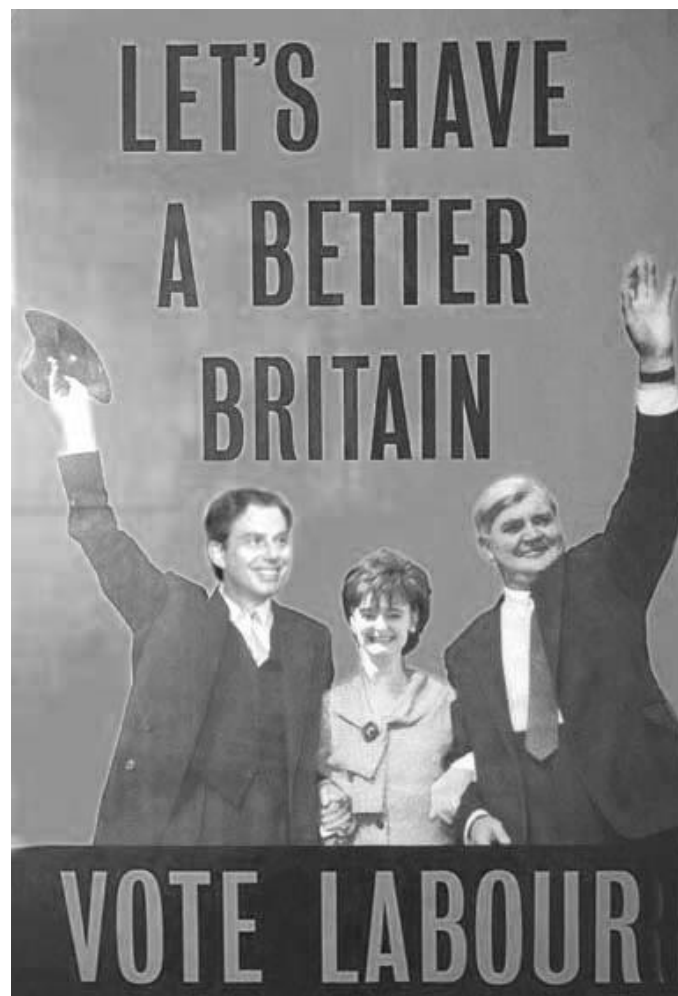


HS3T71: Topic in Modern History

**From Bevan to Blair:
The Labour Party and British Politics since 1945**



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Introduction

The module will discuss the transformation of the Labour Party from the time of Nye Bevan through to the leadership of Tony Blair. Labour won the election of 1945 on a platform that promised full employment, the nationalisation of key industries, the creation of an extensive welfare state and a foreign policy based on a global empire. By the time of New Labour's landslide victory in 1997, however, there was little doubt that the party had undergone a fundamental realignment. In the first half of the module, we will consider the major controversies each of its leaders faced during this period. In the second, we will explore a number of themes – including class, trade unionism, ideology and internationalism – that have coloured the deep-seated disputes of Labour's recent past. Throughout, we will seek to locate the history of these divisions, the different ways historians have sought to categorise them, and what they can tell us about the wider shifts in the political, economic and social makeup of Britain over the last sixty years. We will concentrate especially on the ideological disputes and internal party debates that have shaped Labour and the split between the socialist left and the social democratic right.

Seminar overview

1. Introduction
2. Attlee and the building of the post-war consensus, 1945-51
3. Gaitskell, Bevan and the struggle for Labour's ideology in the 1950s
4. The future of socialism? Wilson, Callaghan and the Labour party in the 1960s and 1970s
5. Labour in the 1980s
6. Blair, the 'Third Way' and the rise of New Labour in the 1990s
7. Socialism and Labour party ideology
8. Working class hero? Labour and the working classes
9. 'Divorce? Never. Murder? Often': Labour and the trade unions
10. Labour, foreign policy, defence and internationalism

Introductory and Recommended Reading

- A. J. Davis, *To Build a New Jerusalem: The British Labour Party from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1996)
- B. Brivati and R. Heffernan (eds.), *The Labour Party: A Centenary History* (Basingstoke, 2000)
- J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) - BB
- K. Jefferys, *The Labour Party since 1945* (Basingstoke, 1993)
- K. Jefferys (ed.), *Leading Labour: from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)
- T. Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party: from Gaitskell to Blair* (London, 1996)
- K. Laybourn, *A Century of Labour: A History of the Labour Party* (Stroud, 2001)
- D. Marquand, *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999)
- K. O. Morgan, *Labour People: Hardie to Kinnock* (Oxford, 1992), parts III and IV
- R. Plant, M. Beech and K. Hickson (eds.), *The Struggle for Labour's Soul: Understanding Labour's Political Thought since 1945* (London, 2004)
- M. Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London, 2011)
- E. Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1945: Old Labour, New Labour* (Oxford, 1996)
- A. Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party* (Basingstoke, 2001) – good for all weeks

Labour's manifestos are available at www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/.
Record of *Hansard* available at <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/>
Copies of some speeches are available at www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/

Please see Library website for details of various biographies of the key figures that we will discuss, which I have not individually listed here.

BB = book/article is on Blackboard

Week 2 – Attlee and the building of the post-war consensus, 1945-51

*Was Labour's foreign policy championed or challenged by the left between 1945 and 1951?
**'He was all substance and no show'. Discuss with reference to the leadership of Clement Attlee.
***How did the Labour government of 1945-51 shape politics in post-war Britain?

