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# British Labour and Europe

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## **Abstract**

After the Great War, British Labour decided to follow a new road in international relationships, away from traditional power politics, towards European Unity. The motives therefore and the strategies Labour wanted to implement in pursuing its aim, are compared with the attitude of the Continental Labour Movement. The article looks at the importance the League of Nations and the Empire had in the framework of Labour's European orientation and pays much attention to the development of transnational contacts between labour organisations in Great Britain and on the Continent in the 1920s and early 1930s. The final part is the systematic debate on a new order for Europe which was carried out within and outside the Labour Party during the Second World War.

**Key words:** Europe, Labour Party, TUC, workers' travel

## **Introduction**

In July 1911 a group of German trade unionists was on study tour in Great Britain. On 14 July they arrived in Leicester, where a reception was given. In his welcoming speech, Ramsay MacDonald, Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, underlined that 'the thinkers, writers, philosophers, technicians and industrialists of both countries have always complemented each other' and asked: 'What would these two great nations, Germany and Great Britain, be, the one without the other?'<sup>1</sup> The Germans were not the only group of workers travelling around the UK. In August 1911, a huge party of French Trade Unionists, Socialists and Co-operators, all in all 150 people, was in London and Manchester visiting co-operative societies.<sup>2</sup> The same month a group of sixty-seven members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) from Bradford went to Belgium for a seven-days visit of co-operative and municipal establishments.<sup>3</sup> Already before the Great War, there was an intensive exchange

between the British and continental Labour Movements. So far, attention has almost exclusively focused on the international congresses of the 'Second International', from Paris 1889, to Basle, 1912, where leaders of socialist parties and trade unions discussed general politics. Meetings between local activists, like the encounters mentioned above, where participants wanted to find out how 'the others' worked and built up their movement, are not considered sufficiently. Such encounters also illustrate, that the record of relationships between British Labour and continental workers' organisations is more than a 'record of indifferences', as Douglas Newton put it.<sup>4</sup>

Europe was the political, geographical and cultural space in which British and continental Labour moved. Both went through a process of Europeanisation of political thinking and the formation of a European Identity, which started before the Great War. The proposal for a League of Nations is often described as the almost exclusive focus of British Labour's foreign policy.<sup>5</sup> When W.C. Anderson, chairman of the ILP, spoke about Labour's concept for foreign policy in 1911, he placed Europe in the centre: 'A Labour foreign policy [...] would talk less of the balance of power and more of the Federated States of Europe'.<sup>6</sup> Two years later, Keir Hardie, founder of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888, of the Independent Labour Party in 1893 and of the Labour Party in 1900, was a guest at the Congress of the German Social Democratic Party in Jena, 1913. In his speech, he also focused on Europe:

Trade, Industry, Arts and Sciences are international. It should therefore be the highest task of European Statesmen not to increase the incitement of peoples through permanent armaments, but to promote peace and reconciliation of peoples and to bring about finally the United States of Europe'.<sup>7</sup>

It rather seems, that for British Labour Europeanisation and internationalism were two sides of the same coin, a conviction that did not disappear during the Great War. Arthur Ponsonby, founder of the Union of Democratic Control, later to become a Labour MP, wrote in 1915 that 'European unity or co-operation between the Powers' should become 'the normal and permanent foundation of European policy'.<sup>8</sup> George Lansbury's *Herald* in May 1915 was deeply concerned with Great Britain's and with Europe's destiny: 'If this war goes on long enough, not parts of Europe, but Europe itself will be demolished'.<sup>9</sup>

## Unification of Europe and a new international order

Once the war had ended, British and continental Labour decided to follow a new road in international relationships, away from power-politics. The vision of German revolutionaries in 1918 and 1919 was the unification of Europe and a new international economic order.<sup>10</sup> National borders would lose their importance, a new cosmopolitan spirit, promoted by the League of Nations, would originate, they believed<sup>11</sup> and this found much echo within the British Labour Movement, which accused Entente Powers of having with the Versailles Peace Treaty, which had created thousands of miles of new borders within Europe, missed 'the chance of preparing the way for a United States of Europe'.<sup>12</sup> British Labour judged the Versailles post-war order from a European perspective and looked for European solutions to overcome the mess created by the Treaty. William Appleton, secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, after having visited starving Vienna in April 1920,<sup>13</sup> presented Europe's unification as the only way out of economic chaos and was joined in this view by the National Conference of Labour Women.<sup>14</sup>

The *New Statesman* questioned, in November 1919, whether people were already ripe to 'advance beyond the communion of nationality to a Communion of Europe',<sup>15</sup> while in 1923 the young British Communist S. Muscovitch from Stepney Branch had similar doubts, because 'we still find members of the working class who look upon their fellow workers in countries foreign to their own with contempt and "superiority"'.<sup>16</sup> John Scurr, Poplar Labour Councillor and an MP in 1923–1931, argued in September 1920 that European Unity was vital for the UK, as 'trade with the whole of the continent is the life-blood of Hull'.<sup>17</sup> Labour should undertake 'all the steps to the realisation of those United States [of Europe] which are the alternative to decay', the *Herald* argued in 1922.<sup>18</sup> The only escape from another war 'would be a United States of Europe', Clement Attlee, who had served as officer during the Great War and was elected a Labour MP in 1922, said in his lecture to the ILP Summer School at Hoddesdon, on 10 September 1923.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the 1920s, Labour members like Arthur Henderson (Labour Party secretary and Home Secretary in 1924 and Foreign Secretary in 1929), J.H. Thomas (General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) and cabinet minister in the 1924, 1929 and 1931 governments), Norman Angell (Labour MP from 1920, and Nobel Peace Prize Winner in 1933), H.N. Brailsford (Editor of the ILP-journal *New Leader*), W.H. Layton, Morgan Philips-Price (Labour journalist), J.R. Clynes (Labour Party Leader 1921/22

and later Home Secretary) the erstwhile Communist MP J.T. Walton Newbold, journals like the *Daily Herald*, the *New Leader* and the *New Statesman* deplored the economic and political balkanisation of Europe by the Versailles Treaty, which had torn apart the entire network of commercial and financial intercourse in Europe and requested its replacement by a United Europe.<sup>20</sup> Communists around this time shared much of the analysis, but following Lenin's position they firmly believed that 'no initiative or independence in a Europe organised on the basis of Capitalism' was possible.<sup>21</sup>

### **Economic interests of the people of Europe transcend boundaries**

The United States of America were seen as the absolute contrast to the impoverished Europe. Economic misery reigned on one side of the Atlantic, prosperity on the other. The USA had more coal and more oil than any European state; they had the leadership in the production of modern goods like electro-technical articles and of cars. American banks possessed half of the world's gold stock. With its industrial and financial power, the United States were about to colonise first Germany and then Europe, H.N. Brailsford warned in 1929.<sup>22</sup> What did the United States have, that Europe did not have? Ernest Bevin (leader of the Transport and General Workers Union) explained it in September 1927 to the TUC Congress in Edinburgh thus:

I have recently been to the continent of America. I was asked to go out to investigate some of the reasons for American prosperity [...] I did not find all the wonderful things that have been said in the newspapers about the United States, but what I did find, was this, that I went there from a little island, and I was asked to compare its possibilities with a continent [...] I came to the conclusion, that if we are to deal with the problems of Europe we have got to try to teach the people of Europe that their economic interests, their economic development, have to transcend merely national boundaries'.<sup>23</sup>

In the competition with the USA, European states are lost, if they act on their own, Walton Newbold warned in 1929: 'Separately, not one of these nations has the population, and still less has it the national resources of the great new nation that is growing up on the vast continental area of the United States'.<sup>24</sup> Any effort to come to an 'exclusive understanding' with the United States, was also hopeless, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald

asserted that year,<sup>25</sup> for, as C.G. Clark had remarked in 1928 it would mean for Britain ‘to accept what crumbs in the way of partnership may fall from Dives’ table’.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Cosmopolitan Trust sapped the Nation-State**

Analysing capitalism after the Great War, British and continental Labour discovered that something had changed fundamentally. Amalgamations no longer took place between industries carrying on the same kind of production. Instead, huge vertical combines had emerged, integrating different kinds of production. Control of these mammoth organisations rested in the hands of very few individuals. Edo Fimmen, General Secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF), described in 1924 the consequences for Labour: ‘Concerns and trusts spread beyond national frontiers to assume an international character. This internationality provides the employing class with a coat of darkness, so its doings are hidden from view and are freed from legislative hindrances’.<sup>27</sup> National legislation provided Labour with little help in the effort to defend workers’ rights in the new capitalist surrounding, as Brailsford wrote: Privately owned industry was developing an international economic structure considerably faster than the Governments were developing effective forms of international economic legislation and control. The Cosmopolitan Trust had sapped the sovereignty of the Nation-State.<sup>28</sup> Labour could still keep democratic control, provided it built up the corresponding European and international structure.

### **Labour’s enthusiasm for Europe**

European unity was advocated by representatives from almost all parts of the British Labour Movement, by members of the Co-operative societies, of trade unions, of the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. Joseph Reeves, Educational Secretary of the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, visited Leipzig in August 1922, and told his German colleagues, that labour and co-operative organisations in every country should be able ‘so to influence the policy of Governments, that ultimately we shall see established the United States of Europe’.<sup>29</sup> In April 1924, the East Manchester Branch presented a resolution at the ILP conference in York, which asked the Government to call a ‘conference of the representatives of the people of all European countries with the object of bringing about an amalgamation or federation of all European Countries’. Oswald Mosley

(ILP member since 1924, who in 1932 went on to create the British Union of Fascists), introduced by the chairman in the debate as 'a new comrade of distinguished ability', told delegates, that Europe was 'the least hopeful spot from the international point of view', so that they amended the resolution and called for 'a world-wide federation of peoples'.<sup>30</sup> Arthur Purcell (TUC President in 1924) in his presidential address to the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) congress of 1924 in Vienna, requested a 'Federated United States of Europe'.<sup>31</sup> The Social Democratic Federation's Annual Conference, on 3 and 4 August 1924 in London, demanded from the Labour Government a conference of European nations to consider the constitution of a federation of the European States as an 'effective way of preserving the peace of the world'.<sup>32</sup> The resolution was sent around to labour organisations on the Continent and was supported by socialist parties from France, Germany, Italy and Spain, by the International Clothing Workers Federation, the International Federation of Hatters, the International Federation of Transport Workers and the International Federation of Woodworkers.<sup>33</sup> The French Seamen's Union presented a resolution at the ITF Congress of 7–12 August 1924 in Hamburg: as the preservation of peace was more and more put into question, the ITF had to deal with the constitution of the United States of Europe and had to disseminate the idea of European unity wherever it could, the resolution read. The only opposition came from James Henson from the Transport Workers Federation, who suggested postponing the resolution for a thousand years, which got him a sharp protest from Ben Tillett, one of the founders of the Dockers' Union in 1887. The trade unions' job could only be carried out internationally, Tillett said, and the resolution was carried with an overwhelming majority.<sup>34</sup> At the TUC Congress, 5–10 September 1927 in Edinburgh, Ernest Bevin presented a resolution, which instructed 'the General Council to further, through the international organisations, a policy having for its object the creation of a European public opinion in favour of Europe becoming an economic entity'.<sup>35</sup> Opposition was strong. J.B. Figgins from the NUR told congress, that Europe was completely divided and there could be only one economic entity, that of the world. The ideal of British workers, Arthur Cook, leader of the Miners Federation believed, 'lies quite as much, if not more, outside Europe than inside'. Jack Jones, however, from the General and Municipal Workers Union reminded congress that 'all said and done, they were Europeans [...] He was in favour of a United States of Europe with a President over all [...] It was their duty to start propaganda amongst their own people, and bring about an economic understanding among the workers of Europe'.<sup>36</sup>

The resolution was carried with 2,258,000 votes in favour and 1,464,000 against. As remarkable as the congress resolution itself was the fact that Ernest Bevin in the debate proudly spoke of 'the craftsmanship of our own Western Europe'. When Bevin and Jack Jones said 'we' in their speeches, they meant 'we in Europe'.

### **United States of Europe or League of Nations?**

A clear resolution in favour of European unity was not adopted by any Labour Party congress, although there are references to it in Party documents. The Labour Party Constitution adopted in 1927 requested from Labour 'to co-operate with the Labour and Socialist Organisations in other countries and to assist in organising a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of freedom and peace'.<sup>37</sup> Following an initiative of the Fabian Society in 1934, the Party discussed an amendment to the Programme of Action, requesting regional agreements for economic co-operation.<sup>38</sup> Many in British Labour and quite a considerable number of continental socialists wanted a United States of Europe, many others preferred to unite Europe under the umbrella of the League of Nations. If you had asked partisans of the League and of the United States of Europe what the one and the other should do and why, the answer would have been often the same: there is increasing interdependence between European states and the states of the world, policy of isolation is no longer possible. In an international economic surrounding, national units of control are out of date and simply impossible.<sup>39</sup> National egoism leads to war and has to be controlled, either by the United States of Europe, or by a European Section of the League.<sup>40</sup> There needed to be common labour standards, common control of raw materials, of emigration, of the spread of diseases, of capital export, loans, and there needs to be a common policy on transport and communication.<sup>41</sup> A United Europe was not seen as an end in itself, but as further step in organising the world. As H.W. Lee put it in 1924, 'a federation of all the European Nations on sound economic and political lines would greatly help and strengthen the League of Nations'.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast to the continental movement, in the 1920s, British Labour did not develop elaborate suggestions as to how to structure a European Union, although there was much reflection about these issues. In 1923 Robert Dell, a member of the Fabian Society, proposed, as a first step towards European unity, a commercial union between England and Germany, which would then be 'supplemented by a political alliance, including Russia'.<sup>43</sup> H.N. Brailsford argued in 1927 that it would be easier

