This paper examines for the first time the relationship Don Dunstan, the Member of Parliament for Norwood (1953–1979) and Premier of South Australia (1967–1968 and 1970–1979) had with the Cypriot population of South Australia. It analyses primary resources, such as oral history testimonies, Dunstan's manuscripts and archival material, along with secondary resources, such as newspaper articles and books. The findings indicate Dunstan played a significant role within the Cypriot and wider community throughout his political career.

Introduction

South Australia (SA) had a number of premiers during the period of the late 1930s to the early 1980s from the longest serving, Sir Thomas Playford (5 November 1938 – 10 March 1965), through to David Tonkin (18 September 1979 – 10 November 1982). Amongst them, Don Dunstan, who served as premier from 1 June 1967 to 16 April 1968 and from 2 June 1970 to 15 February 1968, made a particularly significant contribution, due not only to his political and economic reforms, but also to his promotion of social cohesion, and unity amongst migrant people, creating a culturally diverse Adelaide and Australia (Gibbs, 1999:252; Wilmot, 2005:60–61; Whitelock, 2000:145, 150–151; Dunstan, 1981). Dunstan showed great support for the Greek and Greek-Cypriot communities, in times of need and even before becoming premier, when he was the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Member for Norwood and working as a lawyer at the same time.

Dunstan was an iconic public figure in SA, not just because of his political career but for other reasons as well. This paper examines Dunstan for two specific reasons. Firstly, the main Cypriot migration waves (1945–1980) were during his political career and the time when he made significant contribution to the state and local communities. Secondly, he took it upon himself to create some important turning points in history. To quote Dunstan himself, “I saw many things wrong with society, a great deal of injustice, unacceptable inequality, unacceptable poverty and I believed
something had to be done” (ABC TV 7:30 SA). He had a good relationship with Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister 1972–1975 and ALP Leader 1967–1977 (Dohnt and Lewkowicz, 2011:5; Parkin, 1986:310), and they both worked towards removing the “White Australia” policy and implementing multiculturalism (Dunstan, 1981:126). At the same time, even though Dunstan was a socialist and member of the ALP, he was adamantly an anti-communist (Hodge, 2014:18).

Dunstan may have been an MP and Premier of the state and expert in relating to the broader community but his relationship with the Greeks and Cypriots was unique. It is not widely known that Dunstan had a close connection with Cypriots, and made a major contribution to the Cypriot community of SA and across the world. This paper aims to examine what relationship Dunstan had with the Cypriots and the Cypriot community of SA, what his motivations were and how the Cypriots regarded him. This research is significant, not only for the wider documentation of Dunstan’s activities, but specifically because of the special influence and impact he had on the Cypriot community. This paper will first outline the historical background of Cyprus and Australia’s involvement, and provide background information on the Cypriot community in SA, then proceed to a discussion of the “Fact-Finding Mission” of 1957 and Dunstan’s other trips to Cyprus, and finally analyse Dunstan’s involvement in the Greek-Cypriot community of SA.

Cyprus and Australia’s Involvement

Cyprus is a country that many have wanted to control throughout history, particularly because of its strategic location, nestled in the Mediterranean Sea, a stepping stone into Europe and in the opposite direction, the Middle East. Throughout history, Cyprus has been contested and conquered by many invaders, such as Alexander the Great, the Venetians and the Ottomans to name a few. Britain took over the country’s administration in 1878 from the Ottoman Empire. Then in 1914, Cyprus was formally annexed by the British Empire. Over the years, the Cypriot people attempted to gain independence from Britain. From 1955 till 1959, violence escalated on the island with the campaign led by EOKA, the National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle. During this time the British captured and detained individuals who they believed

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1 Although, in 1975, Dunstan had distanced himself from the Whitlam (Federal) Government, feeling it might negatively impact his state election because of the fiasco/controversies surrounding the Federal Government.

2 It is well known that Dunstan was an anti-communist. Whilst he was still studying at the University of Adelaide, he had joined the Communist Party. However it did not last long, and he only attended three meetings because he did not believe in the party’s political views. Dino Hodge, (2014) Don Dunstan, Intimacy & Liberty: A Political Biography, Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, p. 18.

