

Greeks in Australian Politics

South Australian Parliamentarians of Greek Descent

Procopis Louca

Ἐκ τούτων οὖν φανερόν ὅτι τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον (Αριστοτέλη, *Πολιτικά*)

Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal (Aristotle, The Politics)

Greeks are historically renowned for their enthusiastic embrace of politics and political life. You only have to turn on SBS television at breakfast time to view the latest instalment of the news from Athens regarding, say, religious affiliation being indicated on Greek identity cards, to witness tens of thousands of Greek citizens descending to the streets to give voice to their political opinions. It is as normal for Greeks to rally on the streets and wave a flag or banner of protest for whichever cause takes their fancy as it is for Australians to back their favourite Aussie Rules football team on the weekend. It is of little surprise to see Greek immigrants actively participate in the nations and communities to which they have emigrated. This is evident throughout Australia (Theophanous, 1988:231–33; Dimitreas, 1998:184–86) and is not a new phenomenon. Greeks in the diaspora have actively participated in the political life of their adopted nations for centuries.

This study deals with the State of South Australia and its elected state and federal representatives of Greek and Greek-Cypriot descent. The period that is the main focus of the study is the period between the election of the Federal Labor Government in 1972 and the Liberal/National Coalition Government in power in 2000. It is during this time that people

of Greek heritage began to be elected to South Australian and Australian legislatures. It also represents a peak period of involvement by members of the Hellenic (Greek and Greek-Cypriot) immigrant communities in Australian political life. This study seeks to identify some of the cultural, historical and political influences that have brought Greek Australians to participate in Australian politics.

There has been little study of Greeks in Australian politics to date. The main contribution is the chapter by Theophanous (Theophanous, 1988:231–44) which focuses on politics in inner Melbourne. The lack of study in this area provides fertile ground for collection of primary materials and the opportunity to compile a work which will shed some light on why and how Greeks participate in politics in Australia.

This paper introduces part of an ongoing study that began in March 2000. The primary focus is on Senator Nick Bolkus of the Australian Labor Party as information relating to the Senator represents a large part of the data collected to date. There is also an introduction to another member of parliament of Hellenic background, the Liberal member for Colton, Mr Steve Condous MP. There is discussion of the influence of identity, discrimination and racism on political activism and of issues that impact directly on the Greek Australian community, most significantly the Cyprus and Macedonian issues. Historically these are the issues that have dominated outward expression of political involvement by the Hellenic Australian communities. Such political involvement is motivated by a number of influences, including political developments in Greece and Cyprus (Taylor, 1994:2; Dimitreas, 1998:218–30). This paper is an examination of the effects and influence of Hellenic ethnicity on the members of parliament and the political process.

The South Australian Hellenic background population is comparatively small in comparison with that of Victoria and New South Wales, but it has also been a successful area for the emergence of Greek Australian politicians. In the Australian Census of 1996, South Australia had 12,645 people born in Greece, representing 4.4% of the total of overseas born. The generally accepted figure of total Greek background including second

generation as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as having at least one Greek born parent is estimated as 35,000 (DIMA, 2000:1). A generally accepted total Greek background (if we also include Cyprus born and second generation) is estimated to be approximately 55,000 (DIMA, 2000:2). This represents about 3 per cent of the total South Australian population.

There are currently four elected members of parliament in South Australia of Hellenic descent, in both the state and commonwealth parliaments. They are of first and second-generation migrant families and participate in a broad spectrum of Australian politics. They are (in order of election):

Member	Party	Parliament	Year elected
Senator Nick Bolkus	Australian Labor Party	Senate (Federal)	1980
Mr Steve Condous MP	Liberal Party of Australia	House of Assembly (State)	1993
Mr Tom Koutsantonis MP	Australian Labor Party	House of Assembly (State)	1997
Hon Nick Xenophon MLC	Independent (No-Pokies Campaign)	Legislative Council (State)	1997

My study draws on data from primary and secondary material and includes interviews with the members of parliament, examination of English and Greek language media, and statistical and electoral data.

