

15 He spoke sombrely, to Labour and Tory questioners alike, of what might happen if we find that we cannot go in after all. As for his own idea of the chances of success, he told Mr Grimond that he was "not confident, but hopeful."

20 It was a memorable day in the Commons all right, bursting with history and drama as vehement, untidy, and sensational as anyone could hope to avoid. Yet how could it have been avoided? There was Europe, economic or political or however you chose to see it. Here were a lot of people who, in spite of the Liberals and Mr Longden, and many others who had been converted long before Mr Macmillan saw the light, were not at all sure that they wanted to go.

Some were sure they did not want to go. There were the kickers and screamers, and none kicked and screamed more violently than Mr Anthony Fell, the Conservative member for Yarmouth, who called Mr Macmillan all sorts of names, including a disaster, and told him in the name of Mr Fell to go.

### ***"Shocking Statement"***

25 Tory back-benchers have attacked Tory Prime Ministers before, but never in such terms as these. A quite shocking statement, Mr Fell called it, full of political double-talk, and its effect on one former supporter - obviously Mr Fell himself - was to convince him that Mr Macmillan was a national disaster.

30 This whipped the House from a state of excitement into sheer uproar, punctuated by sharp, shocked Tory protests. The Prime Minister surged to his feet and moved to the dispatch box, but Mr Fell had not finished, not by a long way. He would sit down for Mr Speaker, he roared, but not for Mr Macmillan. He had the floor and he kept it.

"His decision to gamble with British sovereignty," Mr Fell went on, his furious voice rising above the tumult, "and with 650 million people in the British Commonwealth, is the most disastrous thing any Prime Minister has done for many generations past."

35 Was there anything more to shout, except a demand that Mr Macmillan should resign? Mr Fell duly made that demand, but not before he had protested against what he saw as Mr Macmillan's "laughs and smirks." If Mr Macmillan had indeed anything to smile about - and he was studiously mild in his reply to the ferocious member for Yarmouth - it was over the obvious embarrassment that Mr Fell's outburst had caused to the more temperate opponents of the Common Market policy in the Conservative Party.

40 It was easy to be more temperate than Mr Fell, and still tough enough to show how much they worried. There was the ever-persistent Mr Turton, for instance, who wanted to know why we were not proceeding on that article in the Treaty of Rome which allows for a looser association. Mr Macmillan handled him by saying that this would give us all the economic difficulties without giving us any influence in Europe.

### **3) Britain's role in world**

Thursday December 6, 1962 , New York

Mr Dean Acheson, former United States Secretary of State, asserted today that Britain's role as an independent Power was "about played out."

5 He told a conference on American affairs at West Point Military Academy that Britain had lost an empire and had not found a role. He added:

"Britain's attempt to play a separate power role - that is, a role apart from Europe, a role based on a 'special relationship' with the United States, a role based on being the head of a Commonwealth which has no political structure or unity or strength and enjoys a fragile and precarious economic relationship - this role is about played out.

10 "Great Britain, attempting to work alone and to be a broker between the United States and Russia, has seemed to conduct a policy as weak as its military power."

Mr Acheson is President Kennedy's special adviser on NATO affairs.

Mr Acheson said that Britain's application for membership of the Common Market was a "decisive turning point." Should Britain join the Six, "another step forward of vast importance will have been taken."

### **4) Z Cars "may harm children"**

By our correspondent

Friday January 5, 1962

An education psychologist says it is to be regretted that the Z Cars programme on BBC Television should have made a "sudden dive into sexual psychopathology."

5 After a reader wrote listing recent incidents in the programme the psychologist was asked for his views by the "Catholic Teachers' Journal," organ of the Catholic Teachers' Federation whose conference at Redcar ended yesterday.

The reader, a primary schoolteacher, writes in this month's issue that her class of top juniors are keen "Z Cars" fans. She asks how she can turn their comments on the programme to good advantage and mentions the incidents.

10 These were a criminal's implied seduction of his sister-in-law; a woman in bed with a man other than her husband; the beating up of a pregnant woman; a sex maniac dragging a girl into bushes; and a lot more "so called real life stuff."

Tolerable entertainment

15 The education psychologist, who is unnamed, replies in the journal that, "Z Cars," on the strength of its all-round excellence, is probably regarded by many parents as tolerable entertainment for children in their early teens - a verdict which seems to be confirmed by its choice for repeat showings on Sunday afternoons. He goes on:

20 "It is consequently a matter for regret that the BBC should have made this sudden dive in sexual psychopathology. We are familiar with this device in the cinema and in popular Sunday newspapers. The actual effect of such vivid visual presentation of sexual perversion will vary, of course, according to each child's previous formation, moral and psychological, but clinic files bear witness to the large number of sexual difficulties that arise from the sexuality of adolescents and pre-adolescence being conditioned to aberrations presented in this fashion. "This consideration alone would justify letters of protest from parents and teachers to  
25 the BBC in the hope of preventing such lapses in future.

## 5) France excludes Britain from the market

from Leonard Beaton, Wednesday January 30, 1963, Brussels

Britain was today formally refused entry into the European Economic Community. The Foreign Ministers of West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries accepted the fact that the French Government was determined to veto the British application for membership.

5 Whatever may happen all over the world, there was bitter regret in Brussels. The Dutch and Belgians said that the Community would not be the same again, and the Italians said they were deeply disappointed.

Mr Edward Heath, the leader of the British delegation, put his view plainly:

10 "We entered these negotiations 16 months ago in good faith and have endeavoured strenuously to reach a successful conclusion. Five countries and the Commission have said publicly that all the remaining problems in the negotiations were capable of solution. I share that view.

"The five Governments and ourselves all wished to continue the negotiations and bring them to a successful conclusion. The high hopes of so many have thus been thwarted for political reasons at the will of one man. The end of the negotiations is a blow to the cause of that wider European unity for which we have been striving."

15 Among the Germans, Professor Erhard, the Minister for Economic Affairs, was notably moved. From his performance at his press conference here, there can be no doubt of his strong personal feelings. Professor Erhard said he thought the spirit of the Common Market had been broken. In future its life would be much more mechanical. "The day will dawn," he said, "when all six countries will realise we have made a mistake today."

## 6) Miss Keeler in court

by Philip Rawstone, Friday May 17, 1963

The first instalment of what the prosecution described as the "somewhat sordid story" of Stephen Ward was told yesterday in Marylebone magistrates' court - a building designed originally for the district's public wash-houses.

5 It was heard by nearly fifty reporters crammed in an L-shaped gallery against the ceiling of the small blue-and-white court room, and by some twenty members of the public who had queued in early morning rain, passing the waiting hours by swapping tales of experiences at other hearings. The preface was written by the prosecuting counsel, Mr Mervyn Griffith-Jones, and on this first day the main chapters came from Miss Christine Keeler and Miss Marilyn ("Mandy") Rice-Davies. Among the names mentioned during more than four

10 and a half hours of examination and cross-examination were those of Lord Astor, Mr Douglas Fairbanks, Mr Profumo, Ivanov, a business man named James Eylan, and another man named Charles who lives somewhere off Park Lane. Several more were masked by letters picked at random from the alphabet.

