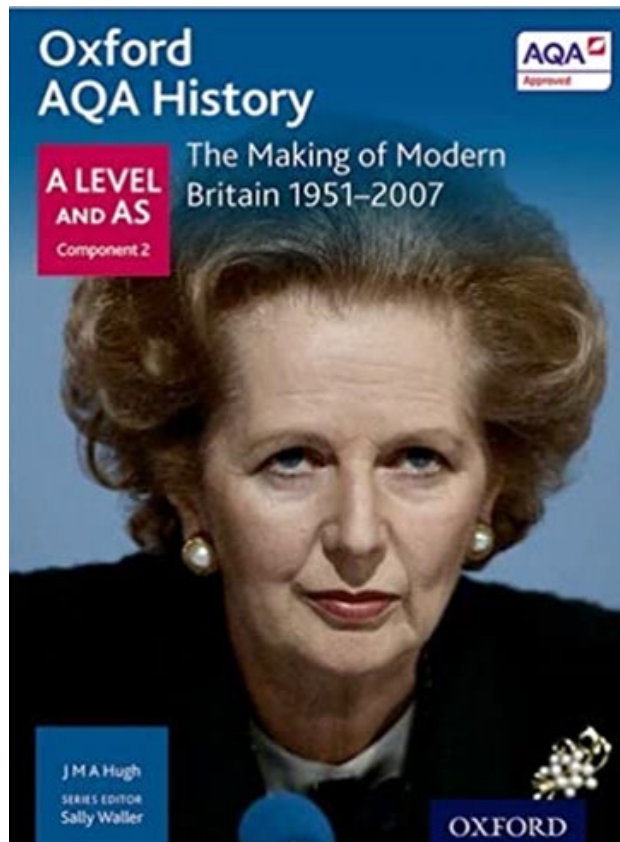


The Making of Modern Britain: The sixties: Britain 1964-70



Name:

Teacher:

L.O: To know who Wilson was and his ideology.

Lesson 1 – Wilson and the Labour governments – Wilson and his ideology

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour opposition, gave a campaign speech at Birmingham Town Hall, in January 1964:

I want to speak to you today about a new Britain and how we intend to bring home to our people the excitement there will be in building it. For 1964 is the year in which we can take our destiny into our own hands. In two decades, the scientists have made more progress than in the past two thousand years. They have made it possible for mankind to reach out to the stars and to bring abundance from the earth. They have made it possible to end the dark ages of poverty. Yet Britain lags behind, lacking the will or the plan which can bring this future within the reach of all. The reason is not far to seek. We are living in the jet age but we are governed by an Edwardian establishment mentality. This is the time for a breakthrough to an exciting and wonderful period in our history, in which all can and must take part. This is what 1964 can mean. A chance for change. A chance to sweep away the grouse-moor conception of Tory leadership and refit Britain with a new image, a new confidence.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know who Wilson was and his ideology.

Lesson 1 – Wilson and the Labour governments – Wilson and his ideology


How does your knowledge of the period 1951 to 1964 help you to understand why Harold Wilson made the speech in Source 1 at the beginning of 1964?

WWW	
EBI	

When Harold Wilson entered Downing Street in 1964, Labour seemed to be more in touch with the social and cultural trends of the 1960s. One of Wilson's most effective campaign speeches had promised Britain would catch up with 'the white heat' of technological change. In 1966 Labour was able to consolidate its position with a further election victory that gave it a sizeable majority. Even though the Conservative Party had replaced Douglas-Home as leader with the more modern-looking Edward Heath, Heath was no match for Harold Wilson. Wilson was a better political tactician and was able to portray a more attractive image to the voters. In contrast, Heath came across as stiff and lacking in personality.

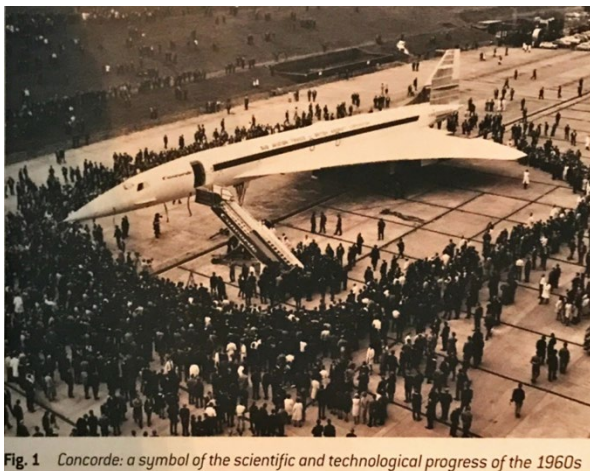
Read the information above and the key profile. Why do you think that Harold Wilson and the Labour party was voted in to power in 1964?

KEY PROFILE



Harold Wilson (1916–95) was a Labour MP from 1945 until 1983. He was leader of the party from 1963 to 1976 and prime minister from 1964 to 1970 and 1974 to 1976, winning four general elections. He cultivated a personal image as a great moderniser and being down to earth.

Fig. 2 Wilson had a relaxed political style



KEY CHRONOLOGY

The Labour government 1964–70

1964 Oct	Victory in the general election
Sept	Launch of George Brown's National Plan
1966 Mar	Labour re-election victory
1967 Nov	Devaluation crisis
Nov	Rejection of Britain's application to join EEC
1970 June	Wilson government defeated in general election

L.O: To know who Wilson was and his ideology.

Lesson 1 – Wilson and the Labour governments – Wilson and his ideology

Analyse the 1964 and 1966 election results. What does each set of results show you? What comparisons can you make?

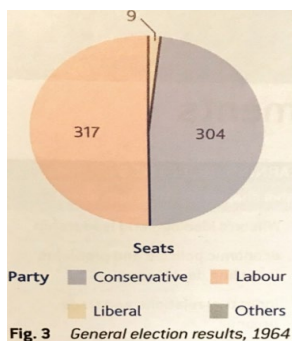


Fig. 3 General election results, 1964

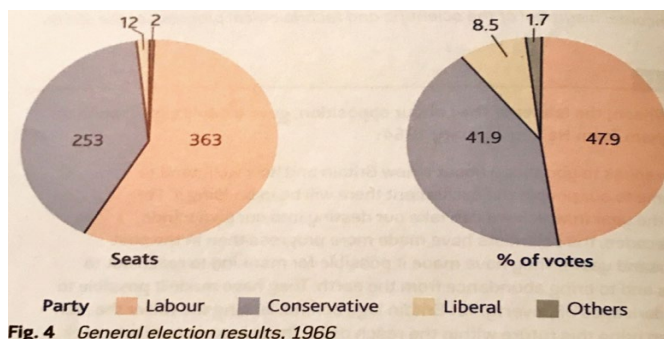


Fig. 4 General election results, 1966

When Wilson's ideology and leadership

Initially Harold Wilson had appeared to be on the Left of the Labour Party. He had been a Bevanite, resigning in 1950 over prescription charges. However, he also served in Gaitskell's cabinet. Nevertheless, he challenged Gaitskell for the leadership from the Left in 1961. He lost - but this made him the Left's obvious candidate in future. In other ways, though, he did not seem to be of the Left. He supported Britain's nuclear deterrent and attempted to reform the trade unions.

Critics argue that he was an opportunist. But he did successfully link the Labour Party to modernisation in contrast to what were described as the 'wasted years' of the Conservative government.

How the Wilson gain leadership of the Labour party?

This modernisation was reflected in Wilson's image. He was seen as classless, an image far from the Old Etonian style of Eden and Macmillan. He was the first prime minister educated at state secondary school, and he smoked a pipe and spoke with a Yorkshire accent. He was also a relaxed and skilful on television.

Why was Wilson different from the Prime ministers we have seen in the previous periods?

However, in private he was anxious and insecure about his leadership. He was conscious of balancing out potential rivals so that he would remain unchallenged. Wilson relied heavily on a personal team of trusted advisers from outside the government and civil service. Wilson's team was dominated by Marcia Williams, his 'personal political secretary'. Others who took part in the informal discussions in the kitchen at 10 Downing Street included economic advisers and a few 'inner circle' MPs. Many felt that this 'kitchen cabinet' reinforced his suspicions of party rivalries and prevented ministers from having access to him.

What potential problems can you identify?

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilson's government.

Lesson 2 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

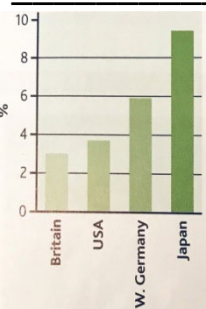
Retrieval practice: Provide a one-sentence definition for each of these terms: productivity, inflation, run on the pound, 'stop-go', balance of payments.

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Productivity		
Inflation		
Run on the pound		
Stop - go		
Balance of payments		

Economic policies and problems including devaluation

Modernisation of the British economy was a key priority for the Labour government. By 1964, it was widely accepted that Britain was lagging behind other countries such as West Germany and Japan. The affluence of the post-war boom had not been reflected in productivity or growth rates. Britain's economy seemed to be trapped in the cycle of 'stop-go', with bursts of prosperity always leading to inflation, runs on the pound and regular crises over the balance of payments. Reorganising the economy to break out of this cycle was the key aim of Wilson's government in 1964.

Why was it important the Wilson's government move away from previous economic policies?



KEY TERM
GDP (Gross Domestic Product): a term used by economists for the total value of a nation's economy.

Key word	Definition	Sentence
GDP		

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilsons government.

Lesson 2 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

Moreover, Labour had inherited a deficit of about £800 million. The two classic economic solutions to this kind of problem were deflation or devaluation. But Wilson and his Chancellor of the Exchequer, James Callaghan, did not want to do either.

Who was James Callaghan? Why was he an important figure?

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 6 Callaghan was Chancellor at a time of great economic turbulence

James Callaghan (1912–2005) entered Parliament as MP for Cardiff in 1945. Harold Wilson appointed him Chancellor in 1964; later on, he served as both Foreign Secretary and Home Secretary, becoming one of the few men to have held the three top cabinet posts. Associated with the centre-right of the party but with excellent links to the trade unions, Callaghan succeeded Wilson as prime minister in 1976.

Deflation would support the value of the pound and prevent inflation. But deflation was the old 'stop-go' approach that the Labour Party was determined to break away from. Moreover, there were fears that it would stop the Labour Party from meeting its manifesto commitments of extra spending on welfare and technology.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of deflation?

Advantages	Disadvantages

Devaluation would make imports more expensive and help exporters by making British goods cheaper in other countries; this would in turn help the balance of payments. But devaluation would not only make Britain look weaker in the world, it would make Britain actually weaker as it would have to scale back its activities across the globe. Wilson also feared that the Labour Party would gain the reputation as the party of devaluation, as it had already devalued the pound under Attlee in 1949.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of devaluation?

Advantages	Disadvantages

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Devaluation		

devaluation: lowers the value of a currency in comparison to others in a fixed exchange system

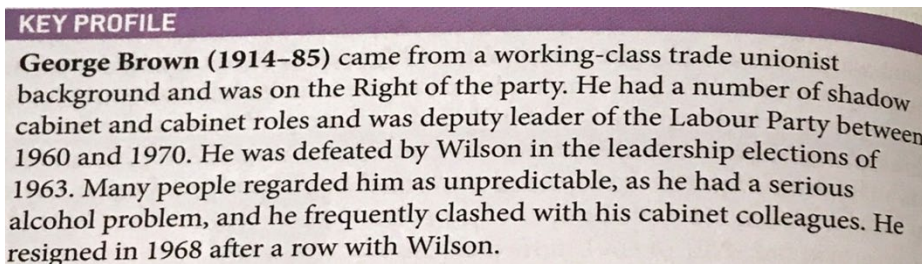
L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilsons government.

