

# Gough Whitlam

Guide to archives of  
Australia's prime ministers

by Jenny Hocking, with Clare Land, Natasha Campo  
and Sarah Tayton

This guide is number 7 in the series of research guides to Australia's prime ministers published by the National Archives of Australia. While guides include the material known to be relevant to their subject area, they are not necessarily a complete or definitive guide to all relevant material in the collection. They include selected records from various institutions. The assistance of cultural institutions in compiling listings for this guide is gratefully acknowledged.

Other publications in the National Archives' *Guide to Archives of Australia's Prime Ministers* series:

- *Our First Six: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by Susan Marsden and Roslyn Russell, 2002
- *Joseph Lyons: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by Susan Marsden, 2002
- *Stanley Melbourne Bruce: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by John Connor, 2003
- *Harold Holt: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by Pennie Pemberton, 2003
- *John Curtin: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by David Black and Leslie Wallace, 2005
- *Malcolm Fraser: guide to archives of Australia's prime ministers*, by Elizabeth Masters and Katie Wood with Margaret Simons, 2012



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Front cover: Gough Whitlam surrounded by journalists in the wake of Cyclone Tracy, Darwin, 1974. NAA: A6180, 31/12/74/65

Back cover: Gough and Margaret Whitlam in the grounds of The Lodge, Canberra, 1973. NAA: A8746, KN24/9/73/7

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This guide contains images of people now deceased.

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# Introduction

This guide to the archives of former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam has been produced by the National Archives of Australia to assist researchers find records relating to both Gough and Margaret Whitlam in the National Archives and other collections.

It is the seventh volume to be published in the National Archives' *Guides to Archives of Australia's Prime Ministers* series and is a companion publication to the *Australia's Prime Ministers* website ([primeministers.naa.gov.au](http://primeministers.naa.gov.au)).

Gough Whitlam became Australia's 21st Prime Minister on 5 December 1972 following the Australian Labor Party (ALP) victory at the election on 2 December. His Labor government, the first after more than two decades, set out to change Australia through a wide-ranging reform program and was re-elected at the double dissolution election of 18 May 1974. Whitlam's term abruptly ended when his government was dismissed by the Governor-General on 11 November 1975.

The public lives of Gough Whitlam and his wife Margaret extend over half a century. After serving in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF), Whitlam joined the ALP in 1945. He became the Member for Werriwa in Sydney's south at a by-election on 29 November 1952 following the death of ALP member Bert Lazzarini. He retained the seat in 11 more federal elections over the next 25 years.

Whitlam led the reform of the ALP platform during the long years in Opposition. As Prime Minister he immediately set about implementing a reform program that included recognising communist China, lowering the voting age to 18, ending conscription, releasing draft resisters from prison, equal pay for women, Indigenous land rights, universal health care, no-fault divorce, ending the British honours system and introducing an Australian national anthem. His government drew on international agreements to develop programs on human rights, the environment and conservation.

Margaret Whitlam played an important role as a political and prime ministerial wife. An outspoken public speaker, broadcaster and columnist, she accompanied Gough Whitlam on his countless overseas travels. As a qualified social worker, she was particularly interested in social conditions. Their public lives continued after they left The Lodge in 1975.

There are several significant holdings of records of or about Gough Whitlam. In addition, there are numerous smaller holdings that illuminate the work and lives of his family, among whom his father Fred Whitlam was particularly influential on Whitlam's career. Archives relating to Margaret Whitlam are included in the final chapter of this guide.

In December 2002, Whitlam said of the pending release of the archival records of his government under the former '30-year rule' covering official documents: 'I cannot exaggerate the importance of these records. It is not a matter of vindication but of verification. If there is any such thing as the "inside story" of the Whitlam government, it is to be found in these records'.<sup>1</sup>

## National Archives of Australia

The National Archives of Australia holds a substantial collection of records created by Gough Whitlam during his years as Prime Minister and Member of Parliament. Commonwealth records – including Cabinet records – of the Whitlam government are available, having entered the

open access period. The open access period for Commonwealth records begins after 20 years; for Cabinet notebooks after 30 years. Some records are held in the Sydney repository of the Archives, while the Cabinet records of the Whitlam government are held in the Canberra repository. Many records are digitised and available online through the Archives' website.

Archives fact sheets cover several aspects of the Whitlam government including Gough Whitlam, the Loans Affair and the Dismissal, and contain links to relevant archival series. A list of relevant fact sheets is included in the bibliography (pages 214–15).

The Archives' *Australia's Prime Ministers* website provides links to institutions around the world that hold records on, or relevant to, Gough Whitlam ([primeministers.naa.gov.au/findrecords/Whitlam](http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/findrecords/Whitlam)).

## National Library of Australia

The National Library of Australia holds a significant collection of oral history interviews with former parliamentarians and an extensive manuscripts collection. It holds the papers of several parliamentarians who served as ministers during the Whitlam government, scholars, journalists and authors, as well as key ALP identities. Relevant holdings include records of ALP federal caucuses, the ALP federal secretariat, and an important set of letters from Gough Whitlam to his parents while a student at the University of Sydney and during his war service. The National Library holds the original interviews undertaken by Professor Jenny Hocking for her two-volume biography of Gough Whitlam.<sup>2</sup>

## Whitlam Institute

The Whitlam Institute at the University of Western Sydney holds a Prime Ministerial Collection that includes many of Whitlam's own records, as well as those of his wife Margaret, and material donated by Whitlam's speechwriter and confidante Graham Freudenberg. In 2001 the Institute began to digitise Whitlam's hardcopy collection of papers, diaries and photographs, including press releases (1972–77) and speeches (1958–2007), as well as key documents relating to the Dismissal. These are being progressively placed online for free and ready access. They are available through the Institute's e-Collection ([whitlam.org](http://whitlam.org)).

The Whitlam Prime Ministerial Collection's strength lies in its mixture of very personal records and documents from his time in parliament and retirement. The collection is also enriched by a collection of ephemera – including a wide range of iconic 'It's time' merchandise, Whitlam's personal library and collection of cartoons, gifts from foreign governments (including an Australian flag which had been flown to the moon) and personal memorabilia such as photographs from Whitlam's war service. The crown jewel, so to speak, is the original letter of dismissal handed to Whitlam by Sir John Kerr.

The Whitlam Institute has developed a number of online features including *Whitlam and China*, *Whitlam and Western Sydney*, *Treasures from the Collection* and *Whitlam Government Achievements*.

## Other Australian collections

There is a number of useful smaller holdings within Australia, including the NSW ALP records in the Mitchell Library, the political ephemera and picture collections of the State Library of Victoria, and the Australian National University (ANU) Archives.

The collections of the ANU Archives, which relate to the history of the university, and the closely associated Noel Butlin Archives Centre can be searched in a single database. The Noel Butlin Archives Centre is Australia's first and largest collection of business and trade union historical source material. The ANU records include material on Whitlam's lifelong association with the university and the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* as both subject and author. They also hold material on Whitlam's father Fred Whitlam, and Gough Whitlam's time as a national fellow with the ANU after parliament, including the internal controversy over his appointment. Its holdings relating to trade unions and, it follows, the ALP, illuminate Whitlam's efforts to reform the party.

The ANU publication *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* can be accessed online (<http://press.anu.edu.au>). It includes the observation that 'often the most rewarding source of a prime minister's views and thoughts is not in their own collection but in collections preserved elsewhere by their correspondents'. The guide also points out that it was not until 1984 that the government archives was mandated to collect prime ministers' official and personal papers. Consequently, some personal papers of earlier prime ministers, including Whitlam, are held by institutions other than the National Archives of Australia.

## Overseas collections

The US National Archives and Records Administration provides an online catalogue through which the records from a range of American institutions can be searched ([archives.gov/research/arc](http://archives.gov/research/arc)).

The UK National Archives contains extensive documentation of British Government and departmental exchanges with Whitlam and key members of his government. Of particular interest are files maintained by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Prime Minister's Office correspondence and papers. Material in division FCO 24 covering Whitlam's visits to Britain and his Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's visit in early 1973 suggests the British official attitude to the new ALP government was not positive. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office anticipated that Murphy would 'be a rather difficult guest' (FCO 24/1643). Division FCO 24 also contains correspondence and briefings for the Foreign Office on the constitutional crisis, reaction to the Dismissal and its aftermath.

## Using this research guide

This guide aims to make it easier for researchers to access records in the National Archives and other collections relating to Gough and Margaret Whitlam. It contains:

- basic biographical information on Gough and Margaret Whitlam
- descriptions of records created by Gough Whitlam, including official records, letters and diaries
- records about Gough Whitlam including photographs, memorabilia, oral histories, films and other audiovisual materials
- information on records of or about Margaret Whitlam.

This guide aims to be as comprehensive as possible. However, given that the National Archives' collection runs to 363 kilometres of records, only a proportion of records could be included in this guide. Accordingly, the guide has focused on presenting the most likely sources of relevant material in public collections in Australia.

## Record descriptions

Each entry in the guide describes a group of records that has been maintained together as a series. A series is made up of items, which are often individual files (sometimes volumes, sets of cards or photographs) that were received by the National Archives from the creating agency or person. Series usually consist of many items (that is, files), but occasionally consist of just a few or even a single item. Note that items described within particular series are usually only a selection of what is held.

National Archives records on Whitlam have been grouped under relevant headings, with series and item descriptions organised chronologically as far as possible. In many instances, particular series contain relevant material on several aspects of Whitlam's activities and responsibilities; these have been included more than once, with a full description of the series given in the first instance.

A similar approach is adopted for records held in other libraries and archives. These collections are arranged by location, and then alphabetically by manuscript collection or chronologically depending on the material.

A sample description of a National Archives record appears opposite.

## Accessing the records

The National Archives' records described in this guide are listed in RecordSearch, the Archives' collection database. It is accessible online ([naa.gov.au](http://naa.gov.au)) and in National Archives reading rooms in all capital cities. Indexes and inventories of records, providing item lists for some series, are also available in National Archives reading rooms.

To view original records listed in this guide, you will need to visit the National Archives reading room in the location where the records are held. However, much research can be undertaken online using RecordSearch, where many digitised records can be viewed and requests to view other records submitted.

Access to archival records is governed by the *Archives Act 1983*, which gives a right of access to most Commonwealth government records once they reach the open access period. The open period was reduced from 30 to 20 years following amendments to the Archives Act in 2010. This change to the open period took effect in January 2011 and is being phased in over 10 years.

Records in the open period are available for public access unless they contain information that falls into certain exemption categories defined in section 33 of the Archives Act. Before the National Archives releases records for public access, they are examined to ensure they do not contain exempt information. Most records (98 per cent) are wholly released for public access, while 1.75 per cent are released with some exempt information deleted. The information withheld from public access falls into two broad areas: sensitive personal information, and information about the security of the Commonwealth and its residents.

- |          |   |                                 |
|----------|---|---------------------------------|
| <b>①</b> | <b>WHITLAM MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH ‘CL’ PREFIX, 1972–75</b>   | <b>A5931</b>                    |
| <b>②</b> | <b>Recorded by: 1972–75</b>   | <b>Cabinet Office (CA 1472)</b> |
| <b>③</b> | <b>Canberra</b>   | <b>28 metres</b>                |
| <b>④</b> | This is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business for the period of the Whitlam government, 1972 to 1975.   |                                 |
| <b>⑤</b> | <b>First Whitlam Ministry decisions and other administrative actions, 1975</b>  | <b>CL48</b>                     |
| <b>⑥</b> | Consists of a full list of the first 40 decisions, press releases and Executive Council decisions of the Duumvirate. Staff of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet were directed to compile this file by the department’s Secretary Sir John Bunting, who recognised the significance ‘for future historians’ of the Duumvirate and its work. |                                 |

## Key

- ①** This information gives the series title and the date range of the records that make up the series. The series number is shown on the right-hand side.
- ②** This shows the person or government agencies that created the series. It also shows the date range during which each series was created. This date range does not necessarily correspond to the contents date range of the records, which appears in the series title. The Commonwealth person (CP) or Commonwealth agency (CA) numbers are a unique identifier allocated by the Archives to each person or agency. These numbers can be used to retrieve more information about the person or agency, and the records they created, from the National Archives’ online collection database, RecordSearch.
- ③** This shows the location where the series is held, and the total volume of the series measured in shelf metres.
- ④** This is a brief description of the series.
- ⑤** This shows the title given to the item by the person or agency that created it. The dates of the earliest and latest document on the file are shown. The item’s identifying number (control symbol) appears on the right-hand side. This number must be quoted when requesting access to the record.
- ⑥** This describes the main contents of an item. Note that it does not describe every document on the file.

Most access examination is completed within a month but it may take up to 90 days to examine some files as consultation with other government departments is often required. The National Archives will inform researchers if delays are expected.

More information on accessing records is available in Fact sheet 10 – Access to records under the Archives Act, and Fact sheet 11 – Viewing records in the reading room, available at [naa.gov.au](http://naa.gov.au).

## Citing the records

The correct citation of archival records is important, both when requesting the records and when referring to them in published works. Using proper citations will help staff locate records more readily and will assist other researchers to find the material.

The correct form of citation for records held by the National Archives is: 'National Archives of Australia' followed by a colon and a space, the series number followed by a comma and a space, and then the item control symbol. An example is: *National Archives of Australia: A2443, 3*.

'National Archives of Australia' may be abbreviated to 'NAA', provided the full name has been used in the first citation. Further details about correctly citing records from the National Archives' collection are available in Fact sheet 7 – Citing archival records, available at [naa.gov.au](http://naa.gov.au).

Correct citations for other institutions should be checked with the relevant institution.

## Endnotes

- 1 Hocking, Jenny, *Gough Whitlam: a moment in history*, Volume One of *Gough Whitlam: the biography*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2008.
- 2 *ibid.*, Hocking, Jenny, *Gough Whitlam: his time*, Volume Two of *Gough Whitlam: the biography*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2012.

# 1 Gough Whitlam: a short biography

This biographical essay, by Jenny Hocking and Clare Land, was adapted from the National Archives' *Australia's Prime Ministers* website ([primeministers.naa.gov.au](http://primeministers.naa.gov.au)) with additional material from Jenny Hocking's *Gough Whitlam: a moment in history* (Melbourne University Press, 2008), and *Gough Whitlam: his time* (Melbourne University Press, 2012).

Edward Gough Whitlam was born in the Melbourne suburb of Kew on 11 July 1916. He was the elder of two children of Martha (Maddocks) and Harry Frederick Ernest (Fred) Whitlam. He was born in his parents' house, which had been built for them by Martha's father, a master builder. Fred Whitlam's father, Henry Hugh Gough Whitlam, was a market gardener.

Fred Whitlam worked in the public service for most of his life, beginning in the Department of Lands and Survey in the Victorian Public Service in 1901, having topped the Victorian Public Service exam the year he finished school. When the Labor government of Andrew Fisher established the Commonwealth Land Tax Office in 1911, Fred Whitlam joined the Commonwealth Public Service and worked in the tax office while studying at night school – graduating first in accounting and then law. In 1913 Fred was promoted to work in the office of the Crown Solicitor in the Attorney-General's Department, headed by its inaugural Secretary, Sir Robert Garran, under William Morris (Billy) Hughes, the Attorney-General in the Fisher government. He graduated LLB from the University of Melbourne the following year.

In 1918 Fred Whitlam was promoted to senior clerk and the family moved to Sydney, where they lived in the north shore suburbs of Mosman and then Turramurra. Gough Whitlam went to school at Mowbray House kindergarten and then Knox Grammar School. Two years later, Fred Whitlam was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the High Court of Australia on the motion of Sir Robert Garran and, in 1921, he was appointed Deputy Crown Solicitor for the Commonwealth. It was a remarkable rise for a scholarship boy whose law degree had been awarded 14 years after he had finished school, after years of study at night school. Fred Whitlam's background and experience emphasised the importance of education, books, self-advancement and opportunity that would become the hallmarks of Gough Whitlam's politics.

Gough Whitlam was 10 years old when, in 1927, his father was transferred to Canberra as assistant Crown Solicitor, part of the influx of public servants into the new national capital. He arrived in time to see the opening of the new federal parliament in May 1927. Gough, his sister Freda and mother Martha joined Fred Whitlam in Canberra the following year, and the family settled in the Canberra suburb of 'Blandfordia', now Forrest. For the next four years the Whitlams shared their house with Fred's brother George, a senior officer in the Prime Minister's department and a determined, austere Baptist. Every Sunday 'Uncle George' would walk Gough and Freda to the Baptist Sunday School until Gough's questioning, and in particular his persistent querying that the world could have been created in just seven days, marked him as a dangerously persuasive influence. In 1936 Fred Whitlam was promoted to Commonwealth Crown Solicitor when Robert Menzies was Attorney-General in the United Australia Party (UAP) government of Joseph Lyons.

Gough Whitlam attended the local Telopea Park School from 1928, where he edited the school magazine, *Telopea*, and in 1931 completed his Intermediate Certificate. At his father's insistence and his own reluctance Gough, who was a highly intelligent, energetic and cheeky student, moved to Canberra Grammar School. There he edited the school magazine, *The Canberran*, and at the

end of 1932 he completed his Leaving Certificate at the age of 16. However, his father considered Gough too young to go to university and insisted he return to Canberra Grammar the following year. Whitlam sat the Leaving Certificate exam again in 1933 and was awarded a scholarship to study classics at the University of Sydney. Both his father and his mother's uncle James Steele, Headmaster of Melbourne's Carey Baptist Grammar School, considered Gough should also take Ancient Greek to later continue it at the University of Sydney, so he returned to Canberra Grammar again in 1934. By the end of 1934 Gough had a very thorough grounding in English, history, languages and classics, and entertained thoughts of becoming an academic specialising in classics.

Gough Whitlam enrolled at the University of Sydney in 1935 and moved into St Paul's College. He completed an arts degree in 1937, majoring in classics for which one of his memorable teachers was the charismatic future conservative politician Enoch Powell. He began a law degree the following year. His sport was rowing, and he was heavily involved in debating and the St Paul's College Revue. Whitlam edited his college journal, *The Pauline*, from 1938 to 1941; the undergraduate students' magazine, *Hermes*, from 1938 to 1941; and became co-editor of the Sydney University Law Society journal, *Blackacre*, in 1939. Whitlam's first appearance as prime minister came in 1940, when he played the British leader Neville Chamberlain in the St Paul's College Revue. He also became involved in the highly popular revues of the Sydney University Dramatic Society, where Margaret Dovey, a champion swimmer and social work student, was a prominent member.

## **At war, 1941–45**

In September 1939 Prime Minister Robert Menzies joined Britain in declaring war on Germany. The following month Gough Whitlam joined the Sydney University Regiment, a formal unit of the Army Reserve, training first with a rifle company and then a support company. On 7 December 1941 Japanese aeroplanes attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and the following day Gough Whitlam registered at the Woolloomooloo Recruiting Centre for active service with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). He was called up in June 1942, six weeks after he and Margaret Dovey were married on 22 April at St Michael's Anglican Church in Sydney. Whitlam trained as an airforce navigator and after 15 months of training was stationed with RAAF Squadron No. 13 throughout the war, at Gove on the eastern Arnhem Land coast of the Northern Territory, as well as Cooktown in north Queensland, and with forays into Merauke and Morotai in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). His squadron protected convoys off northern Australia, and later moved further north to undertake bombing raids on enemy supply camps in the islands of the Philippines. By the end of the war Whitlam was navigator on the only Empire aircraft assigned to the RAAF Pacific Echelon at General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters at Leyte and Manila, flying members of MacArthur's staff between the Philippines and Australia.

Whitlam's sons Antony and Nicholas were born during his period of service, in 1944 and 1945, respectively.

During the 1943 election campaign, when Whitlam was home on leave in Sydney, he and Margaret attended an election rally addressed by Labor member for East Sydney, Eddie Ward, and the Minister for Information, Arthur Calwell. Whitlam was a great admirer of war-time Labor Prime Minister John Curtin and considered the Curtin government 'the greatest of all Australian governments'. Back at Gove he handed out Labor Party campaign material to his squadron. The Curtin Labor government was returned in August 1943 and the following year held a referendum to grant the Commonwealth post-war reconstruction powers to enable national rebuilding for a period of five years after the war. Whitlam campaigned strongly for the 1944 Referendum on Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights, firmly supporting the cause of

temporarily extending the war-time Commonwealth powers for a further five years after the end of hostilities in order to meet the needs of post-war reconstruction and resettlement of returning servicemen and women. The referendum, held on 19 August 1944, was unsuccessful although the vote from those serving in the defence forces was in favour. Whitlam was devastated by the defeat of the 1944 referendum and highly critical of leader of the opposition Robert Menzies' campaign against it. 'The campaign had an immediate and lasting effect upon my attitudes and career. I was alienated by Menzies' opportunistic and cynical conduct. I was committed to expand Commonwealth responsibilities.'

Shortly after the death of John Curtin on 5 July 1945, Gough Whitlam joined the Darlinghurst branch of the Labor Party on 8 August 1945, while on his final period of leave from the RAAF. Whitlam ended his four years of active service with the rank of Flight Lieutenant navigator on 17 October 1945. He resumed his law studies the following year at the age of 29, completing his law degree at the University of Sydney in 1946. Whitlam was admitted to the New South Wales Bar in 1947 on the motion of his father-in-law, Justice Wilfred (Bill) Dovey.

By 1947 Gough and Margaret had two small sons and were still living with Margaret's parents. With the help of a war service housing loan they built a house in Wangi Street, Cronulla – a new and developing beachside suburb in Sydney's south. Whitlam stood for the local government election for the Sutherland Shire Council in 1948, and for the Sutherland seat in the New South Wales parliament in 1950. The family did not own a car, and most of Whitlam's campaigning was door-to-door along unfinished streets in the rapidly growing southern suburbs. Although he was not successful in either election, the campaigns made him a well-known local figure.

Whitlam was energetically involved in a range of community activities – the suburban progress association, his children's school parents and friends association, and the Returned Servicemen's League. He was also something of a radio celebrity, winning successive rounds of the Australian National Quiz Championship in 1948 and 1949, and placing runner-up in 1950. The quiz was arranged to promote popular interest in the Chifley Labor government's security loans for post-war reconstruction. Broadcast live by the ABC, the quiz was avidly followed by many, including Prime Minister Ben Chifley who noticed the up-and-coming local Labor identity. The prizes for championship winners were security bonds. Whitlam's winnings totalled £1,000, and the family used the money to buy the block of land next to their house at Cronulla.

Whitlam's work as a young barrister with the New South Wales Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in 1951–52 brought him further public and political attention. The Chair of the Royal Commission Justice Victor Maxwell KC was assisted by Whitlam's father-in-law, Justice Wilfred Dovey KC, and Whitlam was appointed Dovey's junior. In this capacity Whitlam clashed repeatedly with Douglas Barwick, licensee of the Captain Cook Hotel, reputed sly-grog trader and brother of noted Sydney barrister Garfield Barwick KC, who would later become Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs in the Menzies government. Whitlam's performance during the Royal Commission, particularly when he stood in for his father-in-law during a brief illness, was as useful as his involvement in local affairs in building his local prominence and political ambition.

With his modulated voice, university education and patrician appearance, Whitlam stood out from the traditional Labor candidate with a trade-union background. It led to the common, mistaken perception that he was a 'silvertail', yet his grandfather Henry Hugh Gough Whitlam had spent four years in Pentridge Prison for forgery from the age of 19, and his family background was one of public service and a strong belief in education and self-advancement. With this, as Gough Whitlam later remarked, 'in a single generation my family moved from one side of the law to the other'.

## Member for Werriwa, 1952

In 1951 Whitlam gained Australian Labor Party (ALP) pre-selection for the federal seat of Werriwa, following the announcement by long-term member Bert Lazzarini that he would not contest the next election. However, with the sudden death of Lazzarini in October 1952, Whitlam stood as the ALP candidate for Werriwa in the resultant by-election on 29 November 1952. Werriwa (or Weereewaa) is the Ngunnawal name for Lake George, in the southwest extremity of the electorate. In 1901 the electorate centred on the rural city of Goulburn but 50 years later it covered the rapidly growing southeast and southwest Sydney suburbs and extended to Wollongong. Whitlam won the seat with a record majority at 66 per cent and celebrated by buying the family's first car and a hat – then essential to the politician's outfit.

On 17 February 1953 Whitlam first sat as a member of Australia's 20th parliament. He delivered his maiden parliamentary speech on 19 March, although by then he had already spoken three times. He first rose on the motion of condolence on the death of his school friend Brian Green, son of the Clerk of the Parliament Frank Green, and had also addressed questions to the Minister for Labour and National Service, Harold Holt, and the Minister for Commerce and Agriculture and Deputy Leader of the Country Party, John (Jack) McEwen, during Question Time. Although it was parliamentary convention for a maiden speech to be heard in silence, Whitlam's incisive criticisms of Commonwealth–state relations and the inadequacy of housing, health and education infrastructure in his electorate had McEwen interjecting and earning the Speaker's reprimand. Clyde Cameron, the South Australian ALP member for Hindmarsh, remarked that he had just heard the first speech of the next Labor Prime Minister – a rare moment of complete agreement between Cameron and Whitlam.

In a parliament dominated by the political command and oratory of Liberal Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies, Whitlam was among the parliament's most articulate members. He took a bold stance on several contentious foreign policy matters, and in 1953 attacked French policies in Indo-China, arguing for self-determination for the Vietminh. In parliament on 12 August 1954, Whitlam urged the government to recognise communist China and to support its admission to the United Nations. Although this was in line with Labor Party policy, with the Cold War intensifying it was a radical and risky public stance for an ambitious party member. Just before the May 1954 election, the defection of Soviet Embassy officials Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov brought espionage activities and the threat of communism to the forefront of the election campaign. The result was a crushing defeat for the Labor Party under leader Dr HV Evatt.

Having lost the 1954 election and deeply divided over its attitude to communism, in 1955 the Labor Party split in the greatest and most damaging of its three major splits to that time. The dissident anti-communist break-away group later became the Democratic Labor Party and its supporters would divide the Labor vote, keeping the ALP in opposition for nearly two decades. Whitlam was among those considered an 'Evatt man', but he also suffered a periodic rumour campaign fuelled from both within and outside the ALP that he was at heart a Liberal whose Labor credentials were superficial. There were even attempts made to persuade Whitlam to 'do a Billy Hughes' and join the Liberal Party, most notably in 1966 when Whitlam was facing the possibility of expulsion from the ALP over his efforts to change the party's policy on federal aid to non-government schools. The Queensland Liberal member for Herbert, John Murray, approached Whitlam in an effort to persuade him to join the Liberal Party. Whitlam was 'appalled and affronted' at the implied treachery and treated the clumsy approach with disdain. Whitlam was a diligent local member and considered a 'good bloke' by those he represented in Werriwa, and he retained his constituents' support despite the escalating divisions in the Labor Party. The support of Margaret Whitlam, who was a constant presence in the electorate, dealing with the needs of constituents

during his absences and attending the endless party functions by his side, was indispensable to Whitlam's growing popularity over this time.

In 1955, Whitlam's electorate of Werriwa – the most populous in New South Wales – was divided following a redistribution. The southeastern section was renamed Hughes after former Prime Minister WM (Billy) Hughes, who had died in 1952 after 51 years in federal parliament. The western section, covering the Sydney suburbs of Liverpool, Cabramatta and Fairfield, retained the name Werriwa and remained Gough Whitlam's electorate, now with very different boundaries. The redistribution had a significant impact on Margaret and their growing family. With four young children following the births of Stephen (1950) and Catherine (1954), the family moved from their much loved Cronulla house to make their home further inland in Cabramatta, within the new boundaries of Werriwa. Once again Margaret and Gough Whitlam began the hard work of getting to know people, and getting known, in the new neighbourhood.

The Menzies government set up the broad-ranging cross-party Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Review in 1955. Whitlam was one of the six Labor Party members on the committee, which produced its first report in 1959. Although the Menzies government scarcely responded to the committee's 17 detailed recommendations, Whitlam's experience on the Constitutional Review Committee was highly significant for the development of his political thinking. The hearings, deliberations and recommendations of this committee demonstrated to him the possibilities, as well as the limitations, of the Constitution for achieving political reform. More significantly, it helped transform Whitlam's view of the constitutional difficulties facing the Labor Party as the party of reform. Whitlam had until then shared the widespread pessimism in the party that the Constitution worked against the implementation of Labor policy while enabling conservative policy. From his membership of the committee however, Whitlam emerged with a stronger, more optimistic view of the possibilities for implementing Labor policy within the Constitution, in particular through the use of 'tied grants' of federal funds to the states under section 96 as a means of effectively expanding federal power into those areas. He later described his membership of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Review as one of the greatest influences of his political life.

## **Deputy Labor Leader, 1960–67**

In 1959 Whitlam was elected to the Caucus executive, under Labor leader Dr HV Evatt, the first of Whitlam's major positions within the parliamentary party. Following Evatt's resignation on 9 February 1960 to become Chief Justice of the New South Wales Supreme Court, Arthur Calwell was elected leader of the federal parliamentary Australian Labor Party on 7 March. Gough Whitlam then won a tight ballot for the deputy leadership against repeat-contender Eddie Ward, of the ALP's left. It was an unexpected victory for Whitlam and a turning point for the Labor Party in its search for renewal.

As Deputy Leader Whitlam appointed John Menadue, a young Treasury official with a strong background in both the Labor Party and the Fabian Society, as his private secretary, establishing a significant and enduring relationship. Whitlam set about developing a more workable structure for the party, looking forward to its next term of government, not back to its last, which was already more than a decade ago. At the election in December 1961, Labor lost by only one seat as the Menzies government held on to the tightly fought Queensland seat of Moreton with the help of Communist Party voters' second preferences. In August 1962 as acting Leader of the Opposition during Calwell's brief hospitalisation, Whitlam clashed with Country Party leader John McEwen. Describing the government's responses to Britain's move into the European Common Market as 'shabby', Whitlam said 'a more global and less selfish attitude' would have provided a better

long-term outcome for Australian farmers and businesses. Whitlam was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1963, and had curtailed his legal work once he became Deputy Leader.

In March 1963 when the Labor Party's decision-making body – the Federal Conference – met at Canberra's Hotel Kingston, Whitlam and Arthur Calwell were involved in an inadvertent demonstration of the need for party reform. The two men had walked over to the hotel late one evening to hear the decision reached by the 36 conference delegates regarding party policy on the government's plan to allow the United States to build a communications base at North West Cape in Western Australia. The meeting had not yet finished and, as the party leaders were not members of the Federal Conference, Calwell and Whitlam waited outside the hotel to be informed of the conference decision on party policy. Among the journalists also gathered was the *Daily Telegraph's* Alan Reid, who quickly sent for a photographer and produced the telling image of the leaders of the ALP's parliamentary wing waiting for the party's organisational delegates – the '36 faceless men' – to determine party policy.

When Menzies called a snap election in November 1963, he made much of Labor's difficulty in forming a policy on the US base and of the '36 faceless men' caricature. After Labor lost ground in the election, Whitlam presented the New South Wales ALP executive with a stinging critique of his party's 'failure to devise modern, relevant and acceptable methods of formulating and publicising policy' and demanded reforms to the membership base, policies, party machinery and processes.

In January 1966, after 16 continuous years as Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies retired and Harold Holt succeeded him as Liberal leader and Prime Minister. The main issue at the federal election in November 1966 was the war in Vietnam, with demonstrations against Australia's involvement plaguing the Coalition campaign. The month before the election, Whitlam visited Vietnam and toured the 1st Australian Task Force area in Phuoc Tuy Province. At that time there was division within the ALP regarding its position on Vietnam, and on the wisdom of Calwell's insistence on campaigning in the 1966 election on the issue of Australia's involvement there, rather than on local issues.

As well as being heavily involved in these party and political developments, Whitlam served on the House of Representatives Standing Orders Committee from 1960 to 1974, and the joint select committee on a new parliament house from 1965 to 1970.

## **Leader of the Australian Labor Party, 1967–72**

Following the Labor Party's third and worst election loss under Arthur Calwell at the 1966 election, Calwell reluctantly stood aside although he remained in parliament until 1972. Gough Whitlam was elected Leader of the Australian Labor Party on 8 February 1967, with Tasmanian member for Bass, Lance Barnard, as his Deputy Leader. Barnard was one of Whitlam's closest friends and an invaluable political ally. Their partnership would become one of the most significant relationships both in the Labor Party and in government. Whitlam was now in the right place to complete the internal party and policy reforms he had begun, and without which he believed the ALP could not hope to regain office. His grasp of policy and the need for reform within the ALP was extensive and had developed over a decade. He referred to his long-planned changes to the party, and modernising of the party platform, as 'the Program'. His private secretary John Menadue coined the mantra 'party, policy, people' – 'This year the party; next year the policy; 1969 the people.'

As Labor leader Whitlam was the initiator and driving force behind a systematic revision of party structure, processes and policy, directed towards achieving government with a clear mandate for change in the post-Menzies era. His commitment to change led to major battles within the party, particularly over the questions of federal aid to non-government schools and ending the

White Australia Policy, and at times threatened his leadership. With Labor's first full-time national secretary, Cyril Wyndham, Whitlam devised reforms targeting both the structure and policy-making processes of the party. Key goals included representation of the parliamentary party leadership on the Federal Conference and the Federal Executive, direct representation for ordinary members and reducing the power of paid officials. Despite the opposition of the Victorian ALP state executive and die-hard party traditionalists, a compromise arrangement was achieved at the party's Federal Conference in Adelaide in 1967, effecting major changes.

In the overhaul of policies to create a new and relevant platform, the emphasis was on urban development, international relations, Indigenous affairs, housing and education. Foreign affairs – the independence of Papua New Guinea and relations with China, Vietnam and Indonesia – health, defence, electoral reform, education, land rights and an end to the White Australia Policy were major targets. In 1968 the Labor Opposition and the Democratic Labor Party in the Senate secured the appointment of a select committee on health costs. The government's partial measures in response to the Nimmo Report into health insurance, and doctors' opposition to its recommendations, made Labor's alternative national health insurance program (called Medibank, later Medicare) attractive to electors.

Following the death of Harold Holt in December 1967, Country Party leader John McEwan was appointed Prime Minister until John Gorton became Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister in January 1968. Gorton would be replaced by William McMahon in March 1971, following a dramatic loss of confidence in him by his own party. Whitlam faced his own battles within the Labor Party when he abruptly resigned as leader in 1968 in response to the ALP Federal Executive's pursuit of Tasmanian right-wing Labor identity Brian Harradine. He was appalled at the 'needless turmoil' and disruption engendered by the executive's clumsy efforts to force Harradine off the Tasmanian delegation. Whitlam's sudden, defiant resignation shocked everyone, possibly even Whitlam himself. It was a desperate, reckless effort to regain party unity and control that had once again begun to unravel through the self-inflicted internecine conflict of the Harradine Affair.

The result of the subsequent leadership ballot was an even greater shock as Whitlam's old adversary Dr Jim Cairns came within six votes of the leadership, having run a powerful campaign around the theme, 'Whose party is this – ours or his?' Nevertheless, it was the outcome that mattered not the numbers and with his re-election as Leader of the Labor Party in 1968 Whitlam had finally reasserted himself over the endless party ruptures and derailments. From this great gamble came a tolerable degree of unity born of confrontation.

Whitlam toured Vietnam again that year in a show of support for the defence personnel involved in the war with which he personally and profoundly disagreed. In 1969 he visited Papua New Guinea to begin discussions for a possible timetable towards self-government and independence for the Territory. A more precise timetable was agreed on during his 1971 tour of Papua New Guinea, following a unanimous vote of the United Nations urging Australia to establish such a timetable for self-determination. In 1972 Whitlam visited the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, which had been established on the lawns opposite Parliament House, and there agreed to renounce the long-standing Menzies era policy of assimilation in favour of self-determination and to campaign for the federal recognition of land rights.

Whitlam had always believed it would take two election campaigns for the Labor Party to win office. So despite narrowly losing the 1969 election, at which the ALP won the majority of the two-party preferred national vote and came within four seats of government, the party was upbeat in its aftermath. Whitlam demonstrated in his speech to the parliament on 25 November 1969 – parliament's only sitting day between the 25 October 1969 election and 3 March 1970 – that in contrast to the Coalition's lazy and ineffectual government, the ALP had all the momentum.

In July 1971 Whitlam embarked on an overseas visit that was to prove to be of the greatest international and domestic significance when he led a Labor Party delegation to the People's Republic of China. The Labor Party delegation took place just days before the secret visit by US National Security Advisor Dr Henry Kissinger, and at a time when the newly formed McMahon government in Australia was still refusing to consider resuming diplomatic relations with China, deriding Whitlam as the 'Manchurian candidate'. The visit to China was politically perilous and highly successful, placing Whitlam on the world stage and at the forefront of changing security and geopolitical relations. The McMahon government looked out of date and its political fortunes never recovered.

Campaigning for the 1972 election with the highly successful slogan, 'It's time', Whitlam drew on the words of war-time Labor Prime Minister John Curtin when he declared as he opened his campaign launch:

Men and women of Australia! The decision we will make for our country on the second of December is a choice between the past and the future, between the habits of the past and the demands and opportunities of the future.

At the election on 2 December, voters responded to this declaration, electing the first Labor government in 23 years, with Gough Whitlam as Australia's 21st Prime Minister.

## In office

Gough Whitlam was Prime Minister from 1972 to 1975. He was the first Labor Prime Minister since 1949 and, with the return of the Whitlam government at the double dissolution election of May 1974, Whitlam became the first Labor leader to win consecutive terms. Labor's extensive reform plan, dubbed 'the Program', was immediately put into action by the first Whitlam Ministry, a 'duumvirate' – a government of two – made up of Whitlam and Lance Barnard. The Duumvirate operated for two weeks, 5–19 December, while the counting of seats continued, since the ALP Caucus could not meet to elect the ministry until the outcome in all seats had been determined.

Whitlam was anxious to remedy the quiescence of the Menzies era in Australia's role in international affairs and engagement with international organisations. The government fostered Australia's participation in international agreements with the signing, ratification and implementation of numerous international treaties. Australia once again became an active player in international organisations. Among the numerous significant conventions and covenants signed and ratified were the 1953 Covenant on the Political Rights of Women, the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the 1966 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and several International Labour Organization conventions including No. 107 – Indigenous and Tribal Populations.

One UN convention that Whitlam overlooked and which he endeavoured to get the Keating Labor government to ratify was the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This had been adopted by the UN in 1948 and while Australia had signed it, the legislation to incorporate the convention into domestic law had not been enacted. In 'Dragging the chain', his Vincent Lingiari memorial lecture at the Northern Territory University in 1997, Whitlam declared that, 'If the Convention had been enacted in the 1950s, most of the harrowing events which were described in evidence to the Inquiry [into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families] would not have occurred.'

The Whitlam government initiated Australia's first federal legislation on human rights, land rights, no-fault divorce, childcare, supporting mothers' benefits, the environment, racial discrimination and heritage. The government ended residual symbolic ties to Britain, including the British system of honours and the British national anthem as Australia's national anthem, lowered the voting age to 18, introduced legislation to ensure electoral equity or 'one vote one value', greatly increased spending on education, removed fees for tertiary education and ended the death penalty for Commonwealth offences. Whitlam travelled more widely on prime ministerial visits than any of his predecessors, including to China, India, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, Japan, the Soviet Union and throughout Europe. His focus on the Asian region redressed the previous imbalance in Australian prime ministerial visits and confirmed his government's new national priorities.

The Whitlam government introduced reforms in almost every field and at a remarkable pace, which some found unsettling. Some policy areas, such as health, housing, education and regional development, had been largely the preserve of the states but now became part of federal policy-making in particular through the use of tied grants. The government became involved at every tier of education, increasing federal expenditure on education four-fold, establishing a Schools Commission to oversee the development of needs-based funding for all schools, and abolishing university and other tertiary education tuition fees.

Implementing 'the Program' made parliament an extraordinarily busy place. During Whitlam's term in office a record number of Bills was introduced and enacted, and at the same time a record number of Bills was rejected by a hostile Senate. In the three years 1973–75 the Senate rejected 93 Bills, more Bills than it had rejected over the entire preceding 71 years since Federation combined. Nevertheless, by Whitlam's own estimate, more than half his reform agenda was implemented. When the Senate refused to vote on the government's Supply Bills in October 1975, it triggered the events that led to the dismissal of the Whitlam government on 11 November 1975.

## **The Duumvirate: ministry of two**

On 5 December 1972 Whitlam became Australia's 21st Prime Minister and the first Labor Prime Minister since 1949. Whitlam's first ministry was a mini-ministry, a duumvirate of just two, which was unique in Australian political history. With results in several seats still to be finalised, the ALP Caucus could not meet to elect the ministry and so Whitlam and his Deputy Lance Barnard were sworn in to all 27 portfolios, Whitlam holding 13 and Barnard 14. They immediately began implementing 'the Program', taking actions that could be made by regulation or by the executive. The Duumvirate made 40 significant decisions in its brief tenure, including overturning the McMahon government's position on the equal pay case for women then before the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and re-opening its hearings, placing the contraceptive pill on the National Health Scheme, supporting sanctions against Rhodesia, excluding all racially selected sporting teams from Australia, releasing all draft resisters then in prison for refusing to fight in the Vietnam War, withdrawing remaining troops from Vietnam, ending conscription and recognising Communist China. The Duumvirate also announced the establishment of the interim committee of the Australian Schools Commission, chaired by Professor Peter Karmel, to identify inequalities in the education system and develop the framework for needs-based funding for all schools. None of these decisions required legislation and could be determined as a decision of government by the Duumvirate until the full ministry was sworn in.

Although it was a two-man ministry, it was technically a three-man government with all decisions formally made by the Federal Executive Council, which has a quorum of three including the Governor-General or their representative. Sir Paul Hasluck as Governor-General attended all meetings of the Federal Executive Council held by the Duumvirate.

## The first year, 1973

The full 27 members of the second Whitlam Ministry were sworn in by the Governor-General at Yarralumla on 19 December 1972. Gough Whitlam became Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs; Lance Barnard was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence as well as for the newly created department of the Navy, the Army, Air and Supply; Senator Lionel Murphy was Attorney-General and Minister for Customs and Excise; and Frank Crean was Treasurer.

On 15 December 1972, the Duumvirate had begun implementing ALP policy on land rights. It reversed the Coalition government's response to the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory's decision in the Gove land rights case (*Milirrpum v Nabalco Pty Ltd* [1971] 17 FLR 141), announcing the establishment of a Royal Commission to inquire into appropriate ways of recognising Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory. The findings of the Royal Commission, under Justice Edward Woodward, would lead to the drafting of the Aboriginal Land (Northern Territory) Bill 1975, the first federal land rights claims legislation in Australia, and the establishment of an elected National Aboriginal Consultative Committee. The government also established the first Department of Aboriginal Affairs in response to the 1967 referendum on constitutional change that gave the Commonwealth Parliament the power to make laws for Aboriginal people. Whitlam was the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs during the Duumvirate. Gordon Bryant, Jim Cavanagh and Les Johnson in turn held the portfolio after 19 December 1972.

As well as setting up new government departments – including those of Urban and Regional Development, Minerals and Energy, Media, and Aboriginal Affairs – the government amalgamated the various defence departments into a powerful single agency. Rather unexpectedly the core group of experienced and powerful senior departmental secretaries, 'the mandarins' appointed during the Menzies era, remained at the head of the most significant departments. Whitlam did not share the distrust of some in the government that, after 23 years working only within a conservative administration, these senior bureaucrats would not adapt well to the policy agenda of a new Labor government.

In April 1973 Whitlam was the first Prime Minister to appoint an adviser to the Prime Minister on women's affairs. Elizabeth Reid, a tutor in philosophy at the Australian National University and member of the Women's Electoral Lobby, was appointed to the role and ran her office from within the Prime Minister's department. Whitlam's personal awareness of women's issues, his conviction about the need for wholesale change and staunch public support for Reid were demonstrated repeatedly in his speeches, press conferences and in parliament. Whitlam accepted Reid's advice that all Cabinet submissions should be reviewed for their impact on women. Comprehensive changes were made in social welfare areas – a supporting mothers' benefit was introduced in 1973 to cover women who were not eligible for the widows' pension. In June the government introduced paid maternity leave for Commonwealth public servants, which included 12 weeks' full paid leave and 52 weeks' total maternity leave. The government also legislated to prevent discrimination against Commonwealth employees because of pregnancy and to ensure the protection of their employment and status during maternity leave.

Australia and New Zealand together lodged a historic application before the International Court of Justice in The Hague on 9 May 1973, calling on France to cease its atmospheric nuclear testing in the Pacific. The case centred on the issue of radioactive fallout, and was the first such use of international environmental law and a high point in Australian–New Zealand relations. The Australian legal team, led by Attorney-General Lionel Murphy, was successful at the International Court of Justice's preliminary hearing in June in securing an interim order restraining France from any further tests for the duration of the case. France then announced that it would no longer

recognise the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the case resulted in the voluntary cessation of French atmospheric tests and continued testing underground. The final outcome on 20 December 1974 confirmed France's decision to end its atmospheric testing, which had rendered the case moot and paved the way for future use of the International Court of Justice on environmental grounds.

On 25 July 1973 the Australian Legal Aid Office was established, with offices in each state capital. Legislation was passed in August 1973 to establish the National Film and Television School in Sydney and in November, the Prime Minister unveiled a plaque launching the construction of a national gallery in Canberra. Two months earlier, the Australian National Gallery (later the National Gallery of Australia), under acting director James Mollison, had announced the purchase of *Blue Poles* by US artist Jackson Pollock. At a cost of \$1.3 million, this was the highest price paid for a contemporary American painting, and the acquisition caused great controversy in and out of parliament. Derided by his parliamentary opponents as 'a foreign painting of accidental value', Whitlam expounded the merits of *Blue Poles* and defended its purchase in a press conference on 25 September 1973, describing it as 'a masterpiece' from 'one of the great figures in modern American art'. *Blue Poles* is now widely regarded as one of the greatest works of abstract expressionism anywhere in the world, one of Pollock's most important paintings and a key masterpiece in the story of 20th century art. It is also valued as highly as \$100 million.

On 19 October 1973 during a Royal visit, Queen Elizabeth II signed her assent in person to the *Royal Style and Titles Act 1973*, which gave her a new, more precise title for her Australian duties. The Act removed the reference to the United Kingdom and the monarch's role as Head of the Church of England from her official Australian title; she would henceforth be referred to as 'Queen of Australia'. In related changes emphasising Australia's independence from Britain and the end of vestigial colonial ties, the Whitlam government created the Australian honours system, ending the use of the British Imperial honours and knighthoods in Australia, and announced a plebiscite for an Australian national anthem to replace the British national anthem 'God save the Queen', then still Australia's national anthem.

After a visit to Indonesia and South-East Asia with Margaret in September 1973, on 31 October Whitlam became the first Australian Prime Minister to visit the People's Republic of China. The restitution of relations with China had been one of Whitlam's highest priorities and had been set in train within days of his election victory. Australia had re-opened its embassy in Peking in January 1973, resuming diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China after 24 years. On his return from China, Whitlam reluctantly handed over the Foreign Affairs portfolio to Don Willesee, recognising that his responsibilities as Prime Minister were increasingly demanding.

In December 1973 the government established the Australian Development Assistance Agency to manage overseas aid programs, and the permanent Schools Commission to implement the needs-based schools funding program. The government also lowered the voting age to 18 and introduced legislation to equalise electorate size in order to ensure electoral equity or 'one vote one value'.

At the end of his first year as Prime Minister, Whitlam delivered a lengthy and detailed statement to the parliament setting out the extensive reforms enacted during the government's first year. 'Whitlam Government's first year's achievements: ministerial statement' is recorded in *Hansard* and listed among its many activities are 253 Bills introduced, with 203 Acts passed and 13 Bills rejected in the Senate, 39 reports tabled, and 19 treaties and agreements entered into.

The official Christmas card from The Lodge that year featured an unusual, striking, secular image – *Blue Poles*.

## **The second year, 1974**

Under the energetic Minister for Urban and Regional Development, Tom Uren, regional development had been a major focus of the government during its first year. The reform program for regional development produced results through the use of direct grants to local government bodies around Australia to target regional service delivery. Grant programs included flood mitigation, urban renewal, leisure and tourist facilities, and building sewerage systems in unserved urban areas. Under the Department of Urban and Regional Development, the Albury–Wodonga Development Corporation was established on 21 May 1974. In a push for decentralisation and regional development, it was intended to be a model for similar schemes elsewhere.

Regional funding programs provided direct funding for community health centres and regional-based hospitals. By specifying the purpose of financial grants to the states under section 96 of the Constitution, the government financed a national highway system and a standard-gauge railway line linking Perth, Adelaide, Sydney and Alice Springs. Brisbane's city railway system was extended and electrified.

Throughout 1974 the Opposition majority in the Senate was a major obstacle to the passage of government Bills. The Senate's rejection of six Bills for a second time provided the necessary trigger for Whitlam to call a double dissolution election on 18 May 1974, under section 57 of the Constitution. It was an enormously risky decision to go to an early election barely half-way through its first term. However, strategically the timing of the 1974 double dissolution election allowed Whitlam to campaign on the theme of the government's repeated obstruction by the Opposition in the Senate, to argue for a 'fair go' from the Opposition and for the reiteration of the electorate's mandate to implement its program.

## **Second election victory, 18 May 1974**

On 18 May 1974 Gough Whitlam again made history with the return of the government at the double dissolution election, at which 18-year-olds voted for the first time. Whitlam was the first leader of the ALP to be elected to office at successive elections. Labor was returned on 18 May 1974 with 49.3 per cent of the national vote and a slightly reduced majority in the House of Representatives (representing a fall of just 0.29 per cent in the ALP national popular vote). Its Senate vote increased by 5 per cent and the ALP gained three Senate seats, leaving the Government and Opposition equal on 29 seats each in the Senate, with two Independents.

It was a historic occasion, the first time the full provisions of section 57 of the Constitution were applied – the double dissolution election followed by a Joint Sitting of both houses of parliament. After the Opposition-dominated Senate had rejected, for a third time, the Bills that had triggered the double dissolution, Whitlam announced a Joint Sitting of both houses of parliament was to be held on 6 August 1974. This was also the first official duty of Sir John Kerr, the newly appointed Governor-General, who presided over proceedings for the Joint Sitting held in the House of Representatives. There the six Bills that had formed the trigger for the 1974 double dissolution election were again considered, with both houses sitting as one and voting again on the Bills. All six of these 'trigger' Bills were finally passed at this historic Joint Sitting. These included the legislation that created Medibank (later Medicare) and electoral legislation introducing 'one vote one value' in electorate size, and introducing Senate representation for the Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory, which were each granted two Senate seats.

The new Whitlam ministry was elected at a meeting of the party's Caucus on 10 June 1974 and in a shock result Whitlam's great friend and indispensable colleague Lance Barnard was defeated as Deputy Leader by Dr Jim Cairns, who became Deputy Prime Minister. It would prove to be a devastating personal and political loss for Whitlam, the end of a successful constructive political partnership and, to Whitlam, 'the most unfair and unwise decision Caucus ever made in my time'. Barnard's guidance, experience and tactical skills would be greatly missed over the next 18 months.

After national polling in an indicative plebiscite, on 8 April 1974 'Advance Australia fair' replaced 'God save the Queen' as Australia's national anthem, and in June the government appointed a national advisory committee for the United Nations' proposed International Women's Year in 1975. Margaret Whitlam chaired the committee and Elizabeth Reid headed the committee's secretariat.

Two significant Royal Commissions were announced in August 1974. The Royal Commission into Human Relationships, chaired by Justice Elizabeth Evatt, was the first time the Australian Government had sought to hear evidence relating to Australians' experiences of rape, domestic violence, abortion and homophobia. The commission would take evidence and gather information to inform policy development and implementation at a time when homosexuality was still illegal, abortion was criminalised and family law entirely inadequate. The Royal Commission into Intelligence and Security, under Justice Robert Marsden Hope, was inspired by concerns regarding the activities and accountability of the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) following the leaking of an internal ASIO dossier on the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Jim Cairns, published in *The Bulletin* magazine. The commission recommended measures to improve transparency and to establish clear lines of accountability for the Australian intelligence community.

In September 1974 during an official trip to the United States to meet the new President Gerald Ford, Whitlam again made history when he delivered a special address to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He was the first Australian Prime Minister to have been invited to do so.

The Trade Practices Commission was established on 1 October, and the Australian Law Reform Commission was formally established on 1 January 1975. The Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service was established in 1974 as part of the Department of Environment and Conservation.

After Cyclone Tracy destroyed much of Darwin on Christmas eve 1974, Whitlam returned from a five-week 15-nation trip to Europe and inspected the devastation. Leaving emergency arrangements with his Deputy Jim Cairns, Whitlam then resumed his travels to the dismay of many, including some of his closest advisors who viewed this decision as both insensitive and wrong-headed.

## **The last year, 1975**

The Whitlam government continued its rapid pace of change. The Order of Australia was announced on Australia Day 1975 and established on 14 February, replacing the British honours system. Knights and dames would no longer be part of the Australian honours system. However, the following year Whitlam's successor, Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, reintroduced knights and dames under the Australian honours system, awarding just two – Sir John Kerr, the Governor-General, and Sir Robert Menzies, the former Liberal Prime Minister.

In March the Australian Film Commission and the Australia Council were established, and in April the Consumer Affairs Commission commenced operation. In June legislation establishing the Australian Heritage Commission was assented to, giving effect to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention to identify and conserve Australia's natural and cultural heritage. On announcing the commission Whitlam said, 'The Australian government should see itself as the curator not the liquidator of the National Estate'.

In May, with the establishment of the Technical and Further Education Commission, the Whitlam government was able to introduce reforms at every tier of education, including a national employment and training scheme, and the abolition of university and college tuition fees came into effect.

Whitlam's Attorney-General, Senator Lionel Murphy, was appointed to the High Court of Australia in February 1975 and Keppel Enderby, Member for the Australian Capital Territory, replaced him as Attorney-General. A critical constitutional convention was breached when the New South Wales Liberal-Country Party government refused to replace Murphy with the Labor Party's nominee for the Senate. Instead, the Liberal Premier's own selection – the unaffiliated Cleaver Bunton, a long-serving mayor of Albury and sports commentator – took up the vacancy in ALP numbers in the Senate, dramatically altering the balance of power.

Murphy left a significant legacy of legal reforms as Attorney-General including the Trade Practices Act, Family Law Act, Law Reform Commission, legal aid, Racial Discrimination Act and the case against French nuclear testing at the International Court of Justice. A major legislative reform was the *Family Law Act 1975*, creating the first no-fault divorce procedure in the world based on 12 months' separation and providing for a national Family Court of Australia (established in 1976). In June the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* also became law, ratifying the UN convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination that, although signed by Australia, had remained unratified for nine years. The Racial Discrimination Act would later be critical to the success of 'Mabo no. 1', against the Queensland government's attempt to retrospectively abolish native title rights through the Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act, which was held to be invalid as it contravened the Racial Discrimination Act.

Whitlam's travel in 1975 included a visit to Townsville in April for meetings with Indonesian President Suharto on the situation in Portuguese East Timor, rapidly descending into civil war. There, according to a confidential US Department of State cable, Whitlam 'made clear the Australian view that the Timorese should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. Suharto assured Whitlam that Indonesia had no expansionist plans.'

One of the most sweeping of the Whitlam government's domestic reforms during 1975 was the establishment of Medibank, enabled by the *Health Insurance Act 1973*, which was passed at the 1974 Joint Sitting of parliament. Medibank began operating on 1 July 1975, and incorporated many of the recommendations of the 1968 Nimmo Report. For the first time all Australians, regardless of their income, would be covered for health care through a universal system of health insurance funded by a compulsory 1.25 per cent surcharge on income tax. Previously, 17 per cent of Australians had been without any medical or hospital insurance at all, and Whitlam saw this as second only to education as a fundamental issue of equity and social justice.