3 During his school years at St Peter's College in Adelaide, he was required to study the Greek language. Not only did his personal book collection contain many Greek dictionaries and grammar books, but also, over the years it began to shelve books of Greek literature, poetry, ancient and modern history studies, indicating he had a keen interest in Greek culture and civilisation.

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to be so-called “terrorists”. In 1956, they prevented Archbishop Makarios III, Arch-
bishop of Cyprus and the political leader (or “ethnarch”) of the Greek-Cypriots, 
from boarding a flight at Nicosia and sent him into exile but released him in 1957. 
Cyprus gained independence in 1960, and Makarios was elected as the first president, 
with the Turkish-Cypriot leader Fazil Küçük as vice-president. In 1961, Cyprus was 
accepted as a member of the Commonwealth. Several years later, inter-communal 
clashes and violence broke out, and in 1964 the United Nations Peace Keeping Forces 
which included the Australian Police Force were dispatched to Cyprus, in an effort to 
control hostilities on the island. Cyprus still encountered further clashes and violence, 
eventually experiencing a Turkish invasion in 1974. Australia provided financial sup-
port and personnel to Cyprus, as well as organising humanitarian efforts assisting 
internally displaced people/refugees. The island to this day remains divided, despite 
the opening of the Green Line, separating the two parts of the island, in 2003. Over 
the years, many Australian politicians have visited and given their support to the 
island, including Alexander Downer, the former United Nations Special Advisor to 
Cyprus, who attempted to resolve the Cyprus issue during his five and a half year 
tenure of this position.

South Australian Cypriot Community

In Australia, the earliest known Greek-Cypriot migrants arrived in the 1850s, due 
to the gold rush. They were drawn towards Ballarat and Daylesford, in Victoria, the 
gold townships at the time. Over the years, many Cypriots would make their way 
to Australia. The majority came in the post-WWII period and due to the crises in 
Cyprus “nearly half the population was displaced, with a consequent increase in the 
Australian Cypriot population from 8,576 in 1961, to 23,000 in 1981 and 24,000 in 

The migration movements of Greek-Cypriots to SA began when the first Greek-
Cypriot known to have come to SA arrived in 1893, a “native of Cyprus in Turkey” 
named David Kitovich. Over the following years, numerous others migrated following 
his lead. In 1900, there were approximately eight Greek-Cypriots living in Adelaide. 
Between the period of 1916 and 1929 a large group arrived, and in the mid-1920s 
about 20 Cypriots arrived from the Aradippou and Rizokarpaso regions. Port Pirie 
was a favourite destination for migrants who arrived during the 1920s and 1930s. 
They worked in the BHP smelters, coffee shops, delicatessens or fish shops. By 1947 
there were approximately 105 Cypriots in SA. A large influx of Cypriots arrived in 
SA during the 1950s and the 1960s. It was relatively easy for Cypriots to enter Aus-
tralia because both countries were part of the British Commonwealth. In 1961 there 
were approximately 876 Cypriots in SA and this further increased to 1,119 by 1966. 
Migrants worked at the Chrysler and Holden factories, the Coober Pedy opal fields, 
defence projects in Woomera, and shops. Due to the 1974 political crisis in Cyprus, 
a small number of Greek-Cypriots arrived around this time. In general, those who
arrived in Australia around this time came as refugees under the United Nations and Australian government immigration policies (Migration Museum, 2003).4