to begin with a 'European customs-union', out of which would develop 'a much wider market than the American, more intensely peopled and furnished with a closer and cheaper network of communication'.<sup>44</sup> In Great Britain as on the Continent, quite a variety of names was used, when people referred to European unification: Federal Union, European Union, United States of Europe, European Federation, United Europe.<sup>45</sup> In all the cases it was meant to establish a European authority with competences of its own, to which nation states transferred a part of their sovereignty. H.G. Wells, English writer and social critic, for example had a permanent Federal European Council in mind, to which all European Countries entrusted the power to decide upon disputes amongst them, the power to conduct foreign policy, to pool armies and public services.<sup>46</sup>

### **Did British Labour kill the Briand Plan?**

British Labour's reaction to the plan for a European Confederation announced in September 1929 by the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, was hostile.<sup>47</sup> The Communist *Labour Monthly* saw Briand's proposal as 'threatening and undermining the new structure of world-cooperation',<sup>48</sup> while George Slocombe, the *Daily Herald's* correspondent in Geneva, thought the plan was dangerous, as it diverted attention from the League.<sup>49</sup> Sisley Huddleston wrote in the *New Statesman* that 'nobody knows what is meant by the expression United States of Europe',<sup>50</sup> and Brailsford argued the entire project was 'nebulous' and 'confused'.<sup>51</sup> The chorus of Briand-sceptics is thus rather impressive. But this is not the entire story. By 1931 the *Daily Herald* expressed admiration for 'one of the most sensational developments of post-war European politics'<sup>52</sup> and summarised Briand's proposal with the following words: 'The time must come, when we must unite or die'.<sup>53</sup> It has since been asserted that British Labour 'killed' the plan.<sup>54</sup> However, British Labour's reaction was very similar to that of continental Socialists. Politicians, whose European commitment was beyond any doubt like Léon Blum (leader of the French Socialist Party), Rudolf Breitscheid (Parliamentary leader of the German SPD), Toni Sender (a notable SPD MP), and Emile Vandervelde (leader of the Belgian Workers' Party) reacted in the same way as British Labour: the general lines of Briand's plan were acceptable, but there was much to be criticised, concrete suggestions of how to overcome economic differences in Europe were missing and there should be a close link with the League of Nations.<sup>55</sup> The European labour movement might have done better using the opportunities rather than stressing the weak points of Briand's



plan, thereby undermining it further, but British Labour was perfectly in line with its European colleagues. In any case Labour's reaction cannot be understood as simply 'No' to Europe as we will see.<sup>56</sup>

### **Empire or Europe**

One may argue that the report of the TUC's Economic Committee on Empire Trade, adopted in 1930 by the TUC Congress, looks like a definite turn away from Europe. The report, which was drafted by Walter Mine-Bailey, secretary to the committee and head of the TUC's research department, analysed the various options open to Great Britain. World unity was ruled out at once as impracticable. An Anglo-American bloc was rejected on the basis of clashing economic interests. The report showed many sympathies for European unity, as countries of Western Europe were geographically linked to each other, but argued however, that European unity did not follow, as all the European countries were manufacturing countries. The only practical alternative was the British Commonwealth.<sup>57</sup> According to Milne-Bailey, the Empire had two basic advantages: it was economically more important for Britain than Europe. Production of food and raw materials at one side and industrial production at the other side were balanced.<sup>58</sup> This was rather wishful thinking, which was unfortunately not really fully examined. Actually, export from the UK to the Empire increased in absolute figures, but Great Britain's share in the overall trade with the Empire was falling and throughout the 1920s more than 40 per cent of Great Britain's foreign trade was directed to countries outside the Empire.<sup>59</sup> Trade unionists like Ernest Bevin, himself a member of the committee, were desperately looking for an economic policy which could offer some prospect of breaking through the contracting circle of depression and deflation from 1929 onwards and therefore supported the report. After the downfall of the Labour Government in 1931, with the rise of authoritarian, fascist and Nazi regimes and their attack on international institutions, often supported, outspokenly or tacitly by Britain's so-called 'National Government', Labour became extremely careful not to promote any policy that might weaken existing international structures and wanted to avoid conservative attacks that it was responsible for destroying the Empire. 'We have been left the heritage and the responsibility of an Empire and we will not break it up, we will not destroy it. It is at least a third of the world linked together in various forums. Instead of breaking it up, we will pass it into the stage of world organisation', Bevin said at the TUC Congress in 1935.<sup>60</sup>

Whether the Empire or the 'Commonwealth' – both terms were used as equivalents – really was an economic unity British Labour could rely upon was seriously questioned already before the report was adopted, but the question marks did not disappear afterwards.<sup>61</sup> The socialist writer J.F. Horrabin argued in a speech February 1932 at Transport House: 'It is far more important [ ... ] for the British Working Class Movement to build up class relations with its European neighbours, particularly with Russia'.<sup>62</sup> Empires cannot last, Ernest Bevin himself admitted at the Labour Party Conference in 1936, the more important it was to build a League and a world organisation.<sup>63</sup> The same Labour Party Conference went back to economic and political co-operation in Europe: 'It is urgently necessary to form in Europe, within the framework of the League, a strong group of peaceful nations, firmly pledged to non-aggression and to mutual assistance against aggression and to a policy of close political and economic co-operation; membership of such a group, once formed, being open to all States, which are willing to accept the obligations and to enjoy the benefits of membership'.<sup>64</sup> In 1938, Bevin confessed: 'I believe more than ever, that at least an economically United States of Europe is within the realm of possibility. Providing Britain will forgo her century-old attitude to the problem'.<sup>65</sup>

### **Europe from the bottom**

Between 1919 and 1933, the IFTU organised six congresses with about 200 delegates and guests each. The International Trade secretariat met more often, as a rule every two years, with slightly fewer delegates, and they organised special conferences, like the railway conference of the ITF of November 1920 in London. On average, twenty to forty British delegates attended such Congresses. The Labour and Socialist International (LSI) met four times between 1923 and 1933. In 1928, 612 delegates and guests participated at the Brussels Congress, 755 at the Vienna Congress in 1931. ILSI and IFTU organised the Peace Congress in 1922, women's conferences, youth conferences, international conferences on tourism, on newspapers, on the organisation of the world economy, on reparations and so on. To this we have to add meetings of executive bodies and the conferences organised by the International Labour Organisation and the League of Nations. My conservative estimate, based on the lists of delegates is that altogether some 2,500 European Labour Representatives, among them possibly 250 from Great Britain, were part of a European network covering the entire continent, discussing social conditions in Europe and

strategies to improving them. At first glance, 2,500 may not seem a very impressive figure, but one should keep in mind, that such a network did not really exist before the Great War, and that the figure represents only the tip of the iceberg, as we shall see. This international network, however, was heavily male dominated. Very few women members were sent as delegates to international congresses: Margaret Bondfield attended the IFTU congress in London in 1920, M. Quaille and Julia Varley were at the IFTU congress in Vienna in 1924, and in 1927 in Paris Varley participated again.<sup>66</sup>