15 Ward, a fifty-year-old osteopath, bespectacled and wearing a dark grey suit and brown tie, appeared before the magistrate, Mr Leo Gradwell, to face eight charges: two of knowingly living wholly or in part on the earnings of the prostitution of Miss Keeler and Miss Davies; one of inciting Miss Keeler to procure a Miss "R,"; another of attempting to procure a Miss "X"; and a fifth of conspiring to procure others. Further charges alleged that he had been a party to unlawful abortions of a Miss "W" and a Miss "M," and that he had kept a brothel at 17 Wimpole Mews, W.1.

20 Ward stroked his chin, scribbled notes and, later in the day, appeared to do a little of the sketching for which he is known, as Mr Griffith-Jones outlined the case and Miss Keeler and Miss Rice-Davies gave evidence.

Miss Keeler, in an off-white suit and cool self-confidence, told how she met Ward at Murrays Club where, after a little indecision, she said she had been employed as "an artist." She then added: "I was a showgirl."

Her words were repeated by the clerk into a dictaphone as she went on to describe her relationship with Ward:

25 "We were like brother and sister? My life really used to revolve around Stephen. He had full control of my mind. I used to do more or less everything that he said. I thought I could never stand on my feet unless he was there and supporting me mentally."

30 Miss Keeler said that money for the rent of one flat she occupied was paid for by Ward with a cheque from Lord Astor - "though there was no ulterior motive in that." She had made love with Ivanov and with Mr Profumo, who gave her money for her mother. She had received money also from Eylan - "some hundreds" - and given some of it to Ward. These meetings occurred when Ward said he was short of money; and she had met, at his suggestion, a man called Charles in a mews house off Park Lane. He had given her £50.

35 "I never considered myself a prostitute or a call-girl. Stephen said that you have to have the mentality of a prostitute, which I didn't have, and it was not quite so wrong just once or twice sleeping with a man and having some money from him: a man I knew and liked." Miss Keeler described how she had taken work as a model and introduced some of the girls she met to Ward:

"I introduced them because he liked girls. He used to tell me which girl he liked in a shop and say 'Go and get her'."

40 After relating preparations at Ward's flat for an abortion and after a short cross-examination by Mr James Burge, representing Ward, in which she said that police had taken twelve statements from her and interviewed her twice a week during the last few months, Miss Keeler left the witness-box.

She was replaced by Miss Rice-Davies in a black coat, flowery hat and white gloves, who said she had been introduced to Ward by Miss Keeler. There had been frequent intercourse between Ward and herself, she said. He had suggested they ought to get married some time.

45 "He always said that he did not have any money but had lots of friends. He mentioned Lord Astor's name and said we have always got Bill who can help us."

The only other friend of Ward's whom she knew was Douglas Fairbanks, Jun. Ward's inference had been "fairly obvious - Lord Astor had already paid Christine's and my rent."

50 Miss Rice-Davies said that for some time she had lived with a Mr Peter Rachman, but after his death in October, 1962, had gone to live with Ward at Wimpole Mews.

## 7) Edwardian or jet age? Mr Wilson offers a choice

By Peter Jenkins, our Labour correspondent, Monday January 20, 1964

5 An outdated Conservative Britain ruled from the grouse moors or a modern Socialist Britain, ruled with technical skill based on equality of opportunity. This was the choice and the challenge Mr Harold Wilson threw out last night in what was designed to be the first major speech of the 1964 general election campaign.

Addressing a capacity all-ticket audience (1,987 at 2s. a head) at the Birmingham Town Hall, the Labour Party leader contrasted a drab picture of a class-ridden and lethargic society with a glowing vision of a Socialist Britain tailored for the scientific age. It was the theme, hammered home, of his conference speech at Scarborough: it will be the central theme of the series of campaign speeches he has now embarked upon.

10 He returned time and time again to his indictment: "We are living in the jet age but we are governed by an Edwardian Establishment mentality. "If you fly the Atlantic in a jet you want to be sure the pilot knows his job,

that he's been trained for it. If you are in a hospital you feel more confident if you know that the surgeon has given his lifetime to fitting himself for his work. Pilot or surgeon, it doesn't matter to you who his father was, or what school he went to or who his friends are. And yet in Government and in business we're still content to accept social qualifications rather than technical ability as a criterion.

### ***Grouse moor theory***

Mr Wilson scorned "the grouse moor conception of national leadership," ability measured by upper class accents, and "smoothness" when it was "ruggedness" that we really needed. In place of this Labour would create "an open society in which all have an opportunity to work and serve - in which craftsmanship will be more important than caste." He went on to touch upon some of the things Labour would do to restore British economic purpose, social purpose, and stature in the world. Steady and sustained economic expansion would have to be achieved in place of stop-go and it would have to be based on planning and priorities.

Steel would be renationalised; an integrated transport policy would replace the "amateurism" of Dr Beeching's accountant's interpretation of the transport problem, new publicly owned industries would be set up based on the scientific revolution.

### ***Investment***

Mr Wilson dealt with investment in plant, machinery and building but he emphasised "a new kind of investment" - in human beings. Half of the talent and energy and drive of the nation was going to waste as a result of a vicious system of so-called ?te education.

The Government had accepted the Robbins Report on higher education, but, Mr Wilson said, "with their lips." Three months afterwards it had not even decided which Minister was in charge. "The Prime Minister has not got the authority to decide the issue between a difficult Boyle and a contumacious Hogg." Higher education had been held back for years: now it was held back by a vulgar clash of personalities.

Priorities would mean controls. Labour would not hesitate to hold back less essential building projects - not least speculative offices. Controls would be needed - controls of starting dates and timing - even if to meet existing Conservative programmes.

An incomes policy was also essential. Labour's policy was for a planned growth in all incomes, including rents.

Of Labour's social purpose he said: "There will be no incantations from us about never having had it so good until we have dealt with the pockets of poverty in this country." Labour would make housing a social service, it would take the profit out of land speculation and bring the ownership of land under the community, it would smoke out the last relics of Rachmanism. Mr Wilson said Britain's stature in the world could only be assured when economic strength at home was fulfilled. The Conservatives, on the other hand, relied on "some international old boy network to take charge and see us through."

Speaking from a political platform made famous by Joseph Chamberlain, Mr Wilson accused the Government of turning their backs on the Commonwealth "wherein lies not only our economic strength but the basis for our world leadership."

Earlier at a press conference he had challenged the Prime Minister when he makes his first speech in his campaign series at Swansea today to give a pledge that any Government of which he is the head will consider that entry into the Common Market on "any terms" would reduce Britain's existing freedom to trade with the Commonwealth.

Should the Common Market become an election issue Labour, it appears, has shifted from Gaitskellite to total (Beaverbrook) opposition to British membership.