- *R. K. Alderman, 'Discipline in the Parliamentary Labour Party, 1945-51', *Parl. Affairs* 19/3 (1965)
P. Addison, *The road to 1945: British politics and the Second World War* (London, 1994)
P. Addison, 'Clement Attlee, 1945-1951', in V. Bogdanor (ed.), *From New Jerusalem to New Labour: British Prime Ministers from Attlee to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2010)
***C. Barnett, *The lost victory: British dreams, British realities, 1945-50* (London, 1995)
S. Brooke (ed.), *Reform and reconstruction: Britain after the war, 1945-51* (Manchester, 1995)
S. Brooke, *Labour's War: the Labour Party during the Second World War* (Oxford, 1992)
**J. H. Brookshire, *Clement Attlee* (Manchester, 1995)
J. Campbell, *Nye Bevan: a biography* (London, 1997)
D. Childs, *Britain since 1945: a political history* (London, 2012) – good overview of entire period
R. Eatwell, *The 1945-1951 Labour governments* (London, 1979)
M. Francis, *Ideas and policies under Labour, 1945-51: building a New Britain* (Manchester, 1997)
M. Francis, 'Now reformed capitalism but... democratic socialism: the ideology of the Labour leadership, 1945-1951', in H. Jones and M. Kandiah (eds.), *The Myth of Consensus* (Macmillan, 1996)
S. Fielding, 'Labourism in the 1940s', *TCBH*, 3/2 (1992), 138-53
S. Fielding, P. Thompson and N. Tiratsoo, *England Arise: the Labour Party and Popular Politics in the 1940s* (Manchester, 1995)
***G. K. Fry, *The politics of decline: an interpretation of British politics from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Basingstoke, 2005), chp. 2 – BB
K. Harris, *Attlee* (London, 1982)
P. Hennessy, *Never again: Britain, 1945-51* (London, 1992)
**P. Hennessy, *The prime minister: the office and its holders since 1945* (London, 2001)
K. Jefferys, *The Attlee governments, 1945-51* (London, 1992)
K. Jefferys, 'The Attlee Years, 1935-1955', in Brivati and Heffernan, *Labour Party: A Centenary History*
Marquand, *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair*
A. Mitchell, *Election '45: reflections on the revolution in Britain* (London, 1995)
K. O. Morgan, *Labour in power, 1945-51* (Oxford, 1984)
T. S. Nicklaus, *Attlee: a life in politics* (London, 2010)
R. Pearce, 'Clement Attlee, 1935-55', in K. Jefferys (ed.), *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)
H. Pelling, *The Labour governments, 1945-51* (London, 1984)
H. Pelling, *America and the British left: from Bright to Bevan* (London, 1956)
M. Phythian, *The Labour Party, War and International Relations, 1945-2006* (Routledge, 2007), chps. 2-3
*D. Russell, "'The Jolly Old Empire: Labour, the Commonwealth and Europe, 1945-51', in A. May (ed.), *Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe: the Commonwealth and Britain's Applications to join the European Communities* (Basingstoke, 2001) - BB
J. Saville, *The politics of continuity: British foreign policy and the Labour Government, 1945-46* (London, 1993)
*J. Schner, *Labour's conscience: the Labour left, 1945-51* (Boston, MA, 1988)
***E. Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1945: Old Labour, New Labour* (Oxford, 1996)
**J. Swift, *Labour in Crisis: Clement Attlee and the Labour Party in Opposition, 1931-40* (Houndsmill, 2001)
Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, chapter 6
N. Tiratsoo (ed.), *The Attlee years* (London, 1991)
*R. Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy, 1900-51* (Manchester, 2004) – on BB
*P. Weiler, 'British Labour and the Cold War: the Foreign Policy of the Labour Governments, 1945-51', *Journal of British studies*, 26/1 (1987), 54-82
***M. Williams, *Crises and Consensus in British Politics: From Bagehot to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2000), ch. 3 – BB

Week 3 – Gaitskell, Bevan and the struggle for Labour’s ideology in the 1950s

*Account for the division between the ‘Gaitskellite’ right and the ‘Bevanite’ left in the 1950s.
**How do we explain the rise and subsequent failure of the Clause IV debate under Hugh Gaitskell?