The pre-war practice of sending study-missions to foreign countries was taken up again soon after the war, and grew throughout the following years, when such journeys were organised by organisations like the British Workers' Travel Association (WTA), the Austrian Study Travel Committee, the German National Association for Socialist Training and other workers' travel organisations.<sup>67</sup> Annually, the WTA organised a tour of eight days through Belgium, its public institutions and labour movement.<sup>68</sup> The Annual Reports of the WTA are full of examples of journeys British Labour representatives made to the continent. To mention some cases only, in August 1922 Professor Hall, Director of Studies for the Co-operative Union, went for a visit to Brussels and German towns.<sup>69</sup> The same year, fifty-nine British co-operators spent eight days in Hamburg and Leipzig.<sup>70</sup> In July 1926 a group of Labour Municipal Councillors left London for Belgium, to examine municipal institutions there.<sup>71</sup> In August 1927, the London Labour Party organised a municipal tour through Germany, led by Herbert Morrison.<sup>72</sup> In October 1929 steelworkers from Swansea in South Wales went to Germany.<sup>73</sup> In Autumn 1930 British Miners coming back from the Congress of the International Miners' Federation in Krakow, made a stop in Germany, to see working conditions in the ore mines there.<sup>74</sup> In August 1931, 250 British trade unionists, led by Ernest Bevin, visited the Rhineland, meeting local German trade unionists in Mainz and other cities.<sup>75</sup> In April 1932 a group of German and British veterans met at a German war cemetery between Bruges and Ypres.<sup>76</sup> In July and August 1932 a group of Birmingham trade unionists toured Germany.<sup>77</sup> These examples tell us that the British Labour movement took a very strong interest in developing transnational contacts.

Continental socialists also sent delegations to Britain. Again, a couple of examples only can be given here. In April 1926 the Workers Education Committee of the Swiss 'Arbeiter-Union' Bern visited educational institutions of the British Labour movement.<sup>78</sup> In June 1927, seventy-six Austrian railwaymen studied British railway stations.<sup>79</sup> In June 1928, fifty representatives of German municipalities under the joint auspices of the

German Garden Cities Association and the WTA, travelled to Stepney, Hampstead Garden and Welwyn Garden City.<sup>80</sup> In June and July 1931, the WTA received parties from Austria, from Denmark, from Belgium and from France, who all wanted to know more about the social and education system of the UK.<sup>81</sup> German school classes from cities with socialist administrations like Berlin regularly came to the UK.<sup>82</sup> In 1934 a delegation of Belgian textile workers travelled through the UK and Ireland, visiting factories and studying the working conditions in the textile industry.<sup>83</sup>

National and international trade union schools provided more opportunity for meetings: Ruskin College, the International People's College in Elsinore, the IFTU Summer School, regularly organised since 1924. Finally, individual visits were organised, on the British side by the WTA and by International Tramping Tours. In order to facilitate contacts with local people, travellers of the WTA spent their holiday nights on the continent as often as possible in trade union and People's Houses. At that time, a typical People's House was not only an office building, but would have shops, pubs and restaurants on the ground floor and a hotel on the upper floor. There was a good chance of direct contact with organised workers. Guests of International Tramping Tours, founded in 1931 in Leeds, who went above all to France and Germany, spent their nights in Youth Hostels, peasants' cottages, wayside inns, in order 'to make friends with people whose country they visit'.<sup>84</sup>

It is difficult to say how many travellers took part in such visits. In 1930 and 1931, the WTA sent 13,000 people abroad. With the economic slump, the figure went down, but had reached 29,000 by 1938. In 1926, some 6,000 took part in the tours organised by German Workers Travel Organisations.<sup>85</sup> These figures seem very small compared with today's mass tourism, but in the 1920s and 1930s this represented a considerable amount of organised workers travelling. The effects such travels could have are best described with the words of a British trade unionist, coming back from a trip to Paris in 1924: 'On Sunday last, I watched the biggest procession of Socialists I had ever seen. I was grateful indeed that I, an English worker, could stand with my French comrades mourning for fellow workers, who struck a ringing blow for freedom, and striking, died [...] I went to Paris, knowing no French, and with a marked feeling of dislike towards the French people. I have returned still ignorant of the language, but with feelings of friendship and understanding towards the French in general and the French working class in particular'.<sup>86</sup>

## Europe, Federalism and the Second World War

During the 1930s, there were certainly fewer contributions discussing European unity in the British Labour Press, but this did not necessarily mean that Labour had turned its back to Europe. In 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, the debate about Europe experienced a revival, remarkable for its many contributions from various sides, its transnational character – with representatives of British, US-American and Continental Labour and even Socialists exiled in Mexico participating – and because it was just the visible part of a discussion going on everywhere in underground Europe, even in Nazi concentration camps. Why did this debate take place? It became evident, that Europe's future structure would be a war aim. The Nazis tried to impose their 'New Europe', which was openly rejected by almost all trade unionists and socialists as 'the most openly brutal, violent and wholly forcible form which the union, or merger, of capitalist states could possibly have taken'.<sup>87</sup> This made it even more important for Labour to develop ideas of its own. The debate was certainly inspired by the proposal published in early 1939 by the American journalist Clarence Streit to form a Federal Union between fifteen democracies – the United States of America, parts of the British Commonwealth UK (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, France), Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland.<sup>88</sup> John Strachey (a Labour MP, during the 1930s who was close to communism), mocked that Streit wanted to create a 'super-empire'.<sup>89</sup> The Australian Socialist Kim Mackay (a lawyer and a member of the British Labour Party since 1934) commented that much of the discussion on Federalism was vague.<sup>90</sup> When Labour Party representatives met on 22 February 1940, with the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party, they carefully avoided the word 'Federation', but considered 'an ever closer union of the French and the British peoples' as 'the essential basis of the new order' in Europe.<sup>91</sup> The National Union of Distributive and Allied workers (NUDAW) at its congress in May 1940 protested that there should be 'more talk about Socialism and less about Federalism'.<sup>92</sup> A year later, the TUC President George Gibson, took the opposite view: 'I firmly believe in the future federation of nations'. He even thought that it was 'for the English speaking nations to show the way for the creation and functioning of a Federation of Nations'.<sup>93</sup> Hannen Swaffer, socialist journalist nicknamed the 'Pope of Fleet Street', preferred a Federal Union between Great Britain and the USA,<sup>94</sup> an idea which was completely rejected by Mary Saran of the Socialist Vanguard group, and by Frank Ridley, Bob Edwards and Walter