The Cyprus Community of South Australia (CCSA) was a community group which continued over the years to hold onto their customs and traditions but also to embrace all Greek-Cypriot, Greek and Australian things alike. The history of the CCSA goes back to 1948 when it was first founded by 35 Cypriot men who would gather at a caffeneio (coffee house/shop). The CCSA was known as the Cypriot Brotherhood and it was located at 129 Hindley Street in the CBD of Adelaide. It was located in a two-storey building, with huge bold Greek letters stating “ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΙΟΝ” meaning pharmacy. The lower level operated as a pharmacy and was known to everyone as Cacas. The second level, which was separate from the first level, acted as a coffee shop during the day and at night it served as a hostel accommodating new arrivals. Understandably, there were not many Greek-Cypriots during this time but it was the beginning of what was to become a larger social network and gathering venue. The coffee shop also acted as a post office, especially for those who did not have a fixed address. Due to the growing number of Greek-Cypriots in SA and the expansion of the functions of the CCSA, the organisation purchased their own building in 1975, located at 117–119 Carrington Street, Adelaide. Over time, the Greek-Cypriots had formed several sub-groups such as the Omonia ‘Cobras’ Soccer Club, the Cypriot Dance Group, the Cypriot Women’s Auxiliary, the Cypriot Youth Group and the Cypriot Aged and Pensioners Association of South Australia Inc. The CCSA held functions, events, BBQs, dance and fundraisers. Then in 2009, the CCSA purchased their current property located at 6–8 Barrpowell Street, Welland. As a result on the 2 March 2014 hundreds of people gathered at the CCSA to celebrate the officially opening of its Cultural Centre, which was built with community and Government funding, adjoining its existing establishment at Welland.

The “Fact-Finding Mission” of 1957

From 1955 onwards, the increasing of clashes on the island caused distress for many Greek-Cypriots abroad. Members of the CCSA and many other Greek-Cypriot communities across Australia were concerned about the situation in Cyprus. They felt that they were not getting enough information and, on occasion, one sided stories. They wanted to know more of what was going on in Cyprus, so they decided to send two people to undertake a “Fact-Finding Mission” in February 1957. They asked Dunstan, Labor MP of Norwood at the time, to be one of them and he willingly accepted. The second person accompanying Dunstan on the “Fact-Finding Mission”, representing the Committees for the Self-Determination of Cyprus in Australia, was Ken Buckley, a lecturer at Sydney University. The CCSA wanted strong and trustworthy individuals

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4 This paragraph is information gathered from various sources. The main source, Cyprus, Migration Museum, Adelaide, 2003.
on the trip, who would give a realistic and truthful account on the events occurring on the island.

This was Dunstan's first trip to Cyprus. He offered further insight in his account of his acceptance of the position, explaining that

The British government and the propaganda office in Nicosia poured out one sided and lying propaganda about what was going on, constantly referring to Is [Makarios] as 'this bloody-handed priest' who supported the murder of innocent benevolent British. The Cypriots and Greeks here sought someone who could get public attention and wouldn't be fooled and who wasn't seen as a member of their community, to go there and find out what was happening and return and tell the truth to Australian citizens, so they asked Clyde Cameron. He couldn't go but suggested they ask me. They did and I accepted. They arranged that I should be accompanied by Ken Buckley of Sydney Uni, who was already a member of their organisation, [the Self Determination for Cyprus Organisation]. (Dunstan, Bronwen Dohnt Files 200:2)5

Dunstan and Buckley's itinerary included Cyprus, Athens and London over a span of two weeks or so,6 with the intention that on their return they would give a report on their findings. In piecing together the "Fact-Finding Mission", it has not been possible to find any clear documentation of their schedule or itinerary. This can be explained by several factors; firstly, it was not part of any official Labor Party duty; secondly, it was during a time when specific documentation was not necessary; and thirdly, if there was any documentation, there is a possibility it was not passed onto the state records. Nevertheless, through further investigations, some of the events that took place can be pieced together.

Cyprus

The first destination of the mission was Cyprus, arriving on the 10 February, where they would stay for seven to eight days. Whilst on the island, some of the activities on their agenda were to participate in a press conference, consult/visit a range of people and get their side of the story, visit the detention camps where thousands of people were being held without trial or charge, and finally, to meet with the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding.

At the beginning of the mission, as Buckley details in his own autobiography, Dunstan was hesitant about their collaboration. This was caused by an incident on their

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5 In this paragraph, Dunstan refers to "Is". From the context, it is clear that he is referring to Archbishop Makarios.

