Notes

Introduction

2. Hugh Thomas, *John Strachey*, 26, 40. Strachey (1901–63)—about whom we will hear more in chapter 7—served for some time as the editor of the ILP’s *Socialist Review*.
4. The report of the party’s National Administrative Council to the 1930 annual conference listed the last four of these as “Papers Associated with the Party,” also reminding delegates that the *Northern Voice* was “directly under the management and control of the Lancashire Divisional Council.” *NAC Report*, 1930, 29. (Note: The reports of the ILP’s National Administrative Council, which were presented at the party’s annual conferences, were often published as separate documents, rather than as part of the main conference report. In such cases, their original, very long-winded, titles have been abbreviated to *NAC Report*.)
7. In the wake of this vote, a special conference of the party was scheduled for 17 September. As Gidon Cohen suggests, had the outbreak of the Second World War not led to the suspension of plans for this conference, the *NAC*’s recommendation would probably have won the day. Cohen, *Failure of a Dream*, 161.
8. On Communist efforts to infiltrate the ILP, see ibid., chap. 7.

Chapter 1: Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Parliamentary Reform

8. *The Clarion*, 3 August 1906. *The Clarion* was edited by Robert Blatchford, a major propagandist for socialism in Britain, especially in the 1890s. It was broadly supportive but often critical of the ILP at this time.


15. Ibid., 3–4.


17. Ibid., 12.

18. Ibid., 13.


23. *The Clarion*, 17 July 1908. The Triple Entente, following on from the “Entente Cordiale” with France of 1903, had ended Britain’s period of “Splendid Isolation,” during which it had avoided alliances or “understandings” with Continental European powers.


28. Unless otherwise indicated, emphasis (whether boldface or italic) is in the original.

29. More will be said about the Union of Democratic Control in chapter 3. Sir Charles Trevelyan (1870–1958) hailed from an aristocratic family, becoming 3rd Baronet of Wallington in 1928. After graduating from Cambridge, he entered politics, serving as a Liberal MP from 1899 until 1918, when he stood and lost as an ILP candidate. He returned to the House of Commons as a Labour MP in 1922, where he remained until defeated, like most Labour candidates, in the 1931 election. Throughout his career, he was active in promoting educational reform, including the raising of the school leaving age. He served as the parliamentary secretary to the Board of Education from 1908 to 1914 and then as its president in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931, in MacDonald’s Labour governments. He will appear from time to time in later chapters, particularly in connection with his role in the Socialist League after 1932.

30. The son of Sir Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria’s private secretary, Arthur Ponsonby (1871–1946) began his career in 1882, as a Page of Honour in the royal
household. Educated at Oxford, he joined the diplomatic service before turning to politics. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1908, as a Liberal MP, but switched his allegiance to the Labour Party after the war, returning to the House of Commons in 1922 as a Labour MP and serving in both of Ramsay MacDonald’s Labour governments. Raised to the peerage in 1930, he went on to become the Labour Party’s leader in the House of Lords and a founder of the Peace Pledge Union. He resigned from the Labour Party in 1940, when it joined Churchill’s wartime coalition.

31. Labour Leader, 28 March 1918.
32. Labour Leader, 17 April 1917.
35. F. W. Jowett, “Down with the Parasites”: Jowett’s Chairman’s Address to the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh, 5.
38. Ibid., 82. See Bullock, Romancing the Revolution, 114–15, for more on the notion of the Russian soviets as “an experiment.”
39. Ibid., 83.
40. Ibid., 84.
42. New Leader, 6 April 1923. As we shall see, Leach was later to change his mind on this issue. William Leach (1870–1949) started out in local Bradford politics like Jowett, served as Bradford Central MP in 1922–24 and 1929–31, and from 1935 until he retired in 1945. He was Under Secretary for Air in MacDonald’s 1924 government.
43. New Leader, 3 October 1924. Clement R. Attlee (1883–1967) had joined the ILP in 1907, but he did not share the party’s opposition to the war, in which he served and was wounded. In his account of Attlee’s early political career, Ben Pimlott perhaps downplays his involvement with the ILP. While acknowledging that Attlee took an active part in establishing the party’s Stepney branch, he writes that “in 1914, Attlee rejected the pacifism prevalent in the ILP” and joined the war effort. He goes on to mention that Attlee was mayor of Stepney after the war and was elected as the MP for Limehouse in 1922, but he gives no hint that Attlee returned to the ILP and, for a short while, played a very active role in it. Ben Pimlott, Labour and the Left in the 1930, 24; see also Kenneth O. Morgan, Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants, Hardie to Kinnock, 137. In fact, Attlee was sufficiently close to the ILP to have reported to the party’s 1923 conference on the activities in Parliament during the preceding year. Although he was often known, according to the custom of those times, by his wartime rank, as Major Attlee, in ILP literature of the period he generally appears as C. R. Attlee.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. New Leader, 9 May 1924. H. N. (Henry Noel) Brailsford (1873–1958) had already established himself as a leading political journalist and commentator before the First World War. He edited the New Leader from 1924 to 1926.
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47. F. W. Jowett and H. B. Lees Smith, The Reform of Parliament: Speeches by F. W. Jowett and H. B. Lees Smith at the ILP Conference, 2. Hastings Bernard Lees Smith (1876–1941) was a lecturer at the London School of Economics and later a professor of public administration at the University of Bristol. A Liberal MP from 1910 until 1918, he joined Labour in 1919 and was Labour MP for Keighley in 1922–23 and 1924–31, and from 1935 until his death. He was postmaster general in MacDonald’s 1929 administration and briefly succeeded Trevelyan at the Board of Education in 1931.