Medibank had faced an extraordinarily bitter campaign against its introduction, with the Australian Medical Association unleashing a \$2 million 'fighting fund' amid lurid claims of medical 'socialism' and that hospitals would be forced to perform abortions in order to receive federal funding. And yet within months Medibank had become one of the government's clear electoral winners and its introduction ran more smoothly than even Whitlam had dared to hope.

On 1 July 1975 two new communications agencies – Telecom and Australia Post – replaced one of the first departments established at Federation, the Postmaster-General's Department. Three major inquiries were appointed in 1975: a Royal Commission into Norfolk Island Affairs; an environmental Commission of Inquiry into Fraser Island, which would recommend an end to sand mining on the island; and the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, which later recommended that mining for uranium could go ahead at Ranger subject to strict environmental controls, Aboriginal title be granted to a substantial part of the Alligator Rivers Region, and a national park be created.

On 16 August 1975 Gough Whitlam travelled to the Northern Territory with Dr HC 'Nugget' Coombs and formally handed back to the Gurindji people at Wattie Creek title deeds to part of their traditional lands. This was the culmination of a decade of struggle in which the Gurindji had walked off Wave Hill Station, on strike for equal pay and claimed their traditional lands at Daguragu. In a historic first federal recognition of Indigenous land rights, Whitlam poured the red soil of Daguragu into the hands of Gurindji leader Vincent Lingiari, 'as proof, in Australian law, that these lands belong to the Gurindji people and ... that we restore them to you and your children for ever'.

A month later, on 16 September 1975, Papua New Guinea celebrated independence from Australian administration, meeting the ambitious target of three years to independence set out between Whitlam and the new PNG Prime Minister (then Chief Minister) Michael Somare within the first weeks of government.

In October 1975 the first Commonwealth legislation to grant land rights to Indigenous people, the Aboriginal Land (Northern Territory) Bill, was introduced to parliament by the Whitlam government. The Bill lapsed with the double dissolution of 1975 and was, in an attenuated form, later revived by the Fraser government as the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.

Throughout 1974 and 1975 rivalry among ministers and an increasingly dysfunctional relationship with Treasury caused significant difficulty for the government. Crisis came in the form of the Loans Affair. In 1974–75 the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor, was authorised by an Executive Council meeting of 13 December 1974 to raise US\$4 billion in foreign loans to fund the government's immense resources infrastructure and exploration plans. These plans were centred on the North West Shelf gas reserves and were to be managed by the newly established Pipeline Authority. Although the plan was eventually abandoned and despite his assurances to Whitlam and the parliament to the contrary, Connor continued secret negotiations through an international broker, Tirath Khemlani. However these efforts to locate loan funds proved unsuccessful and Connor was forced to resign on 14 October 1975, having been found to have misled Whitlam and the Parliament over his continued searches. In his own search for international funds, Treasurer Jim Cairns had been found in June to have misled parliament over the payment of a commission for any such loan raising for the government. Although both ministers were removed, the Loans Affair enabled new Liberal Party leader Malcolm Fraser later to justify the Opposition refusing to vote on the Budget Bills in the Senate. The aim was to force the government to an election while its electoral fortunes were in decline.

The New South Wales and Queensland conservative premiers had reduced government numbers in the Senate when they broke with convention and made non-Labor appointments to two seats vacated by Labor senators. The first of these had occurred with the appointment of Cleaver Bunton to replace Labor Senator Lionel Murphy, who had resigned to become a Justice of the High Court of Australia. Then, when Queensland Labor Senator Bert Milliner died in June 1975, the Country Party government of Joh Bjelke-Petersen nominated Albert Field to the vacancy. Although nominally a member of the ALP, Field was openly critical of Whitlam and vowed to use his position in the Senate to destroy the government, saying, 'I went there for one particular purpose, to see

the downfall of the Government'. Field was expelled from the party for offering himself to Bjelke-Petersen against the official ALP candidate for the appointment and took up his Senate position as an Independent. With these non-Labor 'replacement' senators, the Labor Party had just lost two of its crucial Senate numbers, dramatically recasting the evenly split Senate elected in the May 1974 election barely 12 months earlier.

## The Dismissal

On 16 October 1975 the Opposition took the unprecedented step of refusing to allow its senators to vote on the government's Appropriation Bills then before the Senate. With its newly constructed majority, the Opposition senators voted for an amendment to the Budget Bills, returning them to the House of Representatives 'until the government agrees to submit itself to the judgment of the people'. The Opposition's tactic introduced a new term into the Australian political vernacular – 'blocking Supply' – or as Whitlam described it, 'the Senate has gone on strike'. As the Coalition senators refused to allow a vote on the government's Supply, the parliament was in unprecedented political deadlock and the government was without its Appropriation Bills.

Whitlam's strategy, agreed to by Caucus immediately after Supply was first blocked, was to push the Senate to vote on the Appropriation Bills before bringing forward the half-Senate election, which was then due at any time before July the following year. The Opposition was most determined to avoid a half-Senate election, fearing the government could take temporary control of the Senate with the new ACT and Northern Territory senators who would take up their places immediately after that election while the remaining senators would not take up their places until July 1976. It was this quirk of political algebra that made the prospect of the half-Senate election unusually potent both strategically and politically for Whitlam.

By 5 November Whitlam had made clear his decision to call a half-Senate election, to be held on 13 December 1975. He discussed the half-Senate election with the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, in detail on 6 November after an Executive Council meeting. The paperwork was then sent to Kerr at Yarralumla in order to establish the date of the election and for the issuing of writs by state governors, and to finalise the wording of the formal letter from Whitlam to Kerr advising the half-Senate election.

In a telephone conversation on the morning of 11 November, Whitlam and Kerr agreed on the final wording of the announcement of the half-Senate election and arranged to meet at 1pm that afternoon. After the morning session of parliament, Whitlam visited Kerr at Yarralumla at their pre-arranged appointment to provide the formal letter announcing the half-Senate election, which they had agreed on that morning. In an unprecedented move the Governor-General refused to accept the Prime Minister's letter advising the election, instead handing him a letter of his own withdrawing his commission as Prime Minister and dismissing his entire government from office. Unknown to Whitlam, the Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Fraser was at Yarralumla as this was taking place, waiting with the Governor-General's Official Secretary in a room at the other end of the corridor. Kerr then immediately commissioned Fraser to form government and appointed him as Prime Minister. The Senate passed the Budget Bills later the same day. Many senators did not know that Whitlam had been dismissed and that the Budget they passed was for the appointed government of Malcolm Fraser. The House of Representatives reconvened one hour after the Dismissal with several members still unaware that Whitlam had been dismissed, and Whitlam himself unaware that Fraser was already Prime Minister. During this dramatic post-Dismissal sitting, Fraser lost five motions on the floor of the House, including the most significant of all parliamentary motions, the critical motion of no confidence, which he lost by 10 votes. At 3.15pm the House

of Representatives passed a 'want of confidence' motion against Malcolm Fraser as head of government and called on the Governor-General to recommission the Whitlam government, which retained the confidence of the House. The Speaker of the House was despatched to Yarralumla with the motion, to inform Kerr of the decision of the House of Representatives to call on the Governor-General to commission Whitlam to again form government, and to seek the restoration of the Whitlam government to office. Kerr refused to see the Speaker, keeping him waiting for more than an hour, during which he prorogued both houses of parliament with Malcolm Fraser still in office.

The Dismissal sparked fierce public debate, which continues more than 40 years later. Whitlam contended that the 1975 Budget had been stalled not rejected, and that, as some Liberal senators later confirmed, they would soon have voted to end the Senate deadlock. He argued that the crisis was political not constitutional, that it would have been resolved by political means and, if not for Kerr's action, it would have been resolved in his government's favour with the half-Senate election in train. Fraser himself later acknowledged that had the Governor-General granted Whitlam the half-Senate election, Supply would have been passed, he would have resigned as leader and it would have spelt the end of his political career.

The Fraser government was returned at the double dissolution election of 13 December 1975, at which there was a 6.5 per cent swing against the Labor Party. Six former ministers in the Whitlam government lost their seats in the party's single greatest loss since Federation.

## **After office**

Gough Whitlam remained Leader of the Labor Party and Leader of the Opposition until 1977, despite his efforts to persuade Bill Hayden to take the mantle. He was an unhappy and vastly diminished figure. On 22 December 1977 he stood down as party leader after Labor's defeat in the federal election that month and was succeeded by Bill Hayden. Whitlam resigned from his parliamentary seat on 31 July 1978. He had been the member for Werriwa for 26 years and the Labor Party's longest-serving leader. Whitlam was made a Companion of the Order of Australia the same year.

Following his retirement from parliament, Whitlam became the first national visiting fellow at the Australian National University in 1978. He subsequently held visiting professorships at Harvard University in the United States in 1979 and at Australian universities. During his parliamentary career he had served many times on constitutional inquiries, including the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Review in 1956–59 and the Federal–State Constitutional Convention in 1973–77. In 1985 he was appointed to Australia's Constitutional Commission.

In 1983 the Hawke government appointed Whitlam as Australian Ambassador to UNESCO in Paris. Margaret and Gough moved to Paris where they lived in the Australian Embassy complex designed by Harry Seidler, which had been commissioned by the Whitlam government. Whitlam's brief as Australia's Ambassador to UNESCO was to negotiate Australia's transfer from the western European group to the Asia and Pacific group, and he retained confidence in UNESCO despite criticism of the organisation by conservative British and US governments.

At UNESCO Whitlam also served on the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues and the World Heritage Committee. After the High Court dismissed challenges to the external affairs power in the Queensland Koowarta Land Rights case in 1982 and in the Tasmanian Dams case in 1983, the constitutional door was open to implementing international agreements

in Australian law. Whitlam remained a determined campaigner for Australia's adherence to UN human rights, environment and heritage instruments. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature made him a Member of Honour in 1988. In 1989 he chaired the General Assembly of the World Heritage Convention. At the end of his term as Ambassador to UNESCO, Whitlam was elected a member of the UNESCO Executive Board where he served from 1986 to 1989.

On their return to Australia in 1986 Gough and Margaret lived in their apartment in Sydney's Darling Point and continued to contribute to a range of political and cultural organisations. From 1986 to 1991 Whitlam was chair of the Australia–China Council, and from 1987 to 1990 he was chair of the Council of the National Gallery of Australia. In 1993 Whitlam was a member of the Australian Olympic Committee delegation to Africa, a corresponding member of the Academy of Athens and an honorary fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. In 1994 he received the Redmond Barry Award from the Australian Library and Information Association. Gough and Margaret were also members of the 1995 Sydney bid team that canvassed and won support for the Olympic Games to be held in Sydney in 2000.

During the 1990s, Gough joined Margaret as co-leader of the international guided literary and music tours she had started working on in 1990, which had become highly successful and popular. The 10 tours Gough joined Margaret in leading fuelled one of Whitlam's books, *My Italian Notebook* (2002).

Whitlam published numerous books and articles, including his own account of the 1975 Dismissal, *The Truth of the Matter* (1979), his detailed documentation of his government, *The Whitlam Government 1972–1975* (1985), and *Abiding Interests* (1997). He remained in great demand as a lecturer on political and constitutional issues, including the move for Australia to become a republic.

From 2000 Gough Whitlam was involved in the development of the Whitlam Institute at the University of Western Sydney, assisting with the transfer of archival and personal materials about a public life that spanned more than half a century. As well as providing a research centre, the Whitlam Institute promotes public policy research, public engagement and education. Among historic documents donated to the Whitlam Institute is a pamphlet from the 1952 election, when Whitlam first entered parliament; his 1983 Commission of Appointment as Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, signed by Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen; and the original dismissal letter given to Whitlam by Sir John Kerr.

At the ALP National Conference in April 2007, Gough and Margaret Whitlam were made national life members of the party they had both belonged to for more than 60 years. Gough and Margaret remained active and sought-after speakers at national events. Both were in parliament in February 2008 for the Labor government's Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples, with former prime ministers Malcolm Fraser, Bob Hawke and Paul Keating.

Margaret Whitlam died on 17 March 2012. The family declined the Australian Government's offer of a state funeral. Gough Whitlam attended the moving service in St James Church in Sydney.

Gough Whitlam passed away on 21 October 2014. His eulogists were son Antony Whitlam, actor Cate Blanchett, lawyer Noel Pearson, speechwriter Graham Freudenberg, and his friend and colleague, Senator John Faulkner.

## 2 The Whitlam family

Details about the lives of Gough Whitlam's family are recorded in a variety of archives. This chapter sets out records relating to his great-grandfather, Henry George Whitlam; his grandfather, Henry Hugh Gough Whitlam; his father, Harry Frederick Ernest (Fred) Whitlam; and his uncle, Fred Whitlam's brother, George Alexander Whitlam.

### Henry George Whitlam

Henry George Whitlam was the first of Gough Whitlam's forebears to come to Australia. Having served with the British Army in India, Henry was discharged injured and arrived in Melbourne in 1852, headed for the goldfields. From 1864 Henry Whitlam worked for the Castlemaine Borough Council as a gardener with the Castlemaine Botanical Gardens. His dismissal and subsequent dispute with the Council are well documented in the records of the Castlemaine municipality and Castlemaine historical society. His insolvency and the inquest into his death are also recorded in the Public Record Office Victoria. The original handwritten journal kept by Henry Whitlam while he was with the Bombay Army, with detailed descriptions of battles including the campaign in the Punjab, is held privately by the Whitlam family.

### British Library

#### INDIA OFFICE – MILITARY DEPARTMENT RECORDS, 1708–1959

L/MIL

Recorded by: **Bombay Army/East India Company**

Records of the East India Company's armies and the armies of the Indian government. These range from military policy, defence schemes and the organisation of army, navy and air force in India to the careers – appointments, pay, leave, promotions and pensions – of individual officers and soldiers in the Indian Army, Indian Medical Service and Royal Indian Navy. Medal rolls, prize and battle rolls, and soldiers' letters are included among the military department records, as are the records of soldiers' and cadets' entry into the military service in England before embarkation.

#### **Register of recruits, London District, 1 September 1843 – May 1853, Volume 22**

L/MIL/9/7 & MF-IOR 19065

Recruits enlisted for the East India Company's service in the London District. The register lists Henry Whitlam, Gough Whitlam's great-grandfather, aged 24 and a draper from Middlesex. He enlisted on 27 February 1847.

#### **Bombay Army – muster rolls and casualty returns, September 1848**

L/MIL/12/179

Lists Henry Whitlam, aged 25, of Middlesex. He enrolled on 6 January 1848.

#### **Bombay Army – muster rolls and casualty returns, September 1849**

L/MIL/12/180

Lists Henry Whitlam.

#### **Bombay Army – muster rolls and casualty returns, September 1850**

L/MIL/12/181

Lists Henry Whitlam.

**Bombay Army – muster rolls and casualty returns, September 1851** **L/MIL/12/182**

Henry Whitlam was discharged as injured on 21 January 1851. He was 'sent back to Europe'.

**Medal roll – Punjab Campaign 1848–49, Indian Army medal list, 1851–52** **L/MIL/5/72**

This item lists medal winners in regimental order of precedence and then by name, mainly alphabetically by rank. In a letter about the Bombay Army 1st Bombay European Regiment (Fusiliers) Roll of a Detachment of the above Corps and 2nd Europeans Light Infantry who arrived under command of Captain CR Hogg, within the Punjab on 18 March 1849, and for whom a claim for the Punjab Medal granted per GGO 30 October 1849 is preferred. Under 1st Bombay European Regiment (Fusiliers): Private 'Henry Whitlam', 'Discharged'.

## Castlemaine Historical Society

### ARCHIVE COLLECTION

A discrete Whitlam collection is held by the Castlemaine Historical Society. It comprises newspaper clippings regarding Henry Whitlam's employment by the Castlemaine Borough Council; birth, death and marriage certificates; land records; and a unique collection of Whitlam family photos, including Gough Whitlam's grandparents Henry George and Adelaide Pattison Storr Whitlam.

## Public Record Office Victoria

### SUNDRY RECORDS (CASTLEMAINE), 1856–1923

**VPRS 575**

Recorded by: **Castlemaine Municipal District 1855–63; Borough 1863–1950; Town 1950–65; City 1965–95**

This series consists of records of the municipality of Castlemaine, mainly correspondence. Henry Whitlam was employed by the Borough Council of Castlemaine between 1864 and 1866 to guard prisoners employed to build the botanical gardens. The series includes Henry Whitlam's payslips and his correspondence with the council.

**Letter from HG Whitlam to the Mayor and Borough Council of Castlemaine, 29 November 1866**

**VPRS 575, Unit 37**

Henry Whitlam wrote to the council about the ill-repair of Castlemaine's roads. He had fallen in a hole and suffered a broken arm and an injured leg.

**Letter from HG Whitlam to the Worshipful Mayor and Borough Council of Castlemaine, 27 February 1867**

**VPRS 575, Unit 38**

Henry Whitlam was dismissed from his position with the Castlemaine Borough Council after a new gardener, Phillip Doran, was employed. Whitlam believed he had been mistreated by the council and wrote to it in February 1867 to complain of the 'gross injustice done me by your body'.

**OUTWARD LETTER BOOKS (CASTLEMAINE), 1856–1923****VPRS 411**

Recorded by: **Castlemaine Municipal District 1855–63; Borough 1863–1950; Town 1950–65; City 1965–95**

Letter books were the means by which copies of correspondence despatched from the office were retained for future reference. Correspondence within letter books is arranged in chronological order by the date letters were sent. This series includes three letters concerning Henry Whitlam's employment by the Castlemaine Council.

**Joseph Davis, Town Clerk to Mr Henry Whitlam, Castlemaine, 7 July 1866**

**VPRS 411/6/3, folio 334**

Davis wrote to Henry Whitlam to inform him that he was 'to quit and give up possession of the cottage' that he and his family had been occupying in the Castlemaine Botanical Reserve during his employment there.

**PROCEEDINGS IN INSOLVENCY ESTATES, 1842–71****VPRS 759**

Recorded by: **Supreme Court of New South Wales for the District of Port Phillip (1842–52); Supreme Court of Victoria (1852–71)**

This series consists of bundles of documents created in the process of declaring a person insolvent during the period 1842 to 1871. The documents within the files are original, handwritten and officially stamped and signed. The front of each bundle details the registration number, name of the insolvent and date sequestrated. Each bundle contains the original petition, sworn statements of causes leading to insolvency, proof of debts by creditors, and an inventory of the insolvent's estate. The series ended in 1871 with the establishment of the Court of Insolvency, Melbourne (VA 2304).

**Proceedings in insolvent estates – schedule of Henry George Whitlam, 1848–75**

**VPRS 759/24/7524**

Henry Whitlam was declared insolvent in November 1852.

**INQUEST DEPOSITION FILES, 1840–2003****VPRS 24**

Recorded by: **Office of the Registrar-General and Office of Titles (1873–1988)**

This series comprises files relating to inquests and magisterial inquiries into deaths of people in Victoria as conducted by coroners' courts throughout the state. Although the files were created by various courts, storage and registration were the responsibility of the Office of the Registrar-General from around 1856 to 1988. Files dating back to 1840 were covered by this arrangement.

**Proceedings of inquest held upon the body of Henry George Whitlam at Homeopathic Hospital, Port Melbourne, 6 September 1887 – received at the Crown Law Offices, 13 September 1887**

**VPRS 24/1887/1128**

Henry Whitlam was killed as a result of a vehicle collision on St Kilda Road, Melbourne. His son, Henry Hugh Gough, was driving the carriage in which he was travelling.

## State Library of Victoria

### PORT PHILLIP/VICTORIA DIRECTORIES

GMF 98

**Castlemaine Almanac, Directory, 1882–63**

GMF 98, Box 40, Fiche 32

Lists Whitlam, Henry G Bailiff, Clinker's Hill, Castlemaine.

**Sandhurst, Castlemaine, Echuca, Maldon and Dunnolly Directory, 1867**

GMF 98, Box 40, Fiches 60–1

Lists Whitlam, res. Botanical Reserve.

### VICTORIAN INSOLVENT LIST

GMF 105

**Whitlam, Henry, Castlemaine, 28 November 1863**

GMF 105, Box 2, Fiche 4

Lists Henry Whitlam's trade as 'assistant bailiff', stated liability as £115 and stated assets as £95.

## Private collection

### WHITLAM FAMILY ARCHIVES

**Facts and scraps or various collections of a soldier**

This is a journal kept by Henry Whitlam while he was enlisted in the Bombay Army. It comprises transcriptions of poetry; detailed descriptions of battles, including the 'March of the 1st Regiment BE Fusilliers during the Campaign of the Punjab in 1848–1849'; and a list of Henry's fellow passengers on the *Earl of Hardwick* on his return journey from Bombay to London.

## Henry Hugh Gough (Harry) Whitlam

The Public Record Office Victoria holds records concerning the trial and conviction on three counts of forgery of Henry Hugh Gough Whitlam, Gough Whitlam's grandfather.

## Public Record Office Victoria

### CENTRAL REGISTRAR OF MALE PRISONERS, 1850–1948

VPRS 515

Recorded by: **Chief Secretary's Department (1855–71); Penal and Gaols Branch, Chief Secretary's Department (1871–1948)**

This series commenced as a register of prisoners received at Melbourne area prisons, including Collingwood, Carlton and Williamstown stockades, Eastern Gaol, Hulks and Pentridge. It is uncertain where the record was located from 1850 to around 1860, possibly Melbourne Gaol. From around 1860, Pentridge became the central prison for the Melbourne area. Unless a prisoner passed through Pentridge, it is unlikely there will be any reference to him in VPRS 515.

**Volume 25, Prisoner No. 14462 Henry Whitlam, c.1877**

**VPRS 515/25/14462**

Henry Whitlam was charged with forgery and sentenced to five years' hard labour in 1877. This item lists details of his charge, trial and imprisonment, and a photo taken at the time of his imprisonment.

**CRIMINAL TRIAL BRIEFS, 1841–1997**

**VPRS 30**

**Recorded by: Office of the Victorian Government Solicitor (previously known as Office of the Crown Solicitor)**

This series comprises documentation created in the course of the prosecution of individuals committed for trial on indictable and capital offences. The contents of this series were gathered, created and maintained by the recording agencies that were responsible for preparing and prosecuting such cases on behalf of the Crown.

**Queen v Whitlam and Lewis, c.1877**

**VPRS 30/P/0/401**

This item is the entire trial brief. It comprises witness depositions and exhibits, including a letter from Henry Whitlam to his father, Henry Whitlam Snr, written a week before his arrest. Neither Henry Whitlam nor his accomplice, John Lewis, made a detailed statement to the court, and neither man had legal representation.

## **State Library of Victoria**

**SANDS AND MCDUGALL MELBOURNE AND SUBURBAN STREET DIRECTORY**

**GMF 98**

**1885**

**GMF Box 9, Fiche 234**

Lists Whitlam, Henry, HG, living at Nottingham Street, Prahran.

**1894**

**GMF Box 12, Fiche 439**

Lists Whitlam, HG, living at Dunoon Street, Caulfield.

**1910**

**GMF Box 19, Fiche 833**

Lists Whitlam, HG, market gardener, Darling Road, Malvern.

## **Harry Frederick Ernest (Fred) Whitlam**

Fred Whitlam, Gough Whitlam's father, was a senior Victorian and Commonwealth public servant. Records of his working life with the Attorney-General's Department are held by the National Archives of Australia. This section lists series relevant to his work as Commonwealth Crown Solicitor and his involvement with the 1946 Paris Peace Conference led by the Minister for External Affairs and Attorney-General Dr HV Evatt. Also noted is material held by the Australian National University Archives. Fred Whitlam's daughter Freda has a private collection of family correspondence and memorabilia, including numerous letters from Fred to his family while overseas as Australia's representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

## Commonwealth Crown Solicitor

Fred Whitlam joined the Victorian Public Service in 1901 after gaining first place in the Victorian Public Service clerical examination in 1900. In 1911 he moved to the Commonwealth Public Service, joining the Department of Lands and Survey, then in 1913 transferred to the Crown Solicitor's Office, which took him to Sydney in 1918, and finally to Canberra as Deputy Crown Solicitor, part of the first wave of public servants who moved to the national capital in 1927. He served as Crown Solicitor from 1936 until 1949, and was a prominent member of the Canberra community. As president of the University Association, Fred Whitlam was instrumental in the formation of the Australian National University. He was also an elder of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, chairman of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and a driving force within the Canberra branch of the Institute of International Affairs.

## National Archives of Australia

### **SUBJECT FILES, ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1937–71**

**M1505**

**Recorded by:** 1950–64 Attorney-General's Department Central Office –  
Solicitor-General's Office (CA 5)

**Canberra 22 metres**

This is the main series of records maintained by Sir Kenneth Bailey as Solicitor-General and secretary of the Attorney-General's Department. Papers, which include correspondence, minutes, reports, newspaper cuttings, draft bills and notes, are filed in folders by subject or by names of correspondents and organisations.

#### **Whitlam, Harry Frederick Ernest, 1955–58**

**M1505, 1383**

This item includes letters between Fred Whitlam and Kenneth Bailey, Fred Whitlam's curriculum vitae, and correspondence with Dr Nolde of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, of which Fred Whitlam was chairman.

### **CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES WITH YEAR AND LETTER PREFIXES, 1942–53**

**A1067**

**Recorded by:** 1945–46 Department of External Affairs (II), Central Office (CA 18)

**Canberra 32 metres**

This series comprises the main general correspondence files for the Department of External Affairs for the year 1946. Changes in the records reflect considerable administrative and organisational changes in the department during the period. The Public Service Board approved a new organisational structure for External Affairs in November 1945.

All communication between the Australian and overseas governments was channelled through External Affairs, as were matters dealt with by other Australian departments and diplomatic missions in Australia and overseas, except the Australian High Commission in London. A large part of the department's work was devoted to international conferences and Australian policy towards a large number of international organisations. Australia was represented on all major United Nations bodies.

**Whitlam, HFE to United Kingdom, 1946**

**A1067, T46/381**

This item includes a memo, dated 30 May 1946, stating that Mr HFE (Fred) Whitlam, Commonwealth Crown Solicitor, would visit the United Kingdom for discussions with its government on matters relating to taxation.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1901–**

**A432**

**Recorded by: 1929– Attorney-General's Department, Central Office (CA 5)**

**Canberra 218 kilometres**

**Sydney 291 metres**

This is the department's main file series.

**Human Rights Commission 7th Session, New York, 1951**

**A432, 1954/3779 Part 6**

**Human Rights Commission 8th Session, New York, 1952**

**A432, 1954/3779 Part 7**

**Human Rights Commission 10th Session, New York, 1954**

**A432, 1954/3779 Part 9**

Fred Whitlam was the Australian delegate to the 1950 and 1954 sessions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. These items include Fred Whitlam's correspondence with the Attorney-General's Department and the Department of External Affairs, as well as his comments on draft commission documents relating to self-determination, self-government, slavery and voluntary euthanasia.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES, 4TH SYSTEM, 1900–56**

**A462**

**Recorded by: 1951–55 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)**

**Canberra 52 metres**

This extensive series includes files on parliament, state funerals, Cabinet committees and foreign affairs.

**Official visits abroad – Whitlam, HFE (Fred), 1953–54**

**A462, 850/23/30**

This item comprises correspondence and paperwork detailing Fred Whitlam's attendance at the 9th session of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva in 1954.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1903–23**

**A466**

**Recorded by: 1916–23 Public Service Commissioner's Office (CA 597)**

**Canberra 8.3 metres**

These files deal with such matters as public service applications, appointments, creation of positions, regulations and amendments thereto, examinations, disqualifications, transfers and precedents.

**Application by HFE (Fred) Whitlam, Deputy Crown Solicitor, NSW, to be credited with State Service, 1923**

**A466, 1923/6928**

Fred Whitlam was first appointed to the Victorian Public Service on 8 July 1901. He became Deputy Crown Solicitor (Commonwealth) in 1921. In 1923 Fred Whitlam applied to the Commonwealth Public Service Inspector for the State of NSW for his service to the state of Victoria to be 'reckoned as service in the Commonwealth Service'.

## Paris Peace Conference

In 1946 Fred Whitlam was a member of the Australian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference led by Labor Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs Dr HV Evatt. In the latter part of his career, Fred Whitlam was closely involved in United Nations matters as an adviser to the Department of External Affairs and as Australian representative to the 1950 and 1954 sessions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

## National Archives of Australia

### RECORDS OF THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION TO THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1946

A11549

Recorded by: 1946 Department of External Affairs (II), Central Office (CA 18)  
Canberra 0.2 metres

The Allies considered mechanisms for the peace process following World War II as early as 1943. Australia was anxious to play an independent part, particularly with regard to Japan. Dr HV Evatt, as Minister for External Affairs, was nominated to put Australia's case for the involvement of all combatant nations to the Council of Foreign Ministers in September 1945.

The government announced on 17 July 1946 that its delegation to the Paris Peace Conference would comprise HV Evatt as leader, JA Beasley (Australian Minister in London) as deputy leader and Col Hodgson (Australian Minister in France) as third delegate. The delegation also comprised consultants, advisers and staff, including WE Dunk (Secretary, External Affairs), HFE Whitlam, Keith Officer, Alfred Stirling, Major-General HJ Boase, JDL Hood, Dr ER Walker and Dr JW Burton.

The conference opened on 29 July 1946 at the Palais de Luxembourg in Paris. Australia was represented on all five Political and Territorial Commissions, chaired the Commission for Finland, and was instrumental in having separate sub-commissions set up to deal with the questions of Trieste and the Czechoslovak/Hungarian border. Australia also served on both Economic Commissions, the Military Commission, and the Legal and Drafting Commission, submitting a large number of recommendations and amendments to draft reports.

Early stages of the conference mainly involved considering procedures for appointing a chairman and the voting method to be adopted. Australia was in favour of simple majority voting rather than a two-thirds majority. The commissions started their work in the fourth week of the conference. They continued to meet until 5 October, when they reported to the Plenary Conference, which began considering reports from 7 October. Australia's suggestions to establish a European Court of Human Rights and a mechanism by which the treaties might be reviewed were rejected. The final session of the conference was on 15 October 1946.

Delegates were based in the Australian Legation in Paris. After Dr Evatt returned to Australia, JA Beasley, who cabled daily reports to Canberra, led the delegation. During its stay in Paris, the delegation received numerous submissions and memorandums from official and unofficial bodies, including

the Italian delegation, Albanian Government and various other groups with special interests. The surviving files do not appear to have any particular order. Some papers are in Legation file covers and one or two items have a number which may be a post-file number.

**Paris Peace Conference – Italian colonies – contains cable from Beasley to Evatt, 1946**

**A11549, 7**

This item includes cables from JA Beasley (Australian Minister in London) to HV Evatt (Minister for External Affairs) outlining Evatt's strong position on small, independent nations such as Australia in the peace process.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES OF THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY IN PARIS, 1945–51**

**A8602**

Recorded by: 1945–51 Australian Legation, France (Paris); Australian Embassy, France (Paris) (CA 2750)

Canberra 0.2 metres

This un-numbered series comes from a collection of files returned from the Australian Embassy, Paris, in mid-1966. The records cover the period from creation of the mission to 1951. This series includes materials produced by, and for, Mr RW Linkson, Head of the Australian Delegation to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, when he worked from the Embassy in Paris.

**Paris Peace Conference – Dr Evatt – personal, 1946**

**A8602, 11**

This item includes two telegrams from HV Evatt to his friend, businessman and diplomat WS Robinson, which give an insight into Evatt's view on Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Soviet Union, 1939–56, who also attended the Peace Conference.

**Paris Peace Conference 1946 – general information**

**A8602, 5**

This item gives an idea of the scope of the conference and the vast scale of conference office requirements.

**THE SHEDDEN COLLECTION, 1901–71**

**A5954**

Recorded by: 1937–71 Department of Defence (II) (Central Administration) (CA 19)  
Sir Frederick Geoffrey Shedden KCMG, OBE (CP 320)

Canberra 201 metres

This series contains records collected by Sir Frederick Shedden during his career with the Department of Defence and after his retirement.

**Reports from Australian delegation – Peace Conference, Paris, July–October 1946**

**A5954, 1893, 3**

This item comprises Fred Shedden's long commentaries on, and overview of, the conference; reports from the Australian delegation; and summaries of Australian proposals. Fred Whitlam accompanied the Australian delegation and supported Evatt's case for an international human rights court.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES WITH YEAR AND LETTER PREFIXES, 1942–53**

**A1067**

Recorded by: 1945–46 Department of External Affairs (II), Central Office (CA 18)  
Canberra 32 metres

This series comprises the main general correspondence files for the Department of External Affairs for 1946. A major component of the department's work was devoted to international conferences and Australian policy relating to a large number of international organisations, including United Nations bodies.

**General – Paris Peace Conference – Peace Conference reports, 1946**

**A1067, E46/38/14**

This item comprises several cables between JA Beasley (Australian Minister in London) and HV Evatt (Minister for External Affairs), and Beasley and Col Hodgson (Australian Minister in France). It provides an overview of the role played by Australian delegates in conference proceedings.

## Private collection

### WHITLAM FAMILY ARCHIVES

Gough Whitlam's sister Freda holds a significant collection of family correspondence and memorabilia, including numerous letters from Fred Whitlam to his family written while at the Paris Peace Conference and the United Nations Human Rights Commission in New York.

## George Alexander Whitlam

Like his brother Fred, Gough Whitlam's uncle, George Whitlam, was a public servant. George Whitlam entered the Victorian Public Service after leaving school in year 8 (the final year of public schooling), and in 1918 became private secretary to the Victorian Premier, HSW Lawson. He then transferred to the Commonwealth Public Service, serving first as secretary to Prime Minister William (Billy) Hughes and then as secretary at Australia House when it opened in London. George Whitlam later became secretary to the Executive Council, working with Governor-General Sir Isaac Isaacs. He lived with Gough Whitlam's family in Canberra from 1927 until after the depression of the 1930s. Some of George Whitlam's letters and photographs of him are included in a series of family records held at the National Library of Australia.

## National Library of Australia

### WHITLAM AND MURRAY FAMILY RECORDS, 1922–26

This collection is held privately by Brenda Murray, who was George Whitlam's ward during World War II. It includes letters written by George Alexander Whitlam, Gough's Whitlam's uncle, to his family while he was employed at the High Commission in London. 'Uncle George' was a keen bushwalker and this collection also includes photographs of him walking in the Victorian countryside, namely in Walhalla and Mansfield.

## 3 Education, early life and career

This chapter covers archival material relating to Gough Whitlam's education, war service and early career as a barrister in Sydney. It highlights the significance of his childhood in Canberra, his war service in the Pacific as air force navigator, and the 1944 Referendum on Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights on his political development. A selection of speeches held at the Whitlam Institute show the development of Whitlam's view of the Australian Constitution, particularly in terms of its constraints on the possibility of enacting political reform. The section on his education includes references to the education and scholarship of his sister Freda.

### Education

Gough Whitlam is the only Prime Minister of Australia to have grown up in the nation's capital. His father, Fred Whitlam, moved to Canberra in 1927 and the rest of the family followed in time for the start of the 1928 school year. Whitlam went into Year 8 at Telopea Park School where he remained until, at his father's insistence and his own reluctance, he was moved to Canberra Grammar School for his final years and studied classics, English, history and Latin. His parents lived in Canberra for the rest of their lives. In 1935 Whitlam took up a scholarship at the University of Sydney to begin an Arts degree, living in St Paul's College and editing the college magazine, *The Pauline*. A young Enoch Powell taught him Greek and was one of his few stimulating teachers. On the completion of his Arts degree in 1937 Whitlam began a Law degree the following year. His studies were interrupted for nearly four years during his war service, and he finally completed his Law degree in 1946. Whitlam joined the Australian Labor Party while home on his final period of service leave in 1945, just weeks after the death of the ALP Prime Minister John Curtin whom he later described as 'Australia's greatest Prime Minister'.

#### TELOPEA PARK SCHOOL ARCHIVES

Gough Whitlam attended Telopea Park School from 1928 to 1930. He edited the school journal, *The Telopea*, for which he also regularly wrote, became treasurer of the school dramatic society, and performed in school plays. His classmates included Hope Hewitt (née Tillyard). These archives include local, unpublished histories of the school, photographs and copies of *The Telopea*.

#### CANBERRA GRAMMAR SCHOOL ARCHIVES

Gough Whitlam attended Canberra Grammar School from 1931 to 1934, completing the leaving certificate three times. He edited the school journal, *The Canberran*, and contributed poems and translations of the classics to it. He was also a school prefect. These archives include copies of *The Canberran* and other school documents.

#### UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY ARCHIVES

##### **Whitlam, Edward Gough, The University of Sydney Student Record**

Gough Whitlam enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Sydney in 1935 and lived at St Paul's College. His subjects included English, Latin, Greek and psychology.

He was involved in the college debating team and dramatic society, and edited the university's literary journal, *Hermes*, and college journal, *The Pauline*. His sport was rowing. In 1938, Whitlam completed his arts degree and enrolled at the University of Sydney Law School. He became editor of the Law School's magazine, *Blackacre*, in 1939. This item is Gough Whitlam's complete student record.

## Australian National University Archives

Several members of the Whitlam family were, in different ways, involved with the Australian National University. *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* explains the strong connection between prime ministers and the university. The description of the series below is from the guide.

### CANBERRA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE MINUTES

**ANUA 133**

#### Council minutes, 1930–43

**ANUA 133/1–4**

The minutes cover Gough Whitlam's award of a scholarship to study arts at the University of Sydney and deferment while he studied Greek (meeting of 13 February 1934); payment details (£40 a term); annual results; renewals (1935–38); letters of support; and a scholarship extension when, having obtained an Arts degree, he moved on to study law.

The minutes record the application by Gough Whitlam's sister Freda to sit for Honours, the meeting of 2 May 1939 noting this was deferred on technical grounds, and HFE (Fred) Whitlam's work as a member of the Council and a lecturer with the College, 1931–42. They cover, *inter alia*, his appointment as a lecturer in commercial law (meeting of 23 February 1931); details of students; and an 'in-kind' stipend and travel authorisation (26 March 1931). They also record Fred and his wife's contribution of £10.10.0 towards a university trust fund to promote university education and the establishment of a university in Canberra (2 November 1934); Fred's involvement on Council committees (29 March 1940); and Council's appreciation of his service (3 February 1942).

## National Film and Sound Archive

### PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION

#### ***The Broken Melody* – groups of men and women, well dressed seated at tables with Gough Whitlam, 1938**

**351417**

St Paul's College boys often appeared as extras in Cinesound Studio movies because they owned their own dinner suits. In 1938, Gough Whitlam appeared in a Ken Hall film, *The Broken Melody*. This item is one of the few still photographs from the film.

## National Library of Australia

### WHITLAM, GOUGH, LETTERS, 1936–51

**MS 7653**

Quantity      0.3 metres

This series consists of letters written by Gough Whitlam to his parents and sister between 1936 and 1951. They cover his time at Sydney University, in the Sydney University Regiment, his service with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF), married life with Margaret (née Dovey) in Sydney, and his early career as a barrister.

**Gough Whitlam, St Paul's College, to 'Mother and Father', 6 May 1937**

Gough Whitlam wrote to his parents about the college 'Informal'. Along with friends Neville Howse and Hugh Murray, he was at the '400 Club' until 2.30am, which, he reported, was fortunately 'not raided'. Whitlam also wrote about the gags performed by 'Freshers'. They were made to climb 'right up into the branches of the old oak tree' and mimic bird cries.

**Gough Whitlam, St Paul's College, to 'Mother and Father', 27 September 1937**

Whitlam apologised for not having written sooner. He had been busy working on a 'confounded English essay'. He and 'St John' (Edward St John, later to be Liberal Party and Independent MHR for NSW 1966–69) took Freda Whitlam and her friend Marina to tea at Cahill's, Martin Place. Whitlam complained about the cost. He and Neville Howse had worked as extras in a film at Cinesound film studios, *The Broken Melody*. They were to appear in a cabaret scene and were paid 15/- for their efforts. This was Whitlam's first 'direct income'.

**Gough Whitlam, St Paul's College, to 'Parents', 14 November 1938**

Whitlam apologised for the lateness; he had been busy with *The Pauline*. He had also been busy entertaining visiting American violinist Guila Busatbo, whom he had taken to dinner at Romanos, a popular Sydney restaurant. The letter included extracts from the Sydney social pages.

**PAPERS OF JAMES WALTER, 1976–86**

**MS 7846**

**Quantity** 1.1 metres

This series consists of research notes, interview notes and transcripts, correspondence, data breakdowns, drafts and proofs of Walter's books: *The Acculturation to Political Work: new members of the federal backbench* (1979); *The Leader: a political biography of Gough Whitlam* (1980); and *The Ministers' Minders: personal advisers in national government* (1986).

***The Leader*, 1949**

**Folder 4**

There are four folders on Walter's biography of Gough Whitlam. The fourth contains Walter's notes on his interviews with Race Mathews and other members of Whitlam's personal staff. He also interviewed people who knew Whitlam's father, Fred, including Professor Manning Clark.

**Private collection**

**WHITLAM FAMILY ARCHIVES**

Gough Whitlam's sister Freda holds a collection of family correspondence and memorabilia, including letters and materials relating to Gough Whitlam's school days, such as his school reports. In December 1931, concerned about his son's progress, Fred Whitlam arranged for the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology to conduct a formal assessment of Gough's capabilities and potential. The report noted his 'high intelligence' and suggested some development 'in his social side', perhaps through involvement in debate and discussion.

## War service

Gough Whitlam's service as a navigator with the RAAF is recorded in a number of series at the National Archives of Australia and Australian War Memorial. It is also recorded online on the *World War Two Nominal Roll* ([ww2roll.gov.au](http://ww2roll.gov.au)). Whitlam served with Squadron No. 13 in the Pacific. His letters to family from that time are held in the National Library of Australia. The Whitlam Institute holds a collection of photographs taken mainly while Gough Whitlam was stationed at Gove in the Northern Territory in 1945, with RAAF Squadron No. 13 as air force navigator.

## National Archives of Australia

### RAAF OFFICERS PERSONNEL FILES, 1921–48

**A9300**

Recorded by: 1921–48 Air Services Office, Department of Air (CA 35)

Canberra 364 metres

This series was created in 1921 (at the same time as the RAAF itself) to hold personal and service history information on individual RAAF officers, including personal history prior to appointment and subsequent to separation. There is also a photographic listing.

#### Whitlam, Edward Gough, 1939–48

**A9300, Whitlam E G**

This item is Gough Whitlam's personal file. It details where and when he enlisted, his service and discharge.

### PAY HISTORY AND LEDGER CARDS; ALLOTMENT HISTORY AND LEDGER CARDS (MEMBERS OF THE RAAF), 1939–65

**SP504/1**

Recorded by: 1942–65 Area Finance Office, NSW, Sydney (CA 1019)

1942–65 Department of Air (CA 35)

Sydney 181 metres

This series consists of pay and allotment history, individual payments and deductions, tax, promotion, superannuation and so on. There are pay history cards, pay history and ledger cards, allotment history cards and allotment history and ledger cards.

#### Edward Gough Whitlam, 1939–48

**SP504/1, 423371**

This item is Gough Whitlam's personal file.

### RAAF PERSONNEL FILES OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND OTHER RANKS, 1921–48

**A9301**

Recorded by: 1921–48 Air Services Branch; Department of Air Central Office (CA 35)

Canberra 2.5 kilometres

This series was created in 1921 to hold personal and service history information such as medical history, promotions and so on, on individual RAAF members who were not officers, including personal history prior to appointment and subsequent to separation.

**Whitlam, Freda Leslie, 1939–48**

**A9301, 176974**

Gough Whitlam's sister Freda enlisted in the RAAF during World War II. She was a non-commissioned officer. This item is her personal file.

**PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO GOUGH WHITLAM'S PARLIAMENTARY TERM OF OFFICE, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1952–78**

**M155**

Recorded by: 1952–78 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
1972–75 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney 3.7 metres

These photographs cover Gough Whitlam's activities during his Parliamentary career from the time he became the Member for Werriwa until he retired from parliament in 1978. There are also some early photographs of Gough Whitlam in the RAAF.

**Bomber aircrew, Canberra, 1943**

**M155, B34**

Squadron No. 13 was stationed briefly in Canberra in 1943 for re-equipping. Gough Whitlam stayed with his parents and often had his crew over for dinner. Also in this photograph is Whitlam's Pilot Officer, Lex Goudie, with whom Whitlam, as navigator, flew in the Pacific. The two formed a lifelong friendship.

## **National Library of Australia**

**WHITLAM, GOUGH, LETTERS, 1936–51**

**MS 7653**

Quantity 0.3 metres

This series comprises letters written by Gough Whitlam to his parents and sister between 1936 and 1951. They cover his time at Sydney University, in the Sydney University Regiment, with the RAAF, starting married life with Margaret Whitlam (née Dovey) in Sydney, and his early career as a barrister.

**Gough Whitlam, 'D's Company', Sydney University Regiment, Menangle Park, to 'Parents and Freda', 22 January 1940**

Gough Whitlam, along with other St Paul's College boys, enlisted in the Sydney University Regiment. Whitlam wrote with annoyance at being 'compulsorily transferred from "A Company" to "D's" (called "Don Support")'. 'A' was a rifle company with better guns. He described his time in the Regiment: 'I'm not very mechanically minded, and I'm not physically too well suited to the work. I'm too tall to wrap myself round the [Vickers] gun or bend down to take difficult sights when sitting behind it. And I think I'm too heavy to be flinging myself down besides parts of the guns on the hard ground, in the unremitting drill.'

**Gough Whitlam, Prince Henry Hospital, Little Bay Sydney, to 'Parents and Freda', 2 February 1940**

Gough Whitlam, along with many others in the regiment, had come down with German measles. He wrote: 'I don't feel at all bad, and many people regard this sort of affliction with unconcealed joy.' He asked his parents to send him *Heath's Practical French Grammar* and 'a *Murphy*', so he could use his time convalescing to practise his French.

**Gough Whitlam, 13 Squadron, RAAF, Bradfield Park NSW, to 'Parents and Freda', 22 June 1942**

Gough Whitlam spent time at the Bradfield Park RAAF training school. He wrote that he was homesick: '...in none of my campaigns have I felt so nostalgic, in the literal sense, of aching to return home.'

**Gough Whitlam, 3 Squadron, RAAF, Bradfield Park NSW, to 'Parents and Freda', 8 July 1942**

Gough Whitlam wrote about his RAAF exams: 'For the first time in nearly a decade I passed a Maths exam, coming top of our Flight, I think, in the first fortnightly paper set for all new trainees. I got 65%, out of a possible of 70% for the questions I did, the paper being very long.'

**Gough Whitlam, RAAF, Bradfield Park NSW, to 'Parents and Freda', 22 July 1942**

Gough Whitlam wrote about the fast approach of final exams. He received 100 per cent in his second maths test.

**Gough Whitlam, RAAF, Cootamundra NSW, to 'Parents and Freda', 3 December 1942**

Whitlam wrote that his training period was coming to an end. He had impressed fellow students with his wit and wrote that 'on the score of personality, I have established as big an ascendancy as ever in College – and that among a wider number and type of persons and with less heartburning. Good for Juries.'

## Whitlam Institute

### WORLD WAR II PHOTOGRAPHS

This series comprises several photographs taken by Gough Whitlam and others during his time in the RAAF, primarily when stationed at Gove, Northern Territory, in 1945. There are images of RAAF aircraft, Whitlam's RAAF friends, and of Whitlam himself. There are also photographs of Aboriginal people living at Yirrkala Mission.

**Pilot Officer Whitlam, 1943**

This is an image of Gough Whitlam captioned 'Pilot Officer Whitlam commences duties with the Royal Australian Air Force after completion of his training'.

**Royal Australian Air Force No. 13 Squadron, World War II, 1944**

This is a photograph of the entire Squadron in front of a Ventura PV1 taken at Gove, Northern Territory, on 16 December 1944.

## The 1944 referendum and Whitlam's 'passion for the Constitution'

One of the most important political events during Whitlam's RAAF years was the 1944 Curtin government's Referendum on Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights. The failure of the referendum bitterly devastated Whitlam and shaped his political thinking, particularly on the need for constitutional change and what he called his 'passion for the Constitution'.

### National Archives of Australia

#### **SHEDDEN COLLECTION, 1901–71**

**A5954**

Recorded by: 1937–39 Department of Defence [II] (Central Administration)  
1937–71 Sir Frederick Geoffrey Shedden KCMG, OBE (CP 320)  
Canberra 201 metres

This series contains records collected by Sir Frederick Shedden during his career with the Department of Defence. It also contains materials Shedden collated after he retired, when researching and writing a book on the history of Australian defence policy. The book was not published at the time of his death on 8 July 1971.

Drafts of Shedden's work are held in this series together with copies of departmental correspondence, files, reports and press cuttings. Copies of War Cabinet and Advisory War Council records are also held. The series is the major part of a larger accumulation of records, the remainder of which, including his history of Australian defence policy manuscript, formed part of Sir Frederick Shedden's personal estate.

#### **Constitutional Referendum Campaign – addresses to troops in camp and petrol allowance for speakers and organisers, 1944**

**A5954, 1948/11**

While stationed at Cooktown in the Northern Territory, Gough Whitlam was greatly concerned with the 1944 Referendum on Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights. He campaigned strongly for the 'Yes' vote among Squadron No. 13 members, believing it was crucial that the Commonwealth have wider powers in the post-war years to meet the needs of reconstruction, rebuilding and the resettlement of the thousands of returning service personnel.

This item includes correspondence and memos between the Department of Defence and Attorney-General's Department regarding the distribution of pamphlets and other materials to the troops before the referendum.

#### **Forde, FM to Menzies, RG, 15 June 1944**

**A5954, 1948/11**

This correspondence shows that Robert Menzies, as the new Leader of the Opposition, sought permission to address troops on the subject of the referendum but was turned down by acting Prime Minister Frank Forde: 'It has been decided that no addresses by persons to troops in camps will be permitted.'

## Whitlam Institute

Constitutional reform was one of Gough Whitlam's 'abiding interests'. The Whitlam Institute holds many speeches that illustrate his 'passion for the Constitution', and which show the development of Whitlam's thinking on the Constitution, in particular its implications for realising Labor policy.

### **'Letter of Passion', 1944**

This is a letter Gough Whitlam wrote to his wife, Margaret, on 22 July 1944, while stationed in Townsville, showing his strong support for the 1944 referendum.

### **Chifley Memorial Lecture – The Constitution versus Labor, 1957**

Gough Whitlam made a landmark lengthy critique of the insurmountable difficulties faced by Labor governments in Australia due to the constitutional framework within which they had to operate. 'It has been handicapped' by the Constitution, he said.

### **On the Constitution – 2nd Curtin Memorial Lecture at the University of Western Australia, 1961**

Gough Whitlam recalled war-time Prime Minister John Curtin's vision for the 1944 referendum and argued for the need to modernise the Australian Constitution.

### **Curtin Memorial Lecture, Australian National University, Canberra, 29 October 1975**

Gough Whitlam drew analogies between Curtin's time in government during war time and the current situation in the Parliament of Australia.

### **Dragging the Chain – 2nd Vincent Lingiari Memorial Lecture, Northern Territory University [now Charles Darwin University], Darwin, 29 August 1997**

Gough Whitlam recounted how his experiences in the RAAF during World War II had played a critical role in his determination to work towards Aboriginal human rights, the recognition of land rights and constitutional change.

### **John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library Inaugural Anniversary Lecture, 1998**

Gough Whitlam discussed the significance and contribution of Labor's Prime Minister John Curtin to Australia's war effort and domestic security during World War II, a need for synchronous elections, an Australian republic, federal responsibilities and Aboriginal people. John Curtin, he argued, gave a message to his party, the parliament and the people 'as relevant in 1998 as it was radical in 1945'.

### **A passion for the Australian Constitution, 2002**

Gough Whitlam spoke at the launch of the *Letter of Passion* exhibition at the University of Western Sydney. He said of the 1944 referendum that 'for many of my generation the proposed referendum rivalled the Beveridge reports in Britain in raising hopes of a better society than we had known before World War II'.

## Sydney barrister and quiz contestant

When Gough Whitlam returned from his years of active war service as an air force navigator in 1945, he still had one year of his law studies to complete at the University of Sydney. On 14 February 1947 he was admitted to the New South Wales Bar, and practised in Sydney. The National Archives of Australia holds records relating to the *Australian National Radio Quiz* in which Whitlam was a successful contestant. He won in 1948 and 1949, and was runner-up in 1950. To win a place on the team that would compete in the 1948 national final, Whitlam faced the question: 'Who was the King who reigned from about 115–63 BC, who fortified himself so strongly against poison by the use of antidotes that he could not kill himself and had to get a Gallic mercenary soldier to stab him, as he preferred death to captivity?' National Archives audio records show Gough Whitlam correctly answering, 'Mithridates'.

In 1951, Gough Whitlam acted as junior to his father-in-law, the well-known Sydney barrister Wilfred (Bill) Dovey KC, in the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in New South Wales. The records of these are held in the State Records of New South Wales.

## National Archives of Australia

### SOUND RECORDINGS OF RADIO COMMERCIALS PRODUCED FOR COMMONWEALTH AGENCIES, 1947–60

C199

Recorded by: 1947–60 Commonwealth Advertising Division, Sydney (CA 1100)  
Sydney 2.9 metres

The series comprises sound recordings (on 10, 12 and 16-inch discs) of various radio commercials produced on behalf of the Commonwealth Advertising Division. There are defence force and Commonwealth public service recruitment advertisements, as well as commercials for security loans. There are also recordings of radio quiz shows produced to publicise security loans. The recordings have been arranged by the National Archives into groups relating to Commonwealth agencies. Within each group, the recordings are arranged alphabetically by title and numbered individually.

**6th Security Loan Programme – the first interstate contest in the *Australian National Quiz Championship* – includes contestant Mr Gough Whitlam (radio commercial), 1948**

C199, 27

**Transcript of selection from Commonwealth Government Loans and National Savings Organisation, 6th Security Loan Quiz (sound recordings of radio commercials), 1948**

C199, 28

Between 1948 and 1950, just as Gough Whitlam was establishing himself as a Sydney barrister, he won the *Australian National Radio Quiz*. The quiz was sponsored by the federal Treasury in an attempt to encourage people to buy government security loans for post-war reconstruction. Whitlam used his winnings of £1,000 to buy the block of land next door to their house in Cronulla. Prime Minister Ben Chifley was the program's major promoter. He listened to the quiz and discussed Gough Whitlam's performance with his father, Fred Whitlam, then Commonwealth Crown Solicitor, when they met in Canberra.

## State Records of New South Wales

**RECORDS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO LIQUOR LAWS AND ALLIED SUBJECTS – TRANSCRIPTS** 9549

In 1951 Gough Whitlam acted as junior to his father-in-law, WR Dovey KC, in the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in New South Wales. This item consists of indexes to the exhibits, witnesses and schedule, as well as a general subject index.

**REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER [ROYAL COMMISSION ON LIQUOR LAWS IN NSW]** 1580

A Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in NSW was established by Letters Patent on 23 July 1951. The Honourable Justice Maxwell was appointed Commissioner. The Commission's final report was published on 25 March 1954. This item is a copy of the final report.

**RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION [ROYAL COMMISSION ON LIQUOR LAWS IN NSW]** 1579

This item comprises press clippings, representations and correspondence, transcripts of evidence, diaries, records of witnesses and exhibits.