Lesson 2 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

Instead, Wilson was convinced that problems could be solved by careful management and planning. A new department, the Department of Economic Affairs (DEA), was set up, led by George Brown. Brown set growth targets and devised a national system of 'economic planning councils'. He also tried to establish voluntary agreement about wages and prices with industrialists trade union leaders and civil servants. The aim was to secure the restraint needed to prevent inflation rising which the government would then need to stop with controls. In this way the 'stop-go' cycle of the 1950s could be avoided.

What was the aim of the DEA? What was the plan of action?

Who was George Brown?



But Brown's economic proposals came to nothing. They did not have united government support; Brown and the DEA were virtually in competition with the Chancellor, James Callaghan, and the orthodox economists at the Treasury. Some blamed Brown as he could be impulsive and inconsistent; others blamed the old-fashioned and anti-Labour civil servants at the Treasury and the Bank of England who they felt undermined Brown's efforts, refusing to pass over papers and even tapping his phone. Perhaps the real problem may have been political, caused by Harold Wilson trying to keep key personalities happy rather than pick the best team for the job. In 1966 Wilson moved Brown to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the DEA was abandoned in 1967.

Why did Brown's plans and the DEA fail?

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilson's government.

Lesson 3 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

Instead the government brought in a prices and incomes policy to keep down inflation, implemented by a Prices and Incomes Board. But there was another sterling crisis in 1966, caused in part by a long and bitter strike by the National Union of Seamen. The government defeated the strike but many, especially on the Left, were shocked by Wilson's critical attitude to the strikers. And, in the aftermath, the trade unionist Frank Cousins resigned from the cabinet over the incomes policy. The relationship between the government and the unions was starting to break down.

What was the aim of the Prices and incomes board? How did events with unions cause problems for the board?

KEY TERM	Key word	Definition	Sentence
prices and incomes policy: government intervention to set limits on price rises and to call for wage restraint in negotiations between unions and employers	Prices and incomes policy		

The Labour government survived sterling crises in 1965 and 1966. But in 1967, an outbreak of war in the Middle East affected oil supplies and a major national dock strike in August 1967 affected the balance of payments. The government decided that devaluation could not be avoided; the pound dropped by 14 per cent to 2.40 US dollars. Labour also made defence cuts and introduced hire purchase restrictions and higher interest rates. These were deflationary policies that looked little different from the 'stop-go' policies of previous Tory governments.

Why could the government no longer avoid devaluation?

How valuable was Source two for a historian studying Labour's economic policy?

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilsons government.

Lesson 3 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

In a television broadcast in November 1967, Harold Wilson addressed the nation to explain his decision to devalue the pound:

Our decision to devalue attacks our problem at the root. Tonight we must face the new situation. First what this means. From now the pound abroad is worth 14 per cent or so less in terms of other currencies. That does not mean, of course, that the pound here in Britain, in your pocket or purse or in your bank, has been devalued. What it does mean is that we shall now be able to sell more goods abroad on a competitive basis. This is a tremendous opportunity for all our exporters, and for many who have not yet started to sell their goods overseas. But it will also mean that the goods that we buy from abroad will be dearer, and so for many of these goods, it will be cheaper to buy British.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilsons government.

Lesson 3 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation

Labour had tried so hard to avoid devaluation that the devaluation crisis damaged its credibility. A few weeks later, Britain's second application to join the EEC was rejected. The application to join the EEC had been made above all on economic grounds as Wilson himself was lukewarm about Europe and much of the Labour Party did not want to join. Having the application rejected hard on the heels of the devaluation crisis made the government's economic policies look futile.

What issues did the Labour party face with their economic policies?

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 7 Roy Jenkins

Roy Jenkins (1920–2003) was the son of a Welsh miner who had entered Parliament as a Labour MP in 1950. Under the premiership of Harold Wilson, he served as Home Secretary from 1965 to 1967 and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1967 to 1970. He was a strong pro-European and considered to be on the Right of the Labour Party. In 1981 he went on to found and lead the Social Democratic Party (SDP)

In fact, the economic situation improved markedly from this low point. Callaghan's replacement as Chancellor was Roy Jenkins, who had been strongly in favour of devaluation in 1964.

Jenkins used deflationary methods. He raised taxes and tightened up government spending in all areas of the economy, giving top priority to improving the balance of payments. These tough measures made the government unpopular but, by 1969, Jenkins had achieved a balance of payments surplus, although by 1969 to 1970 inflation was still running at 12 per cent. The improvement in the economic situation from 1969 was a key factor in making Labour confident of victory in the 1970 general election.

How did the new Chancellor improve the economy?

Draw a flow diagram to show the causes and impact of devaluation in 1967.

L.O: To know the economic policies followed by Wilsons government.

Lesson 3 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Economic policies and devaluation



'The Labour government had solved Britain's economic problems by 1970.' Explain why you agree or disagree with this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

A large, empty rectangular box with a blue border, intended for the student to write their answer to the question.

L.O: To know the issues the Labour party had with trade unions and industry.

Lesson 4 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Industrial relations and the trade unions

Industrial relations and the trade unions

One of the key elements in the post-war consensus was the influence of the trade unions. Since the war, all governments, Conservative as well as Labour, had seen it as essential to maintain full employment and to keep the unions happy. In opinion polls in the early 1960s, nearly 60 per cent of people said they had a favourable view of the unions. In 1964, Wilson made the trade unionist Frank Cousins minister of technology and Wilson was relying on union cooperation with his prices and incomes policies.

Why was relations with trade unions significant?

In 1966 and 1967, industrial relations with the trade unions began to deteriorate. Strikes by the seamen and the dockers caused economic problems for the government. These strikes also seemed to demonstrate that old-style union bosses were losing some of their control. A lot of strikes started with 'wildcat' strikes by local activists who would not take orders from the top. The Conservative opposition under Edward Heath announced a policy that it called 'Fair Deal at Work'. Wilson and his new employment minister, Barbara Castle, also started planning to use the law to limit unofficial strikes.

What were the reasons that Wilson felt that he now needed to act?

KEY TERM

'wildcat' strikes: sudden, unofficial local disputes begun without reference to the national leadership

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Wildcat strikes		

Who is Barbara Castle?

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 8 Castle was one of the longest-serving female MPs

Barbara Castle (1910–2002) was the Labour MP for Blackburn from 1945 to 1979. She held a number of cabinet posts, introducing the breathalyser when minister for transport, and putting through the Equal Pay Act as secretary of state for employment. She was on the Left of the party and was seen as a Bevanite. She was a Labour MEP between 1979 and 1989.

L.O: To know the issues the Labour party had with trade unions and industry.

Lesson 4 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Industrial relations and the trade unions

Barbara Castle believed strongly in a powerful trade union movement but she was also convinced of the need for it to act responsibly. In January 1969 Castle produced her white paper, *In Place of Strife*. She knew it would be controversial, suggesting that it could be 'political suicide'.

What was the problem with in place of Strife?

KEY TERM

white paper: a document written by the government that sets out a possible policy direction but makes no commitments

Key word	Definition	Sentence
White paper		

A CLOSER LOOK

In Place of Strife, 1969

In many ways, Castle's policy proposals would strengthen the unions in dealing with employers, but there were some key aspects that were difficult for the unions to accept:

- There was to be a 28-day 'cooling off' period before a strike went ahead.
- The government could impose a settlement when unions were in dispute with each other in 'demarcation disputes'.
- Strike ballots could be imposed.
- An industrial relations court would be able to prosecute people who broke the rules.

Explain in place of strife:

Voters liked Castle's proposals and the proposals were supported by many Labour MPs such as Roy Jenkins, the Chancellor, but the unions and the Left of the Labour Party hated them. There was a storm of protest from powerful union leaders such as Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union, supported by the Home Secretary, James Callaghan and at least 50 Labour MPs who were ready to rebel. The row went on for months until Wilson gave in. In June 1969, the TUC negotiated a face-saving compromise but everyone knew it was really a humiliating climbdown by the government.

Why did the government have to abandon this plan? What would the impact of this be on the government?

KEY PROFILE

Jack Jones (1913–2009) had worked as a docker. He joined the International Brigade to fight fascism in the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. He was instrumental in defeating *In Place of Strife* in 1969 and was important in the setting up of Wilson's Social Contract in the 1970s; in 1977 54 per cent of the population thought he was the most powerful man in Britain. After retiring in 1978 he became a campaigner for pensioners' rights.

L.O: To know why there was further divisions in the Labour party.

Lesson 5 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Technology and party divisions

Technology

Although Wilson wanted to emphasise technology and science in modernising Britain's economy, the government was hindered by a lack of expertise. Roy Jenkins, the first minister of aviation, later admitted that he had difficulty understanding his briefings because of his non-scientific mind, while the first minister of technology, Frank Cousins, had little interest in technological development. In 1966, when Tony Benn took over as minister, the department performed better. But in some ways all Labour's domestic policies were overshadowed by economic problems.

Research and development was costly. Although Britain pursued some projects such as the supersonic plane Concorde which it developed in partnership with the French government, it could not compete with the USA, which spent vast government sums on research and development.

What problems did Wilson have with his vision for technology?

What does source three tell you about technological advances in the 1960s?

Labour divisions

The divisions between the Left and the Right in the Labour Party remained in the period after 1964.

However, after the death of Bevan, the leader of the Left, in 1960 and Gaitskell, the leader of the Right, in 1963, Wilson had emerged as a conciliatory leader of the party. Wilson's concentration on the Labour Party as the party of technological modernisation united both the Left and Right of the parties and minimised underlying tensions such as that over Clause IV.




Why could it appear that Labour divisions had ended by 1964?

Nevertheless, there were personal rivalries between Wilson and his most powerful cabinet colleagues. Wilson always feared that he might face a leadership challenge from Brown or Callaghan or Jenkins. Brown was hugely resentful that he had lost the leadership election to Wilson and was further disappointed that he was not made Foreign Secretary in 1964. Wilson was rumoured to have undermined Brown's reputation by keeping a record of any embarrassing incidents that he was involved in once he had been reshuffled to the Foreign Office. Wilson was also suspicious of Jenkins, a Gaitskellite. He did not really support Jenkins' liberalising legislation as home secretary. When the seaman's strike of 1966 caused a sterling crisis Jenkins tried to get the cabinet to support devaluation. Wilson interpreted this as a plot to replace himself and Brown with Callaghan and Jenkins.

Explain why Wilson was concerned about leadership contests from Brown, Callaghan and Jenkins.

L.O: To know why there was further divisions in the Labour party.

Lesson 5 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Technology and party divisions

	Explain why Wilson was concerned about leadership contests from Brown, Callaghan and Jenkins.
<p>Brown</p> 	
<p>Callaghan</p> 	
<p>Jenkins</p> 	

This highlights Wilson's paranoia as it was highly unlikely that Callaghan and Jenkins would work together. Callaghan did not approve of Jenkins' pro-European stance nor of his liberalising legislation; Jenkins was critical of the failure to devalue when Callaghan was Chancellor and was a supporter of the trade union legislation that Callaghan helped to block.