6 According to Clyde Cameron's oral history interview, Dunstan was gone for a while and upon his return, he flew directly to Brisbane for the 1957 Labor Party Commonwealth Conference. Clyde Cameron and Peter Donovan, (2008) "Interview with Clyde Cameron", J. D. Somerville Oral History Collection, State Library of South Australia, Interview No.: OH 715/2, interview conducted on 24 November 2004, pp. 11–12, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Special Collections; The 22nd Biennial ALP Conference was held from the 11 March and succeeding days. Therefore, indicating that Dunstan may have been away for about a month.
first day, at a press conference held for them in Nicosia, when a reporter questioned Buckley of his communist past (Buckley, 2008:122–123). Buckley “did not deny the imputation but stated that it had no relevance to the visit to Cyprus. Afterwards, [he] had to explain to Dunstan — known as anti-communist — [his] relationship to the CPA, and [Dunstan] accepted it” (Buckley, 2008:123). Despite this minor glitch with regard to Buckley’s past, they took care to ensure it would not impinge on their validity and reliability. Therefore it was essential that they preserve their own integrity and that of the Self-Determination for Cyprus organisation, in order to carry out their mission.

Another notable event that occurred on the trip was when Dunstan and Buckley asked to visit prisoners\(^7\) in a southern Cyprus camp, on Thursday 14 February. Dunstan recollects the events, narrating the experience:

> We asked to visit it and were given permission. The office in charge picked us up and took us there but when we got there [he] would not let us inside not let us see any prisoner even at metres distant and in his presence! You can imagine the result — I said ‘Have you just brought us here to look at the perimeter fence?’ He said ‘I have my orders to let you see the camp and that is what I’m doing!’ (Dunstan: 2, Dunstan Collection)

Unfortunately, the security authorities on the island had refused them access to visit Cypriot detainees. The news reached Australia, with the Canberra Times reporting, the two men told reporters in Nicosia on their return from Pyla Camp near Larnaca [Larnaca] that while at the camp they had asked to see a detainees’ committee and to be allowed to visit the camp living quarters. They claimed they were told neither the director of the detention camps, who accompanied them from Nicosia nor the camp commandant had authority to allow them to do so. (The Canberra Times, 16 February 1957:9)

Dunstan and Buckley felt they had hit a wall and that they were being given the run around.

Then on the next day, Friday 15 February, they meet with Sir John Harding. During the meeting with Harding, Dunstan mentioned to him that there were issues within his administration. One of them was, as Dunstan details,

> there were cases of alleged torture and violence by security troops — we were able to get evidence (including photographs of injured) of cases brought by people who had been arrested and maltreated but not charged because there was no evidence, and Harding when these people brought cases for assault and damage had made a decree that no-one could sue any member of the security forces without his consent! His consent was never given. (Dunstan, Bronwen Dohnt Files 200:2)

This one-sided British stance proved to Dunstan that the British government was not administering the country appropriately. Not only did Dunstan find this to be against moral obligations, but also against basic human rights of the Cypriot people.

\(^7\) These were political prisoners. During this time, many people were taken captive and imprisoned for being so-called “terrorists”.

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On the following Monday, 18 February, it was reported by the American Associated Press in Nicosia, that the men had proposed a six-point plan as a resolution to the island’s issues. At a press conference, Dunstan had said “there was no apparent reason why self-determination could not be applied” and that “he condemned Eoka terrorism but defended the stand taken by exiled Archbishop Makarios” (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7). The article continues to quote Dunstan saying, “after an examination of the records of the archbishop’s negotiations with the Governor, the mission could not agree that the archbishop had been uncompromising and unreliable. On the contrary, the archbishop appeared to have retreated considerably from the uncompromising line of his predecessors” (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7). As a constitutional lawyer, Dunstan took legal allegations seriously, especially when it came to unfair charges. “Mr. Dunstan described the emergency regulations under which persons were detained as a most extraordinary affair, ‘something we never thought to see under British administration’” (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7). As a plea for fairness he added “We cannot understand why persons should be detained for unlimited periods without charge or trial, and it is extraordinary that the Government should amend the law so that no charges can be brought against the police without the previous consent of the Attorney-General” (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7). Furthermore, Dunstan expressed his disappointment at the Government’s refusal for their mission to have contact with detainees. This would have highlighted to him and Buckley that their mission was curtailed in Cyprus due to reasons beyond their control.