## **8) Winston Churchill**

Sunday January 24, 1965

In Winston Churchill has died the greatest Englishman of his time, full of years and honour. The days when his shoulders held up the sky are still fresh in the minds of all but the young; and then he served and saved not his own countrymen only but the whole free world. Unlike most eminent persons he can at his death be given at once his place in history; it is not likely that posterity, when it sees him in perspective, will change to any great extent the judgment of his contemporaries. One difficulty in summing up his career is its abnormal length. He was in Parliament longer than Disraeli and nearly as long as Gladstone. Though the Victorian age was one of rapid change neither of these men found the political and social life at the one end of their career so totally different from life at the other end as did Churchill, and, of course, neither had to fight a monster such as Hitler or guide Britain in such peril. His career was divided by the year 1940. If he had died a little before that, when

he was already over 60 years old, he would have been remembered as an eloquent, formidable, erratic statesman, an outstanding personage, but one who was not to be put in the class of such contemporaries as Lloyd George or even Arthur Balfour. Yet all the qualities with which he was to fascinate the world were already formed and matured. They awaited their hour for use.

15 The hour came when he took the leadership of the country in the Second World War: a war which could almost certainly have been avoided if the British Conservative Government had followed the policies towards Germany which he had urged in the years preceding its outbreak. As a war leader Churchill made some mistakes, as he himself admitted. But without Churchill would Britain have survived in 1940 and 1941? Would the resolution of the country, its instinct not to submit or yield whatever the apparent hopelessness of its case -  
20 would these old warlike qualities of the British people have been able to express themselves in action? And if Britain had gone down then, could any nation or group of nations have prevailed against the Nazis and their allies? By radiating his own personality among his countrymen Churchill animated them to conduct themselves with something of his own fortitude, resourcefulness, and grim gaiety.

*By his light Did all the chivalry of England move To do brave acts.*

25 Literary art proved to be a most formidable engine of war. In an age of mechanism and outward drabness Churchill's splendour of language had the power to release great energies, and was at least one of the factors which in 1940 saved the country from ruin. And not only Britain. We remember the way his words and example - in the phrase which he used to Britain itself - glowed and burned through the night of Europe. He was far more than the great leader of the British Commonwealth. He was the man who had summoned back to life the spirit  
30 of liberty and hope in a world prostrate and stunned beneath the shock of the Nazi onslaught. He will hold a place such as no other Englishman has ever held in the folklore of distant peoples and remote places. He will be the symbol for millions of the power of the love of liberty and the love of country to create a power of endurance that can outdare an overwhelming challenge.

In keeping with the drama which marked his life, Churchill was thrown from office by democratic vote at the  
35 moment of victory. More strictly, the Conservative Party, at the head of which he had chosen to put himself, suffered the defeat which had long been waiting for it. But the setback was in a sense personal, too. It was his fate that in spite of his gifts he had only at exceptional moments the full confidence of his fellow-countrymen. This lack of trust cut across all parties. Labour feared what it called his class bias. Some Conservatives thought that he was not biased enough; they felt that, with his past, he was not a sound party man, and they did not like  
40 the warmth for his former associates, the Liberals, which he never wholly extinguished. A sentiment very widespread was that Churchill was to be kept only for great occasions: he was too incalculable - or dangerous - for politicians' daily food. All these feelings helped to keep him out of office for six years until October, 1951. He fumed and fretted; to many the Leader of the Opposition seemed a much dwindled figure compared with the war leader. Not that he was ineffective at this time: his speeches at Fulton and in Europe helped on the  
45 movement towards European union.

As soon as he was again Prime Minister he set himself to build one of his "grand designs," this time for peace. Though age had lessened his vigour, except on great occasions, he was the undisputed author of the foreign policy of his Cabinet. He also gave purpose and direction to Britain's effort to share in the "great deterrent" of the nuclear and thermo-nuclear age. The influence of these decisions will be with us for years yet.  
50 But to-day it is his lifelong character rather than particular policies which are to be commemorated. Among his many superlative qualities, one endeared him particularly to his countrymen. He was a great man of action who displayed by instinct, even in the heat of struggle, the admirable virtues of moderation and compassion. Coleridge, speaking of Napoleon, said that all great men are apt to be great and relentless hunters of men. Churchill enjoyed struggle, but was not a political Nimrod. His country-men never had to fear from him for  
55 their liberties or moral values, and he never regarded them as pawns in a game for world power. If one word can sum up his career it is magnanimity - greatness in combat and also greatness in tolerance and reconciliation.

## 9) What shall we tell Caroline?

Saturday January 22, 1966

For a moment when its bows were awash it looked as if an act of God were to do for Radio Caroline what Mr Wedgwood Benn has so far failed to do - sink it. But now the pirate ship is safely at anchor and next week the country will once more be awash with continuous "pop" music and inconsequential chatter. For those in peril on  
5 the sea there was only momentary alarm; for those in peril on the land the danger multiplies. There are already five pirate radio stations and there will soon be a sixth, masquerading under the name of Radio Mayflower as a pioneer. But the listeners show no anxiety to be rescued from this fate worse than deafness. The British

Copyright Council has asked the Government to reconsider the use of force against the pirates, but the Government hesitates even to enforce sanctions. And the reason is quite simple: millions of our kith and kin tune in to the pirates every day, by choice. And, having been once given the choice, they do not want to surrender it.

The pirates are not only popular - with advertisers as well as with their audience - but they are unpretentious too. They entertain in a mindless way; they do not pretend to inform or to educate. But radio ought to attempt all three. And if the pirates live in hopes of one day being invited to step ashore and become legitimate, then that invitation should be extended only on the understanding that they accept these greater responsibilities. It is not good enough to be in the radio business to make good money; they ought to make good programmes too. The pirates have proved that there is a demand for commercial radio. If the Government dare not reject this demand, then it ought at least to demand in turn that commercial radio programmes grow up.

## 10) *Time* takes time off in London

Friday April 15, 1966

So we've made it at last. Last week's cover of *Time* asked whether God was dead. This week London herself has been slotted into that privileged space that hits the news-stands of half the world. We are, it seems, the mostest, humdinging, switched on, scene-setting city this side of Vienna in the 1890s. The trendmakers are here already, the international jet set flies in by every plane, and on thousands of legs all over London calf boots are busy chasing the hemline up the thigh.

In a frenetic prose that bounces off the page, *Time's* feature writers describe a scene so exotic, so breathless, and so tinted with improbable colours, that mere photographs cannot convey its richness. The cuisine is unparalleled, the cinema unprecedented, and the theatre vibrant and superb. Is this the London that we knew? The London of the Beefeaters and the Horse Guards and the gritty Cockney courage of "Passport to Pimlico"? The London even of chips with everything and HP sauce? No, that has long since disappeared along with the empire. A new London has been built for those who were not yet born at the time of the blitz. A London where Carnaby Street takes precedence over Downing Street, where pin stripe and bowlers give way to bell bottoms and polyvinyl chloride.

