

MODERN GREEK STUDIES

(AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND)

Volume 13, 2005

A Journal for Greek Letters

*Pages on Australian Society*

Published by Brandl & Schlesinger Pty Ltd  
PO Box 127 Blackheath NSW 2785  
Tel (02) 4787 5848 Fax (02) 4787 5672  
[www.brandl.com.au](http://www.brandl.com.au)

for the Modern Greek Studies Association  
of Australia and New Zealand (MGSAANZ)  
Department of Modern Greek  
University of Sydney NSW 2006 Australia  
Tel (02) 9351 7252 Fax (02) 9351 3543  
E-mail: [Vrasidas.Karalis@modern.greek.usyd.edu.au](mailto:Vrasidas.Karalis@modern.greek.usyd.edu.au)

ISSN 1039-2831

Copyright in each contribution to this journal belongs to its author.

© 2006, Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication may be reproduced, stored  
in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means  
electronic, mechanical or otherwise without  
the prior permission of the publisher.

Typeset and design by Andras Berkes

Printed by Griffin Press

MODERN GREEK STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND (MGSAANZ)

ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΑΥΣΤΡΑΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΣ ΖΗΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ

President: Michalis Tsianikas, Flinders University  
Vice-President: Anthony Dracoupoulos, University of Sydney  
Secretary: Thanassis Spiliadis, La Trobe University, Melbourne  
Treasurer: Panayota Nazou, University of Sydney, Sydney

MGSAANZ was founded in 1990 as a professional association by those in Australia and New Zealand engaged in Modern Greek Studies. Membership is open to all interested in any area of Greek studies (history, literature, culture, tradition, economy, gender studies, sexualities, linguistics, cinema, Diaspora, etc). The Association issues a Newsletter (Ενημέρωση), holds conferences and publishes two journals annually.

MODERN GREEK STUDIES  
(AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND)

Editors

**VRASIDAS KARALIS & MICHAEL TSIANIKAS**

Book Review Editor

**HELEN NICKAS**

Text editing: **Katherine Cassis**

MEMBERSHIP TO MODERN GREEK STUDIES ASSOCIATION

plus ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION for two issues

Individual: AUS \$45 US \$35 UK £25 €35 Institutions: AUS \$70 US \$65 UK £35 €45 (plus postage)

full-time student/pensioners: AUS \$20 US \$30 UK £20

(includes GST)

Address for all correspondence and payments

MGSAANZ

Department of Modern Greek, University of Sydney, NSW 2006 Australia

Tel (+61-2) 9351 7252 Fax (+61-2) 9351 3543

E-mail: Vras@arts.usyd.edu.au

*The periodical welcomes papers in both English and Greek on all aspects of Modern Greek Studies (broadly defined). Prospective contributors should preferably submit their papers on disk and hard copy. All published contributions by academics are refereed (standard process of blind peer assessment). This is a DEST recognised publication.*

Το περιοδικό φιλοξενεί άρθρα στα Αγγλικά και τα Ελληνικά αναφερόμενα σε όλες τις απόψεις των Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (στη γενικότητά τους). Υποψήφιοι συνεργάτες θα πρέπει να υποβάλλουν κατά προτίμηση τις μελέτες των σε δισκέτα και σε έντυπη μορφή. Όλες οι συνεργασίες από πανεπιστημιακούς έχουν υποβληθεί στην κριτική των εκδοτών και επιλέκτων πανεπιστημιακών συναδέλφων.

# CONTENTS

## SECTION ONE

<b>Stuart Roseworne</b>	The Shifting Power Relations in Australia's Economic Success Story: From Neo-Liberalism to Neo-Conservatism	7
<b>Carole M. Cusack</b>	Religion in Australian Society: A Place for Everything and Everything and Its Place	28
<b>Evan Kanarakis</b>	Where Be the Rock? Sex, Drugs and Rock & Roll: Influence, Empowerment and rebellion, or Commercial Constructs, Cheap Imitation and War Over?	46
<b>Steve Georgakis–</b>		
<b>Richard Light</b>	The Athens of the South: Sport in Australian Society	58
<b>Andrea Bandhauer–</b>		
<b>Maria Veber</b>	German Studies Today: Gender and Intercultural Studies	75
<b>Panayiotis Diamadis</b>	Aegean Eucalypts	86

## SECTION TWO

<b>S. M. Hawke</b>	Dancing with the Ghost of Charmian Clift: A Ficto-Critical Requiem	106
<b>Alexander Norman</b>	Where the Church Bell Can Be Heard, There the Parish Lies: Issues of Schism and Continuity in the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia	122
<b>Yiorgos Anagnostou</b>	Through the Lenses of Rage: Refracting Success in Greek America	132
<b>Angie Voela</b>	The Construction of the Woman in Karkavitsas' <i>Η Ανγερή</i>	145
<b>Vassilios Letsios</b>	Back to Bable in the Time of Modern Greek. Language Varieties in the Novel <i>Αντιποίησης Αρχής</i>	167
<b>Elena Koutrianou</b>	Poetry as Recomposition: Odysseas Elytis Translating Sappho	192

<b>Petro Alexiou</b>	Diaspora and Colonialism in Australia in the 1920s: The Case of Alekos Doukas's Migrant 'Voyage South'	206
<b>Anthony Stephens</b>	Interrogating Myth: <i>Ariadne</i>	230

### SECTION THREE

<b>Joanne Finkelstein</b>	The Demotic City – The Chattering Classes and Civility	263
<b>Robert van Krieken</b>	Occidental Self-Understanding and the Elias–Duerr Dispute: 'Thick' versus 'Thin' Conceptions of Human Subjectivity and Civilization	273
<b>Craig Browne</b>	Castoriadis on the Capitalist Imaginary	282

### SECTION FOUR

	BOOK REVIEWS (Edited by <b>Helen Nickas</b> )	300
	LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	327

**Petro Alexiou**

DIASPORA AND COLONIALISM IN  
AUSTRALIA IN THE 1920S:  
THE CASE OF ALEKOS DOUKAS'S  
MIGRANT 'VOYAGE SOUTH'

I

'History is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous,  
empty time but time filled by the presence of now.'

(Walter Benjamin *Theses on the Philosophy of History*)

This essay aims to locate a Greek migrant subject in Australia in the interwar years at the intersection of two tangential but related discourses of European settlement, that of the dominant white colonial discourse and that of the Greek diaspora which mediated the existence of Greek communities in Australia in the early decades of the twentieth century. The approach is biographical in the sense that it tracks the personal narrative of Alekos Doukas<sup>1</sup>, an Asia Minor Greek refugee, on his migratory voyage to Australia in 1927 and his first ten months in the country. The narrative is based on his letters home to his family and brother, the writer Stratís Doukas, in Greece.

Benjamin's essay on the philosophy of history introduces the critical idea that history writing is a continuing process of contestation rooted in the present. This idea also informs Nicholas Thomas's approach to colonial history in the region and he has argued that in the analysis of colonial discourse differentiation between older and newer, more subtle forms, is imperative if we are to subvert and expose the notion of 'historical progress' which excises racist colonialism from the 'liberal present' into an insulated

realm of the past.<sup>2</sup> So too in diasporic discourses it is those elements and positions, those continuities from the past that silently underpin contemporary discourses, that need to be subjected to closer historical analysis.