- L. Black, *The political culture of the left in affluent Britain, 1951-64: old Labour, New Britain?* (Basingstoke, 2002)
- *L. Black, “‘The Bitterest Enemies of Communism’ Labour Revisionists, Atlanticism and the Cold War’, *Contemporary British History*, 15/3 (2001), pp. 26-62.
- *B. Brivati, *Hugh Gaitskell* (London, 1996)
- *B. Brivati, ‘The Campaign for Democratic Socialism, 1960-64’, *Contemporary Record*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1993), pp. 636-85
- B. Brivati, ‘The Campaign for Democratic Socialism, 1960-1964’, PhD thesis, Uni. of London, 1992 – on BB
- *B. Brivati, ‘Hugh Gaitskell, 1955-63’, in Jefferys, *Leading Labour*
- J. Campbell, *Nye Bevan and the Mirage of British Socialism* (London, 1987)
- J. Campbell, *Nye Bevan: a biography* (London, 1997)
- J. Cronin, *New Labour’s Pasts: the Labour Party and its discontents* (Harlow, 2004)
- A. Crosland, *The Future of Socialism* (London, 1956)
- A. Crosland, *The Conservative Enemy* (London, 1962)
- **C. Ellis, ‘Letting it Slip: the Labour Party and the “Mythical Halo” of Nationalization, 1951-1964’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2012), pp. 47-71
- **L. D. Epstein, ‘Who makes party policy: British Labour, 1960-61’, *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 6/2 (1962), 165-82
- I. Favretto, ‘Wilsonism Reconsidered: Labour Party Revisionism, 1952-1964’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2002), pp. 54-80
- S. Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of New Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- M. Foot, *Aneurin Bevan*
- S. Haseler, *The Gaitskellites: Revisionism in the British Labour Party, 1951-64* (London, 2005)
- R. Jobson, “‘Waving the Banners of a Bygone Age’”: Nostalgia and Labour’s Clause IV Controversy, 1959-60’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2013), pp. 123-44
- *T. Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party*, chapters 1-3
- **T. Jones, “‘Taking genesis out of the Bible’”: Hugh Gaitskell, clause IV and Labour’s socialist myth’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1997), pp. 1-23
- T. Jones. ‘Labour’s Constitution and Public Ownership: from “old” Clause IV to “new” Clause Four’, in Brivati and Heffernan *The Labour Party: A Centenary History*
- S. Meredith, ‘Mr Crosland’s nightmare? New Labour and Equality in Historical Perspective’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 8 (2006), 238-55
- R. Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study of the Politics of Labour* (London, 1961)
- *M. Phythian, *The Labour Party, War and International Relations, 1945-2006* (Routledge, 2007), chp. 3
- M. Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London, 2011), chapter 11
- *S. Rippengale, ‘Hugh Gaitskell, the Labour Party and foreign affairs, 1955-63’. PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, 1996 - BB
- E. Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1945: Old Labour, New Labour* (Oxford, 1996)
- Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, chapter 7
- P. Williams, *Hugh Gaitskell* (London, 1979)

Week 4 – The future of socialism? Wilson, Callaghan and Labour in the 1960s and 1970s

- *How did Wilson's election as Labour leader in 1963 alter power relations within the party?
- **Account for the growth of the left in the Labour party after 1970.
- ***Was Labour's factionalism in the 1970s restricted only to the left?

- **M. Artis, D. Cobham and M. Wickham-Jones, 'Social democracy in hard times: the economic record of the Labour government, 1974-79', *TCBH*, 3/1 (1992), 32-58
- P. Bell, *The Labour Party in Opposition, 1970-74* (London, 2004)
- **D. Coates, *Labour in power? A Study of the Labour Government, 1974-1979* (London, 1980)
- R. Coopey, S. Fielding and N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *The Wilson governments, 1964-1970* (London, 1993)
- *J. Cronin, *New Labour's Pasts: the Labour Party and its discontents* (Harlow, 2004), chapters 3-5
- O. Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European integration: Britain's second application to join the EEC* (London, 2003)
- G. Daly, 'The campaign for labour victory and the origins of the SDP', *Contemporary Record*, 7/2 (1993), 282-305
- P. Dorey, *The Labour Governments 1964-70* (London, 2006)
- *G. K. Fry, *The Politics of Decline: An Interpretation of British Politics from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Basingstoke, 2005), chp. 9 - BB
- S. Fielding, *Labour and Cultural Change* (Manchester, 2003) - BB
- *S. Fielding, 'Rethinking Labour's 1964 Campaign', *Contemporary British History*, 21/3 (2007), pp. 309-324
- *P. Foot, *The politics of Harold Wilson* (London, 1968)
- ***D. Hayter, *Fightback! Labour's traditional right in the 1970s and 1980s* (Manchester, 2005)
- *T. Heppell, 'The Labour Party Leadership Election of 1963: Explaining the Unexpected Election of Harold Wilson', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2010), pp. 151-71
- **M. Holmes, *The Labour government, 1974-79: political aims and economic reality* (London, 1985)
- Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party*, chapters 4-5
- D. Leonard, *A Century of Premiers: Salisbury to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2005), chapters 15 & 16 – on BB
- D. McKie and C. Cook (eds.), *The Decade of Disillusion: British Politics in the Sixties* (Basingstoke, 1972)
- ***S. Meredith, *Labours Old and New: the Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party 1970-1979 and the Roots of New Labour* (Manchester, 2008)
- S. Meredith, 'Labour Party Revisionism and Public Expenditure: Divisions of Social Democratic Political Economy in the 1970s', *Labour History Review*, 70/3 (2005), 253-73
- ***S. Meredith, 'A catalyst for secession? European divisions on the parliamentary right of the Labour party, 1962-72, and the schism of British social democracy', *Historical Research*, 86, pp. 329-51
- ***S. Meredith, 'Factionalism on the Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party in the 1970s: a Reassessment', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2007), pp. 55-85
- *K. O. Morgan, *The People's Peace: British History, 1945-90* (Oxford, 1992)
- R. Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism*
- R. Miliband and J. Saville, 'Labour Policy and the Labour Left', *Socialist Register* (January 1964), pp. 149-56, can be accessed at <http://thesocialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5934/2830#.Ub9gMOeIGSo>
- *C. Ponting, *Breach of promise: Labour in power, 1964-1970* (London, 1989)
- A. Seldon and K. Hickson (eds.), *New Labour, Old Labour: The Blair, Wilson and Callaghan Governments* (London, 2004) – good for 1970s
- **P. Seyd, *The rise and fall of the Labour left* (Basingstoke, 1987)
- Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, chapters 8-9
- J. Young, *International Policy* (Manchester, 2003)
- *Williams, *Crises and Consensus in British Politics: From Bagehot to Blair*, chapter 4 – on BB
- W. L. Wyatt, *What's Left of the Labour Party?* (London, 1977)

+ the relevant biographies – see Library catalogue for details

Week 5 – Labour in the 1980s

*Why did Labour lose the 1983 election?
**Was Labour truly 'modernised' under Neil Kinnock?

