 40 per cent of the population of New South Wales *(NSW)* and Tasmania. The outcasts of the British prisons became the labour force on which the Australian economy developed. The original labour force consisted overwhelmingly of men *(80 per cent).* They were mainly at their most productive age, between 20 and 35 years old, serving seven-year terms of imprisonment *(usually in chains).* Approximately 25 per cent had been sentenced for life. Their offences varied from theft and burglary to petty fraud. A few had been convicted for military insubordination or political crimes. The government employed many, but some were allocated to work on the farms of landowners. A smaller number were forced to clear bushland, open roads, dig quarries and generally perform arduous work. The rapidly developing urban cities of London, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Dublin, Leeds and Birmingham were the main sources of the exiled convicts.

The first Greeks arrived in Sydney in August 1829. They were exiled patriots from the island of Hydra. They were accused of crewing the schooner *Heracles* when it prevented a British frigate, the *Alcestis,* from sailing in July 1827 from Malta to Alexandria. They were also charged with removing part of her cargo. (Gilchrist, 1988). An anti-pirate ship of the British *Navy,* H.M.S. Cannet, intercepted the Greek schooner while sailing around Crete and arrested the Greek sailors. Seven of them were brought to trial in Malta where, in dubious circumstances, they were sentenced for piracy, initially to death and later to life imprisonment. The Greek Government disputed both the legitimacy of the trial and the severity of the penalty, and appealed to the British Government. In 1834 the convicts were granted grace. Five of them were returned to their country of birth at the expense of the Greek Government. The other two, Antonis Manolis and Gikas Voulgaris, remained and settled in Australia. Their descendants played an important role in the Greek settlements in the Bombala, Cooma and Queanbeyan regions (Tamis, 1999). There are indications that a few Greeks were transported to Australia as convicts for minor offences committed while they were serving in the British Army in the Ionian Islands which, at the time, were under British occupation.

Some of those transported to Australia comprised British draft-evaders, unwanted citizens who lived in various colonies of the Empire, anti-British radicals from Canada and coloured house servants. Some were destitute tradesmen such as shoe-makers, tailors, barbers and other skills. But the bulk of the early free settlers were military or administrative employees who arrived as escorts to the convicts. From 1793, all those who chose to settle with their families in Australia and to employ convicts or freed men, received a gift of 100 acres of land and an allowance. Where the candidate settler was a wealthy person, the land donation increased from 4 000 to 8 000 acres, according to the amount of foreign currency that the person invested in the colony. Until 1821, however, the number of families that decided to settle in Australia did not exceed thirty per year.

The urban centres of Launceston and Hobart developed rapidly. In 1825, this led to the formation of an independent government of the colony of Van Diemen's Land. Implicitly, the later colony claimed political sovereignty from New South Wales, which had previously been the only government for the whole of the Australian mainland. In 1829, and initially without much success, the colony of Western Australia became independent.

After 1830 financial consortia were formed in London with joint capital from private settlers and enterprises, for example, the Australian Agricultural Company and Van Diemen's Land Company. The government donated millions of acres of land to such companies as an incentive to invest in the Australian colonies. These investments aimed to subsidize agricultural machinery, tools, as well as seeds for cultivation and livestock. Nevertheless, the greatest part of the economy of the colonies continued to depend on the capital cities, which imported all their products. As a result of consistent migration, the colony of South Australia (SA) was founded in 1836.

The abolition of slavery and the outcry in Australia and Great Britain against the system of sending convicts into exile resulted in the rapid development of organised immigration of free settlers from Europe. The free settlers, who increased particularly after 1840,

voiced their dissatisfaction more vigorously. They opposed the employment of convicts and the formation of a society, which included exiled convicts. The lack of adequate numbers of unmarried women *(the proportion of men to women was five to one)* meant that most of the men would remain bachelors. Drunkenness, prostitution, psychological disorders and sodomy were undermining the well being and stability of the community. By the end of the 1840s, many employers in NSW started to turn towards Asia, in particular India and China, in order to import cheap workers bound under contract at humiliatingly low wages.

The arrival of free migrants was strongly encouraged during the entire settlement period, which lasted for two centuries. The only exception to this were two periods, 1890-1905 and 1924-1934, which were characterised by serious economic difficulties. Non-British migrants were considered unacceptable and persecuted. Measures were imposed to deter employment of non-British settlers, and migration was severely restricted as a result. There was an evident lack of a coordinated and coherent migration and settlement policy. In Queensland most of the settlers were accepted only after 1880. Western Australia did not attract settlers in large numbers before 1892, although sporadic settlement in this largest colony had started in 1829.

Pioneer settlement necessitated a series of related services associated with an under-developed colonial economy. In an economy based on cattle and sheep farming and other agriculture, the establishment of a state infrastructure of public works, installations and social structures was the primary concern of the male-dominated community of settlers. Social stresses caused by the high "immorality" which the circumstances of settlement forced on the early inhabitants, together with the economic and demographic needs of the colonies, made marriage and child-bearing an urgent social and economic necessity. This development suddenly gave women settlers an important role and responsibility in the community.

The discovery of gold in October 1851 in Ballarat, Sandhurst and Mount Alexander, located in the newly-established colony of Victoria,

resulted in worldwide excitement. Thousands of gold seekers rushed to avail themselves of the new opportunity for wealth. Newspapers in Europe spread the word of the arrival in England of six vessels from Victoria carrying eight tons of gold. The news created a sensation. Stories of the gold mines of Victoria and NSW told of amazing wealth and how the gains of the gold diggers far exceeded the salary of a working person in England. Over 50 000 new migrants arrived yearly during the goldrush period, and substantially changed the demographic structure of the colonies. The new migrants did not intend to settle permanently or to integrate into the colonial society. Their aim was to stay only long enough to amass wealth quickly, and then return to the homeland.

The discovery of gold at a time when Australian citizens had few hopes of social distinction created an optimistic mood and encouraged a tendency towards adventure and opportunism. More than half of the pioneer settlers were between 24 and 34 years old. They paid approximately 25-pound sterling to come to Australia, equivalent to half-English worker's annual income. The use of a special cabin during the trip meant higher travel costs (60 pounds sterling). Fast vessels shortened the trip to 70 days, but the normal duration of the trip was about four months.

Riots in Europe demanding liberalism and more political rights for the working class began on 12 January 1848 in Palermo. They quickly spread to Paris and to the whole of Central Europe, sweeping away an elaborate system of balances imposed by Metternich after 1815. Although unsuccessful in achieving many of their aims, the riots led to a mass exodus of millions of Europeans. The United States continued to be the Europeans' most favoured country for emigration. However, the news of the discovery of gold in Australia caused over 500 000 Britons to turn towards that country during 1850-1860. During the same period the passion for gold attracted over 40 000 Chinese, 10 000 Canadians and Americans, 60 000 Central Europeans and 4 000 Southern Europeans to Australia. They included only a few Greeks - mainly from Ithaca.

Australia experienced its first social upheaval in November 1854. It became known as "the Eureka Stockade". Gold miners digging in Ballarat, Victoria rioted in protest against the heavy cost of mining licenses. For the right to work thirteen square meters, they paid a duty of one pound a month. In September 1854 the duties were doubled. The miners protested that it was unfair for the government to force them to pay such high duties before they could secure an income. But the Governor of the colony responded with legislation imposing serious penalties, including a six-month prison term, on those who attempted to dig without a license. The radicals called a meeting of the gold miners. They burned their licenses and, in place of the British flag, they raised the Southern Cross to which they swore loyalty and obedience. With orders from the Governor, Sir Charles Hotham, to crush any riot (Britain was at war in the Crimea at the time), a military and police force of 400 men from Ballarat confronted the defiant gold miners. The miners aimed not to demolish authority but to make it more democratic. Thirty-five people were killed and over seventy wounded in the ensuing battle.

The public initially did not appreciate the reasons for the miners' resistance and supported the authorities. Later, when the reasons for it became better known, public opinion swung in favour of the miners. Thirteen riot leaders who had been brought to trial were declared innocent and the Governor decided to reduce the duties on licenses. More democratic procedures were established in the court system of the colony, and these reforms in Victoria were soon accepted by NSW.

The character of the Australian colonies continued to remain purely British. According to the Aliens Legislation of 1867 of WA, for example, non-British settlers did not have the right to acquire land. This was amended in 1951 when certain countries, including Greece, were declared "friendly countries" and, further, in 1965, when land rights were extended to citizens of those countries who had immigrated to Australia.

In terms of numbers, only two ethnic migrant minority groups were prominent during the 19th century: the Chinese and the Germans.

Due to ignorance and racial prejudice, the large influx of Chinese gold miners after 1853 caused social unrest. Riots of British settlers such as those at the Buckland River in Victoria (1857) and in Lambing Flat (1861), near the town of Young in NSW, resulted in the colonial governments imposing restrictions, and later forbidding Chinese migration. Between 1860 and 1880, the only European ethnic group that settled in large numbers in Australia was the Germans. According to the 1881 census, the number of German immigrants was 37 000, most of whom settled in Queensland and South Australia. The German settlers followed the example of their compatriots who had immigrated to the United States, where they comprised seven per cent of the total population. They were the largest ethnic group numerically and the most dynamically organised, after the British.

The terms *Australis* and *Australian* were used around 1693 to describe the country and the indigenous inhabitants of this continent. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and British explorers had attempted adventurous exploratory trips, looking for "Terra Australis Incognita". The explorer, Matthew Flinders, adopted the term Australian for the indigenous inhabitants in his book, *Voyage to Terra Australis,* in 1814. From the end of the 18th century this term was used for the Europeans who were born in the colonies. In 1824 William Charles Wentworth, politician and publisher, born in the colonies to a convict mother, named the newspaper he published in Sydney, *The Australian.* Two years later, E.S. Hall in his newspaper, *Monitor,* was describing the inhabitants of the oldest colony of NSW as "persons of a lowly race... no more British but Australian, people who have shed the English spirit and character and transformed themselves into Australians".

The term *Australian* initially included only those pioneers who had settled by government decision. Later, two British-born politicians, Sir Henry Parkes and Sir John Robertson, regarded as Australians all those who lived in the country. The Irish, nearly all of them Catholic, hastened to accept and use the term *Australian* in order to diffuse the Anglo-Irish religious division. In 1888 the Sydney weekly newspaper, *The Bulletin,* gave the term *Australian* a wider anthropological dimen-

sion: *"all white men who came to these shores - with a clean record – and who leave behind them the memory of the class distinctions and the religious differences of the old world, all men who place the happiness, prosperity, advancement of their adopted country before the interests of Imperialism, are Australians".*

The pioneer settlers, however, did not feel altogether Australian - not even when the Colonies were declared States of the Commonwealth of Australia (1 January 1901), nor after a decision of the British Parliament confirmed this declaration, nor when the Australian Labor Party was established in 1905. Many still tended to use such terms as *British, Victorian, South Australian or New South Welsh* to describe their national identity. It was only during the First World War that the universality of the term *"Australian"* began to prevail in the minds of the 300 000 members of the Australian Imperial Force. The term *"Australian"* allowed the growing national consciousness to transcend State boundaries and mould a unified identity for the new nation's four million citizens.

Historical, sociological and economic reasons explain the slow development of an Australian national awakening. The mass migration to Australia took place after Great Britain lost the American colonies, thus offering an invaluable outlet for its convicts and paupers. Australia had to struggle through its transformation from a colonial prison to a colonial nation. It had to cope with the pressures imposed on it by an imperial framework dictated by the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain was developing into a leading industrial power. It needed the colonial markets and commodity imports of Australia. Dependence on such political and socio-economic pressures determined the pace of the formation of a particular Australian national consciousness, including tolerance of Asian settlers and acceptance of non-British migrants.

1.2 Australia in the First Half of the 20th Century

In essence, the European demographic composition of Australia was formalised through legislation, with the establishment of the White Australian Policy in 1901. Until then, all restrictions or exemptions

detrimental to non-British settlers were imposed and adopted according to particular circumstances and at specific chronological periods. Suspicion and xenophobia became features of social life, aimed mainly at Asians and the Southern Europeans in areas where such ethnic groups lived, but also evident in professions considered being the exclusive privilege of settlers of British origin.

The concept of a *White Australia* was formed in the consciousness of most of the Australian Commonwealth citizens as a measure for their national protection and survival. The policy remained largely free of any political debate until 1972, when the Whitlam Government recognised multiculturalism as the ideal socio-political orientation of the country. In the minds of many British settlers, the White Australia Policy was the ideal formula which would secure racial homogeneity for the country and a harmonious cohabitation with the Europeans (largely British and Northern Europeans). The policy had three main elements: the elimination or isolation of the Aborigines; the exclusion of non-Europeans (mainly Asians) from settlement; and the selective migration of white settlers - for example, Albanian citizens who attempted to emigrate were deported from Australia in the 1920s.

The first trade unions began to be established in the mid of 1850s. The anti-Chinese campaign helped them to get organised in all the colonies and they soon made a slogan of the danger from the north. The trade unionists acquired enormous power by successfully exercising political pressure on the weak colonial governments. Feelings of xenophobia were further intensified because trade unionists saw the non-aligned Chinese settlers as collaborating with employers. A campaign to exert pressure on the colonial governments to stop Asian migration developed among the maritime workers, the builders, the miners and the sheep shearers' unions. The trade unions' propaganda flyers stressed that the White Australia Policy was based on the noble principle of the protection of the families of white people. Supported by the politicians, unions managed to have restrictive legislation passed against the Asians, despite initial reluctance by the British Government.

After the conclusion of its first assembly in 1901, the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed two laws which institutionalised and strengthened the establishment of a White Australia Policy. The implementation of the Pacific Island Labourers' Act meant that from 1904 immigration of labourers from the Pacific Islands would not be permitted and, with few exceptions, those already in Australia would be deported by the end of 1906. The establishment of the Immigration Restriction Act institutionalised the "Dictation Test". It was a mechanism for rejecting applications for migration by non-Europeans deemed not to have sufficient know-ledge of the English language. This was a plausible way to reject non-European migrants without causing diplomatic incidents. The Dictation Tests changed every month and the degree of the test's dif-ficulty depended on the public servant who arranged it.   In cases where candidates had sufficient knowledge of English, the public ser-vant would often set the test in another European language.

During the period 1901–1921, the existing legislation against non-Europeans was amended, without, however, deviating much from the main aim, which was a utopia of racial homogeneity. With the excep-tion of the Syrians and the Lebanese, who were gradually accepted as European, other non-European minorities declined in numbers. The Australian Commonwealth's stance in relation to Japan was also unusual. The Prime Minister of Australia, Alfred Deakin, attempted to appease the Japanese Government by accepting a small number of Japanese who wished to migrate to Australia.

These racial measures were accepted by the people, and did not attract public or parliamentary dispute, even during the inter-war period. The only country to attract specific attention on racial issues was Japan whose racial atrocities against Southeast Asians during the Second World War and whose ruthless behaviour towards Australian prisoners of war helped to increase anti-Asian xenophobia. The *yellow peril* became a point of reference for Australia's relations with its northern neighbours until the establishment of multiculturalism in the 1970s. From the mid-1980s the racial composition of the migrant population of the country again became a debatable issue, and the

Asian threat was used to support the notion that the permissible pro-portion of Asian migrants that Australia could absorb painlessly was being exceeded.

Australia's vulnerability to Japanese attack during WWII made the leaders of the country realise that its population had to increase. Settlement in Australia between the world wars had come almost exclusively from the British and the Irish for whom financial sources were available to cover the high transport expenses of new settlers. The implementation of the Empire Resettlement Scheme, jointly sustained by the governments of Britain and Australia, allowed hundreds of thousands of British migrants and veteran soldiers to settle in Australia. From 1901 to 1940, over 425 000 British people migrated to Australia at government expense.

However, the rate of population increase, remained insufficient. The birth rate in Australia had remained low since the beginning of the century when economic development was slow. Australia's Prime Minister during WWll, J. B. Chiefly, realised that only the arrival of hundreds of thousands of European migrants could strengthen the country's defense and economy. To this end, Chiefly established a spe-cial Ministry for Immigration, immediately after the end of the War (1945). He appointed Arthur Calwell as the immigration portfolio's first Minister. Calwell was of Irish-American origin and had a trade-union background. He viewed a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic soci-ety favourably. The White Australia Policy, which continued to be implemented, however, was a bipartisan initiative. But the utopia of racial homogeneity did not even take into serious consideration the inter-cultural, linguistic and ideological differences in the respective ethnic identities of the Welsh, Irish, Scottish and English and the accompanying problems of integration and maintenance.

The main focus in post-war Australia continued to be on the British settlers. Thanks to Calwell's decisiveness, the country's immigration policy turned away from a purely British make-up and sought new, robust, settlers from all over Europe. The new immigration stra-tegy aimed to have migrants dispersed around the vast Australian continent

so as to avoid ethnic enclaves, something that had the potential to delay the Government's long-term aim to convert the country into a racial and political melting pot.

The system of subsidising migrants' fares enabled 1 068 000 migrants to settle in the Antipodes from 1831 to 1947. It was methodically intensified by the Australian Government after 1948, thereby enabling a further 2 168 500 new settlers to arrive in Australia by 1982. Amongst them there were 270 000 Greeks. The Australian Government in 1948 had signed special inter-governmental agreements with European states, determining the extent of subsidisation to migrants, the number of migrants it would absorb from each country and the provision of services upon arrival. The co-signatory countries were, firstly, Malta (1948), followed by Italy and the Netherlands (1951), Western Germany, Austria and Greece (1952), Spain (1958), Turkey (1967) and Yugoslavia (1970).

Government assisted European migration, and, more specifically, Southern European migration, ended in 1974. After 1974, only those workers with satisfactory work skills, business investors, technocrats and migrants with humanitarian justifications (i.e. refugees, first degree relatives) were allowed into Australia. After 1975, Australia accepted people from the Asian and Pacific regions as migrants only if they were deemed victims of complex international situations. Until 1984 over 90 000 Indo-Chinese from India, Malaysia, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands settled in the Antipodes. The number of Chinese and Vietnamese refugees during the same period exceeded 100 000.

2. Pre-War Greek Migration in Australia

2.1. The Early Years: The Formation of Pre-War Communities in Australia.

The early Greek migration period is highlighted by the arrival of the first displaced Greek patriots. They were Greek sailors in the British Navy, convicted of *"piracy"* by the British courts. Others to arrive between 1830 and 1850 were adventurers and fugitives landing ini-

tially in Sydney and Perth. After 1850 many were fortune-seekers heading for the gold fields. Some were travellers, predominantly curious Greek islanders, many of whom settled in rural Victoria and N.S.W. The main Greek early settlement period commenced around 1880, and went through various phases according to the pace and flow of general migration. Until 1924, Greek migration remained strictly an islander movement since the overwhelming majority of the pioneers came from the islands of the Ionian and Aegean seas. Later, a mass exodus began, mainly from Macedonia and Epeiros. The exodus was due to the restrictions on migrant numbers imposed by the U.S.A, and by the political and demographic situation created in Greece by the Turkish-driven Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922. Consequently, the first Greek immigrants from the Greek mainland to arrive in Australia in large numbers were the Macedonians.

Many of the first pioneers came from the large trading centres of Constantinople, Smyrne, Alexandria and Cairo (Tamis, 1997). Initially, they worked in seasonal jobs, which exposed them to the vastness of Australia. They mostly married Irish women and tended to assimilate into the ruling Anglo-Celtic culture. In so doing many lost their Hellenic heritage. Most were illiterate, unskilled workers wandering from job to job. Some shortened or anglicised thus facilitating acceptance within the Australian environment.

Until the official immigration process began in 1870, most of the pioneers were curious seamen who jumped ship in Australian ports, lured by the prospect of gold. The rest fell into the categories of unsuccessful traders from the islands and unskilled or unemployed young men. There was a surplus of bachelors and unaccompanied married men supporting their family back home. The first Greek settlers worked in seasonal and unhealthy jobs, which Anglo-Saxon Australians found too demeaning to perform. They lived far apart from each other and often had to travel long distances to find work. In the country, they lived in self-designed housing usually made of tin and hessian cloth. Many became the victims of vicious exploitation by their employers (Tamis, 1997).

Gold prospectors of Tambaroora in N.S.W were an exception. In 1860 they established their own settlement called Greektown on the town's outskirts. They married local women and gave Hellenic names to their children, approximately seventy in number. When the gold deposits were exhausted, these settlers moved out into the vast continent. The islander gold seekers concentrated mainly on the gold fields of Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria. Some even participated in the Eureka Stockade rebellion of 1854 when gun-bearing miners protested against the conditions and taxes imposed by the British colonial rule. Their rebellion became a landmark in the history of international unionism. The Ithacan Andreas Lekatsas, who had arrived in Australia in 1851, was among the rebels.

After 1870, Greek immigrants began to appear in the large urban centres of Sydney and Perth and, by 1880, in Melbourne. Most were from the islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Samos and a few from Smyrne, in Asia Minor. The Greeks who had the privilege of living in the large towns survived by exercising the trades which they had learned in their particular places of origin. They were confectionery makers, green grocers, fishermen, wharf labourers, shopkeepers and restaurant owners. By 1916 there were six hundred Greek shops in Australia, fourteen of which were cafes.

In the rural areas, work differed according to local opportunity and the origin of the immigrant. Islanders usually dominated in the fishing and mining industries and in the vast sugar cane plantations of North Queensland. The Macedonians were pioneers in timber felling. They cleared bush and forest to make available huge areas of arable land. They were also dominant in the cultivation of grapes, tobacco, vegetables and fruit. Employment in urban-based industry remained the privilege of the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

The establishment of Greek communities during the pre-settlement period was not possible because the migrants remained dispersed in the vast and inhospitable continent. Only a few lived in the cities, working in trades such as travelling food salesmen. The Ithacan Georgios Morfesis, for example, came to Melbourne in 1849 and set

the foundations for the immigration of hundreds of his fellow countrymen in the years that followed. In 1878, the Kytherian Athanasios Komninos opened the first Greek shop and later became a founding member of the Greek Community of Sydney (1896). Early trade with Greece was restricted mainly to the importation of raisins. About 1910, however, local production started in Mildura.

The pioneering Greek immigrants did not aim to settle. Australia was a temporary place of residence and a means to instant wealth. But some of those who managed to prosper during those difficult years did settle. In 1890 the Komninos dynasty established themselves in the oyster industry in N.S.W. and became quite wealthy. The Mytilinian Mihalis Manousos became a well-known farmer. The Kastellorizians, Athanasios Avgoustis and Andreotis Georgios Falagas, rose to be among the leading, most skilful cultivators and traders of oysters in Western Australia. The Ithacan Antonios Lekatsas, who ran a chain of shops providing refreshments, was also successful and consequently bought property which included buildings and hotel and theatre chains in Melbourne. The brothers, Michalis and Petros Michelidis from Kastellorizo, who settled in Perth, rose to be the most successful tobacco growers in Australia, and also became industrialists. Georgios Lymberidis was the biggest wheat grower in New South Wales. Nikolaos Lourantos was one of the wealthiest landowners with thousands of sheep. Both became great benefactors of the Greek Community and were honoured by the Australian Government.

By 1947, fifty-four per cent of Greek settlers were employers or self-employed. This enabled many of them to assimilate normally into the Anglo-Australian society and its structure. Financial comfort enabled them to move more easily in this vast land, where they had often lived isolated from their fellow countrymen and relatives. This new mobility increased their ability to maintain their cultural identity. Their struggle for social mobility broke ethnic barriers and their generous contribution to the wider Australian society reduced the Anglo-Saxons' suspicion and rejection.

The arrival in 1924 of the first Orthodox Metropolitan exacerbated the intra-community strife and parochial rivalry in Australia.

Dissension hindered community development within Australia and the existence of parochial regional organisations forced the Greek Communities to decline. Many became impoverished and this led to the emergence of ephemeral and temporary committees, which did not manage to complete their term of office.

During the period 1896-1921, over 400 000 Greek migrants sought refuge in America and Australia. From the ports of Kalamata, Peireus and Thessaloniki, they set out in Italian and British ships for new opportunities. It was generally young, productive members of the population who left, driven by the neglect of the rural population, and by the insecurity, unemployment, and delinquency attributable to incompetent administrations. During the WWII period and up to 1949, thousands of stranded Greek migrants were left starving and in peril in the Middle Eastern cities of Port Said, waiting months for a ship to transport them to Australia. Priority was given to the repatriation of the Australian servicemen, while migrants and children were trapped in those cities at the mercy of unscrupulous travel agents.

Low birth rates in the 1930s, delayed infrastructure and building construction, and the national security issue over fears of invasion from the North triggered the migration policy of 1945. With the bilateral migration agreement between Australia and Greece in 1952, over 270 000 Greek immigrants came to Australia. Some chose Australia because family ties already existed here. Others were drawn by the prospect of better economic opportunities. The early post-war years saw the beginning of substantial migration, including arrivals from Cyprus and from Egypt.

The Greek artistic presence in all States of Australia was robust and rich after 1916, perhaps because it usually went hand in hand with a philanthropic objective. In 1936, the Greek Theatre Group of Australia was established in Sydney. This group worked closely with Australian theatrical groups and received awards for its remarkable performances. Ephemeral theatrical groups were established after 1936 in Melbourne and Perth, performing plays by Greek and foreign playwrights. In Melbourne, from 1924, there was a noticeable increase of interest in theatre and cinema, giving rise, after 1934, to a long tra-

dition of travelling theatrical companies that contributed richly to the Greek artistic movement in Australia.

Until 1936 the union movement and the Australian Labor Party maintained an anti-immigration policy, confining most Southern European settlers to manual work in the rural areas and exercising political pressure on the governments to enforce restrictions at the expense of the first migrant settlers. However, some migrants managed to prosper during those difficult years. Those who realised that Australia provided more opportunities for continuing prosperity settled permanently. Because of their wealth, and accompanying generosity, these migrants became more accepted in Anglo-Australian society. Their acceptance enabled them to visit relatives and friends from whom they had previously been isolated.

During the Second World War (1939–1945), Australian Greek Communities concentrated mainly on fund-raising activities which were concerned almost exclusively with the care of Greek refugees and orphans in Egypt and the Middle East. With the approval of the Orthodox Church, money accumulated from functions and fund-raising activities was sent to families of Greek servicemen in the Australian Army as well as to Greek schools. In the same period, the Union of Greek Women was established (1943). Its basic objectives were the relief of destitute families within the community, and the provision of materials to the Australian Army.

The post-WWII migration program and the gradual transformation of the Greek migrant from a second-class citizen experiencing discrimination into a full and equal Australian citizen was only possible because of a remarkable change of attitude amongst older Australians. WWII made the country feel vulnerable. Only two naval battles, the battle of the Midway and the battle of the Coral Sea, prevented the invasion of Australia. A large island continent such as Australia would have been indefensible with a mere seven million people. Migration was sustained because major political parties recognised its necessity and argued strongly for it. A whole fabric of organisation and support was established to maintain its momentum.

2.2. The Demographic Development of the Communities in Australia

The demographic development of the Greek population was slow until 1926. The first census in Australia (5 April 1891) recorded 482 Greeks. Most came from Kythera, Ithaca and Samos. In 1916, the Government increased the maximum number of settlers to 3 800 per ethnic group. Despite the unfavourable economic circumstances and the restrictions imposed by the state governments on the arrival of immigrants, a slight increase in their numbers occurred after 1923. At that time the intake of immigrants was restricted to 1 200 per annum. One of the requirements for entry was the payment of disembarkation taxes amounting to forty pounds. Proficiency in the English language was a prerequisite for employment. Restrictions on lending by banks and other financial institutions to immigrants of non-British background were another restriction imposed by the authorities. Until 1926 the states of New South Wales and Western Australia were attracting about 60 per cent of new immigrants, with Victoria, Queensland and South Australia accommodating the rest. A few islanders, mainly from Kythera, were living in Hobart, Tasmania.

The first appearance of the Eastern Orthodox Church was in Melbourne in 1892 (Tamis, 1997). The first organised Greek Community was founded in Sydney in 1896. The first Greek Brotherhood of Australia was founded in Perth in 1912.

Until 1945 the Greek migration to Australia was overwhelmingly male. In 1881, one hundred and twenty-seven men and only nineteen women lived in Melbourne. In 1935, as the economic situation in Australia improved, the number of Greek settlers began to increase as more women and children arrived. The disproportionate ratio of men to women - seven to three - was creating serious social problems amongst Greek Australians. Until 1947 the Greek population in Melbourne was predominantly male and did not exceed 2 700 individuals. In 1955, the flow of single women and dependent family members, which began after WWII, was intensified and systematised.

From about 1880, the two hundred and fifty or so widely dispersed Greeks who lived in the big urban cities of Sydney and Melbourne

became aware of the need for a more permanent home in this vast continent. They decided to form their first communities. On 22 August 1897, the leaders of the hundred or so Greeks in Melbourne called a meeting and founded their organised Community. They purchased the land on which, four years later, the Church of Evangelismos (Annunciation) was erected. Despite the ambition of its founding members, the Community took a conservative course, limiting its range and functionality. Nevertheless, it was quite successful.

The Greek and Syrian Orthodox population in Sydney founded the first Greek Community at the beginning of 1896 erecting the first Orthodox church in the Southern hemisphere, Agia Triada (Holy Trinity). The church was completed in 1898 with the help of a generous contribution from the Tsirigotes. The opening was celebrated with great splendour on 16 April 1899.

The majority of the Greek population in Australia was concentrated in Sydney, which was the seat of the Archbishop and the Consul General until 1953. It was natural that the mechanisms of communal organisation would work more effectively there. A strong dispute developed between the Community and the Church after 1926, and this led to the establishment of a second church, the Cathedral of St-Sophia (Agia Sofia).

Rearrangements in the hierarchy of the community organisation were slowed by the polarisation and the divisive emotional responses that the church committee generated, (1924-1932) as well as by the existence until 1945 of two committees. Two schools of ideology vied within the bosom of the community. Their relative influence varied according to the prevailing mood for unification within the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. The uniting forces of the community mostly prevailed. They maintained their power, often forcing the irreconcilable to retire from the AGMs or be outvoted and blackballed.

WWII had beneficial results for the Greek population in Australia and the organised Communities: It united the Greeks. Increasing

prosperity in the big urban centres allowed the migrants to find high paying jobs. The Communities were able to pay off their debts. The religious and nationalistic powers were inspired to establish, together with the Communities, the Panhellenic Appeal Committee, which raised the sum of 1 000 000 pounds for the Greeks fighting in the war.

The numerical dominance of the Kastellorizians in Perth led, in 1912, to the establishment of the first regional Greek Association in Australia, the Kastellorizian Brotherhood. Its main objectives were purely Panhellenic. The first Executive Council, presided over by Athanasios G. Augoustis, consisted of members who also formed the first Executive Council of the Greek Community of Western Australia, which was established nine years later, in 1922. Due to the presence of enlightened leaders there and the geographical distance, the church's divisiveness in other States did not reach the Greeks in Perth. The economic crisis delayed the construction of the church of Sts. Constantine and Eleni, which was finally consecrated in 1937 by Archbishop Timotheos Evangelinidis (1931-1947).

From 1905 Greeks settled in the town of Bunbury where the Greek Union was formed. Yet hundreds of islanders and Macedonians were scattered throughout the tobacco farms of Manjimup and the timber felling centres of Greenbushes, Bridgetown, Nyamup and Geraldton. Pioneer islanders were found before 1894 in the vast gold mines of Kalgoorlie and Boulder. They established the trade economy in the region through the shops they opened and maintained, despite the Anglo-Saxon racist riots of 1929.

Until 1923, the Greek community of South Australia was very small. There were only four families and thirty individuals in Adelaide and approximately forty workers in the seaside town of Port Pirie, working in the BHP smelter. From 1924, the Greek migrant population in Port Pirie, 250 kms northwest of Adelaide, increased considerably, exceeding 1200 people. The increase was due solely to the intake of large numbers of workers responding to the extensive advertising campaign conducted by the administrative authorities of the mines in Broken Hill. On 5 October 1930, approximately thirty Greeks ga-

thered at the Panhellenion Club, at 122 Hindley Street in Adelaide and elected an Executive Council. Its sole responsibility was to hold elections for the formation of the first Administrative Council. The Council members elected businessman Constantinos Kavouras as their inaugural president. The Greek community of Adelaide remained small and politically unimportant until the enthroning of the third Metropolitan of Australia, Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos, in 1947.

A relatively small number of immigrants went to the State of Queensland, especially to its state capital, Brisbane. In 1913 the first Greek association was established and operated under the name of the Queensland Hellenic Association. In 1924, following the restrictions on migrant numbers imposed by the Federal Government, a few hundred Macedonian migrants with no employment prospects in Melbourne and Perth were assisted by the Consul of Greece, Christos Frealingus, to go to the huge farms, and the cotton, sugar and tobacco fields of North Queensland. Until then the sugar cane fields was the domain of Maltese and Italian migrants. Although the arrival of the first Greek migrant in Brisbane dates back to 1860, the Greek Orthodox Community in Brisbane did not begin to register members until March 1928. In that year, people from the Dodekanese and Kythera settled in the city in larger numbers. Many came to own small stores, fish shops and restaurants. Some started small businesses, importing goods from Greece. In 1929 the church of St. Georgios in Charlotte Street in Brisbane was consecrated in the presence of the Consul General in Queensland, Christos Frealingus. Later, a substantial block of land was bought and a magnificent church was erected in Edmonstone Street, South Brisbane, next to Hellenic House. It housed the club, a restaurant, a library and the office of the city's first parish priest, Archimandrite Nikon Patrinakos.

In the tropical town of Innisfail about 200 islanders had gathered since 1910. In 1925, they organised themselves into a community. In 1933, Metropolitan Timotheos appointed the teacher Ilias Kotides from Rhodos to be their first parish priest. He was ordained by the first Metropolitan Christoforos in February 1928 to serve the community's religious needs. At the first meeting, it was decided that a

Greek Association of Northern Queensland be established, to include all Greeks from the major towns and surrounding townships. Its main objective was the establishment of a church and a Greek school. The Greek community of Northern Queensland began in rural Townsville where Greeks settled after 1935 in comparatively large numbers.

Migrants had worked on the sugar cane and banana plantations since the beginning of 1920. With their settlement in Townsville, the parish priest Ikonomos Georgios Kateris was appointed to perform their religious services and to teach Greek to the Greek children gathered in rural suburbs. He conducted liturgy in the Church of the Saints of Theodoroi, which was being built by the local parish and was finally finished in 1947. The liturgies of the Greek Orthodox Church were conducted in the Anglican Church, which had been generously made available since 1928 by the Anglican parishioners. Communities before the war were also formed in the northern part of Queensland and spread for two thousand kilometers. Their main ambition was the acquisition of sugar cane plantations. Greeks and Cypriots lived in the main towns of Babinda, Ayr, Tully and Home Hill, opening up their own restaurants, cafes and milk bars.

Even though the first Greek landed in Tasmania in 1860, only a few Greeks, from Kythera, settled there, before Theophylaktos' pastoral reign (1947-1958). Until 1931, the only other Greeks in Tasmania were Georgios Haros, his sisters Katerina and Manti, the I. Flaskas couple, who came to the island in 1922, the brothers Syd and Grigorios Kassimatis, and Athanasios Kaparatos, who lived in Launceston. An organised community was not established there until 1953.

Greek settlers did not make any appearance in Northern Australia until after the Balkan Wars. A small number of Kastellorizians arrived in Darwin in 1913 and lived there before the arrival of the Kalimnians, who initially worked in the risky occupation of pearl diving.

The Greek community remained without pastoral leadership, consular representation or community organisation during the first fifty

years after the arrival of the first pioneer immigrants. The Greek State did not display any substantial interest. According to a report from the Greek Ambassador in London in 1895, this was due to the tyranny of distance, the geographical isolation, the lack of efficient communication and the lack of support from any trading alliances:

> In any case, the need for a Consulate or any other Consular authority in Australia did not arise. The large number of Greek traders in Australia were not in any position to develop important trade relations between Greece and Australia, nor were the consuls appointed to various cities in Australia able to contribute to this cause.

> (Ambassador A. Gomanos' Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Greece, number 87, F1895/49/25/9 March, 1895)

The first Honorary Consul of Greece, Robert Curtain, was appointed to Australia in 1888 and based in Melbourne. The Orthodox liturgy was conducted in the migrants' own language, mainly by the laity, for the Greek, Syrian and Russian migrants. In his letter of August 8th 1892 to the Anglican Bishop Goe of Melbourne, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerasimos, thanked the Anglican Church for the love and care they had shown to the Greek Orthodox followers in Australia. He noted their active cooperation and gave his permission to the Anglican clergy to administer baptisms and marriages according to the religious rites of the Eastern Church (Tamis, 1994, 1997). The first rector of the Australian Orthodox followers, Rev. Athanasios Kantopoulos, arrived in Melbourne on 22 June 1898.

The priests' relations with the community leaders were not particularly harmonious. Disputes would often occur and crises would break out for trivial reasons. On 6 June 1903, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, following the insistence of the Greek community leaders in Melbourne, placed Australia under its spiritual jurisdiction and appointed Archimandrite Nikandros Betinis to replace Kantopoulos as rector. In 1910, Archimandrite Theodoros Androutsopoulos replaced Betinis whose private life and liberal ideas did not find any allies amongst the leaders of the Greek community in Melbourne. He was replaced four years later by Archimandrite Daniel Maravelis who tried, without any success, to unify the Greek regional fraternities

within the Greek Community in Melbourne. In 1922, Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis replaced this clergyman.

Father Serafim Fokas was appointed a rector of the Orthodox Church by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Sydney. He managed to secure his position there by forming friendships with the powerful and influential in the community and to extend his reign until his resignation in 1913, when the Church of Greece appointed the Reverend Dimitrios Marinakis until 1923. Next, Archimandrite Athenagoras Varaklas was appointed and proved to be the most challenging and controversial clergyman of the pre-war period. The rector Archimandrite Germanos Iliou was appointed in Perth in 1914. He worked closely with the Brotherhood of the Kastellorizians to establish the church and the school.

Both Archimandrites, Irinaios in Melbourne and Athenagoras in Sydney, were the last clergymen that the Church of Greece appointed in Australia. In 1923, due to ecclesiastical unrest in the United States of America, the Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios revoked the Synodic Patriarchate *Tomos* of 1908, which allowed the Church of Greece to have jurisdiction over areas outside of the Greek State and placed all Greek Orthodox Churches of the Diaspora under his jurisdiction. In January 1924, the new Patriarch, Gregorios VII, appointed Christoforos Knitis from Samos, an Oxford graduate, as the first Metropolitan of the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

The pastoral reign of the first Metropolitan *(1924-1928)* was not smooth. The establishment of a Metropolis met with opposition particularly from the Communities of Melbourne and Sydney. They were influenced by the serving Orthodox clergy who argued that their authority and status would become somewhat limited over the congregation, their earnings would be reduced and that they would eventually be marginalised. The two Communities refused to establish the Metropolis, as they were unable to meet the expense of maintaining it and remunerating the Metropolitan. They also claimed that the Metropolis institution was forced upon them by the Patriarchate,

without any consultation with the Communities, which financially supported the churches and the clergy.

The Samians and Ithacans were both claiming control of the Communities through their powerful and affluent memberships and became involved in a destructive group rivalry with each other. This rivalry transformed the community into a weak institution and reduced its function to that of a church organisation, with almost no cultural or educational component. The Kytherians, who demographically represented the backbone of the Greek community in Sydney, influenced and controlled the Community there by placing their own, local interests above those of the general community.

Finally, the power and authority of the Metropolitan prevailed, due to the election of law-abiding councilors loyal to him to the Executive Council of the Greek Community of Melbourne, and his control was imposed on all Greek communities, with the exception of Sydney. He also managed to gain the favour of Nikolaos Marinakis, the publisher of the only Greek newspaper, *Ethnikon Vima (National Tribune)*, as well as the favour of the wealthy elite of the Greek community of Sydney.

The supporters of the community's unilateral authority, the *koinotikoi*, criticised the Metropolitan over his irregular private life and requested his resignation. Several unhappy scenes followed at their usual meeting places, the coffeehouses *(kafeneia)*, between the Community supporters and the Church supporters, the *metropolitikoi*. Dissension broke out amongst community members in the Associations. Legal battles took place on behalf of the Metropolitan, who instigated action in civil courts against members of the Greek community, alleging conspiracy. Acting on the adverse reports of its consular representatives, and having assessed the correspondence from the dissenting leaders of the Greek communities as well as that of the Ithacans in Melbourne and the clergy, the Greek government exercised pressure on the Patriarchate of Constantinople to revoke the appointment of Metropolitan Christophoros. The Holy Synod and the Patriarch finally succumbed to the threats of the Greek Government

(Tamis, 1997). They decided to transfer Christophoros and appoint him to be the Metropolitan of Vizyi (4 February 1928), rather than recall him. The Patriarchate appointed Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos as the Episcopal Vestryman in Australia. He was an ex-monk from the Monastery of Stavronikita and a graduate of Athens University.

Archimandride Theophylaktos arrived in Australia on 1 March 1928 and dedicated himself to restoring calm and defusing the potential crises in Melbourne and Sydney. Theophylaktos' management was lenient and was a prime factor in averting the crises. He was diplomatic and careful to maintain balance. On November 22nd 1931, the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate elected Archimandrite Timotheos Evangelinides to become the second Metropolitan of Australia (1931-1947), New Zealand, Polynesia, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific islands. He had been serving as the diplomatic representative (nuncio) and rector of the Greek Orthodox Church in Bucharest, Romania.

On his arrival in July 1932, Metropolitan Timotheos appointed Archimandrite Theophylaktos as rector of the Greek Orthodox Church in Melbourne and declared the unification of the Greeks in Sydney. He performed liturgies in both churches, and appointed Archimandrite Nikodemos Antoniou, an obscure clergyman whom he brought with him from Lyon, France, to the Church of Holy Trinity. He emphasised that both churches would be parishes of the same Metropolis.

During the war, attempts to unify supporters of St. Sophia and the Holy Trinity were delayed. An unofficial dialogue between the two opposing councils made some improvement. Timotheos' leadership was considered moderately successful, but the achievement of harmony was due more to his administrative incompetence, his fear of responsibility and his procrastination. Coincidental factors related to the economic crisis and the war also had an effect. After 1946, a strong anti-ecclesiastic tendency began to manifest itself. Community leaders reacted against the apathy of Metropolitan Timotheos and his failure to establish a smooth and equitable administrative system, which

would harmonise relations between Church and Community. Furthermore, they expressed their views publicly.

The educational activities of the Communities during the first fifty years of organised settlement in Australia were limited and inadequate due to the demographic limitations and the nature of immigration, which remained entirely male-dominated until 1949. The number of families was comparatively small. As Greeks did not begin to concentrate in large urban centres until after 1935, this delayed the operation of organised schools, except in Perth and Sydney.

The Mytilinian Eustratios Velis published the first Greek newspaper entitled Australia in Melbourne in November 1913. Its publication continued uninterrupted till 1922, when the rector of the Greek Community of Sydney, the Rev. Dimitrios Marinakis and his brother Nikolaos bought it out. The Marinakis brothers continued with the publication of the oldest Greek language weekly newspaper, changing its name to *Ethnikon Vima (National Tribune)*. The publication displayed a conservative policy. It supported the Metropolitan and later, the Archdiocese, more for commercial and professional reasons than for ideological reasons. It maintained its popularity for over seventy years. In Sydney in November 1926, an eight-page weekly newspaper titled the *Panellinios Keryx (Panhellenic Herald)* was published by Ioannis Stilsos and Georgios Marsellos. It aimed to disseminate community ideology. In 1936, I. Ch. Panagiotopoulos published the most conservative Greek newspaper titled the *Phos (The Light)*, which played a strong role in community affairs in Melbourne.

The monthly pictorial magazine called *Oikogeneia (The Family)* was first published in 1946 in Melbourne by G. Giannopoulos. It remained in circulation until 1974. Many other newspapers were published to temporarily serve specific political situations or to meet the demands of some ephemeral coalition. Financial difficulties generally terminated their publication. For example, in 1934, Omiros Rigas came from Sydney to Adelaide and published the leftist weekly newspaper, the *Faros (The Lighthouse)*, with anti-church and anti-consulate policies. Three years later the publication was terminated. The

newspaper entitled *Ethniki Salpigx (The National Trumpet)* was published in Melbourne in 1922 by Ioannis Giolassis. In 1923 it was purchased by Nikolaos Kolios and finally controlled by the rector Archimandrite Irineos Kassimatis.

The artistic presence of the Greeks in all States of Australia was robust and rich. In 1916, the Ithacan Charalambos Florias, manager of Bob's Cafe in Flinders Street in Melbourne, and Ioannis Raftopoulos, were the first two actors from the community to take part in an Australian theatrical production. Greek migrant artistic activity usually went hand in hand with philanthropic objectives. In 1919, the *Elliniki Filodramatiki Etaireia* (Greek Drama Company) was formed in Sydney. It developed remarkably, helping fund-raising in the community for the economic support of the war victims in Greece. In 1922, a Greek theatre group of Nezer, Pofantis, Kourouklis came to Australia and gave a series of performances in Sydney's auditorium, including the tragedy, Oedipus the King. In 1931, G. Paizis established the *Ellinikos Thiasos Afstralias* (Greek Theatre Group of Australia) which had its own orchestra conducted by maestro O. Palmistras. This group worked closely with Australian theatrical groups and received awards for their remarkable performances. Ephemeral theatrical groups were established after 1936 in Melbourne and Perth, performing plays by Greek and foreign playwrights. From 1924 there was a noticeable movement towards theatre and cinema in Melbourne. This gave rise, after 1934, to a long tradition of travelling theatrical companies that contributed to the rich artistic movement of Greeks in Australia.

The first organised association of Greek women began in Brisbane in 1913, with the establishment of a Committee for the collection of funds for Greek disabled victims of the Balkan Wars. Associations of Greek women with nationalistic and philanthropic objectives were formed after 1926 in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth.

During the difficult years of settlement (1895-1935), the Greeks maintained an amiable profile and earned the tolerance of the Australian community. However, despite their generous contributions

to charity, to hospitals and disabled children, despite their fund-raising for the Australian Army and the generous donations Greek businessmen made to schools and pious institutions, and despite their lawabiding and peace-loving behaviour, the Greek Australians were not accepted as equals. The tolerance of British settlers towards Greek migrants improved when Greece became an ally in WWI, but even this history of tolerant relations was often interrupted by Anglo-Saxon riots against undefended shopkeepers, and, at some other times, by government reports devaluing Greek migrants (Tamis, 1994 and 1997).

After October 28th 1940, and especially following the presence of approximately 17 000 Australian troops in Greece until May 1941, the Australian people's attitude towards the Greeks underwent a major reversal. Joint appeals were organised and processions took place in the main streets of the city centres, where students and women participated with national costumes and Greek flags. The veterans of WWII told stories of self-sacrifice and self-denial on the part of Greek citizens who even went short of food and risked the lives of their families to save Australian soldiers from capture by German occupying forces.

2.3 The Mass Migration Period and Formation of Communities

The second period of immigration in 1945 coincided with the end of WWII and the subsequent absorption of a large number of political refugees from Eastern Europe. In addition to the refugees, the Australian Government actively recruited migrants from all over Europe at this time for reasons related to security and economic growth. Australia's involvement in the war in South East Asia, the Japanese invasion of Papua New Guinea, and the Japanese attacks on Darwin and Sydney had a deep effect. It altered the attitude of the seven million people living on this continent and exacerbated the feeling that Asia was a threat. The population and birth rate of Australia was insufficient to cover the security and economic needs of the country following WWII. Prime Minister John Curtin was convinced that

Australia should support the intake of a large number of migrants who would contribute to the country's defense against the "yellow peril". They could also bolster the numbers of skilled and unskilled workers needed for economic growth. With this aim, the Immigration portfolio was established in 1945, with Arthur Calwell as its first Minister. It set out to attract large numbers of migrants. Government policy aimed to increase the net population by two percent annually. Calwell signed agreements with participating countries (Malta and Italy were amongst the first) and took responsibility for the intake of millions of European immigrants. The relevant agreement with Greece was signed in 1952.

This period of great significance in Australia's history can easily be divided into three basic phases: The early phase of mass migration (1947-1952), the government-assisted mass migration (1952-1974) and the selective migration of political refugees, as well as traders and technocrats from South East Asia (1974-1999). The number of migrants in the first two periods (1947-1974) reached 2 168 500, of whom 270 000 were Greek. The Greek total included those migrants who came in great numbers from Egypt, the Middle East, Romania and Cyprus. During the third period (1974 onward), the number of Greek migrants was considerably reduced. Migration continued but at an extremely slow pace. The only exception was the 6 000 Cypriot refugees who arrived after 1974, following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

The establishment of the Immigration Department coincided with the appointment of the Metropolitan Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos to the See of Australia and New Zealand. He had served successfully as the Patriarchal Representative during this difficult transitional period of 1928-1932 in Australia, following the recall of Christophoros Knitis. Theophylaktos was foster brother of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and had studied with many members of the Holy Synod. He was also a favourite with Archbishop Damaskinos of Athens who, being heavily absorbed with his duties as Deputy King of Greece, had invited Theophylaktos to be his administrative Vicar in Athens. However, the most important contributor to Theophylaktos'

promotion to the See of Australia was the ex-Archbishop of Athens, Chrysanthos Philippides, an Archbishop of great influence in government circles and in the Royal Court. It was Chrysanthos Phillipides who selected and sent Theophylaktos to Australia.

Following talks behind the scenes, which lasted about ten months, the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople elected Theophylaktos Papathanasopoulos as the third Metropolitan of Australia, on April 22nd 1947. The Greek settlers and the clergy of the time received the news of the Metropolitan's election with approval. However, this was not happy news for some of his personal opponents and a large section of the Greek language media.

However, despite the protestations among the Greek media, Metropolitan Theophylaktos was enthroned in Sydney on 13 June 1948. He immediately set the basis for the organisation of the Metropolis, with a separate financial body for the management and security of the Church's property. Until 1948, the Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand had been "in every Metropolitan's luggage". Theophylaktos announced the establishment of payments and funds towards the Metropolis. He promised to give to future generations an institutionalised Metropolis that would be economically powerful, independent, and unscathed by criticism.