The exploration of my biographical subject, and the field in which he is located, is guided by Thomas's caution that 'only localised theories and historically specific accounts can provide much insight into the varied articulations of colonising and counter-colonial representations and practices'.<sup>3</sup> The study of a 'located' historicised subject in Greek-Australian history can help illuminate the specific nature of Greek diasporic discourse and its largely unexplored relationship with the dominant colonialist discourse. My study takes up Thomas's argument that 'unitary' and 'essentialist' representations of historical discourses are counter-productive, whereas more historicised, differentiated and complex representations can help identify the continuities and ruptures in contemporary discourses, particularly those that relate to minority ethnic communities and their location in the broader society.<sup>4</sup>

This essay analyses primary sources in the field of Greek-Australian history (letters, unpublished manuscripts, immigrant guides and contemporary newspaper reports) with the aim of exploring 'discursive affiliations and underlying epistemologies' which have till now been largely passed over.<sup>5</sup> My investigations lead me to a consideration of the extent to which Greek migrant discourses in the past, and as continuities today, are implicated in colonialist discourse. Until now Greek migration to Australia has been studied in isolation from the country's broader colonial history, largely in terms of settlement patterns and with a focus on social and economic disadvantage as the primary aspect of the relationship between the Greek communities and the dominant structures of society. This essay locates itself within an undertaking 'for a decolonised migrant historiography'<sup>6</sup> which in the context of this study involves three research strategies. The first is the need to examine non-British migrant histories and discourses of settlement to understand their nature and terrain: the second is to ascertain the extent to which they incorporate or share space with dominant colonial discourses: and the third is to examine the extent to which ethnic communities generate their own counter-discourses and histories, in opposition or resistance to dominant narratives of settlement.

Alekos Doukas was born in 1900 in Moschonisi, a small island off the Asia Minor coast near the thriving town of Aivali (Turkish: Ayvalık), an area almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks in the Ottoman Empire up until the end of the Greek-Turkish War (1919-1922). During WWI Doukas was a young refugee in Greece, returning to Turkey in 1919 and enlisting in the occupying Greek army in 1920. Seriously wounded in the final days of the war, he was evacuated in September 1922 and hospitalised in Greece. He remained in Northern Greece as a refugee until 1927 when he set sail for Australia.

The disastrous military defeat in the Asia Minor Campaign of 1919–22, not only resulted in a massive human disaster in which approximately 1.3 million Greeks from the Ottoman Empire flooded Greece as refugees, it also radically changed the dynamics of the Greek homeland-diaspora relationship.<sup>7</sup> This landmark event would also have repercussions for the Greek communities in Australia. In Greece it engendered a deep political and ideological crisis. The Greek refugees from Turkey, the Mikrasiátes (the Asia Minor Greeks) did not experience immediate acceptance in Greece by the native Greeks, the Palioelladites (the Old Greeks), nor did the state's official construct of national identity embrace the traditions and experiences of these newly arrived brethren.<sup>8</sup> Resettlement problems, as well as cultural and social tensions, caused young Asia Minor Greeks like Alekos Doukas to feel restless and anxious to free themselves from the narrow confines of Greece.

In discussing the Greek diaspora I have drawn on an historical distinction provided by John Armstrong (1976) between 'mobilised' and 'proletarian' diasporas.<sup>9</sup> The former are the traditional diasporas (the Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Chinese and the Germans in Eastern Europe) who provided communication networks and specialised roles (merchants and diplomats) in a reciprocal exchange relationship with the ethnic elites of multi-ethnic empires, while the latter have been part of a labour migration to large urban centres. There are two points to be made here. The first is that diasporas require sustaining ethnic myths to maintain cohesion and continuity. Crucial to such myths are those of the 'homeland', although in the so-called 'archetypal' diasporas the myth may be entirely supra-territorial and based on religious identity.<sup>10</sup> Such myths are sustained through a variety of mechanisms and institutions: churches, schools, clubs, publishing houses and so on, all of which produce discourses that in the case of mobilised diasporas sustained identity and cohesion over long periods of time. In the case of proletarian diasporas in the twentieth century such discourses of identity usually cannot compete with the dominant capitalist elite which monopolises the mechanisms and institutions responsible for society's foundational and national myths. The second point of relevance here is that the Greeks of Australia in the interwar period can be seen as a diaspora in a transitional phase between a mobilised diaspora with a marked profile of self-employment in small and medium catering trades and a proletarian diaspora of immigrants with only their labour to offer. One of the hypotheses of my study is that in the interwar years the Greek communities in Australia were still dominated by a traditional diaspora ideology that did, however, experience certain disruptions and challenges, particularly during and after the Great Depression in the late 1920s.

In a recent essay, the historian Ann Curthoys (1999) deals with the subject of 'foundational white narrative and mythology' in Australian settler society.<sup>11</sup> She argues for the



existence of a deeply ingrained 'victimological narrative' in Australian nationalist discourse in which colonialist violence and dispossession of Indigenous people is effaced by a narrative of the white settler as victim. Curthoys breaks down this overriding national narrative into a cluster of related narratives. Of interest to us here are those of exodus and expulsion, pioneers, and struggle with an alien and threatening nature which includes within it, through the elision of Aborigines as a people, their dispossession. She claims validity for her study only in respect to the settler narratives of the Anglo-Celtic population who were the clear majority before WWII. Curthoys suggests that other groups, which remain to be studied, 'may be quite easily incorporated into... the Anglo-Celtic narrative' but that they may also '...especially if from Southern Europe or from Asia, have their own quite separate stories of struggle and hardships that have less to do with the land and Indigenous peoples and more to do with the ethnocentric and racist Anglo-Celtic majority.'<sup>12</sup> Whether there is a degree of correspondence in these narratives of settlement or whether there are differences and dynamics of contradiction related to 'ethnocentrism' and 'racism' are questions explored in this essay in relation to the Greeks before WWII.

In the interwar years Southern Europeans as a group were constituted through a racialised discourse that positioned them on the periphery of white Australia. According to the racialised Social Darwinian typology of this period, it was imperative that the white British race remain homogeneous and pure. So-called inferior races had to be excluded or, if admitted, be absorbed in such a way that foreign traits would be totally erased. Assimilationism, the dominant discourse of immigration (and of the 'native problem'), based as it was on an essentialised view of racial and cultural difference, resulted in social practices in which groups like the Greeks tried to make certain aspects of their cultural life less visible. Examples are the tendency to Anglicise names, to avoid speaking Greek in public and generally to conduct ethnic cultural life behind closed doors. However, assimilationism's desire for the same, the effacement of essentialised difference stumbles on a structural contradiction because 'the desire for the same remains that which can never be achieved or fulfilled precisely because one's ethnicity, by definition, precludes the possibility of ever becoming the same.'<sup>13</sup> It is this contradiction that I also want to pursue by examining the inherent discordance between certain elements of the Greek diaspora discourse and the dominant Australian discourse of race and nation, the contradiction between the 'insider' view of Greek community discourse and the 'outsider' view of the dominant society.<sup>14</sup> What is important to keep in mind is that the traditional Greek diaspora discourse of identity, with its ethnic myths and narratives, has a long history and although silent (and silenced) in the dominant Australian discourse remains an obstinate historical reality disrupting any smooth assimilationist reading of the past.

## II

I begin the biographical narrative with Alekos Doukas's letters which describe, in detail, his voyage by steamship to Australia in 1927. As a text, the letters belong more properly to the genre of travel writing. What is striking about the letters is the degree to which they can be read within the context of the Western exploration and discovery narrative, as examples of Orientalist writing and imagination. They reflect in the broad sense the sensibility of a European 'culture of empire' in whose literature, as Edward Said (1993) writes, the 'quest or voyage motif' has a long history.<sup>15</sup> 'In all the great explorers' narratives of the late Renaissance... and those of the late nineteenth-century explorers and ethnographers... there is the *topos* of the voyage south...'<sup>16</sup> For Doukas the 'voyage south' is more than just a necessary movement through space to fulfil a migration goal, it is in itself an imaginative, personal and intellectual adventure.