- D. Butler and D. Kavanagh, *The British general election of 1983* (London, 1984)
- J. Cronin, *New Labour's Pasts: the Labour Party and its discontents* (Harlow, 2004), chapters 6-8
- **P. Daniels, 'From Hostility to "Constructive Engagement": The Europeanisation of the Labour Party', *West European Politics*, 21/1 (1998), 72-96
- M. Foley, *John Major, Tony Blair and a conflict of leadership: collision course* (Manchester, 2002) – chp. 4
- S. Griffiths, 'Neil Kinnock, 1983-92', in T. Heppell (ed.), *Leaders of the opposition: from Churchill to Cameron* (Basingstoke, 2012)
- R. Harris, *The making of Neil Kinnock* (London, 1984)
- Hattersley, Heffer, Kinnock and Shore, *Labour's Choices* (London, 1983)
- **C. Hay, 'Labour's Thatcherite Revisionism: playing the 'politics of catch-up'', *Political Studies*, 42/4 (1994), 700-7
- **D. Hayter, *Fightback! Labour's traditional right in the 1970s and 1980s* (Manchester, 2005)
- R. Harris, *The making of Neil Kinnock* (London, 1984)
- A. F. Heath, R. M. Jowell and J.K. Curtice, *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001)
- R. Heffernan, *Defeat from the jaws of victory: inside Kinnock's Labour Party* (London, 1992)
- K. Jefferys, *The Labour Party since 1945* (Basingstoke, 1993)
- **Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party*, chapters 5-6
- E. Jones, *Neil Kinnock* (London, 1994)
- P. Jones, *America and the British Labour Party: The Special Relationship at work* (London, 1997), chp. 5
- N. Kinnock, *Making our way: investing in Britain's future* (Oxford, 1986)
- N. Kinnock, *The future of socialism* (London, 1986)
- Marquand, *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair*
- *W. K. Miller, 'There was no alternative: the British General Election of 1983', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 37/1 (1984), 364-84
- T. Quinn, *Modernising the Labour Party: Organisational Change since 1983* (Basingstoke, 2004) – on BB
- M. J. Smith and J. Spear (eds.), *The Changing Labour Party* (London, 1992)
- **M.J. Smith, 'Understanding the "politics of catch-up": the modernization of the Labour party', *Political Studies*, 42/4 (1994), 708-15
- E. Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1979: crisis and transformation* (London, 1994)
- E. Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1945: Old Labour, New Labour* (Oxford, 1996)
- E. Shaw, 'Neil Kinnock', in K. Jefferys (ed.), *Leading Labour: from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (London, 1999)
- Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, chapter 10
- A. Ward, *Consensus and beyond: The development of Labour Party strategy since the Second World War* (Manchester, 1982)
- **M. Westlake, *Kinnock* (London, 2001)
- M. Wickham-Jones, *Economic strategy and the Labour Party: politics and policy-making, 1970-83* (London, 1996)
- Williams, *Crises and Consensus in British Politics: From Bagehot to Blair*, chapter 5 – on BB

+ list from Week 4

Week 6 – Blair, the ‘Third Way’ and the rise of ‘New’ Labour in the 1990s

- *What was new about New Labour?
- **How did the concept of political leadership change under Blair?
- ***Tony Blair was Britain’s first post-ideological prime minister’. Discuss.

- *S. H. Beer, ‘New Labour: Old Liberalism’, in S. White (ed.), *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* (Basingstoke, 2001) - BB
- **T. Blair, *New Britain: My Vision of a Young Country* (London, 1996)
- T. Blair, *A Journey* (London, 2010)
- **M. Bennister, ‘Tony Blair as Prime Minister’, in T. Casey (ed.), *The Blair Legacy: Politics, Policy, Governance and Foreign Affairs* (Basingstoke, 2009) –BB
- *M. Broad and O. Daddow, ‘Half-Remembered Quotations from Mostly Forgotten Speeches: the Limits of Labour’s European Policy Discourse’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2010), pp. 205-22.
- D. Coates, *Prolonged Labour: The Slow Birth of New Labour Britain* (Basingstoke, 2005) – on BB
- J. Cronin, *New Labour’s Pasts: the Labour Party and its discontents* (Harlow, 2004), chapters 9-11
- S. Driver, *Blair’s Britain* (Cambridge, 2002)
- S. Driver and L. Martell, *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism* (Cambridge, 2006)
- ****The Economist*, ‘Whatever works’, 2 May 2002, available at <http://www.economist.com/node/1109815> (accessed 15.10.12)
- M. Freedan, ‘The ideology of New Labour’, *The Political Quarterly*,
- *S. Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of New Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- S. Hale et al, *The Third Way and Beyond: Criticisms, futures, alternatives* (Manchester, 2004) - BB
- A. F. Heath, R. M. Jowell and J.K. Curtice, *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001) – a bit political science-esq but good for figures
- A. Giddens, *The third way: the renewal of social democracy* (Cambridge, 1998)
- P. Gould, *The Unfinished Revolution: How New Labour Changed British Politics Forever* (London, 2011)
- P. Hennessey, ‘Rulers and Servants of the State: The Blair Style of Government 1997-2004’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58/1 (2005), 6-16
- ***B. Jessop, ‘From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-Liberalism, Workfarism and Labour Market Regulation’, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, available at <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc131rj.pdf> (accessed 15.10.12)
- Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party*, chapter 7
- **D. Kavanagh and Anthony Seldon, *The powers behind the Prime Minister: the hidden influence of Number Ten* (London, 2000) – good for information on Wilson as well
- Leonard, *A Century of Premiers*, chapter 20 – BB
- *S. Meredith, *Labours Old and New: the Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party 1970-79 and the roots of New Labour* (Manchester, 2008)
- *S. Meredith, ‘Mr Crosland’s nightmare? New Labour and Equality in Historical Perspective’, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 8 (2006), 238-55 + see reply to this article K. Hickson, *BJPIR*, 9 (2007), 165-8.
- **P. Norton, ‘Tony Blair and the Office of Prime Minister’, in M. Beech and S. Lee (eds.), *Ten Years of New Labour* (Basingstoke, 2008) – BB, entire book is good for this week
- *G. O’Hara and H. Parr, ‘Conclusions: Harold Wilson’s 1964-70 Government and the Heritage of “New” Labour’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (2006), pp. 477-89
- **P. Hennessey, ‘Rules and Servants of State: The Blair Style of Government, 1997-2004’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 58/1 (2005), 6-16.
- T. Quinn, *Modernising the Labour Party: Organisational Change since 1983* (Basingstoke, 2004) – on BB
- ***N. Randall and J. Sloam, ‘New Labour, the Third Way and Social Democracy: An Ideological Assessment’, in Casey, *The Blair Legacy* – BB – whole book is useful for this week
- A. Rawnsley, *The End of the Party: The Rise and Fall of New Labour* (London, 2010)
- P. Riddell, ‘The End of Clause IV, 1994-95’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1997). 24-49
- ***M.B. Steger and R.K. Roy, *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2010), chp. 3 –BB
- + works by Seldon on Blair/New Labour