Padley of the ILP. As the USA remained the overwhelmingly powerful economy, this would mean to place Europe under the over-lordship of Wall Street and Washington.<sup>95</sup> For its part the Communist International, in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, protested that a French-German Federation would have but one aim, to strangulate Germany.<sup>96</sup>

During the war, a systematic debate about a new post-war order for Europe was carried out within and outside the Labour Party by the Left Book Club, the Socialist Vanguard Group, the Fabian Society and the ILP. Victor Gollancz's Left Book Club published Lord Davies, *A Federated Europe* (1940), John Strachey's *Federalism or Socialism* (1940), G.D.H. Cole's *Europe, Russia and the Future* (1941), Oscar Paul's *Underground Europe Calling* (1942), Mary Saran's *The Future Europe?* (1942). In 1943, the Left Book Club published Hilda Monte's *The Unity of Europe*, the Fabian Research Group issued the study *Labour and Europe. The need for a socialist strategy* and the ILP Frank Ridley's and Bob Edwards' brochure *The United Socialist States of Europe*. In 1944 Gollancz published Walter Padley's *The economic problem of the Peace, A Plea for World Socialist Union*. Not to forget the numerous articles in the *Left News*, which was the members' journal of the Left Book Club and its supplement, *International Socialist Forum*, edited by the Austrian Socialist Alfred Braunthal. Several conferences focused on Europe and its future: in April 1942 by the Socialist Vanguard Group, May 1942 by the Left Book Club, in September 1943 by the ILP's London division and March 1945 by the Socialist Vanguard Group.<sup>97</sup>

In this debate, the concept of the 'nation-state' was considered as inappropriate for post-war European Reconstruction. There should be 'an international authority superior to the individual states and endowed not only with rights over them, but with power to make them effective, operating not only in the political, but in the economic sphere', Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Party, requested in 1939.<sup>98</sup> 'National sovereignty leads to insecurity, to fear and to war' Mackay wrote in 1940 and concluded: Nations 'are interdependent and not independent'.<sup>99</sup> H.N. Brailsford insisted that power had to be transferred from the competing sovereign units 'to a collective whole'.<sup>100</sup> Bob Edwards and Frank Ridley in 1943 said farewell to the nation-state, 'in the historic process of European society, the national state is now due, as its sole alternative to suicide, to give way to the European Union'.<sup>101</sup> In return for national sovereignty, the nations of Europe would get politics for the 'common good' and 'economic security' (Brailsford), so that the price would be more than equalised by the returns (Hilda Monte).<sup>102</sup>

The putative institutions to which part of national sovereignty should be transformed, got different names. Mackay simply spoke of a 'Federation' or a 'Super-State',<sup>103</sup> G.D.H. Cole of a 'supra-national state',<sup>104</sup> Hilda Monte chose the 'Socialist Commonwealth of Europe' with a 'Central Authority' on top as supervisory, Mary Saran apparently was more prophetic, as she preferred speaking of a 'European Union'.<sup>105</sup> Frank Ridley and Bob Edwards used the name 'United Socialist States of Europe' and Walter Padley the almost similar title 'Socialist United States of Europe' with a 'supra-national authority' on top.<sup>106</sup> Whatever the name, the supra-national institution should get a solid rock of competences.<sup>107</sup> It would organise transport by road, railway, air or water. As John Marchbank, the General Secretary of the NUR, put it in 1942 'artificial barriers between country and country' would be swept away, and inter-communication made 'a factor that will whittle away the narrow nationalism that has brought disaster'.<sup>108</sup> In 1944 Marchbank declared that 'we of the ITF have always favoured the creation of the United States of Europe'.<sup>109</sup> A common code of commercial law, credit and currencies would be a matter for the European Level, raw materials like iron and coal would be under joint administration. A European Central Council would follow an economic policy and planning with full employment, economic security and rising living standards as objective. Harmonisation of wages and social policy throughout Europe would be the special job of Trade Unions. Defence, a European Police Force and Foreign Policy would also be a joint European Competence.

When Labour imagined Europe, Great Britain, France and Germany were the nucleus. 'No one can contemplate a European Federation without including Great Britain [...] It would seem that if a Federation could be established of Great Britain, France and Germany, it would be better for Great Britain to join such a Federation, even if the four Dominions would not join too', Mackay wrote.<sup>110</sup> The days of British world power, based on industrial and maritime primacy, had gone, Ridley and Edwards stipulated: 'The concrete alternative before Britain to-day is either to become, in last analysis, a member of an European Federation'.<sup>111</sup> Hilda Monte imagined an Inner and an Outer Europe, the first consisting of the industrialised countries, Scandinavia, Great Britain, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, the latter of the agrarian Eastern and South Eastern countries from Poland to Greece. In the tradition of the French socialist economist Francis Delaisi, she argued that inner and outer Europe would mutually benefit from each other: the industrial countries had a vast market at their home doors, and would

contribute in return to the infrastructural development of the agrarian countries.<sup>112</sup>

Mackay drafted an entire constitution, with a European Parliament, directly elected by the people, a President, Federal Council und Federal Court. Hilda Monte had a completely different architecture in mind. On one hand a central European Authority, controlling big positions like investment, finance, trade; on the other end of the scale trade unions and consumer organisations. By a system of suggestions, inducements and deterrents, central and local authority would interact. In her perception, shared to a large extent by Mary Saran, Europe was more a Federation of Regions than a Federation of States. Walter Padley imagined a network of workers' councils extending all over Europe as safeguard against the danger of over-centralisation.<sup>113</sup>

For many in the British and continental labour movement, a united Europe would still have colonies. Before 1939, Labour had mainly suggested pooling the whole of the colonial empires of the world and putting them under the authority of the League of Nations.<sup>114</sup> Mackay also proposed that colonies should be taken away from National States and transferred to the European Federation, so that there would be no longer any cause of friction between states.<sup>115</sup> It was certainly not the majority, who felt like Frank Horrabin about the 'brutal mis-rule' of colonialism, or who, as did the ILP, supported colonial liberation movements.<sup>116</sup>