## 4 Member for Werriwa, 1952–67

There are several officially recorded series of papers at the National Archives of Australia relating to Gough Whitlam's significant period as a Member of Parliament. Several of these records overlap with his later rise to prominence within the Australian Labor Party (ALP), the subject of Chapter 5. These include records from his membership of the Joint Committee on Constitutional Review, the parliamentary and policy records he collected as local member, records of the ALP Federal Executive and daily *Hansard* copies closely annotated by Whitlam.

Gough Whitlam was elected to the federal seat of Werriwa on 29 November 1952, at a by-election following the death of the long-term sitting ALP member HP (Bert) Lazzarini. Whitlam was well known in his local community, having previously unsuccessfully stood for the NSW Legislative Assembly seat of Sutherland 1950 and contesting the Sutherland Shire Council election later the same year for the Cronulla Ward. With his success in the Werriwa by-election Whitlam achieved a record vote for the ALP of 66 per cent and a swing of more than 12 per cent. He celebrated by buying the family's first car and a hat – seen as an essential part of the politician's outfit.

### Early parliamentary service

#### National Archives of Australia

##### RECORDS OF THE CONSTITUTION REVIEW COMMITTEE, 1949–59

M178

Recorded by: 1956–59 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.6 metres

The series comprises records relating to the Joint Committee on Constitutional Review. It includes records of proceedings, minutes of meetings, transcripts of hearings and the final report. The committee was appointed by Prime Minister Menzies in 1956 to review all matters relating to the Australian Constitution. Whitlam was a member of the committee from 1956 to 1959. The final report was tabled on 26 November 1959 (Parliamentary Paper Number: 108).

##### 'GRAHAM FREUDENBERG'S FILES' – FILES OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECH WRITER TO GOUGH WHITLAM, 1961–73

M156

Recorded by: 1967–73 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 1.8 metres

The series consists of the files of Graham Freudenberg, Gough Whitlam's chief speech writer. It contains drafts and final copies of speeches made by Whitlam in the period 1961 to 1973.

**Edward Gough Whitlam notes, 1966–72**

**M156, 1**

This file comprises examples of Whitlam's working method. It contains annotated copies of *Hansard* as well as notes on scraps of paper to Freudenberg and Whitlam's Private Secretary, Race Mathews. One note reads 'ask Race how many deaths in Vietnam'.

**PARLIAMENTARY AND POLICY RECORDS COLLECTED BY WHITLAM AS DEPUTY LEADER AND LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, 1960–72**

**M157**

Recorded by: 1960–72 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 44 metres

This series comprises reference materials from Whitlam's parliamentary office in Canberra. The contents include annual reports of Commonwealth agencies and other organisations, parliamentary publications, ALP publications, and correspondence files accumulated during Whitlam's terms as Deputy Leader and Leader of the Opposition.

**ELECTORATE FILES CREATED BY GOUGH WHITLAM AS MEMBER FOR WERRIWA**

**M181**

Recorded by: 1952–78 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 12 metres

The series consists of Gough Whitlam's electorate files as the Member of Parliament for the seat of Werriwa; it covers the period 1952 onwards. Whitlam was first elected at a by-election on 29 November 1952, following the death of Bert Lazzarini.

The series is arranged in three distinct parts: Elections – House of Representatives and Senate, both state and local; Departments of state and other government agencies; and General.

**RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1960–78**

**M2282**

Recorded by: 1960–78 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 2.5 metres

This series comprises ALP Federal Executive records. It is arranged chronologically and includes the minutes of meetings, correspondence regarding the convening of meetings and ALP publications.

**MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AUSTRALIA LABOR PARTY COLLECTED BY MR WHITLAM, 1960–78**

**M2283**

Recorded by: 1960–78 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 4.5 metres

This series of records comprises ALP documentation and correspondence collected by Gough Whitlam while he was a member and then leader of the party. Materials include correspondence with ALP branch offices, the results of branch office elections, agenda items for ALP Federal Conferences, briefing notes, policy directions, and Caucus meeting agendas and notes. The records have been arranged by subject.

**Dunstan, Don, 1968–72**

**M2283, 13**

This item includes Whitlam's correspondence with Don Dunstan AC, ALP Premier of South Australia, and copies of all press releases and speeches made by Dunstan.

**FOLDERS CONTAINING ACCEPTANCES TO INVITATIONS AND REPLIES,  
CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1963–77**

**M875**

Recorded by: 1963–77 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

1972–75 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Sydney 2.5 metres

This series consists of folders of invitations that Whitlam accepted; copies of replies are attached. The invitations are arranged chronologically by date of function, there being one or more folders for each month. Some folders include details of Whitlam's overseas visits. From dates on folders, it appears some may be missing.

**CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO MESSAGES, FOREWORDS AND ARTICLES  
WRITTEN BY MR WHITLAM FOR PUBLICATIONS, 1967–75**

**M534**

Recorded by: 1967–75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

1972–75 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Sydney 0.2 metres

The series comprises folders of letters to Whitlam from authors and editors soliciting messages, forewords or articles for publication in journals and other publications. It includes replies and copies of corresponding completed messages, forewords or articles.

**ORIGINAL CARTOONS FEATURING WHITLAM, 1967–75**

**M547**

Recorded by: 1967–68 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

1967–75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)

Sydney 0.4 metres

This series comprises various-sized original drawings of Whitlam by political cartoonists for publication in newspapers.

**ANNOTATED DAILY (PROOF) HANSARD, 1972–77**

**M545**

Recorded by: 1972–77 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 1.8 metres

The series comprises daily (proof) copies of *Hansard* for the House of Representatives and the Senate. Copies are annotated on the front covers with subjects and page references that act as an index to Whitlam's speeches

or other items of interest. The series is by no means complete – there are large gaps – but it provides an interesting insight into Whitlam's working method, his meticulous note taking and extensive use of Questions on Notice.

**PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO WHITLAM'S PARLIAMENTARY TERM OF OFFICE, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1952–78** **M155**

Recorded by: 1952–78 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692) The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 3.7 metres

These photographs cover Whitlam's activities during his parliamentary career, from the time he became the Member for Werriwa until he retired from parliament in 1978. The photographs show family gatherings, meetings with foreign dignitaries on overseas trips, electioneering activities, and various official and unofficial occasions. Also included are publicity portraits of Gough and Margaret Whitlam and of Labor ministers.

**Photographs taken on trip to Vietnam, 1966** **M155, B8**

Gough Whitlam toured Vietnam in 1966 with his private secretary John Menadue.

**Whitlam and US President LB Johnson, 1967** **M155, C2**

Gough Whitlam met with President Johnson in 1957. Whitlam was presented with a photo album from the visit.

**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED MATERIAL, 1966–76** **M541**

Recorded by: 1966–76 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692) The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 3.1 metres

The series comprises printed and published materials received or collected by Whitlam. The materials relate to ALP and government matters and include printed copies of speeches, lectures and broadcasts made by Whitlam in the lead-up to the 1972 election. The series is arranged chronologically.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Australian Labor Party Federal Executive decision regarding Victorian Branch, 1970** **M541, 24**

This item consists of six copies of the ALP Federal Executive's historic decision on the Victorian Central Executive, enabling federal intervention in the Victorian branch.

**PAPERS OF CAROL SUMMERHAYES (WHITLAM'S PERSONAL SECRETARY), 1963–72** **M176**

Recorded by: 1963–72 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.9 metres

The series comprises miscellaneous correspondence, notes, reports and press material collected by Carol Summerhayes in her capacity as Gough Whitlam's personal secretary and longstanding member of his office.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – relating to the Constitution Review Committee, 1956–57** M176, 16

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Australian Labor Party Federal Labor Women’s Organisation – copies of letters and newsletters, 1970** M176, 54

Whitlam gave regular speeches to the ALP Women’s Organisation. This item includes his correspondence with the organisation.

## Early speeches and policies

### Whitlam Institute

#### **ALP Werriwa by-election, 1952**

This newspaper advertisement declared Whitlam’s stance on employment, social services and public assets, and spending on homes, schools and hospitals.

#### **Australian Labor Party – selection of a candidate for Werriwa, Saturday, 19 April 1952**

This flyer featured a photograph of Whitlam and listed the various local and community activities in which he was involved, along with personal details and a ‘How to vote’ sample card.

#### **Troops for Malaya – federal minister opposes, 1955**

Whitlam argued the case for political self-determination and economic self-determination for the people of Malaya and questioned the Menzies government’s unqualified commitment of Australian troops to the conflict.

#### **Commonwealth aid to universities; why not to schools?, 1963**

Whitlam outlined his plan for state aid to government schools based on need through federal funding.

#### **Northern Territory, 1956**

Whitlam argued the need for appropriate parliamentary representation for Australia’s territories.

#### **Equal pay for men and women, 1958**

This is an early statement by Whitlam on the need for equal pay for work of equal value.

#### **The 14th Roy Milne Lecture, 1963**

A major foreign policy speech covering the importance of the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security (ANZUS) Treaty, racial discrimination, decolonised independence in New Guinea, the need to recognise communist China, the importance of the United Nations and international covenants.

#### **Australia: Base or Bridge? Inaugural HV Evatt Memorial Lecture in International Relations, 1966**

Whitlam further elaborated his and the ALP’s approach to critical issues in Australia’s foreign policy, particularly in the context of the escalating war in Vietnam.

## 5 ‘Whose party is this?’ Gough Whitlam and ALP politics

From the time he joined the parliamentary Labor Party in 1952, Gough Whitlam sought to modernise its policies and its processes, to move it away from the bitter disputes that would split the party in the 1950s and consign it to electoral wilderness for decades. In 1960 Gough Whitlam was elected Deputy Leader of the ALP under the party’s new leader, Arthur Calwell, and with that authority began a determined campaign to reform the Labor Party, to remake its policies, and make it once again electable and ultimately to form government. Calwell led the Labor Party to three election defeats and after the last of these, a catastrophic loss in 1966, Gough Whitlam was elected Leader of the ALP on 8 February 1967.

Whitlam’s strategy for reform was three-fold: rebuilding the party platform to reflect a more contemporary policy agenda; the expansion of the party’s membership base beyond its traditional union base; and the reform and democratisation of the party’s structures and processes. During his early years as a member of the Labor Caucus his main policy concerns were state aid for government schools, the White Australia Policy, Indigenous rights and health care. By the late 1960s his concerns were increasingly focused on the need to intervene in the Victorian branch, the remaining bulwark against state aid and party reform, and an obvious drain on electoral support.

Three pivotal events stand out from this time as markers for Whitlam’s ‘crash through or crash’ approach. First, Whitlam’s near expulsion in 1966 when he was charged by the ALP Federal Executive with ‘gross disloyalty’. Whitlam was charged over statements made to the media about the party’s policy on state aid to government schools and during which he described the members of the ALP Federal Executive as ‘the 12 witless men’. Second, Whitlam’s abrupt resignation as leader in 1968 and narrow defeat of Dr Jim Cairns in the leadership ballot that followed. ‘Whose party is this – ours or his?’, Cairns asked in the unexpectedly close contest for the leadership. Finally, Whitlam’s drive for the party’s federal intervention in the Victorian state branch caused lasting enmities but achieved the necessary policy, personnel and procedural changes to lift the party’s electoral support in Victoria off the canvas. Each of these episodes was politically perilous, even reckless, but together they ensured Whitlam’s hold on the leadership, his authority over the party and an increasing electoral popularity that by 1972 would lead the Labor Party to office for the first time in 23 years.

The Australian National University Archives holds records of some trade unionists, which help to document Whitlam’s battles within the ALP, including George Crawford. The National Library of Australia holds the federal ALP Caucus and secretariat records, as well as the records of various members of parliament, which focus on the period during which Whitlam wielded greatest influence over the party. The National Library of Australia also holds the papers of Alan Reid and Richard Hall, two journalists with significant interests in Whitlam’s political trajectory. Hall joined Whitlam’s staff in 1968 for five years. There are also important oral history recordings of interviews with numerous members of parliament.

## Australian National University Archives

The descriptions of the three series below are from *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* (<http://press.anu.edu.au>).

### GEORGE CRAWFORD PAPERS

**NBAC Z494**

#### Files and loose papers, 1951–88

In the 1960s, when Whitlam waged a bitter campaign to change the internal structures and processes of the ALP, the fiercest resistance came from the Victorian branch. One of the branch's key officials was George Crawford; his papers document an important part of the setting for that campaign.

### MICHAEL EASSON SUBJECT FILES

**NBAC Z514**

#### ALP Victorian branch, 1970–85

**NBAC Z514/34a**

This file covers the power plays of factions (the Participants, Labor Unity, Socialist Left, Centre Unity and Centre Majority) within the Victorian ALP and union movement, and thus helps to document the context for Whitlam's battles inside the labour movement leading up to, and beyond, his gaining power in 1972.

#### Subject file on Gough Whitlam, 1970s–90s

**NBAC Z514/357**

Among the hundreds of files compiled by trade union official Easson during 1973–94 is a file on Whitlam comprising mostly clippings, talks and similar material, but also a 1993 letter from Whitlam to Easson mentioning the Italian Socialist Party and migrant organisation ITAL Uil.

## National Library of Australia

### RECORDS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY (CAUCUS), 1906–2007

**MS 6852**

**Quantity: 19 metres (96 boxes) + 14 cartons + 1 folio box**

This extensive collection comprises Caucus minutes (1906–89); correspondence books (1909–17); minute books; Labor Senators' Party meetings (1915, 1916); attendance rolls for federal Labor members at Caucus meetings (1914–38); Caucus committee files; Caucus general correspondence; and agendas, resolutions, circulars, contacts, submissions, reports, committee lists and other papers. The files include information relating to the ALP Federal Executive (1956–65); Select Committee on Voting Rights for Aborigines (1960–65); Federal Conferences (1961, 1966); legal documents on Portuguese ship-jumping in Darwin (1962); the Richardson report on parliamentary salaries (1948–59); and files on notices of motions. The collection is restricted.

Finding aid online.

### PAPERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY FEDERAL SECRETARIAT, 1917–93

**MS 4985**

**Quantity: 117 metres (577 boxes) + 103 cartons + 3 folio boxes + 3 folio volumes**

The federal parliamentary Labor Party was formed in 1901. Archibald Stewart was elected first Federal Secretary of the ALP in 1915. In 1963, Cyril Wyndam was elected the first full-time Federal Secretary. This extensive collection includes minutes, agendas and reports of meetings of the ALP Federal

Executive and federal conferences, and correspondence between the Federal Secretary, ALP members of parliament and other office holders (for instance, branch secretaries). The collection is restricted.

Finding aid online.

**EG Whitlam, Answer to the Federal Executive, 3 March 1966**

**Box 120**

In March 1966, Whitlam was charged by the ALP Federal Executive with disloyalty over statements he had made to the press about ALP policy, particularly about state aid to government schools. This item is Whitlam's response to the charge.

**Transcript of interview with EG Whitlam on *Seven Says*, ATN7, 15 February 1966**

**Box 120**

In this interview Whitlam delivered a withering assessment of those Caucus members pushing for a High Court challenge to all state aid to non-government schools. He explosively described the members of the ALP Federal Executive as '12 witless men' before reiterating his willingness and readiness to assume the position of leader of the party. Following this interview, the Federal Executive promptly charged Whitlam with 'gross disloyalty'.

**PAPERS OF RICHARD HALL, 1873–2003**

**MS 8725**

**Quantity: 21 metres (132 boxes) + 3 folio boxes**

This large collection contains papers accumulated by Richard Hall during the course of his career as a journalist, author and political advisor. There are two series of papers relating to Hall's work with and on Gough Whitlam. Series 14 records his time as press secretary to Whitlam from 1969 to 1972. Series 30 comprises research material collected for Hall's unfinished biography of Whitlam.

Finding aid online.

**First days: a biography of Gough Whitlam**

**Series 30**

This item includes information on Whitlam's family history and some correspondence with Hall. It includes research material on Whitlam's family and early years – his education at Telopea Park School and the University of Sydney, as well as copies of school journals to which he contributed. There is also information on the ALP, including copies of minutes, speeches and policy material.

**PAPERS OF FRED DALY, 1938–95**

**MS 9300**

**Quantity: 20 metres (142 boxes + 3 temporary boxes)**

Fred Daly was the House of Representatives ALP Member for Martin, NSW, from 1943 to 1949, and for Grayndler, NSW, from 1949 to 1975. In the Whitlam Labor government, Daly first held the Services and Property portfolio and secondly, Administrative Services. He was also Father of the House. He later became an author, commentator and public speaker. The collection includes a large number of press cuttings, press releases, reports, campaign material, *Hansard* extracts, correspondence, notes and diaries. References to many individuals and events occur throughout the papers, particularly across the series 'Chronological files', 'Elections', 'Subject files' and 'Personalities'.

The papers contain material relating to Whitlam's confrontation with the ALP Federal Executive in 1966 and his resignation and re-election as leader in 1968.

**Whitlam's letter to WH Hartley, Victorian State Secretary, 26 February 1968**

A key part of Whitlam's agenda for reform of the ALP was his determination to restructure the Victorian branch. In this letter to Bill Hartley, Victorian State Secretary and prominent opponent of Whitlam's policy development and drive for reform in the Victorian branch, Whitlam detailed the urgent need for reform arguing that the ALP's dismal electoral standing in Victoria was holding the party back.

**PAPERS OF FRANK STEWART**

**MS 6128**

**Quantity: 5.8 metres + 1 folio item**

Francis (Frank) Eugene Stewart was the ALP Member for Lang, NSW, from 1953 until his death in 1979. Between 1973 and 1975, he was Minister for Tourism and Recreation, Vice-President of the Executive Council and Minister Assisting the Treasurer. This series comprises subject files, published material and correspondence. It covers Stewart's career as an Opposition member and his term as a minister in the Whitlam Cabinet. There are extensive files on the issues of divorce law reform, abortion, human rights and homosexuality. Stewart's long association with the Pacific Area Travel Association is also covered.

**Whitlam, telegram and letter to ALP Caucus members, 1968**

**Box 31**

In April 1968, Whitlam resigned the leadership of the ALP over the treatment by the ALP Federal Executive of Brian Harradine, then Secretary-General of the Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council and an executive member of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. The ALP Federal Executive had upheld a complaint about Harradine made by the Victorian Central Executive, refusing to let him take his seat on the party's Executive. On 19 April 1968, Whitlam sent a telegram to all Caucus members citing his disappointment in the Federal Executive over its handling of the Harradine Affair and its lack of proper process. He made clear that he wanted a 'mandate' to renew his campaign for party reform. This box in the series contains Whitlam's telegram and his subsequent letter (23 April 1968).

**Cairns, letter to ALP Caucus members, 24 April 1968**

**Box 31**

In the leadership contest that followed his resignation, Whitlam was challenged by Dr Jim Cairns, ALP Member for Yarra. In a powerful letter to Caucus members, Cairns asked, 'Whose party is this – ours or his?' Whitlam was re-elected as leader, defeating Cairns by just six votes.

**PAPERS OF LANCE BARNARD, 1962–72**

**MS 7774**

**Quantity: 0.1 metres (1 box)**

This small collection comprises nine folders of documents primarily relating to Lance Barnard's overseas travel. It also contains some press clippings and personal correspondence with his family. Barnard held the seat of Bass, Tasmania, for the ALP from 1954 to 1975. He was Deputy Prime Minister from 1972 to 1974, and also held the portfolios of Defence, Navy, Army, Air and Supply.

**PAPERS OF ARTHUR CALWELL, 1905–73****MS 4738**

**Quantity:** 49 metres (288 boxes) + 1 A3 carton + 5 folio boxes + 2 folio items + 1 folio

Arthur Calwell was born in West Melbourne on 28 May 1896. He joined the Victorian Public Service in 1913, held the federal seat of Melbourne for the ALP from 1940 to 1972, and was Leader of the ALP from 1960 to 1967. This collection comprises correspondence, reports, personal documents, minutes, cuttings, family documents, photographs, subject files, biographical files, invitations, speeches, publications, an original Jeff cartoon and official gifts. The collection covers Calwell's entire career, including his early involvement in the Victorian branch of the ALP, Australian Public Service Association and Melbourne City Council. There are extensive papers relating to the Curtin and Chifley ministries and particularly the Information and Immigration portfolios. Later papers relate to elections, divisions within the ALP, relations with the Catholic Church, immigration, education, the Vietnam War and overseas visits.

Part of the collection is accessible for research; permission is required to access other parts for research. Finding aid available in the Library.

**PAPERS OF CLYDE CAMERON, C.1924–2007****MS 4614**

**Quantity:** 32 metres

Clyde Cameron was the ALP Member for Hindmarsh, SA, from 1949 to 1980. Cameron had a long and influential involvement in the labour movement and ALP politics through the Australian Workers' Union (AWU) and SA Branch of the ALP, and as a federal Labor parliamentarian and minister, writer and commentator. The collection was donated to the National Library of Australia by Cameron in regular instalments from 1973. It comprises correspondence, diaries, memoirs, a wide range of ALP materials including minutes, reports, articles, press releases and speeches, AWU rule books and publications, an extensive collection of pamphlets and other materials. Cameron collated, indexed and bound much of the collection, which is restricted.

Finding aid online.

**PAPERS OF ALAN DOUGLAS REID, 1942–85****MS 7796**

**Quantity:** 6.3 metres

Alan Reid was a political journalist, author and member of the Canberra Press Gallery. The bulk of the collection comprises subject files containing newspaper cuttings, but also telexes, notes, letters and printed material, ranging in date from 1976 to 1985. Other papers include copies of press reports (1942–45); personal correspondence (1971–82); a typescript diary (1971–82); a paper on the 1975 constitutional crisis; notebooks (1969–70); papers on the 1973 Australian Constitutional Convention; reports and agenda papers of the 1977 ALP National Conference; miscellaneous notes; and lists of names and addresses.

**'Whitlam'****Boxes 43–44**

These boxes contain a collection of press clippings on Whitlam during his rise to power. They were collected by Reid during research for his book, *The Whitlam Venture* (Hill of Content, Melbourne, 1976).

**BARNARD, LANCE, INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST AND  
BRENDA MCAVOY, 1983–87**

**TRC 4900/53**

Lance Barnard spoke of his family background; early life; beginnings in politics and early career; Australia's defence policy and capabilities in the 1960s and 1970s; Australia's involvement in, and withdrawal from, the Vietnam War; and Whitlam and the Labor Party in opposition and in government.

**CALWELL, ARTHUR, INTERVIEWED BY HAZEL DE BERG, 1967**

**TRC 1/259–260**

Arthur Calwell spoke of his childhood; his debut in the ALP; his political career; the problems of unemployment and immigration in the post-war years; his interest in broadcasting; his thoughts on state religion; and the two-party system in Australian politics.

**CALWELL, ARTHUR, INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1971**

**TRC 121/7**

Calwell discussed his childhood impressions and some of the reasons he became interested in politics; Dr William Maloney; wharfies and social reform; the public service and political parties; the ALP; the National Civic Council; BA Santamaria; the Petrov Affair; Dr HV Evatt; the Catholic Church and politics; the Democratic Labor Party; immigration; displaced persons; the White Australia Policy; population growth; Keith Murdoch; the Australian press; the Vietnam War and demonstrations against it; Gough Whitlam; Bob Hawke; the future of the ALP; the Communist Party; US bases in Australia; Liberal–Country Party failures; the future election program; Sir Robert Menzies; Sir William (Billy) McMahon; and the future of the Country Party.

**CAMERON, CLYDE R, INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1971–88**

**TRC 121/24**

Clyde Cameron talked of his early life in Murray Bridge, SA, and his involvement in the Amalgamated Shearers' Union; influences on his political life; Norman Makin; Jim Cavanagh; life as a shearer; shearing in New Zealand; life as a union organiser; Aboriginal people as unionists; the National Civic Council; the 1921 ALP Conference; Ted Theodore; Tom Dougherty; communists; Weil's disease; and Dr HV Evatt.

He also discussed the 1943 membership drive; BHP; land prices; bribery in amalgamations; John Bannon; industrial groups; Jack Schmella; democratic socialism; union rules; the Dethridge Award; and Con Bowen. He covered the 1972 election; Gough Whitlam; migration; abolition of the Department of Labour and National Service; election of Cabinet; the Loans Affair; Whitlam and Rex Connor; rise in inflation; his move from the Labour and Immigration portfolio; Caucus rules on the dismissal of ministers; the 1975 and 1977 elections; and Frank Crean.

**COPE, JF, INTERVIEWED BY ANDREW MOORE, 1983**

**TRC 4900/2**

James (Jim) Cope was the ALP Member for Cook in 1955, Watson from 1955 to 1969, and Sydney from 1969 until 1975. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives (1973–75). He spoke of his early life; joining the ALP in 1930; political meetings of the 1930s; the Depression; academics in parliament; pre-selection for federal parliament; communists in the union movement; his commitment to Redfern; controversies in Caucus; his election as Speaker in 1973; his resignation as Speaker; dismissal of the Whitlam government; parliamentary privilege; retirement; the ALP; Gough Whitlam; Arthur Calwell; and Jack Lang.

As Speaker, Cope at times struggled to maintain control of the House in early 1975, as 'the meat in the sandwich' between Gough Whitlam and Leader of the Opposition Billy Snedden. After a torrid day in parliament in which Whitlam led Labor members to oppose a ruling by Cope, Cope resigned. Cope maintained that Whitlam had not forced him to resign, but that he had decided to 'take it on the chin' in the interests of the ALP.

**COPE, JF, INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1978**

**TRC 121/9**

James (Jim) Cope was the ALP Member for Cook in 1955, Watson from 1955 to 1969, and Sydney from 1969 until 1975. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1973 to 1975. Cope spoke of his early life in Sydney; the Depression; his early interest in politics; his selection for the seat of Cook; electorate work in Cook and Watson; the ALP and Democratic Labor Party split; Dr HV Evatt's retirement; Eddie Ward; the Public Accounts Committee; Arthur Calwell; responsibilities as Speaker; security; improvements to Parliament House; protocol; the Speaker's wig; Chairmanship of the Joint Houses; televising parliament; his resignation as Speaker; the retirement age for pre-selection; and the Official Establishments Committee.

**CREAN, FRANK, INTERVIEWED BY ROSS MCMULLIN, 1983**

**TRC 4900/11**

Frank Crean was the ALP Member for Melbourne Ports from 1951 to 1977. In 1956, he was elected 'shadow' Treasurer (Labor did not have a formal shadow ministry until 1969), a position he held for 16 years. When Labor was elected in 1972, Crean became Treasurer in the Whitlam government until 1974, when he was moved to the Trade portfolio. He spoke of his early life and early political influences; the Depression; his studies and first political activities; his entry into the Victorian state parliament; joining the ALP; the Victorian referendum on bank nationalisation; the defeat of the Cain government in Victoria; his interest in adult education and libraries; the qualities required in a politician; the 1949 federal election; the move to Canberra; the death of Ben Chifley; his years as Treasury spokesman; the 1968 resignation of Gough Whitlam; his attitude towards party infighting; currency revaluations; Vietnam War moratoriums and Whitlam's stance on the issue; the 1969 election; Labor in government and its relationship with the public service; the Australian press; handling inflation (the 1973 Budget); why he lost the Treasury portfolio; Dr Jim Cairns; the May 1974 election; prices and wages control; the faults of the Whitlam Ministry; the Whitlam Cabinet and its workings; Whitlam's advisers; the Loans Affair; and 11 November 1975. Crean also looked back over his parliamentary career and spoke of various politicians and advisers who played a role either in his career or influenced various governments.

**DALY, FRED, INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1976**

**TRC 121/96**

Fred Daly talked of his early life near Tamworth and in Sydney; the Depression; joining the ALP; learning the party machinery; his decision to stand for parliament; pre-selection for Martin; conditions during the war; his swearing in and reply address; women in the House of Representatives; blackouts during the war; the Opposition; conscription; John Curtin and Winston Churchill; problems for the government during World War II; the Pharmaceutical Health Bill; effects of the war on families; Curtin's health; founding of the United Nations; Curtin's death; Chifley's election by Caucus; Frank Forde; Curtin as Prime Minister; Chifley's election as Prime Minister; the end of the war; Chifley's plans for post-war Australia; post-war

reconstruction; immigration; bank nationalisation; Sir William McKell's appointment as Governor-General; communists and the ALP; unions; Menzies' attack on socialism; Chifley's reasons for continuing controls; the coalminers' strike; redistribution of electorates and increase in size of parliament; the Communist Party Dissolution Bill; Bills opposed by Chifley; the 1951 election; Chifley's death; and the 1944 referendum.

**DALY, FRED, INTERVIEWED BY RAE ELLIS, 1983**

**TRC 4900/63**

Daly spoke of his family background; early life; the Depression; his early involvement in politics; the 1943 election; his political career; politicians and issues during his career; life as a backbencher in Canberra; women in parliament; Billy Hughes; the effect of World War II on parliament; Sir William McKell; the 1948 redistribution; JT Lang; Ben Chifley; the Nationalisation of Banks Bill; the National Coal Strike; the 1949 election; the Menzies government; division within the ALP; the Democratic Labor Party; Robert Menzies; John Gorton; the 1972 election; being a minister and the Leader of the House; Gough Whitlam; the Gair Affair; Jim Cope's resignation; and the 1975 Dismissal of the Whitlam government.

**WRIEDT, KENNETH, INTERVIEWED BY PETER HAY, 1988**

**TRC 4900/68**

Kenneth Wriedt was an ALP Senator for Tasmania from 1968 to 1980 and Minister for Primary Industry in the Whitlam government. He spoke of his family background; early career on the sea; his beginnings with the ALP; his 1967 election to the Senate; his political career; Gough Whitlam; committees; the 1972 election of the Labor government; primary industry; the superphosphate bounty; the 1975 Dismissal; foreign affairs; Vietnam; trips overseas; the Loans Affair; his transfer from federal to state parliament; Robin Gray; and the Tasmanian state parliament.

## 6 Leader of the Opposition, 1967–72

Gough Whitlam was elected Leader of the Australian Labor Party on 8 February 1967. He was now in a position to complete the internal party and policy reforms he had begun, and without which he believed the ALP could not hope to regain office. His grasp of policy and the need for reform within the ALP was extensive and had developed over a decade. He referred to his long-planned changes to the party, and modernising of the party platform, as ‘the Program’.

This chapter covers significant archival records from Whitlam’s time as Leader of the Opposition, including media releases, interviews and speeches held by the National Archives of Australia. Items relating to the historic 1971 ALP China delegation and to the Liberal Party are also highlighted.

### In opposition

#### Australian War Memorial

**PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN PHUOC TUY PROVINCE, SOUTH VIETNAM,  
10 AUGUST 1966**

**CUN/66/0628/VN**

In 1966 Gough and Margaret Whitlam visited South Vietnam, travelling to the 1st Australian Task Force area in the Phuoc Tuy province, a month before the federal election. Whitlam was Deputy Leader of the ALP at this time. At the 1966 election, the ALP pledged the withdrawal of all Australian troops by Christmas if elected.

Whitlam was briefed for his visit to the Australian Task Force in Vietnam by the Commander, Major General Kenneth MacKay, and Major B Cassidy of 5th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment (5RAR).

See also CUN/66/0621/VN and CUN/66/0626/VN

**MARGARET WHITLAM INTERVIEWED BY SERGEANT WAYNE GRANT,  
30 JANUARY 1968**

**S03608**

This interview took place in Vietnam during a five-week visit to Asia by Gough and Margaret Whitlam, their son Stephen and speech writer Graham Freudenberg. They left for Asia immediately after the memorial service for the missing, presumed drowned, former Prime Minister Harold Holt.

The topics covered in this recording include Gough Whitlam, a visit to South Vietnam, and civic action work of 110 Signal Squadron at Dong Choui Orphanage, Vung Tau.

A transcript of the recording may be available. For further information, please contact the Australian War Memorial.

## National Archives of Australia

### **PRESS OFFICE – PRESS RELEASES, STATEMENTS, PRESS CONFERENCES, INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES, 1962–75**

**M170**

Recorded by: 1962–75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

**Sydney 8.5 metres**

These records were in use in three separate sets; the original order has been maintained. A master inventory of items from all three sets has been compiled, and an annual single number catalogue system imposed on the items. Sets 1 and 2 are arranged using headed divider cards, with a short title of the item and its date typed on each card. Set 3 has been arranged in folders by month in chronological order. All three sets contain the various types of public statements mentioned in the series title. Set 1 (original box numbers 1–36, the most complete set) was collected from Whitlam's office in Parliament House and seems to consist of copies for his personal reference. Set 2 (original box numbers 112–18), which were collected from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, West Block, appears to be the reference set used by department staff. Set 3 (original box numbers 100–11), which came from room U.50 in Parliament House, consists of what seems to be duplicates of material issued for press and publicity purposes.

#### **Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Federal Conference, Melbourne, 28 July 1969**

**M170, 69/136**

This item comprises Whitlam's speech to the 1969 Australian Labor Party (ALP) Federal Conference in Melbourne. The conference was significant for the large number of resolutions passed and the decisions reached on key policy issues such as education, Indigenous affairs and Vietnam. In this speech, Whitlam attempted to set a cooperative and productive tone for the conference, which re-wrote much of the ALP platform.

#### **Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Aboriginal land rights, 6 August 1972**

**M170, 72/120**

Whitlam's major press statement on Aboriginal land rights reiterated the ALP's intention to honour the national pledge in support of Aboriginal rights recorded in the 1967 referendum and stated that if elected, the government would legislate for immediate recognition of Aboriginal land and mineral rights. He criticised the McMahon government's record on Aboriginal land rights, in particular the government's decision to remove the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, which had been established on 26 January 1972.

#### **Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – New Guinea – statement by Whitlam, Port Moresby, 3 January 1971**

**M170, 71/1**

In this landmark speech in Port Moresby in 1971 Whitlam on several occasions advocated independence for New Guinea. Whitlam described Papua New Guinea as a 'genuine, distinct and distinctive nation', and argued that it was time for Australia to decide 'whether or not she is willing to continue as a colonial power' and that the decision was ultimately about Australia's place in the world. Australia, he argued, had moral and material responsibilities to the people of Papua New Guinea, and 'ruling is not one of those responsibilities'.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – ‘Gorton–Fraser on Vietnam: statement by the Leader of the Opposition Mr Whitlam’, 11 October 1970** M170, 70/95

In this press statement on the Vietnam War, Whitlam criticised Prime Minister John Gorton for hypocrisy in denouncing the reduction of forces in Vietnam while simultaneously bringing Australian troops home. Whitlam reiterated the ALP's support for de-escalating the war.

**BRIEFING NOTES, NOTES FOR SPEECHES AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL, 1970–75** M538

Recorded by: 1970–75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 2.9 metres

The briefing notes do not appear to have been part of the records assembled in Whitlam's office. They are now arranged in chronological order. Some of the material was prepared by Whitlam's staff, but most of it appears to have been produced by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. The notes were prepared for Whitlam's information, but some of them would also have been used by his staff when drafting speeches.

**Statements on Indo-China, 1954–72** M538, 4

This item consists of a bound folder of every statement made by members of parliament on Indo-China from 1 April 1954 to December 1972. It was compiled by the External Relations Branch.

**‘GRAHAM FREUDENBERG’S FILES’ – FILES OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECH WRITER TO WHITLAM, 1961–73** M156

Recorded by: 1967–73 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 1.8 metres

The series consists of the files of Graham Freudenberg, Whitlam's chief speech writer. It contains drafts and final copies of speeches made by Whitlam in the period 1961 to 1973. Correspondence, telegrams and messages of congratulations following the 1972 election are included.

**Historical, 1969–73** M156, 29

This item contains nine files. It includes the draft of Whitlam's 1972 'It's time' policy speech, which he delivered on 13 November 1972 at Blacktown Civic Centre.

**PERSONAL FILES OF MR RICHARD HALL, 1967–72** M863

Recorded by: 1967–72 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.5 metres

This series of records comprises the personal files of Richard Hall, who was Whitlam's private secretary. The records are arranged in alphabetical order. The series is not itemised, but consists of three boxes and 38 folders. It includes files on Sir John Gorton, detailed notes on Whitlam's 1967 South-East Asia trip, and copies of Whitlam's speeches on Vietnam and state aid.

**CORRESPONDENCE AND PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING THE 1968 ELECTORAL REDISTRIBUTION, 1968**

**M862**

Recorded by: 1968      The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)

Sydney      1.3 metres

This series comprises folders of correspondence, maps, plans and other publications relating to the electoral redistribution of 1968.

Whitlam consistently argued the need for electoral reform, in particular for equal electorates, or 'one vote one value' to end the rural gerrymander. This was an issue he successfully pursued in office with the passage of the Commonwealth Electoral Bill, at the historic Joint Sitting of parliament of 1974, following the government's re-election at the May 1974 double dissolution.

**COPIES OF OUTWARD CORRESPONDENCE (GREEN COPIES), LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, 1969–72**

**M159**

Recorded by: 1969–72      The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)

Sydney      1.8 metres

The series consists of 18 arch back folders, arranged in chronological order, which contain green carbon copies of outward correspondence from Whitlam's office. Most letters are signed by Whitlam, although some are signed by his private secretary or press secretary.

## **ALP China delegation**

On 1 July 1971 Gough Whitlam, leader of the ALP, led a historic Labor Party delegation to the People's Republic of China. It comprised ALP Secretary Mick Young; ALP President Tom Burns; Shadow Minister for Primary Industry Dr Rex Patterson; China expert Dr Stephen FitzGerald; and speech writer Graham Freudenberg. Whitlam's visit took place before that of US President Richard Nixon and was extensively covered by international media, particularly his historic meeting with Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai on 5 July in the Great Hall of the People. As he began the journey back to Australia, Whitlam celebrated his 55th birthday at the Peace Hotel in Shanghai. As he arrived in Tokyo some days later Whitlam heard the extraordinary news that the American National Security Advisor, Dr Henry Kissinger, had arrived in Beijing to arrange Nixon's own visit later that year.

## **National Archives of Australia**

**PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO WHITLAM'S PARLIAMENTARY TERM OF OFFICE, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1952–78**

**M155**

Recorded by: 1952–78      Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney      3.7 metres

These photographs cover Whitlam's activities during his parliamentary career. They document family gatherings, meetings with foreign dignitaries on overseas trips, electioneering activities, and various official and unofficial occasions. Also included are publicity portraits of Gough and Margaret Whitlam and of Labor ministers.

**Gough Whitlam and Chou En-Lai, 1971**

**M155, B22**

This image shows Gough Whitlam and Chou En-Lai during their historic meeting in the Great Hall of the People, People's Republic of China, on 5 July 1971.

**ALP delegation to the People's Republic of China, 1971**

**M155, B22**

This image shows Whitlam, the ALP delegation and representatives from the People's Republic of China.

**Whitlam and ALP delegation to the People's Republic of China, 1971**

**M155, B22**

This image shows Whitlam and the ALP delegation meeting with representatives from the People's Republic of China.

## **National Library of Australia**

**RECORDS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY (CAUCUS), 1906–2007**

**MS 6852**

**Quantity: 19 metres (96 boxes) + 14 cartons + 1 folio box**

This extensive collection comprises Caucus minutes (1906–89); correspondence books (1909–17); minute books; Labor Senators' Party meetings (1915, 1916); attendance rolls for federal Labor members at Caucus meetings (1914–38); Caucus committee files; Caucus general correspondence; and agendas, resolutions, circulars, contacts, submissions, reports, committee lists and other papers. The files include information relating to the ALP Federal Executive (1956–65); Select Committee on Voting Rights for Aborigines (1960–65); federal conferences (1961, 1966); legal documents on Portuguese ship-jumping in Darwin (1962); the Richardson report on parliamentary salaries (1948–59); and files on notices of motions. The collection is restricted.

Finding aid online.

**PAPERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY FEDERAL SECRETARIAT, 1917–93**

**MS 4985**

**Quantity: 117 metres (577 boxes) + 103 cartons + 3 folio boxes + 3 folio volumes**

The federal parliamentary Labor Party was formed in 1901. Archibald Stewart was elected first Federal Secretary of the ALP in 1915. In 1963, Cyril Wyndam was elected the first full-time Federal Secretary. This extensive collection includes minutes, agendas and reports of meetings of the ALP Federal Executive and federal conferences, and correspondence between the Federal Secretary, ALP members of parliament and other office holders (for instance, branch secretaries). The collection is restricted.

Finding aid online.

**SPEECHES PRESENTED BY HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II IN AUSTRALIA, 1954–92**

**MS 9174**

**Quantity:** 0.1 metres

The collection comprises a set of speeches made by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in Australia between 1954 and 1992. It is arranged chronologically within each tour. It also includes 10 speeches presented in New Zealand (7–17 February 1963).

Finding aid online.

**PAPERS OF CLYDE CAMERON, 1924–2004**

**MS 4614**

**Quantity:** 32 metres (148 boxes) + 7 folio boxes + 114 volumes

This collection has been donated by Clyde Cameron in regular instalments since 1973. It comprises correspondence; diaries; memoirs; a wide range of ALP material, including minutes, reports, articles, press releases and speeches; Australian Workers' Union rule books and other publications; and other material, including an extensive collection of pamphlets. Much of the collection has been collated, indexed and bound by Cameron. The collection is restricted.

Finding aid online.

**Telegram from Mick Young regarding invitation to Whitlam to visit China in 1971**

**Box 5, Folder 1**

**Telegram to Tom Burns, 21 May 1971**

**Box 5, Folder 1**

A furious Cameron wrote a telegram to Burns regarding the ALP delegation to China. He insisted on the inclusion of ALP National Secretary Mick Young, who had first suggested the visit.

**PAPERS OF RICHARD HALL, 1934–2003**

**MS 8725**

**Quantity:** 21 metres (132 boxes) + 3 folio boxes

This large collection contains papers accumulated by Hall during the course of his career as a journalist, author and political advisor. More than 130 boxes are organised in 36 series of papers, several of which relate to Hall's work in the political sphere. Series 15 records his time as press secretary to Whitlam during the period 1969–72.

**China and Ross Terrill – ALP delegation to China (includes correspondence), 1971**

**Series 15, Box 51, Folder 2**

This folder contains correspondence relating to the ALP delegation to China in July 1971, including Ross Terrill's correspondence with Étienne Manac'h, French Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Terrill was a China expert based at Harvard and Whitlam had asked him to correspond with the French Ambassador to facilitate the visit.

**Research material****Series 30, Box 97, Folder 20**

This folder is within a series that contains papers relating to 'First days', Hall's working title for his unfinished biography of Whitlam. The bulk of the papers comprise Hall's extensive research material. Folder 20 includes an extract from an unpublished autobiography by Sir William (Billy) McMahon (undated) in which McMahon acknowledged that he did not accept that the Governor-General had the power to dismiss a government.

**Private collection****PRIVATE PAPERS OF DR STEPHEN FITZGERALD**

Diplomat and academic Dr Stephen FitzGerald, a China expert, was part of the ALP delegation to the People's Republic of China in 1971. He holds a collection of photographs taken during the visit. Whitlam later appointed Dr FitzGerald as the first Australian Ambassador to China, one of the Whitlam government's first actions.

**Liberal Party of Australia****Australian National University Archives****AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE FILES****ANUA 53****Registration for National Service, 1965–72****ANUA 53/4.0.0.22 Parts 1–3 & C**

Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, conscription, anti-war protests and the ANU's relationship with the Holt, Gorton and McMahon governments form the backdrop to this multi-part file. Students refused to register for National Service, those pursued by the authorities found sanctuary on campus, and funds were collected for the National Liberation Front. ANU Vice-Chancellor Sir John Crawford tried to maintain the university's independence and the privacy of student information, but for a time faced proposed amendments to the National Service Act aimed at requiring the addresses of draft resisters to be supplied to government. The file includes correspondence, press releases, newspaper clippings, telegrams and legal opinions. Inevitably, it includes references to McMahon as Minister for Labour and National Service, Fraser as Minister for Education and Science under Gorton, and Holt and Gorton. Finally there are references to draft resisters criticising Whitlam for arguing that they should give themselves up.

**National Library of Australia****BARWICK, GARFIELD, INTERVIEWED BY PETER COLEMAN, 1995****TRC 3317**

Garfield Barwick was Chief Justice of the High Court (1964–81), Attorney-General (1958–63), and Minister for External Affairs (1961–64). Barwick spoke of the Governor-General Sir John Kerr's dismissal of the Whitlam government in 1975; the debate over reserve powers; a republic and the required constitutional amendments; his period as Attorney-General; contrasting his matrimonial causes legislation with Lionel Murphy's later legislation; the Crimes Bill and the Petrov Royal

Commission; Sir Robert Menzies; Sir John (Black Jack) McEwen; the High Court and external affairs powers; High Court judicial review; appointment to the High Court; Lionel Murphy; Sir Owen Dixon; and reviews by Sir Zelman Cowan and Lee Kwan Yew of his book *A Radical Tory*.

**GORTON, JOHN, INTERVIEWED BY CLARRIE HERMES, 1985**

**TRC 4900/47**

John Gorton was Prime Minister of Australia (Liberal Party) from January 1968 to March 1971. He was a member of the Australian Parliament for 26 years, first as a senator, then as a member of the House of Representatives. Gorton spoke of his family background; education; early life; Oxford days; his beginnings in politics and career in the Senate; politicians and issues during his career; Robert Menzies; Harold Holt; the relationship between the Liberal and Country parties; Sir William (Billy) McMahon; Doug Anthony; problems during his term of office; the VIP aircraft incident; foreign affairs; the 'Mushroom Club'; Don Chipp; and the 1972 election. Gorton is critical of the Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Fraser's decision to block Supply, which he described as 'a disgusting way to go on', and argued that the government was being 'held to ransom by the Senate'.

**GORTON, JOHN, INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1976**

**TRC 121/78**

John Gorton spoke of his early life in Sydney and Melbourne; Oxford; pilot training in World War II; 135 Squadron; Singapore; the accident at the tank farm; Indonesia; returning to Darwin; electioneering for the Senate; socialism; the role of a senator; Robert Menzies' double dissolution; the Democratic Labor Party; his appointment as Minister of the Navy; his contribution to the arts; Malcolm Fraser's resignation; Billy McMahon's election; the dictatorship accusation; Ainslie Gotto; conspiracy against him; Defence; Alan Reid; disappointments; and loss of the 1972 election.

**MCMAHON, WILLIAM, INTERVIEWED BY RAY AITCHISON AND JONATHAN GAUL, 1974**

**TRC 316-17**

Sir William (Billy) McMahon was the Liberal member for the seat of Lowe, NSW, from 1949 to 1982. His portfolios included Minister for Labour and National Service (1958-66); Treasurer (1966-69); and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1969-71). He was Prime Minister from 1971 to 1972. McMahon discussed his family background and early life, education and interest in politics.

**SNEDDEN, BILLY, INTERVIEWED BY BERNADETTE SCHEDVIN, 1983, 1987**

**TRC 4900/57**

Billy Snedden held the seat of Bruce, Victoria, for the Liberal Party from 1955 to 1983. He was Leader of the Opposition from 1972 to 1975, and also held the portfolios of Attorney-General, Immigration, Labour and National Service, and Treasury. Snedden spoke of his family background; early life; early attempts to enter parliament; early jobs with the Department of Immigration and as a solicitor; entry into politics; the effect on family of political life; politicians and issues during his career, including the 1972 election; Whitlam and his government; the media; Phillip Lynch; Malcolm Fraser; the role of the Opposition; Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO); the 1974 election; internal politics and problems of the Liberal Party; and the 1975 election and preceding constitutional crisis.

Snedden recounted the appearance of the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, at the annual St Andrew's Day dinner of the 'Melbourne Scots' in November 1976. Kerr was a guest of honour at the invitation of Sir Robert Menzies. A bastion of conservatism, the dinner became a de facto celebration of Whitlam's dismissal. Snedden recalled his embarrassment at a drunken Sir John Kerr clasping his outstretched hands in victory, 'like a boxer just having won the crown ... It sickened me'.

**SNEDDEN, BILLY, INTERVIEWED BY CATHERINE SANTAMARIA, 1976**

**TRC 455/1**

Snedden provided withering opinions on several political identities, issues and his Liberal Party colleagues including Malcolm Fraser, John Gorton, Billy McMahon, the Democratic Labor Party, the Packers, Arthur Calwell, Whitlam Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's ASIO 'raid', the threatened blocking of Supply in 1974, John Kerr, Vietnam, the Loans Affair, and Robert Menzies.

**ST JOHN, EDWARD, INTERVIEWED BY VIVIENNE RAE-ELLIS, 1983**

**TRC 4900/70**

Edward St John held the seat of Warringah, NSW, for the Liberal Party and as an Independent from 1966 to 1969.

St John spoke of his mother; university life; Gough Whitlam; John Kerr; Nigel Bowen; Garfield Barwick; pre-selection; the 1966 election; parliament; his maiden speech; the *Voyager*; John Gorton; his resignation from the Liberal Party; the 1969 election; the Liberal Party after 1969; and contemporary issues.

## **University of Melbourne Archives**

**MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**

**F1**

The Malcolm Fraser Collection at the University of Melbourne comprises documents, photographs, books and other material relating to the life, family and career of Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia from 1975 to 1983. The collection complements the official records held at the National Archives, as well as several other personal and political collections at the University of Melbourne.

**Articles, reports and press clippings relating to the ALP, senior ALP figures and South East Asia (including Vietnam), 1955–67**

**105/99**

The Liberal Party kept detailed notes on the ALP and senior ALP figures. This item consists of loose papers, publications, articles, reports and newspaper clippings relating to the ALP. A Liberal Party 'research note' dated 12 August 1965 gives a detailed overview of the differences in the ALP at that time, in particular between Arthur Calwell and Gough Whitlam. It includes Barry Jones' 1964 article, 'The two ALPs'.

## 7 Prime Minister, 1972–75

The most important official holdings on the Whitlam government are the Cabinet, Executive Council, and Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet records, and those compiled by senior ministers and secretaries of agencies such as Treasury and the Attorney-General's Department. The papers of Sir Paul Hasluck, Governor-General from 1969 to 1974, are particularly important due to his involvement in the formation of the Whitlam–Barnard Duumvirate and his interactions with and advice to Gough Whitlam in the lead-up to the 1974 double dissolution election.

The papers of Graham Freudenberg, Gough Whitlam's press secretary, political adviser and principal speech writer from 1961 to 1973, illustrate much about Whitlam's period as Deputy Leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), opposition leader and Prime Minister. Freudenberg's papers include letters of congratulations for which he drafted Whitlam's replies. Some of Freudenberg's papers are held at the National Archives, and several key items are held by the Whitlam Institute.

The Whitlam Institute also holds the most substantial collection of press releases, statements and speeches given by Whitlam, all of which are fully digitised. *The Whitlam Government*, Gough Whitlam's own detailed exegesis (1985), is a key reference.

Specific parts of some of the series listed in this chapter are also referred to in Chapter 8: The Dismissal.

### 1972 election

In 1972, the ALP campaigned under the simple and highly effective slogan, 'It's time'. At the launch of the election campaign in Blacktown, Sydney, Whitlam reached back to the words of war-time Prime Minister, Labor's John Curtin, whom Whitlam considered to be Australia's greatest Prime Minister:

Men and women of Australia! The decision we will make for our country on the second of December is a choice between the past and the future, between the habits of the past and the demands and opportunities of the future.

The 1972 policy speech, written by Whitlam's long-standing speech writer Graham Freudenberg, was the culmination of a decade of policy development and party reform. At the election on 2 December 1972, the ALP secured a nine-seat majority in the House of Representatives with a swing of 2.5 per cent and a net gain of eight seats. Gough Whitlam formed the first Labor government in 23 years, and became Australia's 21st Prime Minister on 5 December 1972.

### National Archives of Australia

#### PERSONAL PAPERS OF PRIME MINISTER EG WHITLAM, 1972–74

**M535**

Recorded by: 1972–74

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet,  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1410)

Department of the House of Representatives – Member for  
Werriwa (CA 692)

The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney

0.2 metres

The series consists of three folders containing congratulatory letters and telegrams received by Whitlam after the ALP victories in the elections in December 1972 and May 1974. Copies of replies are also included.

**Election 1972 congratulations, 1972–73**

**M535, 1**

This item comprises letters from friends, acquaintances, members of the public, Australians living overseas, various branches of the ALP, and those writing on behalf of various associations, including the Victorian Fabian Society. It also includes letters from the Opposition leader in Queensland and the Lord Mayor of Port Moresby City Council, Papua New Guinea.

**EG WHITLAM – FOLDERS OF PERSONAL AND GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1973 M503**

Recorded by: 1972–73 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet,  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1410)  
Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 2.5 metres

The series contains folders of 'personal and general' correspondence. Letters of support and advice, requests for information and assistance, and requests for photographs and autographs are most common. Correspondence with distinguished citizens, members of parliament and the Governor-General may also be found. Each matter is accorded a number in a single number sequence (beginning at 20,000). Each folder contains about 30 matters.

**Galbraith to Whitlam, Coles to Whitlam, Gorton to Whitlam,  
1972–73**

**M503, 20880, 20445, 20084**

Whitlam received many letters of congratulations on the ALP election victory in 1972 and encouragement for his policies, including from renowned economist John Kenneth Galbraith (4 April 1973); former Independent member for Henty, Sir Arthur Coles, whose vote in 1941 had made John Curtin Prime Minister (4 December 1972); and former Prime Minister John Gorton (5 December 1972).

**Correspondence between Gough Whitlam and Tom Uren,  
9 December 1972**

**M503, 20165**

The government was not a week old when Whitlam received a letter from a sleepless Tom Uren, written at 4am on a Saturday, setting out his views on the needs of Department of Urban and Regional Development. It was a sign of both the enthusiasm and the difficulty that a demanding Cabinet might bring.

**Correspondence between Gough Whitlam and Xavier Herbert,  
27 January 1973**

**M503, 20598**

A letter from reclusive author Xavier Herbert conveyed the sense of elation the Whitlam government's election had engendered among artists. Yet it was interspersed with pessimism: 'I only hope to God you're there to receive Australia Day greetings next year...'

**GRAHAM FREUDENBERG'S FILES – FILES OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECH WRITER TO WHITLAM, 1967–73**

**M156**

Recorded by: 1967–73 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 1.8 metres

The series includes telegrams and messages of congratulations following the 1972 general election.

**Jones to Whitlam, Nott to Whitlam, Preston to Whitlam, Maclaine to Whitlam, 1972**

**M156, Box 6**

Letters of congratulations to Whitlam from a wide range of people, including friends, colleagues, acquaintances and members of the public, illustrating the range of hopes they held for his prime ministership.

**MATERIAL RELATING TO CAUCUS, THE LABOR PARTY AND ELECTIONS, 1972–77**

**M540**

Recorded by: 1972–77 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 2.9 metres

All the papers in this series relate to the organisation of the parliamentary Labor Party (Caucus), the federal Labor Party (including conferences) and election campaigns. Correspondence with state Labor parties is included, as is background material for policy speeches and copies of opinion polls. Some documents appear to be the remnants of earlier series that have been dispersed.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Caucus – General, to July 1974**

**M540, 1**

This item includes Whitlam's handwritten records of votes in the Caucus elections of 10 June 1974 at which Jim Cairns successfully challenged Lance Barnard for the position of Deputy Leader.

**PERSONAL PAPERS OF PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM – PAPERS OF CAROL SUMMERHAYES (WHITLAM'S PERSONAL SECRETARY), 1963–72**

**M176**

Recorded by: 1963–72 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.9 metres

The series consists of miscellaneous correspondence, notes, reports and press material collected by Carol Summerhayes in her capacity as Whitlam's personal secretary.