The Australians declared that the conditions for resumption of negotiations towards a settlement should include the release of Archbishop Makarios. Detainees should also be freed if they are held without charge and the emergency laws should be repealed and replaced with ordinary laws relating to treason, disturbances and libel. There should be an amnesty for prisoners sentenced under the emergency laws except where their offence would have brought comparable punishment under common law. (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7)

This was important to highlight because under common law actions taken under the emergency regulations would be unjust and seen as violating basic human rights. Understandably, during this period of time in Cyprus, tensions were high but little did Dunstan and Buckley know that things were to get worse before they would get better.

During the press conference Dunstan had mentioned that “he had some information he could not disclose to the Press but he would make it available to members of the British Parliament and urged them to request a parliamentary select committee to be appointed to investigate the operations of security in Cyprus” (The Canberra Times, 19 February 1957:7). He also recommended that the Government should appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the allegations that Archbishop Makarios was involved in terrorist activities, in the situation where “the Government alleges

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8 In March 1956, Archbishop Makarios was arrested and exiled to the Seychelles.
the nature of evidence is inadmissible in a criminal court” (*The Canberra Times*, 19 February 1957:7). However he believed that it was impossible to examine these accusations because they “could not be adequately proved without the archbishop being put on trial for treason or some lesser charge” (*The Canberra Times*, 19 February 1957:7). Equally as important as the other recommendations was their voiced insistence in the immediate sanctioning of self-determination of Cyprus. These were strong statements, especially when Australia still was/is a Commonwealth country with a similar legal system to that supposedly prevailing in Cyprus.

**Athens**

After their eight day visit to Cyprus, the men travelled to Athens to continue their mission. Whilst there, Dunstan had met with “Ministers in the Greek Government and [was] welcomed to the floor of the Parliament in session” (Dunstan, Bronwen Dohnt Files 200:3).

According to Buckley, they were well received in Athens; however the Greek government “had doubts concerning [their] left-wing connections. So [they] were kept under surveillance” (Buckley, 2008:123). However, this was not the only problem they had in Athens. Things got intense when Dunstan and Buckley met with a minister of the Greek government. Buckley gives a detailed account on the events, explaining that

> Another problem arose from the fact that many left-wing Greeks were still held in prison without good cause. One of these political prisoners was the father of S. Savidis, the secretary of the Adelaide Self-Determination Committee. I had promised to do something about this while visiting Greece. An opportunity arose in Athens when Don and I had a meeting with a Minister in the Greek government. The atmosphere was affable until we introduced an argument that it was not easy to persuade people in Australia to support us concerning Cyprus when they knew that Greece itself maintained various restrictions on freedom.

> I then referred specifically to the case of Savidis’ father, and became rather heated in discussion, until suddenly a glass of water on the table was knocked over, drenching my trousers. (Buckley, 2008:123–124)

Raising this issue was important to them, not only because they knew of the detainee, but due to the unreasonable circumstances.

Before leaving Athens, Dunstan and Buckley had spoken to the media regarding their journey and their visit to Cyprus. They expressed their doubt “whether the Cypriot terrorist organisation, EOKA, could survive much longer” (*The Canberra Times*, 20 February 1957:2). They believed this because “the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, had 25,000 troops on the island” (*The Canberra Times*, 20 February 1957:2). Also, it must be noted that they purposely did not release their findings to

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9 During this time in Greece, there was a strong sense of anti-communism in the country because of the recent Greek Civil War (1946–1949), which was between the Greek Government Army and the Democratic Army of Greece (the military branch of the Greek Communist Party).
the media whilst in Athens, as they were waiting to pass them on directly to the British Labour Party.