It appears that an election cannot be called in South Australia without at least some Hellenic Australians throwing their hats into the ring. During the South Australian local government elections held in May 2000 for example, one mayor of Hellenic descent and fourteen local councillors were elected. Six other unsuccessful Greek background mayoral candidates and seven unsuccessful local council candidates and up to four other

candidates who may have been of Greek descent but could not be verified also participated in the election (LGA, 2000).

Senator the Honourable Nick Bolkus is a second generation Australian whose parents migrated from the island of Kastellorizo in the 1920s and settled in South Australia. Born on 17 July 1950 in Adelaide he studied law at the University of Adelaide, then practised as a lawyer and later worked for Senator the Honourable Reg Bishop, Postmaster General in the Whitlam Labor Government and Labor Minister Clyde Cameron, the Member for Hindmarsh. Bolkus also later worked for Senator Ron Elstob as a Research Officer (Rust, 1981).

At the time of his election Bolkus claimed membership of the Consumers Association of SA, the Greek Orthodox Community Inc and the West Adelaide Football Club (Rust, 1981). He unsuccessfully contested the State Assembly seat of Torrens in 1975 and the Senate in 1977. His unsuccessful campaign in Torrens (a near win) led to his being preselected for the ALP Senate team. He utilised campaign material in the Greek language including letters of introduction and how to vote cards (Appendices A and B). He was unsuccessful in his first attempt to be elected to the Senate, when he was placed at number three on the ALP Senate ticket (two ALP candidates were elected), but was preselected to a winnable position on the ALP Senate ticket in 1980. He took his seat in 1981, in accordance with the commencement requirements for senators (Rust, 1981).

Senator Bolkus is one of the most senior and longest serving office holders of all Hellenic background Parliamentarians in Australia, having served for over 8 years as a minister in both the Hawke and Keating ALP Governments (Abraham, 1988). He was Minister for Consumer Affairs and Minister Assisting the Treasurer for Prices from 1988–90, Minister for Administrative Services 1990–93 and Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1993–96. In Opposition, he has been Shadow Attorney General and Shadow Minister for Justice, as well as Shadow Minister for the Environment and Heritage since 20 October 1998. He is also the figurehead for the South Australian branch of one of the ALP's largest factions, the Progressive Left, known in South

Australia as the “Bolkus Left” (Lloyd, 1994).

Senator Bolkus, once described as the “Wog from Waymouth Street” (Lloyd, 1994), was raised in culturally diverse inner city Adelaide. He attended Sturt Street Primary School and Adelaide High School, before commencing law at the University of Adelaide. His parents migrated to Australia prior to the mass Greek migration following World War II. They met and married in South Australia. Senator Bolkus grew up in a nation largely unaccustomed to cultural diversity, but surrounded by fellow Greek and other immigrants who lived in the working class quarters of central Adelaide. This environment and “the need to redirect government programs to target the powerless and the poor” (Lloyd, 1994) helped shape the young Bolkus and direct him to the path that ultimately led him to politics.

He joined the Australian Labor Party when he was 15, and began to attend meetings of the Thebarton sub-branch. He was surrounded at that time by many key figures in the ALP including Mick Young, Clyde Cameron and John Bannon. At university, Bolkus was president of one of the first Greek Australian university student clubs, the Australian Greek University Association (AGUA) and was active in the embryonic National Union of Greek Australian Students (having represented the Adelaide University club at a national conference). He graduated in law in 1971, practising law for only a short time before seeking employment in politics working in Canberra for ministers Cameron and Bishop (Baker, 1979).