**Office of the Leader of the Opposition – House of Representatives election itinerary, November 1972**

**M176, 101**

## Duumvirate

On 2 December 1972, Whitlam led the ALP to government for the first time since 1949. Unwilling to wait until all the electorates had been fully counted, the first Whitlam Ministry was in fact a government of two – a duumvirate – Whitlam and his Deputy Leader Lance Barnard. Whitlam allocated himself 13 portfolios and Barnard 14.

The first Whitlam government immediately embarked on a series of actions that did not require legislation, with 40 key decisions made in the first two weeks. It abolished conscription, released draft resisters from prison, negotiated diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, announced a Royal Commission on Aboriginal land rights and re-opened the equal pay case then before the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission.

## National Archives of Australia

### **WHITLAM MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'CL' PREFIX, 1972–75**

**A5931**

Recorded by: 1972–75 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Canberra 28 metres

This is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business during the period of the Whitlam government.

#### **First Whitlam Ministry decisions and other administrative actions, 1972**

**A5931, CL48**

This is a list of the Duumvirate's first 40 decisions, as well as press releases and Executive Council decisions. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet's Secretary, Sir John Bunting, directed his staff to compile the file, recognising the significance 'for future historians' of the Duumvirate and its work.

Records may vary slightly in the enumerations of days of the Duumvirate and because public announcements through interviews and press coverage often preceded formal announcements. The chronology has been taken largely from the popular press to give the best sense of how this was experienced, but the press releases give a formal chronology.

### **FOLDERS OF COPIES OF PAPERS MAINTAINED BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, 1969–74**

**M1767**

Recorded by: 1965–74 Governor-General (CA 1)

The Rt Hon. Sir Paul Meernaa Caedwalla Hasluck KG,  
GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, PC (CP 115)

Canberra 0.5 metres

This series contains five sets of records that are copies of papers maintained by Sir Paul Hasluck while Governor-General. The records include Hasluck's notes of conversations with prime ministers and ministers, letters detailing his appointment and retirement as Governor-General, and the appointment of his successor, Sir John Kerr.

**Copies of notes made by the Governor-General in his personal minute book to record conversations with successive prime ministers and ministers, 1972–74**

**M1767, 4**

These records include Hasluck's account – 'The defeat of McMahon' – on the handover of government from McMahon to Whitlam. They indicate that McMahon had expected to stay on as caretaker prime minister until a full Labor ministry could be sworn in, Whitlam's arguments for immediately forming the Duumvirate, precedents for the handover arrangements, and relations between the public service and Whitlam.

**FOLDERS OF PAPERS MAINTAINED BY PETER WILENSKI WHILE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM, 1972–74**

**M3383**

Recorded by: 1972–74 Dr Peter Stephen Wilenski AC, AO (CP 451)

Canberra 1 metre

This series consists of folders of papers maintained by Dr Wilenski while he was principal private secretary to Whitlam during the period 1972–74.

**Dr Peter Steven Wilenski AC – machinery of government documentation, 1972**

**M3383, 101**

This item includes a significant and influential paper issued by the Prime Minister's Office on 18 December 1972. As Whitlam's principal private secretary, Wilenski prepared the document – 'Transition to government' – which Whitlam used to prepare for his immediate assumption of office.

The item also contains material relating to Whitlam's decision to appoint personal advisers to his staff. Whitlam argued that this would de-politicise the public service.

## **Cabinet and Federal Executive Council files**

There were three Whitlam ministries between 1972 and 1975. The Duumvirate ran from 5 to 19 December 1972, the second ministry from 19 December 1972 until the re-election of the government in the double dissolution of 18 May 1974, and the third ministry from 12 June 1974 to 11 November 1975. Because of the unusual nature of the Duumvirate, it is sometimes overlooked and the ministry sworn in on 19 December 1972 often referred to as the 'first ministry'. Some entries show an interchange of headings, as can be seen below.

## **National Archives of Australia**

**WHITLAM MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'CL' PREFIX, 1972–75**

**A5931**

Recorded by: 1972–75 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Canberra 28 metres

This is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business during the period of the Whitlam government. A new file was raised in this series whenever a new matter was referred to the Cabinet Office that could potentially be developed into a submission to Cabinet. A new file number in a simple number sequence was allocated from the register (CRS A5933).

The file title is normally the subject matter – for example ‘Export of black coal’ or ‘Abolition of means test on age pensions’.

In some cases, a matter may eventually have been resolved through channels outside Cabinet. In most cases, however, a Cabinet submission was developed by the department or minister concerned and a copy of the submission placed on the file in due course. The correspondence on a file documents a submission’s development, its presentation to a meeting, the decision made and the notification of the decision to relevant staff. A ‘CL’ file will therefore contain considerable background information regarding its corresponding submission, which is part of series A5915.

**Cabinet business lists (including correspondence) – First Whitlam Ministry, 20 December 1972–**

**A5931, CL1 Part 1**

This item was originally titled ‘Second Whitlam Ministry’, but was amended by the department to ‘First Whitlam Ministry’, the title by which it is still identified. However, its contents date from 20 December 1972 and in the now-established terminology for Whitlam ministries, it was indeed the Second Whitlam Ministry. There is no material relating to the First Whitlam Ministry (5–19 December 1972) in the item.

The records show that Whitlam made the first submission to his government’s first Cabinet meeting. It was a proposal to grant an additional week’s annual leave to public servants, bringing the total to four weeks.

**WHITLAM MINISTRIES – CABINET SUBMISSIONS, 1972–75**

**A5915**

Recorded by: 1972–75 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Canberra 12 metres

This series consists of submissions to Cabinet from ministers and departments during the Whitlam government. Because there were no formal submissions during the term of the First Whitlam Ministry (5–19 December 1972), the items in this series relate to the Second and Third Whitlam ministries only.

**Annual leave for Commonwealth staff – Decision 4, 1972**

**A5915, 1**

Whitlam put the first submission to Cabinet.

**Inquiry into mass media – submission withdrawn, 1975**

**A5915, 1552**

This submission from Dr Moss Cass proposed extensive reforms to deal with the concentration of media ownership. Options for press reform included an inquiry, creation of a voluntary press council, and the establishment of an Australian Newspaper Commission. The commission would publish a national newspaper ‘to provide a balanced account of all news items’. Following immediate and extensive criticism in the press, the proposal was quietly shelved.

**WHITLAM MINISTRIES – FOLDERS OF DECISIONS OF CABINET AND CABINET COMMITTEES, 1972–75**

**A5925**

Recorded by: 1972–75 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Canberra 3 metres

This series is the formal record of decisions made by Cabinet and Cabinet committees during the term of the Whitlam government. Cabinet decisions were immediately distributed to relevant ministers and departments. They effectively constituted authority to the administrative arm of government to implement the expressed will of the government in any particular matter.

**Legislation Committee – Cabinet minute – Joint Sitting –  
Without Submission, 1974**

**A5925, 2347/LEG**

This item is a record of some of the preparations for the anticipated Joint Sitting of parliament required to pass the double dissolution 'trigger' Bills. This included the passage of two privileges Bills, one of which contained provisions to 'permit but not require' the Joint Sitting to be broadcast on television.

**Cabinet Minute – Supply – Without Submission, 20 October 1975**

**A5925, 4107**

This minute is a record of the meeting at which the ALP Caucus debated its response to the Opposition's strategy of deferring Supply. Caucus supported Whitlam in his determination that the government would not be forced to an election for the House of Representatives. It endorsed a strategy of calling the scheduled half-Senate election if Opposition senators persisted in their refusal to vote on Supply.

**CABINET NOTEBOOKS, 1950–95**

**A11099**

**Recorded by: 1971–96 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)**

**Canberra 42 metres**

This series consists of notebooks created by the Cabinet Secretariat. The notebooks contain handwritten notes of discussions and decisions made at Cabinet meetings and meetings of Cabinet committees, and occasional 'other' Cabinet-level meetings, such as budget discussions.

The purpose of the notes was to accurately record the outcomes of discussions – Cabinet decisions – and to assist in the preparation of the official minutes. The minutes provide a record of decisions made in relation to the matters discussed, not just the listed agenda items. Cabinet decisions are, effectively, orders to the administrative arm of government to implement policy. Cabinet minutes are immediately sent to relevant departmental secretaries for action as required.

To support the principle of Cabinet solidarity (and hence the confidentiality of actual discussions), the Cabinet Secretariat expressly aims for a minimal record output. Its literature maintains that: 'Cabinet meetings are essentially meetings without record'. It should be understood, then, that these notes neither sought to be, nor needed to be, a verbatim account.

**VOLUMES OF ORIGINAL MINUTE PAPERS APPROVED BY FEDERAL EXECUTIVE  
COUNCIL, 1901–**

**A1573**

**Recorded by: 1901– Federal Executive Council (CA 2)**

**Canberra 159 metres**

The Federal Executive Council holds formal executive authority under the Australian Constitution. All serving government ministers (including parliamentary secretaries) are invited to attend meetings, which require a quorum of three. The council's function is to formally ratify Cabinet decisions and to inform the Governor-General that this has occurred.

This series contains bound volumes of original minute papers, including departmental/agency documents (appointments, regulations, proclamations and so on) signed by the Governor-General and the relevant minister/parliamentary secretary. It includes records relating to the Loans Affair (minute papers approved 1974–75).

**Federal Executive Council – minute papers approved, 1972**

**A1573, 1972/8**

The 1972 volumes include documentation of many important Whitlam government decisions, including a decision made during Whitlam's earliest days in office to sign two United Nations covenants: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

## **Whitlam government – general files**

### **National Archives of Australia**

**TAPE RECORDINGS OF WHITLAM GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCES AND RADIO AND TELEVISION INTERVIEWS, 1965–75**

**M162**

Recorded by: 1965–75    The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney    23 metres

The series consists of audio and audiovisual recordings (cassettes and reel-to-reel tapes) of press conferences and interviews on radio and television, given by Whitlam. It also includes recordings of other political figures from the Labor, Liberal and National Country parties, made by Whitlam's Press Office staff.

A related series (M163) contains transcripts of press releases, speeches, press conferences and interviews on radio and television. Series M164 and M165 also contain related material.

The Whitlam Institute has an extensive collection of a similar range of press releases, speeches and transcripts that are digitised and available online through the e-Collection.

**FOLDERS OF PRESS/MEDIA CORRESPONDENCE, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1973–75**    **M502**

Recorded by: 1973–75    The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney    1.1 metres

The series comprises folders of correspondence handled by Whitlam's press secretaries, including routine correspondence with press and media organisations, and requests for copies of statements and releases. As correspondence was filed, it was accorded a number in a single number sequence. About 30 matters are held in each folder, all of which are labelled with the number range of their contents.

The series includes a letter from a school-aged Mark Latham, who would later become Whitlam's research assistant, member for Werriwa (1994 to 2005), and later still, Leader of the ALP (2003 to 2005). In the 1975 letter, Latham asked for the Prime Minister's help with information for a school project on 'the federal governmental system'.

**KEY DOCUMENTS RELATING TO POLITICAL AND PERSONAL LIFE OF  
THE HON. EDWARD GOUGH WHITLAM AC, QC, 1944–75**

**M4628**

Recorded by: 1944–75 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Canberra 0.3 metres

The series comprises records relating to Whitlam's political and personal life: the original Notice of Motion drafted by ALP members of parliament on the dismissal of the Whitlam government on 11 November 1975; digital copies of the letter of dismissal from the Governor-General to Prime Minister Whitlam; Whitlam's 1972 election speech; and a personal letter to Margaret Whitlam written during World War II. The originals of these three records are held by the Whitlam Institute.

**APPOINTMENT BOOKS AND DIARIES MAINTAINED BY SIR JOHN BUNTING, 1961–74**

**M320**

Recorded by: 1961–74 Prime Minister's Department – Secretary's Office (CA 12)

Sir (Edward) John Bunting AC, KBE, Kt (CP 91)

Department of the Cabinet Office – Secretary's Office  
(CA 1285)

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Secretary's Office (CA 1401)

Canberra 0.5 metres

This series consists of appointment books (some are titled 'diary') maintained by Sir John Bunting as Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department (1961–68), Department of the Cabinet Office (1968–71), and Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1971–74).

**Sir John Bunting – diary (appointment book), 1972**

**M320, 19**

Bunting's diary indicates that just as Whitlam barely rested, neither could his staff. Two days only were clear in Bunting's diary over Christmas 1972 before the Prime Minister was back in Canberra. It also shows that Bunting and the three other most powerful permanent heads of department – Wheeler, Tange and Cooley – lunched together regularly at Canberra's exclusive Commonwealth Club.

**PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE AND MEMORANDUMS MAINTAINED BY  
SIR JOHN BUNTING, 1958–75**

**M321**

Recorded by: 1959–75 Sir (Edward) John Bunting AC, KBE, Kt (CP 91)

Sydney 0.3 metres

This series consists of personal correspondence and other papers maintained by Sir John Bunting as Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department (1959–68), Department of the Cabinet Office (1968–71), and Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1971–75). The records reflect his personal interests and government policy matters.

The correspondence is with a wide range of people, including former prime ministers, state governors, diplomats, senior public servants, other professional contacts and friends. Files include Bunting's communications with prime ministers – William McMahon and, to a lesser extent, his successor Whitlam; address lists for official and personal Christmas cards and in relation to honours, including his own knighthood and appointment

as Secretary to the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet; daily telephone call schedules; and details of his professional travel and entertainment allowances. One file includes correspondence with Sir Daryl Lindsay relating to the Australian National Gallery; another details discussions with Whitlam and senior public servants about Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's 'raid' on the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation and alleged Croatian terrorist activity in Australia in 1973.

**Sir John Bunting – old personal correspondence, 1972**

**M321, 3**

This file contains Bunting's letter to a friend, FS Buckley, 7 December 1972, which reveals the exhausting nature of the post-election bureaucratic work that enabled Whitlam to assume office from McMahon within days of the election win. Bunting confided: 'It is problem enough having one Prime Minister. On Tuesday ... I had two – one going and one coming'.

**Sir John Bunting – old personal correspondence, 1973**

**M321, 4**

This item contains correspondence between Bunting and former Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies, for whom Bunting served as department secretary. The two remained close following Menzies' retirement in 1966 and Bunting would visit him whenever he was in Melbourne.

**Sir John Bunting – correspondence relating to Labor's election promises, 1969–72**

**M321, 14**

Within days of being elected, economic advice from Treasury suggested that government commitments such as increased aid to Papua New Guinea in the lead-up to independence could not be sustained. In a letter he sent to the Treasurer in the McMahon government prior to the election, Treasury head Sir Frederick Wheeler warned that not only would the absolute increase in government expenditure be 'the largest ever', it would be 'the highest percentage rate of increase in memory'.

**Sir John Bunting – personal correspondence to the Secretary (communications with Prime Minister Whitlam), 1972–73**

**M321, 21**

This item contains a note of a conversation with Dr Peter Wilenski (6 December 1972), in which Whitlam's early moves to end the residual constitutional and legal entanglements in the British–Australian relationship is recorded. Whitlam and Wilenski discussed removing the words 'of the Commonwealth of Australia' from the commissions of ministers. Whitlam government ministers were simply to be 'Ministers of State'.

**PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO WHITLAM'S TERM AS PRIME MINISTER, 1972–75**

**M151**

Recorded by: 1972–75 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 2.4 metres

This series comprises approximately 1200 photographs taken by various official organisations such as the Australian Information Service and the photographic agencies of foreign governments. They highlight aspects of Whitlam's term as Prime Minister, including official visits.

**PRIME MINISTERIAL PRESS RELEASES, SPEECHES, PRESS CONFERENCE TRANSCRIPTS, AND TRANSCRIPTS FROM INTERVIEWS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION, 1972-75**

**M163**

Recorded by: 1972-75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Sydney 6.7 metres

The series consists of a master set of Whitlam's press releases, speeches and transcripts from press conferences and interviews on radio and television, which are grouped in monthly folders.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1972-75**

**M514**

Recorded by: 1972-75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Sydney 0.5 metres

This is a small, specialised series. It is divided into 32 items (files). The first 20 files (in pink covers) contain high-level correspondence with the Governor-General, Chief Justice, Speaker of the House of Representatives, President of the Senate, institutions such as the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and individual ministers and foreign heads of government. The remainder of the files (in green covers) contain correspondence relating to the functioning of the Prime Minister's Office.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – Sir Garfield Barwick, 1972-75**

**M514, 3**

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Whitlam – The President of the Senate, 1972-75**

**M514, 4**

**FILES OF CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO MINISTERIAL/DEPARTMENTAL POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES, 1972-75**

**M519**

Recorded by: 1972-75 Department of the House of Representatives –  
Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Sydney 3.1 metres

These files contain correspondence between the Prime Minister and his ministers. They include notes, reports, minutes of meetings, conferences, and published and unpublished reference material relating to policies and activities. The files are arranged alphabetically by department.

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF WHITLAM'S OVERSEAS VISITS DURING HIS TERM AS PRIME MINISTER, 1973-75**

**M166**

Recorded by: 1973-75 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)  
Department of the House of Representatives – Member for Werriwa (CA 692)  
The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

**Sydney 2.5 metres**

The series consists of records of media coverage of Whitlam's overseas visits during his term as Prime Minister. Countries visited include Belgium, Burma, Canada, India, Japan, Mexico, Singapore, Thailand, United States, USSR and Yugoslavia. Formats within the series include newspaper clippings, photographs, movie films and a video cassette recording.

The series contains audiovisual formats (visits to the Federal Republic of Germany and to Mexico). As audiovisual formats are either redundant or susceptible to deterioration, some items in the series have been copied to ensure their preservation. This involves creating preservation, duplication and reference copies. These copies can be found in series M4421, M4422, M4423, M4342, M4343 and M4344.

**ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT – CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1901-**

**A432**

Recorded by: 1929- Attorney-General's Department, Central Office (CA 5)

**Canberra 2.2 kilometres**

**Sydney 292 metres**

This is the main file series of the Attorney-General's Department. In the portion that covers the period of the Whitlam government, the series includes material related to various topics, including the 1974 Joint Sitting of parliament, the Loans Affair, concerns over security during the visit of Yugoslav Prime Minister Bijedic in March 1973, the ASIO 'raid' and the Dismissal.

**Governor-General's discretion – Queensland request in respect of Joint Sitting Bills, 1974**

**A432, A1975/7190**

This item includes extensive material on the Whitlam government's plans to raise funds through the intermediary Tirath Khemlani (see also the 'Minerals and energy development and the Loans Affair' section later in this chapter).

**Proposed borrowing of \$2,000 million through Moscow Narodny Bank of London, Mr Khemlani, 1974-75**

**A432, A1975/484 Part 1**

**Overseas Loans Affair – Connor file, 1974-75**

**A432, A1975/7850**

**Overseas Loans Affair – Sir Lennox Hewitt file, 1974-75**

**A432, A1975/7851**

**Australian Security Intelligence Organisation and Commonwealth reports on politically activated acts of violence in Australia, 1964-73**

**A432, 1985/6648**

The file includes reports about the Commonwealth Police, Central Crime Intelligence Bureau, and 'Intelligence evidence of threats to Yugoslav Prime Minister'.

## The Program

Gough Whitlam came to office with an ambitious reform agenda set out in the 200 specific promises of the 1972 policy speech. The details of these broad-ranging policies had been adopted as Labor Party policy through the party's national conferences during the 1960s and had been taken to the 1969 election in the same form. This vast blueprint for change and modernisation was central to the Whitlam government's actions in office and became known simply as 'the Program'.

During its three years in office, the Whitlam government was responsible for a long list of reforms, including:

- consumer protection
- no-fault divorce under the Family Law Act and creation of the Family Court
- universal national health insurance scheme, Medibank (now Medicare)
- single mothers' benefits
- benefits for homeless people
- abolition of the death penalty (Commonwealth)
- authorisation of marriage celebrants
- ending the British honours system and introducing the Australian system of honours
- replacing 'God save the Queen' with the Australian national anthem
- granting independence to Papua New Guinea
- free university and other tertiary education
- needs-based federal funding for all schools
- reducing the voting age from 21 years to 18
- ending conscription
- releasing draft resisters from prison
- national legal aid system
- introducing equal pay for women
- appointment of women to judicial and senior government positions
- appointment of Elizabeth Reid as the Prime Minister's Advisor on the Status of Women
- ending the White Australia Policy
- introducing multiculturalism
- establishing community-based FM radio
- establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China
- purchase of Jackson Pollock's *Blue Poles* by the National Gallery of Australia.

## Minister for Foreign Affairs

Gough Whitlam was Minister for Foreign Affairs from 5 December 1972 to 6 November 1973. He was followed in the portfolio by Senator Don Willesee.

At a press conference on 5 December 1972, immediately after being sworn in as Prime Minister and minister for 12 other portfolios in the Duumvirate, including Foreign Affairs, Whitlam said that his government would 'reassess a whole range of Australian foreign policies and attitudes'.

There would be:

a more independent Australian stance in international affairs, an Australia which will be less militarily oriented and not open to suggestions of racism; an Australia which will enjoy a growing standing as a distinctive, tolerant, cooperative and well regarded nation not only in the Asian and Pacific regions, but in the world at large.

Whitlam was the first Australian Prime Minister to be invited to deliver a special address to the United Nations General Assembly which he gave on 30 September 1974. The change in Australia's foreign affairs approach was dramatic and in the days following the 1972 ALP election victory, the Australian delegation to the UN General Assembly was instructed to take a strong stance in votes on apartheid and other race-related matters. This included voting in favour of resolutions on the right of peoples to self-determination and the granting of independence to colonial nations. Whitlam also communicated his new policy framework in a letter to the UN Secretary-General (published in *Australian Government Digest*, vol. I, no. 1, 1973).

A selection of records relating to the key foreign affairs policy issues of Whitlam's time in office is highlighted in this section. The records reflect Whitlam's efforts to place greater emphasis on Australia's relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Indonesia, and to recalibrate relationships with traditional allies, the United States and United Kingdom. The section also highlights records pertinent to the war in Vietnam, diplomatic recognition of China, independence for Papua New Guinea, and Whitlam's strong admonition of Portugal's abrupt decolonisation of East Timor.

The sub-sections on East Timor and Vietnam also cover aspects of Australia's relationship with the United States and highlight the most relevant records. Additional records relating to Australia's relationship with the United States during the Whitlam years are included in the section 'Security relations and ASIO raid'.

## **Vietnam**

On 6 December 1972, Gough Whitlam and his deputy Lance Barnard announced that the government would abolish conscription, release from prison the seven men then serving 18-month sentences under the National Service Act for refusing to fight in Vietnam, drop all pending charges against draft resisters, and withdraw the remaining Australian troops from Vietnam. Within weeks, Whitlam and several of his ministers attracted the ire of the US government for their strident criticism of the 'Christmas bombings' of Hanoi and Haiphong Harbour in Vietnam.

## **Australian War Memorial**

### **RECORDS OF PETER EDWARDS – THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONFLICTS, 1948–75**

**AWM263**

This series comprises working papers and drafts collated by Dr Edwards and his staff while researching his books, *Crises and Commitments* and *A Nation at War*.

The bulk of the series is made up of folders of photocopies of original primary sources and related handwritten notes.

**Records of the Official Historian Peter Edwards – *A Nation at War* – source material – Government Cabinet decisions 1973–74, on Vietnam, National Service, Singapore/Malaysia, etc., 1983–97** **AWM263, D/1/82**

**Records of the Official Historian Peter Edwards – *A Nation at War* – Chapter 16 – Whitlam period 1972–75, various stages, with comments** **AWM263, C/20**

**Records of the Official Historian Peter Edwards – *A Nation at War* – source material – newspaper clippings 1972–75, Part two, Whitlam period** **AWM263, D/3/27**

## **National Archives of Australia**

**INWARD CABLES FILED IN BINDERS ALPHABETICALLY BY POST, 1950–73** **A6364**

Recorded by: 1950–73 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)  
Canberra 589 metres

This series consists of overseas cables to and from the Australian Government.

**Washington, US, inward cablegrams, 1972** **A6364, WH1972/12–02**

This file contains correspondence between or regarding US President Richard Nixon, Whitlam and the Vietnam War (specifically the intensive December 1972 US ‘Christmas bombings’ of Hanoi and Haiphong Harbour). The correspondence highlights the difficult relationship between outspoken ALP ministers and their US counterparts.

## **Australian–British relations**

The Whitlam government came to office determined to oversee the development of a more independent foreign policy stance for Australia. Central to this was an end to the symbolic and legal residues of Australia’s ties to Britain. Whitlam rejected the traditional offer, to all prime ministers, of membership of the Privy Council and soon moved to end the British honours list planned for New Year’s Day 1973, to great consternation among those eagerly awaiting a ‘gong’. Royal insignia were removed and, gradually, the Queen’s official portrait disappeared from schools, Commonwealth Banks, hospitals and libraries.

More substantial changes were directed at ending the residual colonial constitutional and legal elements of the Australia–Britain relationship and an end to the remaining provisions for appeals to the Privy Council. Whitlam sought to establish a relationship characterised by independence rather than deference. This included a change in the monarch’s title to ‘Queen of Australia’.

## **National Archives of Australia**

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES, 1914–93** **A1838**

Recorded by: 1948–89 Department of External Affairs [II], Central Office (CA 18)  
Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)  
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Central Office (CA 5987)  
Canberra 3.2 kilometres

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs [II] from 1948 to 1970; Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987; and the Foreign Affairs part of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

**United Kingdom – foreign policy – relations with Australia – general**

**A1838, 67/1/3, Parts 6–8**

This item contains Whitlam's 'Relations with the United Kingdom' outward cablegram (18 December 1972); Whitlam and Morrice James, 'Record of conversation' (20 December 1972); and Whitlam to Armstrong (6 April 1973).

**PERSONAL PAPERS CREATED AND MAINTAINED BY SIR CLARENCE HARDERS, 1951–97**

**M4081**

**Recorded by: 1956–97 Sir Clarence Waldemar Harders OBE (CP 686)**

**Canberra 5.7 metres**

Sir Clarence (Clarrie) Harders largely accumulated this series during his career in the public service, including as Deputy Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department (1965–70), Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department (1970–79) and as Legal Advisor to the Department of Foreign Affairs (1979–80). Included are copies of official documents and papers Sir Clarence had access to in his various official capacities, as well as a large amount of secondary material.

**Attorney-General's Department – Privy Council appeals – attitudes of state governments towards abolition, 1973–75**

**M4081, 5/72**

**Attorney-General's Department – Privy Council appeals – correspondence with British Prime Minister and officials regarding abolition, 1973–74**

**M4081, 5/71**

## **National Archives, United Kingdom**

The UK National Archives holds records relating to Gough Whitlam prior to, and during, his term as Prime Minister, including his official visits to the United Kingdom. Records collected by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office have the department code FCO. Records collected by the Prime Minister's Office have the code PREM.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office records provide extensive information about British relations with foreign states from 1782 to the present day. There are numerous divisions within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, several of which contain material relating to Whitlam, including the political geographical departments (FCO 15, 24 and 32), and the central policy departments and private offices (FCO 68). Overall, it holds records from 1968 that deal with all UK external affairs, including corresponding with foreign states; negotiating with representatives of foreign states; representing UK interests overseas; and the Secretary's responsibilities in relation to implementing the British government's foreign policy and for presenting that policy to the Cabinet and parliament. The Office also holds some records of predecessor bodies – the Foreign Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Commonwealth Office.

The FCO series consists of the records of the following departments: political geographical; economic geographical; central policy; defence; cultural, development and scientific relations; general economic; transport and communications; international organisations; consular; protocol, nationality, treaty and claims; information; and commissions. It also contains dependent territory government gazettes.

Divisions within the PREM papers include Office Papers (PREM 15 and 16).

**FOREIGN OFFICE AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE: SOUTH EAST ASIAN DEPARTMENT – REGISTERED FILES (D AND FA SERIES), 1968–** **FCO 15**

Recorded by: 1968– Foreign and Commonwealth Office, South East Asian Department

Kew, UK 2791 files

This series contains records of the South East Asian Department of the Foreign Office to October 1968. The records relate to UK relations with Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), and the International Control Commissions in Indo-China, as well as Foreign Office correspondence on matters relating to Commonwealth states in the area from January 1967.

From October 1968, the records are those of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office South East Asian Department. They cover the same states and organisations, with the exception of Indonesia, for which responsibility passed to the South West Pacific Department.

**Visits of ministers from countries other than the United Kingdom to South East Asia – tour of Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, 1974 FCO 15/1867**

**COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, FAR EAST AND PACIFIC DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, SOUTH WEST PACIFIC DEPARTMENT — REGISTERED FILES (H AND FW SERIES)** **FCO 24**

Recorded by: 1968–79 Foreign and Commonwealth Office, South West Pacific Department

Kew, UK 2516 files

This series contains the records of the Far East and Pacific Department of the Commonwealth Office from January 1967 to October 1968, and thereafter the records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office South West Pacific Department.

The records concern Commonwealth (later general UK) relations with international economic, defence and development organisations in the Far East, and with the following Commonwealth territories: Australia, Brunei, Malaysia, New Zealand and Singapore. There are files on relations with Vietnam, which focus on Commonwealth involvement in the Vietnam War, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea and Thailand. There are also departmental files on UK relations with Fiji after it gained independence in October 1970, Portuguese Timor, Papua and New Guinea, and overseas territories of Australia and New Zealand.

The correspondence concerns Gough Whitlam and Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's visits to the United Kingdom in 1973 and 1974, and highlights the Whitlam government's concerns to end remaining constitutional and legal ties between Australia and the United Kingdom. The exchanges suggest the Whitlam government's efforts were never seriously considered by their British counterparts, and his moves to end all remaining appeals to the Privy Council from some Australian states came to nothing.

**Australian Labor Party affairs and leadership of Gough Whitlam, 1967–68** **FCO 24/175, 176**

**Visit of Gough Whitlam, Leader of the Australian Labor Party, to United Kingdom, January 1969** **FCO 24/405**

**World tour of Leader of the Opposition of Australia, Mr Gough Whitlam, 1970** **FCO 24/683**

**Visits overseas by Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, 1973** **FCO 24/1600**

**Visit of Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, to UK, 20–25 April 1973** **FCO 24/1613, 1614**

A copy of a brief prepared for the UK Secretary of State regarding Whitlam's 1973 visit shows that the British agenda was to urge Whitlam to show 'a greater readiness on the part of the new Australian Government to take account of British interests in implementing their policies'.

In a record of the meeting between Whitlam and UK Prime Minister Edward Heath, Whitlam pressed the Privy Council issue. Heath is unmoved and responded by asking Whitlam which of the other remaining 'relics of colonialism' he wanted to see abolished. Nevertheless, the Foreign Office reported to the British High Commission in Canberra that the Whitlams 'were apparently admirable guests' of the Queen and Prince Philip at Windsor Castle on the eve of the Queen's birthday.

**Changes in Constitution of Australia – abolition of appeals and references to Privy Council; includes visit of Senator Lionel Murphy to United Kingdom, 22–23 January 1973** **FCO 24/1643, 1644**

Two files/items comprise official correspondence and briefings for Whitlam and Murphy's 1973 visits to England. Senator Murphy's January 1973 visit was the first official visit by any of Whitlam's Cabinet. The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office anticipated that Murphy would 'be a rather difficult guest'. Seeking a public statement from the British government supporting the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council, Murphy was disappointed. None was forthcoming then or at any time during the terms of the Whitlam government.

**Overseas visits by Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, 1974** **FCO 24/1897**

**Potential constitutional issues that might be raised by Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, during a visit to the United Kingdom, 1974** **FCO 24/1935**

**Visit of Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, to the United Kingdom, 19–20 December 1974** **FCO 24/1909, 1910, 1911, 1912**

There are four items/files, including briefs for a meeting of the prime ministers (FCO 24/1912).

**Consultations between the United Kingdom and Australia – proposed topics for discussion, 1974** **FCO 24/1913**

**Consultations between the United Kingdom and Australia – discussion of Indian subcontinent, Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly, and the Cyprus issue, 1974** **FCO 24/1914**

**Political situation in Australia – includes constitutional crisis following dismissal of Gough Whitlam, 11 November 1975** **FCO 24/2051, 2052**

There are two files, which include numerous briefings prepared by the British High Commission in Canberra between October 1975 and February 1976. A letter dated 17 October 1975 titled 'The Australian Constitutional deadlock: possible involvement of HMG' (FCO 24/2051) includes a briefing on the possibility of a petition and/or invitation to the Queen to dismiss the Governor of Queensland, Sir Colin Hannah, for his 'apparently partisan remarks', which 'have aroused something of a storm'. Another, which is dated 21 October 1975 and written by the South West Pacific Department, indicates UK government hopes that their involvement will be one of 'inaction', and 'watch and wait'. For example, a comment dated 14 November 1975 by a recipient of the briefing reads: 'Clearly there must have been a good deal of pre-arranging between Sir JK and Mr F'. On 19 February 1976, the department noted that:

our relations with the Coalition Government bid fair to be a great deal easier than they were with its predecessor ... Mr Fraser should serve our interests better on Concorde, uranium supplies and shipping policy.

The files include reports from UK embassies in other countries, which cover international reactions to the Dismissal, as well as media reporting.

**Constitutional matters in Australia, 1975** **FCO 24/2079**

Includes disagreement between state and federal governments over proposed revised Privy Council Appeals Abolition Bill; constitutional crisis following dismissal of Gough Whitlam by Sir John Kerr; and statute law repeals in Australian states.

**Internal political situation in Australia, 1976** **FCO 24/2200**

The item includes a letter from Whitlam to Harold Wilson (UK Prime Minister) dated 31 December 1975, and correspondence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to Australian High Commissioner, Morrice James, regarding the constitutional crisis.

**Australia – annual review for 1975** **FCO 22/2202**

The item covers 1975 and the Dismissal.

**Note for the record, 27 May 1976** **FCO 22/2202**

The incoming High Commissioner to Australia, Sir Donald Tebbit, commented:

My wife and I paid our first formal call on the Governor-General and Lady Kerr this morning ... The atmosphere was copy-book English with roaring log fire, and tea with scones, cream and jam even at eleven am.

Tebbit then reported his conversation with Sir John Kerr about the present situation in Australia and any possibility of 'unpleasantness' during an upcoming Jubilee visit to Australia by the Queen.

**Visit of Gough Whitlam, Leader of the Australian Labor Party, to Papua New Guinea, January 1971** **FCO 24/1148**

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE – PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEAN  
DEPARTMENT AND PACIFIC DEPENDENT TERRITORIES DEPARTMENT –  
REGISTERED FILES (Q AND HP SERIES), 1967–78**

**FCO 32**

Recorded by: 1971–78 Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Pacific Dependent  
Territories Department

**Kew, UK 1525 files**

This series comprises records relating to many countries of the South and West Pacific, including Australia. One part relates to Whitlam.

**Visit by Gough Whitlam to the United Kingdom, 19–20 December 1974 FCO 32/1040**

This visit to the United Kingdom was part of a five-week, 15-nation European trip that was supposed to focus on the European Economic Community and trade relations. Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin on 24 December 1974, while Whitlam was in the United Kingdom and he briefly returned to Australia before resuming his official visit to Europe. This decision was politically extremely damaging.

**FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE – COMMONWEALTH COORDINATION  
DEPARTMENT – REGISTERED FILES (HC SERIES), 1968–80**

**FCO 68**

Recorded by: 1968– Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Commonwealth  
Coordination Department

**Kew, UK 871 files**

This series contains records of the Commonwealth Coordination Department that deal with constitutional policy, procedure and practice; the role of the monarchy in the Commonwealth; coordination of constitutional development in the dependent territories and associated states; planning and arrangements for meetings of Commonwealth prime ministers; relations with the Commonwealth Secretariat and other intra-Commonwealth organisations not allocated to other FCO departments (principally the Commonwealth Institute, Commonwealth Foundation, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and national Commonwealth societies); and the Commonwealth Gift Scheme.

**PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE – CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS,  
1970–74 (AUSTRALIA)**

**PREM 15**

Recorded by: 1916– Prime Minister's Office

**Kew, UK 2247 files**

The British Prime Minister from 1970 to 1974 was conservative Edward Heath. This series consists of files from the Prime Minister's Office relating to all matters in which Heath was involved, except honours and patronage.

**Correspondence and records of meetings with Gough Whitlam,  
Opposition Leader in Australia, 1970–72**

**PREM 15/742**

**Visit of Gough Whitlam, Australian Prime Minister, to United Kingdom –  
record of meeting with Prime Minister, 24 April 1973**

**PREM 15/1299**

This item contains extracts of letters dated 23 April 1973 and 9 May 1973.

**Record of meetings between the Prime Minister and Billy Snedden, Opposition Leader in Australia, 19 June, and Sir Alexander Downer, former Australian High Commissioner, 21 June 1973** PREM 15/1304

**Proposed visits to the United Kingdom by Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia – Part 2, 30 January – 6 March 1974** PREM 15/2007

**Proposal by Gough Whitlam that raw material producing countries in the Commonwealth form an ‘OPEC’ for each raw material, 20 August – 27 November 1973** PREM 15/1948

**RECORDS OF THE PRIME MINISTER’S OFFICE – CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS, 1974–79** PREM 16

Recorded by: Prime Minister’s Office

Kew, UK 2297 files

The records in this series cover the UK Labour administration of 1974 to 1979, the period when Harold Wilson (1974–76), then James Callaghan (1976–79), served as Prime Minister. The files relate to all matters in which the Prime Minister was involved, except honours and patronage.

**Australia– constitutional issues, 1974** PREM 16/6

This is a closed document, temporarily retained by department. It includes Australian honours system; states’ access to the Monarch; appeals to Judicial Committee of Privy Council and the record of the Prime Minister’s meeting with Gough Whitlam, 20 December 1974.

**Australia – claim by Rupert Murdoch that Gough Whitlam was asked by Iraq about dealings between the United States, Syria, Israel and Egypt, 8 March 1976** PREM 16/746

This record is due to be opened on 1 January 2017.

**Australia – message from Gough Whitlam on his talks with Prime Minister Kosygin and President Podgorny in Moscow, 17–27 January 1975** PREM 16/301

**Australia – visits to the United Kingdom by Gough Whitlam, former Prime Minister of Australia, in June 1976 and May 1978** PREM 16/1507

**Australia – visit to the United Kingdom by Australia’s Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, December 1974** PREM 16/300

## China

As Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam headed an ALP delegation to China in 1971. As Prime Minister, one of his first decisions was to announce the recognition of communist China and in 1973 Whitlam became the first Australian Prime Minister to visit communist China.

The National Archives’ fact sheet on Australia’s diplomatic relations with China during the period of the Whitlam government highlights two series of correspondence. The National Archives also holds official photographs, such as the extensive series A6810 cited elsewhere in this chapter, which include Whitlam’s 1973 visit to China.

## National Archives of Australia

### **CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES (FIRST UNIFORM POST SYSTEM) (PEKING/BEIJING), 1956–77** **A10028**

Recorded by: 1973–77 Australian Embassy, People's Republic of China  
[Peking/Beijing] (CA 1977)

Canberra 9 metres

These records were created to document the main roles of the Australian Embassy in Beijing, which included striving to nurture and diversify trade and investment; enhancing an understanding of China in Australia; assisting China's development; building links between Australia and China; and assisting Australians in China.

See also correspondence series A7326.

### **TAPE RECORDINGS OF PRESS CONFERENCES AND INTERVIEWS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION GIVEN BY MR WHITLAM, 1965–75** **M162**

Recorded by: 1965–75 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 23 metres

The series consists of tape recordings (cassettes and reel-to-reel tapes) of press conferences and interviews on radio and television, mainly given by Whitlam.

**Prime Minister's press conference, Tokyo [sound recording], 26 October 1973; China press conference [sound recording], 4 November 1973** **M162, 121C**

### **FOLDERS CONTAINING COPIES OF PRESS RELEASES, STATEMENTS, PRESS CONFERENCES, INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES, 1972–75** **M533**

Recorded by: 1972–75 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 1.8 metres

The series consists of copies of press releases issued by Whitlam through the Prime Minister's Office, the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and the Department of Foreign Affairs. It includes copies of statements, press conferences, interviews and speeches made or given by Whitlam.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister EG Whitlam – Prime Minister's press conference, Peking, China, 4 November 1973** **M533, 179**

### **CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL C [CLASSIFIED] SUFFIX, 1913–** **A1209**

Recorded by: 1957– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Canberra 1.2 kilometres

This series comprises the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. As well as material about Whitlam's visit to China in 1973, it contains material relevant to his 1974 visit to Indonesia, apartheid and the Loans Affair.

<b>The Prime Minister Mr EG Whitlam QC visit to China, administration arrangements, 1973–74</b>	<b>A1209, 1973/6079</b>
<b>Prime Minister Mr EG Whitlam – visit to China and Japan – press arrangements, 1973</b>	<b>A1209, 1975/64</b>
<b>Prime Minister, Mr EG Whitlam – visit to China – composition of party, 1973</b>	<b>A1209, 1975/7</b>
<b>Mr EG Whitlam, Prime Minister – visit to China – itinerary and general program arrangements, 1973</b>	<b>A1209, 1975/1621</b>
<b>Prime Minister, Mr EG Whitlam – visits to China and Japan – chartering of aircraft, 1973</b>	<b>A1209, 1975/1453</b>

## Whitlam Institute

### **‘Ministerial statement: visits to Japan and China’, House of Representatives, 7 November 1973**

Regarding his visit to China in 1973 – the historic first visit of an Australian Prime Minister to communist China – Whitlam stated it symbolised ‘the successful ending of a generation of lost contact between Australia and the most populous nation on earth’.

## Papua New Guinea

The Chief Minister of Papua New Guinea, Michael Somare, was Whitlam’s first official international visitor after he became Prime Minister. Whitlam had visited Papua New Guinea on one of his earliest overseas visits as Prime Minister in February 1973. The transition to independence for Papua New Guinea was one of Whitlam’s top priorities and with Somare he set in train an ambitious three-year process towards independence, which was completed on 15 September 1975.

The Whitlam Institute holds several key speeches and press releases relating to Whitlam’s policies and decisions on Papua New Guinea. The National Archives’ fact sheet *Independence of Papua New Guinea, 1975*, will guide researchers to relevant holdings, including an interesting array of photographs relating to these events.

## Whitlam Institute

### **Published booklet titled *The New Guinea Question?: where Labor stands!* delivered by the Hon. Arthur A Calwell MHR, Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, House of Representatives, 29 March 1962**

### **Statement by the Leader of the Australian Labor Party, Mr EG Whitlam QC, MP, Port Moresby, Sunday 17 January 1971**

This is a press release from Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, issued by Whitlam, as Leader of the Opposition, regarding a two-week tour of the region in 1971.

**Press release ‘Papua New Guinea – Bougainville’, 11 August 1975**

Press statement No. 541 affirmed the Australian Government’s position on Bougainville. The Australian Government’s policy was that Papua New Guinea should become an independent nation as one country. If Bougainville became independent before 16 September, it would require the assent of the Government of Papua New Guinea, the Australian Government and the United Nations.

**Address by the Hon. Gough Whitlam QC, Prime Minister of Australia, at the Papua New Guinea Independence Celebrations, Port Moresby, 16 September 1975**

**Shell casing from HMAS *Stalwart* dedicated to EGW by Australian Defence Minister Morrison on the occasion of PNG independence, 16 September 1975**

This is a memento given to Whitlam by William (Bill) Morrison MP (Australian Defence Minister) on the occasion of Papua New Guinea’s independence on 16 September 1975. The shell casing bears the words ‘YOU DID IT’.

## Indonesia

Whitlam entered government determined to strengthen ties with Indonesia, declaring in a press statement on 22 December 1975 that this was ‘the number one objective of my Government’. The National Archives and the Whitlam Institute hold records relating to Whitlam’s work in this area. A selection of relevant records is listed below.

### National Archives of Australia

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL C [CLASSIFIED] SUFFIX, 1913–**

**A1209**

Recorded by: 1957– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
Canberra 1.2 kilometres

This series comprises the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

**Prime Minister Mr EG Whitlam QC visits to Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, February 1973 – security arrangements, 1973–74**

**A1209, 1973/6070**

**Mr EG Whitlam, Prime Minister – visit to Indonesia – April 1974, 1973–74**

**A1209, 1974/6031**

**Mr EG Whitlam, Prime Minister – visit to Indonesia, April 1974**

**A1209, 1974/6320**

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES [MAIN CORRESPONDENCE FILES SERIES OF THE AGENCY], 1914–93**

**A1838**

Recorded by: 1948–70 Department of External Affairs [II], Central Office (CA 18)  
Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)  
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Central Office (CA 5987)  
Canberra 3.2 kilometres

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs [II] from 1948 to 1970; Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987; and the Foreign Affairs part of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

<b>Visit to Indonesia by Prime Minister – Mr Whitlam 1974</b>	<b>A1838, 3034/10/11/24 Part 1</b>
<b>Visit to Indonesia by the Prime Minister – Mr Whitlam 1974</b>	<b>A1838, 3034/10/11/24 Part 2</b>
<b>Visit to Indonesia by Prime Minister – Mr Whitlam 1974</b>	<b>A1838, 3034/10/11/24 Part 3</b>
<b>Jakarta – Prime Minister’s visit to Indonesia – EG Whitlam, 1974</b>	<b>A10463, 828/4/1 Part 2</b>
<b>Prime Minister Gough Whitlam’s visit to Indonesia, 1974</b>	<b>AA1980/735, 209</b>

## Whitlam Institute

### **‘Radio Australia Broadcast – press statement No. 29’, 22 December 1972**

Whitlam declared in this press statement that strengthening ties with Indonesia was ‘the number one objective of my Government’.

### **Press release – ‘Australian/Indonesian Joint Communiqué’, 23 February 1973**

This joint communiqué, issued by Whitlam and Indonesia’s President Soeharto, described their meeting in Djarkta as involving wide ranging discussions that covered bilateral relations and the Vietnam conflict.

## East Timor

There is a great deal of material in several repositories about the dealings of successive Australian governments in relation to East Timor, only a fraction of which is set out in this section. The selective release of official documents about East Timor has been a controversial issue. Some files were opened earlier than scheduled by a special decision of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 2000, while others remained closed.

Two important reference books bring together selected original documents relating to East Timor: Wendy Way’s *Australia and the Indonesian Incorporation of Portuguese Timor, 1974–76* and Heike Krieger’s *East Timor and the International Community: basic documents* (see Bibliography).

Whitlam’s position on East Timor, like that on Papua New Guinea, supported self-determination and an orderly decolonisation process by Portugal as the colonising power. He called for a credible mechanism to allow the will of the people to be expressed and stated that there should be no forced incorporation into Indonesia if this was not ‘in accordance with the properly expressed wishes of the people of Portuguese Timor’. Whitlam put this view to President Soeharto during talks in 1974 and reiterated it in a letter in February 1975. Some of the most explosive events relating to Portuguese Timor/East Timor occurred in the month before and the month after the dismissal of the Whitlam government.

Five Australian journalists were killed at Balibo in Portuguese Timor on 16 October 1975 while attempting to report on cross-border Indonesian incursions. The National Archives has a fact sheet specifically on the Balibo Affair.

On 21 October 1975, Whitlam dismissed the Director of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service, Bill Robertson for misleading the Foreign Minister regarding the presence of an Australian intelligence operative in Portuguese Timor. The Whitlam government was dismissed on 11 November 1975; Indonesian troops invaded East Timor on 7 December 1975 during the Fraser government's first term.

In a reflection of the coincidence of these very significant events in East Timor with the tumult in Australian domestic politics, 'North Korea and Portuguese Timor' were the only substantive matters considered by the first meeting of the First Fraser Ministry on 12 November 1975. The First Fraser Ministry was in place for six weeks until the December 1975 election was held.

There are also non-archival sources regarding Whitlam and East Timor. These include Whitlam's evidence to a 1999 Senate Committee hearing into East Timor and a 2007 NSW coronial inquest into the death of Brian Peters, one of the five journalists killed at Balibo. A question repeatedly put to Whitlam over the years concerned how he had first learnt of the deaths of the journalists at Balibo. On this, see:

- Whitlam's Evidence to the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Reference Committee's 1999 hearings into East Timor, Senate Committee, *Hansard*, 6 December 1999, pp. 971–88
- *Final Report: East Timor*, Senate *Hansard*, 2000
- Inquest into the death of Brian Raymond Peters, November 2007, pp. 100–9.

The following list is only a selection of the large amount of archival material relating to East Timor; it relates to the period of the Whitlam government.

## National Archives of Australia

### UNREGISTERED PAPERS ON EAST TIMOR ACCUMULATED IN SOUTH EAST ASIA BRANCH, 3 JULY 1974 – DECEMBER 1994

**A11443**

Recorded by: 1999 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Central Office (CA 5987)

Canberra 0.5 metres

This series was put together in 1999 in the Historical Documents Unit, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from papers originally retained by the branch or division of Foreign Affairs responsible for South East Asia and subsequently held by the Indonesia Section. It contains various highly classified documents and correspondence, marked 'Personal' that discussed official business, to and from senior Foreign Affairs officers, including Richard Woolcott as Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Graham Feakes as Head of the South East Asia Division, and Alan Renouf as Secretary of the Department.

**Portuguese Timor, 1974**

**A11443, 1**

**Meeting between Prime Minister and President Suharto at Yogyakarta and Wonosobo, 6 September 1974**

**A11443, 2**

<b>Discussions between Prime Minister and President Suharto, Townsville, 3–5 April 1975</b>	<b>A11443, 3</b>
<b>Mr Jim Dunn – proposed visit to Portuguese Timor, August 1975</b>	<b>A11443, 4</b>
<b>Discussions with Dr Almeida Santos, 1 September 1975</b>	<b>A11443, 5</b>
<b>Richard Alexander Woolcott – personal letters, 1975–77</b>	<b>A11443, 6</b>
<b>Private letters on East Timor – Mr Feakes and Mr Parsons, 1974–78</b>	<b>A11443, 10</b>
<b>Indonesia – Timor – Indonesia/Australia relations – policy, special documents, cables and correspondence, 1975–77</b>	<b>A11443, 11</b>
<b>Timor – caveat material – documents, 1974–76</b>	<b>A11443, 14</b>

**RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA AND FOREIGN POLICY RELATING TO PORTUGUESE TIMOR – GENERAL – CORRESPONDENCE, 1974–75** **A1838**

Recorded by: 1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)  
Canberra 3.2 kilometres

**Relations with Australia and foreign policy relating to Portuguese Timor – General – [Ministerial] correspondence re Portuguese Timor, 1974–75** **A1838, 3038/10/1/1 Parts 1–8**

Material dated between 25 April 1974 and 17 July 1976 has been released by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade under accelerated access provisions of section 56(1) of the *Archives Act 1983*.

**INDONESIA – PROTECTION OF AUSTRALIAN INTERESTS AND CITIZENS, 1952–77** **A1838**

Recorded by: 1948–70 Department of External Affairs [II], Central Office (CA 18)  
1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)  
Canberra 4 centimetres

**Indonesia – protection of Australian interests and citizens, 1952–77** **A1838, 3034/10/12/1 Part 1**

**FIRST FRASER MINISTRY – FOLDER OF CABINET DECISIONS, 1975** **A13050**

Recorded by: 1975 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)  
Canberra 0.1 metres

This series contains a copy of all decisions made by the first Fraser Cabinet, which was in place for six weeks between the Dismissal and the December 1975 election.

The first of only two meetings of Cabinet occurred on 12 November – the day after the Fraser government was formed. The only substantive matters discussed were 'North Korea and Portuguese Timor'. The second Cabinet meeting was held on 19 November 1975.

## National Security Archive (United States)

The US National Security Archive holds records of internal State Department discussions about the abrupt withdrawal of Portugal from Portuguese East Timor and the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia in December 1975. The relationship between the United States and Australia was raised in these discussions, with particular reference to Whitlam's 'high posture' on East Timor, on which he repeatedly urged the need for the consent of the East Timorese people in determining its future. The National Security Archive website provides links to, and a discussion of, the significance of two declassified documents from the Gerald R Ford Presidential Library, released to the Archive which:

... shed light on the Ford administration's relationship with President Suharto of Indonesia during 1975. Of special importance is the record of Ford's [sic] and Kissinger's meeting with Suharto in early December 1975. Both of these documents had been released in heavily excised form some years ago, but with Suharto out of power, and following the collapse of Indonesian control over East Timor, both documents have been released in their entirety.

### **NATIONAL ARCHIVES, RECORD GROUP 59, DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECORDS, TRANSCRIPTS OF STAFF MEETINGS OF SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, 1973–77**

#### **Department of State Secret 'The Secretary's Principal and Regional Staff Meeting', 12 August 1975**

This record is a Secret [excerpt] of the Secretary's 8am staff meeting on Tuesday 12 August 1975, with a cover memorandum on the highlights of the meeting attached.

During the meeting, Henry Kissinger and his close advisers discussed what they saw favourably as the UDT coup (against 'communist-dominated' Fretilin) in East Timor. They noted that Whitlam was taking a 'high posture' on principle of 'the consent of the [East Timorese] people'.

### **GERALD R FORD LIBRARY, KISSINGER–SCOWCROFT TEMPORARY PARALLEL FILE, BOX A3, COUNTRY FILE, FAR EAST-INDONESIA, STATE DEPARTMENT TELEGRAMS, 1 APRIL 1975 – 22 SEPTEMBER 1976**

#### **Embassy Jakarta telegram 1579 to Secretary of State, 6 December 1975, Secret/Nodis**

This document shows that Suharto began the invasion of East Timor knowing that he had the approval of the White House. (Nodis means 'no distribution' without the permission of the State Department's Executive Secretary.)

## Whitlam Institute

The Whitlam Institute e-Collection holds numerous items relating to East Timor, including Whitlam's speeches on Australia's foreign policy before, during and after he was Prime Minister, statements and letters to various newspapers regarding the release of official records about East Timor, and several letters to the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee in relation to its 1999 hearings into East Timor. Selected items are highlighted below.

**DEPARTMENT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING STAFF, TAPE 601 SOURCED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY *GOUGH WHITLAM: IN HIS OWN WORDS* PRODUCED BY RONIN FILMS, 2002**

The film shows Whitlam's appearance before the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee of 1999 in relation to activities in East Timor in 1975. The film was sourced for *Gough Whitlam: in his own words*, a 90-minute documentary filmed in 2002. It features an armchair-style interview with Whitlam by ALP Senator John Faulkner. Extended monologues are broken by archival films and photographs.

**Report by the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC dated 12 October 2000 to Caucus members titled 'East Timor chronology', 2000**

The Hon. EG Whitlam provided a detailed history of events regarding his government's involvement in, and his own knowledge of, events in East Timor in 1974 and 1975. Whitlam based his account on *Hansard* and his own logbooks and official diaries.

## **1974 election: Whitlam government is returned**

On 18 May 1974, Gough Whitlam became the first Labor leader ever to take the party to two consecutive election victories. Whitlam had secured a double dissolution of both houses of parliament after the Senate had twice rejected several key government Bills, including a Bill to institute a universal health insurance system Medibank and electoral Bills to establish 'one vote one value' and end the rural gerrymander. The Whitlam government was re-elected in the May 1974 double dissolution election with a barely changed House of Representatives vote and with an increase of three in the number of Senate seats it held. Both government and Opposition now held an equal number of seats in the Senate and the balance of power in the Senate was held by two Independent senators. The successful 1974 election result led to the historic Joint Sitting of both houses of parliament, during which the six 'trigger' Bills for the double dissolution were then passed.

### **Joint Sitting**

The six 'trigger' Bills that were the basis for the May 1974 double dissolution were brought before both houses of parliament, which sat and voted as one. The Joint Sitting, which took place in the House of Representatives on 6 and 7 August 1974, was also notable as the first official function of the new Governor-General Sir John Kerr, and as the first time the proceedings of parliament were televised. The National Film and Sound Archive holds a newsreel that includes a small amount of this footage. In 2005, the ABC published a video, *Joint Sitting of Parliament 1974* (80 minutes), which is held by the University of Western Sydney Library (Whitlam Prime Ministerial Collection).