The first extract from Doukas's letters reveals how an autobiographical narrative can also contain detailed images that evoke 'crystalline moments' in a life, those timeless and haunting moments that Roland Barthes has described as 'biographemes'.<sup>17</sup>

My loved ones, We sailed from Piraeus half an hour ago. I'm sitting at the stern writing to you under an electric light. The shore, lost in the darkness, has now become a row of lights from Piraeus to Glifada. Everything is just fine. I've withdrawn from the soft strains of shipboard singing to be close to you. I am deliriously happy. The sea makes you forget your worries and prepares you for new adventures and cares. I'm finally leaving behind the lights of Greece, the lights of Piraeus and Athens, and I cast my insatiable eyes toward the South. (24.9.1927)<sup>18</sup>

Travelling on the train in Egypt on his way to Port Said, Doukas recounts how two Egyptian ladies offer him food. He describes them as having 'a friendly generosity, a romaic<sup>19</sup> manner' and he finishes the incident with the words, 'Poor humble people! You're the ones who deserve to rule over the swine who govern you.' The reference is presumably to the Egyptian royal family, although Doukas is silent on the reality of extended British control of the country. There are two contrasting notes here. On the one hand, an openness and warm response to a colonised people, and on the other, a note of condescension, an assumption of superiority. The Greeks in Egypt, while a Mediterranean people themselves, nevertheless identify primarily with the European colonial society.

Doukas's letters also testify to the existence at the time of an extensive diasporic network. Before he boards the ship in Piraeus he receives a letter from a family friend who

works in Havana and whose brother-in-law, a Mr Vitalis, is 'well-established' in Melbourne. On the ship to Crete he recognises Evangelos Kaiāfas, a compatriot Asia Minor Greek on his way to Tanganyika to join his uncles in their plantations. In Port Said, he farewells Kaiāfas and a Greek businessman from Aivali on board a ship bound for South Africa. In the 1920s the Greek diaspora, both 'mobilised' and 'proletarian', is on the move.

The planned canal town of Port Said, where Doukas is forced to wait for ten days for the ss. *Ville de Strasbourg*, makes a favourable impression on him with its wide roads, parks, cinema and thriving shipping commerce. It engenders an optimistic mood, an enthusiastic regard for the Western colonial project which is clearly expressed when he visits the statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the famous French canal engineer. 'Out at sea, in the distance toward the north, the smoke from the steamers sailing from Europe can be seen. The splashing waves fill you with joy and optimism. At the canal's entrance, Lesseps stands tall on his pedestal pointing in a manly way to the world, the road to the south.' (28.9.27) As an example of Orientalist discourse at work, a year earlier a Greek from Port Said had written about 'the huge bronze statue of de Lessep which grandly points to the seafarers, the strait that separates two continents and joins the two seas...' <sup>20</sup>, thus illustrating Said's point about the symbolic power of Orientalism that can generate a figure who literally cuts through the Orient. <sup>21</sup>

As the *Ville de Strasbourg* sails through the Suez Canal Doukas is struck by more than just the volume of shipping traffic.

Each time I woke I kept seeing colossal ships illuminated by lights. This route, the shipping artery between the Far East and Eastern and Southern Africa, is the busiest on earth. The Indians send their spices, the South Africans their multifarious products, Australia its unique resources, to feed their hungry mother, Europe, who opened their eyes to a new and a thousand times more beautiful life... One feels dizzy just thinking about what European civilisation has given to the world and mankind! (10.10.27)

The text is unambiguously connected to a Eurocentric discourse of colonialism and imperialist expansion. In the same letter Doukas describes in a heroic vein the tribulations of Magellan, Cook and Tasman, these 'great' European seafarers who were 'struggling to find new lands and asylum for fortune's outcasts'. Here we detect a distinct element from the exodus and expulsion myth so central to the foundational narrative myth of white settlement in Australia. Of interest in Doukas's case is that the 'story of the Fall and expulsion from Eden, and the story of Exodus from Egypt for the promised land' that co-

exist in the Australian national narrative, also echo elements from the historical narrative of the forced departure of Greeks from Asia Minor, although in the latter case it is the idea of expulsion from Eden that dominates.<sup>22</sup> As we shall see later, the two myths emerge interlocked in the narrative of white settlement in Doukas's letters home from Australia.

Doukas's decision to migrate, while affected by factors such as his refugee status and limited employment opportunities in Greece, also entails a subjective aspect related to his personal dreams and desire to travel. His belief in the absolute rightness of his decision is conveyed to his brother Stratis, his confidante and intellectual mentor.

'You must go abroad as soon as possible, Stratis. You must breath the fresh air of the outside world. You can't imagine how much good it will do you. If you stay there you'll be worn down in the end. Don't listen to Velmos.<sup>23</sup> Our duty is not only to our birthplace; One's duty lies in one's every step, on every bend of the road.' (1.10.27)

Nikos Velmos, a close friend of Stratis, is a poet, actor and bohemian whose writings are characterised by attacks on established bourgeois morality. Alekos has no time for Velmos and in a letter describing the kindness and concern of the secretary of Greek Community in Port Said he writes, 'And then, Stratis, Velmos talks about revolution, when with each step you meet human kindness.' The contention between Christian kindness and revolutionary anger, political passivity and action, is an undercurrent in Doukas's writing during the 1920s, although what also surfaces every so often is his republicanism and sense of justice. In fact, as the voyage on the *Ville de Strasbourg* becomes an ordeal due to repeated food poisoning and arrogant treatment by the French officers, Doukas agrees to represent his fellow passengers with a list of complaints to the captain.<sup>24</sup>

There are moments on Doukas's voyage when the strangeness of the physical world around him becomes a threatening presence. Like Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the fear of the unknown, of something that appears to be beyond the signifying system of European language and thought, emerges as a threat to the very identity of the travelling subject.

The sea has become empty and harsh. You are drawn towards your companions as if from instinct, as you feel the melancholy and unbearable weight of the sea's desolation bearing down on you. Here things are beyond words and thoughts. Everything around you is silent and large, impregnable to human emotion.

This extract suggests that Doukas's narrative of his voyage, like the white settlers' reading of the Australian landscape and its Indigenous people, is not primarily governed by the actual contingencies of contact but has deep and prior roots in the European discourses of colonialist expansion and occupation.

The *Ville de Strasbourg* finally sails into Fremantle on 4 November 1927. It has taken forty days from Piraeus and a long and rough voyage across the Indian Ocean. Doukas's first impressions are revealing as he is processed by the immigration authorities.

Then the passport *control* begins. British order. The customs officials take over the smoking-room. We enter two at a time. The attendant shows you where to proceed (in French and Greek). When the *controleur* sees in the reference section of my statutory declaration the words 'Macedonian colonisation' he turns with a smile and says, 'Do you speak English, sir?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Have you been to America?' 'No, sir. But I have been in the English service'<sup>25</sup> at Salonica.' 'Very well, sir.' The *conversation* ended there and I ran off with my companions into smiling Fremantle... What can I say, boys? The omens indicate that the best thing I ever did was to come to this beautiful country. I'll battle super-humanly for a year or two. But I'll live the life I've dreamt about since I was eighteen.



