
Introduction

Although many works have been written about Prime Minister Whitlam, they do not explicitly emphasise and broaden the description of the phenomena taking place, especially in the context of economic history and politics. Although the economic changes during his reign are described, the economic parameters are not shown in detail, especially in tables, which would be clearer. It makes it all the more necessary to take a closer look at the Prime Minister's economic and political reforms and decisions, also due to his decisive stance and—one might say—authoritarian style of managing the country. Individual chapters of this book systematise the changes and take up selected directions of the most important political and economic reforms carried out by Whitlam. It was a reference to the most important problems faced by the Whitlam government.

This work's author intends to present the actions of the Prime Minister of Australia, Gough Whitlam, who made many changes in the Antipodes. The monograph analyses the economic reforms that began in Australia between 1972 and 1975. The main aim is to show that Whitlam and his party's political and economic reforms have led to major changes in the Australian area of social life. A key factor in this process was the decision-making centre in the person of Prime Minister Whitlam, on which the administration's involvement in implementing political and economic changes depended. Whitlam served in office from 5 December 1972, to 11 November 1975. The Prime Minister did not last long, but his actions were very intense in the number and importance of his economic reforms and political changes. Therefore, the book's title is *Economic and Political Reforms in Australia Under Gough Whitlam, 1972–1975*.

To achieve the goal set in the work, the main thesis is to be verified, which is contained in the form of the following formulation: **economic and political reforms**

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during the premiership of Gough Whitlam in 1972–1975 were very effective and initiated and caused positive changes in the living standards of the population in Australia. Moreover, the empirical chapters contain detailed theses that have been verified. Gough Whitlam's economic and political reforms covered many areas. In the face of these conditions, particular attention is be paid to important economic sectors, the activities of political parties, and international relations. The main thesis is complemented by research questions: Why was there a change of government in Australia in 1972? Have the reforms contributed to improving the life of the population? Did the political decisions taken have their continuation after the end of the Labor Party government in 1975? Why, despite the reforms, was Prime Minister Whitlam dismissed from office in November 1975?

In order to solve the research problem and properly verify the thesis, the work employed: a normative approach—especially in relation to reform programmes, an institutional approach in the description of political institutions and their mechanisms of operation, and a historical approach in showing the genesis of phenomena and processes of political history. From the perspective of this study, the basic research method used in the work is the interpretation of the acquired materials and conclusions, as well as the analysis of documents and statistics. The sciences that proved helpful were sociology, economics, and history. In order to properly verify the hypothesis, specific research methods were used in the study. As part of the work, a descriptive method was used, referring in particular to the analysis of: scientific publications, documents, laws, bills and reports, and statistical data. The basic research method used in this study is comparative analysis. Andrzej Antoszewski believes that the comparative method is one of the basic research methods of political science, which allows to determine the similarity and differences of objects representing a specific class of phenomena, which allows to go beyond the description of individual features and to formulate generalisations constituting the basis of the theory.¹

Another method used by the author is the method of analysis and logical construction. According to Apanowicz, this method consists in dividing the research problem into smaller factors and examining each of them individually. The results obtained form the basis for determining the conclusions. The next method on which the author relied is the monographic method. This method is based on a detailed analysis of a specific case.²

The last method used by the author is the method of examining documents. Apanowicz states that this method of examining man-made documents express a certain thought, mission, achievement, and proposal. They are used to reconstruct the real activity or state of the analysed organisational structure in the form of a le-

¹ Andrzej Antoszewski, "Komparatystyka polityczna," in *Encyklopedia politologii*, vol. 1: *Pojęcia, teorie i metody*, eds. Wojciech Sokół and Marek Żmigrodzki (Zakamycze, 1999), 153–54.

² Jerzy Apanowicz, *Metodologia ogólna* (Bernardinum, 2002), 60–77.

gally or customarily prepared document. This method consists of collecting, selecting, describing, and scientifically interpreting data from a given document.³ In this way, international relations, economic statistics, state activities of the administration and political parties, especially the ALP from the Whitlam era, were examined.

