

Chapter 1 : The Labour Party and the World - Volume 2 - Rhiannon Vickers - Oxford University Press

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Formation[edit] The Communist Party of Great Britain was founded in after the Third International decided that greater attempts should be made to establish communist parties across the world. Several branches and many individual members of the Independent Labour Party also affiliated. The party benefited from a period of increased political radicalism in Britain just after the First World War and the Russian Revolution of October , and was also represented in Britain by the Red Clydeside movement. Among the most contentious were the questions of " parliamentarism " and the attitude of the Communist Party to the Labour Party. It was a strategy associated with the parties of the Second International and it was partly for this reason that it was opposed by those who wanted to break with Social Democracy. Critics contended that parliamentarism had caused the old parties to become devoted to reformism because it had encouraged them to place more importance on winning votes than on working for socialism , that it encouraged opportunists and place-seekers into the ranks of the movement and that it constituted an acceptance of the legitimacy of the existing governing institutions of capitalism. These Left Communist positions enjoyed considerable support, being supported by Sylvia Pankhurst and Willie Gallacher among others. However, the Russian Communist Party took the opposing view. An Infantile Disorder that the CPs should work with reformist trade unions and social democratic parties because these were the existing organisations of the working class. Lenin argued that if such organisations gained power, they would demonstrate that they were not really on the side of the working class, thus workers would become disillusioned and come over to supporting the Communist Party. Initially, therefore, the CPGB attempted to work within the Labour Party, which at this time operated mainly as a federation of left-wing bodies, only having allowed individual membership since Even while pursuing affiliation and seeking to influence Labour Party members, however, the CPGB promoted candidates of its own at parliamentary elections. Following the refusal of their affiliation, the CPGB encouraged its members to join the Labour Party individually and to seek Labour Party endorsement or help for any candidatures. Several Communists thus became Labour Party candidates, and in the general election , Shapurji Saklatvala and Walton Newbold were both elected. The CPGB as the British section of the Communist International was committed to implementing the decisions of the higher body to which it was subordinate. This proved to be a mixed blessing in the General Strike of immediately prior to which much of the central leadership of the CPGB was imprisoned. Twelve were charged with "seditious conspiracy". Five were jailed for a year and the others for six months. Another major problem for the party was its policy of abnegating its own role and calling upon the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to play a revolutionary role. The result was that membership of the party in mining areas increased greatly through and The CPGB did succeed in creating a layer of militants very committed to the party and its policies, although this support was concentrated in particular trades, specifically in heavy engineering, textiles and mining, and in addition tended to be concentrated regionally too in the coalfields, certain industrial cities such as Glasgow and in Jewish East London. The result of this "class against class" policy was that the Social Democratic and Labourite parties were to be seen as equally as much a threat as the fascist parties and were therefore described as being social-fascist. Any kind of alliance with " social-fascists " was obviously to be prohibited. They met with an almost total lack of success although a tiny handful of "red" unions were formed, amongst them a miners union in Scotland and tailoring union in East London. Arthur Horner , the Communist leader of the Welsh miners, fought off attempts to found a similar union on his patch. Increasing unemployment had caused a substantial increase in the number of CP members, especially those drawn from engineering, lacking work. This cadre of which Hannington and Harry MacShane in Scotland were emblematic, found a purpose in building the NUWM which resulted in a number of marches on the unemployment issue during the s. Although born in the Third Period during the Great depression, the NUWM was a major campaigning body throughout the Popular Front period too, only being dissolved in In Britain this policy expressed itself in the