Doukas's youthful optimism and idealised expectations of the society he is about to enter are manifest, as is his association of Australian migration with the Greek settlement of Asia Minor refugees in Northern Greece after 1922. In the latter case, large areas of swamp land and former estates were parcelled out as agricultural land to accommodate homeless refugees from Turkey and to bolster the Greek ethnic component of the region. The Greek Exodus from Turkey (in reality an expulsion) was a recent and massive trauma in the Greek national psyche. The 'colonisation' and refugee settlement program in Northern Greece was certainly no paradise. But Doukas, suffering the traumas of youthful exile, war and expulsion, was keen to join this new Australian colonisation and settlement, charting his own journey of 'Exodus from Egypt for the promised land'.

### III

What then were the Greek diaspora communities that Doukas found in Australia and what were the dominant discourses within them? In 1927, there were approximately 7,000 Greeks in Australia with a forty-year history of community formation that included the main secular community body (the *kinótitia*), churches, schools, coffee houses, newspapers and cultural organisations. The numbers in each city were not large but the diaspora network was extensive, meeting the social, cultural, religious and employment needs of most Greeks, the majority of whom were engaged in the catering trades either as employers, self-employed or employees of their compatriots.<sup>26</sup>

A survey of the three immigrant guides published by Greeks in Australia between 1916 and 1927 provides an insight into the dominant discourse of Greek communities in Australia in the first three decades of the twentieth century. These Greek 'guides', G. Kentavros *Life in Australia* (1916), O. Georgoulas *Brief Guide and Advisor for Greeks in Australia* (1919) and A. Papadopoulos *International Directory of 1927* (1927), abbreviated here as *LiA*, *BG* and *ID*<sup>27</sup>, are genealogically related to a tradition of similar commercial guides, manuals and encyclopaedias published by diaspora Greeks in Europe and the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Like their predecessors, they are a mixture of practical knowledge and ideological self-affirmation of a commercial class whose existence and development were based on the close nexus between commerce and progress.<sup>28</sup> The Greek guides in Australia all express this core outlook of the traditional Greek diaspora. The words 'prosperity' and 'progress' operate as key terms in the diaspora narrative that emerges in the biographical portraits of 'well-established compatriots'. The diaspora narrative typically consists of a young man from a rural village or town being literally 'seized' by a desire to migrate and follow the path of commerce. He finds his way to

Australia, where after working for compatriots, he sets himself up in business, which once successful, allows him to support his family in the homeland to where, ideally, he returns a rich man, to die. The idea of return is encapsulated in the following from *LiA*:

The Greek is the one who becomes enthusiastic on hearing [his country's] name, and his heart beats in expectation of that bright moment when he will be able to return to the family hearth, finally prosperous, embraced by father, mother, wife, brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances, and finally buried in that sacred ground where he first saw the light of day.<sup>29</sup>

This narrative cycle expresses the tension and contradiction between the diaspora as a permanent transnational existence and the return to the homeland, a *raison d'être* for diaspora existence, and which, if it were to predominate, would logically put an end to the diaspora.<sup>30</sup> *LiA* is full of examples of this conflicted narrative of diaspora. In one instance it bemoans the fact that some compatriots have taken up new ways, abandoning their 'Greek upbringing' and forgetting 'their original purpose and incumbent obligation and duty'. This, warns the writer, will lead to 'a complete distancing from the ancestral land'.<sup>31</sup> Yet the same writer warns that to plan to return too quickly is also a danger.

The greatest and most important reason, the obstacle to the full progress of Greeks, and something which condemns them to stagnancy, is the plan to return to Greece; such Greeks didn't come with the goal of setting up business from which they might live the rest of their life in comfort, but to grab whatever is at hand, and often with whatever means, and to depart; so that justifiably the critics here call us Hawks<sup>32, 33</sup>.

The return to the homeland works mostly as an idealised dream, a sustaining myth rather than a realistic goal. The biographical note in *LiA* on Nikolaos Aronis (N. Aroney), one of the Australian Greek diasporas's wealthy 'fathers', expresses this aptly. 'Mr N. Aronis is one of those fine offspring of our country, who having emigrated to a distant land, never ceases to live with his dream of the homeland...'<sup>34</sup>

On the issue of assimilationism and the maintenance of a diaspora identity the guides produce a double set of meanings. On one level there is an anxiety among the more successful Greeks, who were also the ones funding and promoting the guides, about the need for their compatriots to conform, at least outwardly, to the host society's dominant behavioural codes. Any cultural habits or behaviour that drew attention to Greeks in public needed to be curtailed.

Shouting, banging your hands on the table, gesticulating, walking in groups on the street, insolence, and dirty attire are rare and contemptible to the foreigners [i.e. the English]. Such behaviour is only to be observed in uncivilised peoples. This is in fact the reason that Australians hate foreigners, and not, as mistakenly held, because Australians are xenophobes.<sup>35</sup>

The assimilationist discourse here is internally reproduced through a regime of self-censorship that covers language, gesture, dress and public deportment. However, while this discourse instructs the adoption of a persona acceptable to the host society there is at work a competing Greek discourse which promotes the retention of an ethnic diaspora identity and the adoption of new ways as essentially an outward gesture. The *LiA* offers the following advice, suggesting a counter-strategy of camouflage and disguise. 'Foolish is he who tries to impose his culture and customs on foreigners, whereas the sensible person is he who retains his culture while seeming to take on the foreign.'<sup>36</sup> In fact, there are many examples of such a counter-discourse that opposes British-Australian assimilationism, as the defiant use of the racist term 'dago' in the editorial of the *National Tribune* of 3 March 1926 demonstrates.

The Greek does not forget the traditions of his fathers. He does not forget his language. He never loses his orthodox faith. Let them call him a dago as they will, the Greek will stay Greek in his soul and mind to his dying day.<sup>37</sup>

With regards to the history of Australia, the guides consistently present a colonial version of the past in which Australia begins with its European exploration and the founding of the colonies by Captain Cook. In its opening pages, *LiA* characteristically features a photograph of Cook's statue in Sydney's Hyde Park which depicts the 'founding father' pointing majestically into the distance. All three guides provide a perfunctory summary of the past that essentially notes the discovery, economic growth and political organisation of the country. The Aborigines are either ignored entirely, as in *ID*, or seen as a doomed and fading race, as in *LiA*, or treated as exotica in *BG*, which includes them in a separate chapter entitled no less 'Natives and Wild Animals'. The *BG* reproduces the dominant white view of the time:

'From the point of view of intellectual and, in general, human development and education the Natives of Australia are on the lowest rung whereas, in contrast, the natives of the islands around Australia and especially, New Zealand, are at a more advanced stage.'<sup>38</sup>



Interestingly, there is a correspondence between the idea of a white British 'founding father' and the Greek diaspora invocation of similar fathers, founders and benefactors. The idea of paternal protectors permeates the biographical narratives of the good diaspora businessman. The Kordatos brothers, who own four oyster saloons in Northern NSW, are held up as examples. 'Truly moderate, they apply themselves diligently to their business, always behaving paternally towards their employees, who respect and hold them in high regard.'<sup>39</sup> The promotion of paternalism in the diaspora discourse is inherently bound up with a tradition that aims to retain a certain diaspora social and economic autonomy within host societies. The ideological aim of such a view is to subordinate class and other internal differences in favour of a trans-territorial diaspora identity. The guides are essentially an expression of this, on both a moral and patriotic, as well as a practical economic level. A closer reading of the guides reveals the existence of certain class signifiers, for example the term 'well-established compatriot' which is an abbreviated code for shop-keeper or businessman. In the period we are surveying there appears in the discourse a certain latent ambivalence about the tension between class as opposed to diaspora loyalty, with the latter being dominant for ideological and practical reasons. In a few years, this tension begins to be expressed in more articulate and politically self-conscious views about class differences amongst Greeks.<sup>40</sup>

In *LiA* and *ID* there is some discussion about contemporary culture in Australia that suggests a wider diaspora discourse about the host society. *LiA*, while noting the existence of small non-British minorities, concludes that 'Comparing the population according to race and nationality we see that it consists of Englishmen, and that the Australian is nothing if not an Englishman, transplanted paradoxically in a country antipodally different to his own.'<sup>41</sup> Such a view about the British colonial presence in Australia, is, in a sense, an outsider's cultural perception. *LiA* also expresses the view that Australian culture is still in a formative stage, 'a state of fermentation'.<sup>42</sup> It suggests a questioning of a permanent British dominance in the cultural sphere, pointing to the existence of tiny cracks in the dominant discourse around cultural identity.