His pastoral reign coincided with the tragic years of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the ideological conflict of the Cold War, which affected community life in Australia between 1950-1958. It kept Greek Australians divided and unable to consolidate. His reign was severely and unfairly criticised by the conservative publishers of the Greek press who perpetuated Greek conservative ideological mo-dels. They could not understand Theophylaktos' sensitivity and non-partisan concern to keep the Metropolis - as far as the circumstances allowed - above ideological and political conflict. He was by nature moderate and diplomatically flexible. He had a polite, if often excitable personality, and carefully avoided indiscretions. He established his authority by developing mature, political expertise, exercising flexible policies and taking advantage of his numerous political

acquaintances. He lived during a period of extremely bitter conflicts and perilous divisions, always aiming for the resolution of the ecclesiastic schism and the promotion of the Church's reputation.

Theophylaktos' episcopacy assisted the leaders of the times to develop a community conscience during the early stages of the organisation of the Metropolis in Australia. These were times of great significance. About to be realised or at least in the embryonic stage were the commencement of government-controlled mass migration from 1952 onward; the appointment of the first Greek Ambassador to Australia, Demetrios Lambrou, in March 1953; the progressive replacement of the honorary consuls with career diplomats; the increase in the number of Communities and churches; the creation of the Federation of Greek Communities, and the convening of an All-Community Congress setting the boundaries of the Church-laity collaboration and questioning the authority of the Church.

Theophylaktos attempted to exercise his authority in the Communities with regard to the management of religious sacraments. Until the middle of 1951, the Communities were responsible for the service of the Church sacraments. In July 1951, Theophylaktos issued a circular informing the Executive Committees of the Greek Communities around the country that Greek settlers must refer to the Metropolis and not to the offices of the Communities for their sacraments and other religious functions. This move was judged critically. It was seen as *"ignoring traditional rights of the Communities"* and it resulted in the resignation of some Community presidents and the creation of serious Church-laity friction.

By the end of 1957, with the completion of the tenth anniversary of his enthronement in the See of Australia and New Zealand, Theophylaktos further reinforced his authority by appointing trusted clergymen to positions of power. He appointed the Rev. Kosmas Klavides as Head Vicar of the Archdiocese and Archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtesis as Episcopal Vestryman. His authority was consolidated even further with the rapid increase in the number of clergymen in Australia. In January 1958, he circularised his clergy asking

them to remit an annual fee to the Holy Metropolis "which carries the meaning of appropriate dependence and assists in the normal function of the Holy Metropolis".

During Theophylaktos' pastorship, the impact of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) and the ideological polarisation that resulted from it, did not have as great an effect on the Greeks in Australia as might have been expected, given the presence of the basic ingredients for dissension and strife. The main reasons that relative peace and moderation prevailed included the neutral policy which Metropolitan Theophylaktos adopted: systematically avoiding references to the Civil War and declaring a panhellenic ideology. There was also the prudent stance of the Consul General, Aemilios Vryzakis, who avoided conflict and strife. Finally, there was the supremacy in the community leadership of individuals who practised friendly relations with the Metropolitan and his policies. The climate of appeasement was further assisted by the attitude of Australian authorities. They were actively seeking to prevent the transfer of the internal conflicts of Europe to Australia.

The massive intake of new migrants after 1956 entirely changed the structure of the organised Greek Communities. The decline and decay of community life started to slow. The increased concentration of Greeks in the large urban centres, mainly Melbourne and Sydney, created conditions more conducive to community organisation. Melbourne became the main arrival centre, especially for young immigrants between the ages of 23-35. The number of newly arrived Greek immigrants increased rapidly after 1954, reaching 98 000 in 1971. In Sydney their number increased from 4 635 in 1947 to 53 646 in 1971. The urban centres where Greek settlers had concentrated until then, were unable to accommodate the increasing numbers. New centres were established as the Greek population increased.

The increased intake of migrants after 1954 put even greater strain on the functional inadequacies of the Communities. The Greek media tended to hold Metropolitan Theophylaktos responsible for the theological conflict amongst the clubs and the lack of Community struc-

tures which could have helped new migrants to adjust harmoniously to their new environment. The lack of an adequate number of churches and priests was apparent, despite Community and Church boasting about adequate infrastructure and sufficient resources to meet the needs of the increased number of migrants. Community organisations were characterised by a lack of organisational structure and inadequate leadership. The Greek media had not rid itself of the remnants of the old schisms. Demographic changes, however, were rapid. When new Communities were created by the thousands of new settlers, they often remained cut off from existing Community organisations in distant suburbs and townships of Australia.

Patriarch Athenagoras, an ex-Archbishop of America, had clear notions about the sort of structural organisation appropriate for the Communities of the Diaspora. He encouraged Theophylaktos to go ahead with the creation of new parishes in the form of Communities. Theophylaktos visited Greece in 1956 and 1957 and had deliberations and conferences with public servants and politicians in Athens, including intensive discussions with the Department of External Affairs and with the clergy in Greece. The visits convinced him that Constantinople had decided to implement the American organisational model in Australia - that is, the establishment of parishes controlled by the Church instead of lay community organisations. This would give the Church complete power over the Communities and thus unilateral control of the migrants. The only obstacle to this course of action remained Metropolitan Theophylaktos. His thirty-year stay in Australia and his inherently moderate character discouraged him from a strong encounter with the Communities. In order to reduce disputes, Theophylaktos acted firmly to disallow any provocative behaviour. He acted this way for many reasons, including the fact that he continued to enjoy great popularity, in spite of the Greek Australian media's published criticisms of him. His well-timed interference often averted aggravation of the situation.

This problem was finally resolved with the intervention of the Australian Government, following the successful lobbying by the President of the Greek Community of Melbourne, Thesseus

Marmaras. The arrival of the new settlers increased the social problems of Greeks in Australia, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney. The most important problem remained the imbalance in the ratio of men to women. The Greek communities in Melbourne and other urban centres in Australia remained communities of bachelors. As a result, the number of children was small and appropriate emphasis was not given to the establishment of Greek part-time schools. Marriages between Greek men and Anglo-Australian women were few because the Anglo-Saxons viewed matrimonial relations between local women and Greek men as a social stigma. The gender imbalance was caused by the official policy of the Greek government, which prohibited the migration of unmarried Greek women.

Prevailing circumstances had pushed young men into the controversial Greek social clubs, which were popular, even before World War II. Insecurity in employment, frequent changes in jobs, apprehension at being in a new environment and the rarity of social functions due to the low numbers of women in the communities, all had their adverse social effects. The increase of the kafenion and gambling houses was epidemic. Most were located in the inner suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, where the majority of the new migrants resided close to the factories and the marketplaces where they worked and lived. Residences were crowded. Often, there would be five to seven young bachelors or three to four families sharing the same residence, with one kitchen and bathroom. Men lived in such circumstances to save money in order to buy a place of their own. (Tamis, 1997). Many were ruined and quite a few (some) committed suicide.

On July 31st 1958, Theophylaktos was fatally injured in a motor vehicle driven by Archimandrite Kourtesis. He died two days later. He was the first and only Metropolitan to die and be buried in Australia. He, too, was a migrant, like his spiritual children. Following the death of Metropolitan Theophylaktos, the Archbishop of Thyateira and Central Europe, Athenagoras Kavvadas, was temporarily appointed Patriarchal Exarch of Australia. From the time of his pastorship in the USA, he was a trustworthy colleague and collaborator of Patriarch Athenagoras. He arrived in Australia with the aim of extending peace

and harmony among the Greek Communities and earning the trust of the community leaders. The Exarch implemented a program to reorganise and re-construct the Greek Community with the Metropolis as its centre.

The program involved the establishment of new suburban communities with the active participation of more community members. This program aimed to decentralise the management of organised Hellenism so that the Church could benefit financially and organisationally. The new system also aimed to weaken the old Community organisations, which had not acted in time (1952-1958) to establish new communities themselves in the various suburbs of the capital cities, where the new migrants were settling in great numbers. The old Communities failed to bring the new arrivals within their jurisdiction. Community pluralism drove the central pre-World War II Communities to financial ruin and a severe loss of members. Their institutions were compelled to operate within their old boundaries. With the establishment of new and independent Communities, the authority of the Archdiocese was strengthened. It tended to maintain the right of intervention and create flourishing financial opportunities from the payments of charges for performing special ceremonies and sacraments.

Determined to impose the view of the Church dogmatically, Athenagoras encouraged the settlers in Melbourne, Perth and Sydney to establish their own new churches. He prepared the way for the new canonical Archbishop Ezekiel Tsoukalas to establish a unique and powerful Ecclesiastical Authority. The new Metropolitan was assistant Director of the Archdiocese's Theological School of Holy Cross in Brooklyn, Massachusetts in 1943, when Athenagoras Kavvadas was the Director. Ezekiel's pastorship in Australia (1959-1974) was incident-ridden. This was not because of his conservative policies, but mainly because he was called to implement the program of the Archbishop of Thyateira initiated parish sectioning which. The period of his pastorship was the most important in the history of the Greeks in Australia. It was the period of mass migration, the confrontation between the clergy and the Communities, and the period when intra-

community, intra-personal and ideological splits came to a head. It was also the epoch of important changes and restrictions, which were imposed on the Communities' institutionalised, structure.

A few days after his arrival in the Antipodes, and with the approval and encouragement of the Karamanlis Government of Athens, the new Archbishop put forward the parameters of the plan he had brought with him from Fanarion. These stipulated that there should be no association with the organised Federation of the Greek Communities; that the role of the old Communities should be continued within the pre-War parameters as Church organisations; and that the social, political and organisational role of the Communities should be abolished. The implementation of the program of creating new Communities met with strong opposition from the Greek Ambassador, Georgios Christodoulou, as well as from the Consuls and the leadership of the old Communities. The dramatic culmination of the split between the Church and the Communities erupted on June 9th 1960 when the Management Council of the Greek Community of Adelaide decided to split from the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. This was in reaction to the establishment by the Archbishop Ezekiel of the Communities of St. Elias the Prophet at Unley, St. Spyridon at Thebarton, and the Genesis of Christ at Port Adelaide. The Greek Community of Adelaide's rebellion was followed, on July 9th 1960, by a similar one by the Community of Newcastle. The three years that followed (1960-1963) were the most turbulent in the history of Australian Hellenism. Public confrontation and public airing of internal differences occurred, not only between the Archbishop and the communities, but also between the organised clubs and brotherhoods. This explosive situation had social ramifications which spread to the families of the settlers, leaving its mark on almost every collective activity of Hellenism.

On August 3rd 1974, without any prior consultation with Archbishop Ezekiel and influenced by adverse reports submitted to Fanarion by former diplomats, the Patriachal Synod decided to transfer and "promote" Ezekiel to the Metropolis of Pisidia. It also appointed the Bishop of Theoupolis Panteleimon as the Archiepiscopal

Vestryman of Australia. Undoubtedly, Ezekiel was, the Hierarch who strengthened and enhanced the Archdiocese in Australia. He lived through the major part of the mass migration of Hellenism. He implemented the program of the Patriarchate under the most difficult circumstances, which the ideological fanaticism of that era created. The majority of the Greeks in Australia accepted his transfer with a sense of relief, having been eagerly hoping for this change. In March 1975, the election of the Titoularian Metropolitan of Militoupolis, Stylianos Harkianakis, as the fifth Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was announced.

The mass migration of thousands of Greeks, mainly from country areas of Greece and with minimal education, gave rise to many cases of exploitation. Certain members of the clergy, conmen who presented themselves as priests or 'candidate priests', organisers of icon worship at home, and mystics and clairvoyants, took advantage of the Greek migrant's strong religious sense. Thousands of unprotected girls and young men from Greece came here as migrants in a period of high unemployment. They came to a community known for ideological polarisation and bad relations between its old and new members. The tyranny of distance from Greece and the insecurity and difficulties in communication within the country created serious social problems: bigamy, family abandonment and suicides, especially among young migrants, resulting from the psychological problems caused by isolation.

From mid-1960s, a period of severe unemployment hit Australia, especially in Melbourne, which constituted the manufacturing centre of the continent. Until the end of 1961, thousands of newly arrived Greeks in large and medium-sized cities, found themselves unemployed. Despite its promises, the Department of Immigration was unable to find them work. This led to intense feelings of disappointment and helplessness among the new migrants residing in the crowded migrant camps of Bonegilla and Fisherman's Bend in Melbourne. Bonegilla was the centre for migrants who arrived with their families. Fisherman's Bend was for unmarried migrants. Bonegilla was a former military camp located in a village about 400 kilometers northeast of

Melbourne. The living conditions, including the strict rules which kept married couples separated during the day, and their disillusionment over the "lost paradise", led to protests. Migrants set fire to the wooden sheds (1961 and 1962), and the police arrested some people, mainly Italians and Maltese, who were freed after a public outcry. The Greek Communities of Melbourne and Sydney reacted with massive meetings in support of the unemployed. They demanded a stop to the legal persecution of the helpless migrants accused of initiating the protests.

In order to raise money for unemployment relief for the suffering new migrants, the Greek Communities took a number of initiatives. They arranged soccer games and wrestling matches, had acting groups perform plays, and asked businessmen to contribute money. After 1970, community organisations had managed to overcome their initial problems. They had begun to clear the debts they had incurred in rebuilding Churches and Community halls. The first moves were made for the establishment of all-Greek educational providers. Buildings and facilities were purchased to serve the future programs of an upgraded Greek Community.

Greek migrants substantially contributed towards a European profile in Australia. They embellished Australian life with an efficient and effective network in the areas of marketing, building and development, as well as in the service and hospitality industries, small business, academia and administrative services. Greek settlers took the broader view that their socio-economic welfare would best be served by pursuing objectives which embraced the broader needs of the Australian community. In order to advance their socio-economic objectives they formed collective entities and organisations, which gave them both the power and the vitality to implement their goals. Their impact on government policy formulation and its implementation was impressive, as indeed was their ability to influence and inspire their community leaders.

The traditional reluctance and suspicion of the local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural back-

ground evaporated with the consolidation of the Greek community. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance, and later acceptance. The unresponsiveness of many in the broader Australian society to the persistent efforts of the smaller numbers of pre-War Greek settlers to integrate was challenged after WWII. Economic prosperity, together with the professional achievement and successful social adherence of large waves of Greek migrants and their children, began to win over the wider Australian community. The emergence of their Australia-born children as successful professionals, technocrats, public administrators, merchants and businesspersons gave the Greek community prominence and seriously affected the entire society.

The affluent Greek community has the resources to maintain the ethno-linguistic identity of its members into the new century. However, it requires the commitment of its leaders to establish a network of institutionalised organisations, such as schools, research and resource centres and multi-media corporations which would attract clientele support not exclusively from the Greek community, but also from mainstream society. This will secure the resilience of the Greek language and culture and the maintenance of the ethno-cultural identity of Greek settlers, which, in return, will become the objective of the society rather than the goal of an ethnic community.

The Hellenic community also has the resources and the potential to reinforce its creative presence in Australia and thus avoid marginalisation in the twenty-first century. The Hellenes of Australia can boast of an impressive level of financial accomplishment, which, if properly utilised, will enable them to articulate issues convincingly, even beyond cultural survival, matters vital to the ethnic survival of the Greek community and its participation in the discourse of the new century. Therefore, the challenge is to strive for the establishment of mechanisms through which the voice of Hellenism will be more effectively heard. The Hellenic youth, if given the opportunity it deserves, may play a key role in this new Hellenic presence.

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ΑΛΛΟΧΘΟΝΑ ΤΟΠΙΑ

ελληνόγλωσση ποίηση Αυστραλίας-Καναδά

επιμέλεια
Ελένη Νίκα / Στέφανος Κωνσταντινίδης

Aspects of the Post-War II Greek Australian Community

Christos Nicholas Fifis *

RÉSUMÉ

Près de 250 000 personnes ont émigré de la Grèce en Australie depuis 1947, la plupart dans la période entre 1953 et 1972. Cet article a comme but de discuter le développement de la communauté grecque de l'Australie de l'après guerre et des thèmes importants, tels l'histoire de l'émigration grecque vers l'Australie, les expériences des immigrants Grecs et leurs problèmes d'établisssement, leurs structures d'organisation, la structure diachronique de leurs organisations, les media et le différend opposant l' Eglise à la Communauté. On aborde aussi brièvement la contribution de la communauté à la société multiculturelle australienne, les mythes et la réalité entourant la communauté grecque de l'Australie et les perspectives futures possibles.

ABSTRACT

Almost 250 000 people migrated from Greece to Australia since 1947, most of them between 1953 and 1972. This article aims to discuss the development and relevant issues of the Post-War II Greek Australian community such as the story of the Post-War II migration from Greece to Australia, experiences of Greek migrants and problems of settling, their ways of organisation, the diachronic structure of their organisations, the Greek language media and the Church-Community dispute. It also briefly discusses the contribution of the community to the Australian multicultural society, the myths and reality surrounding the Greek Australian community and the possible future prospects.

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This article aims to discuss the development and relevant issues of the Post-War II Greek- Australian community[1], the story of the Post-War II migration from Greece to Australia, the experiences of Greek migrants and their problems of settling in, their ways of organisation, the diachronic structure of their organisations, their present situation and future prospects. Post-War II immigration changed the face of Australia which in 1939 had a British homogeneous population of 97% (British-born or of British stock) (Stoller, 151). In 1945 Australia had a population of seven million when its Federal Government decided that a minor British outpost in the Antipodes was, in terms of future defence needs, very weak and vulnerable. Australian politicians of both the then Australian Labor Party Government and the Liberal-Country Party Opposition, came to the conclusion that, both for future defence and development considerations, Australia needed a growing population and that such population growth could only be secured through an aggressive immigration policy. This policy was encapsulated in the phrase coined then: *"populate or perish"*. This aggressive immigration policy brought more than two million new settlers to Australian shores in the next 20 years - almost half of them non-British Europeans. Natural increase and immigration contributed to an average annual population increase of 2.1% between 1947 and 1963, half of it through immigration and to a "youngish" population as, in 1963, settlers constituted 20% of the whole population in the age group 20-44 years, and only 5% of them were "over 60 years of age" (Ibid, 154). This immigration wave continued after the Liberal-Country Party coalition Government of 1949 took over for an uninterrupted reign of 23 years and, to some extent, is still continuing. Over the last five decades, this long immigration wave has brought to Australia nearly a quarter of a million of Greek migrants.

Before the war there was a relatively well-established Greek community in Australia. The first Greeks in Australia were seven sailors who were transported as convicts in August 1829 (Gilchrist, 1992). As fighters in the Greek revolution, they stopped an English vessel to search for possible military materials being transported to the

Ottomans and the Egyptians. Soon afterwards, they were arrested by an English navy ship, faced a British naval court in Malta on charges of piracy and were convicted to death. Shortly thereafter their sentences were commuted and they were sent to Australia as convicts. They were assigned to work for various private persons or public works and later were pardoned. In 1835 five of them left Australia to return to Greece. Very few Greeks arrived between 1835 and 1851. After 1851 some more sailors were occasionally jumping ship to join in the Gold rushes of the Eastern Australian colonies. In the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s several dozen Greeks passed from the Australian colonies, some staying for short times and others establishing themselves in the fish and chips, cafes and similar small shop businesses. In the 1890s there were about 200 Greeks in Victoria and 255 in New South Wales and the first organised community life started. The Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria was established in 1897, the Community of Sydney and NSW in 1898, the Greek Orthodox Community of Queensland in 1921, the Greek Orthodox Community of Western Australia (Perth) in 1923 and, in 1930, the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia (Adelaide).

In 1947 the Greek-Australian community numbered 12 292 members who had been born in Greece. Most of these early migrants were coming from the maritime communities of Ithaca, Kythira and Kastellorizo, but after 1922 there were also migrants from Asia Minor, Macedonia and other parts of Greece. In the next 25 years, up to 1947, this number increased more than thirteen fold. In 1954 the number of Greek-born persons was 25 862; in the Australian census of 1961 this figure had risen to 77 333 and in the census of 1971 to 160 200 persons, which was the highest ever recorded number of Greek-born persons in Australia. After 1971 the number of Greek-born persons decreased gradually over the years through a rapid decline of new immigration of Greeks to Australia, repatriation of some settlers, and dying off of old settlers. Thus, their numbers were 150 600 in the Australian census of 1981, 136 194 in the one of 1991 and 126 520 in the census of 1996. Of course the number of Greek-born persons, as we will see further on in this discussion, is only

one of the many demographic components of the Greek Australian community. The community also includes Greek persons from other overseas countries of the Greek Diaspora as well as their Australian-born children and grand-children.

Most of the post-war Greek migrants who came to Australia from Greece did not initially consider their migration as permanent. (Kouris, 1998, 45). They wanted stable employment for a while, to earn some money, to make some small capital and later - perhaps after a period of five to eight years - to return home. About 37% of the pre-Second World War Greek migrants had returned to Greece. Of the post-World War II migrants, some made an effort to return 'while the children were still young'. The repatriation of families with grown-up children attending High School or working was extremely difficult in terms of language and adapting to new conditions. It is estimated that about 28 per cent of the post-World War II Greek migrants to Australia returned to Greece permanently (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission article in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988, 183), although some remigrated again after some time. The great majority, however, remained in Australia.

The migration period changed the conditions at home and the Greek migrants themselves. It also changed their conditions in the "reception country". The changed conditions at home and inflation in real estate made their economic life more difficult. Now they needed a steady employment to cope with a new set of obligations in the host country. They had purchased their houses and were paying them off. The need to pay off their houses, cars and furniture, the uncertainties of returning, the difficulties of finding steady employment, of readapting themselves, of adapting and educating their children, the re-migration to Australia of some who had returned to Greece, and the difficulties they faced in settling there caused reservations to the majority of migrants on the repatriation issue.

The Mass Greek Migration of the Period 1947 -1972

A major part of the structure of the Greek community in Australia had been completed by 1940. The Communities, the Metropolis, the

Consulates and several regional, cultural, sporting and political associations had been already formed in the 1910s, 20s and 30s. There was a Greek press of three weekly newspapers. The oldest was the Sydney *Ethnikon Vima* (renamed from the newspaper *Afstralia* in 1922). Afstralia was the first Greek language newspaper in Australia published by Efstratios Venlis in Melbourne in 1913 but had subsequently moved to Sydney. *Hellenic Herald,* the second oldest, was published in Sydney in 1926. The third was the ultra-conservative and nationalistic Greek newspaper Phos, established by Ioannis Panagiotopoulos in Melbourne in 1936. A few other pre-war newspapers were only short-lived ventures. Phos was discontinued after the death of its founding owner, Panagiotopoulos, in 1973, whereas the other two still continue publication today after successive changes of management. After 1957, with the publication of the Melbourne Neos Kosmos, many others followed, some published only for short periods of time.

In the second part of the 1940s, also due to the post-war shortage in shipping, there was not much Greek immigration. The main movement was the family reunions of family members who had been stranded in Greece during the war years. In 1952 a Greek-Australian Immigration agreement was signed and in 1953 Greece and Australia exchanged ambassadorial representations. A mass migration followed soon after. The coming of tens of thousands of new migrants radically changed the structure of the Greek-Australian community in the next few years. Up to 1947 Greeks comprised mainly a community of shopkeepers and small businessmen - cafes, restaurants, fish and chips and fruit shops, spread in all major cities and country townships, in most parts of habitable Australia. As noted by Price (1975, 6), in 1947, 58% of the Greeks in Australia were employers or self-employed and 43% of them were living outside the large Australian urban centres. Most of them had survived the difficult years of the Great economic depression of the 1930s and made good money during the economic upturn of the Second World War years. The remainder were an ethnic proletariat who worked in the small businesses of their compatriots up to 12 hours daily for six days every week, for their upkeep and a meagre remuneration.

On the other hand, the tens of thousands of post-1952 new Greek migrants came as new industrial workers to work in the developing post-war manufacturing sector of the eastern States, to work in jobs Australians generally did not want. They were expected to make the difficult adaptation from the Greek agricultural life to the discipline required by the factory mode of production. Consequently, many faced severe health problems and maladjustment. Most of the post-War II Greek migrants settled in the large cities, found employment in city factories and changed the structure of the Greek-Australian community. In 1971, in a much larger Greek-Australian community compared to that of 1947, the percentage of self-employed Greeks was only 17%. The rest were industrial workers or employees. Only 7% of the Greeks in Australia were, in 1971, living outside the large Australian urban centres. (Ibid.)

The Sydney newspaper *Hellenic Herald* and its manager Alexander G. Grivas, a staunch supporter of the Greek Community institution, expressed the view on the need for a change in the role of the Communities in Australia, as early as 1948. He was critical of the way Community Council members were wasting their time and exhausting their efforts in trivial church roles and jobs, such as assisting the priests, minding the candles and making the Sunday collections. He believed the lay element should play a decisive role and both the Metropolis and the Communities should plan for the future of Australian Hellenism by creating Hellenic centres and building a strong infrastructure for the new coming migrants and the needs of the Australian-born generations. Those views are equally interesting even today, more than 50 years after the cataclysmic experience of mass migration:

> The assimilating influence of the Australian environment acts so fast so that a systematic and intensive effort is demanded from us to make certain that our young men and women retain the particular characteristics of the Greek race. The building of some churches and (after hours) schools are not enough to satisfy the needs of our youth. We need respectful community centres, libraries, night schools, sporting grounds (15/7/1948).

Alexander Grivas argued that Greeks in Australia, despite the difficulties they confronted, had achieved considerable progress. He was

against the fragmentation of small associations which inhibited a unity of aims and efforts and believed that some from the then second-generation young professionals would take up positions before long as members of Parliament, judges and would distinguish themselves in fields of trade and industry:

If, he argued, the Greeks of Australia achieved during the war financial success for themselves, now it is time to prove that they should not preoccupy themselves with the establishment of small associations and organisations so that to waste their time with petty political and community discussions, but to think maturely and wisely about their future. We, of the older generation, have a wealth of experience. Let us make it available for guiding ourselves, the new migrants and our young generation. Let us move collectively and we will achieve unimaginable benefits... (AGG, 29/7/1948).

And on another occasion:

Finally to take care that all of us take an interest for the promotion of our Community organisations, as the conditions of today are very different to those when our Communities had been established in 1900 and afterwards (AGG, 27/9/1948).

These views, although often reiterated in the 1950s, were soon forgotten; even after his violent death in January 1963 at the age of 73, in the maelstrom of the new events which were to trouble the Greek community for many subsequent decades. They were the Church-Communities disputes of 1958, 1959, 1962 and in the years and decades which followed, and the subsequent developments with the imposition of the dictatorship of the military Junta in Greece between 1967 and 1974 and the negative effects in the unity and aims of the Greek-Australian community.

Already, from 1953, letters by the Greek Consul General in Sydney were drawing the attention of the Community Council of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria to the fact that measures should be taken against the infiltration of the communist ideology to the unemployed Greek migrants in the migrant hosstel of Bonegilla. The latter, was an ex-military camp about 300 kilometres North East of Melbourne, where newly arrived migrants used to spend several months of unemployment and loneliness in rather

much-depressed conditions and environment. The Consul General also drew the Executive Committee's attention to the need of "ascertaining the socio-political convictions of priests and teachers hired by the Community" (Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, Executive Committee minutes of 25/5 and 26/10/1953).

From 1947 to 1972 the official policy of Australia was the quick assimilation of the "New Australians" - as was the euphemistic terminology of the period. The migrant had to learn by himself or herself to swim and keep afloat or be condemned to become a misfit, unable to cope. If they didn't like it they were free to return to their country of origin when they had enough money to pay their return fares. The repatriation difficulties notwithstanding, the initial stages of migrant settlement in Australia presented many problems: linguistic difficulties, periodic unemployment, the lack of housing - often two and three families living in the same house-, the problems of children adjusting to their schools, the generation gap between parents and children which was exacerbated by the linguistic and cultural gap, and the negative influence these had, especially in the isolation of migrant mothers.

Relatives, friends and fellow countrymen from the same geographical region often helped to ease the adjustment of the new migrants, but the community agencies had difficulties making a positive contribution because of scarcity of resources, insufficient staff and lack of experience and appropriate know-how. Community organisations were making gallant efforts to help newcomers but the assistance they could offer to community members was minimal: visiting sick compatriots in hospitals, fund-raising appeals for the repatriation of destitute persons, some meals for unemployed compatriots, some assistance for the fees of the children of poor families in the after hours schools of the Community. The phenomenon of mass migration was so huge and took place so fast that it was very difficult for the community organisations to adapt themselves to the new needs. The Australian Greek Welfare Society of Melbourne was founded only in 1972, just at the beginning of the end of the mass migration from Greece.

The Post-1958 Church - Communities Dispute

A question which profoundly divided the Greek-Australian community after 1958 was the Church issue. A Church-Community dispute had also divided deeply the Greek-Australian community between 1924 and 1928, during the period of the first appointed Metropolitan Christophoros Knitis, by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The appointment was a failure and the Patriarchate had recalled Knitis in 1928 and did not appoint a new Metropolitan till 1931 when it appointed Timotheos Evangelinidis, who arrived in Australia in July 1932. By then a reconciliation with the Communities had been achieved, mainly through the efforts of Archimandrite Theophylaktos Papathanassopoulos who acted as the Patriarchal representative in Australia during the previous four years. In the 1920s and 1930s, however, the Metropolis was very weak and for its financial survival depended on the co-operation of the Communities. By the 1950s, however, it had become economically viable and strong enough to challenge the power of the Communities. The Ecumenical Patriarchate in the 1950s seems to have pressured the Metropolitan Theophylaktos Papathanassopoulos of Australia and New Zealand, (he assumed his duties as Metropolitan in June 1948), to restrict the role of the Communities in Australia. The Metropolitan Theophylaktos, (a wise and sensible clergyman who came to Australia as an archimandrite in 1928 and who had lived closely through the frequent times of tension between the Church and the Communities, most of the time as the parish priest of Evangelismos of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, [1932 -1947], and had learned a lot from it), seems to have tried to pass through the smouldering discontent as smoothly as he could. Nevertheless, a tension in the relations between the Metropolis and the Communities is apparent after 1956 and further deteriorated after 1958, following the sudden death of Theophylaktos in a car accident.

In June 1958 a Greek Orthodox Communities Congress took place in Sydney with the view of establishing a Federation of the Greek Communities of Australia. This was against the Church policy which advocated weak Communities dominated by the Church, and

Theophylaktos -much to Grivas's outrage- did not attend to bless the Congress. Nevertheless, the Federation of the Communities was formed but soon after the death of Theophylaktos, relations with the Church deteriorated. The Patriarchal Exarch Athenagoras-the Archbishop of Thyateira (England)-who arrived in Australia early in August 1958 for Theophylaktos's funeral and to fill in the vacancy temporarily till the appointment and the arrival of the new Metropolitan, was critical of the mild handling of the situation by Theophylaktos and warned the leaders of the Communities about the coming changes without mincing his words. As the ex-president of the Community of Melbourne and founding member of the Federation of Greek Communities in Australia, Dimitrios A. Elefantis wrote in 1977, in the Special Issue commemorating the 80 years of the Community of Melbourne and Victoria, in his article *"A Testimony on the dispute between the Church and the Communities"*:

(Athenagoras Kavadas, the Archbishop of Thyateira and Patriarchal Representative who came to Australia in 1958 for Theophylaktos's funeral and sub-sequently the Patriarchal Exarch in Australia), at a meeting in the presence of the Ambassador Mr G. Christodoulou and the Consul General Mr N. Zapheiriou and representatives of the Greek-Australian Press told us (the representatives of the Communities) "I did not come to negotiate, nor to unite you, but to dissolve you". At the funeral of the late Theophylaktos, when Stamatiadis (the president of the Federation of Greek Communities in Australia) was laying a wreath the archbishop Athenagoras cried out to him in an intense tone: "you are not representing all the Communities". And he told us that "the new Metropolitan will come and he will put into practice the new order'. Before his departure he created the first church out-side the Community system, the Church of Saint John in Carlton (Melbourne, run by the archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtessis).

D. Elefantis in the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria pu-blication: *80 Years. 80th Anniversary Album*, 1977, 47.

The new Metropolitan Ezekiel Tsoukalas arrived from the United States early in 1959 and soon the Metropolis was elevated to Archdiocese. The new Archbishop came into conflict with the older and larger Communities of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, in his plans to refuse expansion of the older Communities with the enlarge-ment of the Greek-Australian community as a result of the mass immigration, by refusing the appointment of new priests and retai-

ning the power to transfer or recall those already appointed. He opted instead to approve the establishment of new smaller Communities with their own churches to committees enjoying the confidence of the Archdiocese. Later, after the departure of Ezekiel and the arrival of the new Archbishop, Stylianos Harkianakis, in 1975, the Community system was repudiated by the Archdiocese and the emphasis was placed on the Parish system whereby church properties were owned by the Archdiocese and parish Councils were appointed and dismissed by the Archdiocesean authorities. In February 1985 a *Federation of Communities of Melbourne and Victoria* was formed. Very soon after this the Archdiocese created a rival body of its own, the *Greek-Orthodox Communities and Parishes Union*. In essence, the Church - Communities dispute centred on the question of the role of the elected lay element in the running of the property and the affairs of the Community and their role to act as representatives of the Greek-Australian community. It seemed the Archdiocese wished to have the foremost role in the representation of the Greek-Australian community, without rival groups and undesirable representatives. No federation of Communities, smaller Communities and representation of the appointed parish councils meant smaller representation and smaller voice of the laity, or no representation and no independent voice at all.

Between 1960 and 1962 the Communities of Adelaide, Newcastle, Wollongong and Melbourne moved out of the Archdiocese, becoming independent, and the dispute widened. The Community of Sydney followed much later. The Community of Melbourne negotiated a settlement with the Patriarchate and returned to the Archdiocese in 1970. The other Communities and some who joined the group of the independent Greek churches later are still outside the Archdiocese. A meeting took place in Athens in 1992 called by the then Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, Virginia Tsouderou, and attended by representatives of the Patriarchate, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and the independent Communities to negotiate a settlement. An agreement was reached but was never implemented.

The developments of 1958, 1959, 1962, 1967 and those of subsequent decades served often to polarise the relations of the main com-

munity organisations. The conflict of the Archdiocese-Communities seems to have prevented the development of the Greek Orthodox Community institution in the way perhaps Grivas would have liked. The older Communities disagreed with the Archdiocese, they entrenched themselves in their own set-up, opened their own churches in their own old system - a Community with its churches and afternoon schools. In essence, however, they simply opposed themselves to the new Archdiocesean Communities and Parishes system - the "Greek-American system", as they called it, where the main role in the Greek community is played by the Archdiocese and its representatives. Eventually, the Communities moved further from this narrow church-centred model of Community but very slowly and without abandoning, even outside the Archdiocese, their traditional Church role. The fragmentation of the Greek-Australian community forces did not stop, as Grivas wished it; on the contrary, it increased more with the multitude of the new small associations derived from the settlers' regional provinces and towns in Greece.

The military Dictatorship of 1967-1974 intensified the conflict and the divisions. The historical Communities of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, the newly created *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece,* some newspapers, some workers and youth associations and the Greek students' association turned against the Dictatorship. The Archdiocese, the Consulates, and a part of the Greek-Australian Press and the Greek-Australian establishment supported the "National Government" of the Greek Junta. A large portion of the Greek-Australian community who wanted to keep out of political trouble, if in case they ever wanted to return or visit Greece, remained indifferent and crowded the functions of the small regional brotherhoods in their picnics, their BBQs, the soccer matches and their various other activities. This should not be taken to mean that the mass of the community did not take an interest about happenings in Greece or in their immediate environment. When occasions arose, such as the visits of Mikis Theodorakis in March 1972 and Andreas Papandreou in March 1974, thousands of Greek people crowded the various halls where concerts were performed and political speeches made. In 1965, during

the period of the constitutional crisis in Greece, it is estimated that some 6 000 Athenian newspapers were sold in Melbourne weekly. (Jupp, 1966, 40) Greeks were also participating strongly during the industrial strikes of the 60s and 70s, the May day and other workers' demonstrations and the anti-Vietnam rallies. What is meant is that the mass of people did not follow fanatically either the Archdiocese or the Communities and that, under the circumstances, they were not encouraged to create and participate in a panhellenic mass organisation, but were left alone in their small regional associations. After the fall of the dictatorship in Greece, the progress of the philosophy of multiculturalism in Australia and the bitter, emotional experiences of the Cyprus and the Macedonian questions, a loose convergence of the different community organisations occurred, but the fragmentation for settlers of the first generation remained.

The Period of Multicultural Developments 1973-1996

The period 1973-1996 is characterised by the Australian multicultural development and the coming of age of the various post-World War II Greek community cultural and political groups as well as the communities and groups of other ethnic minorities. Many factors contributed to this process. One important factor was the coming to power of the Gough Whitlam Federal Labor Government in December 1972.

By 1973 migration of Greeks to Australia had been reduced drastically while many others in the 1970s were returning to Greece. Most of the new Greek settlers in the 1970s were 6 000 Greek-Cypriot refugees after 1974, some teachers among them, who contributed to the teaching of the Greek language at all levels. Greeks who decided to stay in Australia had, in many respects, settled in by 1973. They had become Australian citizens and acquired voting rights, had purchased their houses and developed their families and their organisations. Some were successful businessmen, a few had become trade union officials, and others had been involved in Local Government and Australian party politics. They were ready to demand their rights as well as to make a contribution to their local and wider Australian community.

One of the first policies of the Whitlam Government was to recognise the rights of the non-English speaking migrants and to cater for their social and emotional needs in their major languages by setting up interpreting, translating and advisory services and multilingual radio programs. These programs were supported and expanded further by the Malcolm Fraser Coalition Government after 1976. Although up to 1972 there was no official sanction condoning the discrimination of migrants who had settled, there were still remnants of the White Australian Policy aimed against Asian immigration and often there were individuals with racist tendencies who used derogatory names and terms against foreign speakers in public places, at places of work and, especially, in the school environment (that is, Australian children using derogatory terms against migrant children). Ministers of Immigration made sure that some active Greek and other migrant leftists were refused Australian citizenship. The Whitlam Government contributed to the recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity and the correction of some of the previous injustices.

Already, before 1972, there had been some pressure for the recognition of the need for the teaching of the Greek language. The few schools of the older Greek Communities had increased in all major cities, especially in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide and, according to the historian Michael Tsounis, there were, by 1973, about 300 Greek Community and parish schools teaching Greek to some 25 000 students. (Michael Tsounis, 1973, 38-40). In the 1970s the Greek language was introduced into the curriculum of several State schools of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide and some university programs. In 1968 the University of New England, a country university in Armidale, a rural town in the State of New South Wales, was the first to introduce Modern Greek into its language programe. In 1972 the South Australian Institute of Advanced Education introduced Greek and after community donations and collections of money, Modern Greek was introduced at the University of Sydney in 1973 (after a significant donation by Sir Nicholas Laurantus, an old businessman from Kythira) and at the University of Melbourne in 1974. In 1975, a Federal Government grant enabled the creation of an Interpreters

and Translators' Course at RMIT (Melbourne) which included Greek as one of its languages. Later, Greek was introduced at Prahran College which subsequently became Victoria College. In the early 1980s Greek was introduced for a short period of three years at the University of Western Australia in Perth and, in the late 1980s, at Flinders University in Adelaide, at two more universities in Sydney and, in total, at six universities and Colleges of Advanced Education in Melbourne. Since the early 1990s, however, some of these programs have been abolished or reduced drastically.

In the 1980s the institution of Greek-run day schools had been introduced by the Communities and the Archdiocese, subsidised, like other private schools in Australia, by the Federal and the State Governments. The first such school was created by the archimandrite Ierotheos Kourtessis of the St. John's Community of North Carlton in 1978. Some of these schools faced difficult economic and organisational problems and were forced into bankruptcy and closure. Others, however, survived the initial difficulties and today -in 1999- eight of them are in operation, three in Melbourne, three in Sydney, one in Adelaide and one in Perth.

During the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s, the Greek community contributed to the brightening of the Australian cultural and social life with new restaurants, its soccer teams, the organising of cultural festivals such as, among others, *Greek week* and subsequently, the festival Antipodes in Melbourne, the Festival *Glendi* in Adelaide, *Dimitria*, etc. With Mr Alfredos Kouris as their chairman, a group of businessmen in Melbourne campaigned for and contributed to the extension of shopping hours in the evenings and Saturdays and the liberalising of the restrictive legislation concerning hours and places of liquor sale and consumption. Some Greek businessmen enriched life with the importation of new products such as olives and olive oil, or the manufacturing of new foodstuffs such as tarama, yoghurt, etc. Some businessmen and professionals contributed to the development and support of Greek-Australian soccer teams, like Sir Arthur George in Sydney and Thesseas Marmaras and Savas Papasavas in Melbourne, or to the founding of University chairs of Greek like Sir Nicholas

Laurantus in the University of Sydney and Zissis Dardalis in La Trobe University, in Melbourne.

After 1973 there was a flourishing development of theatrical and musical groups, musical events and song competitions. Song-writing and composition, the forming of musical bands and song-playing and dancing at various community functions and tavernas contributed to a revival and development in the local Greek-Australian scene of the Greek cultural tradition in demotic, popular and rebetica songs and the familiarisation and participation in this cultural development of many members of the Australian-born generations. During this period some good writers, poets and playwrights made their presence felt, by publishing works, either in Greek or in English. Some of them achieved important prizes and recognition. Among them are Dimitris Tsaloumas, Nikos Ninolakis, Dimitris Tzoumakas, Yannis Vasilakakos, Stylianos Harkianakis, Vasso Kalamara, Nikos Nomikos, Dina Amanatidou, Erma Vasileiou, Coula Teo, Sophia Kathariou in Greek, Antigone Kefala, Aristidis Paradissis, Zeny Giles, Angelo Loukakis, George Papaellinas, Fotini Epanomitis in English, to mention only some of them.

Greek cultural life has been sustained and often enriched with the post-war strengthening of the Greek press-newspapers and, occasionally, cultural periodicals and magazines in Greek, but also often with some pages in English, mostly printed in Melbourne and Sydney. The Greek press has been complemented by the radio and television programs of the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) established in 1980 by the Malcolm Fraser Government and, lately, with additional private and community programs. The Greek press in the 1990s has been through a period of adaptation and stabilisation. There are fewer newspapers circulating in the late 1990s in comparison to the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Two good-quality Melbourne magazines of the mid-1980s became discontinued. Perhaps the remaining newspapers, which have improved in quality, now have more readers as there are more pensioners with more free time, but overall, the number of readers seems to be decreasing with the aging and increased death rates of the first generation. At the moment, there are seven major newspa-

pers issued, three in Melbourne and four in Sydney, owned by five different proprietors.

Greek-Australian Community of the 2000s: Reality and Myths

The Present Demographic Picture of the Greek Australian Community

The Greek-Australian Community of today is quite different to that of the 1950s and 1960s. Despite the perpetuation of various myths during the last three decades concerning the size and the numbers of the community, the demographic changes are apparent. One of these myths reiterated often in the rhetoric of some Greek politicians visiting Australia or some leading personnalities of Greek Australia is the exuberant claim that the numbers of Greek-Australians are over 700 000 (Papageorgopoulos 1981, 27), (Kouris 1998, 9) or close to "800 000 souls", (Harkianakis in *Kathimerini,* 1993, 8). Australian censuses suggest that the total number of persons of Greek background in Australia is around 362 000. This can be seen by an examination of the 1996 Census data, taking into account the numbers of persons who, in the specific census questions, stated themselves as Greek-born, those who stated that they speak Greek at home, and those who stated their religion as 'Greek-Orthodox'.

Using the data of the 1996 census, I prepared tables A, B, and C below which indicate: Table A the number of Greek-born immigrants (at the time of the census 126 520 Greek-born persons were living in Australia), Table B, the number of persons who stated that they speak Greek at home (269 770), and Table C, the numbers of persons who stated their religion as Greek-Orthodox (361 052).

The Greek-Australian Community in numbers according to the 1996 Australian Census data

Table A: Persons born in Greece

State	0-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-64	65 +	Total
Victoria	88	149	664	22 146	28 389	10 247	61 683
New South Wales	93	119	500	13 646	18 817	7 980	41 155
South Australia	16	36	103	3 882	5 547	3 023	12 607
West Australia	6	10	49	1 035	1 335	1 020	3455
Queensland	18	21	81	1 412	1 706	1 229	4 467
Tasmania	0	3	13	231	291	84	622
Northern Territory	14	20	80	592	329	881	123
Australian Capital Ter/ry	9	6	25	464	655	249	1 408
Total	244	364	1515	43408	57069	23920	126520

Table B: Greek speaking persons

State	0-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-64	65 +	Total
Victoria	4 756	5 398	13 372	59 079	29 857	11 871	124 333
New South Wales	3 783	3 965	10 330	43 294	21 450	10 144	92 966
South Australia	1 196	1 363	2 798	12 968	6 230	3 472	28 027
West Australia	160	207	589	2 529	1 328	992	5 805
Queensland	482	528	1 136	5 388	2 369	1 752	11 655
Tasmania	59	51	175	634	306	93	1 318
Northern Territory	183	213	476	1 394	385	116	2 767
Australian Capital Ter/ry	137	116	321	1 358	706	261	2 899
Total	10 756	11 841	29 197	126644	62631	28701	269770

Table C: Greek Orthodox persons

State	0-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-64	65 +	Total
Victoria	8 793	8 420	18 167	73 912	32 467	13 927	155 686
New South Wales	7 563	7 216	15 798	58 351	25 187	13 035	127 150
South Australia	2 317	2 224	4 056	16 287	6 795	4 024	35 703
West Australia	576	734	1 633	5 871	2 209	1 672	12 695
Queensland	1 328	1 325	2 583	9 352	3 482	2 595	20 665
Tasmania	108	91	258	836	353	162	1 808
Northern Territory	267	270	583	1 630	420	133	3 303
Australian Capital Ter/ry	259	215	530	1 878	808	352	4 042
Total	21211	20495	43608	168117	71721	35900	361052

Source: Prepared on data available by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, "1996 Census of population and housing, Ethnicity Thematic Profile", 1997.

The 126 520 persons indicated by table A are 9 674 less than the number of 136 194 Greek-born persons recorded in the census of 1991, a fact which is indicative of the aging and the gradually reduced numbers of the first generation of Greek migrants in Australia. As mentioned above, approximately 250 000 have migrated to Australia from Greece during the last five decades and about 28% are estimated to have repatriated, most during the decade of the 1970s. Between 1949 and 1990, 179 461 Greeks have been naturalised (became Australian citizens) (Murphy, 1993, 178) and in the census of 1971 there was the highest-recorded number of Greek-born persons (160 200).

Table B also contains the data of table A, and table C -given that more than 90 per cent of the Greeks in Australia are Greek-Orthodox-contains, to a large extent, the data of both A and B, plus those persons from Greek background who have lost the knowledge of the Greek language.

The number of 361 052 from table C offers a reliable indication of the numbers of the Greek-Australian community. To these figures, however, we must add persons of Greek background who are not Orthodox, or did not state their religion, or persons coming from mixed marriages or persons who have one parent or grandparent coming from Greece and who wish to identify themselves with some aspect of the Greek culture. According to the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, in 1981, there were some 58 256 second-generation Greeks living in Victoria. 47 442 of these were Australian-born with both parents born in Greece. The rest (10,814-appr. 14%) had one parent born in Greece.

Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, "Greeks in Australia: Policies, Directions, and Initiatives" in Kapardis and Tamis, 1988, p. 186.

Members of the Greek-Australian community must be considered those who speak the Greek language or otherwise identify themselves with some aspect of the Greek culture. If we take these factors into consideration we could estimate the numbers of Greeks in Australia (Greek Orthodox plus any others) in the vicinity of 400 000 persons

which is approximately 2.1% of the total Australian population. These tables, based on the census data, are the most reliable documentation of the numbers and categories of Greek-Australian persons, rather than the speculative figures and undocumented assertions quoted above.

At the end of the 1970s, due to automation and the gradual disappearance of light industry in Australia and the advancement of the post-industrial society, many of the migrant industrial jobs of the 1950s and the 1960s disappeared and many members of the old, first generation of Greek migrants became unemployed or early retirees. Despite these developments, however, and in contrast to the pre-war situation, the great majority of Greek-Australians live in the main Australian urban centres. According to the data supplied by the 1991 Census, 91.43 per cent of the Greek-Australian community (Greek Orthodox) lived in the eight Australian State and Territory capitals: 148 917 (41.65% of the total Greek-Australian population) lived in Melbourne, 114 201 (31.95%) lived in Sydney, 31 578 (8.83%) in Adelaide, 12 874 (3.60%) in Brisbane, 11 095 (3.1%) in Perth, 4 152 (1,16%) in Canberra, 2 655 (0,74%) in Darwin and 1 420 (0,4%) in Hobart.

Despite their concentration, however, most Greek-Australians in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, moved from the inner to outer suburbs of the large Australian cities and thus, inevitably, a gradual dispersal, isolation and assimilation took place, along with the growing up in the 1980s and 1990s of a new Australian-born generation which joined the workforce. The consequences were less cohesion and more difficulties in efficiently and economically organising Greek language classes, church facilities, services for the elderly and less flexibility of the various associations to organise efficiently and economically the successful attendance of their functions.

This concentration, in conjunction with the vitality of the Greek element and the single member electorates with a majority preferential vote system for the Lower Houses of the Australian Parliaments, explain the relatively large number of Greek- background Members of

Parliament (MPs) in the Australian Federal and the various State Parliaments (in all, 17 at the moment of writing 8 of them from Melbourne, Victoria), as well as the large Greek rallies on the Macedonian question in February 1992 and February 1994, in which over 70 000 people marched each time. It would be useful to critically examine some of the myths of the Greek-Australian community which blur the real picture.

Besides the undocumented assertion for 700 000 Greeks in Australia, there is the myth of a large political influence of the Greek-Australian community. Despite the 17 Greek-background MPs of the various parliaments, the political influence of the community is in no way proportionate. As in every political system, Members of Parliament represent their constituencies from which they are elected and to which they are answerable and also represent and promote the policies of their parties. Although it is an advantage to have MPs of Greek background, the influence of the community does not depend on their numbers but on the favourable reception of its issues by the mainstream mass media and the Australian community at large. It is often easier for a mainstream politician to push a certain policy favourable to the Greek-Australian community rather than for an MP of Greek background. Once an ethnic issue becomes forcefully opposed and controversial, it is easier to be brushed aside and ignored. Although some Australian politicians appear pro-Greek at community gatherings and BBQs, the teaching of the Greek language in Australian State schools and the issue of Multiculturalism are assigned a low weight when they are moved from words to political action. The treatment of the Cyprus issue by the Australian Government - except for the stationing of a small police contingent in Cyprus with the UN peace-keeping force - is not much different to that of Britain or the United States. More importantly, it is also largely ignored by the mainstream media.