Some of *Time's* picture is overdrawn. Parts of it, as we trudge through the snow in mid-April, are unrecognisable. But one thing is unmistakable - the vitality. Reprehensible some of it may be. For, while revelling in the wild, bright clothing of the young, not everyone will applaud the proliferation of gambling saloons and strip clubs that make up "Time's" scenario. The gay, yet irresponsible and fundamentally amoral society that we have constructed over the last two decades has many facets. We have subscribed to a philosophy of affluence and are reaping its fruits. We have erected a welfare state which absolves its members from caring for those who escape its net. But at least London is alive. Irrespective of Mr Wilson's pleas to get Britain moving again, London at any rate is swinging. What we're swinging about, or where we're moving to, is anyone's guess. But there's a whole scene going.

## 11) Housing for the homeless

Friday January 13, 1967

Several million people now have had their consciences badly shaken about homelessness in Britain. "Cathy Come Home" has shown us how heedless we can be, and how heartless some of us are. Mr Jeremy Sandford, who wrote it, Mr Ken Loach who produced it, the cast who played it and the BBC who showed it have started what looks like a large crusade. They have also portrayed the nature as well as the extent of the baffling problems of homelessness today. It is not simply a matter of more homes. It is also a question of who gets them, and why. Who is to decide between the claims of Cathy and her family - who have nowhere to go - and those of the long-suffering tenement dwellers who have been creeping up the housing list for years?

These are two distinct and different problems; and one cause of the inevitable sort of homelessness experienced by Cathy is that the two problems must now be solved by the same local authority. The council, as it were, is obliged to run a casualty ward for Cathy without ever being able to admit her to the hospital itself. Council housing is for long-term ratepayers: hostels are for strangers. And the rules are usually strict. A man can lose his place on the housing list simply by taking a job and lodgings in another district; which is not the way to encourage mobility of labour. Nor does a spell in some local authority hostels do much to help a homeless family to find its independent feet again.

What is needed is a separate source of cheap rented housing for people with nowhere to go. The needs of the homeless are different from the needs of those who ought to be rehoused, and their cases must be judged by

different standards. In practice it is impossible for a local authority to run two housing lists. An emergency rescue service is needed for those who fall through the welfare net. Eventually, perhaps, it could be done by the State, if the State were willing and competent. In the meantime the voluntary housing trusts, some of them already amalgamated in "Shelter," can make a little money house a lot of people. The thousands of Cathys now abroad have hardly anywhere else to go. The thousands who want to help them have nowhere better to send their money.

## 12) The sexual revolution

"Emancipation is now a reality, and we ought to be entering on the golden age of adult sexual equality and companionship that feminists fought for"

by Margaret Drabble, Wednesday October 11, 1967

It is no longer possible to deny that we face the certainty of a sexual revolution, and that this revolution, which much affects the institutions of marriage and parenthood, is caused largely by the development of contraceptive techniques. Until very recently the reliability of all known methods was highly questionable, and the act of sex was still an act of which the consequences could be unimaginably significant. Some of those consequences can now be prevented with complete certainty: and the method of prevention will become increasingly widespread. It is useless to suggest that this cannot affect the morality of sexual relationships, for morality is inseparably connected with the notion of responsibility, and an act which cannot have the consequence of conception, of producing a new helpless life, cannot be irresponsible in the same sense as an act which risks such an event.

This does not imply that sexual relations that don't risk conception are unrelated to personal responsibility and morality; clearly there is still room, in the most technically sterile relationship, for treachery and loyalty, generosity and abuse. But the fear of pregnancy, which has haunted women throughout history - and pregnancy, as we forget nowadays, used to mean a very real confrontation with death - is now a dispensable fear: a woman need no longer dread pain, or years of motherhood, or even, on the crudest level, discovery, as the result of her sexual activities. Nor, on a higher level, need she fear the guilt of bringing into the world a child for which she may not be able to provide. She is free now, as never before. As Simone de Beauvoir put it - for a woman, liberty begins in the womb.

This freedom is evidently connected to that other major revolution of our society, the emancipation for women. It is the final clause in the contract, the clinching argument.

Education, freedom to work, equal pay and social equality did not mean much when they could be negated by the arrival of one small unintended baby. Emancipation is now a reality, and we ought to be entering on the golden age of free adult sexual equality and companionship that the feminists fought for. Unfortunately, although the young - students, teenagers - seem able to achieve this, the relationship appears to break down when questions of careers and parenthood present themselves in the context of the real, competitive world. Entirely new problems have been created. As Inge Becker pointed out recently in "New Society," men now feel a resentful hostility towards women in their professional lives, because although women are now free to compete, they are also free, as men are not, to opt out, to opt for home and family, when the career starts to bore them, or when their own inadequacy begins to be revealed.

### *Contraception*

Men have not this freedom: successful or not, they must continue to work, with no possible excuses, until retirement. On a personal level, too, men feel threatened; with contraception in the hands of women, men can now be deceived and coerced into marriage, or threatened with paternity cases, even more effectively than before, by those women who wish to bear children: and they can no longer employ the same means of domination over those who do not. Some men used to regard a constant succession of pregnancies as the surest means of keeping their wives out of trouble, but this method could hardly be employed now without a very willing or ignorant partner.

Thus it would seem that although a new permissiveness in sexual relations for the young can be regarded without anxiety, it's a different matter when it comes to the problem of marriage and parenthood. The young today - or some of them, anyway - justifiably regard complete sexual experience as something morally indistinct from the milder forms of courtship which have always been regarded as legitimate, even when practised with successive discarded partners. Men now don't expect to marry virgins, any more than they used to expect a hundred years ago to marry women who had never been kissed, embraced, or otherwise approached by any other man. (Some did expect just this, and some still do, but from personal prejudice, not from a sense of social expectation.)

But after marriage, what then? Because however permissive society becomes, people will go on marrying, they will go on having children. But the form of marriage itself must alter; it's hard to imagine that it will continue to exist as the exclusive sexual and domestic partnership of one man and one woman for life, when so many of the sanctions that formed it in this mould have been removed. But it's equally hard to imagine, at this point in time, what will succeed it. My own view is that whereas young unmarried people do live now with a relaxed, permissive attitude towards sex, marriage itself has become increasingly difficult, tense, strained, and neurotic. The standards are high; we have freedom of choice, control over the size of our families, a high ideal of husband-wife equality, a contempt for Victorian hypocrisy. Consequently the failure rate and the degree of suffering in this transitional period is high.

Fidelity, for instance, which is one of the major marital problems, used to have an entirely rational basis, which has recently been removed, leaving only the personal motive, one far more likely to be betrayed: an unfaithful wife used to risk bearing a child that was not her husband's, and thereby bringing upon him the burden of providing for a child that was not his, and for her the shame of living with the knowledge that he was doing so. This position has clearly now altered, as the act of infidelity has itself altered in significance, but the human suffering attached to it has not been lessened.

### ***Matrimony***

What, after all, is marriage for? The only sure answer that remains is that it is for the protection of children. Most of the questions involved in sexual morality, such as chastity and fidelity, were once directly associated with the protection of children, and it is the divorce of procreation and copulation, those two prayer book causes for matrimony, that has so disturbed us. Two of the most profound experiences of human nature, which used to be inseparably connected, are now only marginally so, and then by choice. It is hard to see how morality will adapt itself to this alteration in its very structure.

