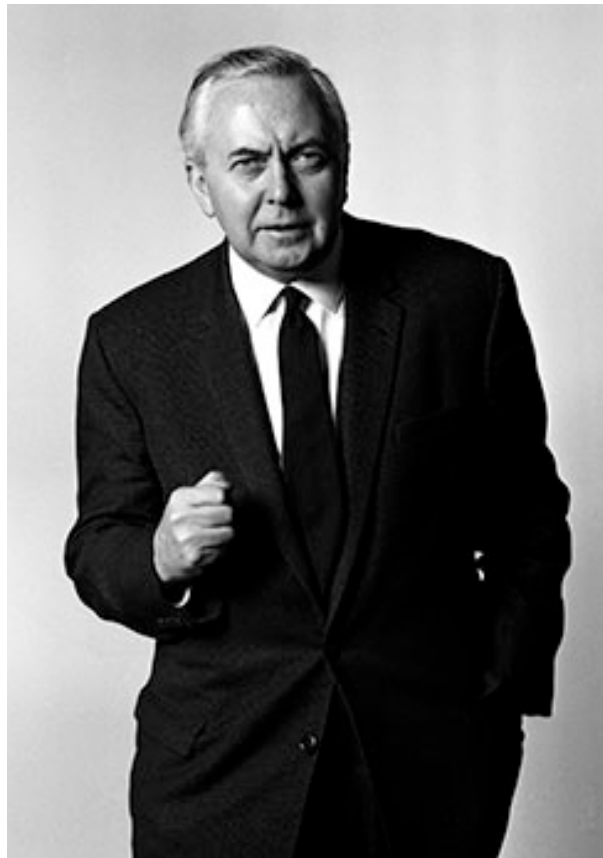


Harold Wilson,
The Relevance of British Socialism (London, 1964)

HSIAPH
Approaches, 2012-13

Matthew Broad



Harold Wilson photographed by Brian Duffy

Introduction

Harold Wilson was one of the foremost politicians of the latter twentieth century. The period of his first two terms in office, between 1964 and 1970, saw rapid political, economic and social change both in Britain and the wider world. The purpose of our seminars is to examine Wilson and the Labour Party in this period. It uses Wilson's *The Relevance of British Socialism* as a springboard from which we can consider, through various themes and policy areas, the success or otherwise of both Wilson as Prime Minister and Labour as a governing party.

Seminar days/times: Monday, 2:00 – 3:00 pm

Email: m.broad@reading.ac.uk

Office hours:

Course Programme

Week 1: Introduction

Our introductory session will provide an overview of the course and a brief outline of the set text.

Week 2: The Labour Party and British Politics, 1945-1964

Who were the key figures in the post-war Labour movement?

What were the policies and practices of the Labour Party during this period?

Bale, T., 'Harold Wilson, 1963-76' in Jefferys, K., *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)

Coopey, R., Fielding, S., and Tiratsoo, N. (eds.) *The Wilson Governments, 1964-1970* (London, 1993)

Hennessy, P., *The Prime Minister: The Office and its holders since 1945* (London, 2001)

Jefferys, K., *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)

Laybourn, K., *A Century of Labour: A History of the Labour Party, 1900-2000* (Stroud, 2000)

Marquand, D., *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999), chapter 14.

Thorpe, A., *A History of the British Labour Party* (Basingstoke, 2001)

O'Hara, G., and Parr, H., (eds.), *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70 Reconsidered* (London, 2006) –available in the Library but was also produced as a special issue of *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2006)

Week 3: Harold Wilson – His life and work

What was Wilson's background and why was this important?

What did he promise to achieve in *The Relevance of British Socialism*? What did he fail to mention?

What was meant by terms such as the 'white heat of revolution', technology as the 'new socialism' as well as the role of Clause IV in Wilson's administration?