Bolkus was instrumental in organising Greek participation in the South Australian ALP (Baker, 1979). Letters of thanks to Bolkus in 1972 from Premier Don Dunstan for “bringing together the Labor supporters in the Greek community” (Dunstan, 1972) and from New South Wales Premier Neville Wran in 1977 expressing his thanks to Bolkus for coordinating a campaign meeting at the Olympic Hall in Franklin Street (Wran, 1977), demonstrate that Bolkus was widely identified as an important organiser of the Greek community for the ALP. Records of a “Greek Party – Norwood ALP” held on 12 February 1976 provide an additional insight into Bolkus’ role in coordinating Greek involvement in

South Australian politics. Bolkus is listed in the record as a main contact, in addition to several prominent figures in the Greek community, such as John Andrea, Mike Angelakis and Father Marinakis (Norwood ALP, 1976). Bolkus' involvement can be broadly viewed as part of an active process of recruiting to the ALP and encouraging Greek Australians to vote for Labor (Baker, 1979). Other documents illustrate Bolkus' extensive involvement in the movement "Australian Greeks for Labor" which deliberately targeted the Greek community vote (Australian Greeks for Labor, 1972).

In seeking to further explore the influence of Bolkus' ethnicity in his involvement in politics I sought to establish key indicators of self-identification. The first interview conducted with Senator Bolkus explored questions of cultural or ethnic self-identification. Bolkus stated that: "My Greek culture has emerged the more I have grown" (Interview, 2000:1). To illustrate an increased measure of his self-identification as a Hellene, Bolkus used as a gauge the number of Greek music compact discs that he possessed: "When I was Administrative Services Minister (some 10 years ago) I didn't even have one Greek CD at home, might have had one or two presents but now I have more Greek music than any other at home. It has been a real explosion of awareness of it (Greek culture)" (Interview, 2000:1).

The issue of identity seems a central motivating source for Bolkus. On his cultural identity he said, "It is the blood in your background that motivates you. I always see myself as a Greek, I've always realised that I have come from the one side of the tracks and that I was not going to be accepted on the other side". He also added that he believed that it is a benefit to "straddle cultures" (Interview, 2000:1).

Bolkus says he grew up with a "chip on the shoulder that people have" and he mused that maybe this was part of his psyche. He further explained this by saying that his ethnicity provided both positive and negative outcomes. "To be of non-Anglo background can actually give people a focus on you, especially when you need to represent the diversity of the electorate, though the wrong side of the tracks comes into it not just for non-English speakers but also the Irish as well, I think they have the same sort

of chip” (Interview, 2000:1). Thus he draws a parallel between his own experience as a Greek Australian and the experiences of many Irish Australians, who were also drawn in large numbers to the Labor movement. In his words: “If you realise that they are not going to love you as an equal, you think well why do I want to crave their respect and support, and it makes you feel freer” (Interview, 2000:1). Looking back, he saw his dual identity as a bonus: “Over the years I have come to appreciate that it is actually a benefit to be able to straddle cultures, to pick the best out of each”. He said that this gave him the ability to identify the aspects in other cultures, that he “could enjoy and appreciate” (Interview, 2000:1).

Discrimination and racism are also a significant factor in Bolkus’ experience, both before and during his career in politics. He said of racism, “it is subtle, all pervasive and you get it daily in this job” (Interview, 2000:1). To illustrate this “subtle racism”, he gave the example that if he were to travel to Greece (as a minister or member of parliament), then that would “not be acceptable to the electorate” (Interview, 2000:1) because he felt that there was a political cost due to his Greek background in this situation. Bolkus then said that, “if [Senator] Robert Hill (an Anglo-Australian) was to go to London every Christmas, then that is OK. If I go to Hong Kong or wherever, it is still not as acceptable” (Interview, 2000:1). To further illustrate the so-called racist element, he explained that when he was Immigration Minister, he would get letters almost daily, telling him “to go back to where he came from”. Bolkus laughed when he recounted that the “trouble was that they could never work out where it was, I was sent back to Iraq, Turkey, to Greece, to Lebanon and Italy” (Interview, 2000:1).

The cover of an internal publication of the Australian parliament displays a cartoon caricature of Bolkus, depicted as Zorba the Greek, dancing with a bottle of ouzo nearby (Appendix C). Former ALP Minister Mick Young is credited with giving him the nickname Zorba; a “name-plate to be proud of”, claims Bolkus (*House Magazine*, 1983:3).