## National Archives of Australia

### **CORRESPONDENCE FOLDERS MAINTAINED BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED BY SUBJECT, 1914–75**

**M132**

Recorded by: 1972–75 The Hon. Lionel Keith Murphy QC (CP 87)

Attorney-General's Department, Central Office –  
Attorney-General's Office (CA 5)

Canberra 7.9 metres

This series comprises the main set of correspondence folders maintained by Senator Murphy as Attorney-General. The files are arranged by subject, in alphabetical order. The subjects include abortion; legal aid; telephone tapping; copyright; censorship; divorce; federal prisoners; human rights; the national wage case; Petrov; terrorist activities; the United Nations; and Vietnam.

In addition to correspondence with departments, ministers, members of the public and private organisations, the series includes pamphlets, transcripts of speeches, a transcript of an interview on radio station 2CA Canberra, photographs, reports and newspaper clippings.

**Proposed laws to be considered at Joint Sitting of parliament,  
6 August 1974, 1973–74**

**M132, 276**

### **FOLDERS OF PAPERS APPARENTLY KEPT IN SENATOR MURPHY'S INNER OFFICE RELATING TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S MATTERS, 1972–74**

**M134**

Recorded by: 1972–75 The Hon. Lionel Keith Murphy QC (CP 87)

Attorney-General's Department, Central Office –  
Attorney-General's Office (CA 5)

Canberra 0.8 metres

This series comprises papers packed for transfer to the National Archives by the Attorney-General's staff. The records appear to have come from Senator's Murphy inner office. Included are various types of papers on several special and miscellaneous matters that concerned Senator Murphy. For example, there are papers relating to the double dissolution and Joint Sitting of parliament in 1974; prohibited publications; the nuclear tests case at the International Court of Justice in The Hague; the Human Rights Bill; restrictive trade practices legislation; a list of Queen's Counsel in Australia; and the Federal Executive Arts and Media Policy Committee.

The files contain correspondence; reports; verbatim records of sittings of the International Court of Justice; departmental publications; press releases; press clippings; and background papers by the Legislative Research Service. A file containing photographs is held separately in cold storage for preservation purposes.

**CLASSIFIED CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'SR' (SPECIAL REGISTRY) PREFIX, 1973–74**

**A5034**

Recorded by: 1973–74 Attorney-General's Department, Central Office (CA 5)  
Canberra 13 metres

This series was created in 1973 to bring together all the confidential, secret and top secret files, which until then had been registered as part of the main file series (A432). Blocks of numbers were allocated for Crown Solicitor, Parliamentary Drafting Executive, Advising and the Administrative area. At the end of 1974, the department decided to revert to the previous system of registering classified files as part of the main file series.

**Joint Sitting following double dissolution, 1974**

**A5034, SR1974/3030 Part 1**

**INQUIRY INTO TELEVISIONING OF 1974 PARLIAMENTARY JOINT SITTING, 1974**

**A12819**

Recorded by: 1901– Joint Parliamentary Statutory Committee on the  
Broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings (CA 3175)  
Canberra 0.4 metres

**VOLUMES OF JOURNALS OF THE SENATE, 1901–**

**A11235**

Recorded by: 1902– Department of the Senate (CA 691)  
Canberra 4.8 metres

This series consists of volumes of Senate journals that constitute the official minutes of the proceedings in that chamber, including votes on matters, the passage of legislation and the tabling of documents.

**Twenty-ninth Parliament (6–7 August 1974) – minutes of proceedings and related documents, 1974**

**A11235, 56A**

**PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES AND PRINTS, DAILY SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1971–**

**A6180**

Recorded by: 1973–87 Australian Information Service, Canberra [from 1986,  
Promotion Australia] – Pictorial Library Section (CA 1578)  
Canberra 44 metres

The negatives and prints cover a diverse range of subjects and assignments relating to Australia's political, economic and social life, such as agricultural shows, geographical sights, educational institutions and migrant activities.

**Government – federal parliament – a Joint Sitting of parliament in the House of Representatives Chamber, Canberra, 1974**

**A6180, 7/8/74/41–7/8/74/54**

There are 14 images from 7 August 1974 taken in the House of Representatives and elsewhere in Parliament House. There is one from 6 August 1974 (6/8/74/49).

**PHOTOGRAPHIC COLOUR TRANSPARENCIES POSITIVES, DAILY SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'K' PREFIX, 1971–**

**A6135**

Recorded by: 1973–87 Australian Information Service, Canberra [from 1986,  
Promotion Australia] – Pictorial Library Section (CA 1578)  
Canberra 34 metres

The transparencies cover a diverse range of subjects and assignments relating to Australia's political, economic and social life, such as agricultural shows, geographical sights, educational institutions and migrants activities.

**Government – federal parliament – Proclamation of Joint Sitting of Parliament, read by Mr David Smith outside the House, 1974** **A6135, K31/7/74/5**

**PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO MR WHITLAM'S OFFICIAL VISITS OVERSEAS, 1965–96** **M4472**

Recorded by: 1965–96 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney 19 metres

This collection contains black and white and colour photographs of Gough and Margaret Whitlam's official visits overseas. Photographs in the collection were taken in several countries including China, Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Philippines and USSR. There are also some personal albums.

Some of the albums were presented to Whitlam by officials of the countries he visited, and some were compiled by the Department of the Media.

## National Film and Sound Archive

**AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE TV NEWS FOOTAGE, 1974** **TF 74/50, 62284-1**

Duration: 3 minutes

The 1974 Joint Sitting of parliament was the first television broadcast of parliamentary proceedings in Australia, and the first colour television broadcast in Australia.

## Aboriginal Affairs

Whitlam first met Indigenous Australians while serving in the Royal Australian Air Force at bases in Queensland and the Northern Territory. However, he had been alerted to 'flaws in the Australian Constitution' – negative and exclusionary references to Aboriginal people – when he attended the 1942 Constitutional Convention in Canberra.

The Whitlam Institute holds materials reflecting Whitlam's concerns in this area, such as a 1972 press statement and speeches made in 1981 and 1997. Whitlam's visit to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy for a meeting with Indigenous leaders while Opposition leader and his subsequent 1972 press statement on land rights were regarded by participants as 'one of the greatest coups ever for the Aboriginal advancement movement'. An article in *Identity* (July 1972) described the meeting, along with a photo that captured the pivotal moment when Paul Coe questioned Whitlam about the ALP's Aboriginal policies. Just days after the 1972 election, Whitlam announced a Royal Commission into Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory, which led to Australia's first Aboriginal land rights legislation. The Whitlam government's Northern Territory Aboriginal Land Rights Bill was passed only in the House of Representatives; it was on the Senate list for the day on which his government was dismissed.

The Australian National University holds records relevant to the struggle of the Gurindji people for land rights, which became obvious nationally when they walked off Wave Hill station in the Northern Territory in 1966. Whitlam conducted a hand back ceremony at Daguragu on 16 August 1975. The National Archives of Australia holds important collections of photographs of the Gurindji Camp (taken in 1967), the handing over of the lease (1975), and further developments in 1980. See *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* for information about the ANU's collection that relates to the Gurindji strike and national campaign. See also the National Archives' fact sheet on the Wave Hill 'walk-off.'

## **Whitlam Institute**

### **Aboriginal land rights press release, 6 August 1972**

Whitlam's press release states:

The only way to keep faith with the Aboriginal people and to redeem the overwhelming national pledge recorded in the 1967 Referendum would be immediate recognition of Aboriginal land and mineral rights.

### **Australia's international obligations on Aborigines, 31 October 1981**

Delivered at a seminar in Sydney on 31 October 1981, this speech includes Whitlam's reproach of the Holt, Gorton and McMahon governments for failing to make use of the Commonwealth powers in relation to Aboriginal affairs that were granted by the 1967 referendum.

### **Dragging the Chain 1897–1997: The Second Vincent Lingiari Memorial Lecture, 29 August 1997**

In this lecture, Whitlam recounted the federal parliament's dismal record on Aboriginal rights from 1902 to 1997, including its failure to act on the possibilities following the 1967 referendum, which had granted the federal government power to legislate for Aboriginal people, and on the implementation of the Genocide Convention of 1948:

If the Convention had been enacted in the 1950s, most of the harrowing events which were described in evidence to the Inquiry [into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families] would not have occurred.

## **Australia–United States security issues – military bases and the ASIO 'raid'**

The Whitlam government's relationship with ASIO was troubled, influenced by Cold War politics of the era and uncertainty brought about by the new government's changing priorities in foreign affairs. Significant issues and events with implications for security included the war in Vietnam, the future of US bases in Australia, the ASIO 'raid', the 1974 Royal Commission on Intelligence and Security, and Whitlam's dismissal of ASIS head Bill Robertson in October 1975. Key players in this area of politics and policy were Whitlam, Attorney-General Lionel Murphy and Dr Jim Cairns, who was variously Minister for Overseas Trade, Deputy Prime Minister and Treasurer.

While many in the ALP wanted to see ASIO abolished, Whitlam and Attorney-General Lionel Murphy were in favour of its retention, but with more stringent accountability requirements. Murphy's review of ASIO's phone intercepts early in the government's term set up a difficult relationship with the security services. His 'ministerial visit' to ASIO headquarters to investigate ASIO's apparent failure to act against political violence directed at the Yugoslav community in Australia since 1963 as the Yugoslav Prime Minister was soon to visit Australia, was considered by many a 'raid' with unfortunate echoes of totalitarianism.

It was not until an ASIO dossier on Dr Jim Cairns was leaked to the media in 1974 that Whitlam instigated the Royal Commission on Intelligence and Security. As one of the most prominent anti-war campaigners in the Whitlam Cabinet, and not afraid to call for the closure of all military bases, Cairns' ascent to Deputy Leader of the ALP and Deputy Prime Minister concerned ASIO and the international security services as 'a possible security problem'.

The papers of Sir Arthur Tange, Secretary of the Department of Defence, and Sir Clarence Harders, Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department, were key among the selection of records listed below that covered these dramatic events.

The National Archives has a fact sheet on the Royal Commission on Intelligence and Security established by the Whitlam government in 1974.

## National Archives of Australia

### **SOURCE MATERIAL COLLECTED FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT ON ASPECTS OF THE COLD WAR IN AUSTRALIA, 1968–74**

**A12694**

**Recorded by:** 1969–75 Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Central Office (CA 1297)

**Canberra** 0.6 metres

This series consists mainly of copies of information extracted from ASIO files that had been gathered as research for a study into aspects of the Cold War in Australia from 1968 to 1974. The material may duplicate in part files in series A6122, subject files, multiple number series and A6119, personal files, alpha-numeric series.

#### **Special Projects Branch Volume 3, 1969–75**

**A12694, 18**

This item contains 'Notes of meeting with Prime Minister at Parliament House, 20 June 1974' and 'Special Projects Section (HQRS)'. Whitlam called the meeting to confront ASIO's acting Director-General about the suspected leak of a dossier that strongly suggested Dr Jim Cairns, the new Deputy Prime Minister, was a communist.

### **ASIO – SUBJECT FILES, 1915–**

**A6122**

**Recorded by:** 1949– Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Central Office (CA1297)

**Canberra** 59 metres

**Sydney** 18 metres

This series comprises files, known as 'volumes', which cover internal administrative matters, operational matters and particular topics.

**Records of conversation and correspondence between the Director-General of ASIO and the Prime Minister, 1954–76, Volume 7** **A6122, 2134**

This item contains ASIO Director-General Peter Barbour's note of record, meeting 14 December 1972 and note of record, meeting 19 December 1972, which document Lionel Murphy's first moves as Attorney-General in relation to ASIO. In his first few months in office, Murphy ordered his offices swept for surveillance devices and asked for a review of all existing telephone taps.

**Senator Murphy's visit to ASIO 1973 – return of papers, c.18 March 1973** **A6122, 2171**

This item contains the ASIO report, 'Croatian activity in Australia'.

**Record of conversation and correspondence between the Director-General of ASIO and the Attorney-General, 1961–75** **A6122, 2148**

This item includes the item 'Note for record by Director-General, 3 April 1973'.

**Visit to ASIO HQ by AG and Commonwealth Police, 16 March 1973, Volume 1** **A6122, 2180**

This item contains a telex from Barbour to staff, 28 March 1973.

**PERSONAL PAPERS CREATED AND MAINTAINED BY SIR CLARENCE HARDERS, 1965–97** **M4081**

Recorded by: 1965–97 Sir Clarence Waldemar Harders OBE (CP 686)

Canberra 1 centimetre

Sir Clarence (Clarrie) Harders largely accumulated this series during his long and distinguished career in the Australian Public Service, including as Deputy Secretary and Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department (1965–70 and 1970–79, respectively), and as Legal Adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs (1979–80). Included are copies of official documents and papers to which Harders had access in his various official capacities, as well as a large amount of secondary material. There are records relating to his time as a partner of national law firm Freehill, Hollingdale and Page (1980–86), and his role in the legal defence of Mr Justice Lionel Murphy during the Murphy trials (1985–86). The series also contains draft and published versions of various articles and papers written by Harders, as well as draft chapters and notes for his memoirs, together with a small amount of personal correspondence and other papers, such as photocopied legal and parliamentary papers.

**Attorney General's Department – special cases – Croatian matters, 1973** **M4081, 5/83**

**NOTE BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON ABOUT THE EVENTS OF 1975 WHEN HE WAS DISMISSED AS DIRECTOR OF ASIS BY PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM, 2009** **M4948**

Recorded by: 2009 William Thomas Robertson CBE (Civil), OBE (Mil.), MC (CP 1011)

Canberra 0.1 metres

This series comprises a single item that was compiled by William Robertson, former Director of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service, 1968–75. The document was written in 2009 and is Robertson's personal recollection of the events of October–November 1975, when he was dismissed from his ASIS

position by Whitlam. The document's original title was 'Memorandum dealing with the termination of the appointment of WT Robertson as Director ASIS by EG Whitlam on 21 October 1975'. National Archives staff expanded the title to explain the nature of the documents.

## National Library of Australia

### PAPERS OF SIR ARTHUR TANGE, 1929–2001

MS 9847

Quantity: 5.6 metres

The series contains family and official correspondence; sources on family history, including the life of EOG Shann; papers relating to appointments, honours and the various phases of Tange's career; appointment diaries and itineraries; speeches, lectures and articles, especially on defence organisation; and publications. Many of the papers date from Tange's retirement and include correspondence with former ministers, departmental colleagues and academic researchers. The correspondents include Lord and Lady Casey, Malcolm Fraser, Sir Garfield Barwick, Ian Sinclair, Sir James Plimsoll, Sir Walter Crocker, Sir Peter Heydon, Sir Keith Shann, Gary Woodard and Peter Edwards.

Tange was a public servant and diplomat. He joined the Department of External Affairs in 1946. He was Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, 1954–65; High Commissioner to India and Ambassador to Nepal, 1965–70; and Secretary of the Department of Defence, 1970–79.

The collection contains material concerning claims that there had been a briefing on the 'security crisis' with the Chief Defence Scientist and the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr.

## US Department of State, Office of the Historian

### FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1969–76

VOLUME E-12

**Documents on East and South East Asia 1973–76, Document 48, National Archives RG 59, Transcripts of Secretary of State Kissinger's staff meetings 1973–77, Entry 5177, Box 3, Secret, website**

These documents are records of a staff meeting at which the attitude of the US administration to the election of Dr Jim Cairns as Deputy Leader of the ALP and Deputy Prime Minister in 1974 is made apparent: 'We have a possible security problem with Cairns'. Cairns had previously called publicly for closure of all US military bases in Australia.

**Telegram 260731 – Confidential – Department of State to the Embassy in Australia, 4 November 1975, Document 58**

This is a telegram from a furious Kissinger to the US Ambassador in Canberra after Whitlam announced his intention to name a CIA operative who had worked at the Pine Gap US base near Alice Springs in the Northern Territory.

## Whitlam Institute

### **Australian Mission to the United Nations – Address by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr EG Whitlam, at the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 30 September 1974**

In this strongly worded speech, Whitlam addressed claims that US forces had been involved in the violent end to the democratic socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile and Allende's assassination. Whitlam also commented on his support for the 'accession to independence' of Portuguese Timor and Papua New Guinea.

## Minerals and energy development, and the Loans Affair

Following its re-election in 1974, the Whitlam government continued to face Senate opposition to its legislative reform program. The government became embroiled in a series of controversies, including attempts to borrow large amounts of money from Middle Eastern governments (then flush with funds from the oil crisis). The root of what became known as the Loans Affair was the government's announcement in October 1973 of plans to fund government initiatives in energy production and infrastructure, in particular the immense gas pipeline from the North West shelf to the eastern states. Minerals and Energy Minister Rex Connor planned to achieve this by borrowing \$4,000 million on the international market through which a new Petroleum and Minerals Authority would fund Australian resource development. Connor's authority to conduct this loan-raising was authorised by the Executive Council on 13 December 1974 and later re-authorised for a smaller amount in January 1975, and finally withdrawn in May 1975. Treasury had been kept informed by Treasurer Jim Cairns and had made known its disapproval of the process, the identities involved and the purposes of the loan. Whitlam was forced to dismiss Cairns over a related matter in July and Connor for misleading parliament in October 1975.

Researchers should note that there are numerous duplicated versions of official files relating to the Loans Affair, due to the involvement of multiple ministers and government departments in the arrangements (Prime Minister and Cabinet, Treasury, Minerals and Energy, and Attorney-General).

The National Archives has a fact sheet on the Loans Affair.

## Australian National University Archives

### **NATIONAL FARMERS' FEDERATION RECORDS**

**NBAC Z135**

#### **Speeches and press statements by the Prime Minister, 1972–77**

**NBAC Z135/59**

As a national body whose aims include influencing government policies relating to farmers' interests, the National Farmers' Federation (NFF) monitored statements issued by ministers on a broad range of economic, industrial, trade and other subjects. The file on Whitlam includes transcripts of interviews; printed ministerial statements; national addresses and press releases; and documents dated December 1972 – March 1973 testifying to the NFF's close monitoring of the high activity and energy of the new government. There are also manuscript notes on an NFF meeting with Whitlam on 20 March 1975 and copies of several letters to him.

## National Archives of Australia

### **CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES , 1901–78**

**A571**

Recorded by: 1901–76 Department of the Treasury [I], Central Office (CA 11)

Canberra 509 metres

Sydney 22 metres

This is the main correspondence file series of the former Department of the Treasury. The series was closed on 6 December 1976 when the new departments of Treasury [II] (CA 2141) and Finance (CA 2140) were created. Both started new correspondence file series on 7 December 1976 and both new series (A3730 Finance, A3720 Treasury) commenced with file 1977/1.

The series contains material relating to the Loans Affair.

**Middle East loan offer to the Department of Minerals and Energy, 1974–75**

**A571,**

**1975/96 Part 1**

**Overseas loans – transactions – ‘funny money’ – Senate resolution, 1975**

**A571,**

**1975/3944 Part 1**

### **SUBJECT FILES MAINTAINED BY SIR PETER LAWLER, 1901–86**

**M2480**

Recorded by: 1972–85 Sir Peter James Lawler OBE (CP 314)

Canberra 2.3 metres

These are the subject files maintained by Sir Peter Lawler in his capacity as Secretary of the Department of the Special Minister of State (1972–75); Secretary of, and Special Adviser to, the Department of Administrative Services (1975–83); and Australian Ambassador to Ireland and the Holy See (1983–86). They consist of Australian Public Service procedures for appointing department heads and other staff; organisational arrangements and departmental structure; ministerial responsibilities; and administrative arrangements. There is correspondence about the security of the Commonwealth and about the welfare of prominent people, such as Sir Robert and Dame Patti Menzies, Lord and Lady Casey, and Sir John and Lady McEwan, following their retirement from public life. The files include copies of Remuneration Tribunal Reviews, and reports from the Priorities Review Staff, the Department of Defence and the Grants Commission. They also include a collection of correspondence, some of which is marked secret and confidential, with Prime Minister Whitlam, ministers, department heads and senior public servants. Many of the documents refer to events surrounding the dissolution of the Whitlam government and to notorious occurrences such as the Nugan/Hand Affair, Iraqi Breakfast Affair, Costigan Papers, and investigation into the former Narcotics Bureau. There are various documents relating to the Loans Affair (extracts from *Hansard*, copies of the Crawford and Khemlani statutory declarations, newspaper reports, copies of the Khemlani cables), compiled into a ‘subject file’ maintained by Lawler.

<b>The Iraqi Breakfast Affair, 1976</b>	<b>M2480, 153</b>
<b>Copy of police report on suspected breach of banking regulation, 1976</b>	<b>M2480, 156</b>
<b>The Loans Affair, 1974–75</b>	<b>M2480, 159</b>
<b>Documents relating to availability of Supply, 1975</b>	<b>M2460, 160</b>
<b>Dismissal of the Whitlam government, 1975–76</b>	<b>M2480, 163</b>

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL C [CLASSIFIED] SUFFIX, 1913–** **A1209**

Recorded by: 1957– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
 Canberra 1.2 kilometres

This series comprises classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. The subject matter varies as widely as that of counterpart unclassified files within CRS A463, correspondence files and annual single number series. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, environmental, industrial and defence fields.

The series also includes material on Whitlam's visits to China in 1973 and Indonesia in 1974, and on apartheid (see 'Minister for Foreign Affairs').

**Overseas loan raisings – dealings with Khemlani – Secretary's papers, 1974–75** **A1209, 1975/3168**

These records are assorted notes and documents about the Loans Affair, in particular concerning the involvement of Mr Firth and Mr Drover.

**Overseas loan raisings activities – Mr Fraser's statement on the Loans Affair, 23 October 1975** **A1209, 1975/2488**

The item includes documents regarding overseas loan raising activities, including transcripts of interviews and extracts from *Hansard*.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1974–75** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 1**

These are documents such as letters, cables and *Hansard* extracts relating to Whitlam, Fraser, Khemlani, Connor, Cairns, the banks and the events of the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 2**

This item contains documents relating to the events of the Loans Affair, such as minutes, transcripts of press conferences, letters and the Solicitor-General's statement.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 3**

These papers include documents given by Connor to Harders (as requested by Whitlam), and copies of various extracts of Senate regulations relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 4**

These are documents such as notes on responding to Opposition attacks, transcripts of government speeches, cables/telegrams/letters between ministers and secretaries, and correspondence regarding Khemlani's visit, relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 5**

These papers relate to the tabling of documents by Connor and include transcripts of television reports/interviews and copies of cables relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 6**

These are records such as transcripts of television programs, letters between key people, information on Karidis and copies of correspondence with him, and copies of documents that Connor gave Harders (23 May and 30 May), relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 7**

These are documents such as copies of cables between Khemlani/Connors/banks, copies of answers to questions in the House of Representatives or Senate, and copies of questions or exchanges in the Senate relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 8**

This item contains documents such as transcripts of interviews, *Hansard* extracts, Connor's resignation letter and Treasury's response to Khemlani's statutory declaration relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 9**

These documents include newspaper articles, *Hansard* extracts, possible responses to attacks on government, documents tabled by Senator Steele Hall and government minutes relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 10**

These are documents such as materials relating to the Sankey case, newspaper clippings, *Hansard* extracts and government responses to Opposition calls for a royal commission relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani arrangements, 1975** **A1209, 1975/1237 Part 11**

These are records such as government minutes, Senate *Hansard* extracts and newspaper reports relating to Khemlani and the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – papers relating to Mr Connor and Mr Khemlani obtained from the Department of Minerals and Energy on 29 October 1975**

**A1209, 1975/2253**

**Overseas loan raisings – Khemlani Statutory Declaration of 3 November 1975 and the accompanying documentation, 1975** **A1209, 1975/2400 Part 1**

**Treasury No. 1974/96 Part 1 – Middle East Loan Offer to Department of Minerals and Energy (Khemlani), 1974** **A1209, 1975/2494 Part 1**

**Treasury No. 1974/96 Part 2 – Middle East Loan Offer to Department of Minerals and Energy (Khemlani), 1974** **A1209, 1975/2494 Part 2**

This item includes transcripts of meetings and phone conversations, minute papers and detailed letter exchanges relating to the Loans Affair, in particular dealings with the Reserve Bank.

**Treasury No. 1974/96 Part 3 – Middle East Loan Offer to  
Department of Minerals and Energy (Khemlani), 1974** **A1209, 1975/2494 Part 3**

These records contain advice on what the loan money could be used for, advice for how to proceed if the loan (is/is not) acquired, transcripts of phone conversations and other organisational details of the Loans Affair.

**Treasury No. 1974/96 Part 4 – Middle East Loan Offer to  
Department of Minerals and Energy (Khemlani), 1974** **A1209, 1975/2494 Part 4**

These are records of phone conversations, correspondence, minutes and a draft acceptance of the loan offer, all related to the Loans Affair.

**Treasury No. 1974/96 Part 5 – Middle East Loan Offer to  
Department of Minerals and Energy (Khemlani), 1974** **A1209, 1975/2494 Part 5**

This item contains documents such as transcripts of conversations, letters between the government and the Reserve Bank, information on overseas banks involved and other offers of loans being made to the Australian High Commission in London, all relating to the Loans Affair.

**Overseas loan raisings – communications between Mr Connor/  
Sir Lenox Hewitt and Mr Khemlani, and/or his associates,  
covering the period 14 November 1974 to 6 January 1975** **A1209, 1975/2525**

**FOLDERS RELATING TO PROPOSED OVERSEAS LOAN RAISING  
[LOANS AFFAIR], SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1975–76** **A8446**

Recorded by: 1975–76 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
Canberra 0.5 metres

This is an 'artificial' series, comprising 18 folders of material relating to the 1975 Loans Affair. Most of the material is photocopied from files contained in consignment 72 of CRS A1209 (A1209/72), although some original material is included.

The material covers attempts by ministers of the Whitlam government to obtain loan money from non-traditional sources, which led to the resignation of the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor, and the sacking of the former Treasurer, Jim Cairns. Some of the folders have been compiled as briefing notes for various senior public servants.

**Overseas loan raising – documentation from the Department of Minerals  
and Energy, 1974–75** **A8446, 5**

**Confidential overseas loans, 1975** **A8446, 18**

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'A' PREFIX  
(KNOWN AS THIRD 'A' FILE SERIES), 1949** **A7452**

Recorded by: 1981– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
Canberra 19 metres

This series is the third 'A' file series, which commenced in 1981. The first 'A' file series is CRS A6717. It appears that the second 'A' file series is unregistered, as only file covers remain. It appears to have been created between 1972 and 1981, although some file covers seem to have held pre-December 1957 material. Some files from the unregistered second

'A' file series were amalgamated with files in this third 'A' file series (A7452), which contains a report by JM Davies, Chief Commissioner of Commonwealth Police, relating to the Loans Affair. The rest of the folder is classified and blank.

**Overseas loan raising activities 1975**

**A7452, A157**

**FOLDERS OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE AND STATEMENTS – CAIRNS, 1966–75**

**M1567**

Recorded by: 1966–75 The Hon. Dr James Ford Cairns (CP 95)

Canberra 18 metres

This series contains political and personal correspondence and statements maintained by Jim Cairns during 1966–75.

**Correspondence between Dr JF Cairns and Mr George Harris concerning Australian Government fundraising overseas, 1975**

**M1567, Box 1/4**

This is correspondence from April 1975 between Cairns and Harris regarding negotiation of a loan.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'G' [GENERAL REPRESENTATIONS] INFIX, 1903–**

**A463**

Recorded by: 1956–

Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Department of the Vice-President of the Executive Council, Central Office (CA 1402)

Department of the Environment, Aborigines and the Arts, Central Office (CA 1407)

Australian Science, Technology and Engineering Council (CA 2423)

Prime Minister's Science, Engineering and Innovation Council (CA 9439)

Canberra 966 metres

This series was raised to deal with general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401), which is directly under the control of the Prime Minister. Subjects covered vary considerably, reflecting the coordinating function of the department. Political, social, cultural, economic, environmental, industrial and defence matters are all dealt with in the series. Other matters include administration of the Commonwealth government; immigration; honours; international conferences; diplomatic relations with other countries; and management of Official Establishments – the Prime Minister's residences and the associated trust.

**Overseas loan raising – Transcripts of *This Day Tonight*, *A Current Affair*, AM – federal file, 1975**

**A463, 1975/4359**

This is a press cuttings file, which includes transcripts of interviews with central figures.

**PERSONAL SETS OF OFFICIAL PAPERS OF THE SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY, SIR FREDERICK WHEELER, 1971–78**

**A6385**

Recorded by: 1971–78 Department of the Treasury [I], Central Office (CA 11)  
Sir Frederick Henry Wheeler AC, CBE (CP 340)  
Department of the Treasury [II], Central Office (CA 2141)  
Canberra 62 metres

This series comprises Sir Frederick Wheeler's personal copies of official papers, kept in his office throughout his term as Secretary of the Department of the Treasury (1971–78). They include everything he signed, special subject files, and all minutes sent to the Treasurer by Treasury divisions and deputy secretaries. The papers were collected and filed by Wheeler's senior executive assistants and personal assistants. There are no personal papers in the series. There are documents relating to the George Harris affair, including a June 1975 report by the Solicitor-General.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **A6385, 140 Part 2**

This item includes documents relating to the George Harris affair, including a June 1975 report by the Solicitor-General.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **A6385, 140 Part 3**

These documents relate to the George Harris affair and include Treasury papers, documents supplied by Cairns to Harris and enquiries to London about loans.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **A6385, 140 Part 4**

This item contains documents that explore the responsibilities of a public service official when there are issues of legality involved.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **140 Part 5**

This item includes a letter from newly appointed Treasurer Bill Hayden to Harris regarding the cancellation of loan proposals; copies of media inquiries; transcripts of Cairns' press conferences and interviews; and Whitlam's request for information on any 'men' in Hayden's office who had previously worked for Cairns.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **A6385, 140 Part 6**

This item comprises documents relating to Cairns' involvement with Harris, and statements by Wheeler and Edward Shann regarding their involvement with Harris.

**The Loans Affair – George Harris affair, 1975** **A6385, 140 Part 7**

Included in this item are various documents relating to Cairns, Wheeler, Whitlam, Treasury and the High Commission in England, and their involvement with Harris.

**PERSONAL PAPERS OF PRIME MINISTER FRASER, 1963–83**

**M1268**

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet,  
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)  
The Rt Hon. John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)  
Canberra 1 centimetre

This series of subject files was maintained in the Prime Minister's Office during the prime ministership of Malcolm Fraser (1975–83). It covers the entire period of his term in office with the exception of the final six weeks (February–March 1983).

**Loans Affair, includes papers relating to Arab and Irak connection, Australian newspaper editorials, and transcripts of ABC interviews with Gough Whitlam, 1975–76** M1268, 309 Part 1

**Loans Affair, includes papers relating to a transcript of interview with Tirath Khemlani and cables, 1974–75** M1268, 309 Part 2

This is predominantly a collection of cables between Khemlani, Connor, Karidis and the banks in January 1975, along with some media coverage.

**Loans Affair, includes papers relating to visit to Australia by two Iraqi Foreign Ministry officials, 1975–76** M1268, 309 Part 3

This series includes documents and information related to the Loans Affair, including transcripts of interviews and newspaper reports; copies of cables; *Hansard* extracts; and ASIO records of the Iraqi officials.

**Loans Affair, includes papers relating to the part of Khemlani transaction of interest to the Attorney-General's Department, 1974–76** M1268, 309 Part 4

These papers relate to Khemlani and the Loans Affair. They include a statement of events in relation to Khemlani from the Attorney-General's Department; information from Fraser regarding the Loans Affair; and information about the involvement of Reuben Scarfe.

**Loans Affair, includes papers relating to investigations into allegations suggesting breaches of regulation, transcripts of radio and television interviews, and cables, 1974–78** M1268, 309 Part 5

These papers include extracts from transcripts of interviews; copies of cables saying the Liberal Party caretaker government cannot investigate the Loans Affair; and copies of letters sent by Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen relating to his interest in investigating the Loans Affair.

**Cost of loans investigation, includes papers relating to ministerial statement, and inquiry into the Loans Affair, March 1976** M1268, 310

This item includes documents relating to queries into the Queensland government's inquiry into the Loans Affair.

**PAPERS RELATING TO THE LOANS AFFAIR [PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE ARCHIVES IN 2006], 1973–76** M1363

This series contains folders of material relating to the Loans Affair maintained by Malcolm Fraser as Leader of the Opposition (March–November 1975). A few papers are dated a little earlier, and others were added in 1976.

The folders are essentially of two types. The first group includes reference material sourced from media coverage of the Loans Affair (news cuttings, transcripts of interviews). The second group of folders comprises other documents (mainly photocopies of statutory declarations, affidavits, telexes and *Hansard* extracts), which would have assisted the Opposition in its campaign for full disclosure of the affair. These include a bound collection of papers authorised by the House of Representatives in July 1975 and copies of others relating to the Queensland investigations.

**Transcripts of interviews relating to Queensland investigation of the Loans Affair with EG Whitlam, RB Todd, J Bjelke-Petersen, G Terry, 1975–76** **M1363, 14**

This item contains transcripts of radio interviews, press conferences, interviews with Richard Todd relating to the Queensland investigation into the Loans Affair, as well as responses to Toohey's allegations regarding CIA/ASIO/Pine Gap and the Dismissal.

**Queensland Loans Affair investigations, includes news cuttings, 1975–76** **M1363, 15**

These materials relate to the Queensland investigation of the Loans Affair, in particular newspaper articles that detail the relationship between Bjelke-Petersen and Todd.

**Copies of letters from Richard Todd relating to Queensland investigation of the Loans Affair, 1975–76** **M1363, 19**

This item includes materials relating to the Queensland investigation of the Loans Affair, in particular communications involving Todd.

**PERSONAL PAPERS CREATED AND MAINTAINED BY SIR CLARENCE HARDERS, 1951–97** **M4081**

Recorded by: 1965–80 Attorney-General's Department, Central Office – Deputy Secretary/Secretary's Office (CA 5)

1965–97 Sir Clarence Waldemar Harders OBE (CP 686)

1979–80 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office – Legal Adviser (CA 1382)

Canberra 5.7 metres

Sir Clarence (Clarrie) Harders largely accumulated this series during his long and distinguished career in the Australian Public Service, including as Deputy Secretary and Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department (1965–70 and 1970–79, respectively), and as Legal Adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs (1979–80).

The series is arranged in 13 parts, according to subject: Loans Affair; Dismissal; Sankey versus Whitlam (the private criminal prosecution of Whitlam, Connor, Murphy and others by Daniel Sankey); seas and submerged lands; Attorney-General's Department; international; Lionel Murphy case; parliamentary privilege; Freehill, Hollingdale and Page (the law firm where Harders was a partner, 1980–86); publications; memoirs; personal; and miscellaneous.

**Loans Affair – advice – borrowing for 'temporary purposes', 1974–75** **M4081, 1/1**

Observers acknowledged that Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's view that the loans were for 'temporary purposes' was at least 'arguable', if unconventional.

**Loans Affair – advice – financial liability arising from Dr Jim Cairns/ George Harris correspondence, 1975** **M4081, 1/2**

**Loans Affair – Attorney-General's Department – involvement in Khemlani negotiations until 21 December 1974** **M4081, 1/6**

**Loans Affair – documents – request to Department of Minerals and Energy for further records, 1974–75** **M4081, 1/10**

Whitlam, his advisers and even senior bureaucrats repeatedly pressed Connor and Hewitt about whether they had delivered all relevant communications about the loan negotiations to Whitlam's office for tabling in parliament.

**Loans Affair – documents – summary of Connor/Khemlani correspondence, 1975** **M4081, 1/12**

**Loans Affair – investigations – possible Royal Commission, 1974–75** **M4081, 1/14**

The department acknowledged it was 'highly unlikely that Ministers have been involved in breaches of the law', but if there was a change of government, the new government might set up a Royal Commission into the loan raising.

**Loans Affair – investigations – enquiries to Scotland Yard regarding Tirath Khemlani, 1975** **M4081, 1/15**

**Loans Affair – investigations – Richard Todd allegations regarding Queensland government investigations into Australian Government overseas loan raising, 1975–76** **M4081, 1/21**

This includes correspondence from Bjelke-Petersen to WAR Rae in London, 8 November 1975: 'obtain any evidence available' regarding 'illegal acts or the possibility of fraud in relation to loan raising'.

**Loans Affair, 1975–76** **M4081, 1/26**

J Sundermann, 'Letter sighted by me', 3 April 1975 is indicative of the fantastic claims circulating about the government's loan raising negotiations, implying that there would be 'personal gain' for ministers, including Whitlam.

**Loans Affair – legal opinion – Liberal Party briefs regarding legality of Executive Council approval of overseas loan raising, 1975** **M4081, 1/27**

This legal opinion regarding the deferral of supply was prepared for the Liberal Party by Alec Shand QC. It suggested the loan raising authorised by the Executive Council on 13 December 1974 constituted a legal conspiracy.

**Loans Affair – meetings – proposals to include overseas loan raising on Loans Council agenda, 1975** **M4081, 1/28**

**Loans Affair – meetings – interdepartmental discussions regarding Khemlani negotiations, 1974–75** **M4081, 1/29**

**Sankey versus Whitlam – documents – Danny Sankey petitions to House of Representatives requesting access to subpoenaed documents, 1944–76** **M4081, 3/14 Part 1**

**Sankey versus Whitlam – documents – Danny Sankey petitions to House of Representatives requesting access to subpoenaed documents, 1977** **M4081 3/14 Part 2**

**CORRESPONDENCE FOLDERS, ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1951–80**

**M3865**

Recorded by: 1951–80 The Hon. Clyde Robert Cameron AO (CP 96)

Canberra 5.6 metres

**The Loans Affair – affidavit regarding Khemlani – Part One to Part Seven, 1975**

**M3865, 167–173**

These are photocopies of Khemlani's statutory declaration and the annexures to it.

**The Loans Affair – regarding Cairns – Harris, 1975**

**M3865, 177**

These are photocopies of a letter to the Prime Minister from MH Byers dated 29 June 1975 and the statutory declaration of Leslie Nagy dated 9 July 1975.

## **The Sankey case**

On 8 December 1975 Sydney solicitor Daniel (Danny) Sankey instigated a private prosecution case against Whitlam and three former ministers—Lionel Murphy, Rex Connor and Jim Cairns—and charged them with conspiring for 'a purpose unlawful under a law of the Commonwealth' in relation to the 1975 attempted loan raising. The prosecution centred on then Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's advice to the Executive Council meeting of 13 December 1974, which authorised the pursuit of overseas loans to develop Australia's minerals and energy resources, that the loans were for 'temporary purposes', meaning this would be an exception to the convention of prior approval by the Loans Council. The case was launched five days out from the 1975 election, attracting damaging front page media coverage and continued for several years, but all charges were eventually dismissed on 4 December 1978 and 19 February 1979.

## **National Archives of Australia**

**MISCELLANEOUS PERSONAL PAPERS MAINTAINED BY MR ELLICOTT,  
1897–1981**

**AA1981/282**

Recorded by: 1975–81 The Hon. Robert James Ellicott QC (CP 134)

Canberra 3.2 metres

This series contains folders of papers on a variety of topics maintained by Ellicott in his capacities as Attorney-General, Minister for Home Affairs, Minister for the Capital Territory, and Minister for Home Affairs and Environment in the Fraser government. The topics include pecuniary interests – general matters; overseas trips; invitations and replies; electoral business; Aboriginal matters; speeches by various dignitaries; press releases and clippings; and the Attorney-General.

As incoming Attorney-General under Fraser, Ellicott wanted the government to take over Sankey's case. Ellicott's desire to pursue this case brought him into conflict with Fraser, who had made a commitment to Sir John Kerr that his incoming government would not inquire into the loan raising.

## Other manuscripts and personal papers

### National Library of Australia

The National Library holds manuscripts and recordings relating to Whitlam and his governments, including the personal papers of – as well as oral history interviews with – many people whose work was closely connected to Whitlam’s political party. These include people who served as ministers during his governments. Some of the material relates to the periods before and after Whitlam’s time as Prime Minister, illuminating aspects of his life and work that are not necessarily captured in the official recordkeeping that guides the National Archives of Australia’s collection.

#### **GORDON BRYANT PAPERS, 1917–91**

**MS 8256**

**Quantity: 46 metres + 5 folders**

Gordon Bryant was a Member of the House of Representatives (ALP) for the seat of Wills, Victoria, 1955–80. He was Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, 1972–73; Minister for the ACT, 1973–75; and a member of the National Library Council, 1976–80.

The collection comprises political, personal and family correspondence, papers, diaries and notebooks, subject files, reference material, photographs, cuttings, objects and audio tapes.

Finding aid online.

#### **PAPERS OF HERBERT COLE COOMBS, 1918–96**

**MS 802**

**Quantity: 15 metres**

Shortly before the 1972 election Gough Whitlam announced the appointment of Dr HC ‘Nugget’ Coombs as his personal adviser. Coombs had been the first director of Post-War Reconstruction in the Chifley government. He was an economist, public servant and human rights worker; Visiting Fellow, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies at the ANU, 1976–96; Chairman of the Australian Council for Aboriginal Affairs, 1968–76; Chancellor of the ANU, 1968–76; Consultant to the Prime Minister, 1972–75; Chairman of the Australia Council for the Arts, 1968–74; and Governor of the Reserve Bank of Australia, 1960–68.

This collection comprises correspondence; reports; conference papers; research material; and newspaper and journal articles, mainly relating to Coombs’ involvement with the Aboriginal community. Also included are papers relating to the Australia Council for the Arts, personal papers, newspaper clippings, photographs, files of biographical material and correspondence with novelist Christina Stead.

#### **KEP ENDERBY PAPERS, 1970–75**

**MS 3887**

Kep Enderby was the Member of the House of Representatives for the ACT, 1970–74, and for the new seat of Canberra, 1974–75. He was Minister for the Capital Territory, 1972–73; Minister for Secondary Industry and Minister for Supply, 1973–74; and Minister for the Manufacturing Industry, 1974–75.

The series includes files relating to Enderby's ministerial portfolios and departments: Capital Territory and Northern Territory, 1972–73; Secondary Industry and Manufacturing Industry, 1973–74; Supply, 1973–74; Police and Customs, 1975; and Attorney-General, 1975. Files relating to the ACT cover the period 1970–72.

Access is closed.

**PAPERS OF VINCENT GAIR, 1859–74**

**MS 6909**

**Quantity: 2.2 metres + numerous folios**

Vincent Gair was born in Queensland in 1901. He was a Member of Queensland's Legislative Assembly, representing the Queensland Labor Party, in the seat of South Brisbane, 1932–60. Gair held several state government positions: Secretary for Mines, 1942–47; Secretary for Labour and Employment, 1947–50; Treasurer, 1950–52; and Premier (and Chief Secretary of Queensland Labor Party), 1952–57. In 1964, Gair was elected to the Australian Senate; he was Leader of the Democratic Labor Party, 1964–73. He was Australian Ambassador to Ireland from 1974 to 1976.

The series contains correspondence, fragments of files, engagement diaries and files on conferences; conventions; trips and tours; speeches; articles and broadcasts; personal documents; election propaganda; individual subjects; photographs; cartoons; sketches; press cuttings; printed matter; and miscellaneous material. There is also material on the Democratic Labor Party, the Queensland Labor Party and the 1954 Royal Visit.

**PAPERS OF AL GRASSBY, 1965–84**

**MS 7798**

**Quantity: 8.7 metres**

Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government from 1972 to 1974, Al Grassby brought multiculturalism into the mainstream of public policy. He achieved reform in the areas of citizenship, immigration, services for people of non-English speaking backgrounds; Indigenous affairs, and the end of the White Australia Policy. Following his defeat at the May 1974 election, Grassby was appointed the first Commissioner for Community Relations by the Whitlam government.

The papers in MS 7798 mainly comprise correspondence, documents relating to overseas visits, publications and press clippings relating to community relations. Other papers include press releases and speeches (1965–75), Cabinet submissions numbered 1 to 375, papers relating to immigration, personal correspondence and travel ephemera.

The Acc01.018 portion of the collection comprises further papers documenting Grassby's career as a minister and parliamentarian, and his work as Commissioner for Community Relations.

Finding aid online.

**PAPERS OF WILLIAM (BILL) HAYDEN AC, 1922–96**

**MS 7624**

**Quantity: 59 metres**

Bill Hayden was member for Oxley, and Treasurer and Minister for Social Security in the Whitlam government. These papers span the course of Hayden's political career from 1972 to his retirement from parliament and the conclusion of his term as Governor-General in 1996.

The largest group of papers concerns his work as Leader of the Opposition, 1977–83. They include extensive correspondence; briefing and working papers; staff research material; files on controversial issues raised in parliament; invitation files; and subject files. Other series include papers from the Whitlam years, including files on the Medibank scheme, papers relating to the portfolio of Minister for Foreign Affairs, engagements, speeches, press statements and publications.

## **PAPERS OF CLEM LLOYD, 1959–73**

**MS 8013**

**Quantity:** 62 metres

The papers in this series relate to the Federal Secretariat of the Australian Labor Party, in particular Cyril Wyndham, Federal Secretary during the 1960s, and Clement Lloyd's work as press secretary for Lance Barnard, 1973–87. The collection includes speeches; correspondence; minutes of ALP Federal Executive meetings; election materials; news cuttings; ALP Federal Executive reports; speaking notes; circulars; Caucus resolutions; papers on defence; and policy statements.

### **Box 11 (1972–73)**

These documents cover the period during which Lloyd was press secretary to Whitlam's Deputy Prime Minister, Lance Barnard.

## **PAPERS OF LADY FRANCIS MCNICOLL, 1922–89 (BULK 1969–81)**

**MS 9246**

**Quantity:** 2.2 metres

The papers in this series relate almost entirely to Lady McNicoll's work on her planned biography of Sir Robert Menzies. The largest category comprises notes and research material, but also included are correspondence, some personal documents, newspaper cuttings, tapes and transcripts, and lectures by or about Menzies. The papers document Lady McNicoll's discussions with Menzies and his conservative colleagues during the Whitlam government years.

Finding aid online.

### **RG Menzies to F McNicoll, 2 August 1973**

**Box 1/5**

'This Government is carrying out a purely Communist policy,' Menzies wrote.

### **RG Menzies to Mr H Seath, 6 September 1972**

**Box 1/5**

Alongside media columnist David McNicoll's autobiography *Luck's a Fortune*, this material illuminates how a connection came to be made between businessman George Harris and Treasurer Jim Cairns, whom Harris approached to offer assistance with loan raising. Harris was a good friend of Sir Robert Menzies and it was Menzies who first introduced Cairns to Harris at a Carlton Football Club function. Menzies was the Number 1 ticket-holder and Harris the club president. This provides background to Cairns' eventual sacking as Treasurer over a letter bearing his signature that promised a brokerage fee to Harris in relation to loan raising, which Cairns denied signing.

### **Notes and research material, notebooks, 1922–89**

**Box 10 3/80**

McNicoll's notes confirm that in 1975 Chief Justice Sir Garfield Barwick and then Opposition leader Malcolm Fraser held a lengthy meeting in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, that occurred without the knowledge of Prime Minister Whitlam, during the PNG independence day celebrations.

**Notes and research material, unfiled papers, 1922–89**

**Box 11 3/91**

The material also shows that Liberal Party leader Malcolm Fraser kept Menzies informed of the Opposition's planning during the political crisis of 1975.

**BA Santamaria to RG Menzies**

**Box 11 3/91**

Along with correspondence between Santamaria and Menzies that survives in Menzies' papers at the National Library of Australia, letters in Frances McNicoll's papers illustrate the range of reactions among his conservative colleagues to the Whitlam government – including the idea of a 'National Movement' presented by Santamaria.

**Menzies, 'Reflections on an election' (unpublished article), 14 January 1976**

**Box 13 7/9**

In an interview with old friend Sir David McNicoll conducted during the Whitlam government's first term, just as Whitlam was establishing his dominance over the Snedden-led Liberal Party, Menzies concedes that while Whitlam 'is pretty shrewd in a parliamentary sense ... I hate him.' To Menzies, Whitlam was 'a mob master', 'a kind of Hitler ... a kind of man who gets the crowd to cheer for him ... not a democratic leader'. In this material, Menzies also derides Whitlam as having 'a rather superficial knowledge of the Constitution'.

**PAPERS OF SIR ROBERT MENZIES, 1905–78**

**MS 4936**

**Quantity: 82 metres**

This extensive collection of personal papers includes Menzies' inward and outward correspondence, sorted chronologically and by name, 1935–78.

It also includes a sound recording of his speech at the St Andrew's night dinner at Melbourne Scots on 27 November 1976. The sound tape reel (c.113 mins) is part of a collection of recordings that originally accompanied the Sir Robert Menzies papers held in the manuscripts section at the National Library of Australia. On 27 November 1976, the annual St Andrew's night dinner became an informal conservative anniversary of the Dismissal, making the speeches recorded, including Sir John Kerr's speech, of particular interest. Billy Snedden, Liberal Party leader from December 1972 to March 1975, gave an account of this night and Sir John Kerr's drunken display of a victory salute in an oral history interview also held by the National Library of Australia (ORAL TRC 4900/57).

**BA Santamaria to RG Menzies, 20 August 1974**

**Box 27 1/222**

This letter from BA Santamaria, leader of the National Civic Council, to Sir Robert Menzies was written shortly after the Joint Sitting of parliament that followed the re-election of the Whitlam government in 1974. It exemplifies the extreme reactions by some conservatives to the re-election of the ALP as an anomaly that could lead to a communist takeover of Australia. In the letter, Santamaria proposed the establishment of a 'National Movement' and detailed its ultimate purpose, to take 'emergency action ... and assume political responsibilities'.

**PAPERS OF BILL MORRISON, 1962–85****MS 4957****Quantity: 35 metres**

William (Bill) Lawrence Morrison was a diplomat in the Department of Foreign Affairs between 1950 and 1969.

In the Whitlam government, he held the positions of Minister for Science; Minister for External Territories; Minister Assisting the Minister for Foreign Affairs on matters relating to Papua New Guinea; and Minister for Defence. From 1980 to 1985, Morrison was a member of the Joint Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

**PAPERS OF JUSTIN O'BYRNE, 1937–83****MS 7978****Quantity: 24 metres**

Born in Tasmania in 1912, Justin O'Byrne served as a pilot in World War II. In 1946, he was elected as ALP Senator for Tasmania. O'Byrne was Government Whip, 1973–74, and President of the Senate, 1974–76. He retired in 1981.

The collection contains a variety of political, business and personal papers, printed materials, press clippings and correspondence. In addition, it includes papers relating to the ALP and the ANU.

Finding aid online.

**PAPERS OF HF (HUBERT FERDINAND) OPPERMAN, 1904–96****MS 6429**

HF Opperman was a champion cyclist and later an active member of the Liberal Party in the roles of Government Whip and Minister for Shipping and Transport. His papers cover his sporting, ministerial and political career. They consist of 23 folio-size books of news cuttings about cycling events, mainly of road events and broad track racing, many in France (1914–30). There are also news cuttings books on his political career, 1958–67 and an important collection of letters written by Sir Robert Menzies and Harold Holt to Opperman.

Finding aid online.

**RG Menzies to Sir Hubert Opperman, 8 July 1974****MS 6429 Series 6 Box 15**

Whitlam's leadership and his relationship with Cabinet and Caucus came under increasing scrutiny; in mid-1974 rumours abounded, including that Whitlam was planning to cross the floor, that he would abandon his government, his party and his colleagues and 'make a deal with the Opposition'. This rumour even reached Sir Robert Menzies, who considered it 'not without substance' and duly passed it on to his former minister, Sir Hubert Opperman, with further embellishment. 'I would not put it past the Liberal Party to offer him [Whitlam] the leadership,' Menzies claimed in this letter.

## PAPERS OF GRAHAM PERKIN, 1955–78

MS 5852

Edwin Graham Perkin was born in Hopetoun, Victoria, on 16 December 1929. He joined Melbourne newspaper *The Age* as a cadet in 1949 and was appointed Deputy News Editor in 1973. He was also Director of Australian Associated Press and Reuters (London). From 1961 to 1963, Perkin lectured in journalism at the University of Melbourne. He died on 17 October 1975.

This series comprises general correspondence roughly arranged by year, 1966–78; letters of condolence regarding Perkin's death; Perkin's own alphabetical file of correspondence; speeches and lectures; conferences and seminars; broadcasts and interviews; articles; personal papers, diaries, passports; and various subject files.

### Folder 45, 1955–78

This item includes records relating to a speech Perkin gave that criticised a discussion paper by Whitlam's Minister for the Media, Dr Moss Cass, on press reform.

### Folder 61, 1955–78

This is Perkin's appointment diary.

## PAPERS OF GEOFFREY SAWER, 1937–95

MS 2688

Geoffrey Sawer was a constitutional lawyer and academic, Sawer held the position of Foundation Professor of Law, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University from 1950 to 1974, before becoming Pro Vice-Chancellor in 1975. His weekly column, 'Between the lines', appeared in *The Canberra Times* for more than 20 years.

These records comprise diaries (1953–93), general correspondence (1951–91), draft legal opinions, autobiographical writings, and correspondence relating to Sawer's academic and professional career as a specialist in constitutional law. Also included in the series are cuttings documenting Sawer's long running 'Between the lines' newspaper column, and radio transcripts associated with his involvement with the Short Wave Propaganda Division of Radio Australia during World War II. Among a large amount of secondary source material are some files on the 1975 dismissal of the Whitlam government and the powers of the Governor-General. Correspondents include judges Sir John Norris, Sir John Latham, Sir Garfield Barwick, Sir Anthony Mason, Sir Owen Dixon, Sir John Barry, Rae Else-Mitchell, Percy Joske, Martin Kriewaldt and Trevor Rapke.

Finding aid online.

### Constitutional crisis, 1975

Three folders of letters, papers and newspaper reports collected by Sawer relate to the dismissal of the Whitlam government in November 1975. The materials contain discussions of the so-called Loans Affair, copies of relevant Attorney-General's Department opinions, and a typescript on the constitutional crisis prepared by Sawer.

Correspondents include ARG Prowse, First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, and Colin Howard, Hearn Professor of Law at the University of Melbourne.

**Commonwealth Trading Bank 'Possible non-passage of Supply by federal parliament – assistance to public servants', 1975**

**Box 7**

This material shows that at a meeting of all trading banks with the government on 6 November 1975, no strong opposition was expressed to an 'IOU' scheme for wages, salaries and contract payments devised by Whitlam to avert a Supply crisis. Treasury and the private banks were opposed to the scheme.

**Office of the Governor-General, 1975–91**

This series contains correspondence, clippings and other papers collected by Sawyer on the topic of the constitutional and legal role of the Governor-General, some of which relate to the 1975 actions of Sir John Kerr.

The papers contain some items on the formation, membership and discussions of a group within the ANU that responded to a confidential request by Kerr for advice on the nature and extent of his powers as Governor-General. The group included Professors Sawyer, Zines, Richardson and Crisp, Dr Francis West, Dr C Hughes and Dr S Pearce.

By October 1975, Sawyer noted:

... my thumbs pricked a warning that the University shouldn't get actively involved in a situation involving actual rather than academic problems, and Sir John gracefully agreed to ceasing our tutorials.

**Sawyer, G to Kerr, J, 16 May 1975**

**Box 7 2688/12/1**

This item contains information about the ANU group's discussions with Kerr about 'constitutional problems'. Formation of the group and involvement of High Court judge and ANU Pro-Chancellor Sir Anthony Mason occurred without the knowledge of Prime Minister Whitlam.