**England**

On the 19 February they left Athens and travelled to England to meet with political leaders. Whilst in London, Dunstan “briefed Sokice, Callaghan and Tom Driberg, and addressed a meeting on Cyprus with Fenner Brockway and Tom Benn” (Dunstan, Bronwen Dohnt Files 200:3). Also, it was reported that “they will place information gathered during their stay in Cyprus at the disposal of the British Labour Party” (*The Canberra Times*, 20 February 1957:2). This is interesting because it raises questions as to whether the British Labour Party took the findings into consideration. Buckley claimed that the “reception was polite, rather than helpful, as we spoke to MPs about the situation in Cyprus. Even on the Labour side, few MPs showed any sympathetic interest in this British colony. It was a decade of colonial wars, and not only in Cyprus” (Buckley, 2008:125). On a side note, despite a search for the report that was passed onto the British Labour Party, it has not yet been successfully located.

**The “Fact-Finding Mission” Outcomes & Backlash**

Upon their return, Dunstan and Buckley raised the issues in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, speaking at public meetings (Buckley, 2008:125) and radio talks about the mission and issues surrounding Cyprus, to further raise awareness of the unjust actions being conducted on the island. When Dunstan returned to Australia, his first stop was the Federal ALP conference in Brisbane, where he was able to gain support from the ALP (Dunstan, Bronwen Dohnt Files 200:3).

The question arises whether or not the “Fact-Finding Mission”, the findings and the pair’s presence in Cyprus made an impact or influence on the situation in Cyprus. At a more personal level, upon Dunstan’s returning from Cyprus, he felt he had not accomplished much. A male Greek-Cypriot informant commented to me that Dunstan felt he did not achieve great things on the trip, adding “What was he meant to do?!” reflecting that Dunstan would not have been able to achieve much because of the challenging circumstances on the island. His support to the Cypriots empowered the community to pursue their beliefs for the greater good of the people. The outcomes of their mission were not seen until a short time after but there were three notable outcomes. Firstly, according to Dunstan, “when leaving Cyprus, they specifically appealed to Greek leaders to bring about an atmosphere in which Archbishop Makarios could be released, by giving adequate undertakings that there would be a cessation of violence when he was freed” (*Australian Associated Press*, 19 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). This was a direct recommendation by Dunstan and Buckley, which saw EOKA make a truce offer (*Australian Associated Press*, 19 March 1957, Dunstan Collection) “and call for a renewal of negotiations on the future of Cyprus
with the exiled Archbishop Makarios" (*Australian Associated Press*, 19 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). Secondly, this in effect saw Makarios being released from imprisonment in March 1957 and returned to Cyprus in the following months. And lastly, “Savidis’ father was released from gaol after a fairly short interval of time” (Buckley, 2008:124). Retrospectively we can see that they did not work miracles solving Cyprus's issues, but they did bring about some significant outcomes, more than they or the community could have hoped for.

However, Dunstan's trip to Cyprus was controversial, which resulted in him facing backlash upon his return. There were those who supported him and those who did not. There were numerous disagreements with regard to Dunstan's behaviour and his viewpoints on certain issues, including his support for the self-determination of Cyprus, with some viewing it as treason. For example, the following months after his return, his trip to Cyprus was still a topic of discussion. Jim Forbes, the newly elected Liberal MP for SA at the time, made an enquiry to Canberra, asking whether Dunstan had acted appropriately on the trip and had attained a balanced view on the situation in Cyprus (NAA, 247510:205). As the authorities in Canberra were conducting their own investigation into the trip, they did not want to give any leads to Forbes for his own investigation and informed him that Dunstan acted appropriately (NAA, 247510:248). Potentially, Forbes was looking for information he could utilise against Dunstan.