efforts of the CPGB to forge an alliance with the Labour Party and even with forces to the right of Labour. Gallacher sat for West Fife in Scotland, a coal mining region in which it had considerable support. On the streets the party members played a leading role in the struggle against the British Union of Fascists, led by Sir Oswald Mosley whose Blackshirts tried to emulate the Nazis in anti-Semitic actions in London and other major British cities. Following the Molotov-Ribbentrop nonaggression pact on August 23 between the Soviet Union and Germany, the Comintern immediately changed its position. The British party immediately fell in line, campaigning for peace, and describing the war as the product of imperialism on both sides, and in which the working class had no side to take. Campbell, the editor of the Daily Worker, and both were relieved of their duties in October. From until the CPGB was very active in supporting strikes and in denouncing the government for its pursuit of the war. However, when the Soviet Union was invaded by Germany, the CPGB reversed its stance immediately and came out in support of the war on the grounds that it had now become a war between fascism and the Soviet Union. Pollitt was restored to his old position as Party Secretary. In industry they now opposed strike action and supported the Joint Production Committees, [15] which aimed to increase productivity, and supported the National Government that was led by Winston Churchill Conservative and Clement Attlee Labour. At the same time, given the influence of Rajani Palme Dutt in the Party, the issue of Indian independence and the independence of colonies was emphasised. Harry Pollitt failed by only votes to take the Rhondda East constituency. Both Communist MPs however, lost their seats at the general election. At the 19th Congress, Harry Pollitt asked rhetorically, "why do we need to increase production? To retain our independence as a nation. From the war years to the CPGB was at the height of its influence in the labour movement with many union officials who were members. Not only did it have immense influence in the National Union of Mineworkers but it was extremely influential in the Electrical Trade Union and in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers the key blue collar union. In addition much of the Labour Party left was strongly influenced by the party. Dissidents were few, perhaps the most notable being Eric Heffer the future Labour MP who left the party in the late s, and were easily dealt with. The death of Stalin in , and the uprising in East Germany the same year had little direct influence on the CPGB, but they were harbingers of what was to come. On his return to Britain Fryer resigned from the Daily Worker and was expelled from the party. After the calamitous events of , the party increasingly functioned as a pressure group, seeking to use its well-organised base in the trade union movement to push the Labour Party leftwards. Gerry Pocock, Assistant Industrial Organiser described the industrial department as "a party within a party", and Marxism Today editor James Klugmann would routinely defer to Industrial Organiser Bert Ramelson on matters of policy. The Daily Worker was renamed the Morning Star in . At the same time the party became increasingly polarised between those who sought to maintain close relations with the Soviet Union and those who sought to convert the party into a force independent of Moscow. The international split between Moscow and Beijing in led to divisions within many Communist Parties but there was little pro-Beijing sympathy in the relatively small British Party. This tiny group left the CPGB by . McCreery himself died in in New Zealand. Later a more significant group formed around Reg Birch, an engineering union official, established the Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist. Initially, this group supported the position of the Communist Party of China. Divisions in the CPGB concerning the autonomy of the party from Moscow reached a crisis in , when Warsaw pact forces intervened in Czechoslovakia. The CPGB, with memories of in mind, responded with some very mild criticism of Moscow, refusing to call it an invasion, preferring "intervention". Three days after the invasion, John Gollan said "we completely understand the concern of the Soviet Union about the security of the socialist camp. Others within the party leaned increasingly towards the position of eurocommunism, which was the leading tendency within the important Communist parties of Italy and, later, Spain. However, this strong result was primarily a personal vote for Reid, who was a prominent local trade union leader and gained much support because of his prominent role in the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in, which had taken place a few years earlier and was seen as having saved local jobs. The Euro-Communists in the party apparatus were starting to challenge the authority of the trade union organisers. The growing crisis in the party also affected the credibility of its leadership, as formerly senior and influential members left its ranks. In , three of its top engineering cadres resigned. Jimmy

Reid, Cyril Morton and John Tocher had all been members of the Political Committee, playing a crucial role in determining the direction of the party. Like another engineer, Bernard Panter, who left a few months before them, they jumped a sinking ship. As such many of its members were academics or professional intellectuals or in the view of their opponents, out of touch and middle class. They were influenced by the environmental and especially the feminist movement. As the seventies progressed and as industrial militancy declined in the face of high unemployment, the tensions in the party rose even as its membership continued to decline. Breakup of the party[edit] By debate around the new draft of the British Road to Socialism brought the party to breaking point. Many of the anti- Eurocommunists decided that they needed to form their own anti-revisionist Communist party. Some speculated at the time that they would receive the backing of Moscow, but such support appears not to have materialised. Another grouping, led by Fergus Nicholson, remained in the party and launched the paper Straight Left. This served as an outlet for their views as well as an organising tool in their work within the Labour Party. Although circulation of the magazine rose it was still a drain on the finances of the small party. As early as 1978, Martin Jacques "thought the CP was unreformable After the General Secretary closed the Congress a number of members remained in the room in County Hall in South London and held what was, in effect, the founding meeting of a breakaway party, although the formal split did not come until four years later. In 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed, the Eurocommunist-dominated leadership of the CPGB, led by Nina Temple, decided to disband the party, and establish Democratic Left, a left-leaning political think tank rather than a political party. Supporters of The Leninist who had rejoined the CPGB in the early 1980s declared their intention to reforge the Party, and held an emergency conference at which they claimed the name of the party.