**PAPERS OF GAVIN SOUTER, 1959–91**

**MS 8604**

**Quantity: 9.9 metres (71 boxes + 1 fol.)**

The papers of journalist for *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1948–87), historian and author Gavin Souter comprise correspondence, drafts, typescripts, research material and photographs for his published works.

Finding aid online.

**Correspondence**

**Box 60**

Two folders relating to Whitlam include correspondence with, as well as Souter's notes on, Whitlam. He noted that Whitlam's resignation, 15 August 1978, was the same day Pope Paul VI died: 'Two messianic figures depart'.

**PAPERS OF SIR ROBERT SOUTHEY, 1962–94**

**MS 9901**

**Quantity: 5.3 metres**

The papers of Sir Robert Southey document his involvement with the Liberal Party of Australia and the Australian Ballet Foundation. They comprise minutes, correspondence, reports, circulars, invitations and publicity material. Southey was President of the Liberal Party from 1970 to 1975.

**Liberal Party of Australia 'Federal Council' notes, 26 August 1975** **9901/1/64-67**

The notes provide insight into the Liberal Party's strategy, in Opposition, of creating parliamentary chaos to generate a sense of national crisis and demands for change.

**Speech to the Association of Superannuation and Provident Funds of Australia, 21 March 1973** **Box 15 9901/1/134**

In this speech, Liberal Party Federal President Robert Southey uses strong language in relation to the Whitlam government – asking whether the 'Australian philosophy of life is now doomed' and describing the fundamental democratic principle of 'one vote one value', which underpinned the government's proposed electoral Bills, mere 'propaganda'.

**Southey, JR 'Opening address to the Liberal women's convention' 29 October 1973** **Box 14 9901/1/133**

This speech evidences Southey's strong opposition to the Liberal Party's planned strategy, under Billy Snedden, of blocking Supply:

If it were thought in the electorate that we had taken advantage of the nation's frustration with industrial lawlessness and rising prices merely to win back for ourselves the fruits of office, the electorate might judge us very harshly indeed.

The end of Southey's term as party president coincided with Fraser's assumption of the Liberal leadership.

**Vernon Wilcox, Victorian Attorney-General, address to the State Council of the Liberal Party, July 1974** **Box 11/1/109**

In this speech to the 1974 state council of the Liberal Party, Victoria's Attorney-General, Vernon Wilcox, adopted extraordinary language to describe the Whitlam government, claiming that Whitlam would enforce an authoritarian one-party state: 'We may have had our last really free election in Australia'.

**Papers of Sir Robert Southey** **Box 6/1/55-59**

The wording of a Liberal Party advertisement survives here: 'Beware of Labor's electoral promises...' for what the government 'really wants and is moving towards' is to 'perpetuate itself in Government without fear of being removed'.

**Prowse, R Assistant General Manager, Bank of NSW, 'Stand up and fight for free enterprise', 12 October 1974** **Box 6/1/55-59**

This speech by Russell Prowse provides insight into the concerns of business interests who rallied behind the Liberal and Country parties during the Whitlam years. Prowse called on businessmen to mobilise, to 'fight for the cause' of free enterprise against a government that would destroy it, and the Australian 'way of life' with it.

**Liberal Party of Australia minutes of the 143rd meeting of the Federal Executive, 30 November 1974** **Box 6/1/55-59**

The minutes shed light on internal party disagreement over Billy Snedden's leadership. Southey here reveals his support for Snedden after the Opposition lost the 1974 double dissolution election.

**Staff Planning Committee 'Submission to Federal Executive', c.June 1975** **Box 6 9901/1/60-63**

This item illustrates the Liberal Party's deliberations over the Whitlam government's electoral reforms with the introduction of 'one vote one value', and the possible impact on their Coalition partner in country electorates. It shows a high level of concern

about the prospect of the ALP gaining control of the Senate for even a few months – if Whitlam's planned half-Senate election were to be held, given the passage of the Senate (Territories Representation) Act and the impact of one vote one value.

**Liberal Party of Australia minutes of the 147th meeting of the Federal Executive, 21 June 1975**

**Box 6 9901/1/60–63**

These minutes record a discussion about the Liberal Party strategy to defer Senate election dates in conservative states and thereby defer the possibility of the ALP gaining control of the Senate at the half-Senate election. An internal report to the party executive recommended against this strategy due to the 'grave risk of destroying the Opposition's regained reputation for political responsibility'.

**PAPERS OF TOM UREN, 1970–78**

**MS 5816**

**Quantity: 19 metres**

Tom Uren was the ALP Member for Reid, NSW, from 1958 to 1990. Uren served as Whitlam's Minister for Urban and Regional Development, 1973–75; Deputy Leader of the Opposition, 1976–77; Minister for Territories and Local Government, 1983–84; and Minister for Local Government and Administrative Services, 1984–87.

The series comprises speeches; press releases; correspondence; subject files; reports; regional studies; news cuttings; Cabinet documents; ministerial briefing notes; electoral material; departmental minutes; photographs; and other papers relating mainly to Uren's period as Minister of Urban and Regional Development (1973–75) and Deputy Leader of the Opposition (1976–77). The papers are largely concerned with issues of urban and regional development, local government and the environment. Some papers reflect Uren's involvement in the ALP; others show his interest in defence and foreign affairs. Many of the papers were assembled by Uren's press secretary, Clem Lloyd.

**PAPERS OF TOM UREN, 1941–94**

**MS 6055**

**Quantity: 29 metres**

These records include personal and official correspondence; diaries and notebooks; financial papers; legal papers; speeches; press releases; articles; newspaper cuttings; reports; ministerial briefing notes; Cabinet documents; and other papers. They relate to Uren's career in politics and the ministerial portfolios of Urban and Regional Development; Territories and Local Government; and Local Government and Administrative Services. There is a large number of files on uranium and the ALP. Correspondents include Arthur Calwell, Gough Whitlam, Bill Hayden, Jim Cairns, Bob Hawke and EE 'Weary' Dunlop.

**PAPERS OF SIR FREDERICK WHEELER, 1924–94**

**MS 8096**

The bulk of the papers in this collection are files of official papers relating to Wheeler's time as Chairman of the Public Service Board and as Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury. There are few personal papers in the collection and no papers relating to the early part of Wheeler's career. Correspondence is mostly from colleagues or related to the various organisations with which he was associated. There are also biographical and subject files maintained by Wheeler, which contain material accumulated after his retirement.

Sir Frederick Wheeler had a distinguished career as a public servant. He was Chairman of the Commonwealth Public Service Board (1960–71) and Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury (1971–79). From 1953 to 1960, Wheeler was Treasurer-comptroller of the International Labour Office in Geneva.

Finding aid online.

#### **Unsolicited testimonials, 1924–94**

**Box 1 Folder 2**

This file records the avalanche of support for Wheeler from the business establishment, colleagues and politicians, including Menzies, during the height of his conflict with Whitlam over the Cairns' loan raising affair. Whitlam considered charging Wheeler with improper conduct under the *Public Service Act 1922* but was convinced not to do so. Wheeler survived, remaining as head of Treasury for the entire period of the Whitlam government.

## **Oral history and other interviews**

The National Library of Australia holds a significant collection of interviews, including those recorded for the parliament's bicentennial oral history project. In many cases, transcripts of the recordings are also available.

The Library also holds Clyde Cameron's 'reminiscential conversations'. These lengthy interviews were conducted by former Whitlam government Minister for Labour, Clyde Cameron, with a range of political and judicial figures, including Sir Garfield Barwick, Malcolm Fraser, Dame Nancy Buttfield, Robert Corcoran, Sir John Gorton, Sir Paul Hasluck, Sir Peter Lawler, Ingrid Murphy, Justin O'Byrne, Sir James Plimsoll and Ian Sharp. Whitlam described the reminiscences of some of his old adversaries as 'posthumous defamation'.

The Library also holds the interviews conducted by Professor Jenny Hocking as part of the research for her two-volume biography of Gough Whitlam.

## **National Library of Australia**

### **GARFIELD BARWICK, INTERVIEWED BY PETER COLEMAN, 1995**

**TRC 3317**

Garfield Barwick was Chief Justice of the High Court (1964–81), Attorney-General (1958–63), and Minister for External Affairs (1961–64). Barwick spoke of the Governor-General Sir John Kerr's dismissal of the Whitlam government in 1975; the debate over reserve powers; a republic and the required constitutional amendments; his period as Attorney-General; contrasting his matrimonial causes legislation with Lionel Murphy's later legislation; the Crimes Bill and the Petrov Royal Commission; Sir Robert Menzies; Sir John 'Black Jack' McEwen; the High Court and external affairs powers; High Court judicial review; appointment to the High Court; Lionel Murphy; Sir Owen Dixon; and reviews by Sir Zelman Cowan and Lee Kwan Yew of his book *A Radical Tory*.

Barwick acknowledged making anti-Semitic remarks in 1975 when he had stated, in relation to the Whitlam government's plan to issue IOUs to those owed wages and salaries during the Supply crisis, that 'the last time anything like that happened the Jews bought the IOUs, the Jews really made a killing'.

Despite having previously denied making this statement, Barwick here describes his choice of words as 'unfortunate', suggesting that he should have said 'money lenders'.

Barwick spoke of his discussion with Sir John Kerr about the possible role of the Governor-General should the Opposition block Supply in the Senate. Barwick said he would have been prepared to advise Kerr on the issue.

**PETER BAUME INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1991-92**

**TRC 4900/93**

The Hon. Professor Peter Erne Baume AO spoke about his family background; medical studies and work as an intern at Royal North Shore Hospital; his lack of political consciousness; joining the Liberal Party; the 1974 Senate election; his involvement in Senate committees; the dismissal of the Whitlam Government and the 1975 election; Australia's drug problem; the Aboriginal Affairs portfolio and issues in which it had an interest, such as health, land rights, education and self-determination for Aboriginal people; Charles Perkins; negotiations with state governments over Aboriginal services; issues while Minister for Education, including state aid to private schools and amalgamations of universities and colleges; his interests outside parliament; his disagreements with Liberal Party policy and his eventual resignation from the ministry over equal opportunity legislation; immigration; the Senate Estimates Committee; his thoughts on the Liberal Party and his own philosophy on the responsibilities of the state; and his career since retiring from politics.

**KIM EDWARD BEAZLEY INTERVIEWED BY JOHN FERRELL**

**TRC 4900/24**

The Hon. Kim Beazley (Snr) AC held the WA seat of Fremantle for the ALP from 1945 to 1977. He spoke about his family background; experiences as a student; early life; career as a teacher; his parliamentary career; politicians and issues during his career; life as a politician; committees; education and experiences as Education Minister; the Whitlam era and dismissal of the government; influences during his career; life after retirement; the ALP; land rights for Aborigines; the Beazley Inquiry into Western Australian Education; the moral rearmament movement; and pork pie.

**NEVILLE BONNER INTERVIEWED BY PAT SHAW, 1983-85**

**TRC 4900/64**

Neville Bonner AO held the NSW seat of Kingsford-Smith for the ALP from 1969 to 1990. He speaks about his family background; early life; various jobs; One People of Australia League; his early interest in politics; involvement with the Liberal Party; his career as Senator; his decision to stand as an Independent; Aboriginal land rights; Ayers Rock; apartheid in Australia; Malcom Fraser; and issues during his career.

Neville Bonner was a Liberal Party Senator for Queensland from June 1971 to February 1983. In the interview, Bonner described the tumultuous period in which he served as a senator: 'The stresses and pressures that were on us, particularly in the years '72 to '76, were absolutely traumatic.' Bonner was among the group of unhappy Liberal senators who were uncomfortable with their party's strategy of blocking Supply and he said so publicly.

**LIONEL BOWEN INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1990–91**

**TRC 4900/85**

The Hon. Lionel Frost Bowen AC spoke about his childhood and education in Sydney; experiences in local and state government representing Randwick; his entry into federal politics; his work as Postmaster-General; the dismissal of the Whitlam government; the Labor Party in Opposition; Gough Whitlam, Bill Hayden and Bob Hawke and his part in leadership challenges; his comments on events in Clyde Cameron's diaries; and issues while he was Minister for Trade and Attorney-General.

**GORDON M BRYANT INTERVIEWED BY ADAM ASHFORTH, 1983**

**TRC 4900/42**

The Hon. Gordon M Bryant spoke about his family background; early life; education; the Depression; his experiences as a teacher; early political influences; Citizens' Military Forces; World War II; post-war experiences; increasing involvement in the Labor Party; the Communist Party Dissolution Bill and the Labor Party split; being elected in the seat of Wills; his early career; the Petrov Affair; politicians and issues during his career; Evatt; Vietnam; internal workings of the Labor Party; Whitlam; ballots in Caucus; first Cabinet meeting 1972; the Department of Aboriginal Affairs; Barry Dexter; the Capital Territory portfolio; the Labor Ministry 1972–75; Jim Cairns; 1975 Budget and the Dismissal; world trips; Australian Mission to United Nations; the 'Myth of failure' in relation to the Whitlam government; the leadership ballot of 1977; and retiring from parliament.

**JOHN BUNTING INTERVIEWED BY IAN HAMILTON, 1983**

**TRC 1428**

Tape 1– Sir John Bunting AC, who was a prominent public servant, discussed his school days and early life, including at Trinity Grammar; the University of Melbourne; arts and economics; and joining the public service in Trade and Customs.

Tape 2 – Bunting discussed his early days in the public service; Canberra; the Department of Trade and Customs; life immediately post-war; fellow public servants; post-war reconstruction and important figures involved in it; being sent to Sydney; Trade and Customs – Import Procurement; going to London with the Secretary of Treasury for three months; joining the Dollar Import Licensing Committee; the wind-up of post-war reconstruction; and working in the Prime Minister's Department.

Tape 3 – The Prime Minister's Department and Cabinet.

Tape 4 – The workings of Cabinet.

Tape 5 – Menzies and the press; Chifley. Bunting spoke about prime ministers in personal terms.

Tape 7 – Harold Holt; John McEwen; John Gorton; and William McMahon.

Tape 8 – Whitlam; and various colleagues of great value in the public service.

**CLEAVER BUNTON INTERVIEWED BY CLARRIE HERMES, 1986**

**TRC 4900/37**

Cleaver Bunton AO, OBE was appointed to the Senate vacancy following Labor Attorney-General Lionel Murphy's appointment to the High Court of Australia in February 1975. He was an Independent Senator for NSW from February to November 1975. He spoke about his family background;

early life; employment; his family; schooling; interests as a young man; marriage; joining Albury Council and his career in local government; state politics; local issues and events in Albury; entering federal politics; appointment to the Senate, experiences as a senator; and the dismissal of the Whitlam government.

Recalling the lead-up to the Dismissal, Bunton described the Opposition's use of its newly acquired majority in the Senate to force the government to an election as 'a shocking divergence from convention'.

**MOSS CASS INTERVIEWED BY ADAM ASHFORTH, 1983**

**TRC 4900/69**

The Hon. Dr Moses Henry (Moss) Cass spoke about his family background; early life; his career in medicine; early political involvement; Victorian branch of the Labor Party; the 1969 election; health and social welfare policies; parliament; Minister for Environment and Conservation; Minister for Media; Cabinet colleagues; Whitlam; Caucus; the dismissal of the Whitlam government; the Opposition after 1975; and his resignation in 1982.

**JAMES CAVANAGH INTERVIEWED BY TONY HANNAN, 1985**

**TRC 4900/27**

The Hon. Jim Cavanagh spoke about his family background; childhood; early life; early interest in politics; unions; entry into federal politics; experiences during his political career; political issues and politicians; Aboriginal affairs; elections; and governments.

**JAMES FRANCIS COPE INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1978**

**TRC 121/95**

The Hon. James Cope CMG, ALP member for Cook (1955), Watson (1955–69) and Sydney (1969–75), spoke about his early life in Sydney; the Depression; his early interest in politics; his selection as ALP member for the seat of Cook; electorate work in Cook and Watson; ALP and DLP split; Evatt's retirement; Eddie Ward; Public Accounts Committee; Galwell; responsibilities as Speaker; security; improvements to Parliament House; protocol; the Speaker's wig; chairmanship of the Joint Houses; televising parliament; his resignation as Speaker; retirement age for pre-selection; and the Official Establishments Committee.

**JAMES CORBETT INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1988**

**TRC 4900/96**

James Corbett spoke about his family background and childhood; farm life in Queensland in the 1920s and 1930s; involvement in the Country Party; involvement in the Graziers' Association of South East Queensland; election to Murilla Council; opposition by Sir William Gunn in pre-selection for the seat of Maranoa; 1966 election campaign; electorate work; facilities and work conditions of Parliament House; John McEwen and Doug Anthony; the 1967 delegation to South-East Asia; involvement in parliamentary committees; the Maranoa electorate in 1972; Australian League of Rights; economic issues affecting Maranoa; the Country Party Whip position; the demise of the Whitlam government; Malcolm Fraser; Queensland Country Party; Joh Bjelke-Peterson; his retirement; views on the prime ministers under whom he served; and other matters.

**MAGNUS CORMACK INTERVIEWED BY TONY HANNAN, 1987****TRC 4900/39**

Sir Magnus Cormack KBE was a Liberal Senator for Victoria from 1951 to 1978 and President of the Senate from 1971 to 1974. He spoke about his early life; political career; and issues and experiences during his career as a politician.

**KEP ENDERBY INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT, 1976****TRC 121/79**

Keppel Earl (Kep) Enderby QC, a politician and lawyer, spoke about his early life in Dubbo; his interest in golf, aviation and politics; Law School, Sydney University; working in England; Australia and New Zealand Civil Liberties Societies; Jack Gaster; specialisation; Jim Staples; lectureship at the ANU; Bar work in Canberra; Jim Fraser and Gordon Walsh; pre-selection; the Canberra scene; press statements and the Press Gallery; prosecuting power of the police; abortion; auction of land in Canberra; the Department of Capital Territory; housing and rates increases in Canberra; land resumption in the Northern Territory; amalgamation of supply with the manufacturing industry; 25 per cent tariff cut; Industries Assistance Commission; Lionel Murphy as Attorney-General; his changing view of lawyers when Attorney-General; family planning clinics in the ACT; new government houses for the ACT; purchase of buses; the Civic merry-go-round; conflict of interests as Minister and Member for Canberra; conveyancing; the manufacturing industry; unemployment; Leyland issue; Lionel Murphy's move to the High Court; Labor lawyers and the High Court; Lionel Murphy; Trade Practices Act; Family Law Act; appointment of judges; Australian Legal Aid Office; Superior Court Bill; relations with Barwick; Ellicott's opinion of powers of the Governor-General; refusal of Supply; draft opinions for Kerr by Maurice Byers; interview with Kerr; sacking of Whitlam; Whitlam; problems of lack of control of the Senate; Whitlam's future in politics; and his own future.

Kep Enderby was the ALP Member of the House of Representatives for the ACT from 1970 to 1974, and for Canberra from 1974 to 1975. He held four portfolios in that time. Enderby was also a member of the legal profession in the ACT and NSW. The interview covered details of the lead-up to the Dismissal, including the question of when the Governor-General received a copy of the statement by Shadow Attorney-General Robert Ellicott that called on him to dismiss the government.

This interview also referred to Whitlam's concern to ensure arrangements for public service wages, salaries and contract payments during the Supply crisis were 'completely legal' and Enderby's involvement in the matter.

Enderby recalls Whitlam's view that the House of Representatives should not be blackmailed by the Senate – that 'it was his duty to stand firm' – and the reaction of Caucus to Whitlam's announcement on the morning of 11 November 1975 that Kerr would announce a half-Senate election at lunch time.

**ALBERT FIELD INTERVIEWED BY PAT SHAW, 1983****TRC 4900/62**

Albert Field was appointed to the Senate by the Queensland National Party government following the death of Labor Senator Bert Miliner, from September to November 1975.

Field spoke about his family; his early life; involvement in the unions and the ALP; entry into the Senate; blocking Supply in 1975; his brief political career; League of Rights; and the Depression.

The interview included Field's account of his intention in taking up a Senate seat to replace Queensland Labor Senator Bert Milliner, who had passed away: 'I went there for one particular purpose, to see the downfall of the Government.' Although a former union official, Field sat as an Independent and made his disdain for the Whitlam government clear. He had been appointed to the Senate as Milliner's replacement by conservative Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen, in June 1975, in a breach of the convention that departing senators be replaced by someone from their own party. Field's appointment saw the ALP lose a vote in the Senate, enabling the Opposition to defer Supply.

**MALCOLM FRASER INTERVIEWED BY JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1999** **TRC 3823**

**GRAHAM FREUDENBERG INTERVIEWED BY JOHN FARQUHARSON, 2000–01** **TRC 3994**

Graham Freudenberg AM spoke about: his appointment to the position of press secretary and speech writer for Arthur Calwell (Opposition leader) in 1961 and Gough Whitlam (Opposition leader) in 1967; the Calwell and Whitlam years in politics; and the national issues both leaders and the country as a whole faced during the 1960s and 1970s.

**VINCENT GAIR INTERVIEWED BY JOHN EDWARDS, 1972** **TRC 168/5**

**RICHARD HALL INTERVIEWED BY ANN TURNER, 1991** **TRC 2743**

**CLARRIE HARDERS INTERVIEWED BY ROBERT HYSLOP, 1990** **TRC 2595/9**

Sir Clarie Harders spoke about his career at the Attorney-General's Department, where he was Secretary; the role of the Crown Solicitor; relations with the Minister; parliamentary committees; public accountability; relations with other departments; pressure groups; conducting royal commissions; characteristics of a good minister; and characteristics of a good departmental secretary.

Harders recounted that Whitlam considered charging Treasury Secretary Sir Frederick Wheeler with improper conduct in 1975. His description of the Sydney Bar as 'like a brotherhood' pointed to the close personal connections that existed among key players in the political and the legal fraternity, including Sir John Kerr, Sir Garfield Barwick and Shadow Attorney-General Robert Ellicott.

**CLARRIE HARDERS INTERVIEWED BY JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1996–97** **TRC 3537**

Harders spoke about his family background and education, joining the 2nd Australian Imperial Force; joining the Attorney-General's Department, first in Adelaide then Canberra in 1950; his involvement with community affairs and sporting activities; and his experiences working with the department under nine attorneys-general; the Khemlani Loans Affair; and the dismissal of the Whitlam government. He also spoke about his realisation that the Governor-General and the Chief Justice had met in defiance of the Prime Minister.

**BILL HAYDEN INTERVIEWED BY DANIEL CONNELL, 2009** **TRC 6100/3**

The Hon. Bill Hayden AC spoke about his early childhood memories of the Great Depression; South Brisbane during the war years; his family background; the political atmosphere during the Great Depression; communism; growing up in a largely Irish Catholic area; the relationship

between Catholics and Masons; gravitating towards Labor politics; religion; working for state public service as a filing clerk; his decision to join the police; close relationship between police and politics in Queensland; 1961 pre-selection for the Labor party, campaign process; his early days in Canberra as a member of parliament; political characters of the time; working-class perspective; Old Parliament House; Caucus meetings; Robert Menzies; federalism, the historical importance of states; internal workings of the Labor Party; differences between the Senate and House of Representatives; support from the Senate; Bob Hawke; Labor Party splits; Gough Whitlam; Labor Party state and federal conferences; funding of education; BA Santamaria; Rex Connor; Arthur Calwell; Vietnam War; history of race relations in Australia; reconciliation and immigration; his positive achievements and the challenges of implementing change; consequences of Malcolm Fraser's election; changes to health insurance; his experiences as Treasurer; the role of the Governor-General after 1975; nationalism, the Catholic Church and the Republican Movement; and life after leaving the office of Governor-General.

**BILL HAYDEN INTERVIEWED BY LINDSAY MARSHALL AND  
MALCOLM MCMILLAN, 2011**

**TRC 6150/16**

**DONALD SCOTT JESSOP INTERVIEWED BY BRUCE EDWARDS, 1990–91**

**TRC 4900/91**

Donald Jessop spoke about his childhood in South Australia; interest in optometry; election to the local council of Port Augusta; election to the seat of Grey; John Gorton as Prime Minister; committee involvement; the 1969 election and loss of his seat; election to the Senate; Steele Hall; the 1972 election; views on health policy; the downfall of the Whitlam government; Fraser as Prime Minister; Senate committee work; issues affecting South Australia, including transportation, uranium mining, petrochemical plant at Redcliff and problems with the Murray River; overseas visits; attitude to apartheid in South Africa; Liberal Party leadership challenges; John Howard's leadership; and failure to gain pre-selection for the 1987 election.

**LESLIE ROYSTON JOHNSON INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST**

**TRC 4900/98**

The Hon. Les Johnson AM, former ALP Member for Hughes, spoke about his family background; Gough Whitlam; his interest and work in the trade union movement; communist influence in the unions and Labor Party; electioneering in Hughes; the Petrov incident; Dr Evatt; Robert Menzies; Lucas Heights atomic reactor; Lionel Murphy; elections in the 1960s and the 1972 election; a number of aspects pertaining to housing; Sir John Kerr; Aboriginal Australians and land rights; Charles Perkins; Burnum Burnum; Neville Bonner; dismissal of the Whitlam government; Billy Snedden; Bill Hayden; and New Zealand.

**JOHN (JACK) KANE INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1985**

**TRC 4900/46**

Jack Kane was a Democratic Labor Party Senator and the NSW Democratic Labor Party General Secretary between 1956 and 1971 and the Federal Secretary from 1951 to 1971. He spoke about his family background and early life; the union involvement; the Depression; communism; World War II; his career in the Labor Party; ALP industrial groups versus communism; the Labor Party split; trial and dismissal of NSW State Executive (including Kane); visit to Bishop Carroll; expulsion from the Labor Party and defeat of the industrial groups; formation, philosophy and early history of the Democratic Labor Party; expulsion of Vince Gair; '36 faceless men'; John Gorton; election campaigns of the 1960s; possible merger of Country Party and Democratic Labor Party; failure of Democratic Labor Party; and the Wilfred Burchett case.

**JOHN KERR INTERVIEWED BY SUZANNE LUNNEY**

**TRC 440**

Written permission is required from Sir John Kerr's executor to access this recording until 2041.

**ANTONY LAMB INTERVIEWED BY GORDON BRYANT AND DANIEL CONNELL**

**4900/5**

Antony Hamilton 'Tony' Lamb OAM spoke about his family background; his entrance into parliamentary life; Caucus and power; abortion law reform; the double dissolution of 1974; Jim Cairns' dismissal; the Gair Affair; his thoughts looking back on his parliamentary career; his father; public attitudes towards politicians; factions in the ALP and their role in pre-selection and Caucus; campaigning for the 1984 election; the Press Gallery; office space in Parliament House; his attitude to politics and public life; policies of the Hawke government; operation of Caucus; differences between the Whitlam and Hawke governments; Labor's new economic direction; parliamentary committees; and conscience votes.

Lamb held the seat of La Trobe, Victoria, for the ALP from 1972 to 1975, and the seat of Streeeton, Victoria, from 1984 to 1990.

**PETER LAWLER INTERVIEWED BY TERRY COLHOUN**

**TRC 3339**

**ROBERT MARSDEN HOPE INTERVIEWED BY JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1998**

**TRC 3672**

Justice Robert Marsden Hope AC, CMG spoke about the reasons he chose law; enrolment at Sydney University Law Faculty in 1937; his World War II experiences in the Australian Imperial Force, 7th Division; completing his studies in law with LLB with 1st class honours; Margaret Dalrymple Hay's influence; admission to the Bar in 1945 and practising in 1946; decision to take silk, which was approved in December 1960; first Privy Council case and experiences as a QC; appointment as judge of the NSW Supreme Court in 1969; appointment as judge of the NSW Court of Appeal in 1972; views on Barwick at the Bar; Whitlam–Murphy relationship; friendship between Kerr, Jacobs and Hope; his views on Hawke and Whitlam as prime ministers; his experiences as an Equity Court Judge; involvement with Council of Civil Liberties; experiences as Judge of Court of Appeal and Criminal Appeals; inquiry into National Estate in the early 1970s; and his role on the Australian Heritage Council.

Hope described his work as Royal Commissioner of the ASIO inquiry; impressions of MI5 and MI6; and the influence of Lionel Murphy. He spoke about his family background; schooling at Sydney Church of England Grammar School; experiences on the University of Sydney Senate and as Chancellor of Wollongong University; his involvement in Kuringai Old People's Welfare Association; activities of Old Tote theatre company; involvement with Musica Viva and Tranby; being a part-time Chairman of the NSW Law Reform Commission; views on several High Court and NSW Supreme Court judges; activities of Australian Institute of Political Science; and current state of the law.

Hope recalled Sir John Kerr raising with him the prospect of his appointment as Governor-General, Kerr said: 'It's a very powerful position. It has much more power than you realise.'

**ALAN JOSEPH MISSEN INTERVIEWED BY TOBY MILLER, 1980**

**TRC 732**

Alan Missen spoke about his early life; education; politics at university; the Young Liberals; issues during his career; Sir Robert Menzies; the referendum of 1951; communists; the Liberal Party; Australian politics; campaign issues of 1951; pre-selection; his legal career and beginnings in politics; politicians and their careers; the double dissolution and 1974 election campaign; Bills and legislation; his experience as a senator; the events of 1975; the aftermath of the 1977 referendum; politics since then; and debating and debates.

**WILLIAM (BILL) MORRISON INTERVIEWED BY MEL PRATT**

**TRC 121/81**

The Hon. Bill Morrison AO was a Labor politician and diplomat. He held the NSW seat of St George from 1969 to 1975 and 1980 to 1984. In 1972 he was appointed Minister for External Territories and later held the portfolios for science, defence and consumer affairs. In this interview, he spoke about his early life in Sydney; Sydney University; the Department of Foreign Affairs; Moscow posting; Stalin's death; Krushchev and Bulganin; agriculture; travelling and recreation in Russia; Suez Canal; creation of SEATO; problems in North East Thailand; opium trade; re-establishment of missions with Russia; Kennedy–Nixon election; Eisenhower; dispatches; the CIA; Cuban crisis; changes in the Soviet Union; travelling in Russia; his son's birth at the Polyclinic; Russian doctors; expulsion from Russia; Vietnam War pamphlets; Colombo Plan; Sarawak and Sabah; communists; Ching Peng; problems for the Malaysian government; a public servant's role; Whitlam's visit to Malaysia, 1968; his resignation from the public service; Alan Eastman; medical program in Vietnam; his assessment of the Department of Foreign Affairs; 1969 election campaign; Labor Party 1969–72; McMahon's attack on him; 1972 election; Papua New Guinea self-government and independence; project aid; establishment of an aid agency; Ennor; Science Council green and white papers; CSIRO staff; crown of thorns starfish; consumer protection; US bases; Barnard's resignation; defence of Australia; re-organisation of Defence departments; 1974–75 Budget; Liberal versus Labor defence policies; Omega system; Killen; expenditure and electoral demands; inflation; Whitlam; Khemlani and Cabinet; politicians; Clyde Cameron; and his plans for the future.

**JAMES ANTHONY MULVIHILL INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1985**

**TRC 4900/77**

James Mulvihill was a Labor Senator for New South Wales. In this interview, he spoke about his family background; childhood in Ryde and Concord; first jobs; the Depression; first interest in joining the ALP; State Executive; 1946 election campaign; branch meetings; Fred Daly; Campaign Director; communism; 1953 ALP Conference; interest in Yugoslavia; post-war migration; Evatt; Labor Party split; the Movement; communist influence in unions; BA Santamaria; NSW Executive in 1950s; becoming NSW ALP Assistant Secretary; running for the Senate; Whitlam becoming leader; interest in the environment; Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council; 1973 Conference; events leading up to the Dismissal; Jim Cairns; Whitlam; Hayden; Hawke; Parliamentary Conference in Jamaica; refugees; his retirement from parliament; Senate committee system; and committees to which he belonged.

**JAMES ROWLAND ODGERS INTERVIEWED BY ROBERT LINFORD, 1985**

**TRC 4900/105**

James Odgers, Clerk of the Senate from 1965 to 1979, spoke about his family background; joining the Commonwealth public service in 1937; changes in the functions of the Senate since 1942; proportional representation; development of the committee system; his book, *Australian Senate Practice*; Senate powers of veto and amendment; blocking Supply in 1975; double dissolutions; Crown privilege; private members Bills; Queen's visit in 1954; Joint Sitting of parliament; and Inter-Parliamentary Union.

**TOM UREN INTERVIEWED BY CLARE MARTIN, 1985**

**TRC 1759**

**TOM UREN INTERVIEWED BY RON HURST, 1991–92**

**TRC 4900/102**

Tom Uren, Labor member for the seat of Reid, NSW (1958–90) was Minister for Urban and Regional Development in the Whitlam government. He spoke about Bill Hayden; urban development in Sydney; public sector housing; Indonesia; the Gulf War; Bob Hawke; his visit to Baghdad during the Gulf War; development of the Left Wing of the Labor Party; Hawke government policies on the environment; decentralisation of government; role of the Left in leadership challenges by Hayden and Hawke; the Hawke–Keating leadership battle; current social and economic policies of Labor; achievements and failures of the Hawke government; his wife Patricia; performance of the Whitlam government; his time as a Japanese prisoner-of-war; Lionel Murphy; Ivan Skripov; anti-Vietnam War movement; New Parliament House; Australian Assistance Plan; public land; and his visit to the United States.

## 8 The Dismissal

On 11 November 1975 the Governor-General Sir John Kerr dismissed Gough Whitlam as Prime Minister and appointed the Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Fraser as Prime Minister in his place.

Whitlam's reflection on these events can be found in his book *The Truth of the Matter* (1979), his detailed rejoinder to Sir John Kerr's *Matters for Judgment: An Autobiography* (1978).

The identities of the key protagonists in the Dismissal and their actions have been the subject of intense public and historical interest and extensive archival research, yet some significant holdings remain largely unexplored. With the publication of the second volume of her biography of Whitlam, *Gough Whitlam: his time*, Professor Jenny Hocking revealed significant new material from the private papers of Sir John Kerr in relation to the Dismissal, which had been lodged in the National Archives in 2005. In particular, the Governor-General's record of his 'rolling conversation' with the then High Court Justice Sir Anthony Mason detailed the secret meetings and conversations between the Governor-General and the High Court justice in the months leading up to the Dismissal that had remained hidden for 37 years. It has been described as a find of historic significance.

The National Archives also holds records relating to the House of Representatives and the Senate sessions on the afternoon of 11 November 1975 following the dismissal of the Whitlam government. At 3pm the House of Representatives passed a motion of no confidence – a 'want of confidence' motion – against the government of Malcolm Fraser and called on the Member for Werriwa, Gough Whitlam, to again form government.

The National Archives fact sheet on the Dismissal details official records created by the Governor-General, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Attorney-General's Department and Treasury, as well as the personal records of Sir John Kerr, Sir Clarence Harders (Secretary, Attorney-General's Department) and Gough Whitlam.

Additional records are held at the Whitlam Institute, including the original letter of dismissal, which the Institute has described as 'one of the top 10 important documents in the country'.

### The Senate's refusal to vote on Supply

#### National Archives of Australia

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'G' INFIX, 1903–**

**A463**

Recorded by: 1956– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
Canberra 966 metres

**House of Representatives want of confidence and censure motions against the government and individual ministers as at 16 October 1975**

**A463, 1975/4000**

**Failure of Supply – government employees – reaction to delay of appropriation Bills** A463, 1975/4276

**Fraser Ministry – caretaker and administrative arrangements, 11 November – 13 December 1975** A463, 1975/4375

**Addresses to the Governor-General, 1975** A463, 1975/4400

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' SUFFIX, 1913–** A1209

Recorded by: 1957– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)  
Canberra 1.2 kilometres

This series comprises the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. The subject matter varies as widely as that of counterpart unclassified files CRS A463, Correspondence files, annual single number series.

**Powers of the Senate in relation to Supply and constitutional conventions – policy papers, 1975** A1209, 1975/1910

**The role of the Governor-General in the passage of Supply Bills, 1975–76** A1209, 1975/1912

**Double dissolution of parliament, 11 November 1975** A1209, 1975/2448

This is a nationally significant item, comprising a file of more than 400 pages. Parts of the file have been displayed in various exhibitions: folio 106 – letter to Whitlam from Governor-General Sir John Kerr – was on display in the National Archives of Australia exhibition *Memory of a Nation* (2008); folio 106 and folios 120–117 – Governor-General Sir John Kerr's statement of events – were on display in the ACT Schools Constitutional Convention 2009; and folio 106, folio 196 – letter from the Speaker of the House about the Dismissal, and folios 120–117 – were on display in the ACT Schools Constitutional Convention 2010.

**Specific complaints to the Governor-General regarding the caretaker government – cases, 1975** A1209, 1975/2964

**Possible rejection of appropriation bills by the Senate – papers** A1209, 1978/106 Parts 1–4

These are departmental advices on legal questions regarding the possibility of Senate rejection of the appropriation Bills.

**Overseas loan raising activities – Mr Fraser's statement on the Loans Affair, 23 October 1975** A1209, 1975/2488

These are Fraser's statement on the government's loan raising attempts and associated documents (John Menadue, 'Notice of motion written by Whitlam 11 November 1975, double dissolution of parliament 11 November 1975' and 'Note for file: The dismissal of Mr Whitlam and appointment of Mr Fraser, as Prime Minister, double dissolution of parliament 11 November 1975).

**ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1901–**

**A432**

Recorded by: 1929– Attorney-General's Department, Central Office (CA 5)

Canberra 2.2 kilometres

Sydney 291 metres

This is the Attorney-General's Department's main file series. In the portion that covers the period of the Whitlam government, the series includes material related to various issues, including the historic 1974 Joint Sitting of parliament, the Loans Affair, the ASIO raid, and the Dismissal.

Further records from this large series are highlighted in Chapter 7: Prime Minister, 1972–75.

**Rejection of Budget – consequences – part 1, 1947–75** A432, A1975/6378 Part 1

**Rejection of Budget – consequences – part 2, 1971–75** A432, A1975/6378 Part 2

**Sir Colin Hannah – revocation of dormant commission, 1974–75** A432, A1975/7356

**Governor-General and prime minister – whether the Governor-General has the power to dismiss a prime minister, 1975** A432, A1975/7778

**Dismissal of prime minister by Governor-General, 1967–78** A432, A1975/7853 Part 1

**Dismissal of prime minister by Governor-General, 1967–75** A432, A1975/7853 Part 2

**Proposal for bank finance to pay public servants and suppliers, 1975** A432, A1975/7866 Part 1

**Proposal for bank finance to pay public servants and suppliers, 1974–79** A432, A1975/7866 Part 2

**Double dissolution 1975, 1975–76** A432, GCD1975/7906

**Supply pending *Appropriation Act 1975–76*, 1975** A432, PC1975/7958

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1901–78**

**A571**

Recorded by: 1901–76 Department of the Treasury [I], Central Office (CA 11)

Canberra 509 metres

Sydney 22 metres

This is the main correspondence file series of the former Department of the Treasury.

The series also contains material relating to the Loans Affair; see Chapter 7: Prime Minister, 1972–75

**Caretaker government – guidance and background, 1974–75** A571, 1975/6607

**Deferral of Supply 1975 – scheme to facilitate access to finance for employees of, and suppliers to, the Australian Government, 1974–75** A571, 1975/9083 Parts 1–8

## John Kerr's war files

The National Archives of Australia holds a file of correspondence relating to Lieutenant-Colonel John Kerr's activities during World War II as Deputy Director of the Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs. However, the majority of the records listed relate to his time as Governor-General. Some of these files are listed as Governor-General (departmental records) and some as Sir John Kerr (personal records).

### National Archives of Australia

#### REGISTER OF DEMIOFFICIAL LETTERS, 1945

**M4508**

Recorded by: 1945      The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 1 metre

This is a register of demiofficial letters between Lieutenant-Colonel John Kerr, as Deputy Director of the Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs, and the Director. The letters are classified and cover a variety of subjects, including staffing of the directorate, military government for Japan, relations with the British Borneo Civil Affairs Unit, civil affairs for Hong Kong, and British participation in Asian conflicts.

#### Register of demiofficial letters, 6 April – 3 August 1945

**M4508, 1**

Colonel JR Kerr: Top Secret Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs correspondence with Alf Conlon, 1945, Far East, military government for Japan.

## Sir John Kerr Governor-General

#### CORRESPONDENCE FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1968–77

**A10926**

Recorded by: 1975–77      Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.2 metres

This series comprises correspondence (letters, telegrams and cards) addressed to His Excellency Sir John Kerr as Governor-General of Australia. It covers the period 1975 to 1977 and is in two distinct alphabetical sequences.

Correspondence in the first sequence mainly relates to the dismissal of the Whitlam government in November 1975 (items 1–21). Much of it was received in the Governor-General's Office following publicity in July 1976 about the number of supportive letters Kerr had received since the Dismissal. Public criticism even at this time remained strident and included numerous calls for Kerr's resignation and, in a few cases, the return of World War II service medals by their recipients in protest.

In contrast, the second sequence of files consists of letters and telegrams of support addressed to Sir John Kerr following the announcement of his resignation from office on 14 July 1977 (items 22–42). The resignation took effect on 8 December 1977, a month after the last letter in the series was received in the Governor-General's Office. The series also includes a small number of news cuttings and publications.

The records were transferred to archival custody and a single number system of control imposed on them in November 1997. In April 2005, the series was rearranged and the items re-numbered to correct the chronological sequence of the two parts.

**Letters of criticism addressed to the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, 1975–77** A10926, 1–21

**Letters to His Excellency Sir John Kerr on the announcement of his resignation as Governor-General, 1975–77** A10926, 22–41

**Sir John Kerr – messages of congratulations regarding retirement as Governor-General, 1977** A10926, 42

**RESEARCH MATERIAL FOR *MATTERS FOR JUDGMENT AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE CONSTITUTION*, 1940–84** M4518

Recorded by: 1977–91 The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 2.7 metres

This is research material accumulated by Sir John Kerr for his book *Matters for Judgment* and manuscript *The Triumph of the Constitution*. The research papers relate to the Australian and Canadian constitutions and governments. They comprise monographs, journal articles, newspaper articles and miscellaneous publications.

M4518, 34

**Australian Constitution – role of the Governor-General – journal articles 1975–88** M4518, 12

These are journal articles about Whitlam's dismissal and extracts from books about the Kerrs collected by Sir John Kerr as research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of newspaper articles, 1975** M4518, 9 Part 1

These are photocopies of newspaper articles about the Dismissal, compiled as part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of newspaper articles, 1975** M4518, 9 Part 2

These are photocopies of newspaper articles relating to the constitutional crisis, compiled as part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of official documents, journal articles, parliamentary papers and newspaper clippings, 1975** M4518, 10 Part 1

These are photocopies of books, articles, reports on the constitutional crisis, the double dissolution election (1974) and on a case in Ontario, Canada, involving constitutional law (1943), forming part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of official documents, journal articles, parliamentary papers and newspaper clippings, 1975** M4518, 10 Part 2

These documents relate to the Dismissal. They include copies of official documents from 11 November 1975; copies of newspaper articles about Sir Garfield Barwick's Press Club address; draft opinion by Enderby and Byers; and so on, forming part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of official documents, journal articles, parliamentary papers and newspaper clippings, 1975**

**M5418, 10 Part 4**

These are newspaper articles, Gallup Poll results, transcripts of television and radio reports, extracts from books on governors-general, articles about parliament in Canada, reports on Kerr's resignation as Governor-General, forming part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Australian Constitution – constitutional crisis – photocopies of official documents, journal articles, parliamentary papers and newspaper clippings, 1975**

**M5418, 10 Part 5**

These are copies of various commentary articles relating to the constitutional crisis, forming part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Overseas loan raising activities – statutory declarations tabled in the Senate, 1975**

**M5418, 58 Part 1**

These are copies of statutory declarations by Allan James Crawford and Tirath Khemlani, tabled in the Senate on 4 November 1975, copied as part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**Overseas loan raising activities – annexures to statutory declaration of Tirath Hassaram Khemlani tabled in the Senate, 1975**

**M5418, 58 Part 2–8**

This is a copy of an annexure to Khemlani's statutory declaration, copied as part of Sir John Kerr's research.

**PRESS NOTICES FOR VICE-REGAL NEWS, 1974–77**

**M4512**

Recorded by: 1974–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.2 metres

This is a series of press notices for inclusion in *Vice-Regal News*, which was issued Monday to Saturday and recorded significant activities of the Governor-General. It also recorded details of guests received at Government House.

**Press notices, 1974–75**

**M4512, 1**

In the afternoon, His Excellency received Mr Rupert Murdoch at Admiralty House, Sydney. 26 August 1975 (for press, *Vice-Regal News*, 27 August 1975)

**Press notices, 1975–76**

**M5412, 2**

28 October for insertion 29 October: Dr JL Farrands

10 November 1975: Sir Garfield Barwick, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia

**PAPERS RELATING TO JOHN KERR'S APPOINTMENT AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES, APPOINTMENT AND RESIGNATION AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, 1936-77**

**M4535**

Recorded by: 1972-77 The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 0.2 metres

This series includes records documenting Sir John Kerr's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of NSW in 1973 and as Governor-General in 1974: congratulatory correspondence; papers relating to appointments, including arrangements for ceremonial occasions and regal audiences; press clippings; estimates of Government House expenditure; and speeches and proclamations. The series also includes press clippings relating to Sir John Kerr's resignation as Governor-General in 1977 and biographical notes.

**Papers on appointment as Governor-General – correspondence, 1973-74**

**M4535, 2 Part 1**

**PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN KERR WHEN GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND LATER, ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1972-91**

**M4541**

Recorded by: 1972-91 The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 1 metre

This series contains records of Sir John Kerr's Australian and international personal correspondence during his term as Governor-General. Included are official letters of thanks; copies of press releases describing his resignation as Governor-General and the appointment of Sir Zelman Cowen; papers relating to the Governor-Generalship of Papua New Guinea; and correspondence referring to the political situation in 1977. Also included in the series are Justice Committee deliberations; conference papers; correspondence regarding seminars; memos; invitations and regrets; travel arrangements; and information about media matters.

The item names that follow refer to segments of the correspondence series which are arranged alphabetically by surname.

**Bunting, Sir John, 1975-76**

**M4541, 3**

Correspondence between Bunting and Kerr, 13 August 1975 – 27 May 1976.

**Gee, Mr Justice Ken – Gurner, Major-General Colin M, CBE, ED, QHP, Surgeon-General, 1976-77**

**M4541, 14**

Correspondence between Kerr and Gee, 26 February 1976 – 5 December 1977. In a letter to Kerr, Gee urged him not to resign: 'Don't let the yahoos rattle you' and 'Other friends, who are not in a position to write, share these sentiments'. Kerr replied to Gee on 3 August 1976: 'When you say that other friends who are not in a position to write share these sentiments I think I understand what you mean'.

**Mason, The Hon. Mr Justice, 1975**

**M4541, 27**

Correspondence between then High Court Justice Mason and Kerr, 10 April – 19 May 1975, which describes the formation of a secret group in the Australian National University (ANU) law school to advise on the Governor-General's powers, set up at Kerr's request. It also describes what Kerr termed a 'rolling

conversation' between himself and Sir Anthony Mason from early October to the end of November 1975. Kerr left records of these conversations with Mason in the National Archives in order that Mason's 'role' would eventually be known. Without this, Kerr wrote, 'his part in my thinking in October – November 1975 will not be known to history'.

**Barwick, Sir Garfield, 1974–77** **M4541, 2**

Correspondence between Barwick and Kerr, 24 June 1974 – 21 November 1977.

**Hope, The Hon. Mr Justice RM, 1975** **M4541, 19**

Correspondence between Kerr and Hope, 15 July 1975.

**Court, The Hon. Sir Charles, OBE, MLA, 1975–77** **M4541, 6**

Correspondence between Kerr and Court, 26 November 1975 – 22 July 1977. In 1975, Court invited Kerr to visit mining developments. Kerr accepted in early 1976.

**Hasluck, Sir Paul, 1974–76** **M4541, 17**

Correspondence between Kerr and Hasluck, 1974–76; includes discussion of a handover and farewell event for Hasluck.

**Fraser, The Rt Hon. Malcolm, MP, 1973** **M4541, 12**

Correspondence between Kerr and Fraser, 21 January – 3 November 1977. Kerr's letters to Fraser are about taking leave and accepting the Order of Malta.

**Menzies, The Rt Hon. Sir Robert, KT, CH, QC, 1976** **M4541, 33**

Correspondence between Kerr and Menzies, 21–28 April 1976.

**O'Byrne, Senator The Hon. Justin, AO – Owens, ES (Stan), OBE, FCA, 1974–78** **M4541, 68**

This file includes correspondence between Daniel O'Connell and Kerr, 16 September 1974 – 11 January 1978. O'Connell from All Soul's College Oxford wrote about the 'harassment to which you are subjected'. He said: 'No doubt this is to force a capitulation. I see in this the gravest threat yet to the principles which brought us together first in 1950.'

**PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF 1975, 1975–76** **M4522**

Recorded by: 1975–76 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.1 metres

This series comprises letters and cards of support addressed to Sir John Kerr following his dismissal of the Whitlam government on 11 November 1975.

**Constitutional crisis – personal correspondence received, 17 June – 13 July 1976** **M4522, 2**

**PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF 1975, 1975–91** **M4523**

Recorded by: 1974–91 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.2 metres

Documents in this series were packaged together in an envelope marked 'Private and Confidential'. Included are notes by Sir John Kerr relating to the constitutional crisis of 1975; several are handwritten with typescript copies attached. A personal journal for 1980 is also included. Much of this material appears to have been used by Sir John Kerr as source material for his book, *Matters for Judgment*, and his manuscript, *The Triumph of the Constitution*.

**Notes by Sir John Kerr on discussions with Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser, 16 November 1975 – 13 September 1976**

**M4523, 1 Part 3**

These notes relate to discussions with both Whitlam and Fraser in the weeks before the Dismissal. From his notes it is clear that Kerr was aware of Fraser's concern:

about Mr Whitlam springing a half-Senate election upon him and although he hoped he could win it there was a risk that he might not.

**Sir John Kerr's notes on Gough Whitlam's letter of 26 December to the Queen, 1975**

**M4523, 1 Part 4**

**Extracts from letters dated 20 September 1975, 17 October 1975, 20 October 1975, 6 November 1975, 11 November 1975 and 20 November 1975**

**M4523, 1 Part 7**

**The Ellicott memorandum – or press statement [original plus typescript copy], 21 October 1975**

**M4523, 1 Part 12**

**Conversation with Sir Anthony Mason during October – November 1975, 1981**

**M4523, 1 Part 14**

These records detail the Governor-General's 'rolling conversation' with High Court Justice Sir Anthony Mason in the lead-up to the Dismissal. Kerr was careful to record his version of Mason's role, noting Mason's insistence that his role not be made public. Kerr wrote of Mason that: 'As he will be in the shades of history when this is read, his role should be known'. According to these records, Kerr initiated a 'running conversation' with Mason to discuss 'probable future events and discretionary alternatives open to me'. The records indicate that as early as 17 October 1975, when Supply had been blocked for just two days, Kerr was already certain that he would act against the government. Kerr had decided on a policy of 'silence' in his discussions with Whitlam, that he would not advise and warn the Prime Minister and that he would not accept the Prime Minister's advice to call a half-Senate election.

**Journal – maintained by Sir John Kerr, 1980**

**M4523, 1 Part 17**

This journal, written by the former Governor-General during his so-called 'exile' in England, shows his continued preoccupation with the events surrounding the dismissal of the Whitlam Government and the role of the key identities.

Writing from England, where he refused to accept that he was in 'exile', Kerr railed against the 'Labor boycott', the 'yahoos' and the 'pro-Whitlam ideologues' who prevented his quiet return home.

The journal includes comments on 'my allegedly obsessional fear of my own dismissal'. And it indicates that there was a steady flow of conservative Australian and British politicians who visited Kerr during his time in London, including Sir Garfield Barwick, Jim Killen, Phil Lynch and Peter Nixon, with whom he had extended lunches.

**NOTES AND PAPERS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF 1975 AND THE POLITICAL EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED, 1974–85**

**M4524**

Recorded by: 1974–85 Governor-General (CA 1)

**Canberra**

The documents in this series were packaged together in an envelope marked 'the contents of a light brown case'. Handwritten and typescript notes by Sir John Kerr on the constitutional crisis of 1975 and the events that followed are included together with official documents, correspondence and relevant journal and newspaper articles. Post-1975 subjects include Kerr's resignation from the position of Governor-General of Australia. Much of the material appears to have been used by Sir John Kerr as research for his book, *Matters for Judgment*, and his manuscript *The Triumph of the Constitution*.

There are 53 items in this series, numbered 1 to 36; item 1 is broken into 18 parts (1 part 1 through to 1 part 18). A selection of these items is highlighted below.

**Papers on protest groups and demonstrations, 1976**

**M4524, 1 Part 3**

These are security notes from Head of Security Allan Fleming on various student, republican and left wing groups.

**Resignation correspondence, 1977**

**M4524, 1 Part 5**

**Letter from Sir Martin Charteris, 9 January 1976**

**M4524, 1 Part 6**

**Place card of Edward Heath at the Australian Society Dinner with a note to Sir John Kerr on the back, 27 January 1976**

**M4524, 1 Part 7**

On the back of this place card, former British Conservative Prime Minister Sir Edward Heath scribbled a note to Kerr: 'You are now revealed as being in the hands of the Establishment'.

**Miscellaneous drafts following 11 November 1975, including a statement by His Excellency and draft of a letter to Mr Whitlam, 1975**

**M4524, 1 Part 10**

**Professor James McAuley correspondence, 1976**

**M4524, 1 Part 11**

These are miscellaneous draft letters written in the weeks following 11 November 1975.

**Typescript notes with annotations relating to a possible statement to the nation by the Governor-General, 1978**

**M4524, 2**

Written in the week after 11 November 1975, this is a defence of Kerr's actions. It makes no reference to Whitlam's decision to call a half-Senate election:

Once it was clear to me, and Mr Whitlam had certainly made it clear to me, that he intended to try and govern without Appropriations, that he intended to rely on the fact that he had a majority in the House of Representatives, and would resort to other means, that is to other than Appropriations approved by law, by Parliament, to carry on his administration it was clear to me that I could not stand by and countenance a subversion of the Constitution and I therefore terminated his commission. That Mr Whitlam had the support of the majority in the House of Representatives was never in doubt and so I did not need to be reminded of this by Mr Speaker when he called to inform me of the resolution passed by the House.

**Table indicating the occasions on which Malcolm Fraser and Gough Whitlam met with the Governor-General during the period 7 October – 17 November 1975** **M4524, 3**

**Notes on the 1975 Supply crisis, 1978** **M4524, 4**

**Notes on an aspect of the constitutional position of the Governor-General [handwritten and typescript copy], 1978** **M4524, 5**

This is Kerr's response to Country Party leader Doug Anthony's speech of 16 October 1975, in which Anthony claimed Whitlam had misled Kerr in relation to the 1974 double dissolution and the Loans Affair, a charge that the Governor-General dismissed as 'totally incorrect'. It includes general reflections on the legal position of the Governor-General in relation to direction from the Prime Minister. The National Archives of Australia records indicate the notes were written in 1978, but in paragraph 11, Kerr stated he had written the notes 'because I am now in the middle of a very considerable, though not yet constitutional, crisis'. Paragraph 11 also referred to correspondence with the Queen:

I have thought it desirable, having regard to Mr Anthony's speech, to record my experience to date on legal issues as being relevant to Vice-Regal decisions, but, not as yet, except in my letters to The Queen, to record embryonic thinking about the Supply crisis.