Week 7 – Socialism the Labour party ideology

*How consistent has Labour's ideology been since 1945?

**Has Labour suffered a 'progressive dilemma' since the Second World War?

- **J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) – BB
- D. Coates, *The Labour Party and the Struggle for Socialism* (Cambridge, 1975)
- H. M. Drucker, *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party* (London, 1979)
- S. Fielding, *The Labour Party, 'Socialism' and Society since 1951* (Manchester, 1997)
- **S. Fielding and D. McHugh, 'The Progressive Dilemma and the social democratic perspective', in J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) – BB
- *G. Foote, *The Labour Party's Political Thought: A History* (London, 1986)
- A. Giddens, *The third way: the renewal of social democracy* (Cambridge, 1998)
- A. Giddens, *The third way and its critics* (Cambridge, 2000)
- K. Hickson, 'Reply to Stephen Meredith "Mr Crosland's Nightmare? New Labour and Equality in Historical Perspective"', *BJPIR*, vol. 9 (2007), pp. 165-8.
- J. Hinton, *Labour and socialism: a history of the British labour movement, 1867-1974* (Brighton, 1983)
- T. Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party: From Gaitskell to Blair* (London, 1996),
- **D. Marquand, *The Progressive Dilemma: From Lloyd George to Blair* (London, 1999)
- S. Meredith, *Labours Old and New: the Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party 1970-1979 and the Roots of New Labour* (Manchester, 2008)
- *S. Meredith, 'Mr Crosland's Nightmare? New Labour and Equality in Historical Perspective', *BJPIR*, vol. 8 (2006), pp. 238-55
- S. Meredith, 'Factionalism on the Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party in the 1970s: a Reassessment', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2007), pp. 55-85
- *C. Ponting, *Breach of Promise: Labour in Power, 1964-1970* (London, 1989)
- M. Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London, 2011)
- *S. Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of New Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- *M. Wickham-Jones, 'The Future of Socialism and New Labour: An Appraisal', *The Political Quarterly*, 78/2 (2007), 224-40

+ lists from weeks 2-6

Week 8 – Working class hero? Labour and the working classes

*To what extent has the basis of Labour support changed since 1945?

**Did those on the left of British politics see Labour as helping or inhibiting the working class?

- *S. Beackon, 'Labour Party Politics and the Working Class', *British Journal of Political Science*, 6/2 (1976), pp. 231-8
- **D. Coates and L. Panitch, 'The continuing relevance of the Milibandian perspective', in J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) – BB – whole book is good for this week
- J. E. Cronin, *Labour and Society in Britain, 1918-1979* (London, 1984)
- H. M. Drucker, *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party* (London, 1979)
- G. Elliot, *Labourism and the English genius: the strange death of Labour England?*
- S. Fielding, *The Labour Party, 'Socialism' and Society since 1951* (Manchester, 1997)
- S. Fielding, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of New Labour* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- *S. Fielding, *Labour and Cultural Change* (Manchester, 2003) - BB
- S. Fielding, 'Labourism in the 1940s', *TCBH*, 3/2 (1992), 138-53
- S. Fielding, "'White heat" and white collars: the evolution of "Wilsonism"', in R. Coopey, S. Fielding and N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *The Wilson Governments, 1964-1970* (London, 1995)
- T. Forester, *The British Labour Party and the Working Class* (London, 1976)
- *A. Heath, 'Were traditional voters disillusioned with New Labour?', Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends research paper, no. 68 (March, 1999), available at <http://www.crest.ox.ac.uk/papers/p68.pdf>
- *A. F. Heath, R. M. Jowell and J.K. Curtice, *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices* (Oxford, 2001)
- J. Hinton, *Labour and socialism: a history of the British labour movement, 1867-1974* (Brighton, 1983)
- **D. Kavanagh, 'Still the Workers' Party? Changing Social Trends in Elite Recruitment and Electoral Support', in D. Kavanagh (ed.), *The Politics of the Labour Party* (London, 1982)
- P. Kellner, 'Labour is not just the party of the working class', 31 August 2010, accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/aug/31/labour-party-working-class>
- R. Leach, *Political ideology in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2002)
- **R. Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study of the Politics of Labour* (London, 1961)
- R. Miliband and J. Saville, 'Labour Policy and the Labour Left', *Socialist Register* (January 1964), pp. 149-56, can be accessed at <http://thesocialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5934/2830#.Ub9gMOeIGSo>
- **M. Newman, 'Ralph Miliband and the Labour Party: from *Parliamentary Socialism* to "Bennism"', in J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) – BB
- R. Riddell, 'The End of Clause IV, 1994-95', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1997), pp. 24-49 – also useful for weeks 3, 6 and 7
- P. Richards, *Is the Party Over? New Labour and the Politics of Participation* (London, 2000)
- D. Rubinstein, *The Labour Party and British Society, 1880-2005* (Brighton, 2006), chps. 4-8