The assertion about the aging of the Greek-Australian community needs to be analysed and explained. The assertion is usually reiterated by people who attend many Greek artistic functions and lectures in

the three larger Greek-Australian communities of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide and which are often attended mainly by members of the first generation who are mostly over 50 years of age. From table A above we can work out that 80 989 persons (that is 64.01% of the persons who migrated from Greece to Australia), were aged 50 and over in 1996. Those 65 and over were 23 920, that is 18.9 per cent of the total. Certainly these figures indicate that a large percentage of the members of the first generation is now getting on in years. From table C, however, which also includes the Australian-born generations and all Greek Orthodox persons, we derive a different picture: in this table, we see 253 431 persons (that is 70.19% of all Australian Greek-Orthodox persons) were, in 1996, aged 49 and under. In this group, 39 500 were 65 and over, that is, 9.94 per cent of the 361 052, which represents almost the total of the Greek-Australian community. The conclusion is that although the Greek-Australian community has a high percentage of aging people, and very soon it will have a much higher one, the large majority of those who are aging, (twice as much of the percentage for the total), belong to the first generation of Greek migrants. Thus, due to the rapid decline of new Greek immigration after 1972, the majority of the first generation is now aging and the whole community is going through a transitional period. It should be stressed that most of these aged people have offered much in the building of the diverse structure of today's community and to Australia's economic development and they belong mostly to the working migrant class of Australia, often facing the problems of poverty, loneliness and homesickness.

The often-reiterated assertion that Melbourne is the third Greek-speaking city in the world, after Athens and Salonica, seems untrue. In the census of 1991 Melbourne had 148 917 Greek Orthodox persons and 127 664 who stated that they speak Greek at home, a number which is lower than the population of Patra or Nicosia. The Hellenism of Melbourne is important; it is perhaps the largest Greek-speaking community outside Greece and Cyprus, with an impressive Greek linguistic and cultural life, good-quality newspapers and radio programs in the Greek language, but the numbers indicate that it is not the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world.

A different myth is the assertion that the Greek-Australian community could become something similar to the Greek community in Egypt and that Melbourne could be the new Hellenic Alexandria of the South. The assertion is unrealistic. Although the State of Victoria alone with its 155 686 persons of Greek background has a larger population of Greek origin than Egypt ever had, things are quite different. In Egypt, members of the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s thriving Greek community, (especially members of the middle and upper class), had, as a result of the Capitulations regime accorded to European communities there, more legal and financial privileges and rights than local Egyptians. (Kitroeff, 1989, 3) Besides, they were not far from Greece and behaved almost as Greeks of a large urban Greek province. They had, to a large extent (as in previous times what the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire had): their own space and role, their own districts, their schools, churches and hospitals. The Greek language in Egypt was a prestigious European language, the knowledge of which could secure to its speakers skills for employment, communication and creative activities.

In Australia the picture of the Greek-Australian community, as in the past in the United States and perhaps still today in Canada, is dominated by the activities of the first generation. The first generation played a critical role in establishing the structure of the community. It is they who established the churches, most of the Greek-owned companies, the newspapers and radio and television programs. They also developed some well-known writers and poets who write in the Greek language. In contrast to the situation in Egypt, in Australia, Greek is the language of one of many ethnic groups which, despite the recognition and respect attached to it for its contribution to Western Civilisation and thought, could not, by itself, without the good knowledge of English, offer the speaker skills for employment and security. The Greek community in Australia, although is concentrated in the main urban centres, is dispersed in the various outer suburbs and its members are relatively isolated, having to travel long distances in order to attend important mass functions. Cavafy in Egypt and many other writers of that community were Greeks born in the Greek Diaspora and writing in Greek, whereas the writers of the second

Greek-Australian generation, in contrast to the first generation, write in English. Although many members of the second and third generation, through their attendance of State, community or private schools, have a relatively good knowledge of the Greek language, as time passes, the great majority use Greek for communication between themselves whereas English is used for their professional and creative activities. These characteristics render obvious the difference between the pre-1939 Greek community in Egypt and the Greek-Australian community of the 2 000s and the fact that the latter is now passing through an intense transitional phase.

Also, the often-reiterated argument that the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church will contribute to the retention and salvation of the Greek language in Australia does not seem to hold water. As the case of the Greek-American experience has shown, the Church, even with some gradual losses of its adherents, can survive very well with English as its communication medium. In actual fact, in Australia the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese is also preparing itself for the next phase. In many churches, especially in parishes with many second and third generation young families, for obvious communication purposes, a part of the liturgy and the sermon are delivered today in the English language. The Church's argument is that if it does not communicate with the Australian-born generations in the language they understand and use best, it will lose them. In reality - as in the USA - any future Church difficulties will come from mixed marriages and the gradual moving away of individuals from its congregations, not from the loss of the Greek language. C. Nicolopoulos, in an article of his in the Melbourne Greek newspaper *Neos Kosmos* (9/3/1998, p.1) based on statistics provided by the Archdiocese office in Melbourne, shows that between 1993 and 1997 mixed marriages of members of the Greek-Australian community of Melbourne had increased from 36% to 47.2%. This percentage could be even higher in some of the smaller communities of the smaller Australian States. This does not also include marriages taking place outside the Church. Thus the Greek-Australian community, which is largely two generations younger than the Greek-American community, seems to be gradually following the path of the latter.

Questions of Language and Culture Maintenance and the Future of the Greek Australian Community

Today, the community situation is different in numbers and sizes to the one of the 1940s, but from the point of view of problematisation and dilemmas, it is not very different to the one which was problematising Grivas in 1948. In 1948, just before the onset of mass migration, Grivas had in front of him a transitional period and was writing for his readers who were pre-war arrivals. Many of those, like him, had lived in Australia for many decades and were already old and successful business people and community leaders. Others were less fortunate, old workers or failed businessmen who still carried the wounds and the scars of the Great Depression. Similarly, today, according to the data of the 1996 Census, the first generation, those who chose Australia as the country of their settlement in the 1950s and 1960s are, in the majority,(80 989 from the 126 520 persons of the first generation), over 50 years of age, a percentage of 64.01%. A few are successful and well-off, most others are only old working-class people, some lonely men and women, weak, nostalgic or disenchanted.

As mass immigration from Greece declined rapidly after 1972, we must assume, that the majority of first-generation persons who, in 1996, were under their 50th year, had come to Australia young and had stayed in Australia for 25 and more years. We can also assume that at least a part of their education and their formative experiences have taken place in Australia. This means that at this moment a great change is happening in the ways of thinking, the attitudes and the priorities of the majority of the members of the Greek-Australian community. The Greek community of Australia is basically similar to that of America of two generations ago. It is not similar to what used to be the Greek communities of Egypt, Constantinople, the Middle East, or even to those of the previous Soviet Union where they had the environmental need and priority to reproduce themselves on a Greek-centred basis.

In Australia, as in the United States and, to a large extent, in Canada, the English language and culture act assimilatively and steam-rolleringly and with a speed of drastic changes from generation

to generation. Students of social change should not be fooled by the beautified rhetoric of some politicians about Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, although is a sound philosophical ideology, is, in the Australia of the late 1990s, gradually being undermined through the abolition or the actual lack of implementation of necessary political programs.

Multiculturalism was put forward and advanced by Australian politicians in the 1970s to replace the failed policies of assimilation of the 1950s and 1960s. In the long run, the aim was the assimilation of ethnic minorities, but Multiculturalism would have helped achieve this with a minimum of conflict and with less discontent and political and social alienation. SBS and migrant services would have helped the members of the first generation to cope and be content with the quality of their lives in Australia, whilst the teaching of ethnic languages which concerned the subsequent generations were, overall, assigned a low priority. The present Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, is reputed for avoiding the mention of the word 'Multiculturalism'. As soon as Mr. Bob Car was re-elected as Premier of New South Wales in 1999, one of his first acts was to change the name of the 'Department of Multicultural Affairs' to 'Department of Citizenship' and the Premier of Victoria, Jeff Kennett, although spending time at Greek sporting events and making superficial multicultural declarations at socio-cultural events and activities, avoids devoting sufficient resources to the teaching of Modern Greek in Government schools. Indeed, during his premiership since 1992, the teaching of Modern Greek has suffered a hardly retrievable set-back in that the number of secondary Modern Greek teachers in the State system was decreased from 80 to 35 between 1992 and 1998, the number of primary teachers from 36 to 27, and the number of schools offering Modern Greek and teaching programs were halved.

Multiculturalism concerns human dignity and the protection of human rights and to Greek-Australians who form one of Australia's largest ethnic communities. It is one of the few options that they have. Multiculturalism must be supported financially and seek its strengthening through the active participation of all ethnic communities. But one might ask, what has been left from active Multiculturalism in

today's Australia? In reality, the languages of various ethnic groups are fast disappearing from the Education systems of the Australian States through the neglect and eventual abolition of their teaching. They are also fast disappearing from the homes of migrant settlers in the various suburbs of the large Australian cities and, consequently, from the lips of the second and subsequent generations. About half a dozen efforts of publishing new Greek- language newspapers in the last fifteen years have failed. Doesn't this mean that the overall number of Greek readers is diminishing, year by year? Doesn't this mean that the Greek community, along with others, is losing the opportunity to have some of its younger and more active members learn Greek, to become professional teachers and thus to contribute to the teaching of the language and Greek civilisation in the every day school life and to the shaping of the future of the Australian multicultural society?

Still, Multiculturalism has created in Australia a more understanding and caring society. Australia had, in the pre-1970 decades, some difficult racist outbursts and the White Australia Policy which was aimed at Asian migration, but overall, there was not the kind of violence which was evident in early periods of American History. Since the 1970s, however, there has developed in Australia an encouraging climate of tolerance towards social and cultural differences which is a characteristic of the philosophy of Multiculturalism and a sign of a high cultural level of the wider society. In the year 2000 the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) remains, established in 1978, broadcasting radio and television programs regularly in the languages of the ethnic minorities, despite active governmental efforts to amalgamate it with the ABC, (the National Australian Broadcasting Commission), in 1981 and 1986. It should not be forgotten, howe-ver, that SBS is a concession of the Australian governments to the cultural and communication needs of the first generation of migrants in order to adapt them more easily and to make their life in Australia more pleasant. The survival of SBS is, to a large extent, due also to the pressure of the Greek-Australian community, along with that of other ethnic groups. Thus, the survival of SBS, its national importance and the means it is allocated should form in the future a vital concern of the organised Greek-Australian community.

Perhaps, the thoughts of Grivas of 1948 and the questions which were not put and the answers which were not given in 1958 must now intensely concern the various leaders of the Greek-Australian community. It seems that both the Church and the Communities lost a historic opportunity in 1958 by not trying to reach a common understanding. It was much more difficult later for this to happen when they took their separate ways. At this transitional period, there are some urgent questions needed to be discussed: What will become of the Church-Communities (their people) dispute in the future? What will become of the multitude of Greek associations in Australia?

It would have been better if a compromise was to be found in the decades-old dispute between the Archdiocese and the Communities. The Communities believe they have the right to retain their traditional structure and their historical ties with their churches which are controlled by the elected members of the laity and not by a single Archbishop, a centralised Archdiocese and their appointed councils. Undeniably, their members are the only ones who have the legal right to decide for themselves democratically about their future structure and cannot be forced or expected to give up part of their historical tradition without discussion, without negotiations and without guarantees as to what will follow and how they will be affected by the changes of an agreement. Some politicians and academics[2] who have supported the handing over of the Community churches to the Archdiocese should bear in mind that the Communities initially were established by their members with the object of providing church services to their community; they were run democratically and always operated within the rights guaranteed by the Australian legal system. On the other hand, in a multicultural society and in a country and a society which has developed in a tradition of absolute religious tolerance and no official religion, there are a number of Greek-Australians who are adherers of other creeds or who are agnostic or atheists. It is the duty of the Greek-Australian Communities to cater for those Greek-Australians too. The fulfilment of this duty may not be very high in the context of the present priorities of the Communities, but it can hardly be fulfilled with organisations not separating the religious element from their aims and frequently quarrelling about Church issues. This dis-

pute could have been settled in 1958 or in the 1960s if there had been more understanding of the situation on the part of the Archdiocese and the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the one hand and from the Federation of the Greek Communities on the other, and if the issue had not been allowed to become polarised.

Perhaps in the future small regional brotherhoods will not have the emotional usefulness they had in the 1960s and the 1970s or the numbers they used to have in the past or still have today, excepting those which will be able to develop some special association with the particular regions of origin of their founders. That will be very useful in strengthening the ties of the Australian-born generations with the land of their ancestors. Even so, although some would have some importance for their socialisation function, inevitably, their significance will be weakening with time at a time of mobility, of an increasing number of intermarriages and passing of the older generation.

The crucial question for the Greek-Australian community, of course, remains: what will be the attitude of the Greek-Australian second and subsequent generations concerning their cultural identity, in the next two or three decades? As aforementioned, the Australian-born generations already comprise the community's largest majority and thus, its present and future in Australia. People of the second generation are often distinguishing themselves in the professions and in business, but, although best-qualified, have not yet shown the passion and the energy which characterised members of the first generation in the past in organising and running the organisations of the community. The survival and the quality of the community in the future will depend very much on such energies and identification of the individuals with its institutions. Usually, the language is the first identity element to be lost on the way to assimilation. Still, however, other cultural elements may retain people's sense of special identity for many decades after the loss of language. Thus the loss of language does not necessarily indicate an expiry date for the identification of the individual with the particular community, but the apparent commencement of an expiratory period which, with the existence of interest, strengthening of other cultural ties and supportive policies, can be

extended. Trips to Greece and Cyprus contribute greatly in the strengthening of the cultural ties but this might not be equally feasible for persons of the third generation who no longer have known cousins and other close relatives there. Of course the production of balanced bilingual persons could contribute more than anything else, in the long term, in retaining the ties both with Greece and within the community. These are some of the major issues which ought to preoccupy the leaders of the community and, as time passes, will come more and more to the centre of future discussions.

ENDNOTES

1. The term 'Greek Australian community' designates the existence of people of Greek background in Australia (Paroikia). By Communities is meant the formally organised Communities in Australia, with their memberships, constitutions and legal structures.

2. Mr Grigoris Niotis in 1998 as Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the Greeks Abroad suggested that the Australian Communities outside the Archdiocese should hand over their churches to the Archdiocese. Professor Anastasios Tamis in some of his recent writings seems to hold a similar line of argument about the thought of the Communities handing over their churches to the Archdiocese. My view is that the churches are part of the traditional and legal framework of the Greek-Australian Communities concerned. Any change has to be discussed, negotiated, agreed and finally approved by the General Meetings of their members, according to the constitutions of the Communities.

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Cultures, Multiculturalism and Difference: Some Greek-Australian Initiatives

Gillian Bottomley *

RÉSUMÉ

Les cultures du multucturalisme officiel Australien sont les ethnocultures qui peuvent engendrer certains stéréotypes. Ici, j'analyse les initiatives de quelques Grecs Australiens, qui démontrent les inter- sections des rapports sociaux. Je traite les thèmes suivants : la partici- pation des femmes et des personnes âgées, les activités interculturelles, les études du racisme institutionel et les conséquences des politiques multiculturelles. Les Grecs Australiens sont aussi très actifs dans le domaine des arts, en maintenant des formes de dialogue entre les générations et les ethnocultures. Ces connaissances narratives de plus en plus traversent les discours publiques et démontrent une société Australienne hétérogène. Celles-ci suggèrent aussi la possibilité d'une démocratie participatoire et interculturelle.

ABSTRACT

The cultures of Australian multiculturalism are defined as ethnocul- tures: forms of essentialism that easily become stereotypes. In this paper, I analyse the activities of several Greek Australians who demon- strate the 'connectedness' of social relations, of living across difference. Some of the themes discussed here are : the participation of women and the elderly, intercultural activities, studies of institutional racism and of the consequences of multicultural policies. Greek Australians are also prominent in the arts, maintaining a form of 'conversation' between generations and ethnocultures. This narrative knowledge increasingly caracterises public discourse reflecting a heterogeneous Australian society. They also raise the possibility of a participatory intercultural democracy.

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The Cultures of Multiculturalism

The cultures of multicultural societies are usually read as ethnocultures, subsuming other forms of culture related to class, gender, region, urban/rural location, and so on. In official celebrations of multiculturalism, ethnocultures are invariably represented in ways that frame acceptable aspects of tradition and custom for general consumption. This rather static model of ethnic diversity renders manageable a complex reality, criss-crossed by 'fuzzy boundaries'. Not surprisingly, the unfuzzy version concentrates on groups and associations that can be articulated to the governmental apparatus within specific models of political organization. The individuals who constitute 'ethnic communities' tend to disappear in these forms of structured multiculturalism. At the same time, the ethnocultural categories that define such imagined communities can become essentialisms of 'national character' that readily generate stereotypes (cf. Herzfeld, 1992 ; Bottomley, 1994).

Within the space of this paper, I will trace some of the activities of a small number of Greek Australians who have questioned the neat essentialisms (and abuses) of official multiculturalism and, in the process, posed the possibility of a genuinely participatory pluralism. The Australian version of multiculturalism that developed in the 1970s indicated progress beyond the earlier policy of assimilation, but the multicultural ideal has wanned during periods of conservative government; a tendency which suggests that such an ideal is necessarily associated with rights, participation and what Charles Taylor (1994) describes as a politics of recognition, an openness to the displacement of horizons of understanding. The multicultural apparatus in Australia has included Ethnic Communities Councils, Ethnic Affairs Commissions, a National Multicultural Advisory Council and numerous other formal organizations, but has not faced squarely such crucial issues as systemic racism, sector inequalities and the recognition of Australia itself as a polyethnic, multilingual and increasingly intercultural nation. Such a recognition, as Taylor suggests, requires some understanding of difference, including attention to the lived

experience of members of ethnic minorities and an ongoing critique of the pervasive Anglomorphism of Australian society. It would also include minority interests, not simply as window dressing, but as different ways of inhabiting the world (and the space) that we all share. The 'subjects' of this paper demonstrate, in various ways, their active engagement with connectedness rather than separation.

Some Greek-Australian Initiatives Towards Intercultural Participation

The Greek population in Australia has an established reputation for social action that goes well beyond celebratory multiculturalism (cf. Dimitreas 1998). Such action includes the early establishment of community-based welfare centres, workers' associations and networks of advice and assistance, and the later proliferation of educational programs, films, literature, theatre and other intercultural arts. My focus here on a few individuals barely scratches the surface of this energetic engagement, but this brief account offers a glimpse of the activities of a small number of Greek Australians using their particular skills and understanding in working towards a more participatory intercultural democracy in Australia. These thumbnail sketches are not intended as biographies, but as examples of social action within specific contexts. However, they do not represent 'types', either. Their individual trajectories differ and their choice of action has been self-motivated, partly arising from personal experiences and qualities. The one orientation which they have in common is formulated around the sharing of knowledge, ideals of democratic participation and the human right to develop areas of freedom. These ideals cannot be confined within the limits of official ethnocultures, but they are particularly important themes in Greek history and culture.

The most consistently activist of these 'subjects' is Dorothy Buckland Fuller, who was the first woman to be appointed as Commissioner in the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, undertaking pathbreaking work in the latter part of the 1970s. Born in Alexandria, Dorothy lived and worked in London before migrating to Australia with her family. I was fortunate enough to

meet her in 1969 when she was employed as a part time social worker at the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales and was also concerned to widen the agenda of the Community and to include non-Greeks in Community activities . At the same time, Dorothy was completing an Honours degree in Sociology at the University of New South Wales, where she later taught classes in the sociology of migration. Her personal and intellectual generosity has been an invaluable resource, not only to researchers, but to a wide range of people seeking advice and support. She particularly encouraged the participation of women in Community affairs, and has remained a tireless advocate of what the late Jean Martin described as 'robust pluralism' (Martin 1978). Within structures such as the Ethnic Affairs Commission, the Ethnic Communities Council, and the Forum on the Ageing, Dorothy has continued to challenge, mediate and explain, using radio, television and print media to bridge gaps in language and experience, and forcefully arguing alternatives to the comfortable status quo presented by various oligarchies. She has continued her work in education, organization, advising and analysing well beyond the age of retirement, and beyond the domain of 'ethnic affairs'. Her services have been recognized in several awards, including an M.B.E. , but she considers the increasingly active and intercultural participation of younger Australians, many of them women, to be more satisfying than official recognition. The internationalism that underlies her openness to difference has also been widely recognized, to the extent that Dorothy has the unusual distinction of being an invited and honoured guest at gatherings of First Nation people in Australia, Canada and the United States.

Another Greek Australian, Dr Alex Kondos, who also worked in sociology at the University of New South Wales, used his considerable analytic and research skills to address institutionalized discrimination in Australia. Working with undergraduate classes on social research projects, Alex undertook detailed studies of Aboriginal housing and access to legal support in inner city Sydney, where exclusion and discrimination are widespread. In 1978, however, the same areas of inner city Sydney witnessed a slightly different form of discrimina-

tion when, in his words, 'about 180 or so Greek Australians in Sydney were arrested and charged with conspiring to defraud the Department of Social Security - an event popularly known as the "Greek conspiracy". (Kondos, 1992, p.5)

These raids took place in the early morning, and Commonwealth police confiscated property, including children's bankbooks, and bundled shocked and disoriented 'suspects' into cells with drug addicts and criminals. The committal hearings, which took five years and cost an estimated $100 million, revealed that a conspiracy certainly existed, but it was generated against rather than by 'the Greeks'. This abject contradiction to multiculturalism has been analysed by several writers (cf. Jakubowicz, A. et al, 1984; Bottomley, G. and de Lepervanche, M.,1990), but Alex Kondos examined the event in terms of the concept and practice of 'institutional racism'. In this analysis, he challenged the assumption that multiculturalism has addressed and diminished institutional racism. With particular concentration on the way the 'Greek conspiracy' was constructed for public consumption, he analysed press coverage of the events over a period of five years from April 1978 to June 1982. By 1979, a number of authorities had begun to question the validity of the evidence offered by the Crown prosecutor, and media reports changed from a general, and prejudiced, acceptance of the accusations to a critique of police procedures. The last of the accusations was finally dismissed 8 years after the arrests.

In 1982, after all the charges had been dropped, Dr Kondos and his students at the University of New South Wales undertook a small scale survey of 300 Anglo-Celtic residents of Sydney, and found that 70% believed that the Greek defendants had been guilty of conspiracy to defraud (Kondos 1992, p.12). At the same time, the victims of this massive injustice continued to multiply - there were se-veral suicides and long term traumas, and a widespread feeling that the reputations of all Greek speakers had been impugned. Although the proceedings produced a damning indictment of the Australian autho-rities, the generator of these actions, the Chief Inspector of the Australian Federal Police, has never been charged and is now a barri-ster in

receipt of a police pension (cf. Bottomley, G. and de Lepervanche, M. 1990, p.66).

These examples of mainstream reactions reinforce Dr Kondos's focus on institutional racism, which, he argues, has been overt in Australia's treatment of the Aboriginal population and exclusionist immigration policies, notoriously the 'White Australia Policy' which defined post-war immigration selection procedures. These policies also reinforced commonsense understandings, including what he calls 'antagonistic sentiments' that come into operation within a poli-tical arena and are identifiable in verbal and non-verbal techniques. In this particular case, there was close co-operation between several go-vern-ment departments, and the police assumed the guilt of those accused. In analysing the media accounts, Kondos revealed the same common-sense racism, the assumption of guilt that 'drew upon the Anglo-Celtic collective memory of antagonistic sentiments against non-English-speaking migrants' (1992, p.20). The language used to describe this 'conspiracy' depicted a homogeneous and close-knit 'enemy within', determined to generate 'chaos' and promulgate mafia-like tendencies.

To a considerable extent, this form of categorism is a distor-ted rep-resentation of the simplistic multiculturalism referred to earlier in this paper, whereby all Greek-speakers, for example, are lumped into a homogeneous designation that obscures considerable diffe-rences and exaggerates similarities to the point where stereotypes rea-dily fold into forms of cultural racism, within which cultural characteristics or practices are seen as somehow innate ('in the blood'). This model is closely linked to ethnonationalisms, which also homogenize differ-ences within nation states such as Greece itself and can be reproduced in countries of emigration, despite the dislocation. The idea of a mul-ticultural nation, therefore, requires a radical questioning of the basis of European nationalisms.

I have discussed Dr Kondos's paper in some detail because it is one of the few addressing the negative possibilities inherent in forms of multiculturalism that fail to examine the consequences of stereoty-

ping. In this research, Kondos chose to employ his experience as a skilled researcher, in Australia and elsewhere, and his more general interest in social justice. But he also used his own resources as a Greek Australian with an extensive social and cultural understanding of the research 'subjects'. This material and other sources were made available in an excellent video named Witch Hunt, which was screened several times on ABC and SBS television. But the omnipresence of commonsense racism has also been demonstrated in recent political movements in Australia, especially around the One Nation Party, whose agenda contains anti-migrant, and, especially anti-Aboriginal programs. Clearly, the kind of rigorous critique provided by Dr Kondos remains an important component of a genuinely multicultural society.

The third individual on my list is Vasilis Georgiou, whose pre-migration experience in Greece demonstrated a deep commitment to education, achieved, despite problems of distance and limited financial resources. This commitment continued in Australia, where Vasilis and his brother Christos combined family responsibilities and full time work with part time tertiary studies. Graduating with a B.Ec. from the University of Sydney in 1982, Vasilis gradually gathered support from Greek organizations, brotherhoods and individuals to set up a program of Modern Greek Studies at Macquarie University. The program was based on those of the Department of Modern Greek at the University of Sydney and was generously supported by staff members from Sydney, who provided what one of them described as 'Greek on wheels', regularly making the half hour or so journey to give lectures at Macquarie. The Sydney department also offered honours and postgraduate study to eligible students from Macquarie. Without this voluntary labour, together with the energy and commitment of a small number of people and the financial support of Greek community organizations and individuals, the Macquarie initiative would have been impossible. For reasons that remain unclear to me, even as a longterm staff member, Macquarie University itself has offered minimal support to programs in Greek and Italian, the languages of the two largest non-Anglophone minorities in Australia.

During the mid to late 1980s, Vasilis and I formulated a study of Greek Australian families in Sydney, exploring some of the consequences/outcomes of a decade of multicultural policies. We undertook this project together with the assistance of a small Macquarie University Research Grant, but Vasilis defined its trajectory and did all the interviewing. Because of his increasing responsibilities and serious health problems, he was never able to complete the transcription of these long and detailed interviews, intended as a comparative socio-economic study in the areas of Marrickville, Kogarah/Hurstville, and Kingsford/Kensington. But we were able to publish some preliminary results on the Marrickville study of fifty households, covering economic, social, and multicultural themes as well as feminism and familial changes (cf. Bottomley and Georgiou 1988). Several significant trends emerged. For example, 36% of these households had been affected by unemployment and suffered severe economic problems. The rate of work-related injuries was also high, at 25% of those in paid employment. Knowledge of and contact with Greece was an important and current aspect of people's lives, although most identified positively with Australia, despite experiences of discrimination. `Ethnic' media - print, radio, and television - were considered valuable and well used. In general, the policy of multiculturalism was regarded favourably, signalling to these families that their interests had gained some recognition, despite the overt discrimination apparent in the so-called 'Greek conspiracy' case. But a strong theme emerging from Vasili's interviews was that of the importance of (i) a reliable material base, and (ii) kin-based solidarity for the maintenance of self-respect.

An important contribution of this research rests in its detailed attention to the influence of government policy and socio-political circumstances on the lives of these working class families. At the same time, Vasili's long and detailed interviews (taking up to 4 hours per household) explored cultural and intergenerational changes, including those related to feminism and family ideals. Vasilis had his own observational and experiential understanding, as an acute observer and careful listener, of the lives of his friends and relatives and of the students in his classes, hence the interviews were always interactive. One of the

many tragic aspects of his early death in 1996 was that the short paper to which I have referred is the only record of this carefully planned research project.

My intention here, however, is to demonstrate the significance of projects such as those undertaken by Vasilis Georgiou. The establishment of studies of Modern Greek is generally accepted (though not necessarily supported) as being immensely valuable to the offspring of migrants, but also in offering to a wider audience a more profound understanding of a significant part of Europe, which has influenced Australia in a range of ways that include cultural, historical, religious, linguistic and philosophical aspects, among others. A genuinely participatory multiculturalism would facilitate the exploration of that complex range of influences, as part of a politics of recognition. At the same time, it would be attentive to the lived experiences of families such as those included in Vasili's interviews.

Cultures Beyond Ethno-Cultures

I mentioned earlier some of the problems generated by the definition of the 'culture' in multiculturalism as essentialist 'ethno-cultures'. In practice, the fuzzy boundaries of ethno-cultures have enabled movement well beyond the parallel ethnicities implicit in most official versions of multiculturalism, which also ignore crucial aspects of power relations, as we saw in the conspiracy case. One of the most interesting and productive manifestations of the Greek-Australian presence arises from cultural creativity that moves beyond the limits of, but remains in conversation with a more formally constituted 'Greek culture'. I want to emphasize the concept of 'conversation', partly because of the pervasiveness of a commonsense notion that the second and third generation offspring of migrants necessarily reject their parents' horizons of understanding. This digital model of generational change has been challenged by empirical research for decades now, but it tends to endure in a kind of two-step with the assimilationist aspects of multiculturalism. Not surprisingly, intergenerational transformations are much more complicated. The idea of conversation, however, retains a sense of connection between generations and ethnocultures that is neither that of cultural reproduction

nor of total rejection. Terms such as 'interweaving' have been used to recall this connectedness, which is clearly apparent in creative work as well as in the daily negotiation of what Sigmund Freud described as the agonistic psychic process of identification (cf. Zaretsky, 1994).

The proliferation of and interest in new forms of literature, music and other creative work demonstrates ways in which this process has been obscured by the assumption of essentialist identities. As I argued earlier, official multiculturalism has offered acceptably public 'ethnic identities', while maintaining boundaries around a private domain where less acceptable aspects of multiculturalism can remain hidden. But the second and third generations cross or straddle those boundaries, writing, singing, painting, performing and filming cultural practices that interrogate ethnocultural and other 'identities' defined as sameness. Even where the performances include traditional models - for example, of dance and music - these are inflected by the context and the performers (cf. Bottomley 1992). Demeter Tsounis (1995) has made detailed studies of 'diaspora musical style and identity', with special reference to forms of rebetika in Australia, which is readily classifiable as 'ethnic music' but has much wider appeal. Other creative work is more confronting, including themes of familial and interpersonal conflict, homosexuality, delinquency, and everyday racism, as well as love, compassion and generosity, revealing, in the words of Hannah Arendt, 'how rich and manifold the hidden can be under conditions of intimacy' (Arendt, 1958).

Clearly, these particular cultural practices develop the sharing of a public symbolic space marked by erstwhile private narratives that evoke both intimacy and ambiguity. They often take the form of autobiography, but provide a basis for a range of universal reflections. A brilliant recent example is George Alexander's *Mortal Divide: the autobiography of Yiorgos Alexandroglou* (1997). The author, suffering from 'incremental reality slippage', tracks through a labyrinth of memory and reflection, accompanied by his alter ego, Yiorgos Alexandroglou. During excursions into the lives of George's mother and father (especially the latter, as this crisis blends masculinity, parenthood, love, sexuality and ethnicity), the reader encounters brilliant descriptions of his

father's cooking, and the multilingual melange of his Greek/Italian/Egyptian background. George himself was born in Australia, hence his memories are often comparative and screened through those of his parents. For example, in attempting to imagine his father's imagination, he notes the 'rhymes' between Australia and Egypt-the deserts, the frangipani flowers and flame trees, the boats on the rivers, 'the fellaheen and the blackfella' (p.38). One of the striking aspects of this book is the brilliance of its imagery; another is the play of language(es). George's reflections are recorded in letters to his daughter, a major thread in this conversation that crosses generations, genders and the contingencies of ethnic and geographical location. The accompanying photo-montage by Peter Lyssiotis is suitably surreal and polythetic, but the small photograph on the back cover of tiny 5 year old George engulfed in an over-large version of an evzon costume and standing in a vast ex-urban front yard has its own surreal qualities!

I have neither the space nor the expertise to expand on the range of cultural work being produced by Greek Australians, but I would note its high profile and energy, especially in engagement with the private in the public, and with the project of what I have described as 'connectedness'. The agonistic aspect of the process of identification (i.e. in the Greek sense, as struggle) is central to the work of another Greek Australian, Dr Nikos Papastergiadis, who was born in the heartland of the Melbourne Greek community (Brunswick Street), but has travelled widely and worked outside Australia. Dr Papastergiadis has explored themes of ethno-nationa-lism, migration, exile and diaspora, particularly in sensitive and powerful studies of writers such as John Berger, Homi Bhabha, and David Malouf, but also within socio-political contexts (cf. Papastergiadis, 1998,1993). In 1999, he organized a series of public seminars in Sydney around the theme of 'Disappearing Publics' posing some of the questions that I have alluded to in this paper, such as the connection between private and public, the effect of state policy in pre-defining people's lives, and the location of art in a disappearing public, where privatization is rife. These well-attended seminars were held at Artspace, a visual arts centre that

includes space for book launches, discussions, and seminars as part of a continuing engagement beyond the traditional concept of an 'art gallery'. Artspace, under the direction of Nicholas Tsoutas, also publishes some of the material arising from these activities. The participants in the 'Disappearing Publics' seminars - artists, film-makers, academics, curators and others - constantly related the wider sociopolitical 'picture' to lived experience, their own and that of other people, particularly those who are increa-singly excluded from 'the public'.

In the widespread reception of what Lyotard (1959) described as 'narrative knowledges', which tend to be glossed as irrelevant to the 'main game', other forms of collective memory are under construction. This process is something like a practice of recognition, not simply a celebration of difference as an aesthetic project, but an identification with experiences that are partly shared and partly translated through specific understandings. Areas of conversation can thus open up through a logic of practice which, to paraphrase Bourdieu (1990), is always polythetic, taking up many positions and able to sustain a multiplicity of meanings. It is worth bearing in mind that this is not the logic that underlies the State versions of multiculturalism but it clearly 'speaks' to a sizeable proportion of the population.

'Multicultural arts' in particular have emerged from the domain of 'the Other' into a space where they present sophisticated challenges to the main game, including ways of recalling lived experience in all its contradictions, rather than in stereotyped form suitable to neat political packaging. In lifting a mirror to this heterogeneous society, they also reflect the shared process of living across difference, where private and personal themes are tangled together with the political and public. I have argued in this paper that such interconnections are crucial if we are to move beyond the essentialisms of categories that define much of the policy and practice of multiculturalism. The aspect of containment within the boundaries of official multiculturalism is constantly challenged in practice that raises issues of participatory democracy and a genuinely intercultural political project. Within such a project, the activities of individuals who question essentialisms and exclusions, expand possibilities and displace horizons of understan-

ding are crucial. This is not 'minority politics', but the practice of working towards ideals that are widely claimed to be shared.

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Some Observations on the Greek-Australian Cultural Paradigm

Vrasidas Karalis *

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cette étude nous analysons l'idéologie générale de la communauté intellectuelle et académique gréco-australienne et son inabilité de construire des symboles culturels concrets qui pourront exprimer la réalité sociale mixte dans laquelle elle vit.

Cette inabilité est comprehensible dans la formation des immigrants de l'après guerre qui arrivent en Ausrtalie après les années 50. Le conditionnement de leur grande majorité sous l'idéologie d'État du général Metaxas et de son discours nationaliste n'ont pas permis la politisation de l'identité individuelle et collective. Au contraire, la recherche d'identité greco-australienne était captive dans les grandes narrations de continuité nationale et plus spécifiquement dans l'insistance constante de l'héllénicité des Grecs contemporains. Le traumatisme de l'immigration n'est jamais devenu une force politique et a été restreint à la perception étroite d'une communauté qui s'est elle-même exclue en croyant à la supériorité de sa langue et de sa culture. Seulement peu de gens ont réussi à établir de nouvelles perceptions d'identité et conséquemment des symboles de reconnaissance collective. L'article se termine en mentionnant les facteurs politiques qui contribuent à l'immobilité créative de la communauté grecque-australienne et à l'absence d'une contre-proposition politique au paradigme culturel hégémonique anglo-celtique.

ABSTRACT

In this paper we examine the general weltanschauung of the Greek Australian intellectual and academic community and their inability to construct concrete cultural symbols which would express the mixed social reality they live in. This inability is understood in the context of the post-war formation of immigrants who arrived to Australia after the 50's. The conditioning of the large majority of them under the state ideology of General Metaxas and his nationalistic discourse didn't allow the politicization of individual and collective identity. On the contrary, the Greek Australian quest for identity was trapped in the grand narratives of national continuity and more specifically in the constant insistence on the Hellenicity of modern Greeks. The trauma of immigration never became a political force and was restricted to the narrow perception of a self-excluded community which believed in the superiority of its language and its culture.

Only few people succeeded in establishing new perceptions of identity and therefore symbols of collective recognition. The paper ends by mentioning the political factors which contributed to the creative immobility of the Greek-Australian community and to the absence of a political counter-proposal to the hegemonical Anglo-Celtic cultural paradigm.

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During the last three decades, the Greek presence in Australia has been thoroughly investigated through a rather "antiquarian" kind of historical narrative. Hugh Gilchrist (Gilchrist, 1992 &1997) and to a certain extent Anastasios Tamis (Tamis, 1997), have formulated "grand narratives" about Greek immigration and constructed a certain image about its overall contribution to Australian civic life. However, the construction of such an image is based on typical representations of Greeks arriving in the new country and adjusting themselves to their new environment in a heroic or anti-heroic manner. The "epic discourse" can be easily detected in most literature written about Greeks arriving in Australia, whereas the anti-epic, parodic mode of representation can be seen in Gilchrist's "ironic" historical imagination (Hayden White, 1973: 45-80).

Nevertheless, these narratives have little or nothing to say about the self-perceptions of Greek immigrants who came to Australia and who had different social backgrounds, educational qualifications and work skills. Furthermore, no historian has described the codes of self-expression and self-understanding that some immigrants, intellectuals or not, employed in order to become visible and gain recognition in their new country. The history of the images used by many people to express their identity is completely missing from such historical "emplotments" (Hayden White, 1973: 7-11) and most probably it will be the main desideratum of every future attempt at presenting the Greek/Australian cultural paradigm. For example, icons of masculinity, femininity, sexual differentiation, ideological dissent and their respective codes of representation have not been analysed at all, but have remained hidden under the huge monolithic and monophonic abstract entity, labelled "Australian Greeks (Afstraliotes Hellenes)", (Kapardis & Tamis, 1988).

Usually, the Greeks in Australia have been perceived as conservative in their social mentality, moral issues and religious practices; and this is generally true. It seems that the main structures introduced in order to create networks of communication, functioned as perpetuators of pre-established patterns of behaviour. Ecclesiastical organisations, cultural associations and even political groupings all worked in a rather

regressive manner, reinforcing stereotypes and recreating certain images and forms of representations which remain dominant to this day. For the last fifty years or more, there has been a static way of representing Greek self and identity in Australia. This static image is based mainly on bipolar concepts about displacement (xenitia), and "my village" ("to chorio mou"), about now and then, "where I come from" and "where I live", indicating codes of representation which derive from traditional patterns of oral-folk culture in rural areas. However, even urban-originating Greeks have shown a striking hesitation in creating new images and symbols of identification relevant to the new environment and the conditions they have found themselves in.

Undoubtedly, there are historical reasons that account for such creative immobility. The great bulk of Greek immigrants came to Australia when Greece was in the process of building a homogeneous and unified nation-state. This does not simply refer to their educational, rural or urban background; historically, before their departure from the country, most of them were conditioned by the official ideology of the Greek State, as it was defined after the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922. Since the largest part of Greek immigration took place after the war, we must attribute the conservatism and stereoty-pical representation of identity to the ideology, verbal strategies and historical consciousness diffused by state apparatuses shortly before and after the war. The most persistent ideas of the Greek-Australian community are those of continuity with ancient Greek civilisation, a pathological emphasis on the European character of the Greeks and finally a strong belief in the world importance of Greek language and culture, a belief which on many occasions is translated into certainty about its superiority.

Certainly, all immigrants, the Irish, for example, or the Russians, employ similar defence mechanisms in order to cope with the strangeness and the unfamiliarity of their new environment. Through the eyes of nostalgia, the remote home and its history are transformed into an ideal paradise lost and, usually, the new home is seen as something temporary, transient, and almost without concrete reality. The discourse, which expresses such nostalgic reinvention of the past, is heavily emotional and deeply personal; it is always full of allusions to

that ideal "there", "then" and "once upon a time". The structure of this discourse is essentially based on fairy tale motifs, on morphological patterns which function not simply as reminders but as reinforcements of a deeply felt emotional reality, the reality of absent identity and dismantled selfhood.

It has been a standard practice of many scholars to debunk and demythologise such idealised versions of the past, especially in their collective function as cohesive strategies for people who feel displaced. However, such "demythologisation" does not present a viable alternative discourse that could counterbalance deeply experienced feelings of loss, absence and exile. Discourses are verbal strategies for coping with the challenges of reality and, at the same time, structures upon which individuals build their own identity. Whereas the primary material of historical experience can be seen as chaotic, at the same time it is obvious that similar discourses and patterns of self-representation are not relevant to the new social realities, and do not express the complexity and the singularity in which the immigrants found themselves.

New discourses have to be invented or re-invented in order to express the "newness" of the surrounding social reality. Otherwise, individual selves without objective references to the psychodynamics of their social ambience are formed in an intellectual, emotional and existential vacuum. What comes out in the end is a fragmented identity, in fact a non-identifiable lexical categorisation which functions in an absolute semantic void. Such a void is superficially filled with wealth and possessions which simply exacerbate the feeling of an absent fulfilment. Thus, useable simulations that can be sold as useful generalisations replace complete images of self-representation. Typical thought-patterns emanating from such fragmented identities are the following: "If I am not myself, I become myself because I am Greek"; "my Greekness makes my life meaningful" and so on. Individuals are dichotomised between two realities, the actual and the imaginary, and remain unable to unify both and make their personal Imaginary a project for collective realisation as well. Such dichotomy persists because of various traditionalist practices and ideologies privileged by Greek-Australian intellectuals in order to offer some sort of emotional compensation to traumatised immigrants.

On the other hand, shortly after their settlement the Greeks created extensive networks of social support, either ecclesiastical or cultural and political; and yet these organisations and their leadership didn't make any efforts to create new images, symbols and forms of expressing the Greek-Australian experience in its cultural multiplicity and existential variety. Individuals change; so do discourses that allow them to frame experience, textualise it, and thus give meaning to their actuality. During the 20's and 30's, the "oldest & most influential Greek newspaper in the Southern hemisphere", as it presented itself, the National Tribune, had as subtitle, the following dictum by its founder Leon Bizannes: "A Greek must always remain a good Greek, because you cannot make a good Australian out of a bad Greek! Australia has nothing to doubt or be afraid of the man who loves two countries; the real danger lies in the man who loves none!" (National Tribune, 4 March 1936). In this charming expression we can detect the gradual co-existence of two different mental categories, united by a moral imperative: goodness is supranational and therefore a good Greek is a good Australian. Moral character makes people citizens and agents for social interaction.

There is a remarkable difference in the discursive practices of Greek Australian newspapers before and after World War II. Although this is an issue still to be better researched in the future, with parallel studies of other cultural manifestations organised during the same period, there is an almost cosmopolitan image depicted, especially by the National Tribune; next to the news from Greece, there is a large section mainly of international affairs and a smaller one on local activities. Given the four pages of the large format newspaper of the time, the overall picture presents a rather extroverted editorial perspective, definitely monocultural and monolingual but with an international outlook. Certainly, the historical events of the 30's were of extreme interest; the choice of those events signifies an editorial strategy that tries to see the Greek presence in Australia as part of a growing internationalisation of politics.

Most immigrants who arrived in Australia after the war had experienced the traumatic realities of political unrest, German occupation

and Civil War. The inter-war period in Greece, as much as in other European countries, was characterised by the fierce ideological struggle between fascism and communism, with liberal democracy playing the intermediate role. The Greek political spectrum was deeply polarised during this period, which ended in 1936 with the imposition of a strange dictatorship under General Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941). Metaxas was a paradoxical and self-contradictory figure, who established a quasi-fascist regime with a pro-English and pro-liberal democratic orientation. At the same time, the official ideology of the state was mainly focused on a supposed Third Hellenic Civilisation, a Hellenic-Christian Reich, which was a mixture of Byzantine autocracy and Hellenic culture, without, of course, any allusion to the Athenian democracy.

State apparatuses, mainly as anti-communist propaganda, disseminated this bizarre ideology. Many would-be communists were conditioned by such an incongruous amalgamation of two distinct cultural configurations, thus developing a strongly nationalistic, but not political or civil sense of identity. During the 40's such ideological conditioning remained the main strategy for constructing subjectivity and a critical theme of the overall political culture in Greece. Many supposedly internationalist communists were moulded by similar idealistic abstractions in a self-assuring way, without questioning the dissimilarity of their actual political consciousness from the nationalistic philosophy of history behind the state ideology. This strange and unnoticed contradiction was imported to the Greek Australian community from the early period of its mass settlement during the 50's.

To this day, in most Greek-Australian communities, there is a strange symbiotic relationship between religion and political ideology, which is both interesting and worthy of study. It is a symbiotic relationship, which has led to unexpected conflicts and power struggles that survive to this day. Many communist organisations advocate austere forms of Greek Orthodoxy without any theological or ecclesiological knowledge. Thus, political and religious affiliation has become a defence mechanism of self-preservation and, to a certain extent, of personal valorisation. However, such a sense of personal self-impor-

tance always refers to the situation back home, where the communists fought against the Germans and who, despite their self-sacrifice and brave resistance, were persecuted after the war. In this respect, communist ideology functions as a cult of the underdog, of the persecuted outcast, and becomes a sentimental response to the challenges of the society. At its best, such emotionalism develops into emotional humanism and, at its worst, into narcissistic self-exclusion. Thus, with few individual exceptions, until the sixties there was no explicit policy for incorporating the political societies of Greek immigrants into the existing political forces of the Australian society.

On the contrary, most political organisations remained isolated, almost insulated, from every contact with the political debate in the host country and retained their attachment to what was happening "back home". Most of the Greek-Australian press of the last 40 years reported (usually in its front pages) on the political situation in Greece and the "national questions" of Cyprus, the Aegean and, more recently, Macedonia. The 1967-74 Dictatorship contributed to such special attachment. During this period, the Greek-Australian community tried unsuccessfully to re-define its political image but again fell back on the usual stereotypes. Even then, it became completely impossible to develop a political identity based on the new realities. Consequently, the possibility of a civil identity based on the reality of the Australian society became increasingly remote.

The main point of reference for most political debates continued to be the post-Civil War situation, with the spectacular absence of every other historical period. As a matter of fact, a fictionalised version of the Greek Civil War has become, to this day, the main myth used to promote historical awareness in younger generations. As late as 1997, one of the worst written books of contemporary Greek pulp fiction, Do you remember, father... by Nikos Kolovos, an actor turned writer, is taught to High School students in order to receive their final degree. The book, an artless and plotless depiction of the Greek Civil War, has received no critical attention whatsoever, because it is written in a highly ingoistic, one-sided and parochial style. At the same time, it is full of dialectical idioms, which increase the difficulty of textual analy-

sis to the bewilderment of students and teachers alike. Most of them are unable to comprehend either the literary value of the book or its contemporary relevance.

Similar images of "home" were reinforced by the projection of a pristine, unadulterated and pure Greece, as seen in several films, such as *Never on Sunday* and *Zorba the Greek*. The music of those films, together with a highly idealised version of the rebetika songs, has remained constant proofs of Greekness and popular culture. The marginal rebetika sub-culture of drug-addicts, prostitutes and criminals, sanitised and purged of its negativity, became a slogan for ideological conformity: whoever didn't like rebetika stood up against the people and was definitely anti-Greek. At the same time, motifs from high culture were popularised; in particular, motifs from the work of Nobel Laureate poet Giorgos Seferis (1900-1971) in whose poetry the Aegean landscape and the modernist historical sense were the symbols of a perennial Volksgeist.

The return to Australia of the Johnston family in 1964, whose experiences from their life on Greek islands became popular through their novels, perpetuated such images of Greekness well into the next decade. The work of Martin Johnston almost de-historicised Greek experience; through its intense "literaliness", Martin Johnston's poetry and prose monumentalised the so-called popular/folk tradition of Greece against the background of an incomprehensible political reality. Johnston himself tells us about the impact of reading Greek folk songs: "... one memorable evening I read to an audience of two thousand Greeks who had gathered in Sydney, Australia to protest against the Junta, and who sat there frozen with emotion, many of them weeping, at this vital part of themselves being given back to them; improbably enough, by a long-haired, hippy-looking Australian, in an outlandish accent, but still in their own language, of which these poems are one of the glories" (Johnston, 1993:128).

In this passage, Johnston discreetly talks about the deep connection between language and identity, which obsesses the Greek Australian community to this day. Language has become one of the main ideo-

logical instruments of maintaining both the "spirit" of Greece and the distinct position of the Greeks throughout history. Furthermore, despite the fact that most Australian Greeks born in the 70's and 80's are mainly English speaking, the educational philosophy and the overall social culture of the community still remain predominantly focused on Greek language as the only way of maintaining Greek identity. The theory of the superiority of Greek language is constantly emphasised by many Greek visiting professors, who express the linguistically unsound idea that whereas every Greek word borrowed by other languages vividly proves the importance of the Greek language, yet every foreign word introduced to the Greek language is a corruption and bastardisation.

At the same time, the image of Australia as "bleak displacement" persists even by people who live well adjusted to the Australian society. In Images of Home, Effy Alexakis and Leonard Janiszewski reaffirm the "suspended" identity of Greek-Australians who still see the country as "mavri xenitia" (Alexakis & Janiszewski, 1995: 8). Even the most important poet of Greek-Australian sensitivity, Antigone Kefala, despite her deeply universal humanist vision of existential solidarity, records the imagery of an alien and absent reality; her collected works are indicatively entitled "Absence", and in them we see a Kafkaesque fragmented and disembodied sense of identity: "Growing old in these streets / gathering this knowledge one / does not want, one can not use, / a useless knowledge that / repeats itself. / The same ashen faces, / the same fear / voices over the telephone / talking to soups / in this everyday that continues / to unfold in our absence" (Kefala, 1992: 156). The difference between her vision and that of another poet of the Diaspora, the Alexandrian C.P. Cavafy, "The City", is a solid indication of how differently the personal Imaginary can be externalised under analogous conditions of social alienation, due either to ethnicity or sexuality.