**Notes on the conspiracy and deceit theory put out by Mr Whitlam and Senator McClelland during the election [handwritten], 1978** **M4524, 6**

**Don Aitkin's article – *National Times*, 12 July 1976 [handwritten notes and photocopy of the newspaper article], 1978** **M4524, 7**

**Memo by the Governor-General to Clyde Cameron and Jim Cairns on the subject of the dismissal of Gough Whitlam, 1975** **M4524, 9**

**Draft letter from the Governor-General to the Prime Minister terminating his commission, 1975** **M4524, 10**

Kerr abandoned this 14-page draft letter of dismissal for a much more concise one. This lengthy draft provides an indication of the concerns that led to, and the justification by the Governor-General for the decision he reached. It refers extensively to the Executive Council meeting of 13 December 1974 (relating to the details of the search for loans and the authority to raise loans, which was at issue in the Loans Affair) and what Kerr had to 'suffer' in commentary about his signing the Executive Council minute. In the draft letter, Kerr claimed that:

The Leader of the Opposition has assured me that he is in a position to secure passage of the Appropriation Bills and that, upon the granting of Supply, it would be his intention to recommend the dissolution of the House of Representatives.

**Summary by the Governor-General of the Joint Sitting of Parliament of 1974, 1975** **M4524, 11**

**Notes made by Governor-General Kerr to justify his 11 November letter to Whitlam, 1975** **M4524, 13**

**Notes made by Governor-General Kerr on introduction to his book, n.d.** **M4524, 14**

Although he claimed in the preface to his book *Matters for Judgment: an autobiography* that it was important the public know 'the facts of my role', Kerr acknowledged in these private notes that: 'Such happenings as are public and relevant I will mention but beyond that I shall not go'. For instance, Kerr did not

disclose the nature of his letters with the Palace, his correspondence with the Queen's private secretary Sir Martin Charteris, or the identity and role of Justice Mason in his deliberations.

**First draft of roles played by Senator James McClelland and Mr Ellicott in the constitutional crisis, written in the Barossa Valley by Governor-General Kerr, October 1976** M4524, 16

**Letter from RG Withers to the Prime Minister re proposal to commission a suitable work dealing with the legal issues attached to the 1975 constitutional crisis, 25 May 1976** M4524, 21

**Papers relevant to the month before the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government on 11 November 1975, 19 August – 11 November 1975** M4524, 26

**The Governor-General's reservations about fully relying on the 'Opinion of the Law Officers', 1975** M4524, 29

**Correspondence between the Prime Minister and the Governor-General on the Governor-General's resignation, 1977** M4524, 31

**Assessment of position up to the Queen's visit and relevant conversations, enclosed in an envelope marked 'Conversations with the Prime Minister and others about security, future planning and related matters during April 1976' and signed by John R Kerr, 20 April 1976** M4524, 34

**Archival notes relating to a letter from Paul Cullen dated 10 April 1978, 1978–81** M4524, 35

**PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN KERR, ALPHABETICAL SERIES, ARCHDALE–YEEND, 1973–91** M4526

Recorded by: 1973–91 The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 1.1 metres

This series comprises Kerr's personal correspondence dating from 1976 through to the time of his death, with a few miscellaneous folios dated after his death. There are two incidences of material pertaining to the period before 1976. The first is a copy of a letter written in 1947 to Eddie Ward; the second is correspondence with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales dating from 1973. Included in the series is correspondence with royalty, academics, friends and relatives.

**Atwill, Sir John, 1979–89** M4526, 3

2 December 1980 correspondence from Kerr to former federal President of the Liberal Party Sir John Atwill refers to a 1976 lunch with Sir Martin Charteris.

**Barwick, The Rt Hon. Sir Garfield, 1976–85** M4526, 4 Part 1

In this letter to Kerr in July 1976, Barwick put two propositions stemming from the Dismissal: that the Crown should be more involved in Australian affairs, and that the Governor-General should (without a referendum or legislation being passed) write into his commission of an elected government a proviso that the commission was dependent on the provision of Supply. The second proposal would effectively make government contingent not only on having a majority in the House of Representatives but also on control of the Senate.

**Ellicott, The Hon. RC, 1979–90** **M4526, 15**

**Mason, The Hon. Sir Anthony KBE, QC, 1978–90** **M4526, 31**

This collection includes a letter from the Hon. Sir Anthony Mason to Sir John Kerr, 25 October 1978, in which he asked to see a draft of Kerr's autobiography before it was published.

**Smith, Sir David, 1979–91** **M4526, 49**

This includes correspondence about the 20 September 1978 edition of the new political journal, *The Laurie Oakes Report*. It documents a conversation between Paul Kelly and David Smith in which Smith said if Kerr 'plays fast and loose with the truth', he would write his own account to ensure the historical record was accurate. A handwritten note from Smith to Kerr indicates that Kelly told Government House that, 'this report grossly distorts the conversation that took place'. See also Peter Hartcher, 'David Smith's inside story' in *The Sydney Morning Herald's* 'Spectrum', 1 September 1990.

**Southey, Sir Robert, 1978–82** **M4526, 50**

A letter from Kerr to former Liberal Party President Sir Robert Southey dated 15 June 1978 records Kerr's lunch with Southey in June 1978 at Southey's invitation, at the Cavalry and Guards Club. Southey wrote to Kerr on 5 June 1978, saying he was 'proud of your courage and eternally grateful to you for saving us from tyranny'.

**KERR – PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH STATE GOVERNORS, 1974–77** **M4529**

Recorded by: 1974–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.1 metres

This series comprises personal correspondence between Sir John Kerr and state governors. Topics include offers of accommodation to Sir John and Lady Kerr on state visits, invitations to state functions and general information exchanges.

**SIR JOHN KERR'S COPIES OF ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS RECORDED FOR THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, 1974–76** **M4537**

Recorded by: 1974–76 The Rt Hon. Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Canberra 0.2 metres

This series contains Sir John Kerr's copies of interviews for the National Library of Australia, as part of the Library's ongoing commitment to recording and collecting oral history interviews with Australians of national standing. The series includes reel-to-reel recordings and typed transcripts of interviews made in November 1974 and September 1976. Some include Kerr's annotations.

**Tape transcripts – September 1976 interview – incorporating amendments [made by Sir John Kerr, tapes 4–7], 1976** **M4537, 4**

This transcript incorporates Kerr's amendments:

- O'Shea imprisoned 'until he purged his contempt' (Tape 5/2:296)
- 'I was a person who had some influence with the Industrial Groups' (Tape 7/1:374)
- with the Split the Labor Party 'had been given into the hands of its left wing' (Tape 7/1:381).

**PATRONAGE BOOKS [REGISTER AND INDEX OF CORRESPONDENTS], 1976** **A7460**

Recorded by: 1976– Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra

This series comprises leather bound volumes, either green or blue in colour, with 'Patronage Book' stamped on the front in gold lettering. There is usually a separate patronage book for each Governor-General and some books contain entries relating to the Administrator at the time. The volumes record the many requests for patronage addressed to the Governor-General by organisations, societies and associations.

**Patronage Book – His Excellency the Governor-General Sir John Kerr, 1974–77**

**A7460, PB 10**

**ADDRESSES GIVEN BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN KERR, INCLUDING INDEX, 1974–77** **M3511**

Recorded by: 1974–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.4 metres

This series consists of typescript addresses, speeches and lectures given by His Excellency Sir John Kerr in his capacity as Governor-General (1974–77). The addresses were delivered at various functions including official openings; dinners and luncheons; seminars, conventions and conferences; defence service graduation ceremonies; agricultural shows; and school and scouting functions. The series also includes Kerr's Australia Day broadcasts; his Robert Garran Memorial oration (November 1974); address to the Indian Law Institute (February 1975); address upon receiving the World Lawyer Award (Manila, August 1977); and Vancouver Memorial Lecture (Western Australia, October 1977).

The addresses are titled according to the occasion and are in chronological order. Some of them carry annotations by Kerr; others have a note attached indicating that the address was not used or not delivered exactly as written. Copies of many of the addresses were subsequently distributed on request, this being recorded on a sheet of paper attached to the address concerned.

**Index of addresses given by His Excellency the Governor-General Sir John Kerr, 1974–77**

**M3511, 1–95**

Kerr made frequent speeches as Governor-General.

**The Robert Garran Memorial Lecture, delivered by His Excellency the Governor-General the Hon. Sir John Kerr, 11 November 1974**

**M3511, 13**

Kerr's lecture was titled 'The ethics of public office'.

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, at the graduation parade of the No. 24 Course RAAF Academy, Point Cook, 11 December 1974**

**M3511, 17**

**Closing address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, to No. 28 RAAF Staff Course, Fairbairn, 12 December 1974**

**M3511, 18**

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, to the Indian Law Institute, 28 February 1975** **M3511, 28**

This address provides an important exposition of Kerr's view of the role and powers of Governor-General. He saw the role as one with some independence and acting 'as the Australian Head of State' on behalf of the Queen, and referred to 'my constitutional relationship with the Queen'.

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, at the opening of the 29th International Organisation of Motor Trades and Repairs Congress, Melbourne, 8 November 1975** **M3511, 67**

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, at the graduation parade of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, Canberra, 9 December 1975** **M3511, 68**

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, at the opening of the 60th National Congress of the Returned Services League of Australia at the national headquarters, Canberra, 27 October 1975** **M3511, 66**

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, on the occasion of the Cardinal's dinner at the Wentworth Hotel, Sydney, 21 August 1975** **M3511, 49**

**Address by His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General, at the annual speech night at the King's School Parramatta, 9 December 1975** **M3511, 70**

Four days out from the election, on 9 December 1975, Kerr referred to his view of the state of the economy: 'I do not think it would be entering into an area of political controversy, and I certainly have no desire to do so, to say that these are times of economic difficulty'. Later, he spoke of his own 'temporary difficulties'.

**His Excellency the Hon. Sir John Kerr, Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia delivers the inaugural annual oration of the Australian Association of the Sovereign and Military Order of Malta at the Wentworth Hotel, Sydney, 9 November 1976** **M3511, 95**

**PRESS CLIPPINGS AND COPIES OF ARTICLES RELATING TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GOUGH WHITLAM, IN NOVEMBER 1975** **A11473**

Recorded by: 1975–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

Canberra 0.1 metres

This series is divided into 14 items, the first of which is a list of press clippings, alphabetical by publication order.

**PERSONAL PAPERS CREATED AND MAINTAINED BY SIR CLARENCE HARDERS, 1951–97** **M4081**

Recorded by: 1965–80 Attorney-General's Department, Central Office – Deputy Secretary/Secretary's Office (CA 5)

1965–97 Sir Clarence Waldemar Harders OBE (CP 686)

1979–80 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office – Legal Adviser (CA 1382)

Canberra 5.7 metres

This series contains material relevant to the Loans Affair (see Chapter 6: Leader of the Opposition, 1967–72) and the Dismissal. The legal opinion prepared by Sir Alec Shand QC for the Liberal Party (M4081, 1/27) appears here as well as in Chapter 6.

- Loans Affair – legal opinion – Liberal Party briefs regarding legality of Executive Council approval of overseas loan raising, 1975** M4081, 1/27
- This legal opinion regarding the deferral of Supply, was prepared for the Liberal Party by Alec Shand QC. It proposed that the loan raising authorised by the Executive Council on 13 December 1974 constituted a legal conspiracy and considers whether the Governor-General could be included in the allegation of conspiracy.
- Loans Affair – meetings – proposals to include overseas loan raising on Loans Council agenda, 1975** M4081, 1/28
- Loans Affair – meetings – interdepartmental discussions regarding Khemlani negotiations, 1974–75** M4081, 1/29
- The Dismissal – advice – power of House of Representatives to revoke or nullify a money bill, 1975** M4081, 2/1
- This departmental paper considers ‘whether the House of Representatives can revoke or otherwise nullify the passing of a money Bill in order to prevent it becoming law’, 2 October 1975. This was an ingenious proposal by Sir Clarence Harders to amend appropriation Bills so that ultimate control of such Bills remained with the House of Representatives and therefore with government. This would have meant that ‘the deferral by the Senate would have been circumvented’. Whitlam advocated strongly for this proposal in the party room but it was not agreed to.
- The Dismissal – advice – recommendation that the Prime Minister tender formal advice to the Governor-General, 1975** M4081, 2/4
- The Dismissal – advice – power of House of Representatives to revoke or nullify a money bill, 1975** M4081, 2/1
- The Dismissal – advice – compelling the states to act regarding issuing of writs for a half-Senate election, 1975** M4081, 2/2
- The Dismissal – advice – opinion of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General regarding exercise of the Governor-General’s powers in constitutional crisis, 1975** M4081, 2/6
- The Dismissal – double dissolution of parliament – tabling of documents, 1975–77** M4081, 2/11 Parts 1–2
- The Dismissal – Governor-General – position where the Senate rejects Supply, 1975** M4081, 2/16
- The Dismissal – Governor-General – discussions with Secretary of Attorney-General’s Department (CW Harders), 1975** M4081, 2/17
- The Dismissal – reference material – Governor-General (appointment, instructions, role and advice), 1972–75** M4081, 2/20
- The Dismissal – reference material – speeches by Sir John Kerr, 1974–75** M4081, 2/21

**RECORDS FROM THE SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET'S OFFICE FILING SYSTEM, 1952–86**

**M4799**

Recorded by: 1952–86 Sir Geoffrey John Yeend AC (CP 982)  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Canberra 2.4 metres

Records in this series were maintained as part of Sir Geoffrey Yeend's office filing system as Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

**Correspondence with Sir John Bunting, 1975–76**

**M4799, 10/9**

## **Whitlam Institute**

**Original letter of dismissal from Governor-General Sir John Kerr to the Prime Minister, the Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam, 11 November 1975**

This is the original letter given to Gough Whitlam by the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, terminating his commission as Prime Minister and dismissing his government from office.

## **First Fraser government**

At 1.10 pm on 11 November 1975, Kerr revoked Whitlam's commission and appointed the Leader of the Opposition, Malcolm Fraser as prime minister. Cabinet Office records document the two Cabinet meetings held between 11 November and the December 1975 election. As noted in the section on East Timor (Chapter 6: Leader of the Opposition, 1967–72), Cabinet discussed East Timor, as well as relations with North Korea. Also on the agenda were the mounting complaints to the Governor-General regarding actions of this first Fraser government in breach of 'caretaker' provisions.

## **National Archives of Australia**

**FIRST FRASER MINISTRY – FOLDER OF CABINET DECISIONS, 1975**

**A13050**

Recorded by: 1975 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Canberra 0.1 metres

These records show that following the Dismissal, 100 public servants wrote to the Governor-General complaining about the actions of the 'caretaker' government and asking for clarification of the notional caretaker guidelines.

**Cabinet Minute – complaints to the Governor-General regarding the caretaker government – without submission, 1975**

**A13050, 28**

Cabinet Minute, 19 November 1975. Decision No. 28 Without Submission.

**Cabinet Minute – specific complaints to the Governor-General regarding the caretaker government – without submission, 1975**

**A13050, 29**

Cabinet Minute, 19 November 1975. Decision No. 29 Without Submission.

## 1975 election

Within hours of his dismissal, from the steps of Parliament House, Whitlam had called on his supporters to 'maintain your rage and your enthusiasm'. Despite huge rallies in support of Whitlam during the election campaign, the Labor Party suffered a devastating loss with a swing of 7.4 per cent against it at the 13 December 1975 double dissolution election. Malcolm Fraser and the Coalition achieved the largest ever majority in the House of Representatives. Whitlam remained Leader of the ALP until the party's defeat in the 1977 election. After nearly 26 years in parliament, Gough Whitlam resigned from the seat of Werriwa on 31 July 1978 and as Leader of the ALP. He was replaced as leader by Bill Hayden.

## Leader of the Opposition, 1976–77

The records of Whitlam's final period as Leader of the Opposition include letters and telegrams of support, which are held at the National Archives and the Whitlam Institute. These relate to the Dismissal, the 1976 and 1977 ALP leadership elections, and Whitlam's decision to step down as leader.

Also included is a major address at the National Press Club given by Sir Garfield Barwick in June 1976, where he faced extensive and at times heated questioning about the Dismissal.

## National Archives of Australia

### **FOLDERS OF TELEGRAMS RECEIVED AFTER DISMISSAL OF LABOR GOVERNMENT, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1975** **M510**

Recorded by: 1975      The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney      0.2 metres

The series comprises telegrams received by Whitlam from members of the public and ALP branches after the dismissal of the Labor government on 11 November 1975.

### **FOLDERS OF TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT RELATING TO THE ALP LEADERSHIP ELECTION IN MARCH 1976, 1976** **M511**

Recorded by: 1976      The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney      0.2 metres

The series comprises telegrams and letters of support received by Whitlam from ALP branches and members of the public in the period leading up to his re-election as Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party in March 1976, following the 1975 federal election defeat. Copies of replies are included.

### **FOLDERS OF TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT RECEIVED BY WHITLAM PRIOR TO THE 1977 ALP LEADERSHIP ELECTION, 1977** **M512**

Recorded by: 1977      The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney      0.2 metres

The series comprises folders of telegrams and letters of support received by Whitlam from ALP branches and members of the public before the ALP leadership election in July 1977. Copies of replies are included. The records were in loose arrangement by state/territory of origin.

**FOLDERS OF COPIES OF OUTWARD CORRESPONDENCE CREATED BY WHITLAM AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, 1975–77**

**M1734**

Recorded by: 1975–77 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.2 metres

The series consists of arch folder files containing photocopies of outward correspondence. Some copies of inward correspondence are included. The correspondence deals mainly with parliamentary and electoral matters.

**Letter by Prime Minister EG Whitlam to Martin Charteris, Private Secretary to HM Queen Elizabeth II, 26 December 1975**

**M1734, 1**

**TELEGRAMS AND MESSAGES OF SUPPORT SENT TO WHITLAM FOLLOWING HIS DECISION TO STEP DOWN AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, 1977–78**

**M840**

Recorded by: 1977–78 The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 0.5 metres

This series comprises folders of letters, cards and telegrams of support received by Whitlam when he stepped down as Leader of the Opposition. The letters were from members of the public, trade union representatives and ALP associates. Most of the correspondence was answered with a 'telegram of thanks'.

Researchers should also note that in addition to material on the Loans Affair, the files of Peter Lawler listed below contain records relating to the Iraqi breakfast Affair the following year. Following the dismissal of the Whitlam government, the ALP faced the 1975 election with little money to fund its third election campaign in as many years. The suggestion by Victorian ALP former State Secretary Bill Hartley that a donation of \$500,000 could be sourced from the Middle East through the Iraqi Ba'ath Socialist Party became a major media scandal in February 1976. The ensuing furore was enormously damaging and almost cost Whitlam the leadership, which he retained until after the 1977 election loss.

## **National Library of Australia**

The National Library of Australia's collection of oral history interviews includes several that discuss the Dismissal, in particular those recorded with Garfield Barwick, Neville Bonner, Cleaver Bunton, Jim Cope, Magnus Cormack, Frank Crean, Kep Enderby, Patrick Field, John Gorton, Clarrie Harders, Justice Robert Marsden Hope, Antony Lamb, Billy Snedden and Ken Wriedt. These interviews are listed in detail in Chapter 7: Prime Minister, 1972–75. Other relevant oral history interviews in the National Library's collection are also listed in Chapter 5: 'Whose party is this?' Gough Whitlam and ALP politics.

The National Library holds a sound recording of an address to the National Press Club by Chief Justice Sir Garfield Barwick in June 1976; it was the first address he gave following the Dismissal.

**GARFIELD BARWICK ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, 10 JUNE 1976 TRC 4042**

Giving the first address at the new National Press Club building in Canberra, Sir Garfield Barwick, Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, spoke about the High Court: its structure and history; the nature of reforms to appeals and judiciary legislation; types of cases presented; and the Whitlam government's dismissal.

Barwick faced intense questioning about his assertion that Sir John Kerr had the 'constitutional authority and duty' to act as he did. Asked by journalists to specify which section of the Constitution laid out such a duty, he replied, 'None'.

## **Whitlam Institute**

### **LETTERS TO THE HON. GOUGH WHITLAM QC, MP AFTER THE DISMISSAL IN NOVEMBER 1975**

This collection comprises letters to Whitlam after his government's dismissal from office. Correspondents include authors Gore Vidal, Patrick White and Xavier Herbert, artist Sir Daryl Lindsay, Prime Ministers Manley (Jamaica) and Bhutto (Pakistan), UK Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, Marshall Green (US State Department), William Harrop (US Ambassador, Guinea), Rod Carnegie, Sir John (Jack) Bunting, Ron Walker, Fin Crisp (ANU), General Sir John Wilton and others, including many members of the public.

These letters may be viewed online.

## 9 Post-parliamentary life

The records relating to Whitlam held by the National Archives of Australia focus on his period as a Member of Parliament, including as Leader of the Opposition and Prime Minister. Material relating to his pre- and post-parliamentary life is more disparate and can be found across a range of repositories. The Australian National University (ANU) Archives holds material concerning Whitlam's post-parliamentary academic appointments at the university and the Whitlam family's broader connections with the ANU. The holdings of the Whitlam Institute are particularly important for the entire time period. It includes speeches and documents relating to some of the key interventions Whitlam made as Australian Ambassador to and later as an elected member of the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

On leaving parliament, Whitlam became a Visiting Fellow in the ANU's Department of Political and Social Change (1978–80). He was then appointed the ANU's first National Fellow in 1981, based in the Research School of Pacific Studies. The recordings of several of Whitlam's speeches during this time, as well as photos, are held by the ANU Archives.

In 1983 Gough Whitlam was appointed by the Labor government of RJ (Bob) Hawke as Australia's Ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris. Gough and Margaret moved to the renowned Harry Seidler-designed Australian Embassy complex in Paris, commissioned by the Whitlam government, where they remained until the end of 1986.

Whitlam's young research assistant, Mark Latham, joined him in Paris for a month in 1984 to continue work on Whitlam's book *The Whitlam Government*, published in 1985. The association between Whitlam and Latham, a future leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was, at that time, close and further cemented in 1994 when Latham was elected ALP member for Whitlam's former electorate of Werriwa. When Latham resigned from the front bench in 1998 following a policy dispute with then-party leader Kim Beazley, Whitlam's former speech writer Graham Freudenberg sent a short letter, now held by the Whitlam Institute:

Dear Gough

I suppose you are the only person left to have any influence with Latham.

Would you please tell him to pull his head in?

At the end of his term as Australia's Ambassador to UNESCO in 1986, Whitlam was elected to the Executive Board of UNESCO, a position he held until 1989. On their return to Australia in 1986 Whitlam continued to play a significant role in Australia's political and cultural life and was an active member of a number of boards and commissions. He wrote several books and made regular contributions to newspaper opinion pages (see further details in Appendix 5: Bibliography) and was in great demand as a guest speaker.

Whitlam authored four major works dealing with significant aspects of his post-parliamentary career. *The Italian Inspiration in English Literature* (1980) and *A Pacific Community* (1981) resulted from his academic terms as National Fellow at the Australian National University and Visiting Professor at Harvard University. *Abiding Interests* (1997) and *My Italian Notebook* (2002) are broader reflections on his life's work and his great love of travel and antiquities.

## Academic appointments

The ANU Archives includes material relating to Whitlam's association with the ANU, as well as that of his father, Commonwealth Crown Solicitor Fred Whitlam. A full online description can be found in *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* (<http://press.anu.edu.au>).

## National Archives of Australia

### **FOLDERS OF COPIES OF OUTWARD CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO PERSONAL AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES OF MR WHITLAM, 1978–** **M1740**

Recorded by: 1978– The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)  
Sydney 0.2 metres

This series comprises folders of copies of correspondence relating to Whitlam's personal and general activities, including in his role as an ANU Visiting Fellow.

## Australian National University Archives

### **AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY STAFF FILES** **ANUA 19**

#### **Gough Whitlam, Visiting Fellow/National Fellow, 1978–83** **ANUA 19/4.2.4.50 & C**

This two-part file documents the selection and administration of Whitlam as an ANU Visiting Fellow (1978–80), then its first National Fellow (1980–81). It covers his conditions (research assistance and subsidised University House flat), remuneration, scholarly standing, and election as an Honorary Fellow of University House in 1982. The papers include internal memos by, and letters from, Vice-Chancellor Anthony Low; letters to Low from Whitlam, students and members of the public; press items about protests when it was thought that Whitlam's tenure was to be extended; reports of overseas trips Whitlam made while a Visiting Fellow; and copies of addresses he gave during the period.

### **AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE FILES** **ANUA 53**

#### **National Fellowships, 1980–97** **ANUA 53/4.2.0.213**

This item includes a small number of files on Whitlam's appointment as a National Fellow. He was appointed on 14 November 1980 on the recommendation of the Honorary Degrees Committee.

#### **John Curtin Memorial Lectures, 1970–84** **ANUA 53/10.02.2.47 parts 1–2**

The item documents the establishment and administration of the lecture program, and includes copies of the speeches, some of which were also published. Whitlam delivered the 6th lecture; the relevant file includes correspondence between Vice-Chancellor Low and Whitlam.

#### **EG Whitlam, 1978–80** **ANUA 53/370**

This item includes 'Major activities and engagements at ANU', 1978–80.

**AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES UNIT****ANUA 51****Audio and video tapes, 1972–95****51/75002**

Whitlam's 1975 lecture, 'Government of the people, for the people – by the people', was the 6th John Curtin Memorial Lecture. It is among those that were recorded on audiotape by the ANU Instructional Resources Unit.

**DA LOW PAPERS****ANUA 55****Folder relating to Whitlam's appointment as a Visiting Fellow, 1978–80****ANUA 55/4/35 (or 55/35?)**

The papers document the negotiations between ANU Vice-Chancellor Anthony Low and Gough Whitlam, which began five months before his retirement from parliament in July 1978, to his appointment shortly thereafter as a Visiting Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies. They provide a genuine 'insider perspective' of a controversial decision from which one can piece together how the decision was internally negotiated, made and defended, and the media managed. The folder includes correspondence between Low and Whitlam; anonymous letters of protest from the public at the announcement of Whitlam as Visiting Fellow; press cartoons drawing on the speculation about Whitlam's appointment – especially a series of comic strip cartoons by Larry Pickering called 'The Ishbondogla Gang', published in *The Weekend Australian* in mid-1978; notes from academics about leaking of the news; extracts from the ANU Council and other official documents about the appointment; Low's chronology of the negotiation steps in the six months prior to the announcement on 14 July 1978; letters from supporters, especially Dr Stephen FitzGerald and Dr WS Ramson, doubters (Trevor Swan) and external advisers (JDB Miller); and memos, some labelled 'Very confidential'.

**AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY FILES****ANUA 312****Sir George Knowles, 1981–85**

The file covers the commission, preparation and editing of a 500-word entry on Sir George Knowles authored by Whitlam. The article appeared on page 623 of volume 9 of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB), published in 1983. Deputy General Editor Chris Cunneen suggested Whitlam as author. A factor may have been that Knowles (Commonwealth Solicitor-General, 1932–46) and Gough's father Fred Whitlam (Crown-Solicitor, 1936–49) knew each other well and shared involvements with the University Association of Canberra and the Canberra University College Council. Whitlam's characteristic and, at times, irritating love of accuracy and detail are evident in his correspondence with editors Geoff Serle and Bede Nairn. In one letter, he acknowledged his sister Freda's help in fixing the start date of Knowles' secretaryship of the University Association to 1928. This proved to be out by a year, prompting the margin note, from the ADB: 'Hooray Freda got it wrong.'

**Hubert Lazzarini, 1995–98**

Whitlam also contributed a 750-word piece on federal politician and minister in the Curtin and Chifley governments and his predecessor in the seat of Werriwa, Hubert (Bert) Lazzarini. However, the biography, which appeared in 2000 on pp. 68–9 of volume 15, is suggestive: 'Following the April 1951 polls, [Lazzarini] announced that he would not contest the next. Chifley thought that a local candidate should replace him. In a protracted contest EG Whitlam emerged from a final scrum of nine.' What is clear from the file is Whitlam's enthusiasm for the research required to write the articles. He stayed in touch with General Editor John Ritchie and sent as much material to ADB from his inquiries of, for example, the Land Titles Office and the Electoral Commission,

as it traditionally sent to authors. Not surprising, then, was Whitlam's admission (letter of 4 June 1996) that he 'was carried away by the subject's exceptional ethnic background, electoral mobility and factional experience'. The ADB kept internal assessments of Whitlam's drafts – 'Very flat & one dimensional. It's Pol Sci r/t [rather than] biography' – before negotiating a shorter final draft.

## AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PHOTOGRAPHS

ANUA 225 & 226

### Envelopes of photographs of people and events, 1948–2005

Gough Whitlam was a regular visitor to the ANU, appearing in many photographs taken at events on campus. He was photographed with Vice-Chancellor Sir Leonard Huxley and Professor Dale Trendall, Master of University House in October 1962; with Sir Ernest Titterton, professor at the Research School of Physical Sciences, in 1973; delivering the John Curtin lecture in October 1975; and at a Convocation luncheon in 1978 speaking on Australia's regional opportunities and responsibilities.

**Photographs of Whitlam with Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, in 1973 and with Dr Stephen FitzGerald and Hua Kuo-feng, Chinese Premier, July 1976**

ANUA 225/1315

**Whitlam launched Stewart Harris' book, *This is Our Land*, and was photographed with Indigenous spokesman Paul Coe, October 1972**

ANUA 226/478

**Whitlam launched Dr HC Coombs' autobiography, *Trial Balance*, 1981**

ANUA 225/248

**Whitlam was photographed with Rafe de Crespigny and two delegates from a Libyan trade mission, November 1979**

ANUA 226/552

**As Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, Whitlam donated *Journal of Pacific History*, published by the Research School of Pacific Studies, to the organisation in Paris, 1985**

ANUA 226/522

**In December 1994, Whitlam attended a conference on campus on the Labor tradition in foreign policy. A drawing by Rik Bigwood of Whitlam, Gareth Evans and Arthur Calwell illustrated the event, 1944**

ANUA 226/565

**Margaret Whitlam was photographed at the Australian Playwrights' Conference at Burton Hall, May 1977**

ANUA 226/458

**Margaret Whitlam was photographed at University House, 1990**

ANUA 225/1314

**Gough's father HFE Whitlam was photographed at the dinner for the retiring Interim Council, July 1951**

ANUA 12/9

## NORTH AUSTRALIA RESEARCH UNIT RECORDS

ANUA 240

### Photographs, 1974–97

ANUA 240/3

Whitlam visited the ANU's Northern Territory campus in Darwin in August 1994 with Dr HC Coombs. There are several photographs of Whitlam with Coombs, Dr Deborah Rose and other staff.

**Research material for University House history, 2002–05**

ANUA 235/2, 4, 6

The file on 'University House history' includes a copy of the *ANU Reporter* for Winter 2004 with a photo of Whitlam (p. 15) and references to a 1981 ceremony at University House when Whitlam launched HC Coombs' autobiography *Trial Balance*. A second file contains letters by Whitlam sent to University House Master Professor John Richards in October 2003, which summarise his relationship and his father's with the ANU. As for University House, Whitlam stressed his being made an Honorary Fellow in 1982, his use of the House when staying overnight in Canberra, and his work with former House Master Ralph Elliott on Italian influences in Chaucer. There is also a photograph of Whitlam at the 3rd Wine Symposium in 1979.

**UNESCO**

In 1983, Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke offered Whitlam the position of Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, based in Paris. At the end of his term as Ambassador, Whitlam continued his work with UNESCO as an elected member of the UNESCO Executive Board. Whitlam played an important role during a time when the United States and United Kingdom withdrew their financial support for UNESCO and UNESCO's viability was seriously threatened. Among other records relating to Whitlam's involvement with UNESCO, the Whitlam Institute holds copies of his influential 1985 speech to the General Council of the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the UNESCO predicament, 'United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland – Partner or Puppet?'

**Whitlam Institute****PERSONAL PAPERS OF EDWARD GOUGH WHITLAM****Photographs at UNESCO House, Paris, 26 August 1983**

Three black and white photographs of the new Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC, at UNESCO House, Paris, France, with Mr Amadou-Mahtas M'bow, Director General of UNESCO. In one photograph, Mr M'Bow receives Whitlam's credentials as the new Permanent Delegate of Australia to the organisation.

**EG Whitlam, Dispatch No. 1/84, 'UNESCO 1984 and 1985', to B Hayden, 4 January 1984****Address by the Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC, to the National Press Club, Canberra, on 21 March 1984**

This is the typed, 11-page speech Whitlam made, as Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, to the National Press Club in Canberra. In the address, he mentioned that Labor governments had supported UNESCO and ratified several UNESCO Conventions. Newspaper coverage of UNESCO and its activities had, in Australia and other Western countries, often been inaccurate and critical. Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the United Nations, had stated in a National Press Club speech a month earlier that the United Nations method of operating was similar to that of a political system. Whitlam stated that the same principles applied to UNESCO. He provided some reasons for the lack of good media stories and gave examples of successful projects.

**EG Whitlam, Dispatch No. 2/84, 'The Specialised Agencies and the Parties of the Right', to B Hayden, 6 June 1984**

**EG Whitlam, 'Western Governments and Multilateral Organisations', Address to mark the First Constituent Meeting of the International Advisory Board of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Rome, 3 September 1984**

**Speech: 'United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland – Partner or Puppet?' delivered on 13 April 1985**

This is the typed, 17-page address on the formation, history and structure of the United Nations, and some problems and suggested ways to improve the organisation, given by Whitlam as the Permanent Delegate to UNESCO. Whitlam talked about the withdrawal of the US and the proposed withdrawal of the UK from UNESCO, and the effect this would have on the organisation and on those two countries.

**EG Whitlam, UNESCO General Conference, General Policy Debate, intervention by Gough Whitlam (Australia), 27 October 1987**

**EG Whitlam, 'Intervention by the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC', Item 4.1, UNESCO Executive Board, 26 May 1988**

**EG Whitlam, 'Intervention by Mr Gough Whitlam', UNESCO Executive Board, 18 May 1989**

**EG Whitlam, 'International Law-Making', 18th Fullagar Lecture, Monash University, 16 August 1989**

**EG Whitlam, Proceedings of the 25th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, 19 October 1989**

**General Policy Debate, UNESCO, Paris, 17 October–16 November 1989**

**EG Whitlam, 'Report to Australian National Commission for UNESCO on the 25th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Paris, 17 October–16 November 1989', University House, Canberra, 1 February 1990**

**Diplomatic passports for Edward Gough Whitlam from 1976 to 1993**

A total of 11 diplomatic passports were issued to the Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam QC, MP. They contain stamps from the various countries he visited in an official capacity, including Egypt; Iran; United States of America; France; Bolivia; Chile; Spain; Vietnam; Argentina; Philippines; and Romania.

## Later public life

On their return from Paris, Gough and Margaret Whitlam showed no sign of slowing down, taking on a range of public and quasi-governmental roles. In 1986 Whitlam was appointed a member of the University of Sydney Senate for a second term, Chair of the Australia–China Council and, from 1987, Chair of the National Gallery of Australia. He also served as a member of the Hawke government's 1985 Constitutional Commission, the official records of which were published as the *Final Report of the Constitutional Commission* in 1988 (see Appendix 5: Bibliography).

Margaret Whitlam was involved in several arts bodies, including the Australian Opera and the Sydney Theatre Company. She was a judge of the National Book Council Awards and a member of a NSW Government committee reviewing adult education. In the 1990s, Margaret Whitlam accepted an offer from former social work colleagues then operating a study tour company called International Study Programs, to join them as a tour leader. Margaret then led several cultural tours through England and Europe. Gough soon joined her and together they led highly popular educational tours to Europe, South America and South-East Asia. Gough was now following Margaret in her successful role as an educational tour guide leader, although she continued to run her favourite music and literature-focused tours on her own. It was a new chapter in their relationship, which had until then largely revolved around Gough's work and political prominence.

Both Gough and Margaret were members of the 1995 Sydney bid team that successfully canvassed support for the Olympic Games to be held in Sydney in 2000. In 1997 Gough and Margaret became the only couple to be jointly honoured by the National Trust of Australia as National Living Treasures. In 2007 Gough and Margaret Whitlam were awarded the first national life memberships of the Australian Labor Party.

## **University of Sydney Archives**

### **G.001 SENATE, 1851–1987**

#### **Minutes**

Whitlam served on the Sydney University Senate from 1981 to 1983 and from 1986 to 1989. Records less than 30 years old or containing personal information are generally not available for research use. Questions relating to access should be directed to the Sydney University archives.

## **Whitlam Institute**

The Whitlam Institute collection contains all of Whitlam's available speeches on a searchable database. Examples are listed below.

**EG Whitlam, 'Vietnam', ANU Seminar, Canberra, 22 September 1978**

**EG Whitlam, 'Commemorative dinner speech', Citizens for Democracy, Italo-Australians for Labor and the Greek Orthodox Community of NSW, 11 November 1978**

**EG Whitlam, 'Australia's regional opportunities and responsibilities', Address to ANU Convocation Luncheon, Canberra, 15 November 1978**

**EG Whitlam, Launch speech: 'The truth of the matter', Launching luncheon, National Press Club, Canberra, 8 February 1979**

**EG Whitlam, 'The truth of the matter', Sydney Journalists' Club luncheon, 14 February 1979**

**EG Whitlam, 'The Connor legacy', Inaugural RX Connor Memorial Lecture, University of Wollongong, 26 September 1979**

**EG Whitlam, 'Indonesia and Australia: political aspects', The Indonesian Connection Seminar, ANU, Canberra, 30 November 1979**

EG Whitlam, 'The Pacific framework', Opening of the 3rd National Conference of the Asian Studies Association, Griffith University, NSW, 25 August 1980

EG Whitlam, 'Book review of Manning Clark's *A History of Australia V: the people make the laws 1888–1915*', 1981

EG Whitlam, 'The 3rd Whitlam lecture', Citizens for Democracy and the Fabian Society, The University of Sydney, 10 November 1985

EG Whitlam, 'Australian intervention', Executive Board Debate on the Director-General's Oral Report, 13 May 1986

EG Whitlam, 'Talking points for London launch of *The Whitlam Government*', Australia House, London, 17 July 1986

EG Whitlam, 'A longer view', Address to the inaugural meeting of the South Australian Branch of the Australian Fabian Society, Adelaide, 13 February 1987

EG Whitlam, 'Dragging the chain 1897–1997', The Second Vincent Lingiari Memorial Lecture, Northern Territory University, 29 August 1997

EG Whitlam, 'Eulogy for Nugget Coombs', St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 14 November 1997

EG Whitlam, 'John Curtin: party, parliament, people', Inaugural Curtin Anniversary Lecture, Curtin University, John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library, 5 July 1998

EG Whitlam, letter to the editor, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1999

EG Whitlam, 'Go to the documents: an address on the role of historians', Opening Address, National Biannual Postgraduate History Conference, The University of Melbourne, 20 July 2001

EG Whitlam, '30th Anniversary Sino–Australia Relations', Queensland government function, Beijing Hotel, 29 July 2002

EG Whitlam, 'The relevance of the Whitlam government today', Keynote Address, 30 Years Later: The Whitlam Government as Modernist Politics, Conference, Old Parliament House, Canberra, 2 December 2002

EG Whitlam, 'Joint Sitting: 30th Anniversary', Whitlam Institute within the University of Western Sydney, 6 August 2004

EG Whitlam, '1974 Cabinet Papers Go Public', Speech to the National Archives of Australia, 10 December 2004

EG Whitlam, 'Speech by the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC on the occasion of the bestowing on Gough and Margaret Whitlam, Life Membership to the Australian Labor Party', ALP 44th National Conference, Sydney Convention Centre, 28 April 2007

EG Whitlam, 'Australian National University commencement dinner', Bruce Hall, ANU, Canberra, 7 March 2008

# 10 Ephemera and realia

Gough Whitlam's formal woollen dinner suit; the 'It's time' 1972 election campaign badges and strategy; Whitlam's Papua New Guinea cufflinks; even the Prime Ministerial suite in Old Parliament House where Whitlam toiled: these objects and more survive as ephemera and realia in archival repositories.

This chapter describes some of the surviving non-textual materials relating to Whitlam's life and work. These eclectic audiovisual records and other objects shed light on some of the important and iconic moments of Whitlam's career. Also listed is a selection of personal photographs. Examples from several large holdings of official photographs, relating in particular to Gough and Margaret Whitlam's official overseas visits, are listed in previous chapters.

## Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House

During Whitlam's time as a Member of Parliament, including as Prime Minister, and indeed from the time the Australian Parliament and many public servants, including Fred Whitlam, moved to Canberra in 1927, parliament was conducted in the Provisional Parliament House, now Old Parliament House. Old Parliament House is a nationally listed heritage building. It is both home to, and the most important object in, the collection of the Museum of Australian Democracy. Bob Hawke was the last Prime Minister to work from the Old Parliament House offices, which housed the Australian Parliament from 1927 until the move in 1988 to Parliament House on Capital Hill.

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy remains at the site in front of Old Parliament House, where it was established in 1972 under a beach umbrella. Whitlam, as Opposition leader, held a press conference at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in early 1972, where he was challenged by Indigenous law student and activist Paul Coe to differentiate Australian Labor Party (ALP) policy on Indigenous Australians from that of the Liberal Party. Whitlam announced in his famous 1972 policy speech that the ALP would 'legislate to give Aborigines land rights'.

### Temporary Prime Ministerial Suite, 1972–73

Room M152

The Museum of Australian Democracy website explains that when Whitlam came to power in 1972, the:

previous small Prime Ministerial suite and the Cabinet Room in the front eastern section of the building was undergoing refurbishment. The temporary office accommodation for the Prime Minister and his staff during the refurbishment was in the extreme southwest corner of the southwest wing, at the rear of the Senate, where there was also a temporary Cabinet Room.

The Whitlam government moved into these offices on its election in December 1972. It was from here that Whitlam and his deputy, Lance Barnard, ran the country during the first two weeks of the new government. This arrangement came to an end in August 1973 when Whitlam and his staff were relocated to the remodelled offices in the eastern front section of the building.

The office space in which the Duumvirate and the Whitlam Ministry that followed it worked has since had various mundane uses.

**The Cabinet Table, 1972–88****2001-1482**

Large square oak table with cut-out section in centre; top comprises 16 panels with black leather surfaces, the four outer and four inner corners are rounded; top rests on an oak apron with white buttons on the outer edge; resting on 20 slab feet.

This table was used as the Cabinet Room table in the Cabinet Room at the Provisional Parliament House between 1972 and 1988.

Unlike every other government since 1956, the Whitlam government had no inner Cabinet and no outer Cabinet; all 27 ministers met at all times as the Whitlam Cabinet. The Cabinet Room in Sydney could not hold the Whitlam Cabinet, while in Canberra members could barely squeeze around the old oval Cabinet table. It was only after the Parliament House renovations had been completed months later that the Whitlam Cabinet could comfortably meet around its new, custom-built square table.

## Powerhouse Museum

**Photograph of Gough Whitlam and Vincent Lingiari by Mervyn Bishop, 1975****2004/52/1**

The photograph was taken at a ceremony in 1975 to return the land at Daguragu to its traditional owners, the Gurindji people, in the Northern Territory. Prime Minister Whitlam pours soil into the hands of traditional land owner Vincent Lingiari in a symbolic gesture. The Australian Government gave back the land after Vincent Lingiari and four other traditional owners petitioned the Governor-General in 1967 and staged a permanent walk-off. The petition argued that 'morally the land is ours and should be returned to us'. Mervyn Bishop was Australia's first Koori press photographer. He worked at *The Sydney Morning Herald* for 17 years.

**Morning suit and tie, mens, wool/silk, made by RT Whyte's Mansworld/  
Turnbull & Asser, worn by Gough Whitlam, Canberra, Australia/England, 1973****95/230/1**

Gough Whitlam had the suit made to wear on an official visit to Japan, 25–31 October 1973. As well as Prime Minister of Australia, Whitlam was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Japanese protocol demanded formal dress and the Whitlams were informed they would require a morning suit and 'long dress' when meeting the Emperor and Empress of Japan on 26 October 1973. Whitlam recalled that this was the only time he ever needed such a formal mode of dress and subsequently he wore the suit only once.

**Dinner suit, mens, wool, made by Sam Catanzariti, used by Gough Whitlam,  
Canberra, Australia, [1964]****95/230/2**

Worn by Gough Whitlam on formal occasions while leader of the ALP and Prime Minister of Australia.

## State Library of Victoria

**RILEY & EPHEMERA COLLECTION****Melbourne 40 metres**

Started by trade unionist and politician Fred Riley, this collection contains much of the State Library of Victoria's collection of political ephemera relating to a range of Victorian social and political movements. It includes handbills, flyers, leaflets, posters, badges and stickers from various Victorian political and community organisations.

Trade unions, political parties and university clubs and societies are strongly represented in the collection. Environmental groups, international activists, feminist organisations and anti-war groups also have a presence. The collection includes material relating to: conscription; the land rights movement; anti-nuclear activism; trade unions; conservation; women's rights; peace movements; alternative media; and political parties.

**File – Whitlam, Edward Gough**

This file contains political ephemera relating to Gough Whitlam.

**Poster – ALP; federal election [1972]**

ALP poster: 'From the people who pioneered child endowment...It's time. Vote 1 Australian Labor Party.'

Produced for the campaign preceding the 2 December 1972 election. It is a portrait of Gough Whitlam with a baby.

**Poster – ALP; federal election [1972]**

'It is time: He's PM.'

This is a hoarding of *The Sun* newspaper, printed 3 December 1972, to report the ALP's victory of the 2 December 1972 election.

**Poster – Australia; economic conditions [1974]**

Save Our State (SOS) Campaign open letter to Whitlam.

**Poster – ALP; federal election [1974]**

ALP poster: 'Only Whitlam will reduce home interest rates by 3% – Whitlam, he's so much better.'

Produced for the federal election of 18 May 1974. It includes a portrait of Gough Whitlam.

**Poster – ALP; federal election [1975]**

ALP poster: 'Fraser causes chaos...City Square rally 12.30 today.'

Produced for the campaign preceding the 13 December 1975 election. It includes portraits of Gough Whitlam (at a rally) and Bob Hawke.

**Poster – Australia, politics and government [1976]**

'Culture vultures present: 11th Nov Remembrance Day Massacre.'

The poster is signed 'I.I.: MOLL' (pseudonym of the artist Phil Pinder). It refers to the dismissal of the Whitlam government by Governor-General Sir John Kerr.

Transferred from the Picture Collection; formerly accessioned at H37814. Printed by PIT Press, Bundoora, Vic.

**Poster – ALP; federal elections [1977]**

ALP poster: 'Australian Labor Party New South Wales How to Vote.'

## Whitlam Institute

The Institute lists the following as treasures of its collection.

### **Original Letter of Dismissal from Governor-General Sir John Kerr to the Prime Minister, the Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam, on 11 November 1975**

One of the most significant documents in Australian political history, this is the original letter given to Whitlam by Kerr to terminate his commission as Prime Minister and dismiss the Government from office. Whitlam called on the Governor-General at 1 pm on 11 November 1975. He intended to ask the Governor-General to call a half-Senate election to break the deadlock that was blocking the passage of his Budget. The letter was lying face down on Kerr's desk when Whitlam walked into his office. Before Whitlam could ask the Governor-General to call the election, he was handed the letter. 'We shall all have to live with this,' Kerr said to Whitlam. 'You certainly will,' Whitlam replied.

### **Wedding photograph**

Edward Gough Whitlam married Margaret Elaine Dovey in April 1942; this is their wedding portrait. The ceremony took place at St Michael's Church in Vaucluse, NSW. They were married for almost 70 years, until Margaret's death in March 2012.

### **Papua New Guinea cufflinks**

These distinctive cufflinks were given to Gough Whitlam as a memento of the celebrations to mark Australia's granting of independence to Papua New Guinea. Whitlam had long been an advocate for greater autonomy for Papua New Guinea, and once elected, his government moved speedily to bring about the country's independence. A range of powers was handed over throughout 1973, to the extent that by year's end, the country was largely self-governing. The independence ceremony in September 1975 was the culmination of these efforts. The cufflinks depict the Papua New Guinean flag, the design of which consists of a bird of paradise and, like the Australian flag, the Southern Cross.

### **1972 'It's time' speech**

This is the original copy of perhaps the most important speech of Gough Whitlam's political career – his 1972 election policy speech. It laid out the guiding principles of the Whitlam government and detailed the policy program it intended to enact. The speech contained around 200 specific promises. Whitlam regarded the speech as the contract between his government and the Australian people, and referred to it often in retrospect. It's now famous opening line – 'Men and women of Australia' – was appropriated from the oratory of war-time Labor Prime Minister John Curtin. This copy of the speech shows the final amendments Whitlam made before he delivered it.

### **Whitlam's school report cards**

These are Gough Whitlam's school report cards from his time at Mowbray House School and Knox Grammar, starting from when he was seven years old. They detail his academic performance, revealing a particular proficiency in English and mathematics, and contain fascinating observations of Whitlam as a boy. In 1925, Whitlam's Form Master recorded that Whitlam took 'proper pride in being neat & tidy in all written work' but that he was inclined to be 'excitable & boisterous in manner at times, but is now exercising more control'. Later that year, his headmaster noted: 'He has a facile mind: there is a danger that he does things too easily. Let him see that he always feels the weight on his shoulders.'

### **'It's time' badge**

'It's time' was the slogan adopted by the Labor Party throughout the 1972 election campaign. Intended to seize the public mood for change and renewal after 23 years of conservative government, the campaign was ground-breaking in its style. The Gough Whitlam Prime Ministerial Collection contains numerous objects of ephemera associated with the iconic 'It's time' campaign, from badges to posters, and from bumper stickers to paper banners. The collection also contains a copy of the famous 'It's time' television commercial.

### **Recording of 'It's time 1972' election campaign advertisement and jingle released in October 1972**

This famous Labor Party campaign advertisement for the 1972 'It's time' election was sung by Alison McCallum and featured a multitude of prominent Australian actors, singers and personalities, including Little Pattie, Bobby Limb, Bert Newton, Jack Thompson, Judy Stone, Chuck Faulkner, Ian 'Molly' Meldrum, Noeline Brown, Lynette Curran, Terry Norris, Jimmy Hannan, Col Joye and Hazel Phillips. Interspersed are flashes of photographs of Gough Whitlam as a child, along with more contemporary shots.

At the time, this was a unique political advertisement. Prior to this jingle, the advertising medium had been used in a much more formal manner.

The two-minute video is available online.

### **Letters from the public**

In the years after his prime ministership, Gough Whitlam received a vast volume of correspondence from members of the public, which expressed their views on a wide range of matters and sent messages of good will. The Whitlam Prime Ministerial Collection includes many of these letters and Whitlam's personal responses to them, providing valuable insight into public perceptions of Whitlam and his government. Many of the letters convey the appreciation ordinary people felt for the Whitlam government's achievements in areas such as health reform, tertiary education, voting rights, social security and conscription. They are often very touching and personal in tone. One concludes, 'I want to thank you for being you.'

### **Predictions for 2010 and 2030**

In 2000, Gough Whitlam attended the planting of a 'Millennium tree' and time capsule on the grounds of Westmead Hospital in New South Wales. He was asked to contribute to the time capsule. His offering comprised various predictions about the nature of Australian society in 2010 and 2030. Among other things, Whitlam predicted the advent of an Australian republic, the adoption of a joint currency by Australia and New Zealand, and the merger of Victoria and Tasmania.

### **The 'Letter of Passion'**

Despite the romantic name by which this document has become known, it is not a love letter. This handwritten letter from Gough Whitlam to his wife Margaret, from the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) station at which he was based during World War II, expressed his passionate interest in, and opinions about, the Australian Constitution. During 1944, a referendum took place to determine whether the Constitution should be altered to grant the Australian Government the power to legislate in a broader range of areas for the immediate post-war years. Whitlam passionately supported the reform proposal, actively campaigning in support of the 1944 Referendum on Post-War Reconstruction and Democratic Rights to his RAAF squadron. Whitlam nominated his involvement in the 'Yes' campaign during the 1944 referendum as one of the defining and most formative episodes in the shaping of his political outlook. The failure of the 'Yes' campaign was a key catalyst for Whitlam's decision to enter public life.

Although the 'Yes' vote fell short of a nationwide majority, one of its best tallies was recorded in Whitlam's No. 13 Squadron and in the services in general.

### **Flag flown to the moon**

The final moon landing of the Apollo program took place during the first week of the Whitlam government. In recognition of Australia's contribution to the success of the US space program, Whitlam was given a framed Australian flag that had been flown to the moon aboard Apollo 17 between 6 and 19 December 1972. The object was signed by all of the Apollo 17 astronauts.

### **'It's time' campaign proposal**

The planning and focus for the 'It's time' campaign heralded a new era in Australian political election campaigns, utilising enhanced communication technologies and targeted strategies. The strategies included months of radio and television exposure that brought the voice and face of Gough Whitlam into Australian homes; striking banners and stickers; and a modern slogan and jingle featuring well-known singing and television personalities of the early 1970s. This item was given to the collection by Whitlam's speech writer, Graham Freudenberg. The marketing ideas were so new to politics that the document explained the role of a 'focus group'.

### **World War II mementos**

During World War II, Whitlam served in the RAAF for nearly four years as part of No.13 Squadron based on the Gove Peninsula in Arnhem Land. Trained as a navigator, Whitlam eventually rose to the rank of Flight Lieutenant. The Whitlam Prime Ministerial Collection contains several mementos from his time in the RAAF, including photographs, portraits and the program from Whitlam's 'passing out' dinner. The program includes a witty and somewhat nostalgic poem written by Whitlam.

### **Telegram from Professor Manning Clark AC**

This short but poignant telegram was sent from the renowned historian to Whitlam on the occasion of his retirement from politics in 1978. 'This is a sad day for all of us who were inspired by your great vision,' Clark said. 'Time will indicate your great achievement.'

# 11 Margaret Whitlam

This biographical essay was written by Clare Land, with additional material from the National Archives' *Australia's Prime Ministers* website ([primeministers.naa.gov.au](http://primeministers.naa.gov.au)).

Margaret Elaine Whitlam (née Dovey) was born in Bondi, Sydney, on 19 November 1919, the eldest child of Wilfred (Bill) Dovey (later a New South Wales Supreme Court judge) and Mary Dorothy Dovey (née Duncan). The child of a cultured upper-middle class family, Margaret attended Bondi Superior School and, from the age of 11, Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School, Darlinghurst. She excelled at sport, participated in school plays and developed considerable skill as a writer. In 1938, she represented Australia in breaststroke at the Empire Games.

Margaret went to the University of Sydney, where she enrolled in economics before transferring to social work in the School of Social Studies and Training. She was a serious and popular member of the Sydney University Dramatic Society, through which she first met Gough Whitlam. They met at the Society's Christmas party in December 1939. They married at Vacluse in April 1942. In 2007, 65 years into their nearly 70-year marriage, Gough described Margaret as 'the partner of my life and my work'.

During World War II, Margaret was active in the University of Sydney's Voluntary Aid Detachment and the Women's Army National Service. In 1943, she worked as a social worker for the Family Welfare Bureau.

Margaret and Gough had three sons and a daughter. Antony and Nicholas were 'war-time' babies, born while Gough was serving as an air force navigator in the Pacific. On his return they built their first home in Cronulla, where both Stephen and Catherine were born. During her husband's early parliamentary career, Margaret played an important role in their local electorate and within the community. As there was no formal electoral office at that time, many constituents would come to the Whitlams' house, where Margaret would be their initial contact as Gough was frequently away. She was an active member of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Women's Conference.