Among Australians, opinions about Whitlam are not unambiguous. He himself fits into the policy of the Labor Party, with which he has been associated since the beginning of his political activity. It is therefore interesting to ask to what extent his rule contributed to Australia's development? Were the decisions taken economically correct and how can the Whitlam period be assessed in a broader perspective? The work is intended to contribute to filling the gap in the Polish literature in political science and economic history of Australia and to fill in threads that have not been developed in Australian literature. Although the author of this study published a book in 2006 entitled *Zarys historii gospodarczej Australii w XX wieku* [An Outline of the Economic History of Australia in the 20th Century], we will find only a dozen or so sentences about Whitlam in chapter five, which has an intriguing title: "Złote lata gospodarki australijskiej w latach 1946–1974 [The Golden Years of the Australian Economy in 1946–1974]." Although the mentioned work is the only publication in this field of research in Poland, there is no detailed study focusing on the period of Whitlam's premiership. Therefore, it is interesting to show the role and activities of Whitlam's team in the context of this golden period, although his reign lasted a little longer, until 11 November 1975.

In assessing this period, the available source and archival materials and publications are of great importance. Whitlam's experiences, apart from the research conducted in libraries and archives, also shaped the author's views on many issues. His long stay in Australia helped him to better understand and relate to some of the issues related to the history of this country. This experience was not without influence on the previously published articles and monographs. For many years, the author of this work has been collecting primary materials, the latest publications, articles, and those that appeared after Gough Whitlam died in 2014. Thanks to these efforts, the author reached interesting materials related to the economic history of Australia at the time described. It can be said that there is a certain continuity of research that is also quite often included in the articles published so far. It is very important to use the existing literature on Whitlam along with his self-published studies. A special source is the collection from the Archival Collection located at the Whitlam Institute at Western Sydney University in Australia. The author travelled to this institute in late October and early November 2023, used archival materials, and interviewed prominent professors on topics related to Whitlam's time. The author was greatly impressed by a visit to Whitlam's home in Sydney, where he lived for many years. The house is now in the care of Whitlam Institute Director Professor John Juriansz.

³ Apanowicz, *Metodologia ogólna*, 60–77.

This publication is maintained in the convention of economic history, which is one of the basic subjects in economic studies. Economic history combines economic and historical sciences. Nowadays, due to the subject and some research methods, this field belongs more to economic sciences, especially economics. Such a view was represented, among others, by Witold Kula. Some current views also fit the proposed title of this work. The first one says that economic history deals with management in the past. The second view, promoted by Oskar Lange, emphasises the task of economic history and its formulation of concrete-historical laws in specific economic systems.

The importance of economic history also results from its cognitive, application, and didactic functions. Thanks to the cognitive function, it is possible to discover unknown facts and economic processes. Thanks to the study of economic history, it can be applied in practice and theory at the same time. In many cases, economic policy draws on the knowledge of economic phenomena and processes from the past. Analogies come to mind quite often in the present day. Economic history is used especially in processes related to economic growth and related economic reforms. Finally, this subject plays a didactic role and, based on the comparing phenomena, processes, and regularities, creates opportunities to build the foundations of economic thinking. Therefore, the method of falsification can also be used, requiring verification of existing knowledge. The social function of economic history is expressed in its 'legitimacy'.

The book structure is based on the presentation of knowledge in a problem-time system, considering Australia's economy development during the Whitlam government. Each chapter of the work has been adopted according to the criterion of its importance in the described and researched issue. The monograph contains ten chapters and begins with an introduction and a list of abbreviations.

In the first, theoretical, chapter entitled "Welfare State and Development Economics in Economic Theory," which includes theoretical and systemic typologies of the welfare state, reference is made to Australia as a country that fits into that concept. Researchers and their classification of Australia within a specific research method are shown. The welfare state evolution in the system-wide dimension is also presented. The political economy of the welfare state represented by J.M. Buchanan is also emphasised. The third chapter presents Australia as a welfare state and presents the results of Castels and Uhr's analysis of social assistance from 1900 to 1980. Although it directly refers to counteracting poverty on a global scale, the idea of development economics complies with Whitlam's goal, which was to increase the society's wealth, which is applicable to the existing state of life of the Australian population.