Explain why Wilson was likely to be incorrect in his assessment of his 'rivals':

It is possible to criticise Wilson as in some ways it appears that too much of his energy and attention was devoted to trying to keep the party united and in stopping any of his colleagues from being able to threaten his position. Wilson did not face any obvious challenger from the left of the party but those who were more left-wing in the unions, local government and young people were frustrated by his government and this made it likely that the divide between the Left and Right would re-emerge in the 1970s.

Explain the impact of Labour divisions in the 1960s.

L.O: To know why there was further divisions in the Labour party.

Lesson 5 – Wilson and the Labour governments: Technology and party divisions

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

In January 1965, Tony Benn, the Postmaster General at the time, wrote in his diary:

Defence, colour television, Concorde, rocket development – these are all issues raising economic considerations that reveal this country's basic inability to stay in the big league. We just can't afford it. The real choice is, do we stay in with Europe or do we become an American satellite? I was always against the Common Market but the reality of our isolation is being borne in on me all the time. This country is so decrepit and hidebound that only activities in a wider sphere can help us to escape from the myths that surround our politics.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the events around the beginning of the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Lesson 6 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The Trouble in Northern Ireland

The beginning of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland had been created in 1922, after the Irish War of Independence of 1919 to 1921. Ireland was partitioned between 6 counties in the north of Ireland that would remain part of the United Kingdom and the other 26 counties which would be the Irish Free State, what would become the Republic of Ireland. The partition was extremely controversial at the time leading to civil war, with unionists supporting the union with Britain and nationalists supporting a united Ireland.

What were unionists and nationalists?

KEY TERM

unionist: supporter of the union of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland to form the United Kingdom

nationalist: in the British context this usually means someone who supports independence for Scotland or Wales or is in favour of a united Ireland

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Unionist		
Nationalist		



Fig. 9 Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland

The majority of people in Ireland as a whole were Catholic but the majority of people in Northern Ireland were Protestant. This meant that the Belfast parliament at Stormont and the whole socio-economic system in Northern Ireland was dominated by Protestant unionists. By the mid- 1960s there was mounting evidence that Catholics in Northern Ireland were discriminated against in employment and housing and that electoral boundaries had been deliberately drawn to prevent Catholics from being elected; in addition, there were accusations that the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the Northern Irish police force, was biased against Catholics.

Explain the issues between Catholics and Protestants:

In 1964, the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland started to challenge this. Tensions rose as some unionists feared that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) would start a new campaign. These so-called loyalists started to set up paramilitary organisations to defend the union.

Why do we see the beginnings of the troubles in 1964?

L.O: To know the events around the beginning of the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Lesson 6 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The Trouble in Northern Ireland

KEY TERM

Irish Republican Army (IRA):
organisation that fought for independence in the Irish War of Independence; it did not accept the partition of Ireland

paramilitary: a non-State military force

Apprentice Boys: a loyalist organisation that marches annually to commemorate the closing of the gates to the city of Derry to Catholic forces in 1688 by 13 apprentice boys

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Irish Republican Army (IRA)		
Paramilitary		
Apprentice boys		

Civil rights marches were held in 1968 to protest against discrimination. They were attacked by loyalists. Catholics complained that the RUC failed to protect them. In 1969 the situation deteriorated further. The loyalist Apprentice Boys went ahead with their annual march in Derry and were attacked by nationalists in the Catholic area of the Bogside. The RUC tried to storm the Bogside but were held back in two days of rioting. Television pictures broadcast across the world showed RUC officers beating Catholics. Riots spread to other towns and cities. The Stormont government offered concessions on housing and electoral boundaries; this sparked rioting from loyalists. In August 1969, the Wilson government sent in British army troops in an attempt to keep the peace.

Explain the Battle of Bogside and the impact that it had:



Fig. 10 The Battle of the Bogside

L.O: To know why historians argue that post war consensus ended by 1970.

Lesson 7 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The end of post war consensus

The end of post-war consensus

By 1970 there were the first signs that the post-war consensus was breaking down. Britain's economic problems did not seem to have been solved by consensus policies. Trade unions were seemingly more uncooperative, forcing even the Labour Party to try and reform industrial relations. The Left of the Labour Party was dissatisfied by moderate consensus Labour policies. Social problems and poverty had not been ended. Meanwhile, in the Conservative party, Edward Heath and his shadow cabinet were also starting to doubt the efficacy of key elements of the post-war consensus: as well as identifying the need for trade union reform, they were also questioning whether the State should take as great a role in planning the economy and in ensuring full employment.

Retrieval practice: What was post war consensus?

Explain why post war consensus was at an end by 1970:

The loss of the 1970 election

In some ways the Conservatives 1970 election victory seemed to be a surprise. The Wilson government had apparently come through its difficult times. Jenkins was credited with achieving economic and financial stability; Wilson was considered to be a master campaigner, far more experienced and more popular than the Conservative leader, Heath.

Beneath the surface, Heath had greater strengths than he was given credit for. Heath was hardworking, conscientious and had an image of competence, even if he was perceived as dull. In addition, Labour's position was fragile, Wilson's government had suffered a series of setbacks and real or perceived failures.

In 1968 Enoch Powell made his famous 'rivers of blood' speech which warned against further immigration. Although Heath sacked Powell from the shadow cabinet and refused to let Powell take part in the election campaign, some people believed that Powell made Voters more likely to vote Conservative. Others believed that Heath's actions made him appear strong and principled. Furthermore, concern that the post-war consensus was not working meant that the Conservatives' new ideas gained support. Special polls in the key marginal constituencies showed a narrow Tory lead. Edward Heath told anyone in his party that he was confident of winning.

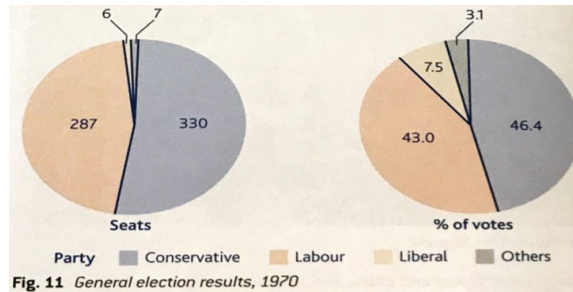
What were the strengths and weaknesses of Heath as the 1970 election approached:

Strengths	Weaknesses

L.O: To know why historians argue that post war consensus ended by 1970.

Lesson 7 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The end of post war consensus

Analyse the 1970 election results:



Make lists of:

1. reasons why you might have expected Labour to win in 1970
2. reasons why you might have expected Labour to lose in 1970
3. reasons why you might have expected the Conservatives to win in 1970

Which reason was most important in the actual election result — a defeat for Labour?



L.O: To know why historians argue that post war consensus ended by 1970.

Lesson 7 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The end of post war consensus



With reference to these three sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying Britain's economy in the period 1964 to 1970.

You will notice that the question mentions three sources yet there is only two below. This is a big question worth 30 marks. We are going to have a go at answering the question with just two sources. Once we feel confident with the demands of the question we will add another source.

SOURCE 2

In a television broadcast in November 1967, Harold Wilson addressed the nation to explain his decision to devalue the pound:

Our decision to devalue attacks our problem at the root. Tonight we must face the new situation. First what this means. From now the pound abroad is worth 14 per cent or so less in terms of other currencies. That does not mean, of course, that the pound here in Britain, in your pocket or purse or in your bank, has been devalued. What it does mean is that we shall now be able to sell more goods abroad on a competitive basis. This is a tremendous opportunity for all our exporters, and for many who have not yet started to sell their goods overseas. But it will also mean that the goods that we buy from abroad will be dearer, and so for many of these goods, it will be cheaper to buy British.

SOURCE 3

In January 1965, Tony Benn, the Postmaster General at the time, wrote in his diary:

Defence, colour television, Concorde, rocket development – these are all issues raising economic considerations that reveal this country's basic inability to stay in the big league. We just can't afford it. The real choice is, do we stay in with Europe or do we become an American satellite? I was always against the Common Market but the reality of our isolation is being borne in on me all the time. This country is so decrepit and hidebound that only activities in a wider sphere can help us to escape from the myths that surround our politics.

L.O: To know why historians argue that post war consensus ended by 1970.

Lesson 7 – Wilson and the Labour governments: The end of post war consensus



How important is Harold Wilson's leadership in explaining the failures of the Labour government from 1964 to 1970?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

A large, empty rectangular box with a blue border, intended for students to plan their answer to the question above.

Lesson 8 – Liberal reforming legislation: Capital punishment and divorce reform

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

In 1959 the Labour MP Roy Jenkins produced a book *The Labour Case*, in which he laid down the principles of a civilised society:

First there is the need for the State to do less to restrict personal freedom. Secondly there is the need for the State to do more to encourage the arts, to create towns which are worth living in, and to preserve a countryside which is worth looking at. Thirdly there is the need independently of the State to create a climate of opinion which is favourable to gaiety, tolerance, and beauty, and unfavourable to puritanical restriction, to petty-minded disapproval, to hypocrisy and to a dreary, ugly pattern of life. A determined drive in these three directions would do more to promote human happiness than all the 'political' legislation which any government is likely to introduce. In the long run these things will be more important than even the most perfect of economic policies.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 8 – Liberal reforming legislation: Capital punishment and divorce reform

1. With reference to Source 1, define a 'civilised society'.
2. Consider Jenkins' views in Source 1. Do you agree with his view of the State's duties? Which group of voters do you think Jenkins was trying to appeal to when he wrote this in 1959? Which type of people might agree/disagree with him?

Roy Jenkins was the Labour Home Secretary in Wilson's government from December 1965 and found himself in a position to influence society. Society had already undergone considerable change since the 1950s, but changes in the law were needed if 'personal freedom' was to be allowed to develop further. By the end of the 1960s, some of the old taboos and prejudices which Jenkins had deemed prejudicial to 'civilised society' had begun to break down. Such change was a gradual evolution and not only the result of government legislation. Developments which had been occurring since the 1950s, greater affluence, youth culture and the spread of technology, also played a part. Indeed, it could be argued that changes 'from the top' merely reflected changes that were already in evidence 'from below'. However, some of the changes that took place under the Labour governments were ahead of their time in terms of general acceptance. The abolition of capital punishment, the Abortion Act, the Sexual Offences Act, and divorce reform all met with a good deal of media criticism and public hostility.

Why did Jenkins feel that the 1960s was the right time to change legislation?

Private members' bills

The Labour government did not set out with a 'liberalising' agenda; their manifestos didn't mention moral issues. Labour leaders, like Wilson, were conservative on moral issues and many working-class Labour MPs were suspicious of change. But laws on moral questions are usually free votes. Labour also favoured the use of 'expert witnesses' and a technical and rational approach to alterations in the law.

What approach did Labour favour when considering the law?

KEY TERM
free vote: individual MPs can vote according to their own conscience rather than following an official party line

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Free vote		

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 8 – Liberal reforming legislation: Capital punishment and divorce reform

Although the vast majority of proposed legislation passing through Parliament is government bills, there is also the provision for backbench MPs to propose legislation through private members' bills. The 1960s saw backbench MPs bring forward a number of reforms through this mechanism. They were successful because Jenkins, as Home Secretary, was sympathetic and so enabled enough parliamentary time to be available for the reforms to be passed.

What is a private members' bill?