The Greek diaspora discourse is also characterised by the view of Australian culture as young, robust, innocent, practical and hedonistic, a sort of utopian antithesis to the old world. The writer of *LiA*, touring northern NSW, where he meets travelling sales representatives and sees young women on horseback on country roads, is struck by the 'innocence and purity' of Australians.<sup>43</sup> In this discourse, 'Australians' are constituted as essentially physical and athletic people, a sporting and extroverted white race.<sup>44</sup> In *ID*, the writer A. Papadopoulos is so struck by what he perceives as the emancipated position of women in Australia that he writes an essay-length section on 'The Freedom of Women in Australia'. Although the essay presents an ambivalent attitude towards this freedom, the

general conclusion accords with the view of Australian culture as a healthy physical antidote to an older European pathology of repression and guilt.<sup>45</sup>

It is important to note that the Greek diaspora discourse did not remain unchanged or immutable in the period under study. For example, after 1924, important changes occurred which brought about a re-alignment of diaspora institutions. The older traditional diaspora alliance of clergy and community leaders gave way to a new alliance between the Church and the Greek state in opposition to the independence of the Community which led to a political rift in the communities that has endured to our days. The Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922 effectively changed Greek homeland-diaspora relations and in Australia two events heralded this change. One was the arrival in 1924 of the Archbishop of the newly-created Eastern Orthodox Church of Australia, under the reclaimed jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the other was the appointment in 1926 of the first official Greek Consul-General. The bid by the newly-allied Patriarchate and the Greek state to control the Greek diaspora communities in Australia not only led to a bitter conflict and resistance by the Community-minded shopkeepers it also produced a new element in the discourse of the communities with an emphasis on conformity to a conservative nationalist ideology of the Greek state that, no longer promoting irredentism, now stressed conformity to a new state nationalism.<sup>46</sup> The Church too used a language that invoked an older Byzantine authority that demanded its recognition by the secular Communities in Australia.<sup>47</sup> In brief, the period after 1924 in Australia ushered in a new era in which Greek discourse became dominated by issues of authority, independence, ecclesiastical laws and political ideology.

To summarise this section we can say that the dominant Greek diaspora discourse of the period is characterised by the following: the nexus between progress and commercial prosperity, modernity and technology; the contradictory ideas of return and life-long absence; a preference for the city and town; a veneration for 'founding fathers' and benefactors; an exhortation for diaspora over class loyalty; a deep acquiescence to European colonialism and its dispossession of the Indigenous people; a dual response to the pressures of assimilationism which stressed internal resistance and external conformity to public codes of behaviour; a unified support of the secular institution of the Community, at least up to 1924, and a view of Australian culture as liberal, hedonistic, practical and athletic.<sup>48</sup>

#### IV

In early December 1927, a month after his arrival in Australia, Doukas is picking apricots on a farm outside of Shepparton in the Goulbourn Valley near the Murray River. He is, he writes, 'as strong as an ox and rosy like the apricots I'm picking.' (17.12.27) In this

period his letters are optimistic about his prospects in a farming occupation.<sup>49</sup> This interest is not driven primarily by a diaspora immigrant desire for economic security or wealth but a mixture of scientific interest and a romantic view of the healing power of working the land. In this, Doukas shares something of the spirit of the Australian project of land settlement that in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries aimed to foster a yeomanry class of small farmers, and that saw its last phase in the soldier settlements of the interwar years.<sup>50</sup>

After an attack of malarial fever, Doukas reluctantly turns to café work with a compatriot in Shepparton, a short term employment that proves to be onerous and unhappy. His first experiences with his compatriots are mixed: friendship, kindness and support from some and harsh miserable treatment by others. However, his reaction to his first Greek boss reveals a more general and negative attitude towards his countrymen. 'He's incredibly penny-pinching, like most of the brutish Greeks in Australia. The worst part of the *romaic* heap<sup>51</sup> is to be found here. The brutes whinge that there are no jobs, while they laze about playing poker and gambling in the coffee houses.' (31.1.28) Of course, in the '*romaic* heap' an Asia Minor Greek might well consider himself as belonging near the top, his education and cosmopolitan cultural identity setting him apart from his more rural and less educated compatriots. What is also clear is Doukas's rejection of commerce as a goal in life, what he commonly refers to as 'Mammon'. The 'penny-pinching' habits of the shopkeeper and café owner tend to raise his hackles. In this he shares a certain solidarity with the other, mainly young, Greek immigrant employees. These men were in a sense hostages of a small and confined ethnic labour market where wages were depressed, and economic reward was often deferred in a diasporic system in which mutual loyalty and obligation were expected to lead to loans or partnerships in a future business. Such dependency and patronage was bound to generate resentment and friction.

Doukas's anti-gambling attitude is not surprising given that one of his brothers' gambling habit had bankrupted the family business in Greece. Gambling, of course, often figured in discussions of the social problems Greeks faced at the time and both *LiA* and *BG* regard it as one of the dangers posed to the diaspora goals of progress, prosperity and return to the homeland.

Doukas's negative view of his countrymen is also expressed in his pro-assimilationist attitude, a view expressed surprisingly soon after his arrival. 'The Greeks. Vile, lost to Greece, unorganised, of the lowest order, almost without exception. Fortunately, they will be assimilated quickly, and thus purified in the furnace of a people whose national identity is still being forged.' (24.12.27) Again, we detect a sense of superiority, and, it appears, an ignorance of the considerable cultural organisation that the Greeks of

Australia had achieved at that time. His views suggest that as a refugee he had undergone an experience of deracination, contrary to our expectation that resettlement in Greece might have in fact reinforced a more solid Greek national identity. In fact, in Doukas's letters there is hardly any expressions of a nationalist character. Unlike his compatriots, he expresses, particularly in his fictional manuscripts, a desire for assimilation, a desire to become the cultural 'other'. He quickly realises, however, that there are barriers to his entry into the 'English' society due to language, qualifications, unemployment and prejudice. His letters exhibit a degree of self-reflection that suggests an awareness of the contradictory nature of his position.

A fine and bright future for young people. It's not a country to make a little money and leave. There's a good future in the countryside. However, the best age is eighteen to twenty or twenty-two. An age that doesn't resist assimilation. The reaction to unassimilable foreigners is enormous. You can't speak in a foreign language without being abused. They even look on English migrants with disapproval. (24.12.27)

Strangely, Doukas writes about assimilation as a detached observer, as though he himself is not one of those 'unassimilable foreigners'. The contradictory nature of his position consists in his intellectual consent to a powerful and hostile discourse while simultaneously noting first-hand observations of racist attacks against people like himself. In addition, his subjective consciousness operates through a Greek discourse and education. And there are moments in his letters where he reveals an insight into the cultural processes at work in Australia and a differentiated position from the dominant racialised discourse of the time. For example, he notes the 'fanatical attacks on foreigners' in the daily press and the use of a caricatured black African as a figure of threat to the country. The Australians, he writes, are 'children at heart, and let's not forget that they are a human mass that is going through a dangerous transitional period from the condition of a colony to a nation and an homogenous people.' (24.12.27) These excerpts reveal a certain power in Doukas's texts which name acts of racism and xenophobia, as well as practices of assimilationism and nation building. In common with the Greek guides and press, his letters suggest the existence in the Greek community of a weak, and as yet undeveloped, counter-discourse around issues of assimilationism and racism.