But, meanwhile, as the adaptations are forming themselves, people are still marrying and producing children, and those children require the same attention that children have always required: most marriages in the twentieth century probably answer the description given by David Hume in the eighteenth, when he said: "Whoever considers the length and feebleness of human infancy, with the concern which both sexes must naturally have for their offspring, will easily perceive that there must be a union of the male and the female for the education of the young." This is an unemotional definition, perhaps: but the ideal it expresses is both relevant and high.

## **13) The Moonwalkers**

### *"The Eagle Has Landed"*

by Anthony Tucker, Monday July 21, 1969

Men are on the moon. At 3:39 am this morning - nearly four hours ahead of schedule - Armstrong, the lunar module commander, opened the hatch and clambered slowly down to the surface of the moon. Minutes later Aldrin followed him down the steps of the ladder - already renamed Tranquility Base - to join in this moving, clumsy culmination of eight years of intense dedication. It was the fulfilment of a dream which men have shared since the beginning of recorded history.

The decision to walk early was made three hours after the lunar module Eagle had made a perfect landing at 9:17 pm, four miles downrange from the chosen site. The spacecraft was steered manually to clear a boulder-strewn crater "the size of a football pitch." It was a moment of extraordinary tension and silence. The lunar module curved gently down over the Sea of Tranquility, the drama heightened by the calm, almost casual voices of the astronauts and the mission controller at Houston.

The casualness was deceptive: from 500 ft. above the surface and all too aware that an error could lead to irretrievable disaster, Aldrin brought the spacecraft down under Armstrong's direction. At the moment of approach Armstrong's heartbeat rose from its normal 70 to 156. Yes his voice was calm and flat: "Contact light: engines stopped? the Eagle has landed."

The landing was perfect. Spaceflight Centre and the world seemed momentarily stunned by emotion: only Armstrong, Aldrin - and above them, Collins - seemed unmoved at the end of the drama which began with a characteristically laconic acceptance of the "go" for separation of the lunar module shortly before 7 p.m.

"You got a bunch of guys who're about to turn blue", said the Houston space controller, when the module had landed. "We're breathing again. Thanks a lot."

Within a few minutes of landing Armstrong was saying they did not know exactly where they had landed. Houston replied "We'll figure it out for you."

25 Armstrong reported that the site was pitted with craters, "in the five to fifty feet range" with rocks of five to 10 ft., and ridges of five to 30 ft.

Ten minutes after landing Aldrin radioed: "We'll get to the details of what's around here, but it looks like a collection of just about every kind of rock. Colour depends on what angle you're looking at? rocks and boulders look as though they're going to have some interesting colours." The close look already began to bile the image gained from centuries of examining lunar reflectivity - for that is what we see by - and the more detailed  
30 examination from orbit by man and camera. And from there, in the Sea of Tranquility, the colourful earth is simply bright. "It's big, and bright and beautiful," said Armstrong.

They said they had no difficulty in adapting to the moon's gravity. The conversation from the moon's surface came through loud and clear.

35 Separation began on this side of the moon, but the descent itself - the journey to which President Kennedy committed his nation eight years ago - began with a firing of the lunar module's motor after a long separating half-orbit on the far side of the moon and out of touch with the control centre back at Houston. The world waited for the static-filled radio silence to be broken by an astronaut's affirmative. After what seemed on earth to be an age, the disappointed millions who had hoped to watch the first steps of separation on television, at last heard a calm and distant Armstrong confirm that the landing trajectory was good. The first minor miracle had  
40 been performed.

From that moment, with the tension mounting second by second and with the minimum of interrogation from earth, or from the orbiting Collins, the lunar module bore Armstrong and Aldrin downward, using its motor as a brake and slowly tilting until it was upright and ready for landing. On and down, past "high-gate" at 7,000 ft. with the braking phase complete and the spacecraft rotated so that its windows faced forward-the point at which  
45 the final approach began. Still onward and down, but more slowly now, the spacecraft moved with the astronauts checking, checking and checking again that all systems were "go".

Visual approach, but still under automatic control, began at 500 ft. with all forward motion stilled and the descent rate only 2 and a half ft. a second, the spacecraft seemed to pause and wait as Armstrong searched the ashen-grey landscape for the hidden flaws, sudden rock which would shatter the landing.

50 With a permitted tolerance of 12 degrees about the horizontal - a tilt of 6 degrees in any direction - if the spacecraft was ever to rise again, the search for a landing area had to be as knowledgeable and as perfect as man could make it. A few minutes later, although time seemed to have slowed down, we knew that it had been good. The tilt was 4 and a half degrees. A second minor miracle had been worked.

Every step of the preparation for landing yesterday went smoothly. Armstrong and Aldrin transferred from  
55 the command module - codenamed Columbia - to the lunar module "Eagle" during the tenth orbit, and on the eleventh orbit Glynn Lunney, the flight controller at Houston, told the world that all spacecraft systems were "operating just fine".

60 With the deceptive casualness which is now a hallmark of space-craft control, he added that the astronauts were "a jump ahead in their work." They took only six hours' sleep instead of eight and were in their lunar module spacesuits ahead of schedule.

#### **14) Vietnam to inquire into massacre at village**

Thursday November 20, 1969 , Saigon

The American authorities issued a statement today saying that the United States does not condone atrocities, after reports of a massacre in March last year at a Vietnamese village. "The US Government does not condone  
5 atrocities in any way, in any time, under any conditions," a statement, issued jointly by the American Embassy and the US military command said.

Survivors' accounts of a massacre at My Lai in March, 1968, were not reported in Saigon newspapers.

Blank spaces appeared on the front pages of several newspapers where the reports had been cut out. The Information Ministry had intervened to ask that they should not be published.

60 Survivors of My Lai told yesterday how US soldiers entered their village three times. Twice they handed out candy to children. The third time, they herded the villagers into groups and opened fire, killing more than 300 men, women and children.

Various figures have been given of the number killed. A statement released today by the army described one estimate of 567 victims, reported by the "New York Times" and "Newsweek" as exaggerated.

## 15) Flight hailed as a soaring triumph

Tuesday March 4, 1969

Concorde's flight was a marvellous and immensely exciting achievement, Mr Wedgwood Benn, Minister of Technology, said yesterday.

5 Mr Keith Granville, managing director of BOAC, said: "The flight is a soaring triumph for everyone involved with the spectacular aeroplane. Britain and France have every right to feel proud of their technical cooperation.

"But today's tremendous achievement is only the beginning. From today Concorde will answer the questions itself. In the months ahead, the aircraft will show the waiting world its full performance capabilities."

10 Mr Pat Burgess, the British Aircraft Corporation executive, who will sell the Concorde abroad, said he did not think the Russian supersonic plane was a "serious" danger to the Concorde's market. The Concorde was about five or six years ahead of any American plane.

Mr Richard Wiggs, organiser of the anti-Concorde Project when told that Concorde's engines could be heard nearly 20 miles away, said: "This is absolutely astounding. It is surprising because it is so much greater than we had expected." Anyone living really near the airport would be subject to physically painful noise.