On his involvement in the broader Greek Australian community,

Bolkus' initial response was that he could "remember the day of the split in the churches", an experience he describes as "horrific". This was a reference to the division between the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the Greek Community. He said that he had never held any formal positions in the community other than involvement in SEKA (The Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committee) (Interview, 2000:1). Asked to identify what specific assistance he had received from the Greek Australian community Senator Bolkus identified individuals such as Mr Con Marinos, Mr Bill Konstas, and groups such as the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Inc and the Community Parish of St Anthony in the inner Northern suburbs. He also identified prominent Adelaide developer Gerry Karidis, unionist Nick Alexandridis and Mr Takis Lavithis as additional sources of support (Interview, 2000:1).

When questioned about the role of Greek background members in the ALP he said that this had not been an issue at the time of his pre-selection because unions had 90% of the vote of the State Party branch and therefore controlled the preselection process. He said securing preselection to a winnable position on the ALP senate ticket was "not easy". He had the support of Mick Young (then state and national Secretary of the ALP) "who could see the value in [Bolkus] campaigning in the migrant communities in the eastern states as a federal member". He does however admit to encountering racism at that time from some elements within the Party and union movement (Interview, 2000:1). He recounts how in one instance he overcame this discrimination from a Union official by finding common ground with a discussion about a local football club. Regarding his ministerial portfolio responsibilities and their interaction with his ethnicity in serving as a minister with particular responsibility for immigration and multiculturalism, Bolkus said that he had enormous "contextual problems" in the Department of Immigration. He explained by saying: "to the [Pauline] Hanson [One Nation] type constituency it was like putting the pyromaniac in charge of the fire station" (Interview, 2000:1).

This led to discussion with Bolkus on the so-called "Macedonian question". The issue emerged strongly in Australia at a time when he was

Minister for Immigration and came to the boil as a major political issue in 1994. Bolkus was one of the central political figures in the debate and bore the brunt of attacks both physical and political. (Stewart & Jinman, 1994; Frith & Foreshaw, 1994.) The “Macedonian issue” surrounds the nomenclature, and use of symbols by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). It is an issue that has caused much concern not only to the Greek Australians and the FYROM Australians but has also entered the political discourse of the broader Australian community (Stewart, 1994). Bolkus said of the Macedonian issue that he believed “the Greek Community asked from Labor then, more than they were getting from the Greek government”. When asked why this was the case he said, “I think the reason for that was [former Victorian Liberal Premier] Kennett. Kennett just exploited the issue very irresponsibly” (Interview, 2000:1).

Senator Bolkus said that this was a difficult time for him as a minister, noting that as Immigration Minister he had many other difficulties besides the Macedonian issue: illegal immigration, boat people, introduction of a new Immigration Act. He described the Department of Immigration as “a real mess”. He said the Macedonian problem was not the biggest issue he faced then, although it may have appeared to be the case. He said he was “abused by the Greeks on the steps of Parliament here and then assaulted by the Slavs in Wollongong”. He said that he “copped the initial reaction from the Greeks” (Interview, 2000:1) in response to the decision by the then Labor Government to use the term Slav-Macedonians as a descriptive term in Government business for FYROM Australians (Taylor, 1994).

Bolkus said:

Cabinet decided that we don’t embrace the name Slav-Macedonians because that would set up another bushfire. We go to a meeting with the Greek lobby and [Prime Minister] Paul [Keating] and [Foreign Minister] Gareth [Evans] said “Right oh, Slav-Macedonians, that sounds all right to us” (Interview, 2000:1).

Bolkus claims that he got blamed by the Greek Australians who thought of him as a “traitor” for his Government’s recognition of FYROM, and

by the FYROM Australians for the Keating/Evans decision (Stewart, 1994). He said that the irony is that during this time he had contact with the Prime Minister of Greece and the Greek Foreign Affairs Department and that they were very appreciative and supportive of what was going on in Australia and the line the Australian government was taking. Bolkus said that he actually received messages of thanks from Greece. Senator Bolkus retains his belief that “the Liberal [Party of Australia] Greeks led the way on the [Macedonian] issue. We forget that about 30% of the Greeks in Australia were hardline royalists” (Interview, 2000:1). An indication that Bolkus does not believe the Greek community has universally supported the ALP, despite many commentators claiming the contrary (Stewart & Jinman, 1994).