Various viewpoints were also evident in newspaper publications, specifically the letters to the editor. Some of these letters expressed disappointment, whilst others conveyed support for the important work Dunstan was conducting. In favour of Dunstan's 1957 trip to Cyprus, some members of the public expressed their opinion conveying their support and their sense of honour in having such an enthusiastic and reliable member in politics who told the truth. For example, one of the letters to the editor was from Mrs Margaret Playford, who commended Dunstan on his work as a leader in the community by saying “it is unfortunate South Australia does not possess more young parliamentarians with the vigour, intelligence, and sincerity of Mr Don Dunstan” (Playford, 24 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). Another letter to the editor, this time by ‘Hollandia,’ also agreed with Mrs Playford's letter to the editor. She adds that “Cyprus today reminds one of Holland during the war. The Germans claimed they were there to protect the innocent people, but at the same time they would be executing them on the slightest provocation. More enquiries should be made into British activity in Cyprus” (Hollandia, 24 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). These were outspoken views at the time especially going against the mother country Britain. On the other hand, there were individuals who strongly disagreed with Dunstan's decision to go. For example, a letter to the editor by an anonymous correspondent stated “that this so immature State politician should elect to meddle in such a delicate world situation is to say the least, precocious and savouring of effrontery to some of the world’s most experienced diplomatic brains” (Unknown, 11 April 1957, Dunstan Collection). Similarly another letter to the editor, by Bernadette McRae, criticised him as meddling in other people's
business: “if all these so-called atrocities are in actuality being carried out, what business of Mr. Dunstan’s is it, may I ask?” (McRae, 11 April 1957, Dunstan Collection). Another writer expressed his opinion that “there is much here in Norwood he should have been more interested in” (Jeffreys, 11 April 1957, Dunstan Collection).

Dunstan not only faced negative views from the wider public, his peers and political opponents, but he also was confronted with the media publishing misleading and inaccurate information. He could not tolerate inaccurate information that was being fed through the media, and he always took the opportunity to respond to incorrect information to set the record straight. This is evident in one of the newspaper articles where he responded that “the lengths to which my political opponents have gone in misrepresentation of my activities in Cyprus is astonishing” (Dunstan, 24 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). Dunstan then continued to elaborate, claiming that H. L. Gee said, “the main purpose of my trip was to see the Governor, Sir John Harding. That is untrue. The purpose of my trip was to see all sections of organised opinion and authority on the island. I succeeded in doing this. I had a long interview with the Governor and he gave lengthy answers to written questions which I then submitted to him” (Dunstan, 24 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). Dunstan further defends himself and the value of his trip to Cyprus by stating, “I had the express consent of the Labour Party executive to make the trip and received the personal thanks of the Federal Leader and of the leaders of the British Labour Party. I point out the Australian Labour Party at its Federal conference a week ago condemned the present administration of Cyprus and called for the granting of self-determination to Cypriots” (Dunstan, 24 March 1957, Dunstan Collection). Dunstan was a leader in the community, and it was in his character to be vocal about the truth as he felt he owed it to the people.

**Dunstan and Other Journeys to Cyprus**

As previously mentioned, Dunstan first visited Cyprus in 1957, but there were possibly several more times. It is unknown when exactly the other trips to Cyprus were taken, but there is information that indicates he went more than once, in particular after 1974 (possibly in 1974–1975 and/or 1978). One of these times was in October 1974, soon after the invasion, when he travelled with the well-known Greek-Cypriot Con Marinos and Stella Lewis. Dr Lewis was a gynaecologist specialist and also a second-generation Greek-Cypriot. Dunstan, Marinos and Lewis travelled to Cyprus together. Amongst discussions with interviewees, Lewis went to Cyprus, volunteering to provide medical check-ups for women, as many were left pregnant after being raped by Turks.

After Dunstan’s trip to Cyprus in 1974, it has been suggested that there is a possibility he went again after two years and again after that. According to one interviewee, “Dunstan would go frequently. He possibly went three-four times to Cyprus”.

Dunstan loved the arts, theatre, and shows. He would travel across the world to attend the theatre or the opera. He became very good friends with various famous
Greek people, such as Emilia Ipsilanti, a Greek actress. According to several South Australian locals, Ipsilanti visited Adelaide at least twice; \(^\text{10}\) Dunstan and Ipsilanti formed a close connection. After her visit in 1973, they kept in touch, writing letters back and forth for six months (Ipsilanti, 1973, Dunstan Collection). During this time she was in a theatre production in Cyprus, and invited Dunstan to visit. He had the intention of going but did not. However, although we do not know the real reason why he did not, it can be speculated he did not go because of the election coming up in SA, and also due to the hostilities and conflict on the island.