15

## 16) 150,000 roar for Dylan

from Jackie Leishman, Monday September 1, 1969 , Isle of Wight

Bob Dylan walked in from the night to a hero's welcome at the music festival here. The voice of the crowd, restless after their three day vigil, rose for the slender figure. "It's great to be here," he told them as the tension broke.

5 For three hours they had been waiting for his first song to the British public for 3 and a half years - "She belongs to me." There were some anxious moments for the organisers when sections of the crowd began to move forward. Several people were handed over the crowd to ambulance men who could not get through. The crowd was forced together very tightly: it seemed to move as one.

10 Since last Monday they had been arriving, in the tent and shanty town on a 250-acre site at East Wootton - 150,000 people who sit around 14 hours at a stretch, tuned in to music from a long string of groups varying in super-amplified (1,500 watts) quality. They came on foot, by helicopter, by car, by whatever means would get them there. The narrow lanes leading to the stage and arena on the top of a small hill bulged with weary travellers, some with the look of desperation or pale and pained expressions. Those who could afford it paid to sit in the audience, but others pitched tents in the surrounding fields and were content to hear - if not see.  
15 Alongside and rising above the arena walls, trees gave a better view than could be had by those who paid for cramped accommodation at the rear. Outside they queued - patiently, silently, and up to 300 deep - for food and lavatories. Inside they continued to sit, seemingly oblivious to anything but the blanket of sound which made conversation impossible, and - for those up front - headaches inevitable. Mingling with the anonymous plethora of hairy heads, unisex leather and denims and beads were wealthy "hippies" like Jane Fonda and her husband  
20 Roger Vadim.

It was impossible not to be moved, however slightly, by this happening. The tension and atmosphere had been electric and increased as the afternoon dragged slowly towards 9 p.m., when Dylan was to appear.

The camp fires which had burned throughout the cold night were stoked to life again for breakfast. By 11 a.m. the arena had begun to fill again, and by noon the first band was in session.

25 In the village of Wootton, 1 and a half miles from the site, the townspeople were cooperative. The bewilderment showed in their reaction not so much to the appearance of this mass of youth but rather to their patience and calm politeness. The shopkeepers, especially, were making money and that may have lessened the blow and lowered the barriers.

30 Bill Foulk, one of the three brothers responsible for the festival, stood at the entrance to the press enclosure in the morning, checking passes. He was pale and seemed nervous as he said that he tried to look at the happening objectively. "If I sat down and thought this crowd was my responsibility, I might go mad."

The rumours that the festival would lose money are unfounded. "We only had to take 40,000 bookings to break even and we had taken 70,000 before it opened," Bill Foulk said.

35 Patiently, for he had probably said it 100 times before, he talked about the plan which lured Dylan to the island. "We telephoned him and his managers countless times and finally got a request from Bob to send

information. That is how it started - you know the rest." He was enthusiastic about official cooperation. "The police could not have been more helpful."

A watch was kept by 70 security men, 20 in uniform and with Alsatians. They patrolled outside the arena throughout the nights, but there were no reports of trouble.

40 There was, however, one angry man, Mr Albert Thackman, the owner of three acres of land leased for the stage and surrounding press areas. Yesterday afternoon he returned to his bungalow to find his wife hysterical. She had been abused, he said, by a young man she had caught using their fence as a lavatory.

"The mark on her shin shows where she was kicked," Mr Thackman said. "I fired one shot into the air. It seemed the only way to keep them off the doorstep."

45 Rikki Farr, the man in charge on stage, rested his voice this morning, and in between pampering his throat with a tin of lozenges he said: "Dylan is a great man, but you can have too much."

In the area beyond the immediate arena, crowds were still waiting to buy tickets this afternoon. They were entertained by a fight to the death by four psychedelic coloured cars and had the opportunity to roll about on immense phallic shaped orange balloons.

50 A girl of 19, who gave her name as Vivian and said she came from "nowhere" took part in the happening which attracted a large audience in the refreshment area just after midday. She and a young man, both naked, made love on a bed of foam. At times the foam covered them completely. The girl, when asked why she had done it, replied "Why not? It's a beautiful thing." A police officer said no action would be taken unless someone who had seen the couple complained. A spokesman for the organisers commented: "We cannot control the  
55 morals of 100,000 people."

On the camp site there were few famous names who were not spotted at some point. Terence Stamp, Francoise Hardy, the Rolling Stones, John Lennon, Yoko Ono, and George Harrison were either mingling among the crowd or "expected at any moment."

## 17) THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION

### Limitations on Equal Opportunity

THE school system in Britain remains the most divisive, unjust, and wasteful of all the aspects of social inequality. First, it denies even the limited aim of equal opportunity. Before the war, it did so to an extent which now seems almost fantastic, so that a high proportion of children had no access to secondary education of any  
5 kind. Of boys born between 1910 and 1929, only 14% of those from state elementary schools achieved a secondary education, compared with 89% of those from private primary schools. Taking the occupational status categories described in Chapter VIII, a boy from categories 1-3 had five times the chance of a grammar school education as a boy from categories 6-7 (and thirteen times the chance of reaching a University) and this without reference to boys educated at independent schools. Part of the cause of this deplorable situation was directly  
10 economic - even when a working-class child did win a free grammar school place, his parents often could not afford to take it up. But mainly it was due to governmental apathy and meanness.

The 1944 Education Act set out to make secondary education universal; and formally it has done so. Yet opportunities for advancement are still not equal. [ ... ]

#### *The Case against an Elite School System*

15 We should have an educational system which was exceptionally just and fair, in the limited sense of offering equal opportunities regardless, so far as this is ever possible, of birth or wealth; and exceptionally efficient in that the ablest pupils would be creamed off and given a superior training. We should largely have attained the goal of the equal-opportunity society.

20 But I argued in Chapter VIII that this was not a sufficient goal for socialists in Britain. Equal opportunities for self-advancement, superimposed on a segregated educational system, would still leave too wide a gap between the new elite and the average citizen. Of course the gap would be less, owing to the freer vertical movement, than under the present system; and the selection for the elite more just. And of course some degree of educational 'eliteness', resting on the Universities, the sixth forms, or simply the fact of staying at school until 16, is inevitable. But here the prestige-gulf between the public schools and the rest would still be such as to  
25 create an elite much too detached from the point of view either of social justice, or contentment, or democracy. We can find supporting evidence for this view in the post-war experience of providing equal opportunities even within a segregated state system of education.