In Doukas's letters the exodus narrative features strongly and he sees everywhere the Edenic nature of the land. This extends to white society itself which he contrasts with the 'glum and pensive' Europeans. His view of society draws on a model of 'geographical medicine' that equates health and mental state to geography.<sup>52</sup> 'Free relationships resting

on a solid foundation, the air, the sun, sports. This is forging a fantastic people down here...' (29.7.28) The passage illustrates Doukas's thinking about Australia as an antidote to the tired and fallen metropolis, a view, as we saw, characteristic of the Greek diaspora discourse. Doukas has absorbed as well a great deal of the white colonial mythology of an Eden undeserved by the original inhabitants, an Eden that for the white settler society nevertheless remains an alluring chimera, and only approached in so far as its potential to yield mineral and agricultural wealth is realised.

While the pioneering narrative is totally absent in the Greek diaspora discourse, it is a strong presence in Doukas's letters which celebrate the ceaseless, heroic efforts of the pioneer farmer.<sup>53</sup> His descriptions of the countryside repeatedly focus on the task of land clearing. 'Vast forests of eucalypt and pepper trees await their death from the woodcutter's mattock endlessly clearing so that orchards can be planted.' (31.1.28) The two strands of the pioneer narrative that Curthoys's notes, the broad inclusive story of the small farmer in the bush battling against flood, drought and fires, and the itinerant unionised outback worker, also appear in Doukas's chronicle of his journeys through country Australia. The itinerant is a picturesque 'vagabond', a 'regular carefree sparrow'. The fires they sometimes cause are 'paid for dearly by the farmers'.<sup>54</sup> Doukas's description of the pioneer's struggle abounds in mythical interpretation.

Wherever you set foot you see man's struggle against the bush. The dark eucalypt surrounds small cultivated areas as though lying in wait to revenge itself on this human work. Dark, titanic and unrelenting, it awaits the *settler's* (a settled immigrant) axe. It has lost its beloved children the *blackfellows* (the autochthonous blacks), its companions for so many silent centuries. Now it looks in disbelief at the beautiful race of the Pelasgians (*pelas – gis* = those coming) who have destroyed its black children who will be soon lost altogether. (20.3.28)

It is worth noting here how the different elements of the narrative slide from one and other in mutual interrelationship and justification. The pioneer story overlaps with the idea of the bush as a threatening presence, the settler (invariably conceived as a male) projecting his fear of a strange and threatening Other onto the landscape. In a process of colonialist reversal, the bush and not the settler, becomes 'dark, titanic and unrelenting' as it awaits the assault of the axe. Similarly, the description of the white settlers as 'Pelasgian'<sup>55</sup>, the word for the indigenous pre-Hellenic people in the Eastern Mediterranean, reverses the ancient situation, thereby emphasising the inevitability of settlement at the expense of the indigenous.

It would be a mistake to overestimate the solidity of the positions suggested by these narratives. For example, the view of the land as harsh, threatening and sinister does not preclude the expression of a contrary Edenic view in which the white settler's clearing, cultivation and irrigation, turn the wilderness into a paradise. This is how Doukas sees the Goulbourn Valley whose dry land had been 'cured by this country's most wonderful irrigation works, transforming formerly dry and barren parts into a paradise'. (29.7.28)

Just as these narrative elements slide into and merge with each other, they also constitute opposites and negations. The orderly rural society that Doukas observes is capable of bearing a dark underbelly. In a letter to Stratis on 28.7.28, Doukas is particularly struck and disturbed by an event that occurs in Bendigo nine days earlier. The event, a multiple murder by a farmer of his wife, mother and farm workers, strikes Doukas with its inexplicable nature. His description of it as an 'Aeschylean tragedy' and as an event 'shrouded by a heavy and impervious veil of mystery' suggests that some dark uncanny force is at work which somehow transcends normal logic.<sup>56</sup> The fact that Doukas sees in the event 'strong material for study' reveals an interest that goes beyond journalistic reportage to a fictional treatment. Using classical mythological references, he sees the event as a sort of divine retribution against the white settlers, although, as elsewhere, the issue of Aboriginal political resistance is elided completely and it is only nature, a romantic abstraction, that takes revenge for the loss of its 'black children'.

What is unusual in Doukas's case is that a Greek migrant in this period should be pre-occupied with such themes. In this regard, Doukas is an oddity within the Greek diaspora of the time, his primary interests being intellectual, the study of Australian history, geography, literature, literary translations and the documenting of experience in literary form. His letters, which repeatedly refer to a serious interest in writing, are often the first drafts of texts published sometimes decades later. Most of the letters are intended for his brother Stratis, whose literary judgement he trusts. In fact most of Alekos Doukas's literary output and chronicles of his experiences need to be understood partly as a life-long conversation with his brother, a report back home.

Doukas's interest in Australian history goes beyond the occasional paragraph or pages of text as exist in the Greek guides. Beginning in letter form in 1928, he writes an essay-length history 'Unknown Lands: Australia and Australians' which is published in serial form in a Greek newspaper in 1932.<sup>57</sup> The essay is a chronological account of the 'discovery' and mapping of Australia, key events in colonial history, the White Australia policy and the union movement which is viewed as a triumph of gradual reform and social progress. Australia is seen as a democratic and liberal model, a society where 'social discrimination which wears down other peoples, is unknown'.<sup>58</sup> Doukas's views on the

physicality of the culture, its innocent and childlike nature, and its liberal institutions and social practices, concur with the Greek guides.

In his letters, Doukas's comments about the racial and cultural aspects of British Australians are clearly framed within a Social Darwinian analysis. The 'Anglo-Saxon race' has evolved in Australia from blue eyes to 'light brown hair and eyes' and a 'playful character'. (29.7.28) His views on race, progress and civilisation are cast in the same mould. After visiting the National Museum in Melbourne, he writes that 'They [the Aborigines] are the ugliest race of mankind and on the lowest rung of development.' (29.7.28) This view is almost identical to the view of BG and shares with the latter the view that Pacific Islanders are more 'advanced' than the Aborigines. Doukas's Social Darwinism translates at times into the political belief that the Europeans, and in particular the British, are the chosen pioneers of progress and civilisation. Describing an ethnological exhibit which contains decorated skulls from New Guinea he writes:

Poor mankind, from where did you begin? How much you had to go through to get to where you are today? And still, a thorny road awaits you! Rest a little and go forward; this is ordained by a higher fate. Harsh and dark necessity howls behind you. Go forward, ill-fated descendants of tragic Eos<sup>59</sup>. (9.8.28)

We see in Doukas's writing the power of the Darwinian metaphors of progress, rungs on a ladder, the ever-forward movement of the more powerful, the survivors, driven on by 'harsh and dark necessity'.

On 31 July 1928 Doukas boards a train from Bendigo to Melbourne and from there continues on a twenty-hour journey to Sydney. His friends in Sydney, fellow passengers from the *Ville de Strasburg* who work in the catering trade, ask around for a vacant position for him.