Bale, T., 'Harold Wilson, 1963-76' in Jefferys, K., *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)

Davis, A.J., *To Build a New Jerusalem: The British Labour Party from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1996), chapters 10-12

Marquand, D., *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999), chapter 14

Morgan, A., *Harold Wilson* (London, 1992)

Morgan, K., *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants: Hardie to Kinnock* (Oxford, 1987), chapter 21, 'Harold Wilson'

Pimlott, B., *Harold Wilson* (London, 1992)

Roth, A., *Sir Harold Wilson: Yorkshire Walter Mitty* (London, 1977)

Routledge, P. *Wilson: The 20 British Prime Ministers of the 20th Century* (London, 2006)

Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism*

Wilson, H., *Memoirs: The Making of a Prime Minister, 1916-1964* (London, 1986), chapters 15-16

Wilson, H., *A Personal Record: The Labour Governments, 1964-70* (London, 1971)

Ziegler, P., *Wilson: The Authorised Life of Lord Wilson of Rievaulx* (London, 1993)

Week 4: Domestic Policy I - The Economy, Technology and Education

What was the economic environment in Britain before Labour's election in 1964?

What was Labour's economic policy and was it successful?

What role would technology, science and education play in economic policy?

- Bale, T., 'Harold Wilson, 1963-76' in Jefferys, K., *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)
Childs, *Britain since 1945: A Political History*, Chapter 6
Coopey, R., Fielding, S., and Tiratsoo, N. (eds.) *The Wilson Governments, 1964-1970* (London, 1993) especially chapters 3 – 5
Edgerton, E., 'The "white heat" revisited: The British government and technology in the 1960s', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 7 (1996), pp. 53-82
Marquand, D., *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999), chapter 14
Steele, G.R., 'Harold Wilson's Devaluation: A Salutary Lesson', *Economic Affairs*, vol. 28, no. 3 (September 2008), pp. 68-9
Tomlinson, J., 'It's the Economy, Stupid! Labour and the Economy, circa 1964', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (September 2007), pp. 337-349
Tomlinson, J., *The Labour Governments 1964-1970, Vol. 3: Economic Policy* (Manchester, 2009)
Wilson, *A Personal Record* (see index for relevant pages)
Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism*

Week 5: Domestic Policy II - Social Policies and 'Swinging Sixties'

What is the 'permissive society'?

What role did Labour play in the 'Swinging Sixties'?

To what extent can Wilson be personally accredited with the success of these changes?

- Bedell, G., 'Coming out of the dark ages', *The Observer*, 24.6.2007 – can be accessed at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2007/jun/24/communities.gayrights>
DeGroot, G., *The Sixties Unplugged: A Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade* (London, 2008)
Dorey, P. (ed.) *The Labour Governments 1964-1970* (London, 2006) – chapters 18 and 19
Fielding, S., 'White heat and white collars: the evolution of 'Wilsonism' in Coopey, R et al, *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70* (London, 1993)
Haines, J. *Glimmers of Twilight: Harold Wilson in Decline* (London, 2003)
Marwick, A., *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c. 1958-c.1973* (Oxford, 1998)
Marquand, D., *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999), chapter 14
Sandbrook, D., *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London, 2007)
Thompson, P., 'Labour's "Gannex conscience"? Politics and popular attitudes in the "permissive society"', in Coopey, R., Fielding, S. and Tiratsoo, N. *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70* (London, 1993)
Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism*
Wilson, *The Labour Government*, chapters 5, 35

Week 6: Foreign Policy I - European Economic Community

What is the history of Britain's relations with the EEC?

How did Wilson's own position towards the question of EEC membership change?

How successfully did Wilson manage the Labour Party on the European question?

In addition to below also see the articles in the special issue of *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2006)

- Alexander, P., 'The Labour government, Commonwealth policy and the second application to join the EEC, 1964-67', in May, A. (ed.), *Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe: The Commonwealth and Britain's Application to Join the European Communities* (London, 2011), pp. 132-55.
Broad, M. and Daddow, O., 'Half remembered quotations from mostly forgotten speeches: the limits of British foreign policy discourse', *British Journal of Politics International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2010), pp. 205-222
Daddow, O. (ed.) *Harold Wilson and European Integration: Britain's Second Application to join the EEC* (London, 2003)