In 1964, Margaret became a part-time social worker with Parramatta District Hospital, and a justice of the peace. Following Gough Whitlam's election as Leader of the Opposition, and during his prime ministership, Margaret was a constant support, accompanying him on his many official visits and the countless engagements in The Lodge, around the country and internationally. In many ways Margaret Whitlam 'broke the mould' of the quiet, unassuming prime ministerial wife. She had her own strong opinions and was not hesitant to express them, admonishing the angry outbursts to which Gough was prone and making her own views clear. Margaret gained some prominence during the 1972 election campaign, and was often outspoken particularly about social issues. Intelligent and energetic, her views on legalised abortion, marijuana and women in the workforce were sometimes controversial, but they were moderate in the context of the women's movement at the time. She wrote a weekly column for *Woman's Day* magazine from 1973 until 1975.

Margaret served on the Australian National Advisory Committee for International Women's Year (1975), and was a member of the Australian delegation to the 1975 World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico. She was also a director of Commonwealth Hostels from 1974 to 1977.

As wife of the Prime Minister (1972–75), Margaret made some changes to The Lodge's décor and household staffing arrangements, and increasingly tried to give her role greater relevance and independence. She was more politically active during the May 1974 election campaign, which saw the Whitlam government re-elected. Margaret was deeply distressed by the circumstances of her husband's removal from office by the Governor-General on 11 November 1975. She was less conspicuous during the December 1975 election campaign, following her husband's dismissal as Prime Minister, and again during the 1977 election before he stepped down as Leader of the Opposition.

From the late 1970s until Gough Whitlam's appointment as Australian Ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1983, Margaret Whitlam took on an impressive number of responsibilities in education and the arts at state and national levels. She was a director of Commonwealth Hostels (1974–77) and a member of the National Advisory Council for International Women's Year (1974–75). Margaret also served on the councils or boards of Musica Viva (1975); Australian Opera (c.1977); Sydney Dance Company (director, 1977–82); ACT Council of Social Service (president, 1978–80); Sydney Teachers' College (councillor, 1978–81); National Opera Conference (chair, 1979–81); Sydney College of Advanced Education (president of Council, 1982–83); Law Foundation of NSW (chair, Board of Governors, 1982–83). After the Whitlams returned to Australia, Margaret renewed her activity, serving with International Literacy Year (chair, National Advisory Council, 1989–91); UNESCO (goodwill ambassador, 1990); Safer Australia Committee (co-chair, 1995–96); National Book Council Awards (judge); College of Seniors; Microsurgery Research Council; and Australia–Ireland Council. In the 1990s, as a senior program consultant with International Study Programs, Margaret led 18 travel tours to Europe, China, Thailand and South America. She authored two books, *My Day* (1974) and *My Other World* (2001), in which she detailed her experiences during her decade-long work on the study tours, much of it with her husband. She was the subject of Susan Mitchell's *Margaret Whitlam: a biography* (2006).

Margaret was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia in January 1983 for service to the community. In 1997, she and Gough Whitlam were jointly named National Living Treasures by the National Trust of Australia, and in 2007, the first joint life members of the ALP.

Margaret Whitlam died in Sydney, aged 92, on 17 March 2012. A memorial service was held at St James' Church, Sydney, on 23 March 2012.

## Records of or about Margaret Whitlam

The National Archives of Australia holds records relating to Margaret Whitlam's membership of the Secretariat of the Australian National Advisory Committee for International Women's Year (1975), and her directorship of Commonwealth Hostels from 1974 to 1977.

The Whitlam Institute holds many of Margaret Whitlam's personal papers and speeches.

Her significant activities in numerous community-sector organisations are likely to be indirectly documented in those organisations' own archives.

The National Library of Australia's collection includes the papers of Margaret Whitlam's biographer, Susan Mitchell; a series of letters written by Gough Whitlam, including some referring to his proposal to Margaret and their marriage; biographical cuttings about Margaret; and an oral history interview with Margaret. The Australian War Memorial holds a sound recording of a 1968 interview with Margaret. In addition the National Film and Sound Archive holds a copy of the 1993 interview-based film, *The Life and Times of Margaret Whitlam* (also available in some libraries).

The Australian Women's Register entry on Margaret Whitlam includes details of the organisations with which she had an association and lists a selection of published items about her.

## **Australian War Memorial**

### **MARGARET WHITLAM INTERVIEWED BY SERGEANT WAYNE GRANT, 30 JANUARY 1968**

**S03608**

This interview covers Whitlam, a visit to South Vietnam and civic action work of 110 Signal Squadron at the Dong Choui Orphanage, Vung Tau. For further information please contact the Australian War Memorial.

## **National Archives of Australia**

### **PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO GOUGH WHITLAM'S PARLIAMENTARY TERM OF OFFICE, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1952-78**

**M155**

Recorded by: 1952-78 Department of the House of Representatives – Member for  
Werriwa (Leader of the Opposition) (CA 692)

The Hon. Edward Gough Whitlam AC, QC (CP 99)

Sydney 3.7 metres

These photographs cover Gough Whitlam's activities during his parliamentary career. Some include Margaret Whitlam, who accompanied him on many overseas trips.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister EG Whitlam – photographs include  
visit to Pakistan, Vietnam, Indonesia and Philippines, 1967-68**

**M155, B11**

This item is a folder of photographs from the Whitlams' visits to South-East Asia, including many of Margaret Whitlam.

### **MEXICO WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN – ALBUM COMPILED FOR MARGARET WHITLAM, 1975**

**M5077**

Recorded by: 1975 Margaret Elaine Whitlam AO (CP 929)

Canberra 0.6 metres

This series is an album containing a single photograph and a series of newspaper articles created for Margaret Whitlam by the Office of the Status of Woman to commemorate her involvement in the 1975 Mexico world conference on women. Margaret joined Elizabeth Reid, adviser to the Prime Minister on women's matters, along with 11 other delegates, to represent Australia at the conference.

The album comprises a group photograph of the delegation and a series of newspaper articles collected during the conference. English translations are provided for any articles originally published in Spanish.

**MINUTES OF BOARD AND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES, 1951–84**

**C4719**

Recorded by: 1951–84 Commonwealth Hostels Limited, Central Office (CA 1649)  
Sydney 0.9 metres

This series consists of signed original minutes of board and annual general meetings of Commonwealth Hostels Limited and of Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services Limited. Margaret Whitlam was a director of Commonwealth Hostels from 1974 to 1977.

**Minutes of board meetings, 1972–78**

**C4719, WOB 4**

**INTER-DEPARTMENTAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FILES, 'W/IDAC' SERIES, 1974–76 A4227**

Recorded by: 1974–76 Australian National Advisory Committee for International Women's Year 1975 – Secretariat (CA 2640)

These four files record the activities in establishing the Inter-Departmental Advisory Committee under the auspices of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the subsequent involvement of the International Women's Year Secretariat with the Committee. The files include background information, correspondence with non-government organisations and administrative details of meetings.

## **National Library of Australia**

**WHITLAM, GOUGH, LETTERS, 1936–51**

**MS7653**

This series comprises letters written by Gough Whitlam to his parents and his sister Freda between 1936 and 1951. They cover his time at Sydney University, in the Sydney University Regiment, with the Royal Australian Air Force, married life with Margaret in Sydney, and his early career as a barrister.

**Gough Whitlam, St Paul's College, to 'Parents and Freda', 12 July 1940**

Gough Whitlam and Margaret Dovey met in December 1939 at the Sydney University Dramatic Society Christmas party. In this letter, Whitlam detailed his social engagements with Margaret. He took her to Romano's for dinner and to the Sydney Symphony Orchestra 'on one of Dovey's two season tickets'.

**Gough Whitlam, St Paul's College, to 'Parents', 26 June 1941**

Gough Whitlam wrote of his dinner at the Dovey's: 'I must say D... looked rather well in red things'. He also reported that he was going to see *Julius Caesar* with 'young Willie Dovey', Margaret's younger brother Bill.

**Gough Whitlam, Vacluse, to 'Parents', 17 June 1942**

Whitlam had been holidaying in Terrigal with Margaret and her mother, Mary Dovey. 'It's been very enjoyable at Terrigal. As a matter of fact I'm a very good brown all over.' He wrote of his plans to propose to Margaret:

...a number of our little friends have been getting married... It is not, however, this set of circumstances alone which induced me to broach the subject with Margaret of marrying when I was in the Air Force. She didn't mind at all, nor did Mary. Of course I've not yet approached Bill Snr [Margaret's father], as he is away...The only objection I can possibly conceive is my extreme [poverty], but on reflection I'm sure economic security is quite uncertain of attainment at any time, particularly in this decade... Of course it's all confidential.

**Gough Whitlam, Judges' Chambers, Supreme Court, Sydney, to 'Parents and Freda', 29 January 1942**

Whitlam was upset that his parents had not mentioned anything about his engagement to Margaret in their last letter:

Your delay and avoiding of the issue can't fail to make a bad impression and Mattie [Whitlam's mother] herself should know that such impressions may endure.

**Gough Whitlam, Judges' Chambers, Supreme Court, Sydney, to 'Parents and Freda', 5 February 1942**

Your letters of the past week have been much more welcome (Margaret was very pleased too). There was no need to fear either Big Bill's disapproval or my extravagance. On the first point, you must remember he and Mary did precisely the same thing last time, only more precipitately. If he'd objected to me, he would have made it plain before this. On the second point, you people seem to have long held the erroneous opinion that I am extravagant. In point of fact I'm very careful. My only indulgence is dress, which is due to over-compensation in view of my physical make-up. You people have to realise that the cost of living has risen for younger persons as well as middle-aged ones.

**BIOGRAPHICAL CUTTINGS ON MARGARET WHITLAM, WIFE OF EDWARD G WHITLAM AND SOCIAL WORKER**

This series consists of cuttings about Margaret Whitlam from newspapers and magazines covering the period from her husband's entry into politics until 2000.

**PAPERS OF SUSAN MITCHELL, C.1987–C.2002**

**MS ACC05/14**

**Quantity: 0.9 metres (2 boxes) + 2 cartons**

This series comprises correspondence, drafts, articles, press cuttings, reviews, interviews, publicity arrangements, reactions from readers and viewers, and several audio cassettes. Susan Mitchell authored *Margaret Whitlam: a biography* (2006).

**PAPERS OF ELIZABETH REID, 1963–81**

**MS 9262**

**Quantity: 15 metres**

The bulk of Reid's papers document her period as Adviser to the Prime Minister of Australia on Women's Affairs and activities associated with International Women's Year (1975). They include: correspondence; diaries; notebooks; office files; academic and conference papers; articles; press releases; press cuttings; and publications. Reid included Margaret Whitlam on the National Advisory Council that she established to plan and organise International Women's Year in Australia, and to administer \$2 million in grants to women's projects.

Finding aid available online.

### **Series 14 International Women's Year (1975), 1973–76**

The papers in this series document Reid's roles as Convenor of the Australian National Advisory Committee for International Women's Year and Leader of the Australian Delegation to, and Vice-Chair of, the Preparatory United Nations Consultative Committee held in New York in March 1975. Of prime significance was Reid's role as leader of the Australian delegation to the World Conference for International Women's Year in Mexico, June 1975. Margaret Whitlam was involved in much of this activity; the series includes speeches by Margaret.

### **WHITLAM, MARGARET, INTERVIEWED BY AMY MCGRATH, 1979**

**TRC 652**

**Duration: 113 minutes**

Tape 1. Side 1. Margaret Whitlam talked about the origin and background of the Dovey family in Australia; the career of her father, Justice Dovey; her childhood; her early interest in swimming; school and interschool swimming; interstate and international swimming at 12 years of age; Australian Championships and Empire Games in 1938; intervarsity swimming 1939; Sydney University – economics and then social work; and Metropolitan Business College – typing and shorthand. She spoke about her interest in the Sydney University Dramatic Society; meeting and marrying Gough Whitlam (who was then an articled clerk and senior student at St Paul's College); her life during the war, while Whitlam was in the air force, living in Elizabeth Bay, then living in Cronulla for 10 years, and her community activities; Whitlam's entry into Parliament and her subsequent electoral duties, such as balls, fetes, sporting carnivals, church services, and the difficulties involved.

Tape 1. Side 2. Margaret Whitlam returned to the workforce in 1964. She was a social worker at Parramatta District Hospital until Whitlam became Leader of the Opposition and her presence was required more often in Canberra. She spoke about living in Canberra; holidays all over Australia; her election to bodies such as the Labor Party Women's Conference; other intrinsic obligations; and the loss of her separate identity. Margaret talked about her interest in modern Greek, weaving, playing golf; official overseas trips to SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation) countries; a 1974 European tour; and dinner conversation with Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip.

Tape 2. Side 1. Margaret Whitlam discussed the 1973 tour of China and Japan, including the Great Wall of China and Ming tombs, and meeting Premier Chou En-Lai; and a 1977 China trip, including a demonstration of martial arts skills and the Tientsin earthquake experience. She gave her impressions of world leaders and women in Australia: Lyndon Baines Johnson and Lady Bird Johnson, United States; Helmut Schmidt, Germany; Aldo Moro, Italy; Kosygin and Molotov, Soviet Union; Dame Enid Lyons; Dame Pattie Menzies; Lady (Maie) Casey AC; and Australian women generally. She also discussed the problems of being a politician's wife; having to cushion the children from criticism; her relationship with party leaders Dr HV Evatt and Arthur Calwell; her relationship with the press, including the 'hoo-haa' quote on inflation; Whitlam's difficulty transitioning from Deputy Leader to Leader of the ALP; the prime ministerial years; and Whitlam's retirement, including her involvement in his new work.

# National Film and Sound Archive

## DOCUMENTARY/FILM COLLECTION

### **Margaret Whitlam: the life and times, 1993**

266201

Maxine McKew interviewed Margaret Whitlam in 1993. Margaret spoke about her childhood, career choices and life married to Gough Whitlam. She reflected on the time when she was 'first lady' and her hopes to be remembered as fair-minded. The interview is intercut with still photographs.

## Whitlam Institute

The Institute holds a range of Margaret Whitlam's personal records, including memorabilia from the period of the Whitlam government onwards, her appointment diaries from 1936 to 2010, and some material relating to her parents.

As a tribute to Margaret Whitlam on her death in March 2012, the Whitlam Institute published three web pages, including photographs, speeches and documents, as well as parliamentary condolences.

## PAPERS OF MARGARET ELAINE WHITLAM AO (1919–2012)

### **Memorabilia belonging to Margaret Whitlam's mother Mary Dorothy Dovey from 1950 to 1954**

Included in this collection is an invitation to the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II – 'By Command of The Queen, the Earl Marshall is directed to invite "Mrs WR Dovey" to be present at the Abbey Church of Westminster on the 2nd day of June 1953'.

### **Framed letter to WE Dovey Esq (Margaret Whitlam's father) from Sir Robert Menzies, 21 April 1939**

This letter is in reply to a letter of congratulations to Menzies from Margaret's father.

### **Certificates and papers of Margaret Elaine Whitlam [née Dovey], 1920–2006**

This is a selection of original documents, including Margaret's Baptismal Certificate; Certificate of Marriage; employment papers; wedding invitation; 80th birthday invitation; 60th wedding anniversary invitation; and invitation to the launch of her biography.

### **Correspondence and memorabilia belonging to Margaret Whitlam, 1973 to 2012**

This collection includes a letter of welcome to London from UK Prime Minister Edward Heath; a letter of thanks from Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada; an invitation to a luncheon for Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in 1973; photographs taken during official visits to China in October 1973 and Japan in 1974; a personal letter of thanks from Princess Margaret (Countess of Snowdon); an invitation to Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee in June 1977; an invitation to a State luncheon for Crown Prince Frederik and Crown Princess Mary of Denmark; and condolences from Queen Elizabeth II on the death of Margaret in March 2012.

**Personal diaries, 1936–65**

In the early years, Margaret Whitlam made many entries in her handwritten diaries. Later she simply recorded appointments, functions or events to be remembered.

**Personal diaries, 1977–89**

These handwritten diaries (1977–79 and 1982–89) show entries in pencil or pen, mostly of engagements and appointments. There are brief notes on some pages about friends and acquaintances, including addresses and phone numbers in sections at the back. Some of the diaries show travel destinations and times of flights for both Margaret and Gough. The diaries from 1983 to 1986 cover the Whitlams' time in Paris, while Gough was Australia's Permanent Delegate to UNESCO.

**Personal diaries, 1990–99**

These handwritten diaries are similar to the previous set. In addition, most include the birthdays of Margaret, Gough and the children.

**Personal diaries, 2000–10**

These handwritten diaries show entries for engagements and appointments throughout each year. Most years they include the birthdays of Margaret, Gough and the children, as well as other events of interest.

**Speech by Mrs Margaret Whitlam to an ALP Regional Women's Conference in Bathurst, NSW, 31 October 1976**

This is the typed, eight-page speech Margaret Whitlam made to an ALP Regional Women's Conference in Bathurst. In it, she noted that women were more conservative than men and that this was reflected in their voting. She said a large number of women only had social contact with a limited number of individuals or organisations, such as school principals, who held conservative views. The Labor Party was seen as creating change and instability, but its programs assisted women, especially those in need, by providing finance to staff pre-school childcare centres and equal pay for women.

**Correspondence on the appointment of the Order of Australia to Margaret Elaine Whitlam, 26 January 1983**

Margaret Whitlam received correspondence from Government House, as well as letters and telegrams from others, offering their congratulations.

**HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WHITLAM INSTITUTE COLLECTION RELATING TO MARGARET WHITLAM**

**The so-called 'Letter of Passion' from Gough Whitlam to Margaret, written while Gough was stationed at Townsville, 22 July 1944**

**The speech Margaret Whitlam gave at the launch of the Whitlam Institute's *Letter of Passion* exhibition, 2002**

**The speech Gough Whitlam gave at the launch of the Whitlam Institute's *Letter of Passion* exhibition, 2002**

**Mrs Margaret Whitlam's personal copy of the conference briefing document for Australian delegates at the International Women's Year conference held in Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975**

**The speech delivered by Mrs Margaret Whitlam at the informal discussions for the spouses of the participants of the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kingston, Jamaica, 5 May 1975**

**News clipping of Margaret Whitlam's *Women's Day* article titled 'A seven-country women's mini conference in Jamaica', 9 June 1975**

**A handwritten Christmas card to Mr Graham Freudenberg from Gough and Margaret, despatched while the Whitlams were based in Paris following Gough Whitlam's appointment as Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, 1985**

**The speech by the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC on the occasion of the bestowing on Gough and Margaret Whitlam Life Memberships to the Australian Labor Party, 28 April 2007**

**The cover and photograph of the Hon. EG Whitlam AC, QC and Mrs Margaret Whitlam AO for the Special 10th Anniversary Issue of *Good Weekend*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* magazine, 8 October 1994**

**A telegram with Department of Foreign Affairs letterhead of the speech by Margaret Whitlam at the naming of the ship *Australian Emblem* in Kobe, Japan, 9 August 1974**

**A postcard from Margaret Whitlam to Graham Freudenberg sent from Paris, 5 May 1984**

# 12 Appendixes

## Appendix 1 Timeline

This appendix is based on a timeline prepared by the Whitlam Institute at the Western Sydney University.

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <b>11 July 1916</b>            | Edward Gough Whitlam is born in Kew, Victoria, to Fred and Martha (née Maddocks) Whitlam.                                |
| <b>19 November 1919</b>        | Margaret Elaine Dovey is born in Bondi, New South Wales, to Wilfred and Mary (née Duncan).                               |
| <b>1918</b>                    | The Whitlams move to Sydney; first to Mosman, then Chatswood and Turramurra.   |
| <b>1922–27</b>                 | Whitlam attends Chatswood Church of England Girls School, Mowbray House School and Knox Grammar School.                  |
| <b>1926–27</b>                 | Whitlam's father becomes Deputy Crown Solicitor under Sir Robert Garran and the family moves to Canberra.                |
| <b>1928–34</b>                 | Whitlam attends Telopea Park High School and Canberra Grammar School.  |
| <b>1937</b>                    | Whitlam completes his Bachelor of Arts at the University of Sydney and begins a law degree the following year.           |
| <b>1938</b>                    | Margaret Dovey represents Australia in breaststroke at the Empire Games.   |
| <b>December 1939</b>           | Whitlam and Margaret Dovey first meet at a Sydney University Dramatic Society Christmas party.                           |
| <b>January–February 1940</b>   | Whitlam joins Sydney University Regiment.  |
| <b>July 1941</b>               | Whitlam begins work with Supreme Court Judge Victor Maxwell.   |
| <b>8 December 1941</b>         | Whitlam registers for service with the Royal Australian Air Force; undergoes training with No.13 Squadron.               |
| <b>22 April 1942</b>           | Gough Whitlam and Margaret Dovey marry at St Michael's Church of England, Vaucluse.                                      |
| <b>20 June 1942</b>            | Whitlam enlists at No. 2 Recruitment Centre with the RAAF 'for the duration of the war and 12 months thereafter'.        |
| <b>1943</b>                    | Margaret works as a social worker for the Family Welfare Bureau.   |
| <b>September–December 1943</b> | Whitlam joins No. 13 Squadron as air force navigator, operating out of the Northern Territory and from Dutch New Guinea. |
| <b>7 January 1944</b>          | Antony Whitlam is born.  |

<b>8 August 1945</b>	Whitlam joins the Darlinghurst branch of the Australian Labor Party (ALP).
<b>17 October 1945</b>	Whitlam discharges from the RAAF with the rank of Flight Lieutenant.
<b>6 December 1945</b>	Nicholas Whitlam is born.
<b>1946</b>	Whitlam returns to the University of Sydney and completes his law degree. He is admitted to the New South Wales Bar in February 1947.
<b>1948</b>	Whitlam contests (unsuccessfully) the Sutherland Shire Council elections.
<b>1948–50</b>	Whitlam wins the <i>Australian National Quiz Championship</i> , broadcast on ABC Radio, in 1948 and 1949, and is runner-up in 1950.
<b>10 December 1949</b>	A federal election is held. The Liberal Party, led by Robert Menzies, in coalition with the Country Party, defeats the ALP led by Prime Minister Ben Chifley.
<b>4 April 1950</b>	Stephen Whitlam is born.
<b>28 April 1951</b>	Menzies again leads the Coalition to victory in a federal election, defeating the ALP led by Chifley.
<b>13 June 1951</b>	ALP leader Ben Chifley dies. He is succeeded as Leader of the ALP on 20 June by former Attorney-General, Minister for External Affairs and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Dr HV Evatt.
<b>July 1951–October 1952</b>	Whitlam acts as junior to his father-in-law, WR Dovey, in the Royal Commission into illegal activities in the NSW liquor industry.
<b>22 September 1951</b>	Prime Minister Menzies holds a referendum seeking power for the federal government to ban the Communist Party of Australia. The referendum fails.
<b>3 October 1952</b>	Britain begins nuclear testing in Australia.
<b>29 November 1952</b>	The death of the Hon. HP Lazzarini, ALP member for the federal seat of Werriwa, necessitates a by-election. Whitlam wins the seat and enters federal parliament as the ALP member for Werriwa.
<b>19 March 1953</b>	Whitlam makes his maiden speech in parliament.
<b>2 February 1954</b>	Catherine Whitlam is born.
<b>29 May 1954</b>	A federal election is held. The Liberal Party, led by Robert Menzies, is re-elected in coalition government, defeating the ALP, led by Dr HV Evatt.
<b>March–April 1955</b>	The ALP splits over internal ideological and sectarian fractures, leading to the formation in 1957 of the Democratic Labor Party.
<b>10 December 1955</b>	A federal election is held. New electoral boundaries have divided Whitlam's electorate in two and he stands successfully for the newly defined seat of Werriwa.
<b>24 May 1956</b>	Whitlam is appointed to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Constitutional Review.

<b>November 1957</b>	The Whitlams move to Cabramatta from Cronulla, which has been excised from the seat of Werriwa.
<b>22 November 1958</b>	A federal election is held. The Liberal–Country Party coalition again defeats the ALP led by Dr HV Evatt.
<b>16 February 1959</b>	Whitlam is elected to ALP Caucus Executive under Evatt.
<b>29 November 1959</b>	The Parliamentary Joint Committee on Constitutional Review delivers its final report recommending far-reaching Constitutional changes, none of which is taken up by the Menzies government.
<b>7 March 1960</b>	Whitlam wins a Caucus vote to become Deputy Leader of the ALP, its youngest in 40 years. Arthur Calwell is voted Leader of the ALP, succeeding Evatt.
<b>9 December 1961</b>	A federal election is held. The ALP is narrowly defeated.
<b>3 August 1962</b>	Australia joins the Vietnam War. Conscription is later introduced.
<b>30 November 1963</b>	A federal election is held. The Liberal–Country Party Coalition, led by Prime Minister Robert Menzies, is returned to office, defeating the ALP under Arthur Calwell.
<b>1964</b>	Margaret commences as a part-time social worker at Parramatta District Hospital.
<b>26 January 1966</b>	Prime Minister Robert Menzies resigns as leader of the Liberal Party and is replaced by Harold Holt.
<b>2 March 1966</b>	Whitlam narrowly avoids expulsion from the ALP for advocating federal funding of Catholic and other independent schools.
<b>26 November 1966</b>	A federal election is held. The Liberal–Country Party Coalition government is convincingly returned, the ALP wins only 41 seats.
<b>8 February 1967</b>	Whitlam is elected Leader of the ALP and sets about reforming its policy platform, membership and structure.
<b>17 April 1968</b>	Whitlam unexpectedly resigns as ALP leader in an effort to stem continuing damaging divisions in the party and on the party Executive.
<b>30 April 1968</b>	Whitlam wins the new ALP leadership ballot, defeating Dr Jim Cairns by just six votes. Despite the unexpectedly narrow margin he succeeds in securing greater party unity.
<b>25 October 1969</b>	Whitlam faces his first general election as ALP leader. The party wins an additional 18 seats with a 7.1 per cent swing to the ALP.
<b>Late 1960s–72</b>	Margaret Whitlam is a panelist on popular television program <i>Beauty and the Beast</i> .
<b>1–14 July 1971</b>	Whitlam becomes the first Australian political leader to visit communist China when he leads an ALP delegation to Beijing, meeting with Premier Zhou En-Lai in the Great Hall of the People.
<b>26 January 1972</b>	The Aboriginal Tent Embassy is established outside Parliament House, Canberra. Whitlam is the only party leader to visit the Embassy and meet with Indigenous leaders there.

- 2 December 1972** A federal election is held. The ALP wins office after 23 years in Opposition and Gough Whitlam becomes Australia's 21st Prime Minister (elect).
- 5 December 1972** Whitlam and his deputy Lance Barnard form the first Whitlam ministry, the 'duumvirate' or government of two, while waiting for counting in all seats to be completed. Whitlam is sworn into 13 ministries including Prime Minister, Barnard holds 14. The duumvirate holds office for two weeks and makes 40 major decisions during that time.
- 5 December 1972** The Whitlam government abolishes conscription, releases jailed draft resisters and returns the last remaining troops from Vietnam.
- The Whitlam government removes restrictions on access to the contraceptive pill, such as sales taxes and advertising bans.
- 7 December 1972** The Whitlam government re-opens the second equal pay case to remove discrimination against women in rates of pay, Mary Gaudron is engaged as counsel.
- The Whitlam government announces the end of the British honours system in Australia.
- 8 December 1972** The Whitlam government bans visits by racially selected sporting teams, such as the Springboks, from apartheid South Africa.
- 11 December 1972** The Whitlam government announces \$4 million of major grants for the performing arts.
- The Whitlam government commits to signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- 12 December 1972** The Whitlam government announces the establishment of an interim Schools Commission to oversee immediate assessment of needs-based funding for disadvantaged schools in particular schools for Indigenous Australians.
- 14 December 1972** The Whitlam government announces a Royal Commission on Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory.
- 18 December 1972** The ALP Caucus elects the full Whitlam ministry.
- 19 December 1972** The second Whitlam Ministry is sworn into office with Gough Whitlam as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Lance Barnard as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence.
- 21 December 1972** The Whitlam government formally establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.
- 16 March 1973** The Whitlam government lowers the voting age to 18 years.
- 9 May 1973** The Whitlam government together with the New Zealand Labor government fights French atmospheric nuclear testing in the International Court of Justice. The case succeeds in 1974 in a landmark victory.

- 18 June 1973** The Whitlam government introduces the first paid parental leave scheme in the country.
- 25 July 1973** The Whitlam government creates the Australian Legal Aid Office.
- 11 August 1973** The Whitlam government adopts the social policy of ‘multiculturalism’, consistent with a paper delivered by the Minister for Immigration Al Grassby on this day.
- 21 August 1973** The Whitlam government increases social security benefits, and introduces new benefits for single mothers and carers of children with disabilities.
- The Whitlam government reduces tariffs by 25 per cent.
- 31 August 1973** The Whitlam government establishes the Australian Film and Television School.
- 17 September 1973** The Whitlam government’s Australian Citizenship Act is passed, removing the last remnants of the White Australia Policy.
- 18 September 1973** The Whitlam government abolishes the Commonwealth’s death penalty.
- 17 October 1973** The Whitlam government signs an agreement with the states to build 13,500 social housing homes.
- 31 October 1973** Whitlam becomes the first Australian Prime Minister to visit communist China.
- 8 November 1973** Construction begins on the National Gallery of Australia.
- 19 December 1973** The Whitlam government creates the Australian Schools Commission to provide additional and more equitable funding for all schools on the basis of needs.
- 1 January 1974** The Whitlam government abolishes fees at universities and technical colleges.
- 8 April 1974** The Whitlam government changes the Australian national anthem from ‘God save the Queen’ to ‘Advance Australia fair’.
- 18 May 1974** Whitlam achieves a historic second term when the government is re-elected at a double dissolution election. Whitlam becomes the first ALP Prime Minister to gain office at successive elections. Whitlam had called the double dissolution following the rejection of an unprecedented number of government bills by the Opposition-controlled Senate.
- 6–7 August 1974** The first Joint Sitting of Parliament is held following the double dissolution election, the first time this Constitutional provision in section 57 is used. The six Bills used to trigger the double dissolution are voted on and passed during this two-day sitting. Electoral reform Bills introducing ‘one vote, one value’ and Senate representation for the ACT and the Northern Territory, and key Bills establishing Medibank and the Petroleum and Minerals Authority are all passed at the Joint Sitting.

<b>24 August 1974</b>	The Trade Practices Act is passed, increasing consumer protections and rights.
<b>17 December 1974</b>	The Whitlam government creates the Aboriginal Land Fund to enable Indigenous people to buy back their traditional lands.
<b>19 January 1975</b>	The Whitlam government establishes Double J radio station for young people.
<b>26 January 1975</b>	The Australian honours system is established by the Whitlam government.
<b>13 March 1975</b>	The Whitlam government establishes the Australia Council for the Arts as a statutory body.
<b>8 June 1975</b>	2EA and 3EA (23 June), Australia's first multicultural broadcasting service, established by the Whitlam government, go to air.
<b>12 June 1975</b>	The Whitlam government's Family Law Act is passed on a conscience vote, introducing no-fault divorce and creating the Family Court of Australia.
<b>19 June 1975</b>	The Whitlam government establishes the Australian Heritage Commission.
<b>20 June 1975</b>	The Whitlam government protects the Great Barrier Reef with the creation of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.
<b>7 July 1975</b>	The Whitlam government establishes the Australian Film Commission.
<b>16 August 1975</b>	The Whitlam government returns traditional land to the Gurindji people at Daguragu.
<b>16 September 1975</b>	The Whitlam government grants independence to Papua New Guinea.
<b>1 October 1975</b>	The Whitlam government's universal health insurance scheme, Medibank, begins operation.
<b>16 October 1975</b>	The Opposition Liberal–National Country Party Coalition, led by Liberal leader Malcolm Fraser, defer a vote on the Whitlam government's budget Bills in the Senate.
<b>31 October 1975</b>	The Whitlam government's Racial Discrimination Act is enacted.
<b>October 1975</b>	The Whitlam government introduces the first federal land rights legislation, the Aboriginal Land (Northern Territory) Bill to legislate for Indigenous land rights in the Northern Territory.
<b>6 November 1975</b>	Whitlam decides to call a half-Senate election to break the continuing dead-lock in the Senate. He informs the Governor-General and they begin the exchange of necessary paperwork; they agree to meet on 11 November to announce the date of the half-Senate election.
<b>11 November 1975, 1.05pm</b>	Whitlam arrives at Yarralumla for a pre-arranged meeting with the Governor-General to finalise the announcement of the half-Senate election.
<b>11 November 1975, 1.10pm</b>	Gough Whitlam and the entire Whitlam government is dismissed by Governor-General Sir John Kerr without warning. The Leader of the Opposition, Malcolm Fraser, is sworn in as Prime Minister.

<b>11 November 1975, 3.15pm</b>	The House of Representatives passes a motion of no confidence in the appointed Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and calls on the Governor-General to reinstate the Whitlam government.
<b>11 November 1975, 4.40pm</b>	The Governor-General's Secretary reads the proclamation proroguing both Houses of Parliament and calling a double dissolution election.
<b>13 December 1975</b>	The Fraser government is returned at the 1975 double dissolution election. Whitlam remains as Labor leader.
<b>10 December 1977</b>	The Fraser government is returned at the 1977 election. Whitlam stands down as Leader of the ALP. He remains the ALP's longest serving leader.
<b>6 June 1978</b>	Whitlam is appointed a Companion of the Order of Australia.
<b>31 July 1978</b>	Whitlam resigns as the ALP member for Werriwa after nearly 26 years.
<b>1979</b>	Whitlam is appointed the first National Fellow at the Australian National University.
<b>April–October 1979</b>	Whitlam is appointed Visiting Professor at Harvard University.
<b>1978–82</b>	Whitlam accepts academic appointments at the Australian National University, Harvard University and University of Adelaide.
<b>February 1979</b>	Whitlam publishes <i>The Truth of the Matter</i> .
<b>1980–83</b>	Whitlam serves on the University of Sydney Senate from 1980 until 1983 (he serves again from 1986 to 1989).
<b>1981</b>	Whitlam is awarded an honorary Doctor of Letters (D.Litt.) by the University of Sydney.
<b>1983</b>	Whitlam is a Visiting Professor at the University Adelaide. Margaret is appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia.
<b>13 July 1983</b>	Whitlam is appointed as Australia's ambassador to UNESCO.
<b>11 November 1985</b>	Whitlam publishes <i>The Whitlam Government 1972–1975</i> .
<b>1986</b>	Whitlam is elected to the Executive Board of UNESCO. Whitlam is appointed vice-president of UNESCO World Heritage Committee. Whitlam is appointed chairman of the Australia–China Council. Whitlam serves on the Constitutional Commission.
<b>1987</b>	Whitlam is appointed chairman of the National Gallery of Australia.
<b>1988</b>	The World Conservation Union makes Whitlam a Member of Honor.
<b>1989</b>	Whitlam is awarded an honorary D.Litt. by the University of Wollongong.

- 1990** Margaret is appointed chair of the National Council for International Literacy Year.  
Margaret is appointed a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador.  
Margaret begins work as a travel consultant with International Study Programs.
- 1992** Whitlam is awarded an honorary D.Litt. by La Trobe University.
- 1992–99** Margaret and Gough Whitlam lead a series of study programs in Eastern Europe, Thailand, China, South America, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Greece and Turkey.
- 1993** Gough and Margaret Whitlam join the bid team to bring the 2000 Olympic Games to Sydney.  
Whitlam is made an honorary Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.
- 1994** Whitlam receives the Redmond Barry Award from the Australian Library and Information Association.
- 1995** Whitlam is awarded an honorary D.Litt. by the University of Technology, Sydney.
- 1997** Margaret and Gough are named Australian National Living Treasures.
- January 1997** Whitlam publishes *Abiding Interests*.
- 1999** Whitlam serves as a spokesperson for the ‘Yes’ campaign for an Australian Republic.
- 6 November 1999** An Australian republic referendum is held but does not pass.
- 2000** The Whitlam Institute is established as a prime ministerial archive and public policy institute.
- 2001** Margaret publishes *My Other World*.
- 2002** Gough and Margaret Whitlam are awarded the Sir Edward ‘Weary’ Dunlop Asialink Medal for 2001 by the University of Melbourne.
- 2003** Margaret receives a Centenary Medal for outstanding service to Australian society and the Australian community.
- 28 April 2007** Gough and Margaret Whitlam are made life members of the ALP.
- 17 March 2012** Margaret Whitlam dies aged 92. The Whitlam family declines the offer of a state funeral.
- 21 October 2014** Gough Whitlam dies aged 98.
- 5 November 2014** A state memorial service is held for Gough Whitlam.

## Appendix 2 Who's who

### **Barnard, Lance Herbert**

Labor Member of the House of Representatives 1954–75 (Bass). Deputy Prime Minister (5 December 1972 – 18 May 1974), Minister for Defence, Minister for Supply, Minister for the Army, Minister for the Navy, Minister for Air, Postmaster-General, Minister for Labour and National Service, Minister for Social Security, Minister for Immigration, Minister for the Interior, Minister for Primary Industry, Minister for Repatriation, Minister for Health, Minister for National Development (5 December 1972 – 19 December 1972) in the first Whitlam ministry. Minister for Defence (19 December 1972 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Supply (19 December 1972 – 9 October 1973), Minister for the Army, Minister for the Navy and Minister for Air (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1973) in the Whitlam government, then Australia's Ambassador to Sweden.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 94.

### **Beazley, Kim Christian**

Labor Member of the House of Representatives 1980–93 (Swan) and 1993–2007 (Brand). Leader of the Labor Opposition 1996–2001 and 2005–06. Beazley was Special Minister of State (14 July 1983 – 21 January 1984), Minister for Aviation (11 March 1983 – 13 December 1984), Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence (11 March 1983 – 13 December 1984), Minister for Defence (13 December 1984 – 4 April 1990), Vice-President of the Executive Council (15 February 1988 – 1 February 1991), Minister for Transport and Communications (4 April 1990 – 9 December 1991) in the Hawke government, Minister for Finance (9 December 1991 – 27 December 1991) in the Hawke and Keating governments, Minister for Employment, Education and Training (27 December 1991 – 23 December 1993), Deputy Prime Minister (20 June 1995 – 11 March 1996), Minister for Finance (23 December 1993 – 11 March 1996) in the Keating government. Son of Kim E Beazley.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 337.

### **Berinson, Joseph Max**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1969–75 (Perth). Minister for Environment (14 July 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

### **Bishop, Reginald**

Labor Party Senator for South Australia 1962–81. Minister for Repatriation (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974), Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974 and 6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Postmaster-General (12 June 1974 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

### **Bowen, Lionel Frost**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1969–90 (Kingsford Smith). Minister for Manufacturing Industry (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Special Minister of State (30 November 1973 – 6 June 1975), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister (30 November 1973 – 12 June 1974), Postmaster-General (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Matters Relating to the Public Service (12 June 1974 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government, Deputy Prime Minister (11 March 1983 – 24 March 1990),

Minister for Trade (11 March 1983 – 13 December 1984), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Commonwealth–State Relations (11 March 1983 – 24 March 1990), Vice-President of the Executive Council (14 July 1983 – 24 July 1987), Attorney-General (13 December 1984 – 24 March 1990) in the Hawke government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 477.

### **Bryant, Gordon Munro**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1955–80 (Wills). Minister for Aboriginal Affairs (19 December 1972 – 9 October 1973) and Minister for the Capital Territory (9 October 1973 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 106.

### **Bunting, (Sir) John**

Head of the Prime Minister's Department and Cabinet Secretary 1959–68, head of the Cabinet secretariat 1959–68, head of the Department of the Cabinet Office 1968–75, head of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1971–75, Australian High Commissioner to London 1975–77.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 91.

### **Cairns, James (Jim) Ford**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1955–69 (Yarra) and 1969–77 (Lalor). Deputy Prime Minister (12 June 1974 – 2 July 1975), Minister for Secondary Industry (19 December 1972 – 9 October 1973), Minister for Overseas Trade (19 December 1972 – 11 December 1974), Treasurer (11 December 1974 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Environment (6 June 1975 – 2 July 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 95.

### **Calwell, Arthur Augustus**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1940–72 (Melbourne). Minister for Information (21 September 1943 – 19 December 1949) in the Curtin, Forde and Chifley governments, Minister for Immigration (13 July 1945 – 19 December 1949) in the Chifley government. Leader of the federal parliamentary Labor Party 1960–67.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 82.

### **Cameron, Clyde Robert**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1949–80 (Hindmarsh). Minister for Labour (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974), Minister for Labour and Immigration (12 June 1974 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Science and Consumer Affairs (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 96.

### **Cass, Moses (Moss) Henry**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1969–83 (Maribyrnong). Minister for Media (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Environment and Conservation (19 December 1972 – 21 April 1975), Minister for Environment (21 April 1975 – 6 June 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 168.

### **Cavanagh, James Luke**

Labor Party Senator for South Australia 1962–81. Minister for Police and Customs (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Works (19 December 1972 – 9 October 1973), Minister for Aboriginal Affairs (9 October 1973 – 6 June 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 93.

### **Chipp, Donald (Don) Leslie**

Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives 1960–69 (Higinbotham) and 1969–77 (Hotham), Independent Member of the House of Representatives March–November 1977 (Hotham), Democrat Senator for Victoria 1977–86. Minister for the Navy and Minister in Charge of Tourist Activities under the Minister for Trade and Industry (14 December 1966 – 28 February 1968) in the Holt, McEwen and Gorton governments, Minister for Customs and Excise (12 November 1969 – 5 December 1972) in the Gorton and McMahon governments, Minister Assisting the Minister for National Development (27 May 1971 – 5 December 1972) in the McMahon government, Minister for Social Security, Minister for Health, Minister for Repatriation and Compensation (11 November 1975 – 22 December 1975) in the Fraser government. Chipp founded the Australian Democrats in 1977.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 121.

### **Connor, Reginald (Rex) Francis Xavier**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1963–77 (Cunningham). Minister for Minerals and Energy (19 December 1972 – 14 October 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 433.

### **Coombs, Herbert (Nugget) Cole**

Director-General of Post-war Reconstruction 1943–49, and Governor of the Commonwealth and Reserve Banks 1949–68. Coombs had been a Treasury official 1939–42 and Director of Rationing in 1942. After his retirement from the public service in 1968 he was chairman of the Australian Council for the Arts/Australia Council 1967–74, chairman of the Council for Aboriginal Affairs 1967–76 and second Chancellor of the Australian National University 1968–76.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 119.

### **Daly, Frederick (Fred) Michael**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1943–49 (Martin) and 1949–73 (Grayndler). Minister for Services and Property (19 December 1972 – 7 October 1975), Minister for Administrative Services (7 October 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 336.

### **Douglas-Home, (Sir) Alec**

Britain's Conservative Prime Minister 1963–64 during the Menzies government and Foreign Secretary 1970–74 during the Gorton, McMahon and Whitlam governments.

### **Elizabeth II, Queen**

British monarch and Queen of Australia, succeeding to the throne on the death of her father King George VI in 1952.

### **Enderby, Keppel (Kep) Earl**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1970–74 (ACT) and 1974–75 (Canberra). Minister for Supply (9 October 1973 – 12 June 1974), Minister for Secondary Industry (9 October 1973 – 12 June 1974), Minister for Manufacturing Industry (12 June 1974 – 10 February 1975), Attorney-General (10 February 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Customs and Excise (19 February 1975 – 27 March 1975), Minister for Police and Customs (27 March 1975 – 6 June 1975), Minister for the Capital Territory (19 December 1972 – 9 October 1973), Minister for the Northern Territory (19 December 1972 – 19 October 1973) in the Whitlam government.

### **Evatt, Herbert (Doc) Vere**

Evatt was a Justice of the High Court 1929–40, the youngest High Court judge. He was then Labor Party member of House of Representatives 1940–58 (Barton) and 1958–60 (Hunter) and Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs (1941–49) in the Curtin, Forde and Chifley governments. Evatt was Australian delegate to the conference founding the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, and president of the General Assembly 1948–49. He was first president of Australia's Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. Leader of the federal parliamentary Labor Party, 1951–60, Evatt then returned to the bench as Chief Justice of New South Wales 1960–62.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 7.

### **Everingham, Douglas (Doug) Nixon**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives (Capricornia) 1967–75 and 1977–84. Minister for Health (19 December 1972 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 114.

### **Fraser, John Malcolm**

Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives 1955–83 (Wannon) and Prime Minister 1975–83. Minister for the Army (26 January 1966 – 28 February 1968) in the Holt, McEwen and Gorton governments, Minister for Education and Science (28 February 1968 – 12 November 1969), Minister for Defence (12 November 1969 – 8 March 1971) in the Gorton government, Minister for Education and Science (20 August 1971 – 5 December 1972) in the McMahon government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 51.

### **Gair, Vincent (Vince) Clare**

Democratic Labor Party Senator for Queensland 1964–74. Gair was a Queensland parliamentarian 1932–60 and Labor Premier of Queensland 1952–57. After he was expelled from the Labor Party in 1957, his Queensland Labor Party joined with other splinter groups in 1962 to form the Democratic Labor Party. Gair was leader of the federal parliamentary Democratic Labor Party from 1964 until 1974, when he was appointed Ambassador to Ireland.

### **Grassby, Albert (Al) Jaime**

Labor Member of the House of Representatives 1969–74 (Riverina). Minister for Immigration (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 978.

### **Hawke, Robert (Bob) James Lee**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1980–92 (Wills) and Prime Minister 1983–91.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 390.

### **Hayden, William (Bill) George**

Governor-General 1989–96. Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1961–88 (Oxley). Minister for Social Security (19 December 1972 – 6 June 1975), Treasurer (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government, Minister for Foreign Affairs (11 March 1983 – 24 July 1987), Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade (24 July 1987 – 17 August 1988) in the Hawke government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 626.

### **Heath, Edward**

Conservative Member of the House of Commons 1950–74 and Britain's Prime Minister 1970–74 during the Gorton, McMahon and Whitlam governments.

### **Hewitt, (Sir) Cyrus Lenox Simpson**

Head of three Commonwealth departments: Prime Minister's Department 1968–71, Department of the Environment, Aborigines and the Arts 1971–72, and Department of Minerals and Energy 1972–75. Hewitt's first senior post was assistant secretary in the Commonwealth Prices Branch 1939–46, then Economist, Department of Post-War Reconstruction 1946–49. He was acting Deputy High Commissioner in London 1950–53, Assistant Secretary in Treasury 1953–55, First Assistant Secretary in Treasury 1955–62, Deputy Secretary in Treasury 1962–66, and chairman of the Australian Universities Commission 1967–68. Hewitt was subsequently chairman of Qantas and of the Snowy Mountains Council, and a member of the Australian Atomic Energy Commission.

### **Holt, Harold Edward**

Member of the House of Representatives for the United Australia Party 1935–44 and the Liberal Party 1944–49 (Fawkner), Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives 1949–67 (Higgins) and Prime Minister 1966–67. He was Minister without portfolio assisting the Minister for Supply and Development (26 April 1939 – 14 March 1940), Minister without portfolio assisting

the Minister for Trade and Customs (23 February 1940 – 14 March 1940), Minister in Charge of Scientific and Industrial Research (28 October 1940 – 29 August 1941) in the first Menzies government, Minister for Labour and National Service (28 October 1940 – 7 October 1941 and 19 December 1949 – 10 December 1958) in both the Menzies and Fadden governments, Minister for Immigration (19 December 1949 – 24 October 1956) and Treasurer (10 December 1958 – 26 January 1966) in the second Menzies government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 27.

### **Johnson, Leslie Royston**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1955–66 and 1969–83 (Hughes). Minister for Works (9 October 1973 – 30 November 1973), Minister for Housing and Construction (30 November 1973 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Aboriginal Affairs (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Housing (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1974) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 104.

### **Jones, Charles Keith**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1958–83 (Newcastle). Minister for Transport (19 December 1972 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Civil Aviation (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1973) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 117.

### **Keating, Paul John**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1969–96 (Blaxland) and Prime Minister (20 December 1991 – 11 March 1996). Minister for Northern Australia (21 October 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government, Treasurer (11 March 1983 – 3 June 1991), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Commonwealth–State Relations (4 April 1990 – 3 June 1991), Deputy Prime Minister (4 April 1990 – 3 June 1991) in the Hawke government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 665.

### **Kerr, (Sir) John Robert**

Governor-General of Australia 1974–77.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 266.

### **Lazzarini, Hubert Peter**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1919–31 and 1934–52 (Werriwa). A member of the Lang Labor Party 1934–36. Minister Assisting the Treasurer (7 October 1941 – 21 September 1943), Minister for Works (2 February 1945 – 6 July 1945) in the Curtin government, Minister for Home Security (7 October 1941 – 1 February 1946) in the Curtin, Forde and Chifley governments, Minister for Works (6 July 1945 – 13 July 1945) in the Forde government, Minister for Works and Housing (13 July 1945 – 1 November 1946) in the Chifley government.

### **McClelland, Douglas (Doug)**

Labor Party Senator for New South Wales 1962–87. Special Minister of State (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Media (19 December 1972 – 6 June 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 130.

### **McClelland, James (Jim) Robert**

Labor Party Senator 1971–78. Minister for Manufacturing Industry (10 February 1975 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Labour and Immigration (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 105.

### **McMahon, (Sir) William**

Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives 1949–82 (Lowe). Prime Minister (10 March 1971 – 5 December 1972), Minister for Foreign Affairs (6 November 1970 – 22 March 1971) in the Gorton government and his own, Minister for the Navy and Minister for Air (17 July 1951 – 9 July 1954), Minister for Social Services (9 July 1954 – 28 February 1956), Minister for Primary Industry (11 January 1956 – 10 December 1958), Minister for Labour and National Service (10 December 1958 – 26 January 1966), Vice-President of the Executive Council (10 June 1964 – 26 January 1966) in the second Menzies government, Treasurer (26 January 1966 – 12 November 1969) in the Holt, McEwen and Gorton governments, Minister for External Affairs (12 November 1969 – 6 November 1970) in the Gorton government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 41.

### **Menadue, John**

Menadue was head of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1974–76, Australia's Ambassador to Japan 1976–80, head of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1980–83, head of the Department of the Special Minister of State 1983, and head of the Department of Trade 1983–86. He was head of Qantas 1986–89, and a director of Telstra 1994–96. Menadue had been a research officer at the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, then private secretary to Gough Whitlam as Leader of the Opposition 1960–67. In 1967–74 he was general manager of Rupert Murdoch's News Limited.

### **Menzies, (Sir) Robert Gordon**

United Australia Party/Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives (Kooyong) 1934–66 and Prime Minister 1939–41 and 1949–66. During his terms as Prime Minister he also served as Treasurer (26 April 1939 – 14 March 1940), Minister for Defence Co-ordination (13 November 1939 – 29 August 1941), Minister for Trade and Customs (23 February 1940 – 14 March 1940), Minister for Information (14 March 1940 – 13 December 1940), Minister for Munitions (11 June 1940 – 28 October 1940), Vice-President of the Executive Council (7 March 1951 – 11 May 1951), Minister for External Affairs (4 February 1960 – 22 December 1961), Minister in charge of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (22 December 1961 – 16 February 1962). In the Lyons government Menzies had been Attorney-General (1934–39) and Minister for Industry (1934–39). In the Fadden government he was Minister for Defence Co-ordination (29 August 1941 – 7 October 1941). He had been a Victorian parliamentarian 1928–34.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 54.

### **Morrison, William Lawrence**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1969–75 and 1980–84 (St George). Minister for Defence (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister Assisting the Minister for Defence (12 June 1974 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Science (19 December 1972 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Science and Consumer Affairs (12 June 1974 – 6 June 1975), Minister for External Territories (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1973), Minister Assisting the Minister in Matters Relating to Papua New Guinea (30 November 1973 – 6 July 1975), Minister Assisting the Minister in Matters Relating to the Islands of the Pacific (6 July 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

### **Murphy, Lionel Keith**

Labor Party Senator for New South Wales 1962–75. Attorney-General (19 December 1972 – 10 February 1975), Minister for Customs and Excise (19 December 1972 – 19 February 1975) in the Whitlam government. Murphy served on the High Court from 1975 to 1985.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 87.

### **Patterson, Rex Alan**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1966–75 (Dawson). Minister for Northern Development (19 December 1972 – 6 June 1975), Minister for Northern Australia (6 June 1975 – 21 October 1975), Minister for Agriculture (21 October 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for the Northern Territory (19 October 1973 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

### **Riordan, Joseph Martin**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1972–75 (Phillip). Minister for Housing and Construction (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister Assisting the Minister for Urban and Regional Development (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 100.

### **Snedden, (Sir) Billy Mackie**

Liberal Party Member of the House of Representatives 1955–83 (Bruce). Member of the Executive Council without Office (18 December 1963 – 4 March 1964) in the second Menzies government, Attorney-General (4 March 1964 – 14 December 1966) in the second Menzies and Holt governments, Minister for Immigration (14 December 1966 – 12 November 1969) in the Holt, McEwen and Gorton governments, Minister for Labour and National Service (12 November 1969 – 22 March 1971) in the Gorton and McMahon governments, Treasurer (22 March 1971 – 5 December 1972) in the McMahon government. Leader of the Opposition (20 December 1972 – 21 March 1975).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 77.

### **Stewart, Francis Eugene**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1953–77 (Lang) and 1977–79 (Grayndler). Vice-President of the Executive Council (30 November 1973 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Tourism and Recreation (19 December 1972 – 11 November 1975), Minister Assisting the Treasurer (15 February 1973 – 11 November 1975), Minister Assisting the Minister for Social

Security (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister Assisting the Minister for Repatriation and Compensation (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 205.

### **Uren, Thomas**

Labor Party Member of the House of Representatives 1958–90 (Reid). Minister for Urban and Regional Development (19 December 1972 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government, Minister for Territories and Local Government (11 March 1983 – 13 December 1984), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Community Development and Regional Affairs (11 March 1983 – 13 December 1984), Minister for Local Government and Administrative Services (13 December 1984 – 24 July 1987) in the Hawke government.

### **Wheeldon, John Murray**

Labor Party Senator for Western Australia 1965–81. Minister for Social Security (6 June 1975 – 11 November 1975), Minister for Repatriation and Compensation (12 June 1974 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 113.

### **Willesee, Donald Robert**

Labor Party Senator for Western Australia 1950–75. Minister Assisting the Minister for Foreign Affairs (19 December 1972 – 6 November 1973), Minister for Foreign Affairs (6 November 1973 – 11 November 1975), Special Minister of State (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1973), Vice-President of the Executive Council (19 December 1972 – 30 November 1973), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister (29 December 1972 – 30 November 1973) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 108.

### **Wriedt, Kenneth Shaw**

Labor Party Senator for Tasmania 1968–80. Minister for Primary Industry (19 December 1972 – 12 June 1974), Minister for Agriculture (12 June 1974 – 21 October 1975), Minister for Minerals and Energy (14 October 1975 – 11 November 1975) in the Whitlam government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP 231.

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National Archives of Australia *Australia's Prime Ministers* (<http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/>)

## National Archives Fact Sheets

These fact sheets provide a brief introduction to specific people, issues and types of records, along with relevant lists of records. The following is a selection of finding aids that have some relevance to Gough Whitlam or his records. Fact sheets are available online through the National Archives website.

### People

Prime Minister – Edward Gough Whitlam

Prime Minister – William McMahon

Prime Minister – John Malcolm Fraser

Prime Minister – John Grey Gorton

Prime Minister – Robert James Lee Hawke

John Robert Kerr, Governor-General of Australia, 1974–77

Paul Hasluck, Governor-General of Australia, 1974

### Issues

Australia's diplomatic relations with China

Australia's national anthem

Tobacco advertising ban in Australia

Australia and the issue of apartheid in sport

National Service, 1965–72

The Wave Hill 'walk-off'

International Women's Year, 1975

The Loans Affair, 1974–75

The Dismissal, 1975

The fall of Saigon, 1975

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