The end of capital punishment

Arguments against the death penalty had been advanced in the 1950s and although public opinion remained sharply divided, the anti-hanging campaign had received a particular boost from the case of Ruth Ellis, a young mother who had murdered her unfaithful lover in 1955. In 1957, the Tories had reduced the number of offences carrying the death penalty, but the Labour backbencher Sydney Silverman continued to campaign tirelessly to win support for a total abolition. In 1965, on a free vote, hanging was abolished for a trial period of five years, and in 1969 this was made permanent.

Why did opinions on capital punishments change? How was the end of capital punishment made permanent?



Fig. 1 Ruth Ellis: the last woman to be hanged in Britain in 1955

Jenkins also refused to authorise the beating of prisoners, which ceased after 1967, and he brought in 'majority' verdicts for English juries rather than demanding unanimity. This helped convict many dangerous and professional criminals, though the abolition of hanging did not significantly reduce the number of murders or violent crimes, as its supporters had hoped.

In what other ways did Jenkins change the crime and punishment system?

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 8 – Liberal reforming legislation: Capital punishment and divorce reform

KEY TERM
unanimity: this meant that all 12 jurors had to agree on the verdict; majority verdicts meant that a decision could be reached if at least 10 jurors agreed

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Unanimity		

Divorce reform

Until the 1960s, divorce law demanded evidence that one party had committed adultery. To gain this, the rich had used private detectives and cameras, but for others, a divorce was often impossible. Jenkins believed the laws were out of date, and the Divorce Reform Act was passed in 1969. This allowed for fault divorce' following the 'irretrievable breakdown' of a marriage. Couples could divorce if:

- they had lived apart for two years and both partners agreed to a divorce
- they had lived apart for five years and one partner wanted the divorce.

However, not all MPs were in favour.

What was needed to get a divorce before 1969?

Following the reform there was a huge increase in the number of divorces. In 1950 there had been fewer than 2 divorce decrees per 1000 married couples in England and Wales, but by the mid- 1970s nearly 10 in every 1000 marriages ended this way. This could, of course, be partly explained by growing female independence, but it is very likely the Act played a major role.

How did divorce figures change with the new law?

Imagine its 1969. What are the positives and negatives of the new divorce law?

Positive	Negative

Lesson 8 – Liberal reforming legislation: Capital punishment and divorce reform

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Adapted from a speech made in the House of Commons by Victor Goodhew, Conservative MP for St Albans on 12 June 1969:

I say, quite firmly, that I shall vote against the bill because I see it as part of a pattern of gradual erosion of the standards of Christian upbringing which are being forced upon this country by a small minority. It has been suggested that the object or the effect of the bill will be to strengthen marriage. I cannot imagine that a young couple entering into marriage, whenever the bill comes

into force, and knowing that they have only to separate for two years and live apart to agree to the break-up of the marriage, would feel that that is strengthening marriage in their eyes. It almost makes it a trial marriage for however short a period people might like—and two years is a short period in which to break up. I feel that once they open the floodgates, the numbers will be much larger than they have ever imagined. This has happened with the demand for abortions and it will happen with the demand for divorces, and the law courts will be under pressure.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 9 – Liberal reforming legislation: Abortion and Homosexual relationships

The legalisation of abortion

Until 1967, abortion (except on strictly medical grounds) was illegal. The only way of terminating a pregnancy was to find a private clinic, if you could afford the fees, or search out a backstreet abortionist if you could not. Between 100,000 and 200,000 illegal abortions were performed each year and around 35,000 women were admitted to hospitals with complications as a result. Worse still, between 1958 and 1960, 82 women died after backstreet abortions.

What was the problems/dangers for women trying to seek an abortion before 1967?

The Abortion Law Reform Association had campaigned for a reform in the law from 1945, arguing that legal obstacles to abortion ought to be removed to end these problems, but it was the thalidomide disaster of 1959 to 1962 that did more to sway public opinion than any of their arguments. Not everyone was convinced though; in 1966 the Society for the Protection of the Unborn child was set up to oppose any liberalisation of the law, fearing that any extension of abortion beyond strict medical grounds would lead to abortion on demand.

Identify the arguments for both groups?

The Abortion Law Reform Association	The Society for the Protection of the Unborn child

A CLOSER LOOK

The thalidomide disaster

During the 1960s, the drug thalidomide, which was prescribed for pregnant women with morning sickness, was found to produce congenital deformities in children when taken in early pregnancy. Children were commonly born without the long bones of the arms and/or the legs. In reaction to this, opinion polls showed a majority in favour of abortions when an abnormality had been detected in a foetus.

Why was the thalidomide disaster significant in changing the abortion law?

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 2 Steel has been a member of the House of Lords since 1997

David Steel (b. 1938) entered the Commons as a Liberal in 1965, having won a by-election. He was the youngest MP in that parliament and he continued to serve until 1997, becoming Liberal leader in 1976. His key interest was in domestic affairs and social policy, and he was the party's employment spokesman from 1965 to 1967, before becoming Chief Whip in 1970.

Liberal MP David Steel led the reform campaign in Parliament, supported by the Labour government and a number of Conservatives, and Roy Jenkins ensured an all-night Commons sitting to pass the bill.

What support did the abortion law have?

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 9 – Liberal reforming legislation: Abortion and Homosexual relationships

The Abortion Act permitted the legal termination of a pregnancy within the first 28 weeks, under medical supervision and with the written consent of 2 doctors. Importantly, the only justification needed was the 'mental suffering' of the pregnant woman, not just her physical condition. The pro-abortionists celebrated, but hopes that the availability of more effective contraceptives and better education would limit the need for abortion proved false. The number of abortions increased from 4 per 100 live births in 1968 (35,000) to 17.6 in 1975 (141,000).

How did the law change? What was the impact of this?

The legalisation of homosexual relations

Up until the 1960s men could be imprisoned for two years for participating in homosexual acts. The Conservative government had rejected the Wolfenden recommendation to decriminalise homosexuality and the Labour government of 1964 was divided on the issue.

It was left to Leo Abse, a Labour backbencher, to take up the cause. Thanks to Jenkins' support he was able to get enough parliamentary time for his private members' bill to become law as the 1967 Sexual Offences Act. Although this did not legalise homosexual acts it decriminalised them where three conditions were met:

- both partners had to consent
- both had to be over the age of 21
- it had to be in private.

Who supported the law? What were the conditions of the law passed?

KEY TERM

decriminalisation: removing an action or behaviour from the scope of the law so that the action or behaviour can no longer be subjected to prosecution or be liable to fines or imprisonment

The Act was welcomed by men who had previously been afraid to declare their sexuality and, in some cases, been forced to lead double lives. However, the Act was strictly interpreted: 'in private' was interpreted as no one else being in the same building, so it did not mean the complete end of prosecutions for homosexual practices.

What was positive and negative about the new law?

Positive	Negative

L.O: To know how the government changed key pieces of legislation to liberalise society.

Lesson 9 – Liberal reforming legislation: Abortion and Homosexual relationships

Fill in the chart below and assess the liberalising legislation of 1964 to 1970.



Act and date	Background/support and promoter	Details of act	Impact	Success?

Which liberalising legislation do you think had the biggest impact? Explain your answer.

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 10 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

The development of comprehensive schools

By the 1960s the idea that the different types of secondary school in the tripartite system were equal in status had long since passed. The secondary modern pupils were seen as 11+ failures and the whole system appeared socially divisive, with the majority of grammar school places going to those from a middle-class background.

Why was the tripartite system no longer working by the 1960s?



Fig. 3 Pupils congregating outside a comprehensive school in the 1960s

Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were responsible for schools and in some areas, for example, Labour-controlled Greater London, they had established comprehensive schools. In comprehensive schools every child would have the same opportunities to learn at their own pace and sit exams according to their own abilities in each subject.

By 1964, 1 in 10 pupils was being educated in a comprehensive (10 times as many as in 1951) but it was still only a small minority. In 1965 Tony Crosland, a leading supporter of the comprehensive system, became minister of education which accelerated this process.

What was the benefit of the comprehensive system?

KEY PROFILE

Tony Crosland (1918–77) was first elected as a Labour MP in 1950 but lost his seat in 1955, before winning the seat of Grimsby in 1959. Between 1955 and 1959 he wrote *The Future of Socialism* which was a hugely influential book on the right wing of the Labour Party. He later served as Foreign Secretary from 1976 to 1977.

He issued Circular 10/65, to all Local Education Authorities, requesting them to convert to comprehensive schools. Although it was not a statutory requirement, many authorities responded especially after 1966 when the government made money for new school buildings conditional on the drawing up of plans for comprehensives. By 1970, only 8 authorities had failed to do so and there were 1145 comprehensive schools catering for 1 in 3 of all state educated secondary school pupils.

Why did local authorities start to move towards comprehensive schools?

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 10 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

It is hard to say how successful the new comprehensives were. The mergers and changes in status for schools caused considerable disruption in the early days. Wilson justified them by claiming that comprehensives meant a 'grammar school education for all', but many middle-class parents remained unconvinced. Some turned to the direct grant schools (which were allowed to continue) and independent schools, which meant that the idea of a truly 'comprehensive' system was flawed from the start.

What were the criticisms of comprehensive schools?

KEY TERM

comprehensive school: one which provides secondary education for all the children in a given area; it does not select its pupils

direct grant schools: mostly old, endowed grammar schools which admitted a substantial proportion of pupils on scholarships from the LEAs; they were phased out from 1976

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Comprehensive school		
Direct grant schools		

The expansion of higher education and the inauguration of the Open University

Fears that Britain was slipping behind in science and technological education had already led to the establishment of the Robbins Committee in 1961. The Robbins Report found that Britain lagged behind France, Germany and the United States in the provision of university places and that too many students followed arts-related courses to the exclusion of the study of science and technology. The Labour government responded by expanding higher education:

- Polytechnics replaced Colleges of Technology. Their focus was to be on applied education for work and science and they would concentrate on teaching rather than research.
- Nine Colleges of Advanced Technology became full universities and the Royal College of Science in Scotland became Strathclyde University.
- 'New' universities were to be founded (and charters given to some, like Sussex, which had recently been established).

How did the Labour party expand higher education?

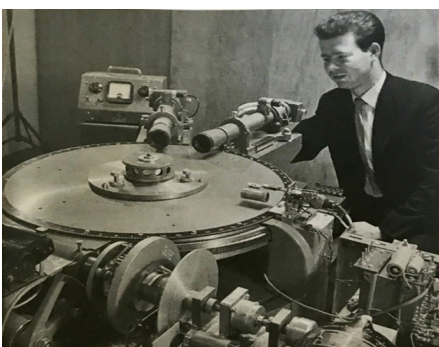


Fig. 4 A student studying at a new polytechnic

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 10 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

Look at the map below. What does the map tell us about Labour's policy for education?



Fig. 5 The spread of universities in the 1960s

By 1968, there were 30 polytechnics and 56 universities. New institutions brought new courses and it became possible, for example, to take a degree in town planning and architecture. The new polytechnics and universities opened up higher education for many whose families had never attended a university, although middle-class children still dominated the old universities so it was hard to persuade anyone of the parity of opportunity.

What was the impact of the new universities on society?

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 11 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

The Open University

Harold Wilson was later to say that he most wanted to be remembered for the creation of the Open University. It combined his enthusiasms for equal opportunities in education, modernisation and the 'white heat of technology' by attempting to offer high-quality degree-level learning in arts and sciences to people who had never had the opportunity to attend campus universities.