Alternative images have been proposed only from the so-called margins of literary and social legitimacy. Komninos and P.O. remain the poets who, through the modes of oral and performance poetry created at least a different depiction of their personal identity and poetic

vision. They express the healthy negativity and ethical rebellion against the pretentious decency and false morality of any social and ideological bourgeoisie, irrespective of ethnic origin. P.O. in his surprisingly short poem, "is not greek" expresses this gradual separation from a self-perception made elsewhere by others on his behalf: " i remember the ship we came out. / i remember arriving at a cast iron gate. / i remember the first day at school (all the kids / laughed at me: from my true to life / greek haircut). / i took 2 years accordion lessons, rather than / learn greek. every greek i met, told me, i was greek. / greek kids like me / hate other greek kids like me. (Athena / my sister is now like this). all the time: the Greek: "did this", the Greeks: / "did that", the Greeks, the Greeks, / FUCK THE GREEKS! whack! (P.O., 1981: 8).

Komninos depicts another vision of belonging to the new country through diversity: "so, / i talk about my greek mum, / and my greek dad, / and my fish and chip shop. / but fuck. / that's my life / what do you want me to do / read poems about leprechauns, / panel vans / or fairies. / what do i have to do to convince you guys / i'm an australian poet" (Komninos: 1985: 30-31). The de-capitalisation of ideologically charged terms, such as "i", "greek", "australian", signifies the death of essentialist concepts of identity and origin; thus similar collective concepts become a quest rather than a certainty; a cultural end in itself rather than an ideological appellation enforced by grammatical categories. Thanks to such voices, the problematics of personal identity and integrated self emerge as central issues of collective representations. With Komninos and P.O., we come to the realisation of a new Imaginary congealing itself through the interaction of self and society, a new political self that consists of multiplicities and polyphonies.

However, mainstream mentality has not allowed the development of an important osmosis between cultures, through translations or bilingual publications. Major literary works of Australian literature, even the works of a staunch philhellene writer such as Patrick White, have not been translated into Greek and no educational or cultural institution has undertaken the task of a serious presentation of the Australian

"core-culture" (Dixson, 1999: 6-8) to Greek-Australians. On the other hand, the Greek-Australian press added an English section only during the mid 80's, a section, which constantly increases in length, since cable and satellite TV-channels have made contact with Greece proper a daily convenience.

In conclusion, we must state that Greek-Australian intellectuals, especially after the 50's, failed to formulate and propose a cultural alternative, following the changes in perceptions and representations of identity which occurred within the Australian society and the Greek state. The dominant philosophy for culture and education has been one of conservation and perpetuation of already obsolete patterns of self representation that remain alive because of a right-wing regressive mentality quite frequently expressed in left-wing phraseology. The Greek Australian intellectual and academic community has been unable to transform its representational codes and symbolic images, together with its systems of cultural semeiosis under the changing conditions of post-national identity. It has remained centred on ideas of nation-statehood, despite the structural changes in capitalism in both Australia and Greece, which have gradually abandoned the nation as a mental framework and political strategy.

Because of this, the Greek-Australian intellectual community has been unsuccessful in going beyond the horizon of national, or even nationalistic theories of selfhood and personality. Most intellectuals and academics insist on essentialist concepts of individuality and nationhood, and completely disregard the bi-cultural and poly-ethnic realities of the Australian society that define and frame individual self-realisation. The fragmented proposals we have seen so far are not of existential nature; they are predominantly ideological and romanti-cised, religious in their fanaticism and non-political because of their "closed" and regressive character.

The cultural paradigm of the Greek-Australian community has failed to follow the deep structural transformations that have occurred in Greece proper and, indeed, all over Europe, after the European Unification and the immanent monetary amalgamation. It has failed

to incorporate the postulate of a post-national identity, as defined by post-marxist theory and existential philosophy. Thus, the Greek-Australian community remains invisible and, therefore, without recognition and self-recognition at the same time. Moreover, by insisting on folkloric and picturesque images, the community is not empowered to challenge the Anglo-Celtic intellectual domination; folkloric images simply de-historicise and de-materialise subjectivities and collectivities alike.

Therefore, the cultural paradigm of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream majority remains in power because it has not been successfully challenged by any other cultural counter-paradigm with different strategies of identity building. In our case, the Greek-Australian community has completely neutralised its own creative Imaginary in order to produce "images of nowness" that would propose an alternative view of civil or political identity, beyond the restrictions of the ideal nation-state as experienced decades ago. From a psychoanalytic point of view, this accounts for the ideological infantilism that can be easily detected in most disputes in which the Greek-Australian has been involved, ie. the Macedonian Dispute, which was focused on the Greekness of Alexander the Great and his troops, without reference to the wider picture of "history wars" that take place throughout Europe.

The problem of defining post-national identity is still under discussion. A working hypothesis might be Martin J. Matustik's who has suggested a definition which offers flexibility and challenges established ideas: "postnational identity cannot be[...] confused with some ethnic cleansing in either its global or regional forms. On the contrary, because I project this notion, in principle, as a positionality of concretely existing individuals, each in their multicultural diversity, I seek an expression for our communal and individual resistance to oppressive homogeneity. Kierkegaard's category of the individual, not a communitarian or nation-state ethos, is the most radical, and to be sure nonatomistic, expansion of multiple or open unity in difference. With this category, we can rethink democratic multiculturalism from the most extreme standpoint of diversity (self-realisation) while still making moral and sociopolitical uses of identity and responsible

agency (self-determination). We can envision this individual as a citizen in democratic spaces of multicultural and multigendered positionalities" (Matustik, 1993: viii-ix).

Similar projects have never been put forward by the Greek Australian academic and intellectual communities. On the contrary, the dominant discourse remains trapped in the self-agrandisement of the "glory that was Greece", and stagnated in pre-political or de-politicising constructs. Kallithea Bellou notes that "for the second generation Greeks, Greek identity is a number of things but, above everything else, is maintenance of Greek language, culture and religion, continuing contact with the Greek-Australian environment as well as the close family ties" (Bellou, 1993: 233). As a result of such closed and almost "tribal" mentality, racist and sectarian notions that simply disguise the absence of concrete cultural realisations have frequently effaced individual identity. Patrick White in his own distinct way posed the same question: "Australia will never acquire a national identity until enough individual Australians acquire identities of their own. It is a question of spiritual values and must come from within before it can convince and influence others. Then, when our individual identities, united in one aim, cluster together like a swarm of instinctively productive bees -as opposed to that other, coldly scientific, molecular cluster- we may succeed in achieving positive results" (Patrick White, 1989: 114).

White's statement indicates the serious conflict between abstract generalisations (nation, community, party, Greek) and the actual realisation of such projects, about the creation of integrated personalities and individuals with self-respect and self-recognition. Furthermore, it stresses the importance of personal choice for the individual in order to participate with the surrounding community. As Julia Kristeva has pointed out "beyond the origins that have assigned to us biological identity papers and a linguistic, religious, social, political, historical place, the freedom of contemporary individuals may be gauged according to their ability to choose their membership, while the democratic capability of a nation and social group is revealed by the right it affords individuals to exercise that choice" (Kristeva, 1993:16).

However, even the most superficial reading of present day Greek press in New South Wales shows that in their editorials or letters to the editor, the main issues raised remain the same, ie, the continuity of Hellenic civilisation, the Hellenicity of the Greeks and the repetitive motifs of a bygone, happy village life. Such archaisms persist not simply because of their market currency, but because they represent permanent symbols of identification of an intellectually acephalous community, which masks its own political aphonia behind negative images of the Other and hostile depictions of contemporary politics.

Unfortunately, vested interests of various groups and individuals are still very strong and the whole business of patriotism is too pro-fitable to be able to envisage a different cultural statement for the near future produced by the Greek Australian community. External disruptions, such as ideologically conservative institutions established by the Greek State and appropriated by a large number of individuals selling "patriotism" and "Greekness", confuse the process of individual integration and collective incorporation into the Australian society. By stressing the "glorious past", the "malicious questioning of the Hellenicity of Modern Greeks" and thus promoting the racist agenda of cultural separatism, these institutions transform the future into "a foreign country"; indeed, how things will develop is another interesting question still asking for an answer.

In the recent film about Greek-Australian experience by Anna Kokkinos, entitled *Head On* (1998), the main male character, confused by the complexities of his bicultural character, his homosexuality, and his family, throws himself into a whirlwind of a cultural vertigo. Suspended between a Greece he has never seen, and the city of Melbourne which he lives in, he becomes oblivious of the only reality that makes him be who he is: his body. By forgetting his body, he can not experience the fulfilment and self-integration of his actuality; he transfers himself into the de-territorialised realm of shadows, where his own identity becomes another illusion. His inability to accept his twofold identity, the external family pressures to be Greek and nothing else, destroys the possibility of a balance between his desire and his positionality. Probably the quest for such balance should become

the new problematic of cultural theory within and without Australia in the future.

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Πώς άσωμεν επί γης αλλοτρίας;
Greek song and identity "down-under"

Stathis Gauntlett *

RÉSUMÉ

"Quomodo cantabimus in terra aliena?" La question "Comment chanteront les Grecs dans un pays étranger" est un sujet litigieux ayant un lien étroit avec la définition de l'identité hellénique. Cet article explore quelques exemples indicatifs de la fonction de la chanson grecque dans la contestation de l'identité culturelle en Australie en faisant référence à trois événéments musicaux des années 1990: le premier, un concert en 1993 qui a présenté un échantillon de talent musical dans la communauté grecque de Melbourne; le deuxième, le reportage d'une journaliste Athénienne sur la visite en 1995 de Nikos Xydakis et son ensemble en Australie, qui révèle une condescendance colonialiste de la part de quelques Grecs métropolitains envers la diaspora; et enfin, la récrimination contre l'engouement pour la musique grecque orientale qui suivit une visite manquée d'un ensemble grec de musique classique à Melbourne en 1996. Tandis que la "rebetomanie" des années 1980 se soit apaisée en Grèce à tel point qu'on la voit aujourd'hui comme une curiosité historique, la dynamique de l' affirmation de soi ethnique et du bricolage multiculturel assure sa proéminence soutenue aux antipodes. Ceux qui veulent remédier aux goûts musicaux de la diaspora grecque feraient bien de chercher à comprendre à fond les paradoxes mis en évidence dans cet article, en prenant connaissance de quelques recherches australiennes bien documentées, avant de dispenser des solutions à des problèmes présumés.

ABSTRACT

The question "How shall Greeks sing in a strange land ?" is a contentious issue with a strong bearing upon the definition of Hellenic identity. This article explores some signal instances of Greek songs functioning as a site for the contestation of cultural identity in Australia by reference to the musical events in the decade 1990: the first, a concert held in 1993 which presented the audience of the Greek community of Melbourne with a sample of musical talent ; the second, an Athenian journalist's report on the visit of Nikos Xydakis and his ensemble in Australia, which reveals a level of condescension of colonialist dimensions in the attitude of some metropolitan Greeks towards the Greek diaspora; and finally, the complaint against the infatuation for the Greek oriental music which followed a visit markedly non successful of a Greek ensemble of classical music in Melbourne in 1996. Although the "rebetomania" of the 1980s has abated in metropolitan Greece to the extent that it is nowadays viewed as an historical curiosity, the dynamics of ethnic self-assertion and multicultural bricolage seem set to ensure its continuing prominence in the Antipodes. Would-be engineers of the musical tastes of the Greek diaspora would do well to seek to understand the political, social and economic context of paradoxes such as those outlined above by acquainting themselves with some well documented Australian research before dispensing high-handed solutions to presumed problem.

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For Greeks, the title question "How shall we sing in a strange land?" is far from the rhetorical question (denoting refusal) which it seems to have been for the abducted Children of Zion "By the Rivers of Babylon" (Psalm 136). Throughout their history, Greeks have been anything but demure about exporting their country's songs or performing them to advantage, albeit out of context. In 413 BC, Athenian prisoners famously sang their way out of the quarries of Sicily to freedom (cf. Seferis' epigram "Euripides the Athenian"), while twentieth century Greek migrants across the globe are said to maintain their identity through music and language (Vasilikos 1983: 32). Indeed Greek music appears to have a longer shelf life in the diaspora than the Greek language itself, to judge by the Poseidonians of Cavafy (and Aristoxenus via Athenaeus Deipnosophistae xiv 632); the Poseidonians' Greek musical festival survived their now notorious linguistic assimilation by the Latins. Looking to the future, some commentators morbidly predict that the last vestige of Hellenic culture left to the "neo-Poseidonians" of the modern Greek diaspora (and even of globalised Hellas herself) will be Zorba-music performed at expatriate "glendi" festivals (or in folkloric floor-shows for tourists in Greece herself), after they discard the Greek language or bastardise it into extinction (Gauntlett 1999).

For the present though, the question "How shall Greeks sing in a strange land?" is a contentious issue with a strong bearing upon the definition of Hellenic identity. This article explores some signal instances of Greek songs functioning as a site for the contestation of cultural identity in Australia, where, in all likelihood, song was the earliest Greek art-form to be practised. Song is, after all, an eminently portable and exportable cultural commodity, not requiring equipment for its most basic performance; it is also the indispensable accompaniment to some rather basic traditional observances and rites of passage. Thus the early Greek transportees to Australia and their fortune-hunting successors might reasonably be assumed to have laboured, celebrated, lulled their offspring to sleep, and lamented their dead, or their own exile, at least privately, with Greek folksongs on their lips.

Specific instances of public performance of Greek song in Australia are not attested until a century later, and even then some of the earliest sources are in conspicuous need of verification — e.g. the colourful oral narratives of George Katsaros, the centenarian Greek-American guitarist, who claimed to have entertained expatriate Greeks from Sydney to Tasmania with rebetika songs on two tours of Australia in the 1920s, donating the proceeds of his performances to Greek church- and school-building projects (Gauntlett 1997).

It was not until after the mass-migration of the 1950s that Greek song and dance became established as badges of Greek identity in Australia - but again the oral history of the proliferation of Greek night-clubs and the importation or local production of Greek gramophone records needs to be verified against archival sources (Gauntlett 1993a; Chatzinikolaou & Gauntlett 1993: 204-5). The internationalisation of the stereotyped Greek as the all-singing, all-dancing *bon sauvage* via "Never on Sunday" and "Zorba the Greek" might be assumed to have facilitated their acceptance by mainstream society as harmless, picturesque deviations from Anglo-Australian norms. The fact that Greek song and dance were largely contained within ethnic clubs, afternoon schools, or floor-shows in international cabarets quarantined them further, the main concern of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream being to ensure compliance with the puritanical liquor-licensing laws of the day (Gauntlett 1993a: 351).

The multicultural politics of the 1970s and 1980s turned Greek song and dance into commodities that Greeks should share with other sectors of Australian society, together with their cuisine. No doubt the international exploits of Nana Mouskouri and Demis Roussos further raised the general status of Greek song outside the ethnic community. At the same time, rebetika songs with their anti-authoritarian aura and references to recreational pharmaceuticals, attained cult status among increasing numbers of Australians disposed to explore ethnic exotica, aided by such monuments to Australian Orientalism as Gail Holst's guide-book Road to Rembetika (1975) and the Australian-produced documentary film "Rembetika, The Blues of Greece" (1982), narrated by Anthony "Zorba" Quinn.

By the 1990s the range of Greek music produced or consumed in Australia had broadened very considerably, as the relevant entries attest in the Oxford Companions to Australian Folklore (Chatzinikolaou & Gauntlett 1993) and Australian Music (Tsounis 1997). Rather than repeating what I and others have published there and elsewhere, I shall briefly review the background to the issues which concern this article by reference to three musical events in the decade.

First, the gala event "The AGWS in Concert, 1993", held to mark the twenty-first anniversary of the Australian Greek Welfare Society. The diverse musical program included traditional popular music, which ranged from Greek folksongs arranged for a mature-aged Cypriot community choir, to rebetika performed in consciously authentic style by a youthful Australian-born "compania", and epony-mous compositions, ranging from selections of Vembo, Theodorakis and Hadjidakis rendered by a local actress and other semi-profes-sional vocalists, to some Greek and English compositions in New Wave style and with socio-political messages by a celebrated local ath-lete-cum-music-student, and the versatile professional guitarist who directed the whole artistic programme. While it made no claim to being comprehensive in coverage, this event presented the audience with an evocative sample of musical talent in the local Greek commu-nity and prompted reflection on how representative a cross-section of local music making it was. Absent on other assignments were the older professional exponents of demotika, laika and rebetika, some of whom may have been unable to donate an evening's services to chari-ty. However, since 1994 they have paraded in seriously impressive numbers at the stage-demonstration of "Dances of the Greeks" pro-duced annually by a seconded dance-teacher from Greece during the Melbourne Demetria Festival. Also absent were some very distin-guished Greek-Australian exponents of classical music and jazz, and the cantors of "the Lord's song", whose antipodean tradition dates back at least to 1868, when a Greek Orthodox priest was first atte-sted, albeit fleetingly, in Australia (Gilchrist 1992: 206). Probably missing because of the aesthetic preferences of the concert organisers

and the expected audience, were the local representatives of the Greek pop and rock scene, a broad spectrum of whom advertise their services constantly and prominently in the entertainment pages of the Greek-Australian press. Egregiously absent from the concert were representatives of the sizeable contingent of visiting artists from Greece who were consistently present in Melbourne and for whom the Greek clubs of Australia have been a profitable, if not unproblematic, destination since the early 1960s (Gauntlett 1993b: 344).

Indeed, in the 1990s the services of selected metropolitan artists are donated annually by the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad to the federated circuit of "Antipodes" festivals held in March-April in five major centres of Greek population in Australia. A journalist's report in the Athenian press on the 1995 visit of Nikos Xydakis and his ensemble, exponents of "high-brow popular song", provides the second illuminating snapshot of "how Greeks sing in a strange land" at present, this time focussing on the consumption side as perceived through Helladic eyes (Vlavianou 1995). This newspaper article reveals a level of condescension of colonialist dimensions in the attitude of some metropolitan Greeks towards the Greek diaspora. It describes the mass audiences attending the Xydakis concerts over 15 days in that latter-day "Babylon" which is multicultural Australia, as woefully uneducated in matters of Greek music, knowing only some catchy hit-tunes of diverse vintage and the traditional dances they brought with them in the 1950s. Their tendency to aggregate and put on display the profoundly incompatible items of their sparse knowledge seems to have caused some consternation to both journalist and itinerant musicians. Greek-Australian audiences are reported to go to concerts determined to dance, and in this particular instance, to dance the kalamatiano to everything, in defiance of the music. The correspondent proceeds to explain to Athenian sophisticates that Melbourne boasts no less than 60 bouzouki-dives (skyladika, literally "dog-pits") which host the big names of down-market Helladic music more frequently than most regional establishments of the kind.

True to genre, the article has a happy ending. For in spite of having to share the bill in Melbourne with an exponent of rumba-style belly-

dance-songs accompanied by an amplified band which would have done little credit to the more decadent bouzouki-joints of Athens, and despite the aromas of singed meat wafting up from the surrounding souvlaki stalls, Xydakis did not stoop to the lowest common denominator or in any way compromise the quality of his Athenian repertory, complete with acoustic instrumentation and profound lyrics. This reportedly earned him high praise by local standards in Tasmania, Melbourne and Sydney ("You were very good, even though you didn't bring a bouzouki"). Quality, it seems, will prevail: QED, and let the funding bodies in Greece mark it well.

A third snapshot of contemporary musical tastes (and disputes) among Melbourne's Greeks can be seen in the local fall-out from a markedly less successful attempt in the very next year to engage antipodean Greeks with metropolitan representatives of western classical music. The abysmally poor attendance at the performances of the Mantzaros Ensemble in April 1996 was seen as confirming the low cultural standards of the Greek-Australian community, rather than reflecting the standing of these emissaries in the eyes of the broader Australian community, which had previously, and has since, flocked to classical concerts by the likes of Kavakos and Sgouros.The letters to the editor of local Greek newspapers, precipitated by the fiasco (eg. *Neos Kosmos* 2.5.1996), predictably launched into the litany of complaints periodically rehearsed there since at least the mid-1980s, blaming the popular infatuation with oriental Greek music, alleging that vulgar songs full of "sekerim, piperim, Ibrahim" amount to a blasphemous denial of the classical heritage and a betrayal of the 1821 revolution, and bemoaning the plight of the generation which will be asked to lead antipodean Hellenism into the 21st century having been reared on oriental barbarism (*Neos Kosmos* 2.8.1986 et passim). Similar fears for metropolitan Greek youth were expressed in the Athenian press after a decade of cultural populism under Papandreou (see Androulakis 1991).

To judge by recent press reports on Melbourne (*Nea Parikia* 2/9, Oct. 1996 and 2/10, Dec. 1996- Jan. 1997), and the fieldwork of the ethnomusicologist Demeter Tsounis in Adelaide (1997b), the musical

tastes of young Greek-Australians are actually quite broad, but it is rebetika above all that are perceived to be authentically Greek in the spectrum of Greek popular music. Paradoxical or unpalatable though it may be, this markedly oriental type of song, with its often politically incorrect content, functions in Australia as an affirmation of authentic Greek identity (Tsounis 1995: 161-4). Moreover, the essential Greekness of rebetika is also periodically confirmed, albeit unwittingly, by Greek community organisations and the philhellenic establishment at the highest level. Thus in 1997 alone, numerous Greek community functions focussed on the genre, culminating in the cultural celebrations for the centenary of the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, which prominently featured two concerts of smyrneika by the local "Rebetiki Compania", while the Victorian Government's "International Arts 21" program decided to contribute the services of the same ensemble to the celebrations of Salonica as the Cultural Capital of Europe. The irony that rebetika revivalists are to Salonica as coals to Newcastle or owls to Athens, seems to have been lost on all concerned.

Since the early days of their appeal to the trendy avant-garde of Australian ethnic exoticism in the 1970s, rebetika have become quite acclimatised to Australian popular (multi)culture. The occasional inclusion of an aboriginal didgeridoo in performances of rebetika by the "Meraki" ensemble of Adelaide or of an Irish bouzouki by "Apodimi Compania" of Melbourne illustrates the younger exponents' readiness to do more than just reproduce old imported records. An oblique indication of the extent and the diversity of means by which consciousness of the genre and term have entered general household usage in Australia can be seen in the fact that a racehorse called "Rembetica" was running at various courses in Victoria and NSW in 1998 — and with some success, in spite of its somewhat implausible pedigree (sired by "Crystal Dancer" out of "No-alcoholic"). A more substantial indication of this acclimatisation was a cultural gift returned with interest to Greek-Australians in the form of a musical called "The Rebetes", written by Rhonda Johnson and performed at the Melbourne Malthouse Theatre during the Antipodes Festival of 1995. Set in Yarraville, an ethnically diverse outer suburb,

the work infused a large dose of anglo-antipodean feminism into the multicultural cocktail.

Another channel for the diffusion of rebetika into broader Australian popular culture has been the movement known as World Music, often criticised as an exploitative appropriation of Third-World music by the western-dominated music industry. As manifested in Australia, World Music has appropriated rebetika as one of its fundamental genres and "WOMADelaide" festivals have featured local revivalist bands revelling in names such as "The Rockin' Rembets" (Tsounis 1995: 164-9).

Whereas in metropolitan Greece the "rebetomania" of the 1980s has abated to the extent that it is nowadays viewed as an historical curiosity, the dynamics of ethnic self-assertion and multicultural bricolage in the Antipodes seem set to ensure its continuing prominence for some time to come, a fact not lost on local professional musicians, whose hallmarks are versatility and opportunism. This is perhaps nowhere more graphically illustrated than in the career of Anestis Kavouras, son of the legendary rebetika vocalist of the 1930s Yiorgos Kavouras, and grandson of the redoubtable fiddler and instrument-maker Stamatis Kavouras of Makri, Kastellorizo and Drapetsona. Anestis Kavouras arrived in Australia in 1955, acquired a guitar and made his mark in the mainstream popular music of the day as an Elvis-impersonator under the stage name "Tazzy Crab". Observing in the 1980s a sudden heightening of interest in his father's repertoire of inter-war rebetika, he re-released the original recordings on a series of LPs in Greece, and then in response to sustained demand for the genre in the Antipodes, serendipitously made a belated "debut" as the scion of the famous family of rebetes in Melbourne in 1998, with repertoire to match.

Would-be engineers of the musical tastes of the Greek diaspora would do well to seek to understand the political, social and economic context of paradoxes such as those outlined above by acquainting themselves with some well documented Australian research (notably Demeter Tsounis 1986 & 1997b, and Despina Michael 1998), before

dispensing high-handed solutions to presumed problems. The exportation of culture involves recontextualisation and local re-interpretation, so that what on one side of the world might be perceived to be overcommercialised kitsch or outmoded folklore, might well be constructed as a pristine constituent of national identity on the other side of the world.

Foucault's dictum that "No discursive practice is ever free from a will to power" prompts one to view conflicting answers to the question "How shall we sing in a strange land" in the context of a competition for the authority to define and represent Greek culture to Greeks and non-Greeks within Greece and without, to define educated musical culture, and not least, to command the associated resources (in Australia, the multicultural festive dollar).

Not too long ago the contestation of such authority in Greece itself, between proponents of broadly Orientalist and Occidentalist discourses, was highlighted in the paradoxical resurgence in popular culture of the essentially oriental rebetika genre of song at the very moment of Greece's accession to the European Community (Gauntlett 1991: 35-7). The contest may now have moved on to other sites, but the cultural politics of the Greek diaspora cannot be expected to keep step with those of the metropolis, particularly as the shots are being called not just by politicians on both sides of the equator opportunistically pursuing local cultural agendas and the mandarins of (multi)cultural arts, but also by local impresarios of the live and recorded music industries, and even by ordinary Greeks negotiating their own identity at home or abroad. Greater congruence may well ensue in consequence of rampant globalisation, but at no small cost.

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Greek Education: The saviour of Hellenism in South Australia?

Nicholas Ganzis *

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis la création d'une vie communautaire en Australie du Sud les Grecs ont eu une foi inébranlable aux deux piliers de leur communauté : la religion orthodoxe et la langue grecque, éléments essentiels de leur culture. A côté des églises ils ont créé des écoles pour transmettre aux jeunes les valeurs fondamentales de l'Hellénisme. Cette passion de la langue, de la culture et des traditions grecques les a amené à faire tout ce qui était possible pour assurer à la culture grecque la place qu'elle mérite dans cette Australie du Sud qui revendique le role de leader culturel du pays. Malgré ces efforts cependant la structure mise en place pour la promotion de la langue grecque et des valeurs de l'Hellénisme s'est revélée inadéquate pour assurer leur survie. La principale raison est dûe au fait que la population d'origine grecque est très minoritaire dans cet Etat et par conséquent la langue grecque n'est pas nécessaire et n'est pas utilisée dans les majeurs domaines de la vie. Elle constitue seulement une valeur pour les besoins "esotériques" de la communauté grecque, elle-même profondément influencée par la culture anglo-celtique de l'Australie. Cet article présente une analyse des réalisations de la Communauté grecque dans le domaine de l'éducation et suggère ce qui doit être fait de plus pour assurer la survie de l'Hellénisme en Australie du Sud.

ABSTRACT

From the foundation of community life in South Australia, the Greeks have had an unshakeable faith in the twin bases of their community: their religious faith in Greek Orthodoxy and the Greek language as the bearer of Greek culture and traditions. Along with their Churches they set up community schools in the hope of passing down to succeeding generations the essential values of Hellenism. Their passion to preserve and promote the Greek Language and Hellenic values led them to give full support to initiatives that would provide fully qualified teachers for their children and would ensure for Greek culture and civilisation its rightful place in the forefront of South Australia's claim to being a cultural leader of Australia. By the 1980's they had in place a full educational infrastructure for the promotion of Hellenism. In itself, however, this structure has, to date, proved to be inadequate in ensuring the maintenance and promotion of the Greek language and Hellenic values. Basically this has been due to the fact that those of Greek descent do not constitute a significant enough proportion of this State's population and that the Greek language is not needed or used in the major spheres of life. It seems to be of value for the esoteric needs of the Greek community that is itself being deeply influenced by the Anglo-Celtic culture of Australia. This paper presents an analysis of the achievements of the Greek community in the area of Greek education and suggests what else needs to be done to ensure the continuation of Hellenism in South Australia.

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The first Greeks arrived in the British colony of South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were usually isolated individuals who had arrived in South Australia as sailors on merchant ships that plied their trade between Europe and the coastal provincial town of Port Pirie where the ore, from the interior mining town of Broken Hill in Colonial New South Wales was smelted to provide lead, zinc, copper and gold. A number of these sailors jumped ship to take advantage of employment opportunities in the Broken Hill Associated Smelters and encouraged the migration of their relatives and friends.

Opportunities for work in the Smelters and for self-employment in the fishing industry added to this State's attractiveness as a migrant destination, especially following the introduction of larger, steam driven boats into the Eastern Mediterranean that deprived many small boat owners of important sources of income in the carrying trade. These people came from the Ionian Islands and from the Aegean and their numbers were reinforced by the Italian occupation of the Dodecannese in1911. The new colonial power there "encouraged" the Greek inhabitants of this collection of islands off the southwest coast of Asia Minor to migrate. Shortages in the sponge-diving areas of the Mediterranean and loss of trading opportunities with the Ottoman Turkish Empire in Asia Minor gave a further impetus to this emigration. Before World War I the Greek presence in South Australia (now a State of the Commonwealth of Australia following federation in 1901) was becoming more perceptible, particularly in Port Pirie and, to a lesser extent, in the State's capital, Adelaide.

The migration of Greeks to South Australia largely dried up with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The Greco-Turkish conflict that broke out following the end of World War I was to be disastrous for the Greeks of the former Ottoman Turkish Empire. The newly created Republic of Turkey (1923) was to complete the process of ethnic cleansing which begun even before the Ottoman Empire's involvement in the world war. During World War I and the period immediately afterwards, the Turkish authorities were responsible for the extermination of about 1.5 million Armenians and the remainder was driven out. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks were also killed during this

period. The Greco-Turkish conflict (1919-1922) resulted in a disaster of gigantic proportions. In addition to the many deaths, about 1.5 million Greeks became refugees, most of whom went to the Greek State. Many thousands found refuge initially in the Dodecannese then under Italian control. The Italian authorities there gave visas to these refugees so that they could leave with some form of official documentation. A small number of them made their way to South Australia to join up with relatives, friends or compatriots from the same region.

The official Australian censuses underestimated the number of Greeks in South Australia in the pre-World War II period because many who went there were from Turkey, from the Dodecannese,(then under Italian control), from Cyprus (then under British control), or from countries of the Near or Middle East. Nevertheless, the figures indicate a steady if slow growth.

Year of Census	Greek-born in S.A.
1911	76
1921	152
1933	740
1947	1,029[1]

By 1924 Greek numbers in Port Pirie had become large enough for the creation of a community organisation based on the Church of Saint George. Indeed, most of the Greeks in the 1920s lived outside of metropolitan Adelaide. When the Smelters were severely affected by the economic Depression that began in the late 1920s, many Greeks became unemployed. Many left South Australia and the Port Pirie community struggled to survive with its much-diminished numbers who were at least able to keep their Greek school functioning.[2]

In Adelaide, during the 1920s, there was no community organisation apart from the Kastellorizian Brotherhood which represented about one-third of the Adelaide Greeks at the time, a small Apollon Society and several cafeneia or clubs in Hindley Street. Church services were conducted in the Hall of the Holy Trinity of the Church of England on North Terrace. By the end of 1930, the need for a community organisation in the metropolis had become imperative in

order to cope with urgent social needs. About one third of the Greeks were unemployed and eighty percent were living in poverty. The Greeks in Adelaide saw the necessity of building their own church in order to give their community a focus for handling the social problems and an organisation that could negotiate with the State authorities. They also recognised the need to organise a Greek school for a growing number of children.

A community organisation was set up in October 1930 and by early 1931 a school committee was formed to organise Adelaide's first Greek school. By 1933 Greek language, history and culture were being taught in the Greek community school that had fifty-six pupils. The classes were conducted during the hours after which the children had finished their compulsory schooling in the State school system. School fees of a shilling a week were charged for each pupil. This was no inconsiderable sum in those days when the basic wage was just over three pounds (sixty shillings) per week.

Considerable impetus was given to the organisation of the Greeks in South Australia by the efforts of the newly appointed Metropolitan of Australia, Timotheos (1932-1947). Fund raising for a church proved to be somewhat difficult in the early 1930s, but, with the ea-sing of the worst effects of the Depression by the middle of the decade, fund-raising efforts were intensified. The campaign for funds was extended beyond South Australia's borders with some success. A site for the church was purchased in 1936 near the corner of Franklin Street and West Terrace, an area around which most Greeks lived. The foundation stone was laid in November 1937 (the feast day of Taxiarchis) and the church was consecrated and began functioning on the 25th March 1938, on the anniversary of Greece's National Independence Day. [3]

During the Great Depression, Greek migration slowed down considerably and the earlier migration of single men was now replaced at a lower level by the reunification of families or by family formations through arranged marriages. In the 1930s many single men moved interstate in search of work or returned to Greece. The outbreak of World War II ended abruptly any further migration from Greece.

At the end of World War II, the Greek communities of South Australia were small, and while they were compact, their small size exposed them to the dangers of assimilation. What separated the Greeks from the mainstream Australian population was their awareness of being Greeks; they had and shared a common history and a common myth of descent. Their awareness of a common language and culture that was associated with Greece and the traditional lands inhabited by Greeks gave them a strong sense of belonging, as well as a solidarity that distinguished them from others.[4] Survival as a distinct ethnic group would not come automatically. The Greek communities were well aware of the encroachments being made on their sense of being Greek. They tried to resist this process of assimilation by providing education in their own language and culture and by maintaining as high a level of endogamous marriages as possible. In the face of a hostile assimilationist attitude and discrimination prevalent in both the broader Australian community and in government policies, the likelihood of success in maintaining a distinctive ethnic difference seemed slim. The small size of the communities did not give them the means of ensuring the survival of a relatively unadulterated Greek ethnic identity.

The devastation and destruction that World War II and the Civil War (1946-1949) caused in Greece were to provide the Greek communities of South Australia with a dramatic injection of migrants who would strengthen the communities' sense of ethnic difference. Many in Greece felt that there were few prospects for stability in the foreseeable future in a country that had been destroyed materially as well riven politically, by the upheavals of the 1940s and the onset of the Cold War. This mass of people, seeking a better future for themselves and their children, were to provide Australia with the people she needed to develop the country, and the existing Greek communities with the reinforcements that might make possible the survival of Hellenism.

The fate of Hellenism in South Australia would be decided by three major factors: the initiatives of the Greek communities, the conditions prevailing in Australia, and by the influences emanating from Greece

and Cyprus.[5] Until the late 1970s, the governments of Greece and Cyprus did not play a very active role in the promotion of Hellenism. The influence of these countries in South Australia came about largely through mass migration. The migrants, in conjunction with the earlier Greek settlers and their already established institutions, had developed a strong tradition of self-reliance and independence from Greece and Cyprus. They had to carve out their own de-stinies in Australia.

However, they set about implementing measures designed to protect and promote Hellenic values and characteristics. These included handing down from generation to generation within a family and communal context, strong collectivist Greek traditions, customs and mores that emphasise family solidarity. The communities formed by families have been and are still held together by the Greek Orthodox Church that traditionally has been one of the major bulwarks of Hellenism.

The mass migration of Greeks to South Australia in the post-World War II period has been very significant in maintaining and developing a sense of ethnic identity and allegiance as the new migrants revitalised the shared living customs and traditions and strengthened the com-munities' capacity for mobilisation in support of common causes.[6] The new migrants brought with them the cultural developments in the form and content of Hellenism as they had evolved at the time of their migration. This brought the existing settlements into direct con-tact with these developments and their numbers more than replaced those Greeks lost to the Greek communities through death, repatria-tion, migration elsewhere and assimilation.

While there is some controversy about the size of the Greek com-munity of South Australia in the post-World War II period, there can be no doubt about the dramatic increase in the number of Greek-born and Cypriot-born.[7] The accelerated growth of the Greek community in South Australia in the 1950's and the 1960's was due to the Australian government's mass-migration programme and Greece's desperate socio-economic condition and the turbulent political state following the Nazi Occupation of World War II and the Civil War (1946-1949):

Year of Census	Greek-born in S.A.
1954	2 809
1961	9 476
1966	14 660

With this fourteen-fold increase in the number of Greek-born residents between 1947 and 1966, South Australia jumped from fifth position to a very clear third behind Victoria (64 275) and New South Wales (48 494) in 1966.

South Australia's Greek-born residents peaked at 14 717 in 1971, after which their number went into an apparently irreversible decline.

Year of Census	Greek-born in S.A.
1971	14 717
1976	14 709
1981	14 205
1986	14 455
1991	13 628
1996	12 598[9]

To these figures for the Greek-born can be added those Cypriot-born. In South Australia nearly 90% of all Cypriot-born are Greek-speaking Greek Orthodox.

Year of Census	Cypriot-born in S.A.
1971	n/a
1976	793
1981	1 787
1986	1 771
1991	1 634
1996	1 548[10]

Mass migration to Australia from Cyprus started later than that from Greece. Furthermore, much of it occurred after the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the Turkish occupation of 37% of the northern portion of the Island State. This invasion created over 200 000

refugees, a number of whom made their way to South Australia. Indeed, slightly less than half of the Cypriot Community is composed of these refugees and their children.

The migrants hoped for a better life for themselves and their children. They had no thought of surrendering their Greekness. Moreover, they expected that their children would also be Greek. However, a number of factors would make the realisation of this latter hope very difficult.

The overwhelming majority of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born has been cut off from continuous contact with their homelands for many years. Indeed, 11 791 out of a total of 13 628 Greek-born in South Australia in 1991 (ie. 86.5%) arrived in Australia before 1971 and 1 006 out of a total of 1 634 Cypriot-born in South Australia in 1991 (ie. 62.2%) arrived in South Australia before 1971.[11] Despite visits to the mother countries and various forms of contact (telephone, audio/video tapes et al), very extended lack of continuous contact with and replenishment from Greece and Cyprus have meant that the migrants have lost touch with the nuances of change in those countries, let alone the dramatic changes that those countries have undergone.

Moreover, they had migrated to a country that was deeply suspicious of aliens and that did not value Greek culture, language and civilisation. This came as a shock. Until the early 1970's Australia openly promoted a policy of assimilation. In addition, in the crucial years of this mass migration (the 1950's and the 1960's) the Greek State and the newly formed Republic of Cyprus had not established an effective network of diplomatic representatives to impart their views to these recently arrived migrants or to help them in their endeavours to maintain and promote their Hellenism.

In this climate the Greeks were on the defensive; they found themselves in a situation where their Greek characteristics, which included their strong commitment to Hellenism, were being called into question by the Australian authorities and by many Australians. The deve-

lopment of a defensive, protective and conservative attitude became embedded in the Greek institutions they established. Through a complex network of institutional, social, regional and familial arrangements they set about preserving those values and characteristics that they deemed essential to the continuity of their ethnic identity.

The concentration of the Greek and Cypriot migrants in particular suburbs of the Adelaide metropolis and, to a lesser extent, in a certain number of non-metropolitan centres, helped these Greek immigrants to function more effectively and as reasonably cohesive communities.

Greek preference for urban settlement had been evident even before the post-World War II mass migration.

Year of Census	Percentage of Greeks in Adelaide Metropolis
1911	63.2%
1921	52.0%
1933	39.2%
1947	60.3% [12]

In the non-metropolitan areas the Greeks were concentrated in industrial and port towns like Port Pirie.

The pattern of settlement established by the Greeks pre-World War II in combination with the availability of relatively cheap hou-sing, nearby employment opportunities, the high cost of private transport, as well as a natural desire to be close to ones compatriots resul-ted in the continuing concentration of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born in the Adelaide metropolitan area.

Year of Census	No. of Greek-born	Percentage in Adelaide
1966	12 185	79%
1986	14 455	88.3%
1991	13 628	90.5%
1996	12 598	89%

Year of Census	No. of Greek-born	Percentage in Adelaide
1991	1 508	92%
1996	1 548	94.3%

The concentration of Greeks in the metropolitan area and especially in suburbs to the west of the inner city, as well as, to a lesser extent, the east and south, was a natural consequence of the necessity of adjustment to a new and strange environment. However, it hindered integration within the broader community; it thus contributed to the maintenance of a strong sense of Greek ethnic identity. In these areas of relatively concentrated settlement they established their Greek Orthodox Churches, their Greek Community schools, their Greek shops and their regional brotherhoods.

Social commentators have singled out three core elements for the maintenance and promotion of an authentic Greek ethnicity. These are the Greek language, the Greek Orthodox faith and certain Greek customs and traditions such as the collectivism and solidarity of Greek family life including elected kin. [15]

When Greek Orthodox Churches were established in Adelaide, Mile End, Norwood, Unley, Goodwood, Croydon, Port Adelaide, Salisbury, Noarlunga and Athelstone, as well as in several non-metropolitan areas, the communities formed around them set up community schools to teach the Greek language to the rapidly growing number of the children of these recently arrived migrants and subsequent generations. The growth-rate regarding the number of children of school age was so great that it placed enormous strains on the resources of all the communities. There were simply not enough people with adequate qualifications to teach the Greek language and culture effectively. As the communities had to rely on their own human resources, their plight was desperate. Most of the migrants had had little opportunity for educating themselves in Greece.

By 1972, there were 3 001 students in South Australia attending Greek Ethnic Primary Schools (after normal school hours or on Saturday mornings).[16] The enormous strains in financial and human

terms were becoming overwhelming. The quality of teaching was rapidly becoming attenuated. For a number of years the Greek communities of South Australia had sought in vain teaching personnel and other forms of assistance from Greece. The Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Inc. turned to the Australian Labor Party State Government for assistance "...to sustain Greek language and culture". [17]

This public request for the support of the South Australian State Government was made at a time when both the Federal Australian Labor Party (ALP) Government and the South Australian ALP Government were moving rapidly towards embracing a policy of multiculturalism that promoted language and cultural maintenance for ethnic communities. In South Australia the Greek communities had earlier established a close relationship with the State ALP. This enabled them to lobby for support to meet the educational needs of their children. They needed qualified teachers and teaching resources. [18]

In 1972 there had been an attempt to introduce the teaching of Modern Greek at the University of Adelaide as a means of providing qualified teachers.[19] The Don Dunstan ALP Government of South Australia had urged the Adelaide University to consider the appointment of a lecturer for Modern Greek with the promise of financial support for the lectureship.[20] Many rationalisations, including fears of intrusion into the "University's freedom of action," were elaborated. The University appeared to be opposed to the proposal.[21] Despite protestations of interest in introducing Modern Greek, the University's real attitude seemed to be overly conservative and resistant to community and political pressure.[22] When pressed further, the University of Adelaide insisted on conditions that the State Government seemed unprepared to meet.[23]

Prior to these negotiations, the Association of Greek University Students of Australia had organised a Hellenic Students' Convention in Adelaide for May 1971. An organiser of the Convention, Mr. Nick Bolkus (now an ALP Senator and formerly a Government Minister in a number of Federal ALP Governments) forwarded a number of resolutions to the ALP State Minister of Education, Mr. Hugh Hudson,

concerning the education of migrant children. Among these were the need to improve the teaching of English to migrant children, the need to remove discriminatory practices and the need to promote the teaching of Modern Greek at Secondary and Tertiary institutions.[24]

A deputation representing all sectors of the Greek Community of South Australia and organised by the Adelaide Greek University Students Association under the leadership of Mr. Nick Ganzis, a lecturer at the Adelaide Teachers' College, approached the Deputy-Director of Primary Education, Mr. A. E. Wood.[25] There was some resistance to the deputation's proposal that Modern Greek be taught systematically in State Primary schools. There was even resistance to a request that teachers with a knowledge of Modern Greek be appointed to Primary Schools with large concentrations of children of Greek origin so that they might act in a liaison capacity between the school and the Greek parents.[26] However, the Primary Schools Headmasters' Association was more positive and responsive to this latter request.[27]

The situation was to change rapidly. The Public Examinations Board, responsible for the examination of subjects at Matriculation level that opened the way to Tertiary Education, was keen to have the discipline of Modern Greek introduced as an examinable subject for matriculation.[28] Qualified teachers would be required. In response, the Education Department supported the training of teachers so that Modern Greek could be introduced as soon as possible. Indeed, the Education Department was prepared to release appropriate teachers on full pay for them to acquire the initial basic skills of Modern Greek language, literature and culture, as well as the rudiments of teaching Modern Greek.[29]

The lack of effective progress in the negotiations between the State Government and the University of Adelaide over the introduction of Modern Greek convinced N. Ganzis and the executive of the Greek Students' Association to adopt an alternative approach for the education of teachers of Modern Greek at the Primary and Secondary levels. With the full support of the Greek Students' Executive, N. Ganzis approached the Principal of the Adelaide Teachers' College,

Mr K.R. Gilding, with a proposal for the introduction of the teaching of Modern Greek to that Tertiary institution. This approach was made at a time when the Adelaide Teachers' College was soon to become a College of Advanced Education in line with the recommendations of the Martin Report. The new institution would need to broaden its vocational and teaching base. Consequently, Mr. Gilding favoured the proposal.[30]

When Mr. Ganzis suggested that the State Government's proposal to the University of Adelaide be transferred to the Adelaide College of Advanced Education, the Greek Community leaders responded quickly and positively. The Dunstan ALP Government, through its Minister of Education the Hon. H. Hudson, accepted the proposal with alacrity, as it helped the ALP fulfill its obligation to provide teachers for the Greek communities.[31]

Negotiations with the Board of Advanced Education and a submission for the triennium 1973-1975 resulted in special funding being made available for an intensive course in 1973 for which selected teachers were released on full pay. Regular course work was to commence in 1974. The initial scepticism and resistance of the Chairman of the Board of Advanced Education was overcomed primarily, it seems, because of political pressure from the State ALP Government, supported by Federal ALP colleagues. The Colleges of Advanced Education were to prove, at this stage, that they were more responsive to community needs than the universities.[32] With the completion of the intensive course at the end of 1973, Modern Greek was introduced into the State Secondary schools in 1974.[33]

Statistics for matriculation students in Modern Greek (Year 12) over the period 1976 to 1986 reveal initially a rapid rise in the number of students undertaking the study of Modern Greek. By the end of this period the numbers began to plateau.[34] The Senior Secondary Board of South Australia statistics for students who sat the Year 12 Matriculation Examination highlight the decline from 245 in 1987 to 95 in 1997. This is paralleled by the decline in Year 12 State School enrolments from 112 in 1992 to 52 in 1997. The number of State pri-

mary and secondary schools offering Modern Greek has also been reduced to parallel the declining enrolments.[35] Declining enrolments are also evident in the State Primary Schools where Modern Greek is part of a Language Other Than English (LOTE) program whereby students are exposed to a number of languages over the primary years without developing any in-depth understanding of any one language. Between 1992 and 1997, the number of students exposed to Modern Greek almost halved.[36] Exposure usually means one lesson per week, which is, at best, very superficial. Once the Primary School LOTE program finished in Year 7, a dramatic drop at the first year of Secondary schooling usually occurs. In 1993 there were 707 Year 7 students "studying" Modern Greek; in 1994 there were 225 Year 8 students studying Modern Greek. Declining enrolments are also evident in the Greek Ethnic Schools, the community or parish schools set up usually by the Greek Orthodox Churches with classes conducted outside the normal hours of the State and Private schools. In 1972 there were 3 001 students attending Greek Ethnic Primary Schools in South Australia. By 1987 the numbers had declined to just over 2 000 and the decline continued and barely exceeded 1 600 in 1998.[38] The only private day school fully supported by the Greek Archdiocese of Australia, the College of Saint George, has been developing successfully and it provides an environment within which Modern Greek has become an integral part of the School's educational philosophy. It has only recently grown beyond the junior secondary school level but the prognosis for the school's success seems good. However, it does not meet the needs of the majority of Greek Orthodox children.[39]

The rather grim picture of Modern Greek education at primary and secondary education has been replicated at the tertiary level. Modern Greek at the College of Advanced Education level was already in a state of serious decline by the early to mid-1980s. This was brought about by a number of factors including the effective exclusion of University students from the program because this course work was not recognised by the Universities for the purposes of accreditation and because the College insisted on being funded for teaching these students even if they undertook these studies as extras beyond the

needs of their first degree. Of even greater concern was the reduction of teaching positions for the College graduates as the number of schools offering Modern Greek began to decline. By the time of the amalgamation of the Colleges of Advanced Education with the Universities in the early 1990s, the teaching of Modern Greek had virtually ceased. No new enrolments were accepted into these courses.

A similar fate was to befall the College of Advanced Education's "Interpreting and Translating" course that had provided another avenue for the maintenance and promotion of Modern Greek. The Migrant Task Force set up by A.J. Grassby, the Minister for Immigration in the Gough Whitlam Federal Australian Labor Party Government of the early 1970s, recognised the need to provide interpreting and translating services for the great number of migrants who had little understanding of English. Greek people were identified as one of the key groups needing such assistance.[40] The Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ), seeking to promote professionalism in the training of Interpreters and Translators, acknowledged the tertiary level program proposed by the Adelaide College of Advanced Education (formerly the Adelaide Teachers College).[41] The College had commissioned Mr. N Ganzis to conduct a survey of interpreting and translating needs in South Australia and, on the basis of this survey, a submission was made for the introduction of courses.[42] Powerful lobbying of State and Federal politicians by welfare and educational organisations, as well as a very public campaign of radio and television interviews and strong press reports, led to the establishment of short-term courses at the Technical and Further Education level in 1976.[43] In 1978 the Associate Diploma in Interpreting/Translating in Modern Greek and Italian began, following more intensive lobbying at the political level and within the tertiary education hierarchy. In practical terms, this achievement meant that there were employment opportunities using Modern Greek in addition to those of teaching. By the late 1980s, however, it was clear that many institutions in the broader Australian community were not prepared to avail themselves of the services of trained Interpreters or Translators and, especially, if this meant having to pay for such ser-

vices. At the time of the amalgamation of the tertiary institutions in the early 1990s, the decision had been taken not to enroll any more students into " interpreting and translating" courses which were discontinued.