In the meantime, Doukas explores Sydney, spending most of his time in the Natural History Museum. His main interest is in the section on Captain Cook whom he admires as a great historical figure. Opposite the museum, in Hyde Park, Cook's statue stands 'with one hand holding a mariner's telescope, and his right hand raised, as in ecstasy, prayer or elation, gazing out towards the enchanting Botany Bay' (9.8.28). As an example of the colonial discourse at work within the Greek diaspora, Doukas's description here duplicates exactly in words the photograph of Cook's statue which frames, through its strategic placement, the 1916 guide *LiA*.

Following his interest in the parallel lives of Cook and the French explorer La Pérouse, Doukas visits the Sydney suburb named after the latter.<sup>60</sup> In the late winter afternoon his mind is filled with historical imaginings.

In a while the sun will set behind the mountains of the great land of Australia, to come and grant a new day to you [in Greece]. All around the mystery of the 'eventide' covers everything. Shadows begin to wander about the freshly-tamed land. They are the shadows of the black people who have been lost; they are the shadows of the Dutchmen who first stepped on these enchanted shores. Or are they perhaps shadows of the convicts on the English galleys, those chained unfortunates, who came, or were brought, to tame this wild land? (10.8.28)

The language, jotted down in letter form, abounds in the imagery of colonialist domestication of a wild land and a savage people. In the text the 'black people' become the subject of the intransitive verb 'lost', and not the object of acts of killing, maiming and dispossession. They are insubstantial, mere shadows. Revealingly, the narratives of exodus and expulsion are here indecisively juxtaposed, the convicts 'came' (to a paradise) or were 'brought' (banished from their home). Doukas continues his letter with revealing colonialist tropes of triumph, domination and permanence.

'Tasman, Laperouse, Cook, Phillip. Their shadows, with a crown of martyrdom on their pale brow, stand like guardian angels against the primeval, dark and hostile shadows. Do not be afraid, youthful people, whose lot it is to have won this beautiful and rich land. This land of the Murray and the beautiful beaches of New Holland is now yours forever. Your strong paternal and noble British race stands as your protector. Go forward, always...' (10.8.28)

After six days, Doukas travels by train to Baradine, a remote farming town in NSW, to work in a compatriot's café. In his next letter home, after ten months in the country, he remains optimistic about his future.

If God grants my wish to be healthy for a year of regular work, I intend to return to Bendigo and start a poultry farm with my friend Yannis, whom I've written to you about. In the first year we'll put all our money into livestock. One of us will work to support the other, then in the second year when the farm is established, we'll settle down in our hut. (30.8.28)

## V

The regime of White Australia is the key to an understanding as to why Greek diaspora discourse is implicated in the colonialist discourse of settlement in Australia. My survey



of the former shows clearly that these two discourses share a common space, and that an acquiescence to colonial possession of the country underpins Greek diaspora discourse. Their differences lie in other areas which are related to their different histories and conditions of formation, and the social practices associated with diaspora activities and survival in Australia. In addition to the foundational myths of white colonial settler society, I have included in my discussion the narrative of assimilation, which Curthoys omits, although she acknowledges that the major national narratives are inextricably linked to persistent 'racialised discourses'. Assimilationist discourse and practice are central to a discussion of both Indigenous Australians and other non-white groups, including Southern Europeans who were persistently viewed as an undesirable presence within White Australia due to their perceived racial inferiority and contamination.<sup>61</sup> Mainstream views on immigration and nation at the time are not simply a neutral 'melting pot' model of assimilation but are structurally related to a colonialist eugenicist belief that undesirable traits in the nation will eventually be washed out, whitened in effect, through the predominance of the British stock.<sup>62</sup> Assimilationist discourse therefore needs deeper analysis, both for its legitimisation of violent practices towards the Indigenous people but also for its effects on other groups in Australia, keeping in mind always that the hierarchical functioning of its racial typology offered the promise of some measure of social inclusion to non-British immigrant groups prepared to submit to the racial regime of White Australia.

My survey of Greek diaspora discourse is further complicated by the tracking of a subject voice of an immigrant and his narrative of life in Australia. Alekos Doukas's narrative does not simply reflect the Greek discourse in the communities but in varying degrees draws on elements of this while also drawing on the dominant British Australian discourse. His narrative tangents and links provide a cautionary warning to us to avoid the assumption of unitary representations of discourse in this historical field. A comparison of the narratives of the white settler society, the Greek diaspora communities and Doukas's own letters and writings can lead to a surprising array of discursive interrelationships, discontinuities and paradoxes.

In this study of a 'located' historicised subject in the person of Alekos Doukas we observe within the Greek diaspora of Australia the unusual figure of an uprooted Asia Minor Greek intellectual searching for a new society and identity for himself. His subsequent experiences and intellectual pursuits offer an interesting long term view of the transitions and fluctuations in the Greek discourse of settlement in Australia in the first half of the twentieth century.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Alekos Doukas (1900-1962) is best known for his two novels *Stin Pali Sta Neiata* (To Struggle, To Youth) (1953) and *Kato Apo Ksenous Ouranous* (Under Foreign Skies) (1963), and as the intellectual voice of the Greek left in Australia during WWII and after. In this essay I examine his thinking in his earlier years before he began to actively support Greek anti-fascist and pro-socialist activities in Australia.
- 2 Nicholas Thomas (1994) *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* Melbourne University Press p. 21.
- 3 Ibid p. ix.
- 4 Ibid pp. 3, 32.
- 5 Ibid p. 22.
- 6 Joseph Pugliese (2002) 'Migrant Heritage in an Indigenous Context: for a decolonising migrant historiography' *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 23 (1): 5-18.
- 7 See Alexander Kitroeff (1991) 'The Transformation of the Homeland-Diaspora Relations: The Greek Case in the 19th-20th centuries' in *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times (Vol. 2 'From 1453 to Modern Times')* (Ed. John M. Fossey) Gieben, Amsterdam.
- 8 For a good summary of this topic see Triada Stampas (1997) 'The Effect of the Influx of Refugees on National Identity in Greece' [http://www.chianfed.org/issues/stampas\\_refugees.html](http://www.chianfed.org/issues/stampas_refugees.html) 17.4.03 Chian Federation of New York.
- 9 John Armstrong (1976) 'Mobilised and Proletarian Diasporas' *American Political Science Review* 70 (June): 393-408.
- 10 The concept of an 'archetypal' diaspora, used loosely by Armstrong, has also been postulated by William Safran (1991) and has been the subject of a lengthy debate in the journal *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies* in the early 1990s. See also James Clifford (1997) *Routes : travel and translation in the late twentieth century* Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press p. 249.
- 11 Ann Curthoys (1999) 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology' *Journal of Australian Studies* 61: 1-19.
- 12 Ibid p. 4. A cautionary note. If Curthoys's assumption implies that non-British migrant narratives are not implicated in colonialist reality it would in effect excise such groups from the colonial project, denying them a presence and agency in the hierarchically-racialised settler society of Australia.
- 13 Joseph Pugliese (1995) 'Assimilation, Unspeakable Traces and the Ontologies of Nation' in *Asian & Pacific inscriptions: identities, ethnicities, nationalities* (Ed. S. Perera) Bundoora Victoria, La Trobe University p. 243.
- 14 See Renée Hirschon (1999) 'Identity and the Greek State: Some Conceptual Issues and Paradoxes' in *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth century* (Ed. R. Clogg) New York, St Martin's Press, 158-180.
- 15 Edward Said (1994) *Culture and Imperialism* Vintage pp. 253-254.
- 16 Ibid p. 254.
- 17 The term 'crystalline moments' is from Seán Burke (1992) *The death and return of the author: criticism and subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press,