In March 1963, a Labour Party study group proposed an experiment on radio and television to be called the 'University of the Air'. Following his election success in 1964, Wilson appointed Jennie Lee to consider the project, and it was her commitment that saw it through.

Why was Harold Wilson keen to be remembered for the open university? Who was Jennie Lee?

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 6 Lee was a Labour politician

Jennie Lee (1904–88) came from a working-class family and had only been able to attend Edinburgh University with support from a trust which agreed to pay half her fees. During the General Strike of 1926 she gave some of her bursary money to her family, as her union-activist father lost his job. She was first elected to Parliament in 1929, and in 1964 was appointed arts minister. She retired in 1970 and was created Baroness Lee of Asheridge.

- 1. In what ways are Lee's reminiscences in Source 3 helpful in understanding the influences behind the support for the Open University in the late 1960s?**
- 2. How does your understanding of the context of this period help you to understand the establishment of the Open University?**

Lesson 11 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

Adapted from Jennie Lee's reminiscences of the 1960s in *The Open University*, 2010. Jennie Lee was the minister responsible for establishing the Open University:

Although a junior minister, I was working on my own, dealing directly with the Treasury and with the prime minister. The civil servants hated it: all very irregular. Harold Wilson asked me to go to Chicago and Moscow. Neither was anything like what I wanted to do. The Chicago lads were lovely but they were only short-circuiting the first year or two of the degree. In Moscow all they were doing was routine long-term broadcasting and some correspondence courses. I had a different vision from that and I hated the term 'University of the Air' because of all the nonsense in the press about sitting in front of the telly to get a degree. I knew it had to be a university with no concessions, right from the very beginning. After all, I had gone through the mill myself, taking my own degree, even though it was a long time ago. I knew the conservatism and vested interests of the academic world. I didn't believe we could get it through if we lowered our standards.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 11 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform

In September 1969, the Open University's headquarters were established in Milton Keynes and by the middle of 1970 there had been enough applications for the first students to begin their studies in January 1971. It became a rapid success. The university used radio and television in innovative forms of distance learning, and recruited largely part-time students with a totally different social profile from traditional students. It attracted the mature, women and the disadvantaged, and it helped raise the esteem of those who had previously regarded themselves as educational failures. By 1980, the Open University had 70,000 students and was awarding more degrees than Oxford and Cambridge combined.

Why was the open university a success?

- 1. Draw a spider diagram of all the causes for educational reform you can find in this chapter.**
- 2. Write a paragraph that explains which cause you think is the most important and why.**

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 11 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform



With reference to these three sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying the causes of social change in the 1960s.

SOURCE 1

In 1959 the Labour MP Roy Jenkins produced a book *The Labour Case*, in which he laid down the principles of a civilised society:

First there is the need for the State to do less to restrict personal freedom. Secondly there is the need for the State to do more to encourage the arts, to create towns which are worth living in, and to preserve a countryside which is worth looking at. Thirdly there is the need independently of the State to create a climate of opinion which is favourable to gaiety, tolerance, and beauty, and unfavourable to puritanical restriction, to petty-minded disapproval, to hypocrisy and to a dreary, ugly pattern of life. A determined drive in these three directions would do more to promote human happiness than all the 'political' legislation which any government is likely to introduce. In the long run these things will be more important than even the most perfect of economic policies.

SOURCE 2

Adapted from a speech made in the House of Commons by Victor Goodhew, Conservative MP for St Albans on 12 June 1969:

I say, quite firmly, that I shall vote against the bill because I see it as part of a pattern of gradual erosion of the standards of Christian upbringing which are being forced upon this country by a small minority. It has been suggested that the object or the effect of the bill will be to strengthen marriage. I cannot imagine that a young couple entering into marriage, whenever the bill comes

into force, and knowing that they have only to separate for two years and live apart to agree to the break-up of the marriage, would feel that that is strengthening marriage in their eyes. It almost makes it a trial marriage for however short a period people might like—and two years is a short period in which to break up. I feel that once they open the floodgates, the numbers will be much larger than they have ever imagined. This has happened with the demand for abortions and it will happen with the demand for divorces, and the law courts will be under pressure.

SOURCE 3

Adapted from Jennie Lee's reminiscences of the 1960s in *The Open University*, 2010. Jennie Lee was the minister responsible for establishing the Open University:

Although a junior minister, I was working on my own, dealing directly with the Treasury and with the prime minister. The civil servants hated it: all very irregular. Harold Wilson asked me to go to Chicago and Moscow. Neither was anything like what I wanted to do. The Chicago lads were lovely but they were only short-circuiting the first year or two of the degree. In Moscow all they were doing was routine long-term broadcasting and some correspondence courses. I had a different vision from that and I hated the term 'University of the Air' because of all the nonsense in the press about sitting in front of the telly to get a degree. I knew it had to be a university with no concessions, right from the very beginning. After all, I had gone through the mill myself, taking my own degree, even though it was a long time ago. I knew the conservatism and vested interests of the academic world. I didn't believe we could get it through if we lowered our standards.

L.O: To know how the Labour government reformed the British Education system.

Lesson 11 – Liberal reforming legislation: Education reform



'Liberalising legislation between 1964 and 1970 transformed British society.'
Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how a growth in media and leisure change society.

Lesson 12 – Social and Cultural change: Growth in media and leisure

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Roy Jenkins, during a speech in Abingdon in July 1969, commented on how society between 1964 and 1969 had been radically reformed:

Despite the successes, the forces of liberalism and human freedom are now to some extent on the defensive. The 'permissive society' – always a misleading description – has been allowed to become a dirty phrase. A better phrase is the 'civilised society', a society based on the belief that different individuals will wish to make different decisions about their patterns of behaviour, and that, provided these do not restrict the freedom of others, they should be allowed to do so, within a framework of understanding and tolerance.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how a growth in media and leisure change society.

Lesson 12 – Social and Cultural change: Growth in media and leisure

1. With reference to Source 1, define a 'civilised society'.
2. Look back at your answer to the activity on page 25. Are your definitions the same?
3. Why do you think Jenkins is making the case for a 'civilised society' again in 1969? How does this help you put Source 1 into context?

The expansion of the mass media

In the 1960s the mass media grew in size and type. Television became available everywhere, which started to create a uniformity of culture and ended the isolation of distant communities. The news was no longer relayed by a disembodied voice or lifeless newspaper. Television rapidly supplanted the cinema as a means of entertainment.

By 1961, 75% of the population had a TV in their home and by 1971 it was 91 per cent. When Hugh Greene became Director-General of the BBC in 1960, he set out to transform it. Money was diverted from radio to television, guidelines on nudity and swearing were revised, a new style of news presentation and more popular programmes were commissioned.

The launch of ITV in 1955 had allowed advertising to expand. Advertisers could get straight into the family sitting room and tempt customers with attractive models that reinforced the brand names of goods. BBC2 was launched in April 1964 allowing BBC1 to grow more populist and, in July 1967, BBC2 became the first channel to broadcast regular colour programmes.

How did television grow and develop during this period? What impact did the growth of television have on society?

1950	1955	1960	1965	1975
344,000	4,504,000	10,470,000	13,253,000	17,701,000

Table 1 *The growth in the number of television licences*

L.O: To know how a growth in media and leisure change society.

Lesson 12 – Social and Cultural change: Growth in media and leisure

Radio survived, helped by the development of the cheap and portable transistor and the spread of car radios. These, with long-life batteries and earphones, meant that radios could be taken out or listened to in the privacy of the bedroom. Teenagers no longer had to listen to what their parents wanted to hear and personal radios meant that programmes could be targeted at different audiences.

At the beginning of the 1960s, there were just three BBC radio stations. Commercial enterprise seized this gap in the market. Young people who could obtain the signal started to listen to the nightly broadcasts of pop music from Radio Luxembourg and from 1964 the 'pirate stations'. After the pirate stations were banned, a BBC pop music station, Radio One, was started. The station made use of former

pirate DJs such as Tony Blackburn, and soon won many converts.

A CLOSER LOOK

In 1964 a 'pirate station' – Radio Caroline – began to broadcast from a ship moored outside territorial waters off the Essex coast. Other 'pirate' stations followed. Despite a fierce campaign to 'save the pirates', the UK government introduced the Marine Broadcasting Act in August 1967, designed to make offshore radio illegal.

? How did this add to youth culture?

Some predicted that the arrival of the TV would mark the end of the print media. Advertising revenue fell along with readership, but those newspapers and magazines that survived, changed and grew stronger. The Sun, for example, launched in 1964, replaced the serious working-class newspaper, the Daily Herald, and set out to be 'the only newspaper born of the age we live in'. In 1969, The Sun was bought by the Australian newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch. He associated it with the more permissive attitudes of the age and its popularity grew enormously.

How did print media change?

Growth in leisure activities

By the 1960s leisure time expanded as fewer people were expected to work on Saturday mornings and weekends could be given over to leisure activities.

Home remained the centre of many leisure activities and this was extended by TV. By 1969, TV accounted for 23 per cent of leisure time. 'Do-it-yourself' (DIY) and gardening became popular hobbies. Cookery, needlework and knitting still had a place in the 1960s home, and were encouraged by both new gadgetry and the ease with which tasks such as knitting could be combined with TV viewing. Live theatre, on the other hand, shrank rapidly, especially outside major cities, while attendance at football matches and other 'live' events also suffered.

What was the impact in leisure activities in the home?

L.O: To know how a growth in media and leisure change society.

Lesson 12 – Social and Cultural change: Growth in media and leisure

Car ownership accelerated rapidly in the 1960s. Passenger bus, coach and train travel declined as the use of the car grew to account for 77 per cent of journeys by 1974 (up from 39 per cent in 1954). Technological improvements meant that cars had become more affordable. Cars permitted travel to alternative shopping centres and leisure facilities and activities from caravanning to golf and sailing all built up a devoted following. For the providers of equipment and facilities, leisure had become a profitable business. Shopping became a leisure activity in its own right as mass production grew, fuelled by advertising.

What was the impact of a rise in car ownership for leisure activities?

The 1960s also saw leisure travel turn into mass tourism as the number of holidays (stays of more than three days at a tourist destination) increased.

Britannia Airways was founded in 1964 to serve holidaymakers wishing to fly to Spain, the Canary Islands, Malta, Bulgaria and North Africa. However, the costs of air travel meant that for most of the 1960s holidays abroad were still largely the preserve of the middle classes. Package holidays were still in their infancy by the end of the 1960s, although they had grown from under 4 per cent of total holidays in 1966 to 8.4 per cent in 1971. Travel abroad also began to inject some continental flavour into British tastes, even if it was only among the better-off middle classes. Restaurants and wine bars appeared, to cater for these new tastes.

Explain the impact of holidays:

	1951	1961	1971
Holidays in total	27 million	34 million	41 million
Holidays abroad	2 million	4 million	7 million

Table 2 *Holidays, 1951–71*

A CLOSER LOOK

Spain encouraged the development of tourist resorts. With two weeks in Spain costing as little as £20, it is not surprising that 30 per cent of all overseas package holidays were taken there.

L.O: To know how science and a reduction in censorship became important in changing society.