### **Socialism and European unity**

The German socialist Willi Eichler, living in British exile, the Fabian Research Bureau, Walter Padley, Frank Ridley and Bob Edwards, all expected a revolution at the end of the Second World War. 'We have come to the end of an economic system', Padley wrote. According to him, European Unity would be realised from below. The revolution would extend workers' councils all over Europe and implement a rather classical concept of Socialism: Socialisation of land, of banking, transport, power and basic industries.<sup>117</sup> G.D.H. Cole also thought that the coming Europe would be socialist, but already had a different concept of socialism in mind. Social and national equality would be in its centre, common people would get a 'sense of mastery and responsibility'. Europe would build a 'broad-minded, tolerant Socialism, capable of appealing to a wide diversity of men and women',<sup>118</sup> a socialism, as the ILP thought, that would be libertarian, putting human liberty and democracy at its centre. In February 1947, a conference in London, organised by the ILP,



in which representatives of various European Resistance Movements participated, set up the Movement for the United Socialist States of Europe, later renamed Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, which was to become one of the sources of the European integration movement in the 1950s. During the 1950s, the Movement organised a dozen congresses and published a journal, *La Gauche Européenne* (European Left) with Bob Edwards, who had become a Labour MP as well as General Secretary of the Chemical Workers Union, acting on the editorial board of the journal and participating in its congresses. It is striking, that the leaders of Belgian, Dutch and French Trade Unions participated in the congresses, as did, at least at the start, the German Confederation of Trade Unions, whereas the British Labour Party and the TUC were absent. In 1950, the Labour Party's National Executive had issued a statement on Europe which ignored the war-time discussion and failed to acknowledge, as Mackay wrote, 'that social justice, freedom from want and full employment cannot be enjoyed in the modern world by *any* small independent states for any length of time with any security'.<sup>119</sup>

## Conclusions

Europeanisation and internationalism were a strong current within the British Labour movement from the 1920s to the end of the Second World War. There was considerable enthusiasm for Europe among the rank and file and a strong grass roots movement to build Europe from below. One of the most important reasons for the British Labour Movement to advocate European Unification was its belief that otherwise democratic rights and workers' rights could no longer be defended. Big transnational companies had emerged which could no longer be controlled within the realm of nation states. Companies had sapped the nation state, their economic structure was far in advance of state structure. The dilemma could be solved only by developing political and economic co-operation at European level. There was no 'either – or' within Labour, either internationalist, or European. Europe with its strong labour movement was seen as the best ground to struggle for a human society setting standards for a new, world-wide order. Europeanisation was born within the British labour movement and is part of its own tradition. There was no moment in the 1920s or 1930s, when British Labour turned its back on Europe, as historians of the period sometimes claim. Labour and trade union members were keen to work together with their European colleagues and curious to discover the working conditions of other movements on the continent. The discussion

on Europe in war-time Britain shaped part of social Europe originating in the 1950s. Although the mainstream of British Labour after 1945 opted to maintain the Commonwealth and to strengthen the newly built United Nations, European Unity and Social Europe continued to be advocated by members of the British Labour Movement like Bob Edwards, Frank Ridley and John McNair, all members of the ILP, through the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe.

## Notes

1. Ramsay MacDonald, 'Deutschland und England', *Rheinische Zeitung*, 2 February 1924. MacDonald's full speech was not published before 1924 in German. See also 'Germany and England', *Labour Leader*, 21 July 1911; *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 15 July 1911.
2. J.R., 'For socialism and international peace', *Labour Leader*, 25 August 1911.
3. 'Bradford Socialists in Belgium', *Labour Leader* 18 August 1911. In 1910, the Bradford ILP already had made a journey to Paris.
4. Douglas J. Newton, *British Labour, European Socialism and the Struggle for Peace 1889–1914*, Oxford, 1985, p343.
5. See, for example, Henry R. Winkler, *British Labour seeks a Foreign Policy 1900–1940*, New York, 2017.
6. William C. Anderson, 'Socialism and foreign affairs', *Labour Leader*, 8 December 1911.
7. *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, Abgehalten in Jena vom 14. bis 20. September 1913*, Berlin, 1913, p210. (Author's retranslation from German).
8. Arthur Ponsonby, 'Towards a permanent Peace, The case for a United Europe', *Labour Leader*, 1 April 1915.
9. 'The terms of peace', *Herald*, 8 May 1915. Lansbury was editor of the *Daily Herald* and war-opponent. The ILP called in 1915 for a federation of nations. See R.M. Douglas, *The Labour Party, Nationalism and Internationalism 1939–1951*, London, 2004, p20.
10. *Weltrevolution, Publikationsorgan des Arbeiter-und Soldatenrats Neukölln*, 10 November 1918.
11. *Metallarbeiterzeitung*, 11 January 1919; *Textilarbeiter*, 25 April 1919; *Der freie Angestellte*, 1 October 1919
12. 'The Writing on the Wall', *Daily Herald*, 19 April 1922.
13. 'European chaos', *Daily Herald*, 14 April 1920.
14. 'Women's policy for Europe', *Daily Herald*, 23 April 1920
15. 'The world as one place', *New Statesman*, 29 November 1919, p242.
16. S. Muscovitch, 'The United States of Europe, Thoughts on Trotsky's "The

- United States of Europe”, *Communist Review*, 23 November 1923, p337. *Communist Review* had ‘gladly reproduced’ an article by Leon Trotsky, ‘The United States of Europe’, October 1923, pp247-252 and ‘invited opinions from our readers’, which were, however, apart from Muscovitch’s letter, never published.
17. John Scurr, ‘Trade with Russia’, *Daily Herald*, 29 September 1920. Norman Angell wrote in 1921, that ‘the very life of our population’ depended from the economic unity of Europe. Norman Angell, ‘The lies that will starve our children’, *Daily Herald*, 14 March 1921.
  18. ‘End, not mend’, *Daily Herald*, 16 January 1922; ‘Britain, France and Mr. Steed’, *Daily Herald*, 9 May 1922.
  19. ‘The only escape from war’, *Daily Herald*, 11 September 1923.
  20. Angell, ‘Lies’, *Daily Herald*, 14 March 1921; ‘The inevitable League’, *New Statesman*, 15 January 1921, pp437-439; ‘Unity and famine’, *Daily Herald*, 3 March 1922; *Report of the International Peace Congress, held at The Hague under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions December 10–15, 1922*, Amsterdam, 1923, p53 (speech of Thomas); W.L. Layton, ‘La politique douanière de l’Europe’, *Europe Nouvelle*, 24 April 1926; H.N. Brailsford, ‘The International of Capital’, *New Leader*, 11 March 1927; Walton Newbold, ‘European capitalism in transition’, *Socialist Review*, November 1927, pp32-41; Morgan Philips Price, *The economic problems of Europe, pre-war and after*, London, 1928. Philips Price was member of the UDC and since the early 1920s, a member of the Labour Party.
  21. Louis C. Fraina, ‘America and Europe’, *Communist Review*, July 1921, p7.
  22. H.N. Brailsford, ‘America annexes Germany’, *New Leader*, 18 January 1929.
  23. *Report of Proceedings at the 59th Annual Trades Union Congress, Held at Edinburgh, September 5th to 10th 1927*, London, 1927, p391.
  24. J.T. Walton Newbold, ‘Will Europe’s gold continue going west?’, *Labour Magazine*, Vol. VIII 1929/1930, p369.
  25. Premier’s message to *Daily Herald*, 14 October 1929.
  26. C.G. Clark, ‘Buying up Europe, American money and the coming crisis in world capitalism’, *Socialist Review*, June 1928, p42. In the Bible (Luke 16), Lazarus is waiting for the crumbs falling from ‘Dives’ table’. Dives is the synonym for the rich man.
  27. Edo Fimmen, *Labour’s Alternative. The United States of Europe or Europe Limited*, London, 1924, p81. The *Daily Herald* called the book a ‘clarion call’ (1 September 1924). On its reception in Great Britain and on the Continent see Willy Buschak, *Edo Fimmen, Der schöne Traum von Europa und die Globalisierung*, Essen, 2002, pp115-132.
  28. Henry Noel Brailsford, ‘Trusts and cartels and the world economic conference’, *New Statesman*, 14 May 1927, p144; ‘The International of Capital’, *New Leader*, 11 March, 6 May, 9 September 1927.