Chapter 2 : The Labour Party and the world, volume 1 : The Labour Party and the world, volume 1

This is the first book in a two-volume set that traces the evolution of the Labour Party's foreign policy throughout the twentieth century and into the early years of the new millennium.

History[edit] This section needs expansion with: Apprentice laws, agricultural labour laws, illegal combination, Peterloo, Chartism, friendly societies and cooperatives, New Unionism, political party formation, socialism, anarchism, communism, craft unionism. You can help by adding to it. April Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. President Abraham Lincoln , December 3, [3] In Europe , the labour movement began during the industrial revolution , when agricultural jobs declined and employment moved to more industrial areas. The idea met with great resistance. In the early 19th century, groups such as the Tolpuddle Martyrs of Dorset were punished and transported for forming unions, which was against the laws of the time. Trade unionism was active during the early to mid 19th century and various labour parties and trade unions were formed throughout the industrialised parts of the world. The major issues included the right of the workers to organize themselves, and the right to an 8-hour working day. In workers in France rebelled and the Paris Commune was formed. From the mid-nineteenth century onward the labour movement became increasingly globalised. From issues of the embodied movement of workers to the emergence of a global division of labour, and organized responses to capitalist relations of production, the relevance of labour to globalization is not new, and it is far more significant in shaping the world than is usually recognized. There have been many important labour activists in modern history who have caused changes that were revolutionary at the time and are now regarded as basic. For example, Mary Harris Jones , better known as "Mother Jones", and the National Catholic Welfare Council were important in the campaign to end child labour in the United States during the early 20th century. List of Labour Parties Modern labour parties originated from an increase in organising activities in Europe and European colonies during the 19th century, such as the Chartist movement in the United Kingdom during 1838-48. In , localised labour parties were formed, by trade union members in the British colonies of Australia. Labour festival Labour festivals have long been a part of the labour movement. Often held outdoors in the summer, the music, talks, food, drink, and film have attracted hundreds of thousands of attendees each year. Labour and racial equality[edit] This section needs expansion. July A degree of strategic bi-racial cooperation existed among black and white dockworkers on the waterfronts of New Orleans , Louisiana during the early 20th century. Although the groups maintained racially separate labour unions, they coordinated efforts to present a united front when making demands of their employers. Black and white dockworkers also cooperated during protracted labour strikes, including general levee strikes in and as well as smaller strikes involving skilled workers such as screwmen in the early s. Negroes in the United States read the history of labour and find it mirrors their own experience. We are confronted by powerful forces telling us to rely on the good will and understanding of those who profit by exploiting us [Labour laws are also primarily determined by individual nations or states within those nations. While there have been some efforts to adopt a set of international labour standards through the International Labour Organisation ILO , international sanctions for failing to meet such standards are very limited. In many countries labour movements have developed independently and represent those national boundaries. Development of an international labour movement[edit] With ever-increasing levels of international trade and increasing influence of multinational corporations, there has been debate and action among labourists to attempt international co-operation. This has resulted in renewed efforts to organize and collectively bargain internationally. A number of international union organisations have been established in an attempt to facilitate international collective bargaining, to share information and resources and to advance the interests of workers generally. List of national labour movements[edit].

Chapter 3 : Manchester University Press - The Labour Party and the world, volume 2

Book Description: This is the first book in a two-volume set that looks at the foreign policy of the Labour Party throughout the 20th century, and into the early years of the new millennium.

History of the Labour Party UK and History of the socialist movement in the United Kingdom