The virtual exclusion of University students from the Modern Greek tertiary courses and /or the non-accreditation referred to above led the Modern Greek Languages Teachers' Association to propose in June 1980, the introduction of Modern Greek into one of the universities. Following a meeting of interested parties, a committee was set up with the purpose of setting up courses of Modern Greek at one of South Australia's two universities. The Secretary of the Committee for the Introduction of Modern Greek to a University in South Australia (Committee), Mr. N. Ganzis, was requested to prepare a submission in support of the proposal. The basis of the proposal was three fold: that a population base large enough to support a university program existed in South Australia; that the educational infrastructure in South Australia for providing matriculants in modern Greek was indeed producing the numbers needed to make a program viable and that matriculants were interested in undertaking such studies and, finally, that the study of modern Greek was academically acceptable. There was little difficulty in assembling the necessary statistics concerning the population base or the numbers of students studying modern Greek at all three levels of education. Evidence was assembled to indicate that a considerable body of internationally recognised literature in modern Greek existed and that courses on this body of literature and modern Greek Language were taught in the most prestigious non-Greek universities of the world, including Princeton and Harvard in the United States, McGill in Canada, Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham in the United Kingdom as well as many universities in Continental Europe. Moreover, Modern Greek was being taught at the universities of New England, Sydney and Melbourne in Australia.[44]

The Committee had the full backing of the Greek communities of South Australia in approaching both Adelaide and Flinders Universities to ascertain the level of interest in introducing such a pro-

gram.[45] At that time the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Committee (CTEC) and the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs had requested submissions for the introduction of Community languages to Universities.[46] The Committee secured the support of the Tonkin Liberal State Government for its submission for the funds on offer.[47] This initiative was also supported by the Tertiary Education Authority of South Australia (TEASA) and the Principal of the recently established South Australian College of Advanced Education (SACAE) formed by the amalgamation of all the Colleges of Advanced Education in this State. Indeed, the Principal, Dr. G. Ramsey, suggested that close cooperation between the College of Advanced Education sector and the Universities should occur in this area.[48]

The University of Adelaide was as negative as it had been in the early 1970s and queried the viability of such a discipline.[49] Flinders University, however, was definitely interested and it prepared a submission for part of the funds set aside for the promotion of community languages.[50] Once the Greek Government became aware of the submission, it indicated its support with an offer of $US 3,000 for the Chair provided the submission be successful.[51]

The bid for this funding failed but the Greek communities were not informed until January 1982, even though there had been a press release in Canberra before Christmas 1981. The Greek communities took this as a slight. It was widely believed that the allocation of the funds for the expansion of modern Greek teaching in Melbourne smacked too much of political pork barrelling. Despite its disappointment, the Committee indicated its intention of continuing its efforts to introduce modern Greek to a University in South Australia.[52]

The SACAE then dealt another blow to tertiary Modern Greek when it announced that as it would not be funded by the Federal Government for single unit enrolments, it had no option but to restrict the number of such students. In practice this meant restricting the number of university students who would be allowed to enroll in Modern Greek in the College. [53]

The leaders of the Greek communities made their position quite clear. They did not have the financial resources to pay for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University. The community representatives did, however, support the Committee's proposal to approach the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Opposition at both State and Federal levels to determine ALP policy on issues related to the maintenance of Modern Greek.[54]

The South Australian ALP declared its support for modern Greek at University level.[55] The Federal ALP had endorsed, as part of its national platform, its strong support for the teaching of ethnic languages.[56] The Committee, however, sought a very specific commitment from the Federal ALP. To demonstrate the extent of Community support for the project, the Committee conducted a petition that had the support of the local Greek newspaper and Senator Nick Bolkus. The 4 000 signatures in support of the petition for the introduction of Modern Greek, gathered in a matter of weeks so as to convince the ALP to make a formal commitment well before the upcoming Federal elections, gave impetus to Senator Bolkus's efforts to get a specific commitment from J. Dawkins, the Federal ALP spokesperson for Education.[57] The petition, together with the support of Mick Young, Member for the House of Representatives for Port Adelaide, enabled Senator Bolkus to convince the Federal ALP to give formal backing to the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University. The announcement was made in Adelaide on the 29th October 1982.[58]

The victory of the Federal ALP in the elections did not bring about the immediate realisation of the promise. Indeed, considerable pressure had to be exerted on the Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan, who was embroiled in a conflict with the bureaucracy of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Authority (CTEC) as to the source of the funding for the new Chair. The ALP wanted the funds to come from within the existing triennial budget that had already been determined, while the CTEC wanted extra funding to cover the costs of the Chair for the triennium 1985-1987.[59] Eventually, on the 16th of August 1985, Senator Ryan and Special Minister of State,

Mick Young, announced that the ALP Government would provide earmarked funds for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University [60] The Federal ALP Hawke Government would provide $250 000, the South Australian ALP Bannon Government would provide $50 000 and the Greek communities of South Australia would provide $40 000 for Library resources. Unfortunately, the Greek communities had raised only $13 000 by February 1986, $5 000 of which had come from the Greek Community of South Australia Incorporated. Mr. C. Karabetsis, the Consul General of the Hellenic Republic, saved the situation. He persuaded the Greek Government to provide the remaining $27 000 to make up the Greek communities' obligation.[61] Even so, it was difficult to find a suitable candidate to fill the Chair and Prof. D. Dimiroulis was appointed in mid-1988.

The courses began in 1989 and there was an initial burst of enthusiasm and a reasonably high level of enrolments. Unfortunately, the enrolments declined in the negative climate of the early 1990s and the Department of Modern Greek was compelled to shed much of its staff. When Prof. Dimiroulis resigned to take up a position at the Panteion University in Athens, the Chair was abolished. At present, there are only two full-time staff who are struggling with the assistance of part-time ancillary staff and some tutoring staff. Indeed, so precarious had the situation become that in 1997 the Greek State had to rescue the Greek Department at Flinders University with financial assistance. This, together with subtle political lobbying from sections of the Greek communities' have ensured the bare survival of the University courses in Modern Greek at Flinders University.[62]

Despite any deficiencies in the provision of education facilities for the teaching of Modern Greek language and culture, the fact remains that the Greek communities have had at their disposal, for over twenty years, a fully-fledged system of Modern Greek education from the Primary School level in State and community schools, to the secondary level in State and Community schools and finally to the Tertiary level at Technical and Further Education level, at College of Advanced Education level and at University level. In addition, there

exists the Greek Orthodox College of St. George. The provision of all these educational services and facilities has not been able to stem the decline in enrolments in the study of Modern Greek. The provision of educational services in modern Greek, considered essential by many for the preservation and advancement of Hellenism in South Australia, has not proved sufficient to stem the tide of what many see as the inexorable process of assimilation into the broader Australian community. The provision of the opportunity to learn Modern Greek language and culture may well be necessary for the survival of Hellenism, but in itself is insufficient. The Greek language may well be the bearer of our religion, history, culture and traditions. In Greek lands it is also the daily means of communication for all social, political and economic activities. To know Greek in Australia may well keep people in touch with their culture and the traditional form of their faith, but it is not needed for an increasing number of social and economic purposes. As heretical as it may sound, the Greek language is not, for most, essential for maintaining their Orthodox faith.

The reasons for this state of affairs are many and varied. The initial impetus for the promotion of Modern Greek language and culture came from the post World War II migrants who did indeed have a stronger sense of belonging to a community than exists today. They came largely from a similar socio-economic background and, finding themselves in a strange and what seemed to them a hostile environment, they sought to remain close to each other both geographically and socially.[63] For most, home was Greece or Cyprus; not Australia. They had a natural desire to perpetuate what they saw as being of paramount importance: their language, their culture, their customs and traditions and their religion. However, after thirty or more years of settlement in South Australia, they have aged considerably, and they have neither the drive nor inclination, in many instances, to change their way of life as they developed it in Australia.[64] This way of life no longer closely parallels that in Greece, as it once did. This way of life is also alien for many of their children, not only because of a generation gap, but also because their children have been educated to a higher level than their parents and, more significantly, in an alien

language and culture. Moreover, the level of socio-economic differentiation, not so evident in the early years following migration, has now become more pronounced as has the dispersal of the members of the community over a wider socio-economic geographic area. The growing numbers of mixed marriages makes the maintenance of the Greek language more problematic.

While the second and third generations remain attached to their parents, they do not necessarily remain attached in a significant manner to all the values of their parents and grandparents. Many of the migrants' children are, more or less, able to communicate in Greek, but the preferred language of communication for most seems to be English. Once the first generation departs, will there be any pressure to have the children learn Greek? The increasing rate of mixed marriages only accentuates this tendency.

The number of Greek Orthodox children in this State has not shown any sign of increasing over the years. The children of the migrants have adopted the general Australian trend for families to have fewer children. Consequently, to rely on children of Greek descent for the maintenance of programs in the education system at all levels is unrealistic in the medium to long term.[65]

The fact that the second generation now outnumbers the first generation is an indication that the Greek communities, associations and brotherhoods in South Australia are at the crossroads. Serious consi-deration will have to be given to handing over the reins to the second generation if these organisations are going to renew themselves. Other ways of using existing resources and building on them may need to be found if Hellenism is to survive. The existing fragmentation of the Greek communities into a whole host of parochial and regional sub-groups tends to dissipate valuable resources that might be used more effectively in meeting the social needs of the community.

Divisions between the two major organisations of Hellenism in South Australia, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and the

Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Incorporated, that have been perpetuated since 1959 have only served to disenchant and alienate many of the second and third generation. The apparently unbridgeable differences at this level and the socio-regional fragmentation mentioned above have undermined any genuine sense of community on a broader scale.

A strong sense of Community is essential for the survival and growth of Hellenism and this demands a strong sense of shared values and experiences. Much thought will have to be devoted to this issue of community and, without doubt, Greek Orthodoxy will constitute a central element. However, the Church needs to give further consideration to broadening its social role in conjunction with community organisations as part of the process of maintaining and developing a sense of social cohesion. The College of St. George is indicative of the kind of initiatives needed. Greek leaders and institutions must find ways of providing for common and shared experiences based upon a common set of values to ensure the perpetuation of a sense of Hellenism.

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18. N. Ganzis, "Greeks and Education: a Progress Report". Unpublished document prepared for the Education Sub-Committee of the Adelaide Greek University Association. 4th October 1971, p.3.

19. **Panhellenic Keryx,** 14 August 1972. G. Tsamantanis

20. Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, University of Adelaide, 9 and 10 May 1972.

21. Minutes of the Education Committee, Proposed Teaching of Modern Greek, 24 May 1972, p.1.

22. *Ibid.* It was even suggested that if the government wanted teachers of Modern Greek it would be more economical to get them from graduates in Modern Greek at Sydney University where Modern Greek had just been introduced. This suggestion ignored the obvious fact that New South Wales would for some considerable time need all

of Sydney's graduates in Modern Greek for the community schools of that State. The University of Adelaide did not appear to be very responsive to the needs of a significant section of South Australia's population.

23. Minutes of the Meeting of the Faculty of Arts, Wednesday 21 June 1972, p.3. 'The Faculty resolved to agree to the development of teaching in Modern Greek on the understanding that this was adequately funded to provide a Chair and lectureship together with ancillary and special library and language laboratory services and accommodation, and it was recognised as being extra to the submission made by the University, and without prejudice to them or to existing activities either during the 1973-1975 triennium or later. The University was asking for indefinite special funding, a proposal that any State Government could not possibly accept.

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35. Statistics provided by the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia (SSABSA) and the Education Department of South Australia.

SSABSA Statistics	YEAR 12 Students	Education Department Statics
1987	245	
1988	200	
1989	205	
1990	213	
1991	183	
1992	155	116
1993	137	88
1994	120	97
1995	115	65
1996	82	52
1997	95	52

36. Statistics provided by the Department of Education and Children's Services.

Primary Students "Studying" Modern Greek: Reception to Year 7

1992	5 771
1993	5 811
1994	6 179
1995	6,381
1996	4 699
1997	3 783

Participation in South Australian State Secondary School Modern Greek Programmes

Full Year Courses	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Year 8	220	170	225	154	219	222
Year 9	180	136	199	133	144	137
Year 10	149	130	121	111	80	93
Year 11	84	111	n/a	42	37	36
Year 12	105	88	n/a	65	52	52

It should be noted that from 1998 onwards State Secondary schools have been implementing LOTE policy that requires junior secondary school students to undertake studies of a language other than English and that this has led to an increase of numbers in the lower secondary school that fall away rapidly. Some schools have chosen Modern Greek as one of the languages offered.

37. M.P. Tsounis, Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia. Australian Immigration Monograph Series No. 1, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1974, p.17.

38. Statistics provided by the Ethnic Schools Association of South Australia Inc. and its successor the Ethnic Schools Board of South Australia. The Ethnic Schools receive financial assistance from both the State and Federal Governments on a per capita basis along with some minor grants from time to time to meet particular needs.

Greek Ethnic Schools Enrolment Statistics 1987-1998

Year	Greek School Authorities	Schools	Year Total*	Pre-School	Primary	Secondary	Adults
1987	23	61	16	1 660	513	4	2 189
1988	25	65	33	1 588	518	24	2 139
1989	23	59	39	1 440	536	11	2 015
1990	23	60	68	1 342	426	10	1 836
1991	21	53	73	1 327	375	22	1 775
1992	22	54	74	1 394	316	27	1 784
1993	21	54	64	1 485	300	16	1 849
1994	21	56	80	1 511	290	5	1 881
1995	20	55	48	1 422	278	3	1 748
1996	20	55	40	1 458	289	37	1 787
1997	19	55	56	1 414	250	17	1 720
1998	18	45	43	1 312	250	5	1 605

* Total does not include statistics for adults.

39. Statistics provided by St George's College, 1984-1998

Year	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96*	'97*	'98*
Rec.	17	14	16	16	20	21	24	25	26	25	26	49	77*	95*	102*
Yr.1		15	15	12	22	22	25	25	25	25	23	25	52	45	53
Yr.2	7	18	17	18	15	22	22	25	27	23	27	22	27	56	48
Yr.3	13			20	21	18	20	25	25	30	19	26	25	30	56
Yr.4		18	22	16	11	21	16	19	21	25	39	25	26	31	31
Yr.5				20	15	27	22	15	17	23	24	32	25	29	32
Yr.6				16	13		7	21	14	17	23	26	31	32	31
Yr.7					14	11	15	19	20	14	19	24	24	32	32
Yr.8														22	28
Yr.9															24
Tot.	37	65	70	98	131	142	151	164	175	182	200	229	257	351	417

* For the years 1996, 1997 and 1998 the statistics for Reception include the pre-school enrolments.

40. Migrant Task Force-South Australia. Adelaide, September, 1973, pp.4-8. **Report on the Survey of Interpreting and Translating Needs in the Community.** Survey Section of the Department of Immigration, October 1973, pp.1-2.

41. COPQ Interpreting training and the Establishing of Standards, February, 1974, p.15.

42. N. Ganzis, **Report on Projected Courses for Interpreters and Translators**, Adelaide College of Advanced Education, October 1974.

43. N. Ganzis, member of the steering committee for the promotion of interpreting and translating courses. Submission to the Australian Council of Awards in Advanced Education through the South Australian Board of Advanced Education on an Associate Diploma in Interpreting/Translating, July 1977, p.3. Appendix C.

44. Report: The Introduction of Modern Greek to a University in South Australia. N. Ganzis, the Secretary, wrote the report based on material gathered by himself and material provided by Dr. Paul Tuffin, Dr. Michael Tsounis and by Dr. Alex Diamantis.

45. Greek Communities of South Australia to Vice-Chancellor, University of Adelaide/Flinders University, 25th May 1981. Copy of letter in Secretary's archives.

46. CTEC (Prof. Peter Karmel) to Prof. D.R. Stranks, Vice-Chancellor, University of Adelaide, 26th April 1981. Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, September 1980, pp.63-69.

47. M. Cundy, Private Secretary to the Premier, to N. Ganzis, 26th June 1981; D. Tonkin to Prime Minister J.M. Fraser, 5th August 1981.

48. K.R. Gilding, Chairman TEASA to P.H. Karmel, Chairman CTEC, 31ST July 1981; G.R. Ramsey, Principal SACAE to K.R. Gilding, Chairman TEASA, 15 July 1981.

49. N. Ganzis, Notes on Meeting with Dr. H. Medlin & Dr. R. Hainsworth, Education Committee, 11th June 1981 and Prof. D.R.

Stranks, Vice-Chancellor, 19 June 1981.

50. N. Ganzis to K. Hancock, Vice-Chancellor, Flinders, 4th August 1981; Keith Hancock, Vice-Chancellor, to N. Ganzis, 20th August 1981.

51. A.A. Camilos, Consul General to Vice-Chancellor Hancock, 14th September 1981.

52. N. Ganzis to K. Hancock, Vice-Chancellor Flinders 18th March 1982; N. Ganzis to W. Fife, Federal Minister for Education, 18th March 1982; N. Ganzis to Dr. D. Tonkin Premier of South Australia, 18th March 1982. In subsequent correspondence the Committee sought specific information concerning costs for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek.

53. K.R. Gilding, Chairman TEASA to N. Ganzis, 24th May 1982; ÍΥïὸ Êüóïïὸ, Monday, 7th June 1982.

54. Minutes of Meeting between Community representatives and the Committee, 27th April 1982.

55. N. Ganzis to L. Arnold, 18th June 1982; L.M.F. Arnold to N. Ganzis, 26th July 1982.

56. N. Ganzis to J. Dawkins, Opposition Spokesman for Education, 18th June 1982; J.S. Dawkins to N. Ganzis, Education Platform, p.5.

57. Minutes of Meeting held at West Adelaide (Hellas) Soccer Club Rooms, North Tce. Saturday, 21st August 1982.

58. Press Release, Friday 29th October 1982 at Theo's Restaurant, Hindley St., Adelaide.

59. Guidelines to the CTEC for the 1985-1987 Triennium Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator the Honourable S. Ryan, 5th July 1984.

60. News Release; Minister for Education, 16 August 1984.

61. Most of the communities, associations and brotherhoods did not even bother replying to letters of request for assistance to meet the commitment for the establishment of the Chair of Modern Greek.

62. Statistics provided by the Department of Modern Greek at Flinders University show that enrolments have suffered over the past decade. The Equivalent Full-Time Student ratio shows that the Department can barely justify two full-time staff.

University Modern Greek-Enrolments as Equivalent Full-Time Student Units

YEAR	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
One	9 244	7 994	13 464	13 875	10.25	9.25
Two	10 317	7 318	6 806	7 969	[ ] [10.621]	[ ] [12.453]
Three	9 157	3 494	3 992	3.16	[ ]	[ ]
Honours	1 75	1,5	1.25	1.75	0.5	4
Post Grads.	1 75	4	4	4.5	6.75	6
Total	32 218	24 306	29 512	31 254	28 124	31 713

These figures reveal a very heavy dependence on postgraduate students to maintain EFTSU figures, without a commensurately large undergraduate base. The overwhelming number of the students are of Greek origin and, until the appeal can be broadened, the situation will remain precarious.

63. G. Hugo, **Atlas of the Australian People: South Australia, 1986 Census**, Canberra, Bureau of Immigration Research, 1990. 2nd Edition. P.16, pp.135-136, p.139.

64. According to the 1996 Census more than 55% of the Greek-born and more the 42% of the Cypriot born are more than 55 years of age. Australian Bureau of Statistics, **1996 Census of Housing and Population** Birthplace Profile Greece and Cyprus. Table 4.

65. Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1991 Census of Population and Housing. Ethnic Community Profile. Religion Profile. Greek Orthodox. Table 4. The statistics for the 5 to 11 years of age group for

1991 and projections to 1996 (largely borne out by the 1996 Census) are as follows:

1991	2 795
1992	2 828
1993	2 881
1994	2 928
1995	3 019
1996	3 031

While these figures reveal a slow increase, they are being more than counterbalanced by a rapidly increasing rate of mortality among the elderly migrants.

What do we mean by "Greek-Australian Literature"?

Con Castan *

RÉSUMÉ

Le terme littérature greco-australienne a été utilisé tant par les universitaires Grecs en Australie que par les critiques en général depuis 1980. L'origine et la fonction du terme sont examinées dans cet article. Il semble qu'il en resulte du multiculturalisme nationaliste adopté aux années soixante-dix par les deux partis politiques australiens avec comme but de donner une autonomie limitée aux groups ethniques minoritaires. Cette politique a été adoptée à condition que les groupes ethniques souscrivent aux valeurs du groupe majoritaire et se considèrent comme faisant partie de la nation australienne. C'était en particulier le cas en littérature où les littératures minoritaires étaient perçues comme des miniatures nationales et comme parties de la littérature nationale, maintenant multiculturelle. Comme de miniatures nationales elles façonnaient l'identité du groupe malgré le fait qu'elles étaient lues par un petit nombre de ses membres et bien que la plupart des textes ne traitaient pas directement des questions d'identité. La littérature greco-australienne ainsi définie - une parmi les autres littératures minoritaires - a été probablement celle qui a remporté le plus grand succès et a attiré plus l'attention des critiques.

ABSTRACT

The term Greek-Australian Literature has been used since the early 1980s both by Greek academics in Australia and by literary critics in general. In this article are examined the origins of the term and its function. It is shown to derive from the nationalist multiculturalism which was adopted in the 1970s by both sides of Australian politics and which tended to give a certain limited autonomy to the minority ethnic groups, on condition that they subscribed to the core values of the majority group, thus seeing themselves and being seen, as part of the Australian nation. This was particularly the case in literature where minority literatures were seen as both miniature national literatures and parts of the national-now multicultural-literature. As miniature national literatures they provide a group identity even though they are actually read only by a small number of the group members and even though many of the texts included in them do not deal directly or openly with group identity questions. Greek-Australian literature, one of many such minority literatures, has probably been the one that has gained most critical attention and been the most successful in the above terms.

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What do we mean by "Greek-Australian Literature"?[1]

Greek-Australian Literature was written before it was invented. This entails two points. The first is that there are texts which are now included in the 'canon' of Greek-Australian Literature, which were written well before the category and its verbal expression (the term 'Greek-Australian Literature') came into use, certainly before it came into wide use.

I suspect that the term 'Greek-Australian' first came into existence to describe people and their activities, particularly those born of Greek parents in Australia, but also those born in Greece who had achieved mastery of the English language and taken on some aspects of Australian culture. Thus in the special issue of Ο Κρίκος of 1957 devoted to the Greeks of Australia, Δημήτρης Καλομοίρης speaks of ο Ελληνοαυστραλός σκηνοθέτης, Πήτερ Βερνάρδος, "Ελληνοαυστραλοί επιστήμονες". Of course it is not a great leap to apply the term to the productions of such people. Interestingly, in the same issue, Ανάργυρος Φατσέας describes a story he contributes as 'Ελληνοαυστραλιανό Διήγημα'[2]. This type of coupling (and the consciousness that lies behind it) is, I think, a little before its time. It is not till the 1980s that the idea of Greek-Australian Literature is accepted both within the Greek minority and the Australian literary establishment.

The second point is that the term points to an invention rather than a discovery. It is a conceptual category which is neither necessary nor inevitable for the student of its texts, but which brings in its wake certain ways of grouping, categorization, reading and valuing. These are not necessarily realized to the full and actually practiced by those who use the term.

As I have already indicated, the term Greek-Australian Literature came into wide use in the 1980s and 90s, along with such siblings as German-Australian, Italo-Australian and Chinese-Australian Literatures. They are the products of nationalist multiculturalism, the policy of offering inclusion in the nation to those migrants of ethni-

cities other than the founding ones, which, in the Australian case, are usually lumped together in the inelegant term 'Anglo-Celt'.

Before nationalist multiculturalism took hold in the seventies, people of the minority ethnicities were referred to as 'New Australians'. On the face of it this sounds more nationally inclusive than the various terms multiculturalism has generated; but, for reasons that I shall not go into here[3], in reality, it was not. 'New Australians' really expressed the desire of the 'cornstalks'[4] that the migrants become their clones in double quick time, shedding all their past – language, culture, history – and adopting a 'cornstalk' identity. Its underlying assumption was that human identities can be changed like clothes at a moment's notice. It was an unreal expectation and caused much suffering.

The difference between the two policies can be understood as assimilation versus integration. Assimilation demands that the members of the minority ethnic groups become part of the nation by adapting all of the ways of the host society and abandoning the culture (including the language) they brought with them from their homelands. Very few minority ethnic migrants are able even to approximately satisfy this demand, although many of their children born after migration can travel, more or less successfully, down this road. Over a period of years such a policy results in unacceptably high levels of return migration; unacceptably high, that is, for a nation which wishes to increase its population.

Integration, on the other hand, requires only that the members of the minority ethnic groups accept a set of core values, without the adoption of which we could not speak of citizenship. For the rest, each individual and each minority ethnic group is free to retain and to develop - with more or less state aid - the culture/s they brought from the homeland. This is a much more humane policy than assimilation and much more appropriate for a nation which wants population growth through migration.

This policy of integration has been adopted by both Labor and Coalition governments since 1972, although the present Coalition

government of John Howard is rather uncomfortable with it, and is trying to turn the word 'multiculturalism' into one that is not spoken in polite society.

Although the policy has been official government policy for more than twenty years, it has been resisted by some sections of the population. Furthermore, even if it had not met with silent and sullen undermining - not so silent today with several politicians voicing their opposition - it was never going to deliver all that it promised, for its hidden assumption is that time will bring about what assimilation can not, and many of those who have embraced it have been unaware of this. Nevertheless, it has signaled a change of attitude in Australia towards minority ethnic cultures, and has itself assisted in this change.

What is the ideological burden of such categories as 'Greek-Australian Literature'? First, it implies some kind of similarity between the literary production of a nation and the literary production of a minority ethnic group within a nation.

There are many institutions that a nation requires if it is to take its place in the 'international family of nations', and one of these is a national literature. This is so even if the nation shares a language with another nation, as is the case with Australia, which shares English with the United Kingdom, the United States, and many other English-speaking nations, and Cyprus, which shares Greek with Greece. Each nation needs its national literature which can be read as the narrative and description of that nation. This is so even with texts that do not deal with the nation (or some aspect of it) thematically. Modern Greek Literature is probably more nationalistic than the other literatures I am familiar with; but even so, not every text in it is part of the national story. To take an example: the 'Carmina Profana' of Σταύρος Βαβούρης (1983) operates at the personal level, below that of the nation, and at a 'universal' level, the level of meditations on Fate, which is above that of the nation. However, a critic thoroughly committed to the cause of the national literature might read these poems 'against the grain', might deal with some aspect of language or some allusion that can be shown to illuminate the national story. The point,

however, is that a nation has a national literature although only an ardent nationalist would want to read each individual text as an exemplum of the nation.

To be a 'proper' minority ethnic group within the Australian nation, the Greeks and their descendants in Australia need a literature of their own, and this is Greek-Australian Literature. It helps to give validity and 'authenticity' to the social formation. Many of the Greeks who are included in it - and even more of their descendants - remain contentedly unaware of its existence, but a similar phenomenon may be observed with national literatures. Many Greek-Australian authors become quite angry with their fellow Greeks who steadfastly refuse to buy the books that they have gone to considerable expense to print and publish. However, it is not necessary for their books to be read by great numbers for them to do their work. Greek-Australian Literature helps to establish the Greek-Australian community as part of the multicultural Australian social imaginary, to use Castoriadis's useful term. It has done this job well, for Greek-Australian Literature is generally acknowledged as the most successful of the minority ethnic literatures of Australia.

Many of the texts of Greek-Australian Literature can be read easily and 'naturally' as social documents - even when they are dealing with personal experiences and feelings - but not all of them. All of the other concerns of literature from time immemorial, such as love, death, family joys and sorrows, personal happiness or sadness, can be more prominent and, again, an 'against the grain reading' might be needed to make them specifically Greek-Australian.

Greek-Australian Literature, then, is an ethnic minority literature constructed on the model of a national literature. There is, however, another aspect to it. It is an overlap category which produces an overlap literature. It includes texts written in Greek, which might easily be thought of as belonging to Greek Literature, that is, as part of the li-terature of the Diaspora, and texts written in English which might be thought of as part of Australian Literature. In this way, the category could be broken down and its texts distributed between two national literatures.

It is interesting to notice in this connection an important antho-logy that makes no use of the term 'Greek-Australian'. This anthology first appeared in 1985 as Η Λογοτεχνική Παρουσία των Ελλήνων στην Αυστραλία and then in 1987 as *Greek Voices in Australia*. Basically, the first is the Greek language version and the second the English language version. The texts were collected and edited by George Kanarakis of Charles Sturt University. As is apparent in both the titles, Dr Kanarakis makes no use of the term 'Greek-Australian'. The same is true in the extended introduction and other editorial material in the volumes. It would be an interesting exercise to consider to what extent the implications of multiculturalism that I have isolated and analysed are present in the volumes, even though the term is not used, and to what extent the category is replaced by the distribution of the texts to the two national literatures.

Whatever such an analysis would show, the overlap quality raises another possibility. Greek-Australian Literature can be seen as a supra-national, or at the least a cross-national, literature. In this case it might even be seen as part of the process by which the 'national' is beginning to lose its centrality as the most important organizing principle of international relations. In this case, too, the whole of Greek-Australian Literature belongs to Australian Literature, and undermines the concept of a national literature as the product and possession of one exclusive ethnic group. If all of this sounds rather muddle-headed, this should cause no surprise; for the ideas of nations and of ethnicity exist in the world of inter-subjectivity, a notoriously confused and confusing area.

Although a body of criticism has developed around Greek-Australian Literature, not much of it is devoted to a discussion of the theoretical issues of categorization and construction. I myself have tried to deal with the subject on many occasions but I would like to mention for any interested readers only three essays. My 1983 essay in AUMLA (Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association), was the earliest presentation of my views on the matter. A much fuller treatment is to be found in the Introduction

to the anthology Reflections which was published in 1988. My latest version, before this essay, was published in 1994 in the journal Culture and Policy in an essay called 'Multiculturalism and Australia's National Literature'.

Another critic who has written interestingly on the subject is Helen Nickas in her Introduction to her monograph Migrant Daughters. The female voice in Greek-Australian prose fiction (1992). Although she points to several problems with the category, she decides that it is the best to hand and uses it herself.

The third critic to enter this territory is Nikos Papastergiadis in an essay 'The journeys within: Migration and identity in Greek-Australian Literature'(1992). He argues that the binary opposition between Greek Diaspora (best illustrated by Kanarakis) and Greek-Australian (with the location in Australia and best illustrated by Castan) leaves out the most important element, that indicated by the hyphen which points to the space that is neither Greek nor Australian but a kind of a no man's (or no person's) land in which the most important problems of the minority ethnic groups are being fought out. He argues that both Kanarakis and Castan present belonging (to Greece in one case and Australia in the other) as if it were the reality, while the reality is a rupture within identity, a non-belonging to either place.

Papastergiadis is making an important point which adds to our understanding of Greek-Australian Literature. It is not, as at some points he seems to imply, an overthrowing of the category as the fact that he himself uses it shows. The hyphen is an important part of the term and at the level of the individual text, including some of the finest, it is the rupture within the identity, the space between Greece and Australia that has to be bridged, that activates the imaginative powers. This can be seen in the prose work of Antigone Kefala which Papastergiadis discusses in his article and in Vasso Kalamaras's fine poem 'The Farmer' who curses Greece 'που τον έδιωξε τόσο μακρυά στα ξένα', and Australia, whose soil gives him a bountiful harvest, but which he can not love because he has given his heart to the Greek soil. There are, however, many texts in which the sense of belonging in

Greece and others in which the sense of belonging in Australia is unmistakable. An example of the latter is George Pappaellinas's Ikons. There is no question that Peter Mavromatis has a strong sense of being Australian even if he has his existential woes, in part caused by his parents' ties with Cypriot customs. Equally, Manny Kanellis of Angelo Loukakis's Messenger embraces Australian identity.

The main point, however, is that whatever individual works might explore in Greek-Australian identity, the effect of the sum total, that is, of the literature taken as a whole, is to stress that Greek-Australians are as Australian as anyone else. None of this is to deny the identity problems that many Australians have, or the specific Greek-Australian identity problems that many texts reveal. Quite often a whole is more than the sum of its parts and to construct the category of Greek-Australian Literature is to turn signs of a distance between Greek and Australia into an Australian space.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper in Greek was published in the Cypriot journal *Ακτή* 33, 1997, 65-72.

2. Interestingly, in an article in the same *Ο Κρίκος*, Φατσέας theorises on the need to form a new consciousness, the Greek-Australian.

3. Ghassan Hage's White Nation (1998) is an interesting analysis of multiculturalism, on the basis of which an explanation could be attempted. I would add, however, that he seriously understates the benefits that many non-foundation ethnics have gained from multiculturalism..

4. This was the term used in the early days of settlement in New South Wales to distinguish the native-born from the new arrivals. It was generally believed that the native-born were finer physical specimens, taller and leaner than the newcomers.

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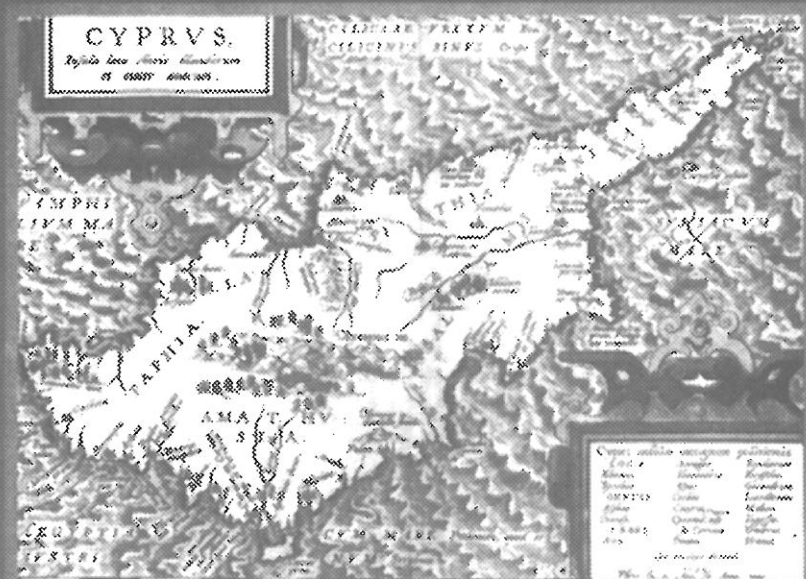
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Στέφανος Κωνσταντινίδης

Το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα

Δομές της Κυπριακής Κοινωνίας
και
Εθνικό Θέμα

Mapping Greek-Australian Literature: a re-evaluation in the context of the literature of the Greek diaspora

John Vasilakakos *

RÉSUMÉ

La présente étude se propose (a) d'examiner les plus importants problèmes théoriques et pratiques ainsi que les problématiques rencontrées lors de l'étude de la littérature grecque moderne de la diaspora (LGMD) et (b) de tracer un bref portrait de la littérature gréco-australienne.

La présente étude soutient que la LGMD n'a pas été étudiée adéquatement en raison de la nature complexe de ce phénomème et du désaccord parmi les universitaires sur une définition communément admise de la LGMD. Aussi longtemps que de telles disputes sur des termes et des concepts clès (tels "Hellénisme", "Grecité", "tradition" etc.) continuent d'exister, une définition satisfaisante de la LGMD va également continuer de rester pendante.

Pour ce qui est de la littérature gréco-australienne, la présente étude avance que la littérature helléphone a été une de plus dynamiques parmi les littératures minoritaires de l'Australie. Cependant, malgré cette floraison, l'arrêt de la migration massive quelques 20 années auparavant et du décès des immigrants Grecs de la première génération, la littérature gréco-australienne a subi un retrecissement continuel. Dans quelques années il est probable qu'il n'y ait plus beaucoup d'auteurs écrivant en langue grecque, les Grecs de la deuxième et de la troisième générations écrivant uniquement en anglais. Cependant, ces écrivains d'origine grecque écrivant en anglais jouent un rôle de premier plan dans le développement de la littérature australienne locale et beaucoup d'entre eux figurent parmi les meilleurs auteurs Australiens.

L'étude conclut avec l'observation que les problèmes et problématiques ci-haut mentionnés, aussi bien que la particularité de la LGMD, constitutent une raison additionnelle pour que le chercheur se lance à l'étude de ce domaine encore inexploré.

ABSTRACT

This essay attempts (a) to examine the most essential theoretical and practical problems and problematizations which arise in the study of Modern Greek Literature of the Diaspora (MGLD) and (b) to give a concise profile of Greek-Australian Literature.

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The essay argues that MGLD has not been researched adequately due to the complex nature of this phenomenon and to the disagreement among scholars on a commonly satisfactory definition of MGLD. As long as such disputes over key terms and concepts (such as "hellenism", "Greekness", tradition" etc.) continue, a satisfactory definition of MGLD will also continue to be pending.

With regards to Greek-Australian literature, this essay argues that Greek-spea-king literature has been one of the most dynamic minority literatures of Australia. However, despite its boom, the cessation of large-scale migration some 20 years ago and the passing away of first generation Greek migrants, Greek-Australian literature has been shrinking continuously. In a few years there may not be many Greek-speaking writers left as the second and third generation Greeks write only in English. However, these English-speaking writers of Greek origin play a leading role in the development of mainstream Australian literature and many of them are in the fore-front of the Australian literary scene.

The essay concludes with the observation that these problems and problematizations, as well as the peculiarity of MGLD, constitute an additional, motive for the researcher of this hitherto unexplored field.

The aim of this essay is to briefly examine the most essential theoretical and practical problems and problematizations that arise in the study of Modern Greek Literature of the Diaspora (MGLD) as an overall autonomous phenomenon, and give a concise profile of Greek-Australian Literature.

The term MGLD refers to that literature which is written exclusively in the Greek language, by people usually of Greek origin who, for a long period of time, have lived or live permanently outside of Greece and whose works thematically revolve mainly, if not exclusively, around the life of migrants.[1]

However, a commonly accepted and satisfactory definition of MGLD is very difficult to derive because neither the phenomenon of the Greek "diaspora"[2] overall nor its "literature"[3] has been researched adequately. This may be attributed to the complex nature of the phenomenon itself. MGLD is difficult to define due to its particular features and unevenness (i.e. it is not homogeneous), which impede the study of this literature as a unified, overall autonomous phenomenon. Thus, although it is generally accepted that because of its common linguistic and cultural origins with the literature of Greece, MGLD constitutes a branch of that literature (see Vasilakakos 1995:8 and

Kanarakis 1985:109), its inherent peculiarities and attendant theoretical problems, in conjunction with certain expediencies, discourage such a study.

Secondly, in the last few years, the concept of "hellenism" has been disputed more than ever, as have, consequently, the concept of the Greek "diaspora" and its "literature", too. For how is it possible for the Modern Greek diaspora to be satisfactorily researched, much more so its literature, when the well-known dispute between the intellectuals of Greece and those of the Greek diaspora (mainly Greek-Americans) rages on, with regards to the meaning of the term "hellenism" or to whether, for example, "hellenism" is Greece-centred or universal,[4] and when concepts such as "nation", "Greekness", "tradition"[5] etc. are being disputed as well? If there is no agreement upon such key terms, what hope is there in defining the identity of the literature of "hellenism" and indeed of the "diaspora"?

As long as such disputes over key terms and concepts continue, a satisfactory definition of MGLD will continue to be pending. Especially since such definitions will always rely on subjective criteria as to what is "nation", "hellenism", etc. and what these terms represent for their various users. The determination will depend, as Hasiotis (1993:15) argues, on "the partiality of their point of view" or, according to Lambropoulos (1994:32), on the "interests" that form the terms and their meanings every time.

One of the most serious theoretical problems which characterizes the MGLD is its very peculiarity, the fact that, as Hasiotis (1993:186) accurately observes, the literature of the Diaspora moves among three philological poles: the intellectual climate of Greece, the social framework of the Greek Community and the cultural environment of the guest-countries. The phenomenon presents special interest because it concerns the gradual formation of peculiar literatures in various countries (Greek-American, Greek-Australian, Greek-German, Greek-Russian, etc.), in which elements and experiences of different societies and cultural traditions are creatively recast. [my translation, here and elsewhere]

This triangular relationship, inevitably creates a series of more general problems for the researcher, which are related to the peculiar hybrid nature of the said literature. That is, they are related to the fact that this literature exists in a de facto situation of semi-independence

both from the linguistic and, more generally, literary and cultural background of the birth-country, as well as from the counterpart background of the social reality of the guest-country. At the same time, this literature has not been able to achieve a satisfactory freedom from one or the other dependence, or an absolute autonomy. Consequently, it is characterized by its duality, by the fact that it is neither absolutely Greek, nor let us say, Australian, but a fusion of both: Greek-Australian.[6] That is, Greek in language but diasporic in thematic orientation[7] and in its overall temperament, ethos and style. On the one hand, as far as its ethos is concerned, the psychology of the displaced individual is usually obvious and is expressed by the bitterness and suffering in the foreign land. In essence, it is about a cry of protest against the cutting off of the uprooted from the umbilical cord of the mother-land and whatever that entails. On the other hand, the style testifies to the various disturbances within the displaced person as natural consequences of this psychosomatic mutilation and the schizophrenic situation of the expatriates who are experiencing a double (linguistic and cultural) reality.[8] That is why we have linguistic types or hellenized words in such literature which have been formed by words and expressions borrowed from the English language or translation loans from other languages. The result of this frequent intrusion of anglicisms and diglossia is to create a linguistic and stylistic hybridity with the use, for example, of Greeklish, etc.[9]

This hybridity inevitably makes MGLD a separate entity[10] that is literally and metaphorically, peripheral, since it is outside the mainstream literatures of the home-country and the guest-country. Hence the ignorance and indifference to it on the part of the literary establishments of both the birthcountry and guest-country.[11]

Despite the occasional highsounding pronouncements and promises of officials, the lukewarm reception of MGLD by Greece can also be attributed to other factors (apart from the peculiarities already mentioned), such as the communication difficulty arising from the huge geographical distance between Greece and countries like Australia and America. Thus, the expatriate Greek writers are deprived of an immediate access to mechanisms such as publishers, the media, reviewers

etc., which project and promote a new literary work. Besides, the competitiveness and satiety which exists in the book industry as well as in the literary societies of the metropolis, usually constitute a factor working against the promotion of MGLD.[12] As I wrote some years ago, "if the Greek writers of the metropolis 'are ea-ting away their flesh', then there couldn't be any worse cannibals than the Greek writers of the diaspora..." (Vasilakakos, 1985:32).

The distinction and official grammatological reference of individual cases of expatriate Greek writers, from Cavafy's time to date, without an equivalent reference to the overall phenomenon of the literature of the diaspora, as well as the adoption of these literatures by the official mainstream literatures of the home-country and/or the guest-countries,[13] confirm, to a certain degree, the theoretical impasse we face in relation to the MGLD. More than anything, however, it implicitly, but clearly, reveals the prejudices and deliberate strategies of scholars (with the carefully orchestrated absence of any reference to the overall phenomenon of the MGLD) who essentially define the identity of the official/mainstream literature of hellenism.[14]

It is natural that these theoretical problems in relation to the MGLD have a direct impact on the literary practice itself.

The Greek-speaking writers of the diaspora, to a varying degree — depending on the country in which they live and work — face a series of practical problems which are primarily related to the minority character of the language in which they create.[15] If we exclude the student population which, by necessity, dwell upon it, the Greek literature produced outside Greece has a very small readership and the MGLD has an even smaller one. That is why it is almost impossible for a Greek writer of the diaspora to earn a living from his/her books.

In the case of Australia, of course, things are undoubtedly somewhat better for writers who write in Greek, in comparison to those of other countries, since all minority writers are entitled to certain government literary grants in order to write in their own tongue. Furthermore, due to the large size of the Greek Community, which numbers several

hundred thousand Greek-speaking people, some writers, mainly play-wrights and perhaps prose writers, whose work has been translated into English, can, under certain conditions, make a living out of their works.

However, in order for a writer of the Greek diaspora to survive in the long term, he/she is forced to make some choices which are not at all painless: either to return to his/her home-country, to translate his/her work in the language of the country he/she lives in, or, in one of the major languages, or to adopt the language of his/her adopted country. The cost, psychological or otherwise, of any such decision is obvious. As far as I know, most of the Greek writers of the diaspora choose the lesser of these evils: their survival[16] through the translation of their works, attempting, thus, to win over two readerships.

In relation to Australia, this tactic of translating literary works is gaining more and more ground, not only among writers who work in minority languages, but also among writers who write in English and wish to see their works translated into other languages. For this reason a Federal Government program in the form of grants for literary translation, was instituted some years ago which aims mainly at promoting Anglophone Australian literature overseas and, to a lesser degree, at translating into English and promoting literary works written in other languages in the Australian market.[17] That is why, in the case of Greek-Australian literature, but perhaps of MGLD in general, translation does not constitute a marginal manifestation, but an integral and, as Castan (1992:61) correctly remarks, "a central activity of Greek-Australian literature" and all these peculiar literatures. Babiniotis also argues along these lines: "A major defence mechanism of national/ethnic languages against the linguistic [imperialism/expansionism] of the major languages is the translation of foreign [...] texts into the mother national/ethnic tongue of every people."

Translation, of course, much as it seems the ideal solution, is not a panacea, nor does it solve magically all the problems of the writers of the Greek diaspora. On the contrary, sometimes it can create more problems than it hopes to solve. This is because, apart from the fact

that translation is a time-consuming and difficult task, as all those involved in the field know, if the translator is unable to be on the same wave length as the spirit of the specific work and its creator and does not have an excellent knowledge of the language, the psychology and culture of the target audience of the translated work, then it is likely that the results, instead of benefiting, will harm the Greek writer. In the final analysis, translation, according to Babiniotis, "is not any-body's work, nor a simple passage from words into words [but] linguistic creation."

Besides, no matter how good the translation of any Greek literary work may be, it does not necessarily mean an automatic guarantee that the work will be warmly received by the English-speaking readership of a given country. Often, the appreciation of a literary work does not necessarily depend on the quality of the original work nor on the quality of the translation, but on purely cultural, idiosyncratic and other factors that are related to the trend of the times, etc. That explains, for example, why English translations of works by Papadiamantis and Elytis left the English- speaking readership coldly indifferent, something which never happened, let us say, with Kazantzakis who has remained the most popular Greek writer outside of Greece for decades.[18]

But even translated literary works still create theoretical impasses for the scholar of MGLD. The novel Epsilon — the mother tongue (1995) by the well-known writer of the Greek diaspora, Vassilis Alexakis, was first written in Greek and was subsequently translated by the author in French. It was first published in French and afterwards in Greek. Now, does this novel belong to French Literature, Greek Literature or the MGLD?

Before attempting to give a concise profile of Greek-Australian Literature, I should make clear that the term ("Greek-Australian Literature") usually refers to the literary works produced in the Greek language, mainly, but not always, by people of Greek descent who are engaged with Greek-Australian or other migrant themes.[19] Although the term "Australian-Greek Literature"[20] is not very common, it refers

to the Australian literature which is written, of course, in the English language by people of mainly Greek and also people of non-Greek descent who have some connection with the Greek culture.[21] The works of these writers who are engaged with multicultural themes have one characteristic in common: thematically they refer to experiences of Greek migrants in Australia but also experiences of Australian migrants in Greece.

The official multicultural policy of Australia after 1975 was a catalyst for the upgrading of migrant artistic and literary creation which, as Hergenhan (1988:335) argues, had begun before 1964. The Australian authorities as well as the public realized that the contribution of migrant minorities was cultural as much as it was economic, given that migrants, as bearers and inheritors of a whole range of cultures, had all the necessary prerequisites to become ideal creators of new currents in art and inject new life into the existing culture. The official government recognition of migrants as equal to Australian citizens, also presupposed the recognition of their intellectual and artistic entity and their peculiarities. This meant practical encouragement, projection and promotion of their hitherto repressed and, therefore, hidden and unknown talents.[22] Thus with the establishment of the Australian Council for the Arts in 1973 and, specifically, with the encouragement and promotion of multicultural arts and literature,[23] we have the materialization of government pronouncements regarding the cultural upgrading of minorities. As for multicultural literature, the establishment of the Australia Council was an economic and moral shot in the arm, which marked a revival in the arts.[24]

Greek-speaking literature in Australia has been one of the most dynamic and vibrant minority literatures and has contributed significantly to the multicultural literature of this country. But, despite its boom and the fact that it has produced a few hundred books (most of them self-published) and some remarkable writers such as Dimitris Tsaloumas, S.S. Charkianakis, Dimitris Tzoumakas and John Vasilakakos who have received prestigious literary prizes, distinctions, grants and other recognitions both in Australia and Greece, Greek-Australian literature overall has never had a huge impact on the wider

literary scene either in Australia or in Greece. This is attributed to the fact that of the earlier writers, very few had a higher education and the luxury to devote themselves to writing and distinguish themselves in this field. With the cessation of large-scale migration to Australia some twenty years ago, there was no longer "new blood" being injected from Greece. According to Vasilakakos (1997:8), with the passing away of the first generation of Greek migrants, Greek-Australian literature has been shrinking continuously, so that in a few years there may not be any Greek-speaking writers left as the second and third generation Greek migrants write almost exclusively in English.

However, in the last twenty years or so, in the English-speaking countries, one is witness to a strange phenomenon: more and more ethnic writers of non- English-speaking origins, who write and publish their works in English, are playing a leading role in literary developments by winning major literary prizes, government grants and by seeing their books becoming best sellers.[25] The same phenomenon can also be seen in Australia where English-speaking writers of Greek origin are often in the forefront of literary scene.[26] Such writers are, for example, Angelo Loukakis, George Papaellinas, Spiro Zavos, Tony Maniaty, Zeny Giles, Antigone Kefala, Jim Sakkas, Fotini Epanomitis, Christos Tsiolkas, Eugenia Tsoulis and others. Sakkas and Epanomitis have won the major Australian literary prize for young, unpublished wri-ters, the Australian Vogel Award.[27] Such prizes awarded to Australian writers of Greek descent are of decisive importance because they bring out and establish new talents and new currents in Australian literature.