The implementation (though it is not clear that it was the intention) of the 1944 Act was in terms of a tripartite secondary school system - grammar, secondary modern and technical - the three streams being divided

30 out by a selection at 11+. Although there was supposed to be 'parity of esteem' between the three types of school, it was recognised the grammar schools would long retain their superiority; and the 11+ examination, combined with the abolition of grammar school fees, was intended to provide an equal opportunity for all children to enjoy this superior advantage. [ ... ]

35 The object of having comprehensive schools is not to abolish all competition and all envy, which might be rather a hopeless task, but to avoid the extreme social division caused by physical segregation into schools of widely divergent status, and the extreme social resentment caused by failure to win a grammar (or, in future, public) school place, when this is thought to be the only avenue to a 'middleclass' occupation. That division and that resentment bear no relation whatever to the effects of grading within a single school, with the possibility of re-grading at any time simply by moving across a corridor. One has only to think of the present public schools, where it could hardly be maintained that the divisions and resentments created by failure to get into the sixth-form, or to become a prefect, are in any way comparable with those caused by failure to win a grammar school place.

45 What, then, can be done? First, a Labour Government should explicitly state a preference for the comprehensive principle, and should actively encourage local authorities - and such advice carries great weight - to be more audacious in experimenting with comprehensive schools in the light of the marked success [ ... ]

Secondly, where new comprehensive schools cannot or will not be built, the object must be to weaken to the greatest possible extent the significance of the 11+ examination, and the rigidity of the prestige and physical barriers inherent in the present tripartite stratification. This is partly a matter of money and resources

50 [ ... ] these changes will at least increasingly break up the present rigid, tripartite pattern ... Diversification is at least one route towards equality. [ ... ]

Gradually, the schools which children go to will become, as in the United States, not an automatic function of brains or class location, but a matter of personal preference and local accident. The system will increasingly, if the Labour Party does its job, be built around the comprehensive school. But even in the large non-comprehensive sector, all schools will more and more be socially mixed; all will provide routes to the Universities and to every type of occupation, from the highest to the lowest; and it will cease to occur to employers to ask what school job-applicants have been to. Then, very slowly, Britain may cease to be the most class-ridden country in the world.

From Anthony CROSLAND. *The Future of Socialism*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1956 (chapter X.)

### 18) Editorial, *The Times*, 11 June 1963.

Everyone has been so busy assuring the public that the affair is not one of morals, that it is time to assert that it is. Morals have been discounted too long ... No one would wish the security aspects of the matter to be ignored. There is no danger of this ... For the Conservative Party - and, it is to be hoped, for the nation - things can never be quite the same again.

5 The hope must be that they will become better. There is plenty of room for this. However multifarious and ingenious the causes to which the Conservative Central Office ascribe the desperate state of the Party's present fortunes as shown by the opinion polls, the overriding reason is that eleven years of Conservative rule have brought the nation psychologically and spiritually to a low ebb. The Conservatives came to power a few months before the present reign opened. They have been in office so far throughout the whole of it. The ardent hopes and eager expectations that attended its beginning have been belied.

10 They giped at austerity, and in all truth the British people deserved some easement after their historic and heroic exertions, although history is never a nicely balanced business of rewards and penalties. They declared they had the right road for Britain. They would set the people free. Change, they declared, was their ally. Nothing else, they seemed later to think, mattered, compared with the assertion that the nation had never had it so good. Today they are faced with a flagging economy, an uncertain future, and the end of the illusion that Britain's greatness could be measured by the so-called independence of its so-called deterrent. All this may seem far from Mr Profumo, but his admissions could be the last straw. It remains strange that not a single member of the government resigned when the affair broke in March and he did not himself resign.

20 What the Conservatives need now, and what they have needed ever since Churchill was in his heyday, is courage. One of the paradoxes of modern war is that defeat is more likely to restore a nation's fibre than victory. There is no hiding place from the tidal wave of overthrow and disaster. All too dangerously comfortable is the slow, insidious, almost imperceptible but inexorable ebb tide.

**19) Department of Education and Science, Circular 10/65, *The Organisation of Secondary Education*, 12 July 1965, pp. 301-7.**

Introduction

It is the Government's declared objective to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in secondary education ...

5 The Secretary of State accordingly requests local education authorities, if they have not already done so, to prepare and submit to him plans for reorganising secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines ...

It is for the authorities ... to devise the most satisfactory plans in relation to local circumstances. In doing so, they should appreciate that while the Secretary of State wishes progress to be as rapid as possible, he does not wish it to be achieved by the adoption of plans whose educational disadvantages more than off-set the benefits which will flow from the adoption of comprehensive schooling ...

10 A comprehensive school aims to establish a school community in which pupils over the whole ability range and with differing interests and backgrounds can be encouraged to mix with each other, gaining stimulus from he contacts and learning tolerance and understanding in the process. But particular comprehensive schools will reflect the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which they are situated; if their community is less varied and fewer of the pupils come from homes which encourage educational interests' schools may lack the stimulus and vitality which schools in other areas enjoy. The Secretary of State therefore urges authorities to ensure, when  
15 determining catchment areas, that schools are as socially and intellectually comprehensive as is practicable ...

Plans should be submitted within one year of the date of this Circular, although the Secretary of State may exceptionally agree an extension to this period in the case of any individual authority. Plans should be in two parts as follows:

20 (a) A general statement of the authority's long-term proposals ...

(b) A detailed statement of the authority's proposals, whether or not they have already been discussed with the Department, covering a period of three years starting not later than September 1967.

**20) Defence Cuts**

TOP SECRET DEFENCE CUTS

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs

General

5 Given the present situation, we accept that the Government's defence expenditure has to be cut, in line with home civil expenditure, if the new economy measures as a whole are to be regarded as fair and sufficient.

2. We accept also that the stage has been reached where there can be no further cuts in defence expenditure unless the overseas commitments on which much of it is based are themselves reduced. We agree with the Secretary of State for Defence that to attempt to cut defence expenditure any further without reducing our  
10 overseas commitments would be to endanger the morale of the armed forces.

3. But after four Defence Reviews, the last of them announced only six months ago, the price is heavy. The cuts we make will inevitably damage our interests. We must remember that there is an important and inherent distinction between domestic cuts and overseas cuts. Civil cuts can be restored once our economic situation is easier ; but our position and influence overseas, once lost, will be irretrievable. We need to weigh the political  
15 and economic risks with the greatest care.

4. We are involved overseas in many ways and have bonds with many countries. These bonds include our moral obligation to respond to Australia and New Zealand should they be in danger, as they did to us in two world wars ; our obligations to a number of other countries and our international legal responsibility, which we cannot divest ourselves of unilaterally, for our dependent territories. What is now suggested is not just a  
20 reassessment and reinterpretation of those obligations; it is a question of breaking our obligations and our pledged word. Unilateral action could cause us in the long run economic as well as political harm, on a scale that would greatly outweigh any economies we should make, by damaging that confidence in us and our intentions which we must sustain. As a trading nation we cannot afford to have our word and our intentions doubted. If we are given adequate time for consultation, we may be able to achieve the necessary changes we  
25 seek and set some limit to the damage. But we must remind our colleagues that British economic interests are closely involved in the areas from which withdrawals are proposed. These interests can suffer in two ways.