+ lists from weeks 2-6

Week 9 – ‘Divorce? Never. Murder? Often’: Labour and the trade unions

*How close were Labour and the trade unions between 1945 and 1992?

**What impact did New Labour have on industrial relations in Britain?

*K. Alderman and N. Carter, ‘The Labour Party and the trade unions: loosening the ties’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 47/3 (1994), 321-37

P. Bain and P. Taylor, ‘A “Third Way”’: Industrial relations under New Labour’, in G. Mooney and A. Law (eds.), *New Labour/Hard Labour? Restructuring and resistance inside the welfare industry* (Bristol, 2007)

T. Blair, *New Britain: My Vision for a Young Country* (London, 1996)

D. Coates, ‘New Labour’s industrial and employment policy’, in D. Coates and P. Lawler (eds.), *New Labour in power* (Manchester, 2000)

*C. Crouch, ‘The Peculiar Relationship: the Party and the Unions’, in D. Kavanagh (ed.), *The Politics of the Labour Party* (London, 1982)

**C. Crouch, ‘A Third Way in Industrial Relations?’, in S. White (ed.), *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* (Basingstoke, 2001) - BB

D. Farnham, ‘New Labour, the new unions and the new labour market’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49 (1996), 584-98

Foote, *The Labour Party’s Political Thought: A History*

Hay, ‘Labour’s Thatcherite Revisionism: playing the ‘politics of catch-up’, *Political Studies*, 42/4 (1994), 700-7

P. Mandelson, *The Blair revolution revisited* (London, 2002)

P. Mandelson and R. Liddle, *The Blair Revolution: Can New Labour deliver?* (London, 1996)

*A. Reid, ‘Labour and the trade unions’, in D. Tanner, P. Thane and N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *Labour’s First Century* (Cambridge, 2000)

*B. Rosamond, ‘The Labour Party, trade unions and industrial relations’, in Smith and Spear, *The Changing Labour Party*

M. Harrison, *Trade Unions and the Labour Party since 1945* (London, 1960)

K. Laybourn, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (Stroud, 1992), chapters 6-7

S. Ludlam, ‘Norms and Blocks: Trade Unions and the Labour Party since 1964’, in Brivati and Heffernan *The Labour Party: A Centenary History*

S. Ludlam, ‘Too much pluralism, not enough socialism: interpreting the unions-party link’, in J. Callaghan, S. Fielding and S. Ludlam (eds.), *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester, 2003) - BB

**J. McIlroy, ‘The enduring alliance? Trade unions and the making of New Labour, 1994-1997’, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 35/4 (1998), 537-64

*L. Minkin, *The contentious alliance: trade unions and the Labour party* (Edinburgh, 1991)

L. Panitch, *Social Democracy and Industrial Militancy: the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Incomes Policy* (Cambridge, 1976)

Seldon and Hickson, *New Labour, Old Labour*

B. Simpson, *Labour, the Unions and the Party* (London, 1983)

A. Taylor, *The Trade Unions and the Labour Party* (London, 1987)

A. Taylor, ‘Trade unions and the politics of social democratic renewal’, *West European Politics*, 16/1 (1993), 133-55

*C. Wrigley, ‘Trade unions and the 1964 General Election’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2007), pp. 325-335

+ lists from weeks 2-6

Week 10 – Labour, foreign policy, defence and internationalism

- *To what extent was Labour an 'internationalist' movement after the Second World War?
- **How has the notion of 'war' changed for the Labour Party since 1945?
- ***How has Labour reconciled the concept of socialism with the European integration process since 1945?