29. 'United States of Europe – what co-operators saw in Germany', *Daily Herald*, 18 August 1922.
30. Independent Labour Party, *Report of the Annual Conference held at York. April 1924*, London, 1924, p136. Five years later, in October 1929, the ILP's West London Federation passed a resolution urging the government for socialist economic co-operation throughout Europe. 'West London Federation', *New Leader*, 18 October 1929.
31. 'British Union of Reds', *Daily Herald*, 4 June 1924.
32. 'The United States of Europe', *Justice* 8 May 1924; 7 August 1924.
33. 'Social Democratic Federation', *Justice*, 31 July, 6 August, 11 August, 14 August 1924. H.W. Lee, 'United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 10 March 1924; 'To form the United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 5 May 1924; 'United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 21 July 1924; 'Take over the banks', *Daily Herald*, 4 August 1924.
34. *Bericht über den Kongress der Internationalen Transportarbeiter-Föderation, abgehalten in Hamburg vom 7. bis 12. August 1924, im großen Saale des Gewerkschaftshauses Amsterdam*, 1924, pp49-51.
35. *TUC Congress 1927*, pp380-388.
36. *Ibid.*, p394.
37. Labour Party, *Labour and the Nation*, 2nd edition, London, 1927, p4.
38. *For Socialism and Peace, The Labour Party's Programme of Action*, London, 1934, p23.
39. 'Empire Unity', *Daily Herald*, 27 June 1930.
40. Bertrand Shadwell, 'The United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 22 January 1924.
41. Arthur Henderson, *Labour and Foreign Affairs*, London, 1922; Arthur Henderson, *Labour's Foreign Policy*, London, 1933.,
42. H.W. Lee, 'Why not the United States of Europe', *Labour Monthly*, September 1924, pp221-222.
43. Robert Dell, 'Germany as British Dominion?', *New Statesman*, 28 July 1923, p464.
44. H.N. Brailsford, 'The International of Capital, Geneva sits down to study', *Daily Herald*, 6 May 1927.
45. For the different terms see *Daily Herald*, 19 June 1920; 18 August 1922; 11 September 1923; 12 January 1924; 21 February 1924; 29 January 1925 (Ben Tillett); 17 May 1930 (H.G. Wells) (United States of Europe); 21 February, 12 March 1922; 19 May 1930 (United Europe), 3 March 1922 (Unity of Europe); 24 November 1920 (European Community), 14 March 1921 (Economic Unity of Europe); 2 June 1922 (Federation of the European States); 4 June 1924 (Federated United States of Europe, Purcell); 10 September 1929 (European Economic Federation).
46. H.G. Wells, 'Six statesmen could end war', *Daily Herald*, 18 August 1930; 'World builders', *Daily Herald*, 2 September 1930.

47. Paul Jacques V. Rolo, *Britain and the Briand Plan, The Common Market that never was, An inaugural lecture*, Keele, 1972, pp16-17. See also Robert W.D. Boyce, 'Britain's First "No" to Europe, Britain and the Briand Plan, 1929-1930', *European Studies Review*, Vol. 10 No. 1, (1980), pp17-45; Andrea Bosco, 'The British Foreign Office and the Briand Plan', in Antoine Fleury (ed.), *Le Plan Briand d'Union Fédérale Européenne*, Bern, 1998, pp347-358.
48. Editorial, *Labour Monthly*, June 1930.
49. George Slocombe, 'The United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 7 September 1929; Slocombe, 'Federated States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 9 September 1929.
50. Sisley Huddleston, 'United States of Europe and the Entente', *New Statesman*, 21 September 1929, pp701-702.
51. H.N. Brailsford, 'United States of Europe', *New Leader*, 23 May 1930.
52. 'United Europe's secrets dissolved', *Daily Herald*, 17 May 1930.
53. 'European Federation Plan', *Daily Herald*, 17 January 1931.
54. Bosco, 'British Foreign Office', p353; Boyce, 'Britain's First "No"'.  
55. Willy Buschak, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa sind unser Ziel, Arbeiterbewegung und Europa im frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Essen, 2014, pp180-194.
56. Boyce, 'Britain's First "No"', p39. According to Boyce, MacDonald was personally determined to establish 'a special relationship with America' (p22). In the *Daily Herald*, however, Ramsay MacDonald ruled out any idea 'of exclusive understanding between Britain and the United States'. Premier's message to *Daily Herald*, 14 October 1929.
57. 'Keep a British Race Group', *Daily Herald*, 27 June 1930; 'European Unity', *Daily Herald*, 27 June 1930.
58. Milne-Bailey published an instructive article, giving his position on the 'United States of Europe' in the German Trade Union Journal *Die Arbeit (Labour)*: 'Vereinigte Staaten von Europa', *Die Arbeit*, 7 (1930), pp445-453.
59. *Die Wirtschaft des Auslandes 1900-1927, Bearbeitet im Statistischen Reichsamt*, Berlin, 1928, pp5, 34-48. This publication of Germany's Statistical Office was based on British statistics.
60. *Report of Proceedings at the 67th Annual Trade Union Congress, Held at Margate, September 2nd to 6th, 1935*, London, 1935, p357.
61. W.T. Layton made the point that Continental Europe was the biggest market for UK industry and it was not certain how long the UK could maintain its leading position in the Commonwealth. Great Britain was still the second economic power in the world, C.G. Clark from the ILP argued that the UK was already closely followed by France, Japan and Russia. See W.T. Layton, 'La politique douanière de l'Europe', *Europe Nouvelle*, 24 April 1926; C.G. Clark, 'Buying up Europe', *Socialist Review*, January 1928, pp35-48. See also K. Zilliacus, 'The sick man of the world', *Tribune*, 28 October 1938.