The second chapter presents the initial situation in the context of the economy's condition, i.e., macroeconomic conditions (national income, labour market, etc.), as well as the broader context of political changes or the takeover of power

by the Labor Party. This chapter deals with the Australian economy before Whitlam's reforms.

The third chapter contains very important content on housing policy, urban development and transport. The size of Australia's population and changes in immigration policy have been considered when describing these issues. Attention was paid to smaller cities and neglected areas outside them, especially when it comes to infrastructure and improving the quality of suburban housing in large cities. The issue related to road safety and transport in Australia is also described.

The fourth chapter discusses the environment and the agricultural sector. Natural conditions, including climatic conditions and the specificity of Australia's natural resources, are described. Natural resources are a very important element influencing Australia's position globally. This chapter combines the environment and agriculture, and also includes the fight against natural disasters. Agriculture is a very important part of Australia's economy, especially in terms of food exports. This chapter shows the activity in promoting reforms that bring lasting benefits to the rural community.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the mining industry and infrastructure. The chapter presents one of Whitlam's most important political goals, i.e., regaining land from foreign investors' hands and limiting foreign capital inflow. In addition, the focus was on environmental protection, which was an important challenge for the Prime Minister.

The next chapter concerns changes in education and healthcare. One of the most important points was to enable more people to study with easier opportunities to access education at universities. Changes in this area have been implemented since 1973. Moreover, the chapter presents reforms concerning educational institutions. The second important aspect is healthcare. Whitlam's efforts to reverse the neglect of the time of Prime Minister Menzies are presented. Australia's economy was strong enough to provide citizens with a wider use of health services from advances in medical science.

Chapter seven focuses on immigration policy, wages, and the social security system. The presentation of Whitlam's attitude to racial issues, discrimination, the tasks of implementing a policy of tolerance towards immigrants is presented. The issues of obtaining Australian citizenship are presented and the rights of Aborigines to land are discussed. The second subchapter discusses wage policy. The Labor Party's approach to social assistance is described in more detail, not only in the context of financial support, but also in the context of help in looking for a job.

The eighth chapter discusses support for art and culture. The state's commitment to enriching Australia's cultural and intellectual heritage was discussed. The institutions covered by the analysis include galleries, libraries, museums, theatres, and symphony orchestras. Plans and implementation of the construction of facilities for these purposes related to art and culture were also presented.

Chapter nine deals with the analysis of Australia's foreign policy relations. An important event was the establishment of contact with the People's Republic of China and closer cooperation with Japan. Economic cooperation has been given a strong priority over political issues. Relations with the United States have always been important for Australia, which also gained importance under Whitlam. The concluded treaties, agreements, and protocols were discussed.

Finally, the tenth chapter presents economic and social indicators throughout the 1970s, reaching back to the early 1980s. This chapter presents GDP, the price index of goods and services, and unemployment. Foreign trade indicators in 1970–1983 and trade with selected countries are also presented. The book ends with a synthetic ending with conclusions and an indication of the most important bibliographic items.

In writing this study, the available international literature was used, especially Australian literature and the Polish press, especially *Tygodnik Polski* published in Australia. Extensive commentaries on political and economic issues were made by Eugeniusz Bajkowski, a long-time editor born in 1931 in Harbin, who died last year. In recent years, he has provided statistical analyses to the author of this work. The chapters on Whitlam's reforms are based on scientific and professional literature studies, mainly by Australian, American, and British authors. Numerical and factual material, as well as original publications on statistical sources were also used. Documents and source texts from the Sydney archive, monographs, and studies, as well as articles and official websites were also used. Valuable publications are also in the libraries of the State Library NSW, Sydney University, and Western Sydney University.