Lesson 13 – Social and Cultural change: Science and Censorship

Impact of scientific developments

The 1960s were a time of great development in science and technology. In 1961 the first person had gone into space and by 1969 the United States had landed on the moon. The Labour government had made scientific development a key aim. Despite economic problems and financial restraints, there was progress. The Anglo-French partnership continued to develop the supersonic Concorde aircraft. The Post Office Tower, then the tallest building in Britain, opened in 1965 to improve telecommunications. probably more important to the lives of ordinary people were the developments that affected their day-to-day lives.

Why was scientific development significant?



Research the scientific developments that affected ordinary people's lives. Summarise their impact in the table below:

Write a paragraph explaining which one you think is most significant and why.

Development	What changed?	Who did this impact?	Significance
Media — television and radio			
Travel			
Fashion			
Contraceptive pill			
New household appliances			

L.O: To know how science and a reduction in censorship became important in changing society.

Lesson 13 – Social and Cultural change: Science and Censorship

Reduction in censorship

Playwrights began experimenting with new styles of plays, often addressing social issues with a frankness that led to clashes with the office of the Lord Chamberlain. New plays had to gain a licence from the Lord Chamberlain's Office before they were allowed to be performed. The Lord Chamberlain's Office could demand that material that it considered to be inappropriate or immoral was removed. Theatre owners could be prosecuted if a play did not have approval.

What were the rules for putting on a new play?

The Royal Court Theatre in London was at the centre of innovation. After Edward Bond's controversial play *Early Morning* was banned in 1967, the backbencher George Strauss introduced a bill to abolish theatrical censorship. With Roy Jenkins' support, and the testimony of the famous actor Laurence Olivier, the bill passed into law in 1968.

The removal of theatrical censorship permitted nudity on stage, and the new Act was celebrated when 13 members of the cast of *Hair*, an American musical in production at the Shaftesbury Theatre in London, stood up and faced the audience naked for 30 seconds in 1968.

How did censorship change? What did this mean for the arts?

A CLOSER LOOK

Edward Bond's play *Saved* was refused a public performance licence in 1965 and *Early Morning* was closed by censorship after two performances. Bond's plays were judged to be too violent, shocking and immoral.

KEY TERM

Lord Chamberlain's Office: a department of the queen's household; since the eighteenth century, it had the power to prevent plays being performed or order changes to be made to them

censorship: the attempt to limit what people can read, see, hear and do through state controls and regulation

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Lord Chamberlain's office		
Censorship		

L.O: To know how science and a reduction in censorship became important in changing society.

Lesson 13 – Social and Cultural change: Science and Censorship

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

William A. Darlington, who had served as the *Telegraph's* chief theatre critic for 48 years before retiring in 1968, reviewed the musical, *Hair*:

I have seldom been more out of anything as I was of this production. Obviously I am the wrong age for it and possibly the wrong nationality. To me the evening was a bore. It was noisy, it was ugly and quite desperately unfunny. As for the much discussed nudes, there were some bare looking skins at one point in the shadows at the back of the stage, but if that's all it amounts to, some people are going to be disappointed. The company have enormous vitality and a great sense of rhythm. This, added to their infantile desire to flout established standards, may earn them a success. But I doubt it.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

Progress towards female equality

The belief that the duty of a woman was to be a good wife and mother, keeping a clean home and feeding children and husband, remained strong for most of the 1960s, as it had been in the 1950s, particularly among the working classes.

Second-wave feminism had started in the United States when Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963, argued that women were unfulfilled with these restricted lives. This spread to Britain, where the growth in female education, especially for the middle classes, contributed to growing frustration. Few made it to the top professions. Women accounted for only 28 per cent of students in higher education in 1970 and only 5 per cent of women ever reached managerial posts.

Why did second wave feminism start?

At the lower end of the social scale, girls' education still carried a domestic slant and girls frequently left school at the minimum age and married young. There was no shortage of jobs for women (not least because, before 1970, employers could pay them less than men) but many of these were in the clerical and service sector with no prospects and poor pay. Some women wanted to work, even when they had children, but working mothers were still often portrayed as unnatural and selfish by the media. Childminders were rare in the 1960s and private nurseries were only available for the wealthy.

What opportunities were there for women at the lower end of the social scale?

The National Health Service (Family Planning) Act of 1967 allowed local authorities to provide contraceptives and contraceptive advice for the first time. However, changing attitudes meant that the number of illegitimate births rose from 5.8 per cent in 1960 to 8.2 per cent in 1970, and the number of marriages ending in divorce also rose.

What was the impact of the liberalising society on women?

A CLOSER LOOK

The extent of liberation

The advent of better methods of contraception that took away the inevitability of pregnancy was certainly liberating, but this was true for men as well. The ability to divorce more easily liberated women in that they were more able to escape difficult relationships, yet it was often the women who were left struggling to support themselves and children.

L.O: To know the extent that moral attitudes changed.

Lesson 15 – Social and Cultural change: Moral attitudes and the permissive society

Changes in moral attitudes and the permissive society

In this poem, Larkin links the 1960s to the birth of the 'permissive society'. This refers to a time of general sexual liberation, with changes in public and private morals and a new openness. Critics used the term in a negative way believing it was a decline in conventional moral standards, encouraged by the contraceptive pill, the spread of the mass media and the enactment of liberal legislation.

What was the permissive society?

How did liberalising legislation encourage a permissive society?

The Catholic Church was hostile to the contraceptive pill, arguing that it was contrary to God's law and therefore sinful. Not all prominent Catholics agreed and the Catholic MP Norman St John-Stevas wrote a critical essay entitled 'The Pope, the Pill and the People' in 1968.

Permissive ideas were spread by the media, from 'teen' magazines through to a growing number of uncensored novels. Previously taboo subjects were discussed in books, on the radio and on television. But by the end of the decade, rates of sexually transmitted infections were on the rise, especially among the young.

The moral campaigner Mary Whitehouse was concerned by these changes.

What were the criticisms of the shift in attitude?

How valuable is source 4 to an historian studying social change in the period 1964 to 1970?

SOURCE 3

A poem, 'Annus Mirabilis', by Philip Larkin, published in 1974, claims:

Sexual intercourse began
In nineteen sixty-three
{which was rather late for me} –
Between the end of the Chatterley ban
And the Beatles' first LP.

L.O: To know the extent that moral attitudes changed.

Lesson 15 – Social and Cultural change: Moral attitudes and the permissive society

Complete the source evaluation for source four:



SOURCE 4

On 5 May 1964, Mary Whitehouse addressed a meeting attended by over 3000 people in Birmingham Town Hall:

The immediate object of this campaign is to restore the BBC to its position of respect and leadership in this country. The BBC says that it should show the work of playwrights which write of the world in which they live. If that is the world in which they live then I am truly sorry for them. But it is not our world and it is not the world of the vast majority of the people in this country and we don't want it in our homes. If violence is constantly portrayed as normal on the television screen it will help to create a violent society. I am not narrow-minded or old-fashioned. But I am square, and proud of it, if that means having a sense of values.

Content	
Provenance	<p>KEY PROFILE</p> <p>Mary Whitehouse (1910–2001) was a Birmingham housewife. In 1963, she began her own 'moral crusade' against what she saw as a 'tide of immorality and indecency' in Britain at that time; her crusade was particularly directed at the Director-General of the BBC, Sir Hugh Greene. Mrs Whitehouse gained a lot of public support when she launched her 'Clean Up TV' campaign in 1964. In 1965, she founded the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association. Her campaign continued until the 1980s.</p>
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the extent that moral attitudes changed.

Lesson 15 – Social and Cultural change: Moral attitudes and the permissive society

The publicity and support that Mrs Whitehouse received led to the setting up of the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association in 1965, and this soon had 100,000 members. However, despite her lobbying, Whitehouse failed to have any impact on the programmes shown.

Was Mary Whitehouse significant?

The permissive society was also seen in the spread of the drug culture. Cocaine and heroin addiction became ten times more prevalent in the first half of the 1960s and the use of soft drugs was more commonplace by the end of the decade. The 'hippy lifestyle', with its emphasis on 'free love' and 'flower power', promoted the drug culture and even the Beatles turned to LSD.

The Dangerous Drugs Act 1967 made it unlawful to possess drugs such as cannabis and cocaine. The Wootton Report of 1968 suggested legalising soft drugs like cannabis, but this was rejected by the Home Secretary, James Callaghan (who was much less liberal than his predecessor, Roy Jenkins), and who wanted 'to call a halt to the rising tide of permissiveness'. In 1970 the maximum sentence for supplying drugs was increased to 14 years' imprisonment.

Why was there a spread in drug culture? Explain how the government attempted to combat this:

The degree to which liberal permissiveness actually influenced attitudes and behaviour in the 1960s can also be exaggerated. Surveys by Michael Schofield on the sexual behaviour of young people (1965) and Geoffrey Gorer on Sex and Marriage in England Today (1969, published 1971) found most young people were either virgins on marriage or married their first and only sexual partner. A mixture of ignorance and social constraints remained and while liberal legislation opened the way to change, it represented only an inroad into the old religious and moral restraints.

How far did Britain's attitudes change towards a permissive society?

L.O: To know the extent that moral attitudes changed.

Lesson 15 – Social and Cultural change: Moral attitudes and the permissive society



'The extent of the permissive society was still limited by 1970.'
Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how youth culture changed in the 1960s.

Lesson 16 – Social and Cultural change: Youth culture

Youth culture

The coincidence of increased living standards, the spread of education and the growth of leisure time helped to create a youth generation that was more inclined to question norms and more ready to assert its right to choose.

Young people clashed with their parents over fashion, musical tastes and moral standards, and as seen above there was a greater questioning of previous norms around sex and drugs. Such behaviour caused a good deal of concern among the older generation. Nevertheless, the extent of teenage promiscuity and drug-taking must be kept in proportion. Alcohol, tobacco and caffeine were used more than illegal drugs and, according to a survey in 1969, young people spent more time listening to music in their bedrooms than at youth clubs or rock festivals.

What was the difference between the reality of the teenager and what the older generation thought?

Youth culture was largely defined by fashion and music. For a short while in the 1960s, London was the capital of the fashion world. Traditional rules were abandoned. It became acceptable to wear the same outfit to work and for the evening. Women wore trousers, and men started to wear velvets, satins and brightly coloured fabrics. As the decade progressed, these trends became more extreme. Changing fashions, in their own way, thus helped override, or at least mask, some of the old social divisions, both between sexes and between classes.

Describe fashion in the 1960s:



Left to right: Mini-dress, Mary Quant, 1967, England. Museum no. T.353-1974. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Mini-dress, Biba, 1967, England. Museum no. T.12-1982. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Young people listened to popular music by tuning in to one of the pirate radio stations or, from 1967, BBC Radio One. Television responded to demand with programmes like Ready Steady Go! (ITV, 1963) and Top of the Pops (BBC, 1964), which helped spread the latest trends in music, dance, attitude and dress. New technology enabled cheap plastic record players and records made music accessible to all.

Explain youth music:

L.O: To know how youth culture changed in the 1960s.

Lesson 16 – Social and Cultural change: Youth culture

Different youth subcultures emerged. By the end of the 1960s, skinheads, characterised by their shaven heads, braces and Dr Marten boots, had evolved from the mods. Meanwhile, hippies rejected social convention and Establishment attitudes. They embraced 'flower power', which emanated from America, and favoured alternative lifestyles with an emphasis on environmentalism, free love and peace.

What new youth subcultures were created after 1964?