In a statement to the Greek community of Australia in the midst of the vast protests, Bolkus said of Australia’s recognition of the FYROM “how can one demand Australia be more Greek than Greece?” (Bolkus 1994:2)

He also stated:

The [Greek] community must not be manipulated by those cynical individuals who are actively encouraging divisions both within and outside the community’s ranks, for their own political motives...The promises various state [Liberal] leaders have made to the Greek community are meaningless. They are nothing but divisive posturing. And given that state government departments run by the likes of Jeff Kennett recognize not merely the name Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia but the name “Macedonia” when referring to languages and in their delivery of services, are they not grossly hypocritical? (Bolkus 1994: 3)

To Bolkus, the agenda on the issue was set by Kennett and his Greek supporters in the Liberal party across Australia. A type of “wedge politics” was played which sought to polarise the Greek community, in the context of the quest for electoral success.

The voting tendencies of Greek Australians were influenced by the fact that during the period of mass migration (1946–1975), Greece had three distinct systems of government: constitutional monarchy; a right-wing junta; and democracy. The Greek Australian community is often

considered as a homogenous voting unit. Bolkus reminds us that just like all cultural groups in Australia there is a diversity of political views in the Greek community. Many Greeks migrated not only for economic refuge, but also for political freedom, following the destructive and divisive Greek civil war and the civil conflicts in Cyprus. Not all Hellenic migrants supported the ALP, as in the opinion of some of them it was associated with socialist ideologies. Any assumption that the ALP had universal or vast majority support would deny the very differences in Hellenic political opinion that precipitated the civil war and the colonels' junta. When the Greek migrants arrived in Australia with their single suitcase of material possessions, they also brought with them the baggage of their political and philosophical beliefs.

As in other community groups a change in socio-economic status also tends to alter voting preference and party identification. This is reflected by the belief that there has been a gradual increase of support of the Liberal Party by Greeks in Australia over time. Dimitreas concludes that "time in Australia, however, has been shown to be significantly associated with upward social mobility, together with a change in political party affiliation" (Dimitreas, 1998:251). He further claims that Greeks are reverting to their pre-migration party affiliations, which he says are generally to support right wing parties (Dimitreas, 1998:251).

The Macedonian and Cyprus issues were not the only occasions on which Bolkus' political role intersected with his ethnicity. Claims in 1984 that the Australian intelligence organisation (ASIO) had approached members of the Greek community in South Australia to act as agents for the organisation were made by Bolkus. There were also allegations that ASIO has conducted spying operations on members of the Greek community (Bildstien, 1984).

Interestingly the two biggest issues Bolkus foresees for the Greek Australian community are the issues of ageing and youth unemployment. He is also optimistic about the future and believes that Australia will ride out the current mood of discriminatory "Hansonism". He cites the current trend towards globalisation as an opportunity because he believes

that multiculturalism will be widely seen as one of Australia's biggest assets (Interview, 2000:1).

Steve Condous MP was elected to the House of Assembly of the Parliament of South Australia as the first Hellenic background representative from the Liberal Party in the state. He provides an interesting contrast to Senator Bolkus, and although also an Australian born member he is descended from parents who migrated from the island of Kastellorizo to Australia earlier than Senator Bolkus' family. He is a director of his own health food distribution company and briefly studied pharmacy at University ("as was expected from the family") before leaving to assist his family during his father's illness (Savvas, 1991).

Mr Condous was born in 1935 and first entered public life in 1968. He was elected Australia's first Lord Mayor of Hellenic background in May 1987. Condous claims that he was "elected (Lord Mayor) because of the Greek vote" (Interview, 2000:2). Condous said, "I would never have been elected Lord Mayor if it was not for the humbling support of the Greeks" (Interview, 2000:2). He was a member of the Adelaide City Council from 1968–93. Elected in 1993 to the state seat of Colton as a member of the Liberal Party of South Australia, Condous held the seat with a 4.1% buffer (Appendix D). An electoral boundaries redistribution (as required under South Australian Statutes) however has seen that margin fall to 0.9%. Condous has announced that he will not be seeking to contest the next election (due prior to April 2002). He is currently Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier on Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs.