- Frey, C., 'Meaning Business: The British Application to Join the Common Market, November 1966-October 1967', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (March 1968), pp.197-230
- George, S. *Britain and European Integration since 1945* (Oxford, 1991)
- May, A., *Britain and Europe since 1945* (Essex, 1999)
- Parr, H., 'A Question of Leadership: July 1966 and Harold Wilson's European Decision', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Dec. 2005), pp. 437-458
- Parr, H., *Britain's Policy Towards the European Community: Harold Wilson and Britain's World Role, 1964-7* (Abingdon, 2006)
- Parr, H., 'Britain, America, East of Suez and the EEC: Finding a Role in British Foreign Policy, 1964-67', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2006), pp. 403-21
- Parr, H., 'Saving the Community: The French Response to Britain's Second EEC Application in 1967', *Cold War History*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2006), pp. 425-54
- Pine, M., *Harold Wilson and Europe: Pursuing Britain's membership of the European Communities* (London, 2007)
- Robins, L.J., *The Reluctant Party: Labour and the EEC, 1961-75* (Lancashire, 1979)
- Sharp, P., 'The Place of the EC in the Foreign Policy of the British Governments, 1961-71', *Millennium*, Vol.11, no.2 (June 1982), pp.155-71
- Wilson, *The Labour Government* (see index for relevant pages)
- Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism*
- Wrigley, C., 'Now you see it, now you don't: Harold Wilson and Labour's Foreign policy, 1964-1970', in Coopey, R et al, *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70* (London, 1993)
- Young, J., *Britain and European Unity, 1945-1999* (Hampshire, 2000)
- Young, J., 'International Factors and the 1964 Election', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (September 2007), pp. 351-371

Week 7: Foreign Policy II - Beyond Europe

What was Wilson's relationship like with Johnson and the United States?

What did the Labour Government do with regards to the Commonwealth, including Rhodesia and South Africa?

How did Britain's military and defence policies change during the years 1964-70?

- Dumbrell, J.m 'The Johnson administration and the British Labour government: Vietnam, the pound and east of Suez', *Journal of American Studies*, no. 30 (1996), pp. 211-31
- Hughes, G., 'A Missed Opportunity for peace? Harold Wilson, British diplomacy and the sun flower initiative to end the Vietnam war, February 1967', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 14, no. 3 (September 2003), pp. 106-130
- Kristensen, J., 'In Essence still a British Country: Britain's withdrawal from East of Suez', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 51, no. 1 (March 2005), pp. 40-52
- Parr, H., 'Britain, America, East of Suez and the EEC: Finding a Role in British Foreign Policy, 1964-67', in O'Hara, G., and Parr, H., (eds.), *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70 Reconsidered* (London, 2006)
- Vickers, R., *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 1: The evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy* (Manchester, 2003) and *Vol. 2: Labour's Foreign Policy since 1951* (Manchester, 2011)
- Vickers, R., 'Harold Wilson, the British Labour Party, and the War in Vietnam', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 41-70
- Vickers, R., *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 2: Labour's Foreign Policy since 1951* (Manchester, 2011)
- Wilson, *A Personal Record* (see index for relevant pages)
- Wilson, *The Relevance of British Socialism*
- Wrigley, C., 'Now you see it, now you don't: Harold Wilson and Labour's Foreign policy, 1964-1970' in Coopey, R et al, *The Wilson Governments, 1964-70* (London, 1993)
- Young, J., 'The Wilson government and the Davis peace mission to North Vietnam, July 1965', *Review of International Studies*, vo. 24 (1998), pp. 545-562
- Young, J., 'Killing the MLF: the Wilson government and nuclear sharing in Europe, 1964-66', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2003), pp. 295-324
- Young, J., *The Labour Governments 1964-1970, Vol. 2: International Policy* (Manchester, 2003), especially chapters 2-3, 6-7
- Young, J., 'International Factors and the 1964 Election', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (September 2007), pp. 351-371

Week 8: The Legacy of Wilson and the advent of New Labour

To what extent can Wilson be blamed for problems in the Labour Party between 1976 and 1983?

How far did Wilson set the stage for the Thatcherite revolution or the 1980s?

In what way did Wilson's time in office influence the advent of 'New' Labour?