Anti-Vietnam War riots

Youth culture and political activism merged in opposition to the controversial Vietnam War in the late 1960s. In the summer of 1965, there were teach-ins on Vietnam at Oxford University and the London School of Economics (LSE). The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign or VSC was set up in 1966 gaining considerable support among university students.

On 17 March 1968, there were violent scenes at an anti-Vietnam War demonstration in London, near the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. On 28 March a still more violent protest known as the Battle of Grosvenor Square took place, ending with over 200 people being arrested. The final demonstration in October 1968 in which 30,000 people took part was, however, relatively peaceful.

Explain the Anti-Vietnam War riots:

The year 1968 also saw a number of other anti-war protests, often combined with demands for more student power, in a variety of different universities. At Sussex, a speaker on the Vietnam War, from the American Embassy, was covered in red paint, while at Essex, two Conservative MPs were physically attacked. The Labour Secretary of State for Education and Science was shouted down in Manchester, and Denis Healey, the Labour Defence Secretary, almost had his car overturned by Cambridge students.

Who were the protestors? Why is this significant?



Fig. 3 The Battle of Grosvenor Square, 1968

L.O: To know what the attitudes around immigration and race were.

Lesson 17 – Social and Cultural change: Issues of Immigration and race

Issues of immigration and race

The continuing influx of immigrants from the New Commonwealth meant that the social tensions experienced in the late 1950s and early 1960s did not go away. A survey in North London in 1965 showed that one in five objected to working with black people or Asians, half said they would refuse to live next door to a black person and nine out of ten disapproved of mixed marriages.

Explain racial tensions during the time (think back to the previous topic):

In 1965 the Labour government passed the first Race Relations Act. This forbade discrimination in public places 'on the grounds of colour, race or ethnic or national origins'. However, discrimination in housing and employment were excluded. Complaints were to be referred to the Race Relations Board whose job was to conciliate between the two sides.

What was the race relations act and race relations board?

A CLOSER LOOK

The **Race Relations Board** was set up to consider discrimination complaints and take part in publicity, research, finance and other aspects of race relations. However, the board could not compel witnesses to attend hearings and although it handled 982 complaints in its first year, 734 were dismissed through lack of evidence.

In February 1968, alarm over the sudden influx of Kenyan Asians prompted the government to pass a new Commonwealth Immigration Act, limiting the right of return to Britain for non-white Commonwealth citizens. The furore over the arrival of the Kenyan Asians prompted Enoch Powell to make his notorious 'rivers of blood' speech in April 1968.

What was the new Commonwealth act? Why was this act passed?



Fig. 5 Asian immigrants in a street of terraced houses, late 1960s

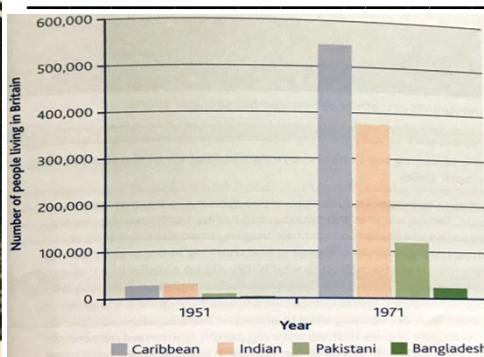


Fig. 4 Growth of ethnic groups in Britain, 1951-71

L.O: To know what the attitudes around immigration and race were.

Lesson 17 – Social and Cultural change: Issues of Immigration and race

Complete the source evaluation for source five:



SOURCE 5

Enoch Powell addressing the Conservative Political Centre at the Midland Hotel Birmingham, April 1968:

Here is one of my constituents, a decent ordinary fellow in my own town of Wolverhampton, telling me that the country will not be worth living in for his children. I simply do not have the right to shrug my shoulders. What he is saying, hundreds of thousands are saying and thinking in the areas that are undergoing the total transformation to which there is no parallel in a thousand years of British history. For reasons they could not comprehend, on which they were never consulted, they found themselves made strangers in their own country. We must be mad, literally mad to allow the annual inflow of 50,000 dependants. So insane are we that we actually permit unmarried persons to immigrate for the purpose of founding families with spouses they have never seen. As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman prophet, 'I see the Tiber foaming with much blood'.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know what the attitudes around immigration and race were.

Lesson 17 – Social and Cultural change: Issues of Immigration and race

How valuable is Source 5 to an historian studying attitudes to immigration in the period 1964 to 1970?

Powell was strongly condemned by the liberal Establishment. Heath not only sacked him from the shadow cabinet but never spoke to him again. The reaction from public opinion was different. There were strikes by dockers and meat porters in London and a protest march to Downing Street in response to his sacking. A Gallup poll found that 75 per cent of the population supported what Powell had said.

What was the impact of Powell's speech?

A further Race Relations Act was introduced in 1968. This Act banned racial discrimination in housing, employment, insurance and other services. The Race Relations Board was given stronger powers. However, there were still loopholes. Employers could discriminate against non-whites in the interests of 'racial balance' and complaints against the police were excluded. Furthermore, the Race Relations Board upheld only 10 per cent of the 1241 complaints it received about discriminatory employment to January 1972 and complaints remained low because victims had little faith in getting effective redress.

What were the positive and negative features of the 1968 race relations act?

Positive	Negative

However, there were also positive aspects to immigration and evidence of communities living together without problems. The Notting Hill Carnival became an annual event from 1964. The appearance of Asian corner shops and Chinese takeaways introduced new foods. Youth culture drew from the ethnic communities in music, fashion and street life. Hippies of the late 1960s wore Indian and African cottons, kaftans, Arabian pants, Indian scarves and ethnic beads. Others enjoyed West Indian styles of music, jazz and ska or were attracted by Eastern ways and customs following the Beatles' 'conversion' under the guidance of the Maharaja Mahesh Yogi to meditation, yoga, 'love and peace' as well as soft drugs.

How did immigration change society?

L.O: To know what the attitudes around immigration and race were.

Lesson 17 – Social and Cultural change: Issues of Immigration and race



To what extent did women's lives change in the period 1964 to 1970?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

A large, empty rectangular box with a dark blue border, intended for planning an answer to the question above.

Lesson 18 – Foreign affairs: Relations with and policies toward the USA

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

In June 1966, the left-wing Labour MP **Michael Foot** wrote a denunciation of Wilson's government which appeared on the front page of the left-wing magazine *Tribune*:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR GOVERNMENT?

The short answer is plenty. No glimmer of a changed strategy, an enlarged vision, since the election. Pathetic acceptance of the Tory legacy in defence and foreign policy. We and our Labour government share the guilt for the continuance of the infamy of Vietnam.

Content	
Provenance	<p>KEY PROFILE</p> <p>Michael Foot (1913–2010) was a popular and respected left-winger, a great admirer of Bevan (see Chapter 1). He was a talented journalist, with a regular column in the <i>Daily Herald</i>. His first experience of being in the government was as Wilson's minister of employment in 1974. He was on the left wing of the party, strongly supported CND and was fervently opposed to Britain joining the EEC. He became leader of the Labour Party in 1980, after Labour's defeat in 1979.</p>
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the nature of the special relationship with the USA 1964-1970.

Lesson 18 – Foreign affairs: Relations with and policies toward the USA

Explain why a knowledge of provenance helps with an understanding of the value of Source 1.

By 1964, the 'wind of change' had brought independence to 18 New Commonwealth states. The Wilson government hoped to continue this process. This would mean not only more decolonisation but also reducing Britain's military responsibilities, especially 'east of Suez'. This was complicated by the fact that there was still a great deal of both political and public opinion which still believed that Britain had an important world role.

The other main issues were Britain's 'special relationship' with the United States and its relationship with the rest of Europe. These were highlighted by Britain's attitude to America's war in Vietnam from 1964 and its attitude to joining the EEC.

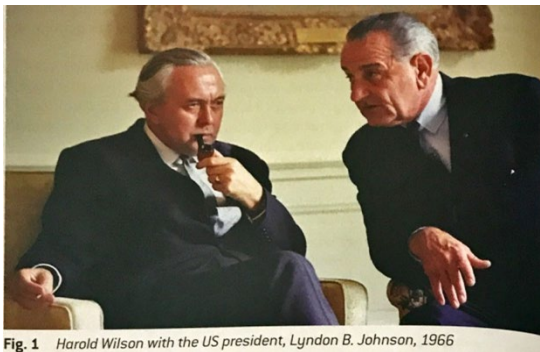


Fig. 1 Harold Wilson with the US president, Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966

Relations with and policies towards USA, particularly the issue of Vietnam

Harold Wilson was himself pro-American and was a keen supporter of the Atlantic Alliance. The Cold War was ongoing and Britain wanted to ensure that the United States stayed committed to the defence of Europe. The continuing possibility of the Soviet threat was highlighted by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia that stopped the communist system becoming diluted there.

Explain why the soviet union still posed a threat:

A CLOSER LOOK

Between January and August 1968 the new leader of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek, had introduced reforms which increased freedom of speech and movement and started to decentralise the economy. In August 1968 the Soviet Union led a military invasion into Czechoslovakia to suppress this 'anti-communist' activity.

Lesson 18 – Foreign affairs: Relations with and policies toward the USA

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Harold Wilson visited the United States in December 1964 – his first time there as prime minister. The visit was hosted by President Johnson and senior politicians from both the United States and Britain were in attendance. Wilson gave a speech which outlined his understanding of the relationship between Britain and the United States:

In the changed circumstances of the sixties, we seek still a closer relationship based on common purposes and common aims. We have our differences. There are always differences between friends. We are good enough friends to speak frankly to one another, but there will never be anything peevish or spiteful. If we ever have differences, we will look you straight in the eye – and we will expect you to look us straight in the eye – and say what you would expect we can do as friends and only what we can do as friends.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the nature of the special relationship with the USA 1964-1970.

Lesson 18 – Foreign affairs: Relations with and policies toward the USA

How valuable is Source 2 to an historian studying the relationship between Britain and the United States between 1964 and 1970?

However, the relationship between Britain and the United States came under strain over the Vietnam War.

A CLOSER LOOK
The **Vietnam War** had begun in 1955. Vietnam had divided into two states, a communist north and a non-communist south. The United States supported the government of the non-communist south against the Viet Cong rebels, northern communist guerrilla soldiers. Up until 1964 this support had been limited but it escalated after 1964. The war ended in 1975 when the United States withdrew and the Viet Cong took over the whole country. The war was extremely controversial and became increasingly unpopular as both casualties and evidence of atrocities mounted.

What was the Vietnam war?

From the time that the escalation of the Vietnam War began in 1964, the US president, Lyndon Johnson, wanted to gain support and approval from the United States' allies. Australia sent troops to Vietnam and Johnson wanted Britain to do the same. Wilson, however, resisted direct military involvement despite his good relationship with Johnson.

The British response to Vietnam was a difficult balancing act for Wilson: he wanted to maintain the Atlantic Alliance but the Vietnam War became hugely unpopular in Britain, especially with the Left, so he risked losing political support if he was too supportive of it. Also, there were economic and financial considerations. Britain could not really afford military involvement; but Wilson also needed the support of the United States to support the value of sterling and to avoid devaluation, so he could not afford to alienate the United States. In the end the policy can be summed up as giving moral support without military support. This annoyed not only the United States who wanted greater backing, but also a number of Labour MPs and supporters who wanted the government to condemn the United States.

What were the pros and cons of sending troops to Vietnam:

Positive	Negative

L.O: To know how the Labour government responded to relations with Europe.