Founding The Labour Party originated in the late 19th century, meeting the demand for a new political party to represent the interests and needs of the urban working class, a demographic which had increased in number, and many of whom only gained suffrage with the passage of the Representation of the People Act. In addition, several small socialist groups had formed around this time, with the intention of linking the movement to political policies. At the general election, the Independent Labour Party put up 28 candidates but won only 44 votes. Keir Hardie, the leader of the party, believed that to obtain success in parliamentary elections, it would be necessary to join with other left-wing groups. Steels, proposed in his union branch that the Trade Union Congress call a special conference to bring together all left-wing organisations and form them into a single body that would sponsor Parliamentary candidates. The motion was passed at all stages by the TUC, and the proposed conference was held at the Memorial Hall on Farringdon Street on 26 and 27 February. The meeting was attended by a broad spectrum of working-class and left-wing organisations—trades unions represented about one third of the membership of the TUC delegates. He had the difficult task of keeping the various strands of opinions in the LRC united. The judgement effectively made strikes illegal since employers could recoup the cost of lost business from the unions. Keir Hardie, who had taken a leading role in getting the party established, was elected as Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party in effect, the Leader, although only by one vote over David Shackleton after several ballots. The Fabian Society provided much of the intellectual stimulus for the party. One of the first acts of the new Liberal Government was to reverse the Taff Vale judgement. The governing Liberals were unwilling to repeal this judicial decision with primary legislation. The height of Liberal compromise was to introduce a wage for Members of Parliament to remove the need to involve the trade unions. By, faced with the opposition of the largest trade unions, the Liberal government passed the Trade Disputes Act to allow unions to fund Labour MPs once more without seeking the express consent of their members. During the First World War the Labour Party split between supporters and opponents of the conflict but opposition to the war grew within the party as time went on. Ramsay MacDonald, a notable anti-war campaigner, resigned as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and Arthur Henderson became the main figure of authority within the party. The Co-operative Party later reached an electoral agreement with the Labour Party. Henderson turned his attention to building a strong constituency-based support network for the Labour Party. Previously, it had little national organisation, based largely on branches of unions and socialist societies. Working with Ramsay MacDonald and Sidney Webb, Henderson in established a national network of constituency organisations. Secondly, Henderson secured the adoption of a comprehensive statement of party policies, as drafted by Sidney Webb. It proclaimed a socialist party whose principles included a guaranteed minimum standard of living for everyone, nationalisation of industry, and heavy taxation of large incomes and of wealth. This set the scene for a surge in Labour representation in parliament. First Labour government, Main article: Because the government had to rely on the support of the Liberals it was unable to pass any radical legislation. The most significant achievement was the Wheatley Housing Act, which began a building programme of, homes for rental to low paid workers. Legislation on education, unemployment, social insurance and tenant protection was also passed. Although no major changes were introduced, the main achievement of the government was to demonstrate that Labour were capable of governing. When the Labour Party executive criticised the government, he replied that, "public doles, Poplarism [local defiance of the national government], strikes for increased wages, limitation of output, not only are not Socialism, but may mislead the spirit and policy of the Socialist movement. The ensuing general election saw the publication, four days before polling day, of the forged Zinoviev letter, in which Moscow talked about a Communist revolution in Britain. The letter had little impact on the Labour vote—which held up. It was the collapse of the Liberal party that led to the Conservative landslide. The Conservatives were

returned to power although Labour increased its vote from 22.3% to 32.3%. However many Labourites for years blamed their defeat on foul play the Zinoviev letter, thereby according to A. Taylor misunderstanding the political forces at work and delaying needed reforms in the party. During the General Strike of 1926 the party opposed the general strike, arguing that the best way to achieve social reforms was through the ballot box. The leaders were also fearful of Communist influence orchestrated from Moscow. Its leaders believed that peace was impossible because of capitalism, secret diplomacy, and the trade in armaments. That is it stressed material factors that ignored the psychological memories of the Great War, and the highly emotional tensions regarding nationalism and the boundaries of the countries.