Condous said he could have joined either side of politics (ALP or Liberal) "but the Liberals asked first" (Interview, 2000:2). He joined the Liberal Party, only shortly before he was preselected for the Western beachside seat of Colton. In hindsight, Condous stated that he probably would have preferred to stay in local government, rather than move to the next tier of Australian governance, as he felt that he was more effective on Council.

When asked how he found the involvement of Hellenic background people in politics, Condous said he believes that "young Greeks make

policy decisions and switch between parties” (Interview, 2000:2). Of Greek Australian participation in the Liberal Party he noted that they are active “not so much in the party or branch level. They are involved in fundraising mainly” (Interview, 2000:2). Condous indicated that he has been approached by “some young Greek people” seeking to get involved in the Liberal Party (Interview, 2000:2).

On racism and discrimination, Mr Condous has stated that he is “terrified” that Australia could return to the attitudes he encountered in the 1950s, when, he claims, he was repeatedly bashed and called “dago” (derogatory slang for foreigner) because of his Greek background (Crabb, 1998). In denouncing Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party he said:

At seven years of age, I saw my father being spat at in the streets and being called a “dago”. I grew up only 500m from here in an area that was called the working-class ghetto of Adelaide. I went to school at Sturt St [Primary School], and I was abused daily, both physically and verbally, and I’d come home with my shirts torn and bloodied because I’d been in a fight because I couldn’t stand what I was being called (Crabb, 1998).

Condous feels that one of the biggest issues confronting the Greek Australian community in the future is the “lack of attendance at church and community club functions”. In his business dealings he said that he is disappointed over the lack of Greeks on the Adelaide City Council (Interview, 2000:2).

From the data collected to date it is becoming evident that elected Members feel that their Hellenic background has played at least some role in securing their positions as elected representatives and it certainly influences their political life. They are not reluctant to be proud of their heritage, which while sometimes causing them to be the target of racially prejudiced sentiments, is not something they claim they have had to deny in order to succeed. Political activism has been important for them to ensure that they are recognised as Australians whose concerns lie here. They strongly reject the notion of ethnic tokenism. The two politicians presented in this paper are in stark contrast to each other in terms of generation, political ideology and the paths taken to enter Parliament. The

common thread that unites them is the concept of their “Greekness” or Hellenic inheritance. Both are patriotic Australians, and yet strongly celebrate their background.

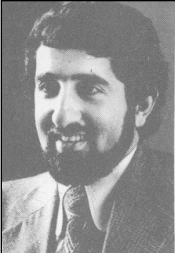
When the passions of the Greek Australian electorate were heightened, such as during the peak time of interest in the issue of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia during the early 1990s, the Greek background politicians were placed in a difficult situation. For example, as a Minister, Senator Bolkus was caught between his conflicting responsibilities as a senior Minister with particular responsibility for ethnic issues, his identity as a Hellenic Australian, and his position as an elected Australian politician. The incongruous result was that the Minister’s political stance placed him at times at odds with the majority position of the Greek Australian community. He was sinner and saint, victim and protagonist in a political and policy battle between divided communities and nations.

The intersection of ethnicity and politics provides a unique dynamic to the experience of Hellenic background. Bolkus and Condous both have a strong and passionate sense of their identity as Australians, but are increasingly comfortable with their ethnic inheritance. Juggling the interests of diverse migrant and non-migrant constituencies, in addition to the demands of real or perceived representation sought by the Greek community, raises several issues for these parliamentarians. Neither wants to be seen as “the member for Greece”, both have experienced the barbs of racism and discrimination and this is reflected in their attitudes, and may well act as an inspiration for higher achievement in politics. Motivated by a desire to serve their communities and use the power of government to shape and change society and combat injustice, they are never far from their Hellenic Australian heritage.