62. 'United States of Europe', *Daily Herald*, 12 February 1932.
63. *Report of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Conference of The Labour Party, Edinburgh 1936*, London, 1936, p204.
64. *Report 1936*, p182.
65. Clement Attlee, 'Why not let Duce crash?', *Daily Herald*, 28 February 1938.
66. See Matthias Bauer, *Die transnationale Zusammenarbeit sozialistischer Parteien in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Eine Analyse der außenpolitischen Kooperations - und Vernetzungsprozesse am Beispiel von SPD, SFIO und Labour Party*, Berlin, 2018, for the potential force of such a network.
67. For the history of workers' travel see Buschak, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, pp271-344.
68. 'WTA holiday facilities', *Daily Herald*, 30 June 1926.
69. 'Comparison between this and other countries', *Daily Herald*, 23 August 1921.
70. 'United States of Europe. What co-operators saw in Germany', *Daily Herald*, 18 August 1922.
71. 'WTA', *Daily Herald*, 12 June 1926.
72. 'To tour Germany', *Daily Herald*, 28 June 1927.
73. W. Floerke, 'Unsere Bewegung', *Mitteilungsblatt der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Die Freunde der internationalen Kleinarbeit*, October 1929.
74. W. Floerke, 'Unsere Bewegung', *Mitteilungsblatt*, October 1930.
75. 'British invade Rhineland', *Daily Herald*, 13 August 1931.
76. 'Now they are comrades', *Daily Herald*, 1 April 1932.
77. *Mitteilungsblatt der Arbeitsgruppe Die Freund der internationalen Kleinarbeit*, April 1932.
78. 'WTA's Swiss guests', *Daily Herald*, 28 April 1926.
79. 'Austrian Railway men here', *Daily Herald*, 17 June 1927; 'Welcome to Austrians', *Daily Herald*, 18 June 1927; 'Holiday example from Austria', *Daily Herald*, 21 June 1927.
80. 'Housing example', *Daily Herald*, 7 June 1928.
81. 'Making the world a small place', *Daily Herald*, 27 June 1931.
82. W. Floerke, 'Unsere Bewegung', *Mitteilungsblatt*, October 1930; April 1931; April 1932.
83. *Internationale Vereinigung der Textilarbeiter, Nachrichten des Sekretärs*, February 1934, p3.
84. 'Tramping Tourist Abroad', *Leeds Mercury*, 27 August 1931; 'International Tramping Tours', *Die Friedenswarte*, June 1932, p185.
85. For the figures see Buschak, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa*, pp311-312.
86. Letter to the *Daily Herald*, 31 May 1924.
87. John Strachey, *Federalism or Socialism*, London, 1940, p195. See also Frank A. Ridley, Bob Edwards, *The United Socialist States of Europe*, London, 1943, pp26-44. Walter Padley, *The Economic Problem of the Peace, A Plea for World Socialist Unity*, London, 1944, pp12-26.

88. Clarence K. Streit, *Union now, A Proposal for a Federal Union of the Democracies of the North Atlantic*, London, 1939, p24. Henry Noel Brailsford, himself a member of the Federal Union, published a more popular version of the federal ideas: *Federal Union*, London, n.d., consisting of 16 pages only. On the debate about Streit in the UK see Andrea Bosco, *June 1940, Great Britain and the First Attempt to Build a European Union*, Cambridge, 2016.
89. Strachey, *Federalism or Socialism*, p28. See also Bosco, *June 1940*, p27.
90. R.W.G. Mackay, *Federal Europe, Being the Case for European Federation together with a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe*, London, 1940, p25. Due to huge public interest a cheap edition was published in 1941; R.W.G. Mackay, *Peace Aims and the New Order, Being a Revised and Popular Edition of 'Federal Europe', Outlining the Case for European Federation together with a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe*, London, 1941.
91. The Labour Party, *Report of the 39th Annual Conference held in The Pavilion, Bournemouth, May 13th–16th 1940*, London, 1940, p34.
92. 'NUDAW Conference', *Daily Herald*, May 1940.
93. 'Victory rests', *Daily Herald*, 2 September 1941.
94. 'Hannen Swaffer's headline', *Daily Herald*, 15 June 1941.
95. Mary Saran, *Never give up, Memoirs*, London, 1976, p17; Ridley, Edwards, *United Socialist States of Europe*, pp60-61; Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, pp89-100.
96. J. Revai, 'Die "europäische Föderation"', *Die Kommunistische Internationale*, 5/1940, pp490-500; see also Bosco, *June 1940*, p155.
97. *Left News*, March 1942, p2004; see also *Left News*, August 1941, p1828; 'London and Southern Division', *Daily Herald*, 27 September 1943.
98. *Manchester Guardian*, 9 November 1939.
99. Mackay, *Federal Europe*, pp48, 54.
100. Brailsford, *Federal Union*, p10; Bosco, *June 1940*, pp121, 154.
101. Ridley, Edwards, *United Socialist States of Europe*, p56.
102. Hilda Monte, *The Unity of Europe*, London, 1943, pp128-138; see also G.D.H. Cole, *Europe, Russia and the Future*, London, 1941, pp13, 101; Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, p93; Mackay, *Federal Europe*, pp48-59, Brailsford, *Federal Union*, pp9-10.
103. Mackay, *Federal Europe*, p82.
104. Cole, *Europe, Russia*, pp134, 135.
105. Saran, *Never give up*, p22. Mary Saran was of German origin, took British nationality during the war and was one of the leading figures of the Socialist Vanguard Group. See *ibid.*, pp78-95.
106. Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, pp89-113, 104.
107. Brailsford, *Federal Union*, pp11, 13, 15; Monte, *Unity of Europe*, pp105, 120-124, 139, 142, 146. Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, p93.

108. John Marchbank, 'One big transport system for Europe', *Daily Herald*, 28 July 1942.
109. John Marchbank, 'A European Transport System', *Left News*, March 1944, p2802.
110. Mackay, *Federal Europe*, pp101, 104.
111. Ridley, Edwards, *United Socialist States of Europe*, p60.
112. Monte, *Unity of Europe*, p39.
113. *Ibid.*, p145; Saran, *Never give up*, p5; Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, p112.
114. *Labour Party Conference 1936*, p182; *Labour Party Conference 1939*, p244.
115. Mackay, *Federal Europe*, p114.
116. Frank Horrabin, *The Future of international Socialism*, London, 1943, p8; see also Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Imperialism and the British Labour Movement, 1914–1964*, Plymouth, 1975.
117. Padley, *Economic Problem of the Peace*, pp7, 103.
118. Cole, *Europe, Russia*, pp178, 185.
119. R.W.G. Mackay, *Heads in the sand. A criticism of the official Labour Party attitude to European Unity*, Oxford, 1950, p13.