Lesson 19 – Foreign affairs: Response to world affairs and relations with Europe

Response to world affairs and relations with Europe

The Labour government that came to power in 1964 was not very committed to continuing the Conservative policy of seeking entry into the EEC. In 1962 Hugh Gaitskell had fought passionately against Britain's first application - he told the Labour Party conference that: 'it would be the end of a thousand years of history'. Gaitskell's opposition was based on the fear that the EEC was the first step towards a federal political union.

In addition, many on the Labour Left, such as Michael Foot and Barbara Castle, and the trade unions were equally hostile. They saw the EEC as a club for capitalists that would prevent Britain from following socialist policies. On the other hand there were several Europhiles in the cabinet, especially Roy Jenkins and George Brown, who had become the foreign secretary in 1966. Harold Wilson himself was more ambivalent; he preferred the Atlantic Alliance and stronger links with the Commonwealth but he could also see the strength of some of the economic reasons for joining. He was also very conscious of needing to keep the Labour Party united on the issue.

Fill in the table below:

	Supporters	Reasons
For joining the EEC		
Against joining the EEC		

KEY TERM

Europhiles: a term used to describe people who were enthusiastic about Britain's membership of the EEC/EU

Key word	Definition	Sentence
Europhiles		

By 1966 Wilson was becoming more convinced of the economic arguments and, in October, Wilson's cabinet agreed to back a new application for EEC membership. The prospects of it succeeding were not very good. The British bid was in danger of seeming half-hearted because of the doubts within Labour. More importantly, de Gaulle was still President of France and there was little sign he had changed his mind about British entry. The fact that Britain's chances of joining were poor prevented those on the left of the party being too vociferous in their opposition.

What were the problems ahead of the 1966 EEC application?

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 20 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation

Wilson and George Brown went to Paris to meet de Gaulle in January 1967 and they thought the meeting went quite well. They then toured the other five EEC countries, trying to gain support. In June 1967, Wilson went back to Paris again. De Gaulle put him on the spot, demanding assurances that Britain would detach itself from the 'special relationship'. There was no way Wilson would do this. In November, de Gaulle used his veto against British entry. Britain's application was again rejected.

Why was Britain's entry into the EEC rejected?

The Labour government continued the decolonisation policy that had started under the Conservatives and accelerated after Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech.

Withdrawal from 'East of Suez'

The Labour government knew from 1964 that there would have to be a reduction in Britain's military commitments for economic reasons. The minister of defence, Denis Healey, started a process of spending cuts designed to bring the defence budget below £2 billion by 1970. Healey's defence white paper in 1967 set a timetable for troop withdrawals from Aden, the Middle East, Malaysia and Singapore.

Why did it become necessary to withdraw troops?

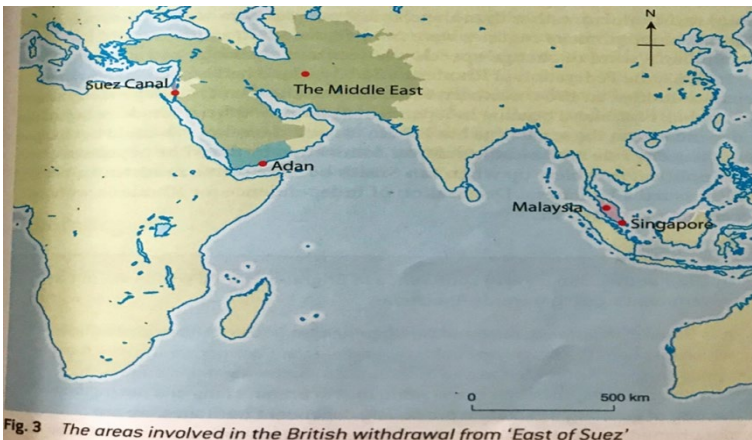


Fig. 3 The areas involved in the British withdrawal from 'East of Suez'

KEY PROFILE

Denis Healey (b. 1917) was a Labour MP from 1952 until his retirement in 1992. He was the minister of defence between 1964 and 1970 and Chancellor of the Exchequer between 1974 and 1979. He was on the right wing of the party and was deputy leader of the party between 1980 and 1983.

Some might argue that, given the economic situation that the Labour government inherited, these cuts did not go far enough or fast enough. But Wilson believed in both the Atlantic Alliance and in Britain continuing to have a world role. Therefore, there was no serious debate about giving up the nuclear deterrent despite its expense. The Wilson government announced that it would continue to deploy US Polaris missiles. Indeed, in 1967, a commitment was made to upgrade the system.

This changed in January 1968, with the drastic spending cuts introduced by Chancellor Jenkins after the 1967 devaluation crisis. Withdrawal from East of Suez was rapidly accelerated. Troops were to be pulled out of Aden, the Arabian Gulf, Malaysia and Singapore by the end of 1971. Despite the wishes of both Wilson and Healey, the development of a new high-tech warplane, the TSR2, was abandoned because it was too costly.

Explain how and why Wilson's commitment had to change:

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 20 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

In the leader's speech at the Blackpool Labour Party conference in 1968, Harold Wilson set out his vision of British foreign policy:

We cannot succeed unless our people are prepared to accept Britain's new role in the world for the later 1960s and the 1970s. This is not easy. Two years ago I told this Party that never again would Britain engage in any war, other than self-defence, except on a basis of collective security. Our whole defence policy has been based on the rejection of unilateral, go-it-alone, do-it-yourself, military adventures, the rejection equally of Suez imperialism, and the delusion of the so-called independent deterrent. We recognise 'that our security lies fundamentally in Europe and must be based on the North Atlantic Alliance'. And even with the strengthening of the industrial base which we are achieving, we can no longer afford the role of world policeman.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation

Rhodesia

Macmillan had chosen Cape Town as the place to make his 'wind of change' speech because his target was the white minority regimes who thought they could resist reform, rather than the colonial peoples who wanted independence. But the white minority regimes were not persuaded. In southern Africa, Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech was seen as a challenge and a threat.

Why was Macmillan's wind of change speech significant?

In 1963, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had broken up into three separate entities. In 1964, northern Rhodesia became the new independent state of Zambia; Nyasaland became independent Malawi. Southern Rhodesia hoped for independence at the same time but Britain made it clear that this could not happen until majority rule replaced the political domination by the white population.

Why was Rhodesia denied independence?

A political row blew up when Ian Smith became prime minister. In 1965 Smith issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence for Rhodesia without accepting majority rule.

Smith's action was a direct challenge to the Labour government. But Wilson hoped he could reach a solution in weeks rather than months, either through oil sanctions or by a negotiated solution. Wilson met Smith for face-to-face talks on board HMS Tiger off Gibraltar in December 1966. This meeting seemed to make progress but Smith then disavowed everything he had said as soon as he got home.

What did Ian Smith want? How did Wilson try to negotiate a solution?

KEY PROFILE

Ian Smith (1919–2007) was the first prime minister of Rhodesia to be born there rather than in Britain. He had been a farmer before entering politics. He remained prime minister until the Lancaster Agreement of 1979 when Rhodesia, now named Zimbabwe, had its independence officially recognised.



Wilson's frustrations continued throughout 1967. Oil sanctions did not have much effect. It was easy for Rhodesia to get supplies through the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, and big oil companies often ignored the sanctions policy. South Africa also continued to trade with Rhodesia. More talks were held on HMS Fearless in October 1968, but by then Smith felt stronger not weaker. Smith also believed he could rely on support from the right wing of the Conservative Party and all he had to do was to wait for Britain to give in. Wilson's diplomacy got nowhere. The situation upset the Commonwealth and many on the Labour left wing, and at the same time made Britain look weak.

Explain the impact of the failure of Wilson's negotiation:

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation

Complete the source evaluation for source four:



SOURCE 4

In 1966 at the Labour Party conference in Brighton, Harold Wilson set out the government's policy towards Rhodesia:

It is Britain's insistence on standing by principles in the Rhodesian conflict which has kept the Commonwealth together – the Commonwealth which our opponents were prepared to see destroyed. It is that same insistence on principles which proclaims to the world that in Britain's long and not inglorious history of granting freedom to previously dependent territories, we are determined to see that the last chapter shall not be allowed to tarnish those that have gone before. To those principles we shall adhere. For while we have shown, in the Commonwealth Conference, and since, our willingness to go to the limit in securing an acceptable agreement, we shall not be prepared to abandon the principles that have inspired two successive governments in this country, principles which are essential, not only to preserve the Commonwealth on which so much depends Britain's standing, in the world, but principles which in their moral inspiration represent the very basis of our democracy and everything which this movement stands for.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation

How useful is Source 4 to the historian studying the success of Britain's decolonisation policies between 1964 and 1970?



Fill in the key events under each heading. Ensure that you add detail to each event.

Britain and the United States	Britain and Europe	Britain and the Commonwealth

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation



'Wilson did not achieve any of his foreign policy aims.' Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation



How significant were economic problems in determining the direction of Britain's foreign policy between 1964 and 1970?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how the Labour government continued the policy of decolonisation.

Lesson 21 – Foreign affairs: Decolonisation



With reference to these three sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying how Britain's position in the world changed during the period 1964 to 1970.

SOURCE 2

Harold Wilson visited the United States in December 1964 – his first time there as prime minister. The visit was hosted by President Johnson and senior politicians from both the United States and Britain were in attendance. Wilson gave a speech which outlined his understanding of the relationship between Britain and the United States:

In the changed circumstances of the sixties, we seek still a closer relationship based on common purposes and common aims. We have our differences. There are always differences between friends. We are good enough friends to speak frankly to one another, but there will never be anything peevish or spiteful. If we ever have differences, we will look you straight in the eye – and we will expect you to look us straight in the eye – and say what you would expect we can do as friends and only what we can do as friends.

SOURCE 3

In the leader's speech at the Blackpool Labour Party conference in 1968, Harold Wilson set out his vision of British foreign policy:

We cannot succeed unless our people are prepared to accept Britain's new role in the world for the later 1960s and the 1970s. This is not easy. Two years ago I told this Party that never again would Britain engage in any war, other than self-defence, except on a basis of collective security. Our whole defence policy has been based on the rejection of unilateral, go-it-alone, do-it-yourself, military adventures, the rejection equally of Suez imperialism, and the delusion of the so-called independent deterrent. We recognise 'that our security lies fundamentally in Europe and must be based on the North Atlantic Alliance'. And even with the strengthening of the industrial base which we are achieving, we can no longer afford the role of world policeman.

SOURCE 4

In 1966 at the Labour Party conference in Brighton, Harold Wilson set out the government's policy towards Rhodesia:

It is Britain's insistence on standing by principles in the Rhodesian conflict which has kept the Commonwealth together – the Commonwealth which our opponents were prepared to see destroyed. It is that same insistence on principles which proclaims to the world that in Britain's long and not inglorious history of granting freedom to previously dependent territories, we are determined to see that the last chapter shall not be allowed to tarnish those that have gone before. To those principles we shall adhere. For while we have shown, in the Commonwealth Conference, and since, our willingness to go to the limit in securing an acceptable agreement, we shall not be prepared to abandon the principles that have inspired two successive governments in this country, principles which are essential, not only to preserve the Commonwealth on which so much depends Britain's standing, in the world, but principles which in their moral inspiration represent the very basis of our democracy and everything which this movement stands for.