- T. Blair, 'Doctrine of International Community at the Economics Club, Chicago, 24 April 1999', http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html
- ***M. Broad and O. Daddow, 'Half-remembered quotations from mostly forgotten speeches: the limits of Labour's European policy discourse', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 12 (2010), pp. 205-22
 - ***R. Broad, *Labour's European dilemmas: from Bevin to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2001)
 - B. Brivati, 'Internationalism', in Plant, Beech and Hickson, *The struggle for Labour's soul*
 - **J. Callaghan, *The Labour Party and Foreign Policy: A History* (Abingdon, 2007)
 - D. Chandler, 'Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5/3 (2003), 295-316
 - D. Coates and J. Krieger, *Blair's War* (Cambridge, 2004)
 - P. Corthorn and J. Davis (eds.), *The British Labour Party and the Wider World: Domestic Politics, Internationalism and Foreign Policy* (London, 2008)
 - O. Daddow, *New Labour and the European Union: Blair and Brown's Logic of History* (Manchester, 2005)
 - **O. Daddow, 'The Use of Force in British Foreign Policy: From New Labour to the Coalition', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 84, no. 1 (2013), pp. 110-18
 - ***O. Daddow, 'Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2013), pp. 210-27
 - O. Daddow and J. Gaskarth (eds.), *British Foreign Policy: The New Labour Years* (Basingstoke, 2011)
 - **O. Daddow, "'Tony's War" Blair, Kosovo and the interventionist impulse in British foreign policy', *International Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 1 (2005), pp. 547-60
 - O. Daddow and P. Schnapper, 'Liberal intervention in the foreign policy thinking of Tony Blair and David Cameron', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (2013)
 - P. Daniels, 'From Hostility to "Constructive Engagement": The Europeanisation of the Labour Party', *West European Politics*, 21/1 (1998), 72-96
 - ***A. Deighton, 'The Foreign Policy of British Prime Minister Tony Blair: Radical or Retrograde?', paper delivered at Centre for British Studies, available at http://www.gbz.hu-berlin.de/publications/working-papers/downloads/pdf/WPS_Deighton_Blair.pdf
 - E. Delaney, 'The Labour party's changing relationship to Europe: the expansion of European social policy', *Journal of European Integration History*, 8/1 (2002), pp. 121-39
 - A. Gamble and G. Kelly, 'The British Labour Party and monetary union', *West European Politics*, 23/1 (2000), 1-25
 - S. Howe, 'Labour and international affairs', in D. Tanner, P. Thane and N. Tiratsso (eds.), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge, 2000) - BB
 - P. Jones, *America and the British Labour Party: The Special Relationship at work* (London, 1997)
 - **R. Little and M. Wickham-Jones (eds.), *New Labour's Foreign Policy: A New Moral Crusade?* (Manchester, 2000)
 - ***T. Nairn, *The left against Europe?* (London, 1971)
 - **M. Phythian, *The Labour Party, War and International Relations, 1945-2006* (Routledge, 2007)
 - R. Self, *British Foreign and Defence Policy since 1945: Challenges and Dilemmas in a Changing World* (Basingstoke, 2010), chapter 7
 - *R. Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy, 1900-51* (Manchester, 2004) – on BB
 - *R. Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Volume 2: Labour's Foreign Policy since 1951* (Manchester, 2011)
 - P. Williams, *British foreign policy under New Labour, 1997-2005* (Basingstoke, 2005) – BB, good for all questions!
- + lists from weeks 2-6

Presentation topics

2. Was Labour's foreign policy championed or challenged by the left between 1945 and 1951?	
2. 'He was all substance and no show'. Discuss with reference to the leadership of Clement Attlee.	
2. How did the Labour government of 1945-51 shape politics in post-war Britain?	
3. Account for the division between the 'Gaitskellite' right and the 'Bevanite' left in the 1950s.	
3. How do we explain the rise and subsequent failure of the Clause IV debate under Hugh Gaitskell?	
4. How did Wilson's election as Labour leader in 1963 alter power relations within the party?	
4. Account for the growth of the left in the Labour party after 1970.	
4. Was Labour's factionalism in the 1970s restricted only to the left?	
5. Why did Labour lose the 1983 election?	
5. Was Labour truly 'modernised' under Neil Kinnock?	
6. What was new about New Labour?	
6. How did the concept of political leadership change under Tony Blair?	
6. 'Tony Blair was Britain's first post-ideological prime minister'. Discuss.	
7. How consistent has Labour's ideology been since 1945?	
7. Has Labour suffered a 'progressive dilemma' since the Second World War?	
8. To what extent has the basis of Labour support changed since 1945?	
8. Did those on the left of British politics see Labour as helping or inhibiting the working class?	
9. How close were Labour and the trade unions between 1945 and 1992?	
9. What impact did New Labour have on industrial relations in Britain?	
10. To what extent was Labour an 'internationalist' movement after the Second World War?	
10. How has the notion of 'war' changed for the Labour Party since 1945?	
10. How has Labour reconciled the concept of socialism with the European integration process since 1945?	

Exam Questions

For your essay, you are free to choose any of the seminar questions above **providing that it is not from the week that you are due to present.**

Please *engage* with the question and refer to the historiographical debate.

Assessment

All assessed essays must be submitted both in hard copy and electronically. Electronic submission will be via Blackboard, and students must submit twice, once as an essay submission, and once via Turnitin. Non-submission of either or both electronic copies may result in a penalty.

Turnitin software detects similarities between your essay and other material on the internet or in the Turnitin database (including other essays submitted to the database). Turnitin can thus help you to understand whether you are referencing and quoting correctly, as well as helping the Department to detect any plagiarism or poor academic practice. If you wish to use Turnitin to help you with this, you must submit a draft of your essay to Turnitin **AT LEAST 24 HOURS BEFORE** you will be submitting the final essay. Be aware that Turnitin 'scores' can be unusually high or low for a variety of reasons: a high score may not indicate plagiarism. Please see the History area on Blackboard and the Department's handbook, *Studying History at Reading* (available via Blackboard) for more detail on how to interpret Turnitin reports, and how to avoid plagiarism or poor academic practice.

Re-using work you have already submitted for another assessment is against the University's rules. This applies whether the previous assessment was for the same module, another module in the same department, a module in another department or a module in another university. Turnitin can detect the re-use of your own work as well as plagiarism of other sources. The University will impose penalties ranging up to awarding a mark of zero for modules in which work has been re-used (without the right to re-sit) for a first offence. A second offence could lead to expulsion from the University.