Hellenic Australians have become involved in Australian politics, motivated by a number of personal factors, which are not dissimilar to those of the general community. They are however united and influenced by a shared experience represented by their ethnicity. The notion of identity, the sense of justice leading them to rally against racism and discrimination, and a strong sense of community are important common experiences. The desire to promote and preserve Hellenism is universal.

Appendix A

Bolkus, Nick. Letter to electors “Nick Bolkus – The ALP’s man in Torrens” (in Greek). North Adelaide, June (?) 1975.



Nick Bolkus

The A.L.P.'s man in Torrens

3/150 Childers St., North Adelaide
Telephone: 87 4575
267 4628

Ἀγαπητέ ψηφοφόρε,

Μὲ ἔχει προτείνει τὸ Ἑργατικὸν Κόμμα Ἀυστραλίας νὰ ὀντιπροσωπεύω τὴν Βουλευτικὴν περιφέρειαν **TORRENS** εἰς τὰς προσεχεῖς Ἑκλογάς.

Εἰς αὐτὰς τὶς ἐκλογὰς θὰ δοῦμε τὴν τωρινὴν πολιτειακὴν Κυβέρνησι, ὀδηγούμενη ἀπὸ τὸν Πρωθυπουργὸν Νοτίου Ἀυστραλίας κ. **DON DUNSTAN**, ζητώντας ἐπανεκλογὴν.

Μεταξὺ τῶρα καὶ ἕως τὶς ἐρχόμενες ἐκλογὰς θὰ προσπαθῶ νὰ σᾶς ἐπισκεφθῶ εἰς τὸ σπίτι σας. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ σᾶς γράφω αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολήν διὰ νὰ σᾶς αὐτοσυστηθῶ.

Εἶμαι κάτοχος διπλώματος δικηγόρου, ἀπεφοίτησα ἀπὸ τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τῆς Ἀδελαΐδος τὸ 1971 καὶ τοιοῦτοτρόπως ἐδιδάχθηκα πολιτικὴ καὶ οικονομικὴ εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τῆς Ἀδελαΐδος.

Τελευταίως ἤμουν μέλος τῆς Νομικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Προβλημάτων Μεταναστῶν καὶ διορισμένος Σύμβουλος εἰς τὴν Σχολικὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ Γυμνασίου Θηλέων Ἀδελαΐδος. Περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 1974 ἐπισκέφθηκα τὴν Κύπρον, ὡς εἰδικὸς ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ Ὑπουργοῦ Ἑργασίας καὶ Μεταναστεύσεως Κου **CLYDE CAMERON**.

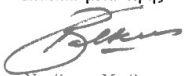
Πιστεύω ὅτι ὁ Πρωθυπουργὸς Νοτίου Ἀυστραλίας πρέπει νὰ ἐπανεκλεγῆ, ὅπως πιστεύω καὶ ἡ περιφέρεια **TORRENS** θὰ ἐγγυηθῆ τὴν ἐκλογὴν αὐτὴν

Ἡ περιφέρεια **TORRENS** εἶναι ὅπως γνωρίζετε μία ἀπὸ τὶς εὐκολότερες ἔδρας ποὺμπορεῖ τὸ Ἑργατικὸν Κόμμα νὰ κερδίσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀντιπολίτευσι.

Ἐὰν νομίζετε ὅτι θὰ μπορέσω νὰ φανῶ χρήσιμος σὲ εἰσᾶς καὶ τὴν οἰκογενειάν σας ἐπικοινωνήσατε μαζί μου χωρὶς δισταγμὸν.

Πιστεύω ὅτι θὰ τύχω τῆς ὑποστηρίξεώς σας ὡς πρῶτον Ἑλληνας Πολιτικὸν Ὑποψηφίου τῆς Νοτίου Ἀυστραλίας.

Διατελῶ μετὰ τιμῆς



Νικόλαος Μπόλκους

Appendix B

ALP Electoral material, “How to Vote Labor in Torrens” (in Greek). Adelaide, 12 July 1975.

ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ

3 BILLARD, B.
1 BOLKUS, N.
 2 COUNBE, J. W. H.

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΙΚΟ ΣΩΜΑ

GROUP A
 FOSTER, M. K.
 DUNFORD, J. E.
 LEVY, J. A. W. **1**
 BLEVINS, F. T.
 CORNWALL, J. R.
 SUMNER, C. J.
 HEMMING, T. H.

GROUP B

DOOD, M. E.
 FORSTER, W. E. **2**
 HILL, R. G. D.
 KOOP, F. G.

GROUP C

VAN REKEN, C. W.
 LAINO, M. S. E. P. **3**
 MIDDLETON, D. C.

GROUP D

CAMERON, M. B.
 CARNIE, J. A.
 CLAMPETT, R. B. **4**
 GROVES, C. W.
 HAINES, J.
 ADAMSON, P. D.

GROUP E

HILL, C. M.
 LAIDLAW, D. H.
 JANKINS, M. B. **5**
 GILFILLAN, G. J.
 ROBERTS, J. M.
 STORY, C. R.
 HANCOCK, G. L.

GROUP F

KIDNEY, R. J. **6**
 COURT, J. H.

GROUP G

JAMES, L. F.
 GLEESKICKY, G. **7**
 MORRIS, R. H.

GROUP H

HIGGS, M. S. **8**

GROUP I

9 MILLER, A. C.

Σε όλα τα τμήματα πρέπει να βάλετε αριθμούς. Σε περίπτωση λαθού σημειώστε άλλο ψηφοδέλτιο.

Authorized by H. O'Neill, South Tor., Adelaide. Printed by Con Print, Claxton St., Adelaide.

Appendix C

Cover illustration, Nick Bolkus: *The House Magazine* 13 September 1983.



Appendix D

Electoral Advertisement for Steve Condous in *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΝΕΑ* – Greek News, 9 December 1993

Πέμπτη, 9 Δεκεμβρίου 1993 • • ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΝΕΑ - GREEK NEWS • • Σελίδα 13

ΠΕΣΤΕ ΟΧΙ ΣΤΟ ΟΝΕΙΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΦΟΡΟ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ



Steve Condous
COLTON

Εάν ο κ. Arnold κερδίσει τις εκλογές, τότε θα προσπαθήσει να βρει νέους τρόπους για να εισπράξει περισσότερα χρήματα... όπως έκανε ο κ. Keating.

Με το χρέος του State Bank από καιου πρέπει να βρει χρήματα.

Μερικά συνδικάτα της Νότιας Αυστραλίας προέβαλαν την ιδέα για φόρο θανάτου στη φετινή συνεδρίαση του ALP (Αυστραλιανό Έργατικό Κόμμα).

Ο κ. Arnold εξέφρασε επίσης στο Κοινοβούλιο ότι ο Φόρος στα Πλούτη (Wealth Taxes) είναι... "ένας δίκαιος τρόπος φορολογίας και διανομής πλούτων στην κοινωνία μας".

Πρέπει εμείς να σταματήσουμε το Εργατικό Κόμμα (Labor Party) από το να πάρει μετά τον θάνατό σας τις κερδισμένες με ιδρώτα οικονομίες σας και επίσης το οικογενειακό σας σπίτι.

Οι Φιλελεύθεροι (Liberals) κατηγορησαν το Φόρο Θανάτου το 1979 (παρά τις διαμαρτυρίες του Arnold) και εγώ επιζητώ την υποστήριξή σας για να εξασφαλίσω ότι δεν θα τους επαναφέρουμε ξανά.

Στις 11 Δεκεμβρίου, πείτε στον Arnold ότι δεν θέλουμε το Φόρο Θανάτου, δεν θέλουμε να μας πάρει τα σπίτια των οικογενειών μας και δεν θέλουμε το Εργατικό (Labor).

1

CONDUS, Steve

(Διεύθυνση) Επισκεφθείτε τον G. Merris, 104 Greenhill Road, Unley 5061

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