The paradox in the case of Australia is not only that all these writers are of Greek descent, but also that their themes are almost always influenced by their Greek experiences and have as their epicentre their personal experiences. Furthermore, one observes a turn in the attitudes of these writers. Their origin has ceased being an object of embarrassment as was the case in the past.[28] Now their Greekness has become an object of pride and celebration as well as a source of inspiration.[29] Hence their works often have an autobiographical character, focusing on their linguistically and culturally split identity. Even the

English language they use is strongly influenced by the Greek, embellished by Greek words or sentences. In that sense and in comparison to earlier migrant writers of non-English origin, we have a complete turnaround in the overall technique. The experimentation with language and narrative means becomes obviously more daring and radical. This radicalism in recent migrant literature can also be detected in the seeking of an oral or as Gelder & Salman (1989, p.202) characterize it, a "demotic language" the best examples of which are Epanomitis' novel The Mule's Foal (1993) winner of the 1993 Australian Vogel Award and also Papaellinas' novel No (1997).[30]

We could claim then that in the last twenty years, the Greeks of Australia are taking revenge through their second generation writers who are stealing the show in the area of Australian multicultural literature. The irony here lies in the fact that Australian literature was, to a degree, conquered not so much superficially, through the folklore of Greek thematics, but mainly from the inside, grafting, that is, the English-speaking literary mentality and expressive means with Greek words and expressions and lending them a peculiar — verbal and narrative — 'exoticism.' This 'exoticism' emanates from the strong colours, the unusual smells, the strange sounds, the new tastes, etc., whereas the language is distinguished by a deep innovation which is largely due to its catalytic transformation by the dynamics, the sounds and rhythms of the "foreign" musicality. It therefore would not be an exaggeration to claim that in the case of Australia, the English language has been besieged and conquered through the Wooden Horse of a culture which emanates from the Greek-Australian minority. [31]

The exploitation of the quality of being a "foreigner" provides these writers with the possibility of freeing the content and forms of English-speaking literature from certain traditional models, old stylistic and conventional techniques and other hereditary rigidities and of renewing it. Through the glance of the "foreigner", the known is transformed into the strange, the familiar becomes mysterious, the every day becomes different and original.

In this sense, the Australian writers of Greek origin have the inherent privilege of transforming the alleged "disadvantage" of their ori-

gin and marginality into an "advantage" and by exploiting it appropriately, of moving from the margins into the mainstream of Australian literature.

All the aforementioned theoretical and practical problems and problematizations arising out of the peculiarity of MGLD constitute an additional motive for the researcher of this almost virgin field which continues to remain unexplored. The systematic research of MGLD, as an integral part of Modern Greek Literature in general, does not constitute an undertaking of just a literary interest, but an undertaking of national duty, if we reflect on my earlier remark (Vasilakakos, 1985:32) that Calvos, Solomos, Cavafy [...] are the li-ving denial of the myth that the nucleus of Greek artistic and literary creation is to be found within the walls of the Metropolitan centre."

NOTES

1. See Vasilakakos (1995:8). This view of mine is not always found to be agreeable by some scholars who claim that literatures such as the Greek-American, Greek-Australian etc., should also include writers of Greek origin (and not only) whose themes are Greek, although the language of this literature is not Greek. Generally, as Spilias (1992:420) observes, "the term Greek-Australian literature [...] is used today widely and has, more or less, been 'legitimized', despite the objections which have at times been expressed as to the suitability of the term and despite the fact that the field has not been absolutely defined. Discussions and suggestions concerning the said questions have been published in journals of the Greek Community and Greece and surely the debate will not stop here." Corkhill (1994:1), for example, considers Australian literature to be that which is also written in the minority languages, that is, by non-English speaking migrants. See also Castan (1992:55) about the appearance of the Greek spirit in the English-speaking literature. Castan (1992:388) also claims that "Greek-Australian Literature is written neither in the Greek language nor in English and sometimes in both." See also Castan (1988:5-6). Even those scholars such as Kanarakis (1985:86), who consider the Greek language to be a basic criterion of MGLD, eventually include English-speaking writers in their anthologies: see,

for example, The Literary Presence of Greeks in Australia (1985:538). The same tactic has been adopted by Spilias and Messinis (1988) in their bilingual anthology, Reflections, and by Mantzouranis (1995) in his anthology, Greek Writers in Germany. In relation to Greek-American literature, things are even more fluid, where some scholars (see Karanikas, 1985:204) are not clear on what they mean exactly by the term "Greek-American authors." Apparently, according to Giannaris (1985: 8-7), "it is about works written in English and published in the USA, which reflect and reveal the typical procedures in the initiation of new arrivals into the American reality." See also Moskos (1985:197). For my response see Vasilakakos (1987:21 & 1995:14).

2. According to Hasiotis (1993:15), "Despite the large number of individual studies, the overall historic development of Modern Greek Diaspora from the 15th century until the end of Second World War has preoccupied very little the Greek and foreign historiography. Exceptions do exist. However, most (and perhaps the most remarkable) of them do not hide either their fragmentation and occasional character or the one-sideness of their point of view."

3. As Hasiotis (1993:185-186) points out correctly, "the literary output of expatriates presents special interest, with considerable achievements presents special interest in poetry, prose and theatre. It is about a history chapter of Modern Greek literature which has not yet been noticed as it should have by our philologists." See also Kanarakis (1985:109) and Giannaris (1985:17).

4. Tzousdanis (1996:5), for example, sees hellenism as an "international culture [and] universal system."

5. Greek-Americans, in general, believe categorically that hellenism is universal. According to Lambropoulos (1994:32), "hellenism has never been a national, racial or geographic (that is national) entity, but a cultural and pedagogic (and hence, a concocted and changeable) category." That is why Lambropoulos insists on emphasizing hellenism "as [mainly] cultural phenomenon and model [which has no] centre or owners [...]." Furthermore, Litsas (1985:11) claims that the study of Modern Greek Letters should not be limited exclusively to the territory of Greece but beyond that, that is, in the diaspora, since

"Modern Greek is a cultural and intellectual continuity of ancient Greece." This Greek-American stance can perhaps be explained by the fact that, as Giannaris (1985:14) claims, "Hellenism of the Diaspora (Middle East, Asia Minor, Eastern Countries, Africa, Western Europe etc.), irrespective of the generations, presents a more genuine Greekness as far as the Greek knowledge and the maintenance, in particular, of Modern culture is concerned, than the Hellenism of Africa. The same more or less applies to Canada and Australia." Also, according to a Neos Kosmos (1996:9) report, "The Greek-American Community is concerned with the dramatic reduction of marriages between Greeks. [...] The answer that Mr Ioannidis himself (director of the Vryonis Centre for the study of Hellenism) gave was that, 'To a large extent the fight will be judged on the field of ideas, education and culture.'"

6. For a more thorough examination see Vasilakakos (1986:38-39 & 1995:12-14).

7. See Vasilakakos (1995:8) and Karanikas (1985:204). Giannaris classifies the Greek-American novel as "migrant and ethnic."

8. Giannaris (1985:9) speaks of a "double consciousness" which "results in some kind of schizophrenic paralysis." Veis (1992: 566) claims that "diaspora causes the big, catalytic split of the writer. Literature attempts, usually in vain, to reconcile the chronic contradictions and inherent difficulties, which are entailed in a permanent residence abroad, at the same time when the expatriate creator continues to live in his/her imagination in the land of the forefathers."

9. See also Kanarakis (1985:54) and Giannaris (1985:15).

10. Giannaris (1985: 9 & 16) considers the migrant novel and the ethnic novel as an "autonomous cultural element" and certain Greek-Australian literary works as "self-existent philological entities within the body of American literature and as 'another' of Hellenism."

11. Kanarakis (1985:109) is of the same opinion: "we should remark with sadness that, despite its significance and contribution, the literature of the expatriate Greeks has not only not been recognized and appreciated by the countries abroad, due to the different languages in which it has been written but, even worse, apart from some excep-

tions, it has neither been systematically studied nor methodically anthologized by the intellectuals of metropolitan Greece, as it deserves." Koumides (1996:66) also claims that "the feeling of an unjust lack of recognition and abandonment, does not afflict only Cypriot writers, but other parts of Hellenism outside of Greece. [...] I have the impression that there is generally a frightening indifference and that something must be done."

12. For a more detailed discussion see Vasilakakos (1995:16-17).

13. For a detailed discussion, see Vasilakakos (1995:14-15) and Koumides (1996:66).

14. Of all the histories of Modern Greek Literature, the one by Kostellenos (1977:235-237) devotes a short subchapter to MGLD entitled: "The Literature of the Expatriates." But apart from being very brief and general, it stops at 1922. Furthermore, whereas all the Modern Greek Literature historians make reference to the Greek diaspora of 1669, none of them touches upon the Greek diaspora of modern times, especially when they refer with certain praise to some of its more notable representatives such as Cavafy, Kahtitsis and others. This inconsistency and omission could be attributed to the serious inadequacy of the historiography of Modern Greek Literature and its inability to follow the developments and, possibly, to a certain degree of prejudice against the literature of the expatriates. Indicative of this mentality is, for example, the way Linos Politis (1980:227) expresses his puzzlement about the fact that a poet of the diaspora like Cavafy, managed to play a leading role in modern Greek literature: "It is curious. While in Athens of 1880 almost a unique intellectual centre of hellenism, Palamas is at his peak and influences dynastically poetry and intellectual life, at that period, in an isolated region of hellenism, Alexandria, a poet who in the later years was to take over the central position in modern Greek poetry and influence decisively its whole modern development until our days creates his work." Also, it may not be by accident at all that an equivalent overall study of the minority literatures of multicultural Australia is absent, as Corkhill (1994:1) remarks. For a more general discussion on the subject see Vasilakakos (1995:7-30).

15. In Giannaris' book (1985:29), Dalla Dami claims that, "Of all the fields of activity of the Greek-Americans, that of the writer was the last which was recognized, both by Greek-Americans and the American readership."

16. According to Babiniotis, "translation, from a 'necessary evil' within the linguistic differentiation which characterizes the people as national/ethnic communities, it is developed into a means of linguistic meeting of people and at the same time into a weapon for the survival of national/ethnic languages."

17. In relation to the Australian literary grants to non-English speaking writers, see Vasilakakos (1995:17-19 & 1996:14).

18. The irony is that Kazantzakis should have been translated and become known first abroad in order to make it in Greece! The other irony is that while Elytis, thanks to the translation of his Axion Esti by Kimon Friar (according to a confession of the latter to Vasilakakos), won world recognition with the Nobel prize for literature, he had little appeal to the English - speaking readership. Regarding this subject, see the interesting article by Tziovas (1995:41).

19. See previously the comment by Hasiotis (1993:186).

20. Or as Gelder & Salzman (1989:186) calls it "migrant or multicultural writing."

21. Australian literature has, for a long time, generally been considered a migrant literature. Gelder & Salzman (1989:187) give the following explanation: "It is now a cliché to point out that all Australian literature, other than Aboriginal literature, has in a sense been immigrant literature. In the nineteenth century writers themslves, as well as their works, drifted between the reassurance of England and the challenges of a strange new world. But by the mid-twentieth century, there ran an Anglo-Saxon Australian culture against which the wave of post World War Two migrants were forced to define themselves. In the 1950s, a considerable body of literature about European migration appeared, produced by writers like David Martin or Judah Waten. But since the 1970s, a different social perspective on immigration has had its effect on the literature, which now

tends to be by migrants, as well as about them. The voice of the migrant now speaks through new forms of fiction."

According to Castan (1992:60), "multiculturalism entails the use of the term 'Australian literature' in both the singular and the plural. In the singular it applies to the literary work of all Australians, regardles of the languages it is written in, the place of birth of the writers, or their cultural ideology. In the plural it refers to such parts of Australian literary work as Greek-Australian literature. These are understood as both distinctive within Australian literature and essential to it: distinctive in that each one has its own qualities and characteristics deriving from its own inheritance; essential in the name of both social justice and the common core of experiences which inform all Australian literatures [...]."

22. Let us not forget, as Hasiotis (1993:157) remarks that: "Until the beginning of the 1970s, the tendencies for repatriation were encouraged by the assimilation policy which the Federal and State Australian governments tried to implement on the migrants who were not of 'Anglo-Celtic' origin."

23. As Willbanks (1992:6) states: "The Literature Board was established by the Australian Government in 1973 to support writers through direct subsistence grants and through subsidies to publishers to bring more Australian writing into print. Between 1973 and 1974, the Literature Board supported the publication of fifty-four works of fiction: by 1986 the number had grown to over two hundred. Writers themslelves will argue the mixed blessing of this government patronage, but the Literature Board has been an important factor in stimulating and disseminating creative writing in Australia. It has also provided funds for critical research and subsidized literary journals [...]."

24. For a detailed discussion see Vasilakakos (1997:42-43).

25. According to Iyer (1993:54), "The Booker prize for fiction is London's way of formally commemorating and coronating literary tradition [...]. In 1981 the Booker went to Salman Rushdie's tumultuous, mani-headed myth of modern India, Midnight's Children. In the 11 years since, it has been given to two Australians, a part Maori, a South

African, a woman of Polish descent, a Nigerian and an exile from Japan. Runners-up have featured such redoubtably English names as Mo and Mistry and Achebe; when a traditional English name takes the prize — A.S. Byatt, say, or Kingsley Amis — it seems almost anomalous. Last year the $30 000 award was shared by Barry Unsworth, an Englishman married to a Finn and living in Italy (for his novel Sacred Hunger); and Michael Ondaatje, a Sri Lankan of Indian, Dutch and English ancestry, educated in Britain, long resident in Canada, with siblings on four continents (for The English Patient). Five days earlier, the Nobel prize for Literature had been awarded to Derek Walcott, a poet of African, Dutch and English descent, born in St. Lucia and commuting these days between Boston and Trinidad — a 'divided child', in his own words [...]."

As Hasiotis (1993:186) observes, "Apart from the Greek-speaking lite-rary output, the expatriates, mainly of the second and third gene-rations, have also presented remarkable works in the languages of their new countries, participating in this way in the development of these countries' literatures.

27. This award is accompanied by the sum of $15 000 000 and is given to the best unpublished novel by a young writer who has been selected following an Australia-wide competition. The publisher who funds this award also undertakes to publish the manuscript.

28. See for example, the scene in the work of Papaellinas (1988:156) where the Greek migrant kid is embarrassed to be picked up from school by his grandmother in black.

29. As Gelder & Salzman (1989:187) argue, "In this literature there is now a new sense of the integrity of the migrant experience, a rejection of the pressure to abandon one's old identity under the compulsion to assimilate. Ethnicity is shifting towards becoming a badge of pride, rather than shame."

30. This experimentation and radicalism are also confirmed by the fol-lowing remark in Gelder & Salzman (1989:191): The growth of migrant writing during the last twenty years or so also reveals the con-stant slippage between a radical expression of a new voice and the silences that remain beneath new cultural expression."

31. My argument is also strengthened by Iyer's (1993:54) following views: "There could hardly have been a more vivid illustration of how the Empire has struck back, as Britain's former colonies have begun to capture the very heart of English literature, while transforming the language with bright colors and strange cadences and foreign eyes. As Vikram Seth, a leading Indian novelist whose books have been set in Tibet and San Francisco, says, 'The English language has been taken over, or taken to heart, or taken to tongue, by people whose original language historically it was not.'

The conquering of this mainstream Australian literature by writers of non-Anglo-Saxon descent and the relevant developments is testified by Elizabeth Webby in her article in Meanjin in 1983 entitled "Short Fiction in the Eighties: White Anglo-Celtic Male no more?" As Hergenhan (1988:543) says, "Webby traces the trend in Australian writing — and publishing — away from the dominance of people called John, Peter, Alan, Patrick, Hal and Frank and towards a more equitable representation of people with names like Serge and Angelo and Ania, and Marian and Elizabeth and Kate. There is a growing taste for 'migrant writing', and there are increasing numbers of people [...] who are writing, now that there is a market for their work; this is to some extent a self-perpetuating phenomenon."

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Hellenic Drama 'down-and-under' : a Tradition for a DIS-placed World in Search of its Myth

Leo Papademetre *

RÉSUMÉ

La contemporanéité du drame hellénique dans le monde trouve ses racines dans la perception que 'la tradition' dans l'art du théâtre est une tradition d'évolution. En effet, le drame hellénique re-crée les icônes de notre lutte idéologique perpépetuelle contre des malheurs auto affligés en réformant sciemment les dramatis personae quintessenciellement helléniques et les font réfléchir profondément à la subjectivité diachronique de nos perceptions de notre humanité. Ce besoin, toujours contemporain de scruter notre tradition théâtrale, est devenu le point de concentration de nombreux praticiens d'art dramatique qui ré-évaluent nos perceptions de notre monde par les représentations théâtrales, soulevant de cette manière la question de responsabilité dans la pratique du théâtre en re-examinant ce qu'est une 'expérience théâtrale' pour nos spectateurs contemporains transmodernes traversant les modalités. Depuis 1994 la section d' Etudes helléniques de l'université de Flinders à Adelaïde, Australie, a nourri la recherche et l' étude de la culture du théâtre hellénique et de son evolution avec l'aide du collectif théâtral Fragments, dont le but est l'exploration des dimensions dramatiques du théâtre hellénique (tragédies ainsi que comédies) par la cinesiologie et le rituel en-corporé. Le collectif fournit un 'espace' d'échanges d'idées où les performants peuvent puiser dans les énergies de leurs expériences biculturelles et bilingues, aussi bien personnelles que collectives, qui sont (dé) placées et diasporiques en nature.

Le projet en cours de ce collectif -- *An evening with hellenic theatre:* Elektras/Klytemnestras; Marching Lysistratas – explore les notions d'[in]justice dans le contexte de la lutte matriarcale – patriarcale pour la dominance et le pouvoir en se basant sur des fragments de textes de Aischylos, Sophocles, Euripides, Marguerite Yourcenar, Heiner Müller, Aristophanes et Ionesco.

ABSTRACT

The 'contemporariness' of Hellenic drama internationally stems from the perception that 'tradition' in theatre-arts is a tradition of evolution. Hellenic drama re-creates the icons of our own constant ideological struggle with self-afflicted woes by consciously re-casting the quintessential Hellenic dramatic personae on the world stage of human existence, and has them ponder critically the diachronic subjectivity of our perceptions regarding our humanity. This ever-contemporary need to keep

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examining our theatre tradition has become the focus of many drama practitioners who re-evaluate our perceptions of our world through the performing arts, thus, giving rise to the issue of responsibility in theatre practice in re-assessing what is a 'theatrical experience' for our trans-modern and cross-modal contemporary audiences. Since 1994, the Hellenic Studies section of Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia, has been fostering and nurturing research and study of Hellenic theatre culture and its evolution with the assistance of the performing collective *FRAGMENTS,* whose aim is the exploration of the dramatic dimensions of Hellenic theatre (both tragedy and comedy) through kinesiology and embodied ritual. The collective provides a cross-fertilising 'space' for performers to resource the energies of their personal and collective bicultural and bilingual experience, (dis)placed and diasporic in nature. The collective's current project *An Evening with Hellenic Theatre: Elektras/Klytemnestras ; Marching Lysistratas* explores the notions of [in]-*justice* within the context of matriarchal-patriarchal struggle for dominance and control based on fragments of texts by Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides, Marguerite Yourcenar, Heiner Müller, Aristophanes and Ionesco.

Introduction

The Drama 'tradition' in a European-re-constructed theatrical grammar is primarily classical Hellenic drama and its evolution over time in a eurocentric, trans-atlantic/ trans-pacific cultural development. In essence, this diachronic view of theatrical 'tradition' involves re-assessment, since by its nature, Hellenic drama is a tradition of re-evaluating the theatrical process and development, adherence to conventions of its grammar, on the one hand, and experimentation and avant-gardism beyond the confines of these same conventions, on the other.

Take, for example, the 'Unity of Time' principle, as suggested in Aristotle's *Poetics* and debated by scholars ever since (cf. Arnott 1989:132-161). Multiple perspectives of action, in and out of their localised time frames, are prevalent in Hellenic drama, tragedy and comedy, indicating, on the one hand, a sensitivity to the relative concepts of 'time' and 'space' which we associate with the theory of relativity, 'timespace' and its role in defining the 'modernity' of our present twentieth century; and, on the other, the concern with interpretations of the Myth, the multi-related narrative for the sake of pursuing truth while questioning justice in the socio-political context of classical Hellas still a human pre-occupation at the end of our millennium. Moreover, the objective in Hellenic theatre and its practitioners

has always been the manifold expression of the human myth, and its multi-expressed narrative of continuous interpretation of what constitutes truth, a relevant social concern of any age, classical or contemporary in conflict with the law concerning *oikos* and that of *polis.*

Peter Arnott provides an insight into how 'tradition' and 'modernity' in theatre can co-exist because the most human of all conditions is the necessity to keep re-discovering our own past, which is always relevant to the human pursuit of self-knowledge:

Time in Greek tragedy is manipulable...time bends to dramatic necessity. It is doubtful whether the Greeks would have thought it necessary to justify the time compression. Such concerns belong to a theatre more realistically conceived. In a theatre where the setting is controlled by the imagination, time, like place, can be what you want it to be.... By the manipulation of time he [Sophokles in Antigone] achieves, let us say, what a cubist painter achieves by the analytic depiction of space: *he allows us to study something from several points of view at the same time.* [emphasis added]

(Arnott 1989:149-151)

Con-texts, Sub-texts, Sur-texts, Inter-texts Trans-texts in Contemporary Performance

a. (Dis) Placed Threshing Floors: a Hellenic Drama Project in a Diasporic Australian Community

Multiple-perspective in expression over time, was one of the basic questions that motivated our study through performance of the Hellenic human concerns and the quandary of justice in classical theatre. Since 1994, the Hellenic Studies section of Flinders University of South Australia, has been trying to foster and nurture diachronic research and study of Hellenic theatre culture and its evolution. With the help of former, bilingual students who also had theatre experience, the performing collective *FRAGMENTS,* was created; its central project-objective is to explore the dramatic multiple-dimensions of Hellenic drama in performance through contemporary Hellenic-dia-

sporic perspectives, which are, in turn, informed by bilingual and bicultural sensibilities.

The collective's primary concern is to map out the capabilities of the human mind by working creatively with the expressiveness of the human body in order to provide a cross-fertilizing 'space' for bilingual performers to delve meaningfully into their inner world (dis)placed, diasporic and bi-cultural in nature and resource the emotional energies of their personal and collective cross-cultural memory and experience. The connective resource of its members is a collective desire to share the profound sense of self-discovery achieved when journeying among the vestiges of the Hellenic/Universal Myth of existence, among the fragments of the tragic and comic narrative of *la condition humaine*.

The collective's current project-*An Evening with Hellenic Theatre: Elektras/Klytemnestras ; Marching Lysistratas* is an exploration of two interconnected themes:

(i) in tragedy: the universal notions of [in]-justice within the context of a matriarchal-patriarchal struggle for dominance and control as presented via the myth of Klytemnestra/Elektra and its associated complex of oppressed desires and displaced memories. Fragments of the myth, as found in classical texts by Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides, as well as in its modern interpretations by Marguerite Yourcenar { **Fires:** *Clytemnestra, or Crime* } and Heiner Müller {**Hamletmaschine:** 5, *fiercely enduring millenniums* "This is Electra speaking.."}, have been dramaturgically combined, rehearsed and then experimentally performed for a period of two years' before its presentation at the International Theatre Conference *Millennium Responses:* (DIS)*placing Classical Greek Theatre* at Thessaloniki University, September 18-22, 1997 (in the context of *Thessaloniki-Cultural Capital of Europe '97*).

(ii) in comedy : the universal notion(s) of utopian male-female *politics* as debated in some of the comedies by Aristophanes. Fragments from three comedies have been selected (**Lysistrata,**

Ekklesiazousai, Ornithes) and dramatically interweaved to create a narrative of perceptions of *ruling* as experienced and advocated by any aristophanic personae who engage passionately in this public debate about the pros and cons of state rule by men or women in turn. As a denouement, fragments from Ionesco's **Rhinoceros** have been added for an absurd reflection on contemporary mass conformism, public and legit in the name of 'globalisation'.[2]

The dramatic re-interpretations of universally recognisable personal and familial wars expressed by the selected writers, (dis)placed within their differentiated cultural contexts and historical time frames, became the modus operandi for our collective's exploration into the tragic myth of human (in)-justice. Consequently it provided us, (dis)-placed diasporic European-Hellenes, with a connective link in the construction of our diachronic European-Hellenic cultural identity, the basic premise of which we perceive to be recursive: constant, multiple re-assessment of all human (dis)-placement in any contemporary technologically-driven social context, where humans by their universal nature belong simultaneously to multiple-group memberships and communicative networks (cf. Papademetre 1994).

By utilising the kinesiology of our bicultural bodies and the ritual practices embodied in our bilingual ethos while performing 'the other' on *(dis)placed threshing floors,* we attempt to engage in a di-scourse on the evolutionary tradition of European drama and its poiesis-in-praxis legacy, its dramatised Mythos, from the periphery of Hellenic culture, *en-diaspora* ad perpetuum.

However, our concern for the tragedy has not been "with a linear progression of the play", with one Klytemnestra and one Elektra; our interest in the Oresteia tragedy has been motivated by "the inner structure, in the pattern of character answering character, and case matching case...as three acts of an enormous debate" (Arnott 1989:124). We wanted to use as many bodies and as many voices as possible, because our personal experiences of the quintessential Hellenic in this narrative have been marked by our dynamic inside/outside (central/peripheral) perspective on the Hellenic cultu-

ral continuum which includes multi-cultural contexts that we felt were in need of expression, if not of debate.

Thus, our focus has become the dialectic between cultural identities, included and excluded by the metropolis of Hellenic culture vis-à-vis its diasporic periphery. This finds expression in the conflict between mothers (Klytemnestras) and daughters (Elektras) in view of their actions motivated by their beliefs, which they justify in turns, according to their perceived notions of 'true' justice, whether pertai-ning to *oikos* or *polis,* to the centre or the periphery of any given culture. For, as it has been pointed out, Aischylos' *Choephoroi* and its variations by Sophokles and Euripides in their respective *Elektra(s)*, functions as the "counterstatement" in the debate at the core of the Oresteia trilogy:

The structure of the trilogy is also the structure of dialectic: statement, counterstatement, and resolution. (Arnott 1989:123)

Our effort in providing yet another "counterstatement" on the human debate about *whose truth is the truth* centres on presenting multi-dimensionally the perceptions on the issue by these dramatic personae-who have been given different voices by each of the classical dramatists, each one with a differing perspective, and a different motive-and juxtaposing the 'classical' with some 'modern' voices: Marguerite Yourcenar's 1935 voice debating the female perspective from within a French-European cultural context, and Heiner Müller's voice contradicting the conflict of ideological boundaries that characterises the post-World War II German and European cultural dichotomy [3].

Therefore, in our collective's performance, Yourcenar's one Klytemnestra facing "the gentlemen of the jury" has been broken into three, her dismembered body finding expression through three performing bodies with three inner voices; Müller's two-in-one Ophelia-Elektra has been separated, one bounded by her own fury to endless revolution, the other walking a somnambulist's short-lived freedom.

For the comedy part of the project, the focus of our exploration has become the juxtaposition of irreal vs. ir-real situations in the shared

absurdity of Aristophanes and of Ionesco, through which levels and aspects of reality/irreality remain at odds with one another, as their characters always bypass the chances to reconcile each other's perceived differences and similarities. This is because each debating side (male or female, conformed or non-conformed), considers its view socially more beneficial for both sides, being blind to the fact that any side will advocate conformity for all citizens, men, women, rhinos or other monsters.

In *Elektras/Klytemnestras,* our performing collective found a way of narrative performance by focusing on the irreality of killing even your own kin in the name of the reality/necessity of tribal wars among humans. In *Marching Lysistratas,* our contemporary experiences are performed through censored, deflected lenses of multi-cultural absurdity (Greek *para-logo* = beyond words).This is as such because our lived bilingual otherness finds comparison and counterpoint in the bi-culturally-censored social context, with which our diasporic experiences remain in conflict due to the competing cultural values in place. In comic-absurdist terms, this unbroken chain of locked-in, unresolved human situations echoes the un-broken chain of the locked-in tragedy of human beings in conflict with their [in]-humanity ad perpetuum.

Thus, the two perspectives of narrative in Hellenic drama meet in our project: the un-resolved nature of humanity's weakness in repeating mistakes without a respite, with no exit in-sight from the circle of our own destruction (the tragic mode of expression) and the dog-chasing-its-tail ('ouroboros') absurdity of existence (the comic mode of expression). In performance, the difference lies in form than in content. In tragedy, the absurdity of living is reflected through the blindness of characters, and their inability to see that their actions produce words which justify these same actions (Elektra says as much to Klytemnestra in Sophokles' version). In comedy, absurdity feeds on the characters' actions that are first set in words: the oath-of-chastity which *Lysistrata's* women take is simply the new text, the 'statutes' in the constitution they endeavour to act upon; the *ekklesiazousai,* when in control of the state, write these 'statutes' down, and everyone must

conform to the conditions of the new constitution. And such is the absurd nucleus of utopian political *engagement* : write your own constitution in order to act upon it by demanding all others to comply with it because it is now the Law of the Land. According to Aristophanic absurdity, echoed in Ionesco, that Law requires equality/conformity for all, in ownership and pleasure, business and leisure. These were the pivotal forces behind all state rhetoric for equal opportunity and social justice 2400 years ago (during the era of human struggle with the complex issues of 'democracy') and now, 2400 years later, in our era of globalised globalisation which 'multi-cultural', industrial societies enthusiastically espouse with aplomb and abundance, assuring all citizens of the economic benefits across all creeds, genders, races and 'cultures'. Apropos: Ionesco's inflatable absurdity: (a) of a city (a real/irreal state, an a-topia, an everywhere-place) in the grips of conformity, where all citizens are seized by *rhinoceritis;* and (b) of the physical transformation of all the city's conformed citizens: look-alikes.

Hence, our trans-national-based project has utilised 'texts' engaged with dramatic re-interpretations of Hellenic trans-temporal themes and universal social concerns. Such a project attempts to provide performers and audience alike with a connective link to cross-cultural fertilisation in theatrical expression, based on discursive discourse: endless re-viewing of the human place in contemporary society via the means provided by the evolutionary nature of the Hellenic drama.

With this project, FRAGMENTS, has been aiming at didaskalia-via-performance of versions of *(dis)placed* perspectives on the human condition expressed through individual bodies voicing collectively on stage in the lingua franca of our nuclear consciousness, international English the tragedy of every Klytemnestra and Elektra, the absurdity of every Lysistrata and every non-conformist in every human society. This performing collective resources itself from the multiple dimensions of the cross-cultural dialectics inherent in comparative theatre and the intercultural semiotics existing symbiotically in contemporary multicultural societies in conflict with their own cultural boundaries and the political agendas they set for themselves and others.

b. Illusionary Boundaries

Experimentation with the corpus of Hellenic drama has greatly contributed to creating and nurturing an international ethos of multiple perspective in interpretation. Such a development has provided the present generation of theatre practitioners in Greece with the diachronic perspective necessary for expressing their contemporary Hellenic sensibility vis-a-vis multiple-readings based on contemporary translations of the classical repertoire into what is commonly (though linguistically in-accurately) called "modern Greek." Of this development, Patsalidis writes:

> As far as Greece is concerned, it is worth noting that in recent years there has been a more intense inclination for experimentation... The experiments by Voutsinas, Charalambous, Volanakis, Doufeksis, Evangelatos, Papavasileiou, Diamantis and Tsianos, et al., though successful at times in provoking arguments and addressing problems, they are not always convincing in terms of a more holistic statement of purpose. The only exception, in our estimation, is the case of Theodoros Terzopoulos. All four tragedies presented so far - *Bacchai* (1986), *Persians* (1990), *Antigone* (1994), and *Prometheus Bound* (1995)- with his theatre company "Attis", carry clearly the stamp of his personal vision and anguish...They have an aesthetic and ideolo-gical "position" which they support with consistency and continuity. (Patsalidis 1997: 416-417)

In its statement of purpose for performing the *Bacchai,* the arti-stic director of Attis Theatre Company emphasises the essence in teach-ing-performing Euripides for today's modern insensibility - moulded in and by the decline of spirituality in western civilisation - by re-examining the tradition of spirituality and transience of humanity, embodied in the poetic world of a 'classical' Hellas at the edge of its existence, torn between the gradual decline in the worship of the spirits of nature and creation and the newly-arriving era of rationalism:

> We search for the deeper, inner voice of one's self. We are loo-king for the primordial desire to relive ancestral memories, to commune with others, to lose our self-imposed boundaries and thus give corporeal expression to the deep conflict between logic and instinct. (Terzopoulos 1988)

Such a statement of 'purpose' emphasises the need to teach tragedy in performance as today's society finds itself instinctively and collectively in search of a balance between the adoption of rationalism in the name of techno-logical advancement, social stability, and economic

prosperity and the symbiotic relationship of the creating with the created (cf. Papademetre 1987).

There could not be a more appropriate statement of purpose for any theatre tradition with a corollary avant-garde mission, that is, the constant search for understanding and resolution of, the most human of conflicts: the struggle for dominance over self by human rationality and irrationality in turn.

As a statement of purpose, this contemporary Hellenic perspective on the function of theatre, vis-à-vis the classical perspective has not changed qualitatively. Its organic connection with its classical progenitor remains qualitatively transparent: its focus is still the human being and its world, this world's search for knowledge of self, that can assist in knowledge of the other-in-self. Any notion of 'modernity' has only added to the piling-up of quantitative dimensions of the basic la *condition humaine*. Terzopoulos expresses plainly the 'modern' conflict:

The more man becomes civilized, the more he forgets what he has experienced in life...He learns from the outside world, in a society which keeps developing, which progresses, which is dominated by technology, in a technocratic era which automatically is self-destroyed......Perhaps in the twenty-first century men will laugh at the mistakes which men of the twentieth century commit, the last humanists. (in McDonald 1992:159,169)

The modernity of the Hellenic dramatic dialogue with oneself and one self's place in the scheme of schemes of human existence is as traditional thus dynamic not static as the whole ethos of any one person's individual belief in espousing Universal truths; for the essential spirit of the avant-garde is to espouse Universal truths, whatever their individual source, since our Myth, the Myth of our creation and being, is a Universal Myth concerning our origins,... the foundation of humanity. The deeper a dramatic performance delves into the underlying structure of our being, the more revealing the icons, the signs, the collective tensions become. (Terzopoulos, in Papademetre 1989)

Any seemingly 'avant-garde' dramatic performance is traditional insofar as it places its faith in what Heiner Müller calls "the thrusting of bodies and their conflict with ideas on stage" and when it maintains its faith in "theatre as the revolution on the march" (Müller, 1982). Especially, when it offers any contemporary theatre audience an experience as varied in dramatic form and content as any other multiple-perspective expression in the context of social intercourse and human communication for the purpose of posing questions, visualising quandaries, past, present and future, or, to quote Arnott again, when allowing theatre audiences "to study something from several points of view at the same time."

Epimetron

Just as Hellenic drama, in all its facets, from text writing, to production, didaskalia, rehearsal and performance, was never static 2400 years ago, so it has never been static through its multiple re-stagings ever since, in many languages and in many cultural contexts around the world. The currency, or the continuous 'contemporariness', of Hellenic drama in the international theatre-culture context stems precisely from the diachronic perception that tradition in theatre-arts is a tradition of evolution and it is regularly evident in its re-evaluation internationally, especially in the last 50 years by drama & cinema-researchers-practitioners[4]. For, Hellenic drama has had a history of diachronic 'uses' and multiple readings; since the Roman times, without exceptions, all Hellenic tragic myths & narratives have variously become the concern of writers, directors, publishers, theoreticians and practitioners. But, most interesting remains the fact that only in the last hundred years there has been such a systematic, multi-perspective, though at times extreme, re-approach and re-assessment of the language of tragedy in its diachronic journey. (Patsalidis 1997:26)

Thus, internationally speaking, Hellenic drama strives to re-create the icons of our own demise, our constant ideological struggle with self-afflicted woes by consciously re-casting any one (and all) quintessential Hellenic dramatic personae on the world stage and pondering, on behalf of all humanity, the purpose of human existence. This

ever-contemporary need to keep examining our human identity vis-a-vis our collective cultural tradition(s) has become the focus of many theatre practitioners who re-evaluate our worldly perceptions through the performing arts, thus, giving rise to the issue of responsibility in theatre practice in re-assessing what is a theatrical experience for our trans-modern and cross-modal, international, contemporary audiences.

It is precisely this need to keep questioning human assumptions about human endeavours that has been the diachronic thread in the evolution and development of Hellenic theatre. For, we can see the horrors of our age in the reflection of the past, and by reflecting ourselves, leave the theatre with more understanding.

Any dramatic re-interpretations of human concerns expressed though the tragic or comic modes of theatre provide the connective link in the construction of the diachronic, European-based, but internationally relevant, theatre-culture identity because its basic tenet is recursive and involves: endless re-viewing of the human place in contemporary society via the means of the evolutionary tradition of the Hellenic in dramatic arts.

Επίμετρο-2

Ελληνισμός Διασποράς, Θεατρική Παιδεία και Ευρωπαϊκή Πολιτισμική Κληρονομιά: Επιβίωση, Εξέλιξη, Ευθύνη.

Το ενεργό ενδιαφέρον για την θεατρική παιδεία και κατάρτιση, ελληνική και παγκόσμια δεν αφορά μόνο τον δάσκαλο και τον ειδικό θεάτρου αλλά όλο το κρατικό-κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό σύνολο ενός σύγχρονου πολιτισμού με διαχρονικότητα παράδοσης και εξέλιξης. Οι πολιτισμικές και πολιτιστικές σχέσεις λαών δεν αποβλέπουν μόνο στην ορθολογική πολιτική και εμπορική ευστάθεια και ευημερία αλλά κυρίως στην όσο το δυνατόν αρτιώτερη ανάπτυξη κατανόησης σε ευρύτερη κλίμακα των διαφορών και ομοιοτήτων του πολιτισμικού πλαισίου της οποιασδήποτε συναλλαγής.

Πολυ-πολιτισμική και δια-πολιτισμική αμοιβαιότητα είναι παγκόσμιο ζητούμενο: παραμένει βασική ανθρώπινη ανάγκη. Το θέατρο στην

παιδεία προσφέρει αυτή τη δυνατότητα δια-πολιτισμικής ανάγκης για συνεχή κατανόηση μεταξύ πολιτισμών μέσω του αμεσότερου μέσου ανθρώπινης επικοινωνίας: τον αντι-κατοπτρισμό της ανθρωπότητας, της ανθρωπιάς και απανθρωπιάς του σε δημόσιο χώρο, στο αλώνι του θεάζειν εαυτούς και αλλήλους.

NOTES

1. South Australian Greek Cultural Month, Adelaide (April 1995); Adelaide International Fringe Festival (March 1996); Third International Biennial Conference of the Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand at Melbourne University- in conjunction with the Melbourne International Fringe Festival (September 1996); Annual Convention of the National Union of Greek Australian Students, Adelaide (January 1997).

2. Performed in Adelaide for the Global Citizenship: Languages & Literacies, Joint National Conference of the Australian Association for the Teaching of English, Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, Australian Literacy Educators Association, 1999.

3. Heiner Müller in his interview with Sylvere Lotringer, in The German Issue-Semiotext(e), 1982 Vol.IV, No.2, declares: " I believe in conflict. I don't believe in anything else. What I try to do in my writings is to strengthen the sense of conflicts, to strengthen confrontations and contradictions. There is no other way."

4. From its filmed interpretations by Pasolini and Cacoyiannis, to its staged hermeneutics by Tadashi Suzuki and Bob Wilson, by Heiner Müller and Theodoros Terzopoulos, by Peter Sellars and Peter Stein, by Karolos Koun and Spyros Evangelatos, by Peter Hall and Tony Harrison, by Matthias Langhoff, A.Mnouchkine, Wole Soyinka, and by many more (cf. McDonald 1983, 1992).

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1. Introduction

As we stand at the beginning of a new millennium, it is appropriate to review the achievements and knowledge of the past, and to assess and evaluate those developments which will be the basis on which our further scientific and intellectual growth will be founded.

Literature, by its very nature, is eminently predisposed to such assessment, for it is on the ideas, mentalities and trends in contemporary writing that the literature of the future arises. So, it is timely to review Australian literature, in this case the image of Greeks and Greek culture in contemporary Australian literary writing[1] as it has appeared from 1980 onwards.

The 1980s and 1990s have seen a change in the composition of the intake of immigrants to Australia as well as in the origins of a large proportion of them. This has contributed to the development of a community which is more accepting of, and more settled with, its immigrants, capable of showing a deeper understanding and tolerance, and which is altogether more cosmopolitan in its attitude and outlook. In turn, this new atmosphere has encouraged a re-reading of Australian culture and a maturing of the approach towards the writing of Australian literature. The outcome of this, which itself has been helped by the addition of many more writers of non-British-Australian backgrounds, has been the viewing and illustration of immigrants through the lens of a new mentality and viewpoint.

This change in mentality towards immigrants—and here towards a Greek immigrant in particular—is touchingly conveyed in the following passage from the short story "Evridiki's Dog" by James McQueen:

"A comic figure to us, of course; how else? We didn't even call them New Australians in those days; reffos, they were, and if their skins were a bit dark, then comical too.

Now, of course—so late—I can feel the enormous weight of her loneliness, the isolation of land and language and distance. A still-raw grief, perhaps, for her dead husband, a silent brooding image somewhere in that dim hot house, and her stoic endurance." [2]

The Image of Hellenism and Greekness in Australian Literature at the End of the Second Millennium

George Kanarakis *

RESUMÉ

Le fait de tracer un portrait des Grecs et de la culture grecque tel que présenté dans la littérature australienne ne constitue pas un phénomène nouveau bien qu'il s'agit principalement d'un phénoméne de l'ère de l'après Guerre. Comme nous commençons le nouveau millénaire il est approprié d'examiner de travaux significatifs des auteurs Australiens contemporains afin de nous assurer de la forme que ce portrait revêt aujourd'hui. En laissant de côté des auteurs de la première ère et leurs travaux (cependant dignes de valeur), nous effectuerons une recherche d'un large évantail d'oeuvres récentes écrites par des auteurs Australiens, dans lesquelles la description variée de Grecs et de la culture grecque sera localisée et examinée. Une attention particulière sera donnée à de nouvelles approches et mentalités qui ensemble illustrent un nouveau développement, et qui à leur tour seront examinées dans leur contexte socio-culturel. Après tout, ces images et impressions extériorisées que contient le corpus de la littérature australienne sont celles que cette littérature transportera avec elle dans le siècle prochain, et qui, dans une certaine mesure, influenceront les perceptions et possiblement même les attitudes de ses lecteurs.

ABSTRACT

The portrayal in Australian literature of Greeks and Greek culture is not a new phenomenon, although it is basically one of the post-World War II era. As we begin the new millennium it is appropriate to examine relevant works of current Australian literary writing to ascertain the form which this portrayal takes today. Leaving aside earlier writers and their works (however worthy), an investigation will be made into a wide range of recent works by contemporary Australian writers, while the varying depictions of Greeks and Greek culture will be located and examined. Particular attention will be paid to new approaches and mentalities which together illustrate a new development, and which in turn will be discussed within its socio-cultural context. After all, these externalised images and impressions which the body of Australian literature contains are the ones which this literature will carry with it into the next century, and which, to some extent, will influence the perceptions and possibly even the attitudes of its reading public.

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It is a measure of the maturity of Australia that, notwithstanding the outdated views of small pockets of the population, it has reached this level of cosmopolitan outlook, for it is only a few decades ago that the Sydney newspaper *Daily Mirror* wrote "Australia needs Britons before misfits ... or second and third class human material"[3] , that immigrants were sometimes abused for speaking their own language in public, and that the official policy of assimilation, extending to the mid-1960s, expected immigrants to abandon their own culture and heritage. The prevalent attitude which influences our literary writers now, at the turn of the century, is markedly different to that of those earlier times.

Literature is a broad field, and, apart from fiction, poetry and drama, this study includes works such as travel accounts, biography, autobiography, and even food writing because they, too, belong to literature, and they also convey attitudes, conceptions and mentalities, but in a non-fictionalised form.

Another group of writings which has been included is that of children's literature, which is often overlooked in literary studies, perhaps because it is not considered "serious" literature.[4] Writing for children, however, demands a special skill, talent and sensitivity; and, indeed, those writers of adult literature who can also successfully write for children are few. Moreover, this part of literature plays an important role in influencing the developing minds of its readers in their formative years and so in helping to shape the attitudes and mentalities which they will carry with them into their adult life.[5] Therefore, the way in which Greeks and Greek culture are portrayed in children's literature helps to mould young people's impressions of Greeks, as well as their attitudes towards them as they grow. At the same time these works constitute stories with which Greek children in Australia can identify, and from which they can gain reassurance. For these reasons children's literature is particularly relevant to this investigation.

Conversely, the works of writers of Greek origin, whether immigrants or the children of immigrants, have been excluded, despite the fact that they are an integral part of Australian literature. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate how Greeks are portrayed in their

works by Australian writers and writers from other immigrant groups, that is, how Greeks are viewed from the outside. Writers of Greek origin—born in Australia or elsewhere—to whatever degree they have adjusted to and adopted Australian behavioural patterns, perceptions and attitudes, are also influenced, to varying degrees, by the Greek element in their socialisation, and so can rarely place themselves completely on the outside of that group; intentionally or unintentionally, when they write about Greeks and Greek culture they will, to some extent, see with the eyes of the insider, and not with those of the outside Australian community.

2. Greek Characters in Australian Literature in the 1980s and 1990s.

2.1 Overview

A general survey of Australian literature from 1980 onwards[6] reveals that Greeks and Greek culture feature mainly in prose fiction works, particularly children's books, sometimes in drama, but only occasionally in poetry.

The Greek characters portrayed, whether main or minor, are sometimes the hero, sometimes the villain, may be depicted in a way to elicit our respect, admiration or sympathy, or other times our revulsion. They are not all good—an approach which would be paternalistic—but neither are they all bad—a negative and unrealistic approach. In other words, there is neither idealisation nor condemnation.

The outcome of this is that the Greek community appears as comprising people of a broad spectrum of types (good and bad, clever and rather unintelligent, progressive and old-fashioned, socially integrated or unassimilated, etc.), with a wide range of attributes, personality traits and social backgrounds. Characters include males and females, adults and children, businessmen, policemen, detectives, psychiatrists, academics, shop owners, restaurateurs, factory workers, students, schoolchildren, gambling club owners, lawbreakers and simply family members. Undoubtedly, this is a much broader spectrum of Greeks than in the pre-1980 literary works, and more representative of the Greek community itself.

An exception should be made, however, for younger children's li-terature where, like people generally in this genre, Greeks are portrayed in a more uncomplicated way than perhaps is the norm in real life. In these works the Greeks are almost invariably nice, and even where one or two are the "villains" of the plot they reform in the end.[7] Ultimately, almost everyone comes to like the Greeks—especially *yiayia* (grandma) which is significant, considering the educational and moral aspect of children's literature.

2.2 Personal Characteristics

Whatever the social role of the individual characters, certain personal characteristics appear frequently, allowing the proposition that in the Australian community of the 1980s and 1990s these were widely-held views of the Greek mentality. Most prominent of these are the ones which relate to close family bonds, family honour, and the strong sense of parental responsibility and ambition for children.

Marriages are depicted on the whole as strong (though sometimes based on a sense of duty rather than emotional attachment) and almost always, but not exclusively, between two Greeks.[8] Parents, on the whole, are shown as responsible and caring but sometimes rigid in their views and over-authoritarian, while social ambition is often portrayed as a product not of ego but of responsibility for the family.

Immigration, too, is seen in terms of its anticipated benefits for the family, especially the children. Linked with this, Greeks are almost invariably characterised as working hard and with the family in mind, even if in some cases the work involved is not necessarily legitimate!

For individual family members, a strong pattern emerges. Fathers are presented as hard-working disciplinarians who often have rigid views about what is and what is not appropriate or acceptable for their Greek children and their wives. For example, in the humorous short story "Getting Married" by the Italian immigrant writer Ugo Rotellini, the Greek father objects to his son marrying a non-Greek in the following manner:

"In the Bekas household Yannis's father was yelling. 'These 'makaronades', these spaghetti people. They will not set foot in this house ever....

This one decides to marry a foreigner. An Italian, by God! She's fat and dark and talks too much. You like fat dark women? There are plenty in Rhodes. I'll pay for your trip back. Stay as long as you like. Go and visit your uncles. I'll write to them and tell them to start looking.'

'She'll have to learn Greek you know. I'm not going to speak Italian to her for the rest of my life. It corrupts the brain.'[9]

Mothers are hard-working too, take good care of the children, even to the extent of being over fussy, and have high ambitions for them. They want them to study hard, get a good job, marry well but to a Greek, and to provide them with grandchildren. Frequently depicted as more religious than the father, the conciliator in the fa-mily is often the mother, attempting to temper the husband's rigid views or engender in the children obedience to the father.

Children, in general, are also shown as having strong family bonds, with the sons in particular being very conscious of their responsibilities to the family. In particular in children's literature they are well brought up, polite and essentially nice.

Yiayia, who appears almost exclusively in children's literature, is depicted as an important figure and an important member of the family. She misses her homeland, sometimes to the point of extreme homesickness and feelings of uselessness in a foreign land where her skills and knowledge of such things as herbs and animals seem to have no place. Yet, invariably, she is warm, loving, generous and helpful towards neighbours and friends, as well as the family. Speaking very little English, strongly traditional in her ideas and dressed in black, she may at first appear strange or be a figure of fun to Australian children, but in the end they, too, always come to love her, perhaps because of her all-embracing love for children. In the family, she is a tower of strength, helping with the house and particularly with the children,

and, as the most religious member of the family, being primarily responsible for the maintenance of religious observations and traditions.

These family characters in literary works of the 1980s and 1990s can be compared with pre-1980 works, in some of which there are male characters, including husbands and fathers, who appear as into-lerant, domineering, bad-tempered and even violent (in one case disapproving of the wife working and forbidding her to wear make-up), and exploitative and rude as employers.[10] Wives and mothers in these earlier works are often uneducated, ignorant and sometimes submissive and spineless. In one pre-1980 young adult novel in particular, the son, while being obedient to his parents, nevertheless displays an extremely chauvinistic attitude to women in general, and especially to mothers:

"A mother was someone soft, discreet and quiet; someone who waited at home, cooking and attending to the needs of her menfolk....her true worth lay in her ability to be a faithful and obedient wife and a devoted and hard-working mother."[11]

Other aspects of personality are related to the homeland, expressed as a nostalgic view of the birthplace and longing for the family members left there, as well as the need to return or to be buried in the native land. Interestingly, this latter topic does not appear frequently, a phenomenon which is also seen in the Greek-language literature in Australia of the last two decades, this being a reflection of the changing mentality of Greek immigrants themselves who, on the whole, are happy to remain in Australia and visit Greece from time to time.