What is required for assessments? Criteria for achievement

Students often ask what standard of work they need to produce to gain a particular mark or class. The criteria that follow have been drawn up by the Department and are relevant to all coursework and exam essays in History. If you are taking a joint degree, you will need to find out the criteria for your other subject from the School or Department in question.

The following criteria are offered as a guide to some of the characteristics typically associated with the work of each particular class. They indicate in broad terms what it is that we are looking for. Remember, however, that each class spans a range of marks and that a specific piece of work will not necessarily contain all the characteristics of the class awarded.

First Class (70% or more)

A comprehensive treatment of the topic showing a sustained, coherent, and clearly structured examination of the issues raised by the question; demonstrates a confident command of a wide range of material, including factual information, appropriate concepts and historiography; shows the ability to analyse and synthesise the different aspects of the topic, to evaluate received opinion, and to consider the subject beyond its immediate context; evidence of original and independent thought; clear writing and some stylistic flair. Stepped First-Class percentage marks are: 72, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95 and 100%

Upper Second Class (60-69%)

Accurate exposition and confident command of a wide range of factual, conceptual and interpretative material; maintaining a logical argument; thorough in coverage without being fully comprehensive, and revealing some independence of thought without being original; good organisation and clear writing; may contain some minor errors or omissions and may not sustain a consistent depth of analysis.

Lower Second Class (50-59%)

An answer which, though fairly detailed in terms of factual information, is more limited in its ability to handle concepts or issues of historiography, and which does not engage as far with the issues raised by the question, tending instead to deal with the subject in general in an unduly narrative or descriptive way. May contain errors and omissions, and may not cover the full range of key elements; may not always fully explain points and material may not follow on section by section.

Third Class (40-49%)

Shows limited information, and a lack of conceptual or interpretative awareness; addresses only part of the question and does so at a very general or imprecise level, tending to narrate what happened rather than to assess its significance; shows some understanding, but has important omissions or inaccuracies; is often unclear in both the expression and the organisation of the material.

Pass without honours (35-39%)

Work shows a very limited appreciation of the subject and the issues relating to it; limited knowledge; unclear expression and organisation.

Fail (less than 35%)

Clear, obvious and serious deficiencies in relevance, knowledge, understanding, and expression. Work not degree-worthy. A fail may also be given where work has not been attempted or submitted, or where the student is guilty of plagiarism.

Module title: **From Bevan to Blair: The Labour Party and British Politics since 1945**

Module code: **HS3T71**

Level: **6**

Terms in which taught: **Autumn or Spring**

Pre-requisites: **None**

Modules excluded: **None**

Providing Department: **History**

Number of credits: **20**

Module convenor: **Dr Matthew Broad**

Co-requisites: **None**

Current from: **2013-14**

Aims:

Topics involve the study of specific periods, subjects or types of history.

Assessable outcomes:

By the end of the module it is expected that the student will be able to:

- identify and explain the main issues and events studied
- acquire a detailed knowledge of the events through extensive reading in specialised literature
- locate and assemble information on the subject by independent research
- appraise critically the primary sources and historical interpretations of the subject
- organise material and articulate arguments effectively in writing, both under timed conditions and in assessed essays.

Additional outcomes:

The module also aims to encourage the development of oral communication skills and the student's effectiveness in group situations. Students will also develop their IT skills by use of relevant web resources.

Outline content:

The module will discuss the transformation of Labour from the time of Nye Bevan through to the leadership of Tony Blair. Labour won the election of 1945 on a platform that promised full employment, the nationalisation of key industries, the creation of an extensive welfare state and a foreign policy based on a global empire. By the time of New Labour's landslide victory in 1997, however, there was little doubt that the party had undergone a fundamental realignment. In the first half of the module, we will consider the major controversies each of its leaders faced during this period. In the second, we will explore a number of themes – including class, trade unionism, progressivism and internationalism – that have coloured the deep-seated ideological disputes of Labour's recent past. We will seek to locate the history of these divisions, the different ways historians have sought to categorise them, and what they can tell us about the wider shifts in the political, economic and social makeup of Britain over the last sixty years.

Brief description of teaching and learning methods:

Seminars for which students must carry out full preparatory reading and research. Seminars rely on structured group discussion and may also include: seminar papers by students; discussion of evidence; team-based exercises and debates; study visit to a relevant location. Students are expected to carry out self-directed revision in the Summer term. Staff will be available for consultation as necessary.

Contact hours:

Lecture	
Seminar	30 (autumn or spring)
Tutorial	
Project supervision	1 (at supervisor's discretion)
Demonstration	
Practical classes and workshops	
Supervised time in studio/workshop	
Fieldwork	
External visits	
Work based learning	
Guided independent study	169 (by students)
Placement	
Year abroad	
TOTAL	200

Formative Assessment Methods:**Summative Assessment Methods (%):**

Written exam	66.6%
Written assignment, including essay	33.3%
Report	
Dissertation	
Portfolio	
Project output (other than dissertation)	
Oral assessment and presentation	
Practical skills assessment	
Set exercise	
Class test administered by School	

Coursework

Students will write one essay of not more than 2,500 words, to be submitted electronically via Blackboard and in hard copy to the History office by 12 noon on the Friday of week 8 of the term.

Penalties for late submission

Penalties for late submission will be in accordance with University policy.

Length of Examination

One two-hour paper requiring two answers to be taken at the time of the Part 3 examinations.

Requirements for a pass

A mark of 40% overall.

Reassessment arrangements

Re-examination in September. Where students are permitted to re-sit this module, coursework will be carried forward if it bears a confirmed mark of 40% or more. Otherwise it must be resubmitted by 12 noon, 1 September.