Broad, M. and Daddow, O., 'Half remembered quotations from mostly forgotten speeches: the limits of British foreign policy discourse', *British Journal of Politics International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2010), pp. 205-222

Laybourn, K., *A Century of Labour: A History of the Labour Party, 1900-2000* (Stroud, 2000), especially pp. 97-101

Marquand, D., *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999), chapter 14

O'Hara, G., and Parr, H., 'Conclusions: Harold Wilson's 1964-70 Governments and the Heritage of 'New' Labour', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2006), pp. 477-489

Ponting, C., *Breach of Promise: Labour in Power, 1964-70* (London, 1989)

Seldon, A. and Hickson, K. (eds.) *New Labour, Old Labour: The Wilson and Callaghan Governments*

Tanner, D., Thane, P., and Tiratsoo, N., (eds.) *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge, 2000)

Wilson, H., *Final Term: The Labour Government, 1974-1976* (London, 1979)

ESSAYS ARE DUE IN WEEK 8

Week 9: Group Debate

In this session groups of students will each be involved in a debate. A separate sheet will be given during the course with instructions.

Week 10: Essay Return

Essay Questions

You need to answer ONE question, for submission in Week 8. For details see your History handbook.

1. How central were economic factors to the Labour Party in the period 1964-70?
2. Was Labour's European policy a success?
3. To what extent were the policies spelt out in *The Relevance of British Socialism* achieved by 1970?

General Bibliography

In addition to the select bibliography mentioned above, the more general works below may be of interest. This is by no means exhaustive so search Enterprise on the Library website or Amazon for other works.

Other works by Wilson:

Wilson, H., *Purpose in Power: Selected Speeches by Harold Wilson* (London, 1966)

Wilson, H., *The Governance of Britain* (London, 1976)

Autobiographies/memoirs of Wilson's key colleagues:

Benn, T., *Out of the Wilderness: Diaries, 1963-67* (London, 1987)

Benn, T., *Office Without Power: Diaries, 1968-72* (London, 1988)

Brown, G., *In My Way* (Harmondsworth, 1971)

Castle, B., *The Castle Diaries, 1964-70* (London, 1984)

Callaghan, J., *Time and Change* (London, 1988)

Crossman, R., *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, Vol. I (London, 1795); Vol. II (London, 1976); Vol. III (London, 1977)
Crossman, R., *The Backbench Diaries of Richard Crossman* (London, 1981)
Donoghue, B., *The Heat of the Kitchen* (London, 2003)
Falkender, M., *Downing Street in Perspective* (London, 1983)
Haines, J. *Politics of Power* (London, 1977)
Haines, J. *Glimmers of Twilight: Harold Wilson in Decline* (London, 2004)
Healey, D., *The Time of My Life* (London, 1989)
Jenkins, R., *A Life at the Centre* (London, 1991)

In addition to these, there is a collection of Labour Party General Election Manifestos since 1945 available from Keele University: <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/area/uk/man.htm>. Another useful resource is Hansard, the record of every Parliamentary session. It is now digitised (and searchable) and can be accessed here: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/sittings/C20>.

Harold Wilson: Presentation topics

<p><u>Week 4:</u></p> <p>What was the economic environment in Britain before Labour's election in 1964?</p> <p>What was Labour's economic policy and was it successful?</p> <p>What role would technology, science and education play in economic policy?</p>	
<p><u>Week 5:</u></p> <p>What is the 'permissive society'?</p> <p>What role did Labour play in the 'Swinging Sixties'?</p> <p>To what extent can Wilson be personally accredited with the success of these changes?</p>	
<p><u>Week 6:</u></p> <p>What is the history of Britain's relations with the EEC?</p> <p>How did Wilson's own position towards the question of EEC membership change?</p> <p>How successfully did Wilson manage the Labour Party on the European question?</p>	
<p><u>Week 7:</u></p> <p>What was Wilson's relationship like with Johnson and the United States?</p> <p>What did the Labour Government do with regards to the Commonwealth, including Rhodesia and South Africa?</p> <p>How did Britain's military and defence policies change during the years 1964-70?</p>	