2.3 Social Characteristics

Social characteristics occur in a wide range of works covering both adult and children's fiction as well as biography, autobiography and food accounts.

Frequently encountered characteristics are those of a strong sense of friendship and hospitality, as well as a general atmosphere of joviality, gregariousness, vibrance and exuberance. These latter characteristics

are sometimes manifested in a general noisiness and love for the dramatic, as the following two quotations from a biography and a food account respectively demonstrate:

"The friend's little brother had been playing table-tennis with another small boy.

'It was incredible,' said Victoria. 'Every time he scored a point, he'd jump on the spot, yell, and then run around the room waving his arms wildly.'

'But of course,' I said.

She looked at me. 'All that energy down the drain—and think of how long it takes to finish the game!'

'I know,' I answered, 'but they love the drama of life, and they get the most of every moment.'

'H'm,' was the doubtful comment.

She will probably observe, as her stay in Greece lengthens, the way in which Greeks will create drama to fill a boring gap, to enliven dull routine."[12]

And in a more light-hearted vein:

"I used to go to this restaurant in Elizabeth Street across the road from the park. You'd climb up cement stairs, painted classroom green and scuffed, and on the second floor you'd pass a door that was blue.

It was always open and when you looked in thirty swarthy men looked back. Half of them were playing pool and shouting loudly, and the other half were playing cards and shouting loudly. As you passed they smiled at you and shouted loudly.

It was my first introduction to Greek men. From that day I have believed that Greek men hang around in rooms, drink black coffee and retsina, play pool and cards and shout loudly. It may be a racial stereotype but to me it sounds like a perfect life."[13]

The inclination towards card playing mentioned above appears quite frequently, as do references to gambling and a predisposition towards political debate. Another characteristic which is located frequently enough to conclude that it has made an impression on Australian writers is that of Greek business acumen, while, though appearing less frequently, some Greeks are shown to display poor taste in matters pertaining to dress,[14] decoration of restaurants,[15] etc. Finally, a strong picture emerges of the maintenance of religious and social customs, such as Easter celebrations, red eggs and dancing.

Interestingly, it is not always Greek males who are shown as being the successful ones, for female characters include, for example, a prominent psychiatrist and a tax inspector. The Greek community, on the other hand, can be seen as something of a threat to Greeks themselves. Not only is it tightly knit, which has its negative as well as its positive aspects, but it is regarded as a source of gossip and easy disapproval from which details of personal lives have to be concealed. Perhaps not aware of this side of Greek community life, some Australian characters exhibit a degree of resentment at being excluded from it.

A Greek enclave, however, is seen more humorously, as in the following few lines from the short story "Invitation to a Wedding" by award-winning author Peter Goldsworthy:

"Harry was living in Mile End, Adelaide, at the time. A lone ethnic Australian marooned in a Mediterranean Sea.

'Third largest Greek city in the world!' he told me once, his arm encompassing the street. 'After Athens—and Melbourne!'[16]

2.4 Inter-group Attitudes

Some Greek characters are portrayed as seeing Australia as shallow and Australians as unfriendly, bigoted and sometimes narrow-minded, but it is Australian women who come in for the most criticism, particularly from parents with sons.

On the other hand, some of the Australian characters regard Greeks as people who do not appreciate Australia and have not come here as

settlers. Rather, they maintain an attitude of superiority while simultaneously over-glorifying the homeland and being ethnically hypersensitive. Others exhibit a discriminatory attitude towards Greeks and in one case an Australian deputy headmaster is revealed to be a latent racist.[17]

In fact, negative images about each other were certainly held by both Greeks and Australians in the 1950s and 1960s, as research by David Cox shows.[18] He found that Australians resented the congregation of Greeks in certain suburbs, their strong ethnic structures and lack of adaptation to Australian ways, while Greeks had strong reservations about Australians and their way of life, especially in relation to family life and relations between the two sexes. Some felt that Australians took advantage of their lack of English, and many held a negative stereotype of the working class, especially its students and adolescents.[19]

In most of the post-1980 literary works these stereotyped ideas have largely disappeared, but the fact that they do still appear from time to time strongly suggests that in both the Australian and the Greek communities these ideas, while no longer prevalent, still linger to some extent.

Indeed, research in the 1980s by Rado and Foster[20] shows that while there is a general acceptance of multiculturalism, some prejudices still remain between Australians and ethnic groups (at least regarding activities in the public arena), and between members of different ethnic groups, including Greeks.

The question of inter-ethnic prejudice as it relates to Greeks was demonstrated in the earlier quotation from the short story "Getting Married", where the Greek father demonstrated his prejudice against Italians. However, the Italian father in this story, Barone, displays his corresponding prejudice against Greeks and various aspects of Greek culture:

"His first reaction to Anna's declaration of love for a Greek had been an exaggerated and obvious pantomime. He just kept shaking his head, hitting the palm of his hand against his forehead and saying

nothing. After which he got up and walked out of the kitchen, only to return a few minutes later to finish his pasta ...

Barone turned to his wife, sitting opposite him, 'How many times did I say to your daughter, fall in love, okay? Fall in love with someone you like, certainly, but an Italian, preferably with class and definite possibilities. So she brings us Yannis. And what has this little twirp got going for him? This boy Yannis is not even an Australian.... A Greek! We fought them in the war. We kicked them out of Sicily. We spit at each other at soccer. They're not even Catholic.'[21]

It would, however, be erroneous to conclude from the above that negative opinions predominate, for other characters in the literature display positive attitudes such as an appreciation of the classics and the classical period of Athens, or of life in Greece today. Indeed, the general feeling in the majority of the works is one of acceptance of the Greeks and, depending on the story-line, a sincere liking for them and their lifestyle.

2.5   Aspects of Difference

2.5.1 Cultural Differences

The fact that Greek and Australian characters are portrayed, in the main, as possessing some set and almost stereotyped ideas about members of the other group demonstrates a strong awareness of cultural difference. While in some texts the differences are accepted and often appreciated, other texts illustrate that they can lead to misunderstanding.

So, in the children's book *Dim and Dusty* by Joan Dalgleigh, a *yiayia's* cultural perception of what is an appropriate physical build for a small boy does not cause the child in question any distress, but quite the contrary:

"Yaya brought Dim [Dimitri] to school for the next three mornings. She smiled at Dusty and always had a little surprise for him— first, a cake, then a few biscuits and a bag of home-made chocolate fudge.

'Gosh, your grandmother is very kind, Dim,' said Dusty as they shared the sweets.

'Aha! It's part of her plan.'

'Plan?'

'To fatten you up,' Dim said between chews. 'She says you are much too thin for a growing boy.'

'Huh! I won't be for much longer at this rate.'[22]

Similarly, Gillian Bouras in her autobiography, A *Foreign Wife*, recalls a meeting of the two cultures—Australian and Greek—which brought a breaking-down of a stereotype held by one side and an appreciation of the different culture on the other:

"I was shy and hoped to discourage George by stipulating that he would have to meet my father before we could go to the pictures. He immediately thought that I was a very well-brought up girl.

'Take me to your father,' he demanded. 'I will present myself to him.'

And he did. He was accompanied by his best friend. Both were dressed in their best suits, with white shirt-cuffs showing and cuff-links glittering. There were presents: a folder of picture postcards featuring Athenian scenes, a record of the sound track of *Zorba the Greek*, and a wall plaque of the *Discus Thrower*. My father, lounging about the house in tattered shorts, was stunned but jocular. My grandfather had his hand kissed for the first time in his life, received this mark of respect towards the elderly in lordly fashion, and pronounced both young men 'gentlemen and scholars' after five minutes' acquaintance...

George had had the idea that all Australians were foul-mouthed, hard-drinking gamblers. It was apparently a great relief to meet my family, three generations of quietly-spoken, teetotal, stay-at-homes."[23]

In other cases, a meeting of the two cultures does not go so smoothly, as, for example, in the young adult play *The Heartbreak Kid*. Here,

when the family of a Greek boy, Nicky, wins Lotto, Nicky buys a shirt as a gift for his close friend, Steve, an Australian. But Nicky, expressing his friendship according to his own cultural pattern, does not know that Steve, in accordance with his particular cultural code, would feel that Nicky is being condescending. The end result is name-calling and a break in their friendship.[24] Of course, the opposite of this is that cultural difference can have its own attraction, as in Kerryn Goldsworthy's short story "Teach Me to Dance":

"I loved him because he was a stranger. He was dark and different; he came from a foreign place, full of passion and history.... He was a man, and a Greek; he was another country."[25]

2.5.2 Dislocation and Alienation

An outcome of cultural difference experienced by immigrants in the new land is undoubtedly social dislocation and alienation, feelings soon overcomed by some, but persisting for years for others. Numerous novels and short stories contain this element as a main or minor theme. It is not a phenomenon experienced only by adults, who sometimes feel bewildered and useless in the alien environment,[26] for children, too, suffer. Various children's books relate the problems of settling into an alien education system or of being the strangers in the land which is now their home.[27] The young children's book *Yasou Nikki* by Wendy Orr demonstrates this social dislocation through the eyes of a child as she confronts her new surroundings:

"The train station was not like the airport; there were not very many people but all of them were tourists, talking with their sharp chit-chit-chatter....

'Why are there so many tourists here?' Nikoletta asked.

'They're not the tourists,' her mother said. 'This is where they live. In our new country, we're the tourists.'[28]

2.5.3 Linguistic Problems

Social dislocation is exacerbated by lack of adequate knowledge of a language on all levels of communication (listening, understanding, speaking, reading and writing).

While it would be erroneous to think that all, or even the majority of, the Greek characters in contemporary Australian literature do not speak good English, nevertheless, to serve the writer's purpose, some characters are deliberately portrayed as facing linguistic difficulties.

The degree of difficulty with English ranges from those who do not speak the language at all (and consequently face enormous pro-blems with day-to-day life in Australia) to those who speak a mixture of Greek and English on a lexical and/or morphological and syntactic level, and which naturally leads to problems. These problems can be slight misunderstandings or more serious ones, which result in a breakdown in communication.

In one work, the autobiographical short story "I Watch My Grandsons Grow in Another Language", the problems faced by the Greeks in Australia who do not speak English are met with particular empathy when the writer, Sue Chessbrough, finds herself in an analo-gous situation:

"As the flight left Sydney carrying me to Greece for Kris's marriage to Niko, the blackgarbed Greek grandmother seated beside me was a source of mild annoyance—prodding me into arranging her luggage.

Why didn't she learn to speak English, I muttered to myself. But my turn was to come. The boot is on the other foot now that I'm a for-eign grandmother.... In Greece, I was on the other side, waiting for Kris to interpret conversations, to explain customs and superstitions passed down through the centuries.

'Why don't you learn to speak Greek?' they asked. I grappled with the strange tongue, making hilarious mistakes. I was a hopeless failure, but the people took me into their homes and hearts.... And I thought of the old Greek yiayia on the plane."[29]

On one occasion a misconception by some Australians concerning Greeks speaking English comes through the words of a child:

"'You know, you speak very good Australian for a Greek boy.'

Dim grinned. 'I was born in Australia. Why shouldn't I?'[30]

Occasionally a Greek has difficulties with Australian names, but more often Australians have difficulty with Greek names, especially the long and, to them, unpronounceable ones ("'That's what she called me. Mister Zed. She could never say Zaharopoulos'[31]). Other times the phonological similarity of certain Greek first names sound unusual to Australians ("Occasionally you'll meet Soula, Voula, Roula or Toula on Saturday morning at the delicatessen...."[32]), while the continuation of names from Ancient Greek times into the present is a source of gentle humour. This is illustrated in the short story "Yes, Sir!" by the Estonian immigrant Leonid Trett where we find Australian characters with names such as Harry Stottle [Aristotle] and S.O. Crates [Socrates] leading to inevitable confusion. On the other hand, the main Greek character in the same text is called Polycrates Pythagoras, reduced to "Paul" by his workmates.[33]

Not only are long Greek names difficult for some Australians to pronounce, but to most of them the Greek script is also completely baffling:

"On the next floor ... there was a restaurant which was called a lot of zeds on their side and some upside down Ns."[34]

However, while authors intentionally use social situations and linguistic patterns to convey language difficulties on both sides, some of them have, quite unintentionally, and without their realising it, demonstrated in their texts their own lack of familiarity with Greek names. This has resulted in a tendency for phonological progressive assimilation such as Mr Mavropoulou instead of Mr Mavropoulos and Kostos instead of Kostas,[35] or has led to phonological interference as in the case of Karintonis instead of Karantonis. In one case, where the authors must have heard something which to them sounded like a Greek name, a young Greek male is called "Neos Kosmos"[36], actually the title of a Greek newspaper in Melbourne, which translates into "New World"!

In the linguistic area of signs and symbols, however, a striking image which elevates a Greek product to a status symbol is in a short story where a young Australian man drinks specifically *Andronicus* coffee

rather than any other brand to symbolise that he is a connoisseur with innate good taste![37]

3. Concluding Discussion

Based on the evidence provided by a wide range of texts, a comparison of contemporary Australian literary works with works written before 1980 shows that there has been a marked change in the proportion of works in which Greeks appear and also in the way they and their lives and culture are now portrayed.

Certainly Greek characters, whether important or minor ones, were sparse in works of the earlier period and appear much more frequently now. This is particularly noticeable in children's literature. Earlier works in this category which included any immigrant characters were infrequent and the characters themselves were stereotypes or oddities, with Greek characters being very rare. A change in content came in 1961 with the publication of *The Racketty Street Gang* by L.H. Evers.[38] Describing the life of a German immigrant family in inner Sydney, it was the first children's book to recognise the changing nature of Australia into a multicultural society.[39] Then in 1974 Nance Donkin wrote *A Friend for Petros*,[4] a story about the social dislocation of a small Greek boy, and this book proved a turning point. From then onwards sympathetically written children's books about immigrants, including Greeks, increased. At the same time, of course, there were books retelling Ancient Greek stories or, especially from the second half of the 1970s, collections of stories from many lands, including Greece.[41]

By 1980 several children's works containing Greek characters had been written and today there are numerous such books, ranging through all intended reading age groups, either about Greeks or with Greeks featuring prominently in them.

Regarding the portrayal of Greeks in adult works from the earlier period, clearly there were more stereotypes present, especially negative ones. Even works which were basically sympathetic to Greeks and the problems they faced in Australia were frequently unable to escape this

tendency. One particular work which can be cited here is the novel, *The Young Wife*, by the Hungarian-born and much-travelled Jewish writer, David Martin, published in 1962.[42] This novel, which was highly acclaimed at the time, makes powerful observations which reveal Martin's close familiarity with the problems of social and geographical dislocation and adjustment, and is certainly sympathetic towards Greeks and Greek Cypriots. Yet even this work does not escape the negative stereotypes of the submissive wife, the domineering, aggressive and even violent husband and the idea of extreme reprisals for perceived slights on the family honour, however unintended his use of stereotypes may have been.

Of course, it must be acknowledged that the pre-1980 Greek community in Australia, especially that of the 1950s and 1960s, was quite different to the Greek community of today. To some extent, the predominant portrayal then of first-generation Greek immigrants as often uneducated and displaying the traditional mentality and ideas of Greek village life, may not have been far from the truth, at least for a part of the community.

However, Australian literature on the whole seems to have missed significant changes in the composition of the Greek community which occurred in the late 1960s and, especially, in the 1970s. Greeks arriving in that period were largely better educated than their predecessors, and far more of them had urban rather than rural or island backgrounds. The much higher proportion of professional people which is a fact of Greek community life today, was already an increasing trend in the late 1960s and 1970s, but it is a trend of which the majority of Australian writers seem to have been unaware, and a large part of their writing conveyed the outdated conditions and ideas of the 1950s and early 1960s. In this respect, Australian literary writing of the late 1960s and especially of the 1970s, therefore, went through a stage of less accurately portraying the reality of the Greek community than in the following decades.

However, a special mention should be made of children's literature for younger readers which, compared with adult literature, appears to have

been more progressive in its outlook. While some story books which reinforced negative stereotypes still appeared in the 1970s, others such as *A Friend for Petros* and Nini[43], both by Nance Donkin, were ahead of the general trend in transmitting a warm and positive image of Greeks.

From 1980 onwards, a more realistic approach has been followed. There has been a marked waning of negative stereotype images and while the 1950s' conception of Greeks still appears, this is only sporadic and to a much smaller and less pointed degree. This, however, is not a totally inaccurate depiction because, as with all immigrant groups from the largest to the smallest, a proportion of its members has inevitably remained culturally static.

Certainly, the current depiction of Greeks reflects not only Greeks and the Greek community as they exist today, but also the Australian perception of them.

Finally, an important conclusion arising from my research is that while works written before the 1980s gave a reasonably accurate picture of the Greek community (with the exception of a number of works written in the late 1960s and the 1970s), what is missing from the latter works but present in those written in the post-1980 period is the approach that depicts Greeks as being—regardless of their cultural differences—an integral part of the Australian community.

The foibles of the Greeks are tolerated in the same way as the foibles of other Australians, their good qualities and their strengths regarded with a corresponding quiet appreciation. Greeks today primarily appear in a work not because the author wishes to write about something that is different to the general Australian community or to give an air of the "exotic" as before, but because the author wishes to convey in his or her work that Greeks are a natural part of everyday Australian life—one of "us". Indeed, Australian writers now appreciate that in many social situations a picture of the Australian community will only be realistic if it incorporates characters with a non-British-Australian background.

This development in Australian literature largely corresponds to development and change in the attitudes in the Australian communi-

ty itself at large. Prejudice towards Greeks and most other immigrant groups has certainly diminished and a relatively broad-minded and cosmopolitan attitude with a more positive approach towards, and appreciation of, difference is held by the greater part of the population. This development constitutes a welcome trend in twentieth century Australian literature.

Now, at the dawn of the third millennium, we can feel confident that in the majority of Australian literary works Greeks are portrayed with a similar degree of realism to that applied to most other Australians. It is this image of Greeks and their culture, not one of prejudice and negative stereotypes, which will form an excellent basis for the development of this facet of Australian literature in the new millennium.

ENDNOTES

1. I include only literary writing in English, by writers living in Australia or by Australian writers living overseas. Literary writing produced in Australia but in a language other than English is considered to belong to the literature of that particular linguistic community, that is, works in Greek are part of Greek literature, in French of French literature, etc.

2. James McQueen, "Evridiki's Dog" in **Death of a Ladies' Man and Other Stories**, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1989, p.38.

3. **Daily Mirror**, 21 February 1947 in Michael P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), University of Adelaide, 1971, p.294.

4. Brenda Niall, "Children's Literature" in Laurie Hergenhan, gen. ed., **The Penguin New Literary History of Australia**, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1988, pp.556-557.

5. See also Marta Rado and Lois Foster, " 'I Am Not Prejudiced But...' " in Andrew Markus and Radha Rasmussen, eds, **Prejudice in the Public Arena: Racism**, Melbourne, Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies, Monash University, 1987, p.108.

6. The research for this study extended to over a thousand pre- and post-1980 books, including anthologies, as well as to category and subject searches in Australian literary bibliographies and Thorpe's catalogue of Australian books in print, and thus it can be postulated that the many references to Greeks and Greek culture which were located are quite representative of the depiction of Greeks and Greek life in contemporary Australian literature as a whole.

7. See for example the character known as the Munga in the award-winning story **Dancing in the Anzac Deli** by Nadia Wheatley (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1984, republished together with the also award-winning story **Five Times Dizzy** (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1982) by Hodder Headline, Sydney in 1997, in one volume).

8. One exception to this pattern is found in the young children's book **As the Crow Flies** by Pamela Morrissey (Sydney, Margaret Hamilton, 1997), where the father, Jim Diamantopoulos, comes from Kythera but his wife, Sal, is an Australian.

9. Ugo Rotellini, "Getting Married" in R.F. Holt, ed., **Neighbours: Multicultural Writing of the 1980s**, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1991, pp.76, 77, 79.

10. See for example David Martin, **The Young Wife**, London, Macmillan, 1962, Esta de Fossard, **The Alien**, Melbourne, Nelson, 1977, and Roy Theodore, "The Greek" in Louise E. Rorabacher, ed., **Two Ways Meet: Stories of Migrants in Australia**, Melbourne, Cheshire, 1969, pp.97-105.

11. de Fossard, ibid., p.4.

12. Gillian Bouras, **A Fair Exchange**, Ringwood, Vic., McPhee Gribble, 1991, p. 213.

13. Ziggy Zen, **The Ten Unexpected Greeks Just Arrived for Dinner Cookbook**, Sydney, Pan Macmillan, 1998, p.8.

14. See for example Susan Geason, **Dogfish**, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1991, pp.14-15.

15. See for example Steve Wright, **A Break in the Traffic,** Sydney, Pan Macmillan, 1992, pp.63-64.

16. Peter Goldsworthy, "Invitation to a Wedding" in **Archipelagos**, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1982, p.23.

17. Richard Barrett, **The Heartbreak Kid**, Sydney, Currency Press, 1988, p.89. This play was first performed by the Griffin Theatre Company at the Stables Theatre, Sydney on 29 July 1987 and in 1992 was made into a highly acclaimed film by producer Ben Gannon and starring Alex Dimitriades.

18. David Cox, "Greek Boys in Melbourne" in Charles Price, ed., **Greeks in Australia**, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1975, pp.146-147.

19. Cox, 1975, pp.170, 185.

20. Rado and Foster, 1987.

21. Rotellini, 1991, pp.74-75.

22. Joan Dalgleigh, **Dim and Dusty**, Sydney, Hodder and Stoughton, 1983, pp.13-14.

23. Gillian Bouras, **A Foreign Wife**, Ringwood, Vic., McPhee Gribble/Penguin, 1986, pp.96-97.

24. Barrett, 1988, pp.59, 61-62.

25. Kerryn Goldsworthy, "Teach Me to Dance" in Wendy Morgan, ed., **Figures in a Landscape: Writing From Australia**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.28.

26. See for example Maxine Moreland, "Irini" in Peter Moss, comp., **Voicing the Difference: Stories and Poems by South Australian Writers of Diverse Cultural Backgrounds**, Kent Town, S.A., Multicultural Writers Association and Wakefield Press, 1994, p.178.

27. This occurs either in the form of entire books (e.g. Wendy Orr, **Yasou Nikki**, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1995) or as parts of larger stories (e.g. Jena Woodhouse, **Metis: The Octopus and the Olive Tree**, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1994, pp.21-28).

28. Orr, 1995, pp.24-25.

29. Sue Chessbrough, "I Watch My Grandsons Grow in Another Language" in Jim Kable, ed., **Made in Australia: An Anthology of Writing**, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990, p.9.

30. Dalgleigh, 1983, p.13.

31. David Sale, **Hidden Agenda**, Sydney, Pan Macmillan, 1996, p.36.

32. Obelia Modjeska, "Observations From Rozelle" in Drusilla Modjeska, ed., **Inner Cities: Australian Women's Memory of Place**, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1989, p.267.

33. Leonid Trett, "Yes, Sir!" in **Tales of Doctor Amber: A Collection of Satires and Humorous Sketches**, Adelaide, Dezsery Ethnic Publications, 1984, pp.49-51.

34. Zen, 1998, p.8.

35. Progressive assimilation occurs when the phoneme which produces this phenomenon (assimilatory phoneme) precedes the assimilated phoneme.

36. Catherine Lewis and Judith Guerin, **Unable by Reason of Death,** Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1989.

37. Robin Walton, "A Double Act" in **Glacé Fruits: Stories**, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1987, p.230.

38. L.H. Evers, **The Racketty Street Gang**, Sydney, Hodder and Stoughton, 1961.

39. For children's literature in this period see Maurice Saxby, **The Proof of the Puddin: Australian Children's Literature 1970-1990**, Sydney, Ashton Scholastic, 1993, especially ch.9.

40. Nance Donkin, **A Friend for Petros**, Sydney, Hamilton, 1974.

41. A characteristic example is the book **Folktales From Australia's Children of the World**, published in Sydney by Ure Smith in 1979.

42. David Martin, **The Young Wife,** London, Macmillan, 1962.

43. Nance Donkin, **Nini**, Adelaide, Rigby, 1979.

Self-Identification in Literature: The case of Writers of Greek Cypriot Descent in Australia

Maria Herodotou *

RÉSUMÉ

Les Chypriotes Grecs en Australie constituent un sous-ensemble de la diaspora hellénique. La migration des Chypriotes en Australie est relativement récente en comparaison avec celle des autres Grecs. Leur plus grand nombre a émigré pendant les années 1960 et surtout après l'invasion turque en 1974. La plupart des écrivains Greco-Chypriotes sont, donc, nés à Chypre et leurs liens avec leur pays natal sont très forts. Le problème politique non résolu renforce ces liens. Cet article examine la façon par laquelle les écrivains Greco-Chypriotes s'identifient avec la Grèce, Chypre et l'Australie en tant que lieux et cultures. Les écrivains se distinguent ainsi en trois larges catégories à partir de la langue qu'ils utilisent (anglais, grec ou grec et anglais). L'usage de la langue est une indication du degré de leur liaison à un certain lieu. Cela ne veut pas dire que la langue est le facteur le plus important de leur identification. Les écrivains anglophones (et quelques-uns des écrivains bilingues), par exemple, sont attachés aux deux cultures et cela crée une tension ou même un conflit qui est évident dans leur travail, quoique les hellénophones sont plus à l'aise avec leur iden- tité hellénique. Ils éprouvent une nostalgie pour Chypre et ils essaient, d'une façon pénible, de recréer ou de reconstruire le lieu et sa culture. Pour tous les écrivains, la Grèce et l'hellénisme deviennent un monde conceptuel. C'est évident que l'identifi- cation est un processus, une recherche pour s'identifier qui n'est jamais statique mais qui est, par contre, toujours fluide.

ABSTRACT

Greek Cypriots in Australia is a sub-group of the Greek Diaspora. Migration from Cyprus to Australia is relatively recent in comparison with migration from Greece. Most migrated in the 60's and mainly after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Many of the Greek Cypriot writers, therefore, were born there and their bonds with their mother country are very strong. Its unresolved political problem strengthens these bonds. This paper examines how Greek writers of Cypriot descent in Australia identify themselves with Greece, Cyprus and Australia as a place and as a culture. The writers are distinguished into three broad categories depending on the language they use (English, Greek & English, Greek). The use of language is an indication of the extent of their connection to a particular place. That doesn't mean that language is the most important factor of their identity. The Anglophone writers (and some of the bilinguals), for example, combine both cultures and this creates a tension or even a conflict which is evident in their work, while the Hellenophones are more at ease with their Greek identity. They develop a nostalgia for Cyprus and try to recreate or reconstruct, in a painful way, the place and its culture. For all writers, Greece and Hellenism become a conceptual world. It is evident that identification is a process; a search for an identity which is never static but fluid.

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The presence of Greek Cypriots in Australia is a relatively recent phenomenon in comparison with the presence of migrants from other Greek areas or the Greek Diaspora. Right up until 1950, there were only a few hundred Greek Cypriots [1947: 681 people, 1954:5773 (Price 1990)]. Despite this, they succeeded in organising communities very early. Their first communities in Melbourne[1] were established in 1931 and 1932, mainly as a result of the political situation that existed in Cyprus (ie English colonial rule and the October 1931 events which marked the first uprising against British colonialism). The political situation on the island affected, and continues to greatly affect, even until today, the identity of Greek Cypriots –something we will see further on. The greatest increase in the number of immigrants from Cyprus took place between 1971 and 1977, when it reached its peak, as a consequence of the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974. The assistance offered to the Greek Cypriots by the Australian Government –particularly to refugees– contributed to the sudden increase in the number of immigrants. In the 1996 census, 19 764 people registered Cyprus as their country of birth. Out of these people, 75% are Greeks and 18% Turks.

The number of second generation Greek Cypriots was 23 999.(Cypriots who were born outside Cyprus, are not included in this figure.)

When we take into account these factors, regarding the migration of the Greek Cypriots, it becomes evident that their literary production is also, to a large extent, a relatively recent phenomenon. The examination of this literature will enable us to explore issues of identity as they are expressed by its writers. More specifically, in this paper I will be concentrating on how these writers see themselves in relation to Hellenism, Cyprus, and their ties with Australia as a place and as a culture.

The meaning of 'Identity' (of the subject and of subjectivity) is open to many interpretations depending on the perspective from which it is viewed, ie the ethnic, cultural, political, psychoanalytical, philosophical perspective, etc. Through Identity, kinship and origin are connected.

It is believed, for example, that the individual is the mask of his ancestors (Forrester 1987:13-16). In sociology, a view has developed, that the meaning of an individual is its social function, something which is naturally disputed, because the individual is much more than just that. The moral side of the individual, its conscience, its logic, its soul and so on are also included in the meaning of identity. Therefore, the individual's relationship with the external-objective world is determined by both external and subjective factors. The ethnic and cultural identity of Greeks in Australia is a very important and complex issue. Greeks in general, have shown their strong desire to retain their identity and thus, played their part in the creation of multicultural Australia. This brought them recognition of their identity and significance in both Australia and Greece (Castan 1986:56). Greeks are now more diversified and have developed a good relationship with the wider Australian community. We can not, however, see them all as one homogeneous entity. As Con Castan argues (1986: 51-68), within these people exists a range of consciousness or ethnic ideologies. Examining the issue of ethnicity among the Greeks, he di-stinguishes four broad categories and draws the conclusion that, while some groups have not developed a new culture which would enable them to replace their original ethnicity, other groups have added an 'alternative ethnicity' to their original one, or even replaced the ethnicity they possessed with the 'alternative ethnicity'. It is worth no-ting that ethnicity is retained through culture which is defined as common language, way of life, past, racial origin, religion and homeland . In the case of Greek Cypriots the issue of identity becomes even more complex because they belong to the Greek nation but to a different state and have lived (and are now living) in a different society. If "man exists in and through society- and society is always historical"[2] (Castoriadis 1987:39-46), it is obvious that aspects of their identity differ from that of Greeks from mainland Greece or even Greeks in Australia. As Castoriadis argued, societies are distinct and historical:

Man exists in and through society- and society is always historical [..]

That which holds a society together is of course its institutions, the whole complex of its particular institutions, what I call 'the institution of a society as a whole' – the word 'institution' being taken here in the broadest and most radical sense:

norms, values, language, tools, procedures, and methods of dealing with things and doing things and, of course, the individual itself both in general and in particular type and form given to it by the society considered.

(Castoriadis 1986:39-40)

Society is formed by its institution and the evolution of time; by history. The society of Cyprus and the individual have been greatly affected by historical events and the island's political situation. Both factors determine the distinctness of the Cypriot identity, without of course overlooking its Greek essence. Psychological and existential problems are mainly related to the history of the island, to its struggle for union with Greece before the 60s, and to its territorial integrity and the existence of the state as an entity after independence from the British, and after the Turkish invasion of 1974. The anxiety connected with the preservation of the Cypriot people's cultural identity is directly related to the anxiety connected with the political situation and a pursued solution. Throughout its diachronism, this concern is very intense —depending on the phase through which the Cypriot political problem enters.[3]

On Cyprus itself, literature and identity are two concepts closely connected. The local production and discussion of literature raises issues of far-reaching consequences, given their inevitable bearing on highly fraught questions of Cypriot national identity. Thus the publication of K. Ioannides *History of Modern Cypriot Literature* by the Cyprus[4] Research Centre in 1986 gave rise to a long running controversy in the press. A similar controversy was created with the heated discussion over problems such as what local literature should be called: Cypriot literature, Greek-Cypriot literature, Greek literature of Cyprus. This effort to define and determine it, was always based on criteria and suggestions which were influenced by the various ideological tendencies and orientations of the time and is, a politically loaded statement. Cypriot literature is always examined within the context of Greek literature, and is regarded as 'Provincial', 'Regional', 'Autonomous', 'Self-sufficient', 'Independent', 'Local', and so on, to name only a few of the most frequently used definitions.[5] All these definitions imply a direct or indirect connection with Greek literature

or even, dependence, and to some extent, a tendency towards independence.

Cypriot Literature is undoubtedly closely connected to, and a part of, Greek literature, in the broader sense. The close ties with the metropolitan centre, as well as with community centres of the Greek Diaspora, such as Alexandria, during the inter-war and post-war period, contributed to the growth of Cypriot literary production and, through it, to the development and maintenance of the Greek consciousness. It has been shown by researchers that Cypriot writers followed the literary trends prevalent in Greece. Literary figures such as Palamas, Karyotakis, Varnalis, Kavafis, Ritsos, Seferis, Elytis and others, influenced both Cypriot poetry and prose (Zafiriou 1991:31-33, Prousis 1990). Furthermore, European literary trends or philosophical movements reached Cyprus to a great extent through the Athenian centre or through the direct connection of writers with Europe (Kouyialis 1983: 9). Apart from its undisputed Greek essence, Greek Cypriot literature has its own distinct characteristics: external ones (such as dialectic or ethographical which are related to particular regions) but most importantly, fundamental characteristics. These are related to the struggles for ethnic survival (during its long dramatic history, especially before independence) and the struggles for survival as a state in more recent times (Raizis 1987: 507-517).

I have referred to Cypriot literature, and to some of its characteristics, because we find these in the work of most Cypriot writers in Australia since, as I have mentioned, many of these writers came to Australia after 1960 and mainly after 1974. The preoccupation with Cyprus as a place with its own history and distinct Greek culture is evident in their work. At the same time, they develop, to a lesser or greater extent, new characteristics of their Australian environment. Until now, I have located more than thirty Greek Cypriot writers in Australia. In this figure, I have not included individuals who stayed here for a short period of time (eg. as in the case of Andrew Kettis, who came to Australia as a seconded teacher from Greece), despite the fact that they produced literary works during their stay in Australia. Nor have I included people who only wrote a few poems.[6]

The oldest Cypriot writer in Australia, based on data given by George Kanarakis (1985: 101-2) and Gilchrist (1997:346-7),[7] is Edward Parry (1880-1945), who belongs to the inter-war period. Parry was a child of a mixed marriage. His father was Welsh and his mother a Greek Cypriot. His bicultural origin and his bilingualism gave him the opportunity to move freely amongst both cultures. He would in fact 'Hellenize' his name to Antonios Parris, in order to feel closer to the Greeks. He was a main columnist and a regular contributor of the newspaper, 'The Panhellenic Herald' *(Panellinios Keryx)* between 1921-1942, where he published his articles and literary works. He was very interested in Greek Literature, History and the Greek language. Parry loved the Greek heritage and considered himself to be a part of Hellenism which, he believed, was suffering from various disasters inflicted on it by its enemies –mainly the Turks. In his short stories, he would use Greek protagonists. Quite often, however, one sees a mixture of names which come from other ethnicities. That which immediately grabs the reader's attention, is Parry's fascination with mythology, Homer's Epics, and the many Anatolian elements which are introduced in his work either as basic themes or in order to create a special atmosphere to the work –whether that be a mystical or erotic one. Greece, Australia and Cyprus are rarely used as a particular place. His interest in these is shown through his paraphrasing of various Greek and Greek Cypriot folk songs into English, as well as through his comparative studies.

Writers who came to Australia immediately after World War II are Dionysios Koutsakos (1912-) and Kostas Athanasiadis (1921-). Both of them were journalists and editors of newspapers and magazines –the former of the two in fact being highly esteemed. Both managed to expand the Greek cultural boundaries, mainly through their professional activities and ventures, and to accept the reality of their new world. In his works, Koutsakos satirises Greek ways and customs, especially when these are anachronistic and unsuited to the new, cultural environment of Australia, where the mixture of different cultures is an inevitable reality. He criticises, for example, match-making between two people and the parental expectation that their children

get married to people not only from the same ethnic background, but from the same region in Greece as well.

Influenced by the multicultural surroundings of Australia, and, in particular, Melbourne, Athanasiadis in his novel, *Daphne Miller*, adopts an attitude of acceptance of all races and puts greater emphasis on Mankind rather than on ethnic background.

'Greeks, the French, Italians, Germans, English etc, belong to, and come from the same family of humans, but divided into boundaries races, and states. All are children of Noah!...' (Athanasiadis 1954: 31)

The protagonists of his novel are women of French origin. Through his characters, he promotes feminist views and advocates se-xual and social liberation. If we take into account that the novel was published in 1954 –three years after he settled in Melbourne– we realise that his departure from the conservative society of Cyprus, the various global social changes, as well as the new social environment he encounters in Melbourne, give him the opportunity to make compa-risons and also to promote his views. His main character, becomes a 'citizen of the world'. Another point worth noting, is the fact that Australia is represented realistically in his work, as a place, a social and cultural entity. We could argue that Athanasiadis –just like the protagonist of his novel– also wishes to be a 'citizen of the world' (Athanasiadis 1954: 212).

I have distinguished three broad categories of contemporary Greek Cypriot writers, using as a criterion their use of the language, not because I consider language as the most important factor of their identity, but because it is an indication of their connection to a particular place. The three categories are: a) Those who write in English, b) Those who are bilingual and write in English and/or Greek, and c) Those who write in Greek. The latter category can also be subdivided into those who write in the Standard Modern Greek and the "popular poets", the *poietaredes*.

Writers included in the first category are: George Papaellinas, Zeny Giles, Anastasia Gonis, Pavlos Andronikos, Dora Moustridis and Christodoulos Moisa (from New Zealand). The thematic areas within

which these writers work are: intense existential problems, no-stalgia, emptiness, loneliness, love, problems which are related to woman's position in society, etc. The most intense and important thematic area is that of the search for an identity and the cultural tension or conflict 'between the two worlds'[8] . In the prose works of these wri-ters the characters are mainly Greeks who have settled in a new environment. This gives them the ability to make comparisons between Greek tra-dition and the cultural tradition of their social surroundings. Furthermore, they try to show the effects of the new culture on the attitudes of people. Many problems which stem from their 'migrant identity' come to the surface, since these writers are children of first generation Greek (or Cypriot) Australians –a generation which Con Castan appropriately calls 'the sacrificed generation' (1986:). Hence, problems such as: the nostalgia of parents and their preoccupation with the past lead these children to alienation and, consequently, rebellion against their parents, because they find themselves caught between two cultural traditions. It is these issues which dominate their works. The conflicting emotions of love and oppression rise to the sur-face. In some writers, the feeling of their Greek heritage, which affects their lives directly or indirectly, becomes very intense. It creates con-tradictory situations for them, as, on the one hand, it leads to an iden-tity crisis and to an inability to totally accept the new way of life, and, on the other hand, it gives them a feeling of heritage; a feeling that, in a cultural sense, they actually belong somewhere. Their life becomes a constant effort to balance themselves; it becomes a 'highwire act', as Anastasia Gonis characteristically states in one of her articles:

A highwire act? A trapeze artist? A see-saw champion? None of these. It's a migrant trying to balance two cultures. That's how it often seems as people from other countries try to juggle their lives, so that they can retain a measure of pride in old ways and customs whilst at the same time they are trying to conform to social and peer pressures.

(Anastasia Gonis: 'Life in the balance')

In these writers, it is their Greekness which is projected, without there being many references made to their Cypriot distinctness. There are some references to its historic fate. In Anastasia Gonis' work, Greece and Cyprus are brought together and become fused into a

common memory and a common historical fate. The distant historic fate of Turkish rule in Greece is juxtaposed with the modern Turkish occupation of Cyprus. Pavlos Andronikos, in his poem titled "Reminiscence", which is dedicated to Souleiman, gives us an indication of a disaster and a separation which lead to and end up in different paths of destruction. With this metaphor, the current political situation in Cyprus is implied. Greek literary tradition is also apparent in Andronikos, through the wide-spread usage of mythological elements such as: Golden Fleece, Hellespont (the ancient name of the Dardanelles) Ulysses, the Sirens and Telemachus. He uses these elements as symbols to convey the theme of constant searching by the individual in its life.

George Papaellinas, the most renowned and recognised of the writers of Cypriot descent, in his collection of short stories titled Icons, gives us in the most descriptive and powerful way: 'a world of cultural clashes and family tension'(Colmer J: Weekend Australia). 'A vivid and contentious portrayal of a family united only by society's view of them as outsiders' (Publisher). The comments are very accurate. The stories are interconnected with the central theme of consciousness. The family portrayed in the stories comes from Cyprus and each member has his/her own values and way of thinking, depending on the cultural environment in which they were brought up and on the environment they now live in. The grandmother, for example, is the representative of the old world, while the daughter tries to maintain family values and, at the same time, to conform with new realities and the necessities of everyday life in Australia. Her husband, a migrant worker, feels socially inferior and, although he tries to adjust and accept new ways of life, he develops a strong nostalgia for Cyprus. The most important character, that of son/ grandson, Peter, is the means by which the writer develops the themes of tensions, cultural conflicts and the search for identity.[9]

Similar themes are put forth in the work of well known writer Zeny Giles. These are given as they are seen through the eyes of a schoolchild in her work titled *Between Two Worlds*. More specific problems which are related to woman's position in society are given by Anastasia

Gonis. This position is worsening due to Greek cultural traditions and the conditions in the new land. Whilst, ironically, a woman now has more possibilities and opportunities for personal development, her cultural roots become an obstacle, creating a number of additional problems and internal conflicts.

In the works written in English, the writers, through their protagonists, remain focused on the search for an identity. Some arrive at a state of self-acceptance and consequently, become reconciled to their 'double identity', or to use Castan's[10] definition, their Greek and "alternative ethnicity". George Papaellinas' main character, in one of his factionalised journeys, during which he seeks to find his Cypriot roots, reaches another Greek island. His arrival in Cyprus, ironically, never takes place, and so he returns to Australia. Con Castan, in an interesting study, interprets this effort as a search for a national identity, which, in turn, gives the group an identity. His conclusion is that 'there is no firm ground in the idea of Greece or Cyprus as there is no firm ground in the idea of Australia.' (Castan 1995:42). That same search, without a result, is expressed in a poem by Anastasia Gonis, titled, 'An ode to Searching'. In another of her articles she notes that:

In the private world of the migrant that no one can view their heart and mind—they can be whoever they want. Their customs, traditions, beliefs and experiences continue to give meaning to their existence. If and when society demands it they drop the mask and assume the expected persona.
(A. Gonis: 'Life in the Balance').

Despite the fact that the individual's inner turmoil, its search for an identity continues, there is also a positive side to these experiences: 'The thorn had bred a rose'.
(A. Gonis: Another Mother's Day)

Writers such as Dimitri Gonis, Panagiotis Lysiotis, Theodore Xenofou, Loukas Simeon (who is also screen writer) belong to the bilingual category. Their themes are common —irrespective of the language they write in. In this category, too, we notice the same cultural conflict, but, to a lesser extent, in comparison with the former category. For Dimitri Gonis, Greece is part of his being —as it is characteristically conveyed in one of his poems titled: 'Greece of my soul'. The sense of his Greek origin is intense. Elsewhere, the Greek —and

not the Australian– landscape is chosen in order to express existential agony. Panagiotis Lysiotis is silent about issues related to cultural conflicts or his background. He sees man more like an object of exploitation within modern society and concentrates on his connection to technological progress. His contribution is ground breaking,, with the usage of text, photographs and photomontage. It is obvious that Lysiotis sees the individual as part of the Information Age, the Technology Age, which abolishes boundaries within a homogeneous space, creating new realities. This is clearly seen, for example, in his work *C.Ds and Other Things*.

A unique case is that of Theodore Xenofou, who moves between Demotic and erudite tradition. Two of his lengthy poetic works– which are based on the tradition of Demotic narrative songs– titled, 'The City has Fallen', and 'Sunbathed Darknesses', are approximately seventy-five thousand verses each. The first describes the sacking of Constantinople and the second , the history of the Cypriot State. In Xenofou, the common fate of Hellenism and the disasters it experiences, become clearly visible. His Cypriot origins are projected through themes which concern the Cypriot reality and political situation (eg the struggle of EOKA in *The Trojan Donkey*), while, on the other hand, he makes no reference to themes related to migration.

In the third category, ie writers who write in Greek, are: a) the 'popular poets', the *poietaredes* and b) those who write in the Standard Demotic Greek. In the group of *poietaredes* the most renowned is Charalambos Michael Azinos, who was a poet by profession, both in Cyprus and in Australia. All 'popular poets' are now elderly. They began their work in Cyprus and continued it here. Inevitably, the opportunities for them to take part in poetry competitions were non-existent. Therefore, they become separated from tradition because they end up writing their poetry so that it may be read. Their poems, however, continue to be created as a result of a reaction toward a certain social event or in order to satirise some situations or people and their "unusual" behaviour. Of these popular poets some remain very loyal to this type of poetry, in the sense that they follow the formulas and take the audience into account when they write. They compose

lengthy narrative songs and rhymes in the Cypriot dialect. Some of them attempt to write in the Standard Demotic Greek, creating poems resembling Demotic songs. Their thematic scope is determined and expanded by social conditions in both Cyprus and Australia. They are very close to the common, everyday man, whom they study, describe, satirise, judge or criticise. They become the mirror of the lower strata of society[11]. They see the average Australian as a 'peculiar being' and mostly, in a condescending and negative way.

The second group in this category is made up of those writers who only write in the Standard Demotic Greek[12]. They are much younger in age, in comparison to the *poietaredes,* and migrated to Australia after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. This explains their constant pre-occupation with Cyprus and with themes which revolve around the island's political situation and their expression of a deep nostalgia for the culture of the land in which they grew up. Through various works and mainly in particular poems, they recreate aspects of the Cyprus problem. In their entirety, these works make up the Cypriot tragedy in its various phases and with many details −just like the works of their counterparts in Cyprus who, in fact, belong to the 'invasion genera-tion', as they are called. It is obvious that many of these works were created as a result of an emotional outburst and represent a stance toward the events that followed the invasion and the displacement which occurred. Time, in combination with place, begin to produce works in which the various experiences are transmuted into poetry, with greater aesthetic results. Their thematic scope gradually expands. The meanings become more and more abstract and the views of the writers more mature. So, although in the earlier works of the writers of this category, there is an identification with Cyprus, its culture and its history, we slowly but gradually begin to notice a thematic expan-sion. Despite this, however, they barely reach an identification with Australia. As their Cypriot past becomes distant, they try harder, in a painful way, to recreate or reconstruct the place of their childhood or youth. In their work there is no cultural conflict, something we notice in the writers who write in English −in other words, those who were born here or came at an early age. Most see themselves as 'guests' in

this country. One exception to this, is Erma Vasiliou who relates the place to issues pertaining to the position of women –in which case, she is grateful for the possibilities and opportunities which are available to women. In this way she can see the positive result of migration.

For all writers of Greek Cypriot descent, identification is a constant process for an identity which is never static but rather fluid. Those who write in English try to balance their Greek and Australian self whilst the ones who write in Greek are in a process of accepting their "new" cultural environment. Overall, and despite their undeniable Greek conscience, the majority of the writers of Cypriot origin identify more with either Australia or Cyprus and the environment of the two countries. For most of them, Greece is an Idea, a conceptual world. They consider themselves a part of Hellenism which they deal with on two conflicting levels: on the level of greatness or on a level of suffering. In this way, they speak of the achievements, the greatness, the civilisation of Hellenism or the sufferings of *Romiosine,* as they call it. However, the average Greek and the modern Greek reality are absent from their works. This is precisely because Greece becomes a world of the imagination –an imaginary world– to use Anderson's term. In cases where some writers went to live in Greece or went to Greece in search of their 'roots', they felt the alienation or even the rejection from the State as a political entity –something which comes out in their works. For example, we find this in Anastasia Gonis and Loukas Simeon.

> So I travelled from my home land
> following the gypsy trail,
> to a mythical Greek island
> feeling I would never fail.
> It held culture, it held learning
> manners, customs kept of old
> this deep in my heart was burning
> something real on which to hold

To the country life I fitted

like a hand into a glove.

What I realised was missing

from the people, was their love.

    (A. Gonis: 'An ode to Searching')

Hence, their relationship and communication with Greece is more on a spiritual rather than an actual level. They converse with Seferis, Elytis or Ritsos. They use the Demotic or the Ancient Greek literary tradition, but contemporary Greek reality is practically absent from their work. I would say that Dimitri Gonis is the exception to the above statement. He is successful in creating a 'Greece of my Soul' within which all its contradictory facets –the positive and negative ones– the landscape, the present and the past, the average contemporary person, its whole world, are encompassed and which:

'...resurrect me and imbue me with new life

make me want to walk barefooted on thorns'

    (D. Gonis "Greece of my soul")

Acknowledgment

Note: In the Bibliography I have only included literary works to which specific reference is made in the paper and has been published as edition.

NOTES

1. For the establishment of the Greek Cypriot Communities in Melbourne, see Herodotou, 1993.

2. For a detailed examination of the characteristics of the different groups and their ethnicity, their 'alternative ethnicity', as well as the relationship between ethnicity and culture, see Castan, 1986: Chapter 3, pp 51-68.

3. For a very good analysis of the ideological tendencies and the shaping of contemporary Greek Cypriot national identity, see Mavratsas,1998.

4. See, for example, the long- running heated discussion between academics, critics, writers and other personalities which was published in the journal **Akte** (Nos 2, 3, & 5) and **To Kainourio** (No 9).

5. For a detailed examination of these definitions, see Kechagioglou, 1992.

6. People in this category are: Kypros Kyprianou, Aliki Savva, Maria Kramvia, Maro Gemeta and more.

7. Biographical details have been based on Kanarakis' and Gilchrist's work. All other references are based on his work which was published in Panellenios Keryx. I studied those newspaper issues at the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

8. This is a revealing title given to one of her novels by Jeny Giles.

9. For a very interesting comparative analysis of the collection **Icons,** see Castan, 1995.

10. Castan in his analysis uses terms and definitions given by William Bostock in his work **Alternatives of Ethnicity: Immigrants and Aborigines in Aglo-Saxon Australia**, Hobart: Cat&Fiddle, 1977.

11. In this group are included the following poets: Yiannis Papadopoulos, Chistos Violaris, Yiannis Neophytou, Kostas Georgiou, Soteriou, Kappalis.