**Dunstan and the South Australian Cypriot Community**

Dunstan was strongly committed to diversity, pushing for multiculturalism, and embracing all nationalities. His own library collection was filled with books of Greek history and poetry; he learnt how to Greek dance, and even attended dances, festivals and BBQs where he would socialise and demonstrate his dance skills. According to a close friend, Dunstan would door-knock to meet people and find out what was going on in their lives. It was very important to him to take his time and listen to them. As Norwood was full of Italians, Greeks and Cypriots, it was inevitable for him to be a voice on the issues important to the ethnic and wider population.

Not only did Dunstan have many Greek and Cypriot friends throughout his lifetime, such as Michael Angelakis, Nick Bolkus, Con Marinos, Maria Marinos, Eugenia Koussidis, and many others, he also mingled with others from the community. It was clear through the interviews that Dunstan made an impact on many lives and gained their trust, not just those close to him, but also of those in the wider public. For example, as one female Cypriot migrant told the story, her father was made a refugee in Cyprus and, when he came to Adelaide, there was an issue with his visa and she knocked on Dunstan's door, and he assisted her. Furthermore, many commented in interviews undertaken for this research that “Dunstan was a Phil-Hellene!”, although one migrant was sceptical of his involvement in the Greek and Cypriot community, stating that he may have been lobbying votes. However, his admiration for the Greek and Cypriot community and the wider multicultural ethnicity cannot be denied. His genuine concern about “the difficulties that developed in Cyprus after World War II” (Hodge, 2014:5), which saw him give speeches about Cyprus; raise awareness on the issues there; seek to be up-to-date with events (for example being informed with a report and photographs from Nick Bolkus's trip a month after the 1974 invasion); act as a person Cypriots would turn to for help; and even pay the postage for 60kg

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\(^{10}\) It was not clear whether she was visiting Australia for professional reasons to attend a conference organised by professional actors or for political reasons or possibly both. An interviewee gave an eyewitness account, stating he picked her up from the airport and drove her to the bus station to go to Coober Pedy. It is unknown why she went to Coober Pedy. The Dunstan archive at Flinders University holds a file of several letters sent from Ipsilanti, and the correspondents is available for viewing. However, the letters Dunstan sent to her are missing and further investigation is required.

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Dunstan leading in Greek dancing. *Courtesy: Nick Bolkus*

Dunstan, second from the left, at an event held at the Migration Museum with Bishop Paul, Mikis Theodorakis, famous Greek composer, Nick Bolkus and Mike Rann. *Courtesy: Nick Bolkus*
of clothing, which was gathered from a Greek-Cypriot lady, to be sent to Cyprus just after the invasion.

In interviews with Greek-Cypriot migrants that knew Dunstan, they all said great things about him. Dunstan made such a close connection with all, which one female Greek-Cypriot migrant described in these terms: “Ήταν σαν απλό μέλος της οικογένειας!” (“He was like an ordinary member of the family!”). This is significant, not just from the words she uses, but the fact she says it in Greek, indicating the closeness and the impact he had, drawing him in as one of their own. Similarly a male Greek-Cypriot migrant reminisced about Dunstan, commenting “Always, he would say, he wanted to make Adelaide the second Athens ... and he did it. Look, now wherever you go, there are tables and chairs outside the shops, and they serve outside, like they do in Cyprus and Greece”. Dunstan had implemented this, and also the making of Rundle Mall a pedestrian shopping precinct.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Dunstan made a significant impact on the Cypriot community. Throughout his political career, he not only demonstrated a genuine interest and support for the Cypriot, Greek and the wider population within Australia, but also showed this on the international scene. His motivation in his involvement of the Cypriot community was consistent with his beliefs, and he showed this by making an impact lobbying for their human rights and equality and embracing such rich diversity within South Australia, Australia and across the world. He defended himself and what he felt was the right thing, even though he suffered backlash from his peers, the media, and the public and was even investigated by Government bodies. The Cypriot population of South Australia felt Dunstan understood them, doing everything he could for them, and thus leading them to admire him. Dunstan's ability to develop a connection and mingle with people was a personal and leadership characteristic that worked in his favour. Overall, because Don Dunstan participated in their activities and supported their cause, it was inevitable that the Cypriots would claim him as one of their own!
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