30 First, precipitate withdrawal can occasion instability leading to revolution or political realignment in which British investments are lost and trading opportunities seriously diminished. Second, we must beware lest the world is led to conclude that if we are forced to such measures as the breaking of agreements reached only six months ago and reaffirmed in Parliament as recently as November, our position since devaluation must indeed have become desperate. There is a real danger they will feel that in fact this time Britain must beyond all question and at last be finished. If that belief ever became general the consequences politically, economically and for the position of sterling, would be exceedingly grave. The consequences of the action now proposed could therefore prove to have a cost to our balance of payments far outweighing the savings which these measures could produce.

35 5. We and our officials have taken a long hard look at all our commitments, worldwide. This is what we have found.

#### Europe

40 6. NATO is the core of our security, and any unilateral breach of our undertakings could have the gravest consequences, both for our political aims in Europe and for our national security. [ ... ] We accept that, if we are to keep Europe as our main centre of effort, the principal cuts must come from other areas.

#### Malaysia and Singapore

45 7. Our Far East Defence policy has been under continuous review and adjustment over the last two or three years [ ... ] Our Commonwealth partners and the United States were strongly opposed to our declaring a date for our final withdrawal and they all pressed for a continued British presence as a guarantee of stability in an area where historically we had a unique contribution to make. [ ... ]

10. While we accept that there would be no special capacity for use in the Far East after our withdrawal it will be important that the general capacity we retain in Europe should be usable overseas when required.

#### Libya

50 We should try to re-shape our treaty commitment ...

#### Malta

We have a defence agreement with Malta until 1974 and have already negotiated the fastest possible rundown of British forces there.

#### Gibraltar

55 In the present political climate it would not be possible to withdraw the garrison from Gibraltar, although it cannot be justified militarily.

#### Other Areas

##### Elsewhere

60 [ ... ] we must remember that we are legally and morally responsible for the defence of our dependent territories. This will continue to be an essential part of our peace-keeping role in the world and will make it necessary for us to maintain a general capability.

#### Conclusions

65 26. The effect of cuts on the foregoing scale will be severely to diminish British influence overseas, and their consequences will be unpalatable. In the worst case we might see a Communist Singapore, and a Persian Gulf whose oil supplies were either in chaos or under Russian control. The reactions of the United States which were made last July, will be even stronger, particularly since their problems in Vietnam will make it hard for them to take remedial action elsewhere in South East Asia; and, since our own position in the Gulf is unique, they cannot replace us there. Given our economic situation, heavy cuts seem inevitable, and the price is bound to be severe. But the more successful our consultations, and the smoother the transition, the less damaging the consequences will be. [ ... ]

28. Against this background, our recommendations for cuts in commitments are that we should:

i) decide to withdraw altogether from our bases in Singapore and Malaysia by 31st March, 1972, and announce this decision to Parliament in the third week of January, 1968. There would have to be consultations beforehand with our Commonwealth partners and the united States.

75 ii) decide to withdraw wholly from the Gulf by the same date as the Far East withdrawal, i.e. 31st March, 1972, but not announce this decision;

iii) decide to give up the Kuwait commitment at a very early date to be decided in discussion with the Amir;

iv) subject to iii), reduce the number of our aircraft in Cyprus;

v) reshape our defence commitment in Libya;

80 We should also:

vi) examine the possibility of shedding: a) responsibility for military protection and evacuation in the Middle East and Africa; b) the commitment for defence and internal security of Mauritius after independence; c) the British Honduras garrison; d) the protection and defence of the Falkland Islands; e) our obligations to Brunei; f) the Beira patrol

85 We should also:

vii) examine the scale of our military support for internal security in Fiji.

G.B., G.T. Foreign Office, S.W.1, 3rd January 1968

[PRO CAB 129/135 (Public Record Office, Cabinet), released 1 January 1999]

## 21) In Place of Strife

*A policy for industrial relations*, Cmnd 3888, January 1969

The need for State intervention and involvement, in association with both sides of industry, is now admitted by almost everyone. The question that remains is, what form should it take at the present time?

### THE PRESENT STATE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

5 10. The answer to this question is to be found in an analysis of the present state of industrial relations in Britain. The report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations contains the essential material to enable both the Government and the country to decide what changes are needed for the 1970s.

10 11. It shows that at its best our system works well, and that many criticisms which have been made of it are largely unjustified. There are many companies, and even industries, in which industrial relations are well conducted. In general, managers who recognise and deal with union officials and shop stewards testify to their reason and good sense. Similar tributes to managements are made by many union officials and shop stewards. Research for the Royal Commission revealed few signs that trade union members were dissatisfied with their unions. Most union officials said they appreciated the work of shop stewards and the relationship between them  
15 and their stewards appeared to be good.

12. It is not even true to say that the Royal Commission's inquiries and surveys reveal a state of general complacency and disinclination to change. Managements have in recent years successfully carried through some remarkable experiments in the field of collective bargaining — many of them connected with the growth of productivity agreements. Changes are taking place in trade union organisation. Indeed, there has probably never  
20 been a time when more amalgamation schemes and mergers have been under discussion by the trade unions of this country. On both sides of industry there is a growing awareness of the need for change, and many managers and trade union officials are making strenuous efforts to bring this about. The measures proposed in this White Paper should not be interpreted as a criticism of their efforts. The Government's proposals are designed to assist the forces of change and to direct them into the most constructive channels.

25 13. Nevertheless our present system of industrial relations has serious deficiencies—both from the point of view of the community and of the individual employee. The disparity of power between employee and employer, though much reduced, still persists, particularly in areas where trade unionism is weak. Lock-outs are now almost unknown, but in their place has come the new threat of widespread redundancies as industry is re-structured and mergers multiply. New disparities of power have grown up between one group of employees  
30 and another. For example, imperfect competition in many industries may enable unions and employers to combine to exploit their market power at the expense of other members of the community.

14 Again the growing interdependence of modern industry means that the use of the strike weapon in certain circumstances can inflict disproportionate harm on the rest of society. The right of an employee to withdraw his labour is one of the essential freedoms in a democracy and the existence of this right has undoubtedly  
35 contributed to industrial progress and to the development of a more just society. But it is also true that in certain situations today, strikes by groups in key positions can damage the interests of other people so seriously — including the interests of other trade unionists — that they should only be resorted to when all other alternatives have failed.

15. The deficiencies of Britain's system of industrial relations are reflected in the character of our strike  
40 problem. It is true that, in comparison with many other countries, Britain's strike record, if measured by the

number of employees directly involved and the number of working days directly lost, is relatively good. But this does not mean that the industrial effects may not be more serious. As the Donovan Report pointed out: "That tally gives a very imperfect measure of the economic consequences of a strike". Compared with other countries we have a large number of strikes in relation to our workforce and in industries other than coal-mining the number of strikes has gone up considerably in recent years [ ... ]. The typical British strike is unofficial and usually in breach of agreed procedure. Although it is often soon over, it comes with little warning and the disruptive effect can be serious. It is commonest in a small number of industries such as motor assembly and components, the docks and shipbuilding. Other industries often have long periods without strikes, but they may suffer indirectly because of a strike at a key point of their supplies or services. This type of strike can cause far-reaching dislocation of work and at times takes place in complete disregard of its consequences for the community. These indirect effects are not reflected in the strike statistics.

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