12. The writers who belong to this category are: Michael Pais, Erma Vasiliou, Andrea Garivaldis, Tefkros Panagiotou.

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ETUDES HELLENIQUES

HELLENIC STUDIES

The Aegean Dispute
Le différend gréco-turc en mer Égée

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2

The Cyprus Problem in Australia

Michalis S. Michael *

RESUMÉ

La question chypriote occupe une position visible au sein de la politique austra-lienne qui "dans des conditions normales serait traitée comme marginale". Ceci n'est plus évident qu'au niveau du parlement fédéral, où on trouve que la question chy-priote a été soulevée approximativement 274 fois dans les débats parlémentaires aussi bien de la Chambre des Représentants que du Sénat. Cet article procure un compte normatif et déductif de ce phénomène en établissant d'abord un cadre con-ceptuel de la connection de l'Australie avec le problème de Chypre. Il sera souligné que la formation d'une politique australienne sur la question chypriote réside sur la capacité de la communauté gréco-australienne d'agir comme un groupe d'intérêt dans un environment politique pluraliste. Cependant, quelqu'un aurait soutenu qu'en comparaison avec d'autres pays qui ont une importante communauté grecque l'intérêt national immédiat de l'Australie ainsi que sa sphère d'influence ont restreint tout rôle essentiel qu'elle pourrait jouer dans la question chypriote. Sous un tel prisme, la présente étude examinera également comment et dans quelle mesure la question chypriote a été influencée par la relation tripartite entre la communauté gréco-australienne (diaspora), le pays d'acceuil (l'Australie) et le pays-d'origine (la Grèce et Chypre).

ABSTRACT

The Cyprus issue occupies a visible position whithin Australian politics which 'under nornal circumstances would have been treated as marginal'. Nowhere is this more prevalent than in the federal parliament, which has accumulated approxi-mately 274 entries in the parliamentary debates of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This article provides both a normative and deductive account of this phenomenon by first establishing a conceptual framework of Australia's connection with the Cyprus problem. It will be pointed out that the for-mation of an Australian policy on Cyprus rests on the capacity of the Greek-Australian community to act as an interest group within a pluralist political envi-ronment. However, it would be argued that in comparison to other countries which maintain a sizeable Greek community, the subsequent relevance of an issue such as Cyprus to Australia's immediate national interest and sphere of influence restricts any substantive role that Australia can undertake in the conflict. Within such a prism, the paper will also examine how and to what extent the Cyprus issue in Australia has been determined by the triadic relationship between the Greek-Australian communtiy (diaspora), the host-country (Australia) and the home-coun-try (Greece and Cyprus).

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There is no doubt that the most profound ethnic (national) issue having preoccupied and galvanised the Greek paroikia (community) in Australian politics has been the Cyprus problem. Its longevity in Australian politics - as illustrated in the federal parliamentary debates - essentially reflects the Cyprus problem's own turbulent historical nature as a protracted international conflict. However, in contrast to the abundance of primary material, very little - in the nature of studies - has been written on the Cyprus issue in Australia.[1] Only recently has there been some attempt to research this unique occurrence of international relations as a case study for the much broader field of diaspora politics.

Even though migration is an ancient socio-political phenomenon, as Professor James N. Rosenau remarked, ethno-diaspora politics has escaped the attention of international theorists, who have failed to find a place for it in their analytical frameworks. Within the context of an ideological reassessment of the structural and procedural changes to the conventional view of power relations in the 'age of sub-groupism', diaspora politics has become an important tendency in the study of the globalisation of politics.[2] Clearly, diaspora politics falls within the demarcation barrier that separates domestic and foreign politics.

The introductory nature of this article endeavours to provide a contextual framework for the Cyprus issue in Australian politics by focusing primarily on its evolution and presence in the Federal Parliament. The reason for concentrating on the Federal Parliament is that given Australia's constitutional and governmental structures and processes, Australian foreign policy is formulated, debated and ratified in federal parliament. For all intents and purposes, parliament - especially the House of Representatives - is considered the epicentre of institutional politics in Australia.

The Cyprus issue, which 'under normal circumstances would have been treated as marginal', occupies a visible position within Australian politics.[3] The significance of this presence only becomes more apparent when we attempt to search for the Cyprus issue's placement

in Australia's overall foreign affairs agenda. According to the Department of Foreign Affairs Report of the mid-eighties it does not feature in any of its seven main areas of concern (ie. disarmament, Australian New Zealand United States Alliance ANZUS, agricultural and trade relations, apartheid, Australia's participation in the UN, the Asia-Pacific region, and general). Australia's limitations as a regional middle power compels, according to former Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans,[4] to be selective in the sort of issues [Australia] runs with.'[5] Cyprus does not impact on Australia's national interest nor is Australia a major player in the Cyprus dispute. So why has the Cyprus issue preoccupied the parliamentary representatives of this country for over four decades?

In concurring with our assessment, Australian foreign affairs researcher Adam Cobb explained that the 'reason Cyprus has featured far more significantly in Australian foreign policy than its size or distance would otherwise suggest' is due to the fact that Australia has 'a unique (although quite different) historical link' with both Greece and Turkey and that there are many Australians of Greek and Turkish background.[6]

This point was echoed by Prime Minister Robert Hawke[7] in 1983, during his parliamentary report regarding Australia's participation in the Commonwealth five-member Cyprus Action Group. As Hawke explained the reasons for Australia's interest in Cyprus - in addition to the general considerations - were twofold: 'firstly, the very large community in Australia comprising people of Cypriot origin; and secondly, the long-standing Australian participation in the police contingent as part of the United Nations effort on Cyprus.'[8] This was further reiterated by federal Labor Member of Parliament (MP) Leo McLeay[9] who said that 'Australia must play an important role in the resolution of the Cyprus problem, mainly because of the very large Greek Cypriot community in Australia'.[10] Ex-Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam,[11] illustrated the interconnection between Australia's foreign policy on an issue such as Cyprus and 'the effects of migration'. In the account of his government years, The Whitlam Government 1972-1975, Whitlam stated that:

"Greeks and Greek Cypriots [had] become permanent settlers in very large numbers and play an active and articulate role in public affairs. Many Turks [had] also come to Australia ... *Australian Governments therefore have had to take more interest in relations between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus than would have been thought necessary before World War. II* ".*(Emphasis added)*

But Whitlam goes even further to admit that relations between the three countries of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, in turn affected Australia's own relationship with the United States.[12]

The Cyprus issue is now here more present in Australian politics than in the federal parliament which has between 1955 and 1999 accumulated 274 entries in the parliamentary debates of both the House of Representatives (178 entries) and the Senate (96 entries). Undoubtedly, Cyprus's prominence in Australian politics has been largely due to the role that the Greek-Australian community has played, especially since 1974. Despite their various differences and internal conflicts, the Cyprus issue has managed to remain one of the few issues to which all Greek-Australian forces have united behind. This is reflected in their collective adherence to the leadership role of the Panavstraliani Sindonistiki Epitropi Kipriakou Agona (PASEKA - Pan-Australian 'Justice for Cyprus Committee') and its state branches, SEKA, in its political advocacy for the Cyprus problem. A role that has been castigated by some critics of multiculturalism on the basis that such ethnic groups use their electoral strength to lobby the major political parties and individual parliamentarians for their specific homeland ethnic causes.[13] Leaving aside the moral overtones of such an aspersion, this accusation is based on a series of assumptions both about ethnic lobbies as well as the decision making process in the for-mulation of Australia's foreign policy.

Such criticism does bring into focus another aspect of the Cyprus issue in Australia and diaspora politics in general: That is the so-called 'Greek' electoral power in Australia. Based on demographic statistical analysis of the 1998 federal election results, there appears to be approximately 18-19 (9 Liberal Party and 9-10 ALP parliamentarians)

marginal lower house seats whose Greek-speaking voters outnumber their electoral margin achieved at the last election poll. Theoretically, if they acted as an electoral block, these Greek-speaking voters could have swung the result in these eighteen marginal seats the other way.[14] However, to date, there is no evidence to suggest that voters of Greek-speaking background in these, or any other seat for that matter, act politically as a homogeneous/monolithic group. Nevertheless, parliamentarians in these marginal seats are well aware of their Greek-Australian constituency and some have made an effort to become more active on the Cyprus problem.

However, discussion of the Cyprus issue in Australia cannot take place without a comprehensive understanding of its historical evolution and transformation within the Australian parliament. For the purpose of analytical convenience, the entire period under investigation (1955-1998) has been subdivided into five distinct phases: the first Menzies period of 1955-1957 (peaking in 1956), the second Menzies phase of 1964-1966 (peaking in 1964); the Whitlam/Fraser phase of 1974-1978 (peaking in 1974), the Fraser/Hawke phase of 1980-1985 (peaking in 1983), and the Hawke/Keating/Howard period of 1991-98 (peaking in 1995 and 1996).

Each phase is determined by a combination - in varying degrees - of three contributing forces: the external factor (referring to developments in the broader Cyprus issue); the internal dimension (meaning the interrelationship between the Greek *paroikia/diaspora* and a group of parliamentarians, -including those of Greek background- who over the years and duration of their political careers have developed an affinity with the Cyprus issue and the Greek community). The first two factors have given rise to a third feature, which consists of Australia's participation, involvement and connection with the Cyprus conflict.

A clinical analysis of the Cyprus issue in the House of Representatives reveals that there is a clear correlation between the presence of the Cyprus issue in the federal parliament and developments in the Cyprus conflict.

For example, in late 1955 and 1956 events in Cyprus radically intensified with the British Governor Field Marshall Sir John Harding's imposition of a States of Emergency in Cyprus (26 November 1955); banning of the Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou (AKEL)[15] and other 'unlawful associations' (14 December 1955); deportation and exile to the Seychelles Islands of Archbishop Makarios on 9 March 1956; *Ethniki Organosi Kiprion Agoniston* (EOKA)[16] intensified its armed struggle by launching Operation Forward to Victory.

These developments, introduced the Cyprus issue into the Australian political debate. The debate peaked in 1956, with 12 entries, primarily because of the adversarial interaction between the pro-British philosophy of the Menzies Government and a Labor Opposition, which strongly disagreed with the government's one-dimensional perspective.

A closer examination of the parliamentary debates of this era also reveals an Australian dimension to the discussions on Cyprus. For example in 1956, the Leader of the Opposition, Herbert Evatt[17] proposed to the Prime Minister, Robert Menzies,[18] and the Minister for External Affairs, Richard Casey,[19] that the Australian Government undertake some mediating role in the conflict. Specifically, on 16 May 1956 Evatt asked Menzies if:

"...in the interests of Australia and of its close relationships with ... [Greece and the United Kingdom] and their peoples, will the Prime Minister and his Government consider Australian intervention in the [Cyprus] matter?"

By intervention Evatt did not mean only through the United Nations, 'but [a] direct approach to the governments affected, particularly ... Britain and Greece, in order to determine whether Australia can make any contribution towards reconciling the parties concerned on some basis of justice.'[20] The Menzies Government, whose policy on Cyprus was outlined when the issue was first brought to the Australian parliament on 25 May 1955, ignored the call. In particular, through

a *dorothy dixer*[21] by one of its backbenchers, Philip Lucock[22] inquiring about the government's views on the 'terrorist activities of extremists in Cyprus' who are seeking Enosis with Greece, Casey stated, in clear terms, that 'Australia supports the view that, as the United Kingdom holds sovereignty over Cyprus the General Assembly of the United Nations is not competent to interfere or express an opinion.[23]

This Menzies policy infuriated Whitlam, who in 1956 castigated the Minister of External Affairs for not even making reference in his state-ment to the fact that Australia voted against Cyprus (together with West New Guinea) being placed on the UN's General Assembly agen-da.[24] Even as late as 1960, Menzies, in answering a question by Opposition Leader, Arthur Calwell,[25] on South Africa and the United Nations, boasted that on Cyprus 'the attitude of the United Kingdom, supported by Australia, was that this was a domestic matter, and not a matter for the United Nations.'[26]

Similarly the second Menzies period was shaped by the events of 1964: the Makarios proposed constitutional amendments (29 November 1963); the outburst of intercommunal fighting between irregulars and the breakdown of the first Cyprus Republic; the threat of a Turkish invasion (25-26 December); the British intervention and the establishment of the 'Greek line'; the Anglo-American plan for the stationing of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) peacekee-ping force on the island; Nikita Khrushchev's threat to the United States, United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey; the establishment of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) by UN Security Council Resolution 186 on 4 March 1964; the Lyndon Johnson letter to Turkish Prime Minister Ismet Inonu ̧(5 June 1964) warning Turkey not to invade Cyprus; the Acheson plan, etc.

After some initial hesitation and pressure by the Opposition, the Menzies Government, through a ministerial statement by the Minister for Defence Paul Hasluck,[27]acceded on 29 March 1964 to the request of the UN Secretary-General (U Thant) to provide 'a contingent of 40 police' towards the formation of the UN Civilian Police in Cyprus.[28] Asked by Clyde Camero[29] whether the Australian Government had

'lodged any protest with the Turkish Government against Turkey's bombing and strafing of Cyprus ... and to have the matter raised before the United Nations?', Hasluck maintained a po-licy distance stating that Australia should not become 'a direct party' in the conflict.[30]

Nevertheless, commitment of Australian police to Cyprus created an organic connection with the Cyprus issue. Their presence alone in Cyprus provided Australia with a second link (the first being the large Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in Australia) to the Cyprus problem and was reason enough to render on-going monitoring of developments in the island. If anything else, Australian police presence on the island secured reference to the Cyprus issue within the parliament through the need to renew the Australian force's mandate.

The events of 1974 heralded the third phase in Australian-Cyprus relations and catapulted the Cyprus issue into a new and more intense direction within the Australia parliament. Indicative of the severity of the issue is the fact that in the next 25 years, the House of Representatives has preoccupied itself 134 times with Cyprus in comparison to 44 times in the previous 19 years. Bilateral and diplomatic relations between the two countries were upgraded with the establishment of High Commissions in both Nicosia and Canberra in August 1975.[31] The immediate reaction of the Whitlam Government to the crisis of 1974 was in the form of providing direct food aid (canned beef, rice, etc.), free provision of the national airline carrier Qantas to transport quantities of food parcels and other items collected by volunteer organisations in Australia for distribution in Cyprus. In response to an appeal by the UN Secretary-General (Kurt Waldheim), on August 8th 1974 Australia offered to provide a military contingent of about 200 troops to join UNFICYP, but the offer was not taken up; the Australian Government had also taken a receptive approach to the admission of Cypriot refugees to Australia.[32]

On the policy front, two days after the coup d'état Whitlam (15 July 1974) recognised only Makarios 'as the president of Cyprus' and 'head of the constitutional Government of that country'. Although

Whitlam was not prepared to 'say that the government in Athens was behind the coup in Cyprus' he did state that 'Greek officers overthrew both governments - their own country's Government and the Government of Cyprus.' Furthermore, the Labor Government supported the British view that the Greek officers should be withdrawn from Cyprus.[33] It is interesting to note that in 1974 the Senate recorded 15 entries on Cyprus - in contrast to the House of Representatives' seven - and this was largely due to the fact that the foreign minister, Senator Don Willesee,[34] came from that chamber.

Willesee best outlined Australia's policy to the 1974 events on August 16th, when he deplored 'the renewed outbreak of very serious hostilities in Cyprus' and supported UN Security Council resolutions 353 and 360.[35] But Willesee also made the point that the Cyprus problem was a complex question and recognised that "in the past the Turkish minority on the island has been denied its constitutional rights in many respects. Moreover the Turkish-Cypriot minority is entitled, as indeed is the Greek-Cypriot majority, to guarantees of security, safety and constitutional rights."

He continued by stating that he had hoped that the Geneva negotiations would have been given the opportunity to resolve these difficult issues. As far as the Australian Government was concerned, the collapse of the second Geneva talks was blamed on Turkey's Foreign Minister (Turan Gunes) for issuing an ultimatum and placed the 'onus for the resumption of fighting ...squarely on the Turkish forces.[36] After the Turkish invasion the Australian Government reiterated its support for the 'continued independence of Cyprus' and a solution to its problem 'without outside force'.[37]

Another major turning point in Australian-Cyprus relations occurred in November 1983 with the Turkish-Cypriot Unilateral Declaration of Independence. The declaration drew sharp bipartisan condemnation and support for the Foreign Minister, Bill Hayden's,[38] statement that 'Australia condemns this declaration and calls for it to be withdrawn.'[39] The event solidified bipartisan agreement on Australia's Cyprus policy. It also saw a renewed interest by Australia

in the Cyprus issue through the multilateral forum of the Commonwealth whose Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM) offered an opportunity for Cyprus and Australia to rekindle their relationships.

As seen in our charts, 1991 was another year with increased debate on the Cyprus issue in parliament. Immediately, after the Gulf War, parallels were drawn between Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and Turkey's invasion of Cyprus, exposing the double standards adopted by the West and the United States, in particular, in intervening to rectify an injustice. The visit to Australia by the President of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, to receive the award of Companion of the Order of Australia created concerns amongst certain Labor parliamentarians. Hawke went to lengths to explain that the award was 'a personal award and it did not indicate in any way that there were no policy difference between Australia and Turkey' especially on the questions of Cyprus and human rights in Turkey.[40]

The final phase climaxed in 1995 and 1996 with two parliamentary resolutions on Cyprus. The first, a private member's motion, moved by McLeay on November 23rd 1995, was essentially an expanded version of the Australian Labor Party's (ALP) 1994 resolution on Cyprus.[41] However, it incorporated two new articles: one, noting the potential benefits of Cyprus joining the European Union for economic development and security and the capacity of bringing the two communities together; two, agreeing with the United States Congress's resolution of March 16th 1995[42] that 'total demilitarisation' of Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties and thus enhance the prospects for a peaceful and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.[43] The motion materialized a week after the visit to Australia by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Glafkos Clerides, and was a tangible outcome of the triatic relationship between Australia/Cyprus/and the Greek and Greek-Cypriot communities. The Canadian House of Commons followed suit on 17 April 1996 with Eleni Bakopanos' private members' motion which stated that the:

"Government should support all measures leading to the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus in such a way as to enhance prospects for a peaceful and lasting resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus that would benefit all the people of Cyprus and bring about an end to the more than two decades of division of the island."[44]

Similarly, on May 8th 1996, the New Zealand House of Representatives passed a motion on Cyprus which agreed with the 'United States Congress and Australian House of Representatives that ultimate total demilitarisation of ... Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties', enhance the prospects for a peaceful settlement and merited international support.[45]

The McLeay motion of 1995 was followed a year later on 9 September 1996 by another resolution on Cyprus moved by the Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs, Laurie Brereton.[46] The resolution once again received bipartisan support with Brereton stating that its aim was to 'reaffirm the place of Cyprus on the agenda of the Australian parliament'. Of special note was the fact that the resolution, for the first time, actually named the foreign troops of occupation by referring to the 'Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus'.[47] A point which pleased newly elected Liberal backbencher Petro Georgiou[48] who declared - in colourful language - that 'after all the House of Representatives is not a diplomatic garden party' and we 'are not negotiating a communique' so 'we can be plain spoken about the things that are clear to all'.[49] As stated in its first clause, the killing of two Greek-Cypriot protesters (Anastasios Isaak and Solomos Solomou) by Turkish security forces a month before had prompted the motion.

As with Canada,[50] so to, the Australian Government appointed on 25 June 1998 its ambassador to France, John Spender,[51] as its Special Envoy for Cyprus. In the relevant press statement, Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer,[52] stated that Spender's principal role was to assist the efforts of the UN Secretary-General and that he would conduct a series of meetings with Greek and Turkish Cypriot officials, the US Presidential Emissary, Richard Holbrooke

and the UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Cyprus, Diego Cordovez. After this consultation process, Spender would evaluate the situation and 'identify ways in which Australia can further assist the search for a settlement'. In concluding his statement, Downer suggested that Cyprus might benefit from the 'experience of Australia's multicultural model.'[53]

The Labor Opposition, although it supported the 'establishment of an Australian Special envoy for Cyprus', deplored the appointment of 'a broken down political feather-weight for such an important job'. In his statement Brereton criticised Spender as not having any previous 'interest or knowledge of the Cyprus issues' during his parliamentary or recent diplomatic career, and given the gravity of the job, doubted whether Spender was capable of making 'a real contribution to a resolution of this tragic conflict'.[54]

Indeed, after extensive consultation with interested parties both in Australia and overseas Spender submitted his confidential Report on the Cyprus situation to Downer at the end of 1998. Since then, Spender has continued with his role as Special Envoy with consultations in Cyprus and Turkey as well as briefing the government and interested parties in Australia of his findings.[55] Unfortunately, Spender has been unable to consult with Australian groups and academics who seem to fall outside the conventional list of 'interested parties' in the Cyprus problem - most notably the Melbourne based Turkish-Cypriot alumni organisation: *Cypriot Graduates Association of Australia.*[56]

In conclusion, we end on a proscriptive note with a potent question: What, if any, is the future role of Australia in the Cyprus conflict? Can Australia become more involved in the issue?

Before answering these questions we should bear in mind that Australia does not constitute a primary or even a secondary power in the dispute. Cyprus is outside its immediate region of concern and influence (ie the Asia-Pacific region), and Australia has no military/trade/economic or political interest in the Cyprus triangle. Parallel to Canada's own foreign policy review of 1995,[57] Australia also

reassessed the parameters and strategic thrust of its own foreign policy that geared any international commitment towards its immediate regional surrounding. As stated in its 1997 White Paper, *In the National Interest,* the current Australian Government's foreign and trade policy is about 'the hard-headed pursuit of [its national] interests' which are perceived as lying in the Asia Pacific.[58] For example trade between Cyprus and Australia is very small with the value of Australian exports to Cyprus in 1998 totalled $10.55 million while Cypriot exports to Australia for the same year were worth A$1.43 million. Overall Cyprus ranks as Australia's 99th largest export market and 101st as an import source.[59] Similarly the commercial relationship between Greece and Australia, despite the extensive people to people links, is not significant with Greece ranking as Australia's 53rd largest trading partner.[60] By comparison, bilateral trade relations between Australia and Turkey have grown significantly in recent years with Turkey ranking 40th in Australia's total trade of goods.[61]

Given these restrictions, Australia cannot really play any significant role in the resolution of the substantial core aspects of the Cyprus problem. As previously mentioned, the strongest link between Australia and the Cyprus triangle (ie Cyprus, Greece and Turkey) remains the fact that - as Evans and Bruce Grant recognized - 'there is a strong human dimension to the bilateral relationships based on a very high rate of migration to Australia'.[62] Fundamentally and contrary to the other impediments of trade and security, that is the main reason why Australian politicians have preoccupied themselves with the Cyprus problem to the extent that they have. The bipartisan position that Australia has adopted since 1964 and 1974, more or less has reached a point where it is doubtful that it could be improved any further.[63]

However, there is scope for Australia to become more active in some of the 'lower' aspects of the Cyprus problem if there is sufficient political will and imagination. Under the right circumstances, Australia can make a positive contribution by undertaking initiatives on issues and projects that foster cooperation and reconciliation. For example - and wary of not getting over enthusiastic as some politicians have

tended to be with their proclamations - Australia can draw on its multicultural experience and be of some assistance in areas that relate to confidence building measures between the two communities.[64] Also given its extensive experience in peacekeeping, Australia can undertake a more prominent role in any extensive UN peacekeeping regime - although this is unlikely in the short-term given Australia's over commitment in East Timor; finally, drawing on its own constitutional and political experience, Australia can also be valuable in a consultative capacity in any future federal republic of Cyprus.[65]

Such an initiative would require that Australia upgrade its involvement in the Cyprus problem beyond its current level and engage itself in the domain of peace-making. It would involve a commitment of resources and a diplomatic pro-active approach that is both imaginative and serious. For example such involvement could be done in conjunction with other countries, such as Canada, who share similar traits in their historical experience with the Cyprus problem as well as a tradition of pragmatic realism in their international commitment.[66]

Note: This article is an expanded version of the author's conference paper 'The Cyprus Issue in Australian Politics, with Particular Reference to the Federal Parliament', delivered at the Fourth Conference on 'Cyprus, Ancient and Modern' (co-jointly organised by the departments of Hellenic Studies and Archaeology, La Trobe University, and held on 30 July-1 August 1999). The paper is also based on research that is currently under-way by the author for the National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, La Trobe University.

NOTES

1. See Michalis S. Michael, 'The Role of the Greek Community in the Determination of Australia's Attitude to the Cyprus Problem', **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, vol. 45, no. 1, May 1991, pp. 98-108; and, Andrew C. Theophanous and Michalis S. Michael, 'The Greek Community and Australian Foreign Policy: with Particular reference to the Cyprus Issue', in Dimitri C. Constas and Athanassios G. Platias, eds., **Diasporas in World Politics: the Greeks in Comparative Perspective,** London, Macmillan in association with The Institute of International Relations, Panteion University, 1993, pp. 88-106.

2. James N. Rosenau, **Diasporas in World Politics** ..., ibid., pp. xv-xvii.

3. Michael (1991), op. cit., p. 98.

4. Gareth John Evans, Australian Labor Party (ALP), Senator 1978-1986, Member for Holt (Vic.) 1996-1999; Minister for Foreign Affairs from 24.3.93 to 11.3.96.

5. Gareth Evans, 'Internationalising Australia', Address by the Senator the Hon. Gareth Evans, QC, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Rotary Club of Melbourne, 18 May 1994, p. 4.

6. Adam Cobb, **Cyprus 1998: Crisis or Stagnation?**, Parliament of Australia, Parliamentary Library, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Group, Background Paper 17, 6 April 1998, p.8, http://wopablue. parl.net/library/pubs/bp/1997-98bp17.htm.

7. Robert James Lee Hawke, ALP, Wills (Vic.), 1980-1992; Prime Minister from 11.3.1983-2012.1991.

8. Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Official Hansard (hereafter referred to as Hansard), 1 December 1983, p. 3164.

9. Leo McLeay, ALP, Grayndler (NSW) 1979 to 1990; Watson (NSW) 1993; Speaker of the House of Representatives 29.8.89 to 8.2.93.

10. **Hansard** (HR), op. cit., p. 3217.

11. Edward Gough Whitlam, ALP, Member for Werriwa (NSW) 29.11.52-31.7.78; Prime Minister from 5.12.1972 to 11.11.1975; Minister for Foreign Affairs from 5.12.1972 to 6.11.1973.

12. Gough Whitlam, **The Whitlam Government, 1972-1975,** Melbourne, Viking, 1985, p. 126.

13. See B.A. Santamaria, 'New home not old battleground', **Weekend Australian**, 19-20 March 1994; see also reply by Michalis S. Michael, 'Moussaka ain't all', **Australian**, 30 March 1994.

14. Author's statistical analysis of the 1998 federal election results based on data supplied by the Australian Electoral Commission.

15. Progressive Party of Working People (the Communist Party of Cyprus). AKEL was formed in 1941.

16. National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (1955-59).

17. Herbert Vere Evatt, ALP, Member for Barton (NSW) 21.9.40 and Hunter (NSW) 22.11.58 to 10.2.60; Attorney-General and Minister

for External Affairs from 7.10.1941 to 19.12.1949; Opposition Leader from 20.6.1951 to 9.2.1960.

18. Robert Gordon Menzies, United Australian Party (UAP)/Liberal Party of Australia (LP), Member for Kooyong (Vic.), 15.9.34-17.2.66; Prime Minister 26.4.39-29.8.41 and 19.12.49-26.1.66; Leader of Opposition 23.9.43-19.12.49 (LP from 1944); Attorney-General and Minister for Industry 12.10.34-20.3.39.

19. Richard Gardiner Casey, UAP, Member for Corio (Vic.) 19.12.31-30.1.40; LP, Member for La Trobe (Vic.) 10.12.49-10.2.60; Treasurer, 3.10.35-26.4.39; Minister for External Affairs, 27.4.51-10.2.60.

20. **Hansard** (HR), 16 May 1956, p. 2079.

21. 'Dorothy dixer' is an Australian colloquialism which means 'a question asked in parliament specifically to allow a propagandist reply by a minister'. The term originated from the pen name, **Dorothy Dix**, of American columnist Meriwether Gilmer (1870-1951) who gave advice to people's emotional problems and was believed that she wrote the more intriguing letters herself. **The Macquarie Dictionary**, Sydney, Macquarie Library, 1981, p. 543.

22. Philip Ernest Lucock, Country Party. Member for Lyle (NSW), 23/3/1952-19.9.1980.

23. **Hansard** (HR), 25 May 1955, p. 1045.

24. **Hansard** (HR), 14 March 1956, p. 805.

25. Arthur Augustus Calwell, ALP, Member for Melbourne (Vic.), 21.9.40-2.11.72; Minister for Information (21.9.43) and Immigration (13.7.45) until 19.12.49; Leader of the Opposition 7.3.60-8.2.67.

26. **Hansard** (HR), 29 March 1960, p. 640.

27. Paul Meernaa Caedwalla Hasluck, LP, Member for Curtin (WA), 10.12.49-10.2.69; Minister for Territories, 11.5.51-18.12.63; Minister for Defence 18.12.63-24.4.64; Minister for External Affairs, 24.4.64-11.2.69.

28. **Hansard**(HR), 6 May 1964, p. 1567.

29. Clyde Robert Cameron, ALP, Member for Hindmarsh (SA), 10.12.49-19.9.80; Minister for Science and Consumer Affairs 6.6.75-11.11.75.

30. **Hansard**(HR), 11 August 1964, p. 16.

31. **Hansard** (HR), 4 November 1975, p. 2773.

32. **Hansard** (HR), 19 August 1975, p. 235; also see Hansard (Senate), 16 August 1974, p. 1061.

33. **Hansard** (HR), 17 July 1974, p. 272, and Hansard (Senate), 17 July 1974, p. 200.

34. Donald Robert Willesee, ALP, Senator for WA 22.2.50-11.1175; Minister for Foreign Affairs 6.11.73-11.11.75.

35. Resolution 353 (UN S/11350, 20 July 1974) called for a cease-fire, respect for Cyprus's sovereignty and territorial integrity, an end to 'foreign military intervention' and the withdrawal of all 'foreign military personnel' from the island. In regard to the mode of mediation, Resolution 353 called upon the three guarantor powers to conduct negotiations, which led to the failed Geneva Talks. The call for a tripartite conference was reiterated in subsequent Resolutions 357 (UN S/1446/Rev.1, 14 August 1974, para. 3) and 360 (UN S/11450/Rev.2, 16 August 1974, para. 3) - which, although omitting the direct naming of the parties, referred to them by recalling Resolution 353.

36. **Hansard** (Senate), 16 August 1974, p. 1061.

37. **Hansard** (HR), 31 October 1974, p. 3162.

38. William George Hayden, ALP, Member for Oxley (Qld.), 9.12.61-17.8.88; Governor-General of Australia 1989-1996; Leader of Opposition 22.12.77-3.2.83; Minister for Foreign Affairs 11.3.83-17.8.88; Minister for Social Security 1972-1975; Treasurer 6.6.75-11.11.75.

39. **Hansard** (HR), 16 November 1983, p. 2780.

40. **Hansard** (HR), 7 May 1991, p. 3070.

41. See **Australian Labor Party Platform, Resolutions and Rules as Approved by the 40th National Conference**, Hobart, 1994, Canberra, ALP National Secretariat, 1994, pp. 159-160.

42. US Congress, Concurrent Resolution, H.Con. Res.42, 104th Congress, 1st Session, 16 March 1995, F:\FD\SUS\HC42.SUS.

43. The full text of the motion resolved: 'That this House - (1) reaffirms its total support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of

the Republic of Cyprus as the only legitimate authority on the island; (2) reaffirms the position that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus; (3) applauds the contribution of Australian peacekeepers since 1964 in maintaining order and stability on the island; (4) expresses its deep concern that after more than two decades of division on the island, there is still no lasting political settlement in sight and its strong belief that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable; (5) reaffirms its support for the United Nations Secretary-General's long-standing efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem in a just and viable manner; (6) notes that the prospects of Cyprus joining the EU offers potential benefits for the economic development and security of the whole island and the chance to bring the communities in Cyprus closer together; (7) urges all parties involved in the Cyprus question to demonstrate goodwill and a new resolve to work actively towards a lasting and peaceful political settlement based upon the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular resolution 939 of 1994; (8) agrees with the United States Congress that ultimate total demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties involved, would enhance prospects for a peaceful and lasting resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus, would benefit all of the people of Cyprus, and merits international support; and (9) encourages the United Nations Security Council to consider alternative approaches to promote a resolution of the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus based upon relevant Security Council resolutions, including incentives to encourage progress in negotiations.'   Hansard (HR), 23 November 1995, p. 3635.

44. **Debates of the House of Commons of Canada (Hansard)**, 35th Parliament, 2nd Session, 17 April 1996, p. 3893.

45. The motion was tabled by Labour MP, Annete King, (Miramar); New Zealand, House of Representatives, **Parliamentary Debates** (Hansard), 1st session, 44th Parliament, vol. 555, 8 May 1996, p. 12418.

46. Laurence John Brereton, ALP, Member for Kingsford-Smith from 24.3.90; Member of NSW Legislative Assembly for Randwick 1970-71 and for Heffrom 1973-1990; NSW Minister for Health, Roads, Public Works and Employment 1981-84; Federal Minister for

Industrial Relations and Transport 1993-96; Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs from 20.3.96.

47. The full text of the motion declared: 'That the House - (1) deplores the recent tragic outbreak of communal violence in the UN buffer zone in Cyprus; (2) applauds the efforts of the UN peacekeeping force in Cyprus, including officers of the Australian Federal Police who continue to make a vital contribution to its operations; (3) recognises the terrible humanitarian cost that the continued division of Cyprus imposes on the communities of the island; (4) deplores the fact that more than 22 years after the 1974 Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus, Cyprus remains artificially and tragically divided and that there is still no lasting political settlement in sight; (5) expresses its strong belief that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable and that the continued division of Cyprus, including the presence of Turkish troops in northern Cyprus, has no place in an international climate of reconciliation and cooperation; (6) reaffirms its total support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as the only legitimate authority on the island; (7) reaffirms Australia's support for relevant UN Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 939 of 1994 which calls for a solution to be based upon a sovereign, independent and unified Cyprus comprised of a bi-communal and bi-zonal federal republic free of foreign interference; (8) reaffirms the position that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus; (9) commends the efforts of the UN Secretary-General to resolve the Cyprus dispute in a just and viable manner; (10) calls on the international community to take urgent action to overcome the deadlock in negotiations to restore justice for Cyprus and to bring about a long-term resolution to Cyprus' problems; and (11) urges the Government to take the lead in insisting that the international community, and members of the UN Security Council in particular, take immediate steps to promote a just resolution of the Cyprus dispute, based on relevant Security Council resolutions, including incentives to encourage progress in negotiations.' Hansard (HR), 9 September 1996, p. 3677. The motion was passed on 16 September 1996. (p. 4324)

48. Petro Georgiou, LP, Member for Kooyong (Vic.) since 19.11.1992.

49. **Hansard** (HR.), 16 September 1996, p. 4315.

50. On 18 April 1997, Canada's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, announce the appointment of a special ambassador, Michael Bell, as the Canadian envoy in Cyprus. In his announcement to the House of Commons he thanked his colleagues Sarkis Assadourian (Don Valley, Liberal), Eleni Bakopanos (Saint-Denis, Liberal) and John Cannis (Scarborough Centre, Liberal) for 'working actively over the last several months to develop an initiative for Canada to assist in the reconciliation of the problem in Cyprus'. Canada, Hansard, 18 April 1997, p. 9938.

51. John Michael Spender was the LP Member for North Sydney (NSW) from 18.10.80 to 24.3.90; he served as Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs from 14.8.87 to 12.5.89; he is qualified as a practising barrister and became Queen's Counsel in 1974.

52. Alexander Downer, LP, Member for Mayo (South Australia) since 1.12.84; Minister for Foreign Affairs from 11.3.96; Leader of Opposition 23.5.94-30.1.95; Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs 31.1.95-11.3.96.

53. Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'Cyprus: Appointment of Australia's Special Envoy', **Media Release**, ref. no. FA 85, 25 June 1998.

54. Laurie Brereton, MP, Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'Australian Special Envoy to Cyprus: Wrong Man for the Job', **News Release**, ref. no. 47/98, 25 June 1998.

55. Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'Special envoy for Cyprus to Continue Consultations', **Media Release**, ref. no. FA 80, 20 July 1999.

56. The Cypriot Graduates Association of Australia (**Avustralya Kibrisli Universite Mezunlari Dernegi**) was formed in late 1997 with the prime purpose of organising 'the tertiary qualified graduates of Turkish Cypriot origin in Australia and encourage a high level of communication, cooperation and solidarity amongst them'. It is committed to the principles of multiculturalism, human rights and an academic approach in dealing with community issues both in Australia and in Cyprus. One of its main stated aims is to promote Cyprus as a Multicultural Island and establish bicommunal cooperation. The

CGAA has established a home page on the Internet (http://adcom.com.au/cgaa)and has engaged in dialogue throughout the world with Cypriots and non-Cypriots interested in the Cyprus problem. As would be seen at n. 60, CGAA has been the principle Turkish-Cypriot group in recent rapprochement attempts.

57. See Government Statement, **Canada in the World**, Ottawa, February 1995.

58. Commonwealth of Australia, **In the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy**, White Paper, Canberra, 1997, pp. iii & 1.

59. Australia Foreign Affairs and Trade, **Cyprus Country Brief: Bilateral Relations**, 14 September 1999.

60. In 1998 Australian exports to Greece amounted to A$59 million whilst imports totalled A$94 million. However, the DFAT considers certain areas of opportunity for Australian exports to Greece especially in the maritime sector and infrastructure projects. Australia Foreign Affairs and Trade, **Greece Country Brief**, July 1999.

61. Australia's annual exports to Turkey in 1998 was valued at A$558 million whilst imports amounted to A$108 million. Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade, **Turkey Country Brief**, July 1999.

62. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, **Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s**, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1991, p. 291.

63. Indicative of this bipartisan position by the ALP and the LP, in addition to the two parliamentary resolutions of 1995 and 1996, are resolutions by the two major parties at their respective national party forums. In particular the ALP continued its long tradition of resolutions on Cyprus at its 41st National Conference in Hobart on 22nd January 1998 moved by the Leader of the ALP in South Australia Mike Rann and seconded by NSW federal MP Anthony Albanese. For full text see **Australian Labor Party National Conference 1998**, Conference Resolution-Cyprus, Chapter 14: Securing Australia's Place in the World, Resolution No. 273R, page 104. The LP also for the first endorsed a substantial motion on Cyprus at its Federal Council in Brisbane on 15th moved by Parliamentary Secretary Trish Worth, MP, and second by NSW MLC Jim Samios (see Trish Worth, Member

for Adelaide and Parliamentary secretary to the Minister for Health and Family Services, 'motion Shows Continuing Commitment to Cyprus', **Media Release**, TW 7/98, 24 March 1998).

64. For example, Australia can become the venue for rapprochement between its own Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Unlike the United Kingdom and the United States, there has not been much systematic contact between moderate elements of the two communities in Australia. Recently, there appears to be some attempts by Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriots in Melbourne and Sydney to open up a dialogue. Although in its embryonic stage, several initial meetings have borne out two joint projects such as a Bicommunal Cultural Festival and a conflict resolution workshop. Also for the first time, a joint Greek and Turkish Cypriot delegation met with Australia's Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Philip Ruddock, in June 1999 who gave a positive response to their requests for assistance in the promotion of reconciliation projects and not to perceive the two communities as divided.

65. Whilst in New York for the UN General Assembly session, Downer with his Cypriot counter-part, Ioannis Kasoulides, to brief him about on development in East Timor as well as Australia's initiative on Cyprus. Kasoulides supported Australia's action in East Timor and offered to contribute police personnel to any UN force there. Finally, Downer reiterated his offer 'to the parties and to the UN the services of an Australian judicial expert who could assist in designing a federal model for Cyprus', Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'Cyprus Foreign Minister Welcomes Australian Initiative', **Media Release**, ref. no. FA 110, (Canberra) 8 October 1999.

66. Costas Melakopides in his Martello Paper, **Making Peace in Cyprus: Time for a Comprehensive Initiative**, Ontario, Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 1996, pp. 91-92, ponders on an enhanced role for Canada as a 'reliable mediator or facilitator for peace in the Greek-Turkish-Cypriot triangle' parallel to Norway's mediation in the Israel-PLO dialogue.

CHRONOLOGIE-GRÈCE

(1er avril -15 décembre 1999)

15 avril: Manifestation à Athènes de protestation contre les bombardements de l'OTAN au Kosovo et en Serbie avec jets de pierres contre les ambassades de France, de Grande Bretagne et d'Italie.

29 avril: Création du parti des Libéraux par Stéphanos Manos, ancien ministre des Finances de la Nouvelle Démocratie.

30 avril: La Grèce décide d'acquérir 60 avions de combat F16 et monoplace et 15 avions Mirage 2000 - 5 Mark 2, sans compter la modernisation de 10 mirages 2000 déjà en service. Ces achats estimés nécessaires pour faire face à toute menace en mer Egée sont d'un coût global supérieur à 3 milliards de dollars.

3 mai : Plus de 500 journalistes grecs dénoncent à Athènes, le jour anniversaire de la liberté de la presse, "les bombardements de l'OTAN, qui font des centaines de victimes, l'assassinat de journalistes et le contrôle de la presse par les centres de l'OTAN".

13 juin : Résultats des élections des députés grecs au Parlement européen : Nouvelle Démocratie : 35,98%, PASOK : 32,92%, KKE : 8,66%, DIKKI : 6,85%, Synaspismos : 5,16%, Printemps politique : 2,22%, Libéraux, 1,62%.

27 juin : Mort de l'ancien dictateur, Georges Papadopoulos.

29 juillet : Fin de la première phase du dialogue gréco-turc au niveau des représentants des ministères des affaires étrangères des deux pays.

17 août : la Grèce porte secours à la Turquie frappée par un séisme et ne s'oppose pas à l'aide financière accordée à ce pays par l'Union européenne.

7 septembre : fin de la seconde phase du dialogue gréco-turc au niveau des représentants des ministres des affaires étrangères des deux pays.

Séisme dans la région du nord d'Athènes qui provoque phus de cent morts et de nombreux dégâts matériels.

14 septembre : Mort dans un accident d'avion de Yannos Kranidiotis, ministre adjoint des Affaires étrangères. Son remplaçant, Christos Rokofylos est nommé le 20 septembre.

25 octobre : Rencontre à Athènes d'Alain Richard, ministre français de la Défense avec son homologue Akis Tsohatzopoulos.

19-20 novembre : Violentes manifestations à Athènes à l'occasion de la visite en Grèce du président Bill Clinton.

14 décembre : signature à Skopje d'un accord de coopération militaire entre la Grèce et la FYROM.

CHRONOLOGIE-CHYPRE

(1er avril -15 décembre 1999)

9 avril : Le Président de la Chambre des Représentants, Spyros Kyprianou, rencontre à Belgrade le Président Milosevic pour le convaincre de libérer trois pilotes américains dont les avions ont été abattus.

28 mai : Le chef de la communauté chypriote turque Rauf Denktash invite le président Glafcos Clérides à renoncer à sa politique d'armement.

20 juin : Le G-8 décide d'oeuvrer pour une solution de la question chypriote.

11 juillet : Le ministre turc des affaires étrangères, Ismail Cem, en vi-site dans la zone occupée de Chypre, se déclare en faveur d'une solution confédérale pour résoudre la question chypriote.

29 juillet : Le président Jacques Chirac dans une lettre au président Clérides lui indique que la France entend s'impliquer dans la solution de la question chypriote.

11 août : 32 personnes sont blessées à la suite d'un séisme dans la région de Limassol d'une magnitude de 5,8 dégrés sur l'échelle de Richter.

12 août : Libération par grâce présidentielle de deux Israéliens condamnés pour espionnage, six mois auparavant, à 3 ans de prison.

24 août : Remaniement du gouvernement chypriote. Sont nommés : Socrate Hassikos, ministre de la Défense, Frixos Savvides, ministre de la Santé, Néophytos Averoff, Ministre des Communications et des Travaux publics et Michalis Papapetrou, porte parole du gouvernement.

8 septembre: R. Denktash déclare refuser de participer aux négociations intercommunautaires prévues à l'automne à New York.

23 septembre : Intervention du président Cléridès devant l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU.

6 octobre : Le Comité des ministres du Conseil de l'Europe dans une résolution intérimaire demande à la Turquie d'exécuter l'arrêt de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, qui l'a condamnée à payer 300 000 livres chypriotes à Mme Loizidou, réfugiée de Kyrénia.

Activités académiques / Academic activities

TROISIÈME CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL
DES INSTITUTS HELLÉNIQUES DE RECHERCHE

Le Centre de recherches helléniques-Canada-KEEK, qui a assumé la Présidence du Comité de coordination des Instituts helléniques de recherche (SEEIE) pendant deux ans (1997-1999), a organisé leur troisième congrès international du 28 mai au 2 juin 1999, sur l'hellénisme à l'aube du 21e siècle. Le congrès a été sous les auspices des gouvernements de Grèce (Secrétariat général pour les Grecs de la diaspora, Ministère des Affaires extérieures) et de Chypre (Ministère des Affaires extérieures).

On a eu trois jours de séances à Montréal (29-31 mai), une journée à Ottawa (1er juin) et une journée à Toronto (2 juin). Pendant les trois jours à Montréal, on a eu 4 conférences parallèles, 5 tables-rondes et 36 communications de chercheurs sur l'hellénisme : 13 de Grèce, 4 de Chypre, 9 du Canada, 5 des Etats-Unis, 3 de France et 2 d'Australie. L'ouverture officielle a eu lieu au Centre communautaire hellénique de Montréal le 28 mai et les séances ont eu lieu à l'Université Concordia.

Les sujets spécifiques suivants ont été traités et analysés à Montréal: relations greco-canadiennes, perceptions de la Grèce à l'étranger, identité et globalisation, Communauté greco-canadienne, politique, économie et société en Grèce, éducation grecque, problèmes régionaux, diaspora hellénique (société, littérature et éducation) la crise dans les Balkans, Chypre dans l'Union Européenne, langue et éducation grecques. Les discussions de table-ronde à Ottawa et Toronto portaient sur les différentes perceptions de la Grèce au Canada et sur les perspectives de l'hellénisme.

Les membres des communautés helléniques ont participé très activement aux discussions pendant les différentes séances ainsi qu'aux périodes de questions qui ont suivi.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF HELLENIC RESEARCH INSTITUTS

The Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research-Canada-KEEK, which held the Presidency of the Coordinating Committee of Research Institutes of Hellenism (SEEIE) for the two-year period of 1997-1999, organized and hosted from May 28 to June 2, 1999, the Third International Conference of SEEIE on Hellenism at the Dawn of the 21st Century. The Conference was under the Aegis of the Governments of Greece (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad) and Cyprus (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

There were three days of Sessions in Montreal (May 29-31), one day in Ottawa (June 1st) and one day in Toronto (June 2nd) with Keynote Speakers (4), Round Table Panels (5) and a total of 36 papers by academics and researchers on Hellenism from Greece (13), Cyprus (4), Canada (9), USA (5), France (3) and Australia (2). The Official Opening took place in the Hellenic Community Centre on June 28th and the Montreal Sessions were held at Concordia University.

The specific topics discussed in Montreal: Greek-Canadian Relations, Perceptions of Greece Abroad, Identiy and Globalization, Greek-Canadian Community, Regional Strategy, Greek Politics, Economy and Society, Greek Education, Critical Area Themes, Hellenic Diaspora (Society, Literature and Education), The Crisis in the Balkans, Cyprus in Europe, Greek Language and Education. The Ottawa and Toronto two Round Table Discussions were, respectively, on: Perceptions of Greece in Canada and Prospectives and Perspectives of Hellenism.

The Conference was very well attended by the members of the Greek Communities who actively participated in the Question-and-Discussion-Periods which followed each Session.

CONFÉRENCES

Yannis Philippoussis membre du Conseil d'administration du KEEK, a participé aux congrès suivants : du 25 avril au 5 mai à

Pretoria en Afrique du Sud sur "Justice, vertus et citoyenneté", du 1er au 3 juillet à Olympie en Grèce sur "Le droit et les droits dans la tradition grecque antique", du 20 au 27 août à Lesbos sur "Philosophie grecque et les beaux-arts" et du 3 au 8 juillet au congrès du Programme "Paideia Omogenon" à Rethymnon.

CONFÉRENCES

Yannis Philippousis member of the Board of Directors of KEEK participated in the following Conferences : in Pretoria South Africa on "Justice, Virtues and Citizenship" (April 25-May 5), in Olympia on "Law and Rights in Ancient Greek Tradition" (July 1-3), in Lesbos on "Greek Philosophy and the Fine Arts" (August 20-27) and in Rethymnon within the Program "Paideia Omogenon" (July 3-8).

CONGRÈS SUR L'EDUCATION HELLÉNIQUE DE LA DIASPORA

Le directeur du Centre de recherches helléniques-Canada-(KEEK) Dr. Stephanos Constantinides a participé au congrès organisé à Rethymnon (Crète) par le Centre d'études migratoires et interculturelles-EDIAMME du département de pédagogie de l'Université de Crète (July 1-2). Il a par la suite participé à une rencontre dans le cadre du programme Paideia Omogenon (july 3-8) pendant laquelle on a discuté du progrès du programme dans les différents pays où il s'applique. Le Centre était aussi representé à cette rencontre par Thalia Tassou et les professeurs Yannis Philippoussis et Panayiotis Chimbos.

CONFERENCE ON HELLENIC EDUCATION FOR GREEKS ABROAD

The Director of the Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research-Canada (KEEK) Dr. Stephanos Constantinides, Dr. Yannis Philippoussis, Thalia Tassou and Dr. Panayiotis Chimbos represented the Centre at the Conference organized in Rethymnon by the Centre for Migratory and Intercultural Studies (EDIAMME) of the Department of Education of the University of Crete (july 1-8). The purpose of the conference was to discuss the progress of the program Paideia Omogenon in the different countries in which it applies.

ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Three copies of all manuscripts, typewritten on computer, double-spaced should be submitted on paper and disk. Manuscripts should follow the APA Manual, or the MLA Style Sheet or be consistent with practice in the discipline of each particular author.

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Les textes doivent être soumis en trois exemplaires dactylographiés à l'ordinateur à double interligne et conformément à la présentation en usage sur papier et sur disquette.

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