- p. 38. Roland Barthes (1982) *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* London, Cape, writes '...I like certain biographical features which, in a writer's life, delight me as much as certain photographs; I have called these features "biographemes"; Photography has the same relation to History that the biographeme has to biography.' p. 30.
- 18 Letters referred to are from the Stratis Doukas Archive, Department of Medieval and Modern Greek Studies, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki. All translations of Greek texts are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
- 19 The word used by Greeks in modern times to describe themselves and which indicates a quintessential 'Greekness' associated with the historical experiences of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.
- 20 A. Papadopoulos *International Directory of 1927* Adelaide, International Publishers p. 343.
- 21 Edward Said (1995) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* Penguin Books p. 95.
- 22 See Peter Mackridge (2003) 'The Myth of Asia Minor in Greek Fiction' in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey* (Ed. R. Hirschon) New York, Berghan Books and for a more comprehensive discussion Thomas Doulis (1977) *Disaster and Fiction: Modern Greek fiction and the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922* Berkley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- 23 For a biographical sketch of Nikos Velmos (1891-1930) see Stratis Doukas *Enthimimata apo deka filous mou* (Memories of Ten Friends) Kedros 1976. Alekos had read Velmos's short work *To Koiniko Vivlio* (1921). See Nikos Velmos *Erga*.
- 24 See letter 22.10.27. Also a recorded interview (Petro Alexiou 1986) with Vasilis Steffanou who was a fellow passenger and delegate to the captain.
- 25 Doukas refers here to his employment as a shipping clerk for an English stevedoring company in the port of Thessaloniki between 1917 and 1919.
- 26 See Michael Tsounis (1975) 'Greek Communities in Australia' in *Greeks in Australia* (Ed. C. Price) Canberra, ANU Press pp. 18-25 and M. Tsounis (1987) 'From Convicts to Caterers: The story of Australia's early Greeks' *Chroniko* 6-7:109-117.
- 27 The original titles are G. Kentavros (1916) *Zoi En Afstralia* Sydney, O. Georgoulas (1920) *Sinoptikos Odigos kai Simvoulos tou Ellinos en Afstralia* Sydney and A. Papadopoulos (1927) *International Directory of 1927* Adelaide, International Publishers.
- 28 Sklavenitis (1990) *Ta Emborika Enhiridia tis Venetokratias kai Tourkokratias kai i Emboriki Engkiklopedia tou Nikolaou Papadopolou* Athina, Etaireia Meletes Neou Ellinismou, pp. 47 & 123.
- 29 Op. cit. p. 105.
- 30 See James Clifford (1997) op. cit. pp. 269-273. Such contradictory aspects of a discourse have been referred to as arising through the 'dilemmatic nature of language' which requires that we attend to 'hidden meanings' in discourse. See Parker (1992) *Discourse Dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology* London and New York, Routledge pp. 15 and 23.
- 31 Op. cit. p. 90.
- 32 The use of the opprobrious term 'Hawks' by critics of short term immigrants is of course launched from behind an ideological screen that conveniently effaces the massively 'hawkish' nature of English colonial occupation.
- 33 Op. cit. pp. 104-105.

- 34 Op. cit. p. 130.
- 35 Op. cit. pp. 107-108.
- 36 Op. cit. p. 107. See also Christina Holbraad (1977) 'Ethnic culture and political participation : a study of Greeks in Australia 1926-1970' PhD Thesis Australian National University p. 147 and M. Tsounis (1975) op. cit. p. 47.
- 37 C. Holbraad (1977) op. cit. p. 147. Translation by Holbraad.
- 38 Op. cit. p. 27.
- 39 G. Kentavros (1916) op. cit. p. 140.
- 40 See the serialised articles 'Impressions' in the *Hellenic Herald* 11 January 1934, and discussion by Holbraad (1977) op. cit. p. 164.
- 41 Op. cit. p. 42.
- 42 Ibid p. 42.
- 43 Ibid p. 282.
- 44 Ibid p. 304.
- 45 Op. cit. pp. 279-281.
- 46 See statements by the new Consul-General L. Chrisanthopoulos quoted in the *International Directory of 1927* pp. 289-291 & 293.
- 47 See text of Patriarchal decree by Gregorius VII issued in 1924 referred to in the article 'The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia' by Christofer Knetes D.D., Archbishop of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Australia in *International Directory of 1927* pp. 401-407.
- 48 This list, while it includes what I regard as the most salient and important elements of the discourse under discussion, leaves out a number of elements such as; the importance of regional birthplace and connection; the view of 'pure' merchant wholesaling as an activity of a higher order to shopkeeping; the defence of shopkeeping and catering as an honest and honourable occupation; the importance of language retention; the unrecognised pioneering role of Greeks in various occupations; the extent of the Greek diaspora network, especially in rural Australia; new American Orientalism and capitalist entrepreneurialism; and finally the sporadic instances of a counter-discourse on a range of subjects (e.g. Aborigines, assimilationism and Australian culture).
- 49 In his first years in Australia Doukas's enduring dream is to become a farmer, with a preference for poultry farming which he had studied by correspondence at a Belgian college a few years earlier.
- 50 Marilyn Lake (1987) *The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlements in Victoria 1915-1938* Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- 51 '...heap': In the original expression Doukas coins a composite word *himopasta* which literally means mixed pulp or juices combined with the idea of a social or character type. The overall meaning is derogatory and refers to the diverse origins of Greeks at the time.
- 52 Warwick Anderson (2002) *The Cultivation of Whiteness* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, Chapter One.
- 53 It is tempting to speculate on why Doukas was so taken by the pioneer narrative. It certainly has some resemblances with the discourse of the economically dominant Greeks in the Ottoman Empire whose sense of 'mission' in *i kathe imas Anatoli* (Our East) included a cultural as well as an economic sense of developing a stagnant space and land. See Ellie Scopetea 'The

- Balkans and the Notion of the “Crossroads between East and West” in *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since Enlightenment* (Ed. D. Tziouvas) Aldergate England, Ashgate p. 176.
- 54 Quotes from letter 20.3.28.
- 55 Doukas’s etymological explanation here is idiosyncratic. G. Babiniotis’s *Lexiko tis Neas Ellinikis Glossas* (1998) which gives detailed etymological explanations, states that the term’s original meaning is unknown and that its connection to *pelags-koi* with the meaning of ‘inhabitants of the plains’ is also doubtful.
- 56 Doukas’s detailed description of the event interestingly fits the analytical paradigm suggested by Freud’s essay ‘The Uncanny’. See S. Freud (1919) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* Vol. XVII, London, Hogarth Press pp. 240-247.
- 57 Published in twelve instalments in *Ditiki Thraki* (‘Western Thrace’) a bi-weekly newspaper in Alexandroupolis between July and August 1932.
- 58 Ibid Instalment Twelve.
- 59 *Eos*, in Greek mythology the goddess of dawn. Here the name seems to be used as the mythical ancestor of the Ionian Greeks, and by extension, the Europeans. See entry in Robert Graves *The Greek Myths*.
- 60 In this period Doukas’s views of history are deeply influenced by Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*.
- 61 See J. Pugliese (1995) op. cit. pp. 241-245 for a discussion of J. Lyng (1935) *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress* University of Melbourne.
- 62 For a discussion of ‘assimilation colonialism’ see Ian Anderson (1993-1994) ‘Re-claiming Tru-ger-nan-er. De-colonising the symbol’.