Second MacDonald ministry The original "Liberty" logo, in use until 1927, was replaced by a new logo. In the general election of 1929, the Labour Party became the largest in the House of Commons for the first time, with 158 seats and 32.3% of the vote. However MacDonald was still reliant on Liberal support to form a minority government. By the end of 1930 unemployment had doubled to over two and a half million. The cabinet deadlocked over its response, with several influential members unwilling to support the budget cuts in particular a cut in the rate of unemployment benefit which were pressed by the civil service and opposition parties. Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Snowden refused to consider deficit spending or tariffs as alternative solutions. When a final vote was taken, the Cabinet was split with a minority, including many political heavyweights such as Arthur Henderson and George Lansbury, threatening to resign rather than agree to the cuts. The unworkable split, on 24 August, made the government resign. The king played the central role in demanding a National Government be formed. On 24 August, MacDonald agreed to form a National Government composed of men from all parties with the specific aim of balancing the Budget and restoring confidence. The new cabinet had four Labourites who formed a "National Labour" group who stood with MacDonald, plus four Conservatives led by Baldwin, Chamberlain and two Liberals. Labour unions were strongly opposed and the Labour Party officially repudiated the new National government. It expelled MacDonald and his supporters and made Henderson the leader of the main Labour party. Henderson led it into the general election on 27 October against the three-party National coalition. It was a disaster for Labour, which was reduced to a small minority of 52 seats. The Conservative dominated National Government, led by MacDonald won the largest landslide in British political history. Historian Andrew Thorpe argues that Labour lost credibility by as unemployment soared, especially in coal, textiles, shipbuilding, and steel. The working class increasingly lost confidence in the ability of Labour to solve the most pressing problem. The Catholic Church had previously tolerated the Labour Party, and denied that it represented true socialism. They warned its members. The only former Labour cabinet member who had retained his seat, the pacifist George Lansbury, accordingly became party leader. The party experienced another split in 1932 when the Independent Labour Party, which for some years had been increasingly at odds with the Labour leadership, opted to disaffiliate from the Labour Party and embarked on a long, drawn-out decline. Lansbury resigned as leader in 1932 after public disagreements over foreign policy. He was promptly replaced as leader by his deputy, Clement Attlee, who would lead the party for two decades. When Neville Chamberlain resigned in the spring of 1935, incoming Prime Minister Winston Churchill decided to bring the other main parties into a coalition similar to that of the First World War. A number of other senior Labour figures also took up senior positions: Alexander resumed the role he had held in the previous Labour Government as First Lord of the Admiralty. Attlee government, 1935-1940: It developed and implemented the "cradle to grave" welfare state conceived by the economist William Beveridge. Labour went on to win the general election of 1945, but with a much reduced majority of five seats. Most of the changes introduced by the 1945 Labour government were accepted by the Conservatives and became part of the "post-war consensus" that lasted until the late 1970s. Food and clothing rationing, however, still in place since the war, were swiftly relaxed, then abandoned from about 1947. The ageing Attlee contested his final general election in 1951, which saw Labour lose ground, and he retired shortly after. Under Gaitskell, Labour lost their third general election in a row in 1955. Wilson government, 1964-1970: Main article: First Wilson ministry A downturn in the economy and a series of scandals in the early 1970s the most notorious being the Profumo affair had engulfed the Conservative government by 1974. The Labour Party returned to government with a 4-seat majority under Wilson in the general election but increased its majority to 96 in the general election. Comprehensive education was expanded and the Open University created. Labour went on to lose the general election to the Conservatives under Edward

Heath. Spell in opposition, " After losing the general election, Labour returned to opposition, but retained Harold Wilson as Leader. The s proved a difficult time to be in government for both the Conservatives and Labour due to the oil crisis which caused high inflation and a global recession. The Labour Party was returned to power again under Wilson a few weeks after the February general election , forming a minority government with the support of the Ulster Unionists. The Conservatives were unable to form a government alone as they had fewer seats despite receiving more votes numerically. In a bid to gain a majority, a second election was soon called for October in which Labour, still with Harold Wilson as leader, won a slim majority of three, gaining just 18 seats taking its total to Majority to minority, " Main article: The Wilson and Callaghan governments of the s tried to control inflation which reached This was fairly successful, reducing inflation to 7. Fear of advances by the nationalist parties, particularly in Scotland, led to the suppression of a report from Scottish Office economist Gavin McCrone that suggested that an independent Scotland would be "chronically in surplus". An arrangement negotiated in with Liberal leader David Steel , known as the Lib"Lab pact , ended after one year. Deals were then forged with various small parties including the Scottish National Party SNP and the Welsh nationalist Plaid Cymru , prolonging the life of the government. The nationalist parties, in turn, demanded devolution to their respective constituent countries in return for their supporting the government. When the Labour government duly refused to push ahead with setting up the proposed Scottish Assembly, the SNP withdrew its support for the government: By the economy had started to show signs of recovery, with inflation falling to single digits, unemployment falling, and living standards starting to rise during the year. In the event he decided to extend his wage restraint policy for another year hoping that the economy would be in a better shape for a election. However, during the winter of "79 there were widespread strikes among lorry drivers, railway workers, car workers and local government and hospital workers in favour of higher pay-rises that caused significant disruption to everyday life. These events came to be dubbed the " Winter of Discontent ". In the general election Labour was heavily defeated by the Conservatives now led by Margaret Thatcher. The Labour vote held up in the election, with the party receiving a similar number of votes as in However the Conservative Party achieved big increases in support in the Midlands and South of England, benefiting from both a surge in turnout and votes lost by the ailing Liberals. Internal conflict and opposition, " This section needs additional citations for verification.

Chapter 4 : The Labour Party and the World - Volume 2 - Rhiannon Vickers - Oxford University Press

Volume 1, The evolution of labour's foreign policy, [Rhiannon Vickers] -- "This is the first book in a two-volume set that looks at the foreign policy of the Labour Party throughout the 20th century, and into the early years of the new millennium.

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