48. Ibid., 3.
49. Ibid., 6.
50. Ibid., 8.
51. F. W. Jowett, Parliament or Palaver? Answers to Objections to Proposal for Reform of Parliament, 3. Jowett’s biographer characterizes this publication as “one of the most effective political pamphlets ever printed.” Brockway, Socialism over Sixty Years, 237.
52. Jowett, Parliament or Palaver, 4, 6.
53. Ibid., 11.
54. Ibid., 13, 16, 22.
55. New Leader, 6 August 1926.
56. New Leader, 11 August 1939.
57. Labour Leader, 31 May 1912.

Chapter 2: An Existential Dilemma

3. R. T. McKenzie, British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power Within the Conservative and Labour Parties, 482.
5. NAC Report, 1918, 16.
7. NAC Report, 1918, 16–17. For the changes in the Labour Party constitution, see Henry Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party, 43.
9. The I.L.P. and the Labour Party: What Is the Difference? No doubt the 1899 date refers to the founding of the Labour Representation Committee, which actually took place at a conference held late in February 1900—although the call to convene the conference was issued in 1899.
10. The Need for the I.L.P.
11. Dowse, Left in the Centre, 47.
12. Resolutions and Nominations to be Submitted to the 29th Annual Conference of the I.L.P., Southport, 27th, 28th, 29th March 1921, 31.
17. NAC Report, 1921, 8.
22. *Report of the Annual Conference Held at Glasgow, April 1920*, 18. Kirkwood was the former treasurer of the Clyde Workers' Committee, formed in the Glasgow area in 1915. It was a key part of the wartime upsurge of the shop stewards' movement. See Walter Kendall, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900–21: The Origins of British Communism*, chaps. 7 and 8; and James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*.
30. *Labour Leader*, 29 July 1920. The report's full title was *The I.L.P. and the Third International: Being the Questions Submitted by the I.L.P. Delegation to the Executive of the Third International and Its Reply, with an Introductory Statement by the National Council of the I.L.P.*
31. “Clifford Allen’s Letter on the Third International and Visit to Russia,” in *NAC Report*, 1921, 36–37. “Long and rambling” was indeed an apt description. The Comintern reply began with the eighth question—the broadest of the twelve—on the difference between communism and other forms of socialism. This gave the Third International executive the opportunity to spend more than twenty pages on a didactic version of the history of the socialist movement from a Leninist perspective. This was the longest of the replies, but others were far from short. According to Brockway, Harry Pollitt, long-time secretary of the CPGB, told him that the reply to the ILP had been written by “Lenin himself.” Fenner Brockway, *Inside the Left: Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison, and Parliament*, 138.
33. “Report of the Chairman, Councillor R. C. Wallhead, on his Visit to Russia and Meeting with the Executive of the Third International,” in *NAC Report*, 1921, 55.
41. The Socialist, 9 December 1920.
42. Labour Leader, 23 December 1920.
43. David Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 274–75. MacDonald would return to the House of Commons the following year, as the MP for the Welsh seat of Aberavon.
44. Labour Leader, 10 March 1921. On the conflict between Snowden and Glasier, see Bullock, Romancing the Revolution, 346–52.
45. Labour Leader, 10 March 1921. In another article on the by-election, MacDonald complained, with much justification, that, “My private life was soused in a sewer bath, widows and mothers who had lost sons were told of my night club kind of orgies throughout their racking sorrows?” Socialist Review, April–June 1921, 103.
46. Labour Leader, 13 January 1921 (Scotland); 27 January 1921 (Yorkshire and Lancashire).
47. Report of the Annual Conference Held at Southport, March 1921, 55.
48. Labour Leader, 31 March 1921.
50. Labour Leader, 31 March 1921. As Paton recalls in his autobiography, he responded to a heckler in the audience by declaring that he would “sooner go to hell with Ramsay MacDonald than to paradise with some of the leaders of our own Left wing.” John Paton, Left Turn! The Autobiography of John Paton, 86. Paton’s speech was not soon forgotten. In an article on the twenty-one points that appeared in the January 1933 issue of the ILP internal discussion organ Controversy, John Robson noted that the seventh point “even denounced Ramsay MacDonald by name.” This, he wrote, “was too much for us in 1921, and so, led by John Paton who was prepared to follow Ramsay to hell, the I.L.P. set out for the promised land of Socialism by the road of Constitutionalism.” Paton (1886–1976) supported disaffiliation but had resigned from the ILP by the time the Controversy article appeared. He was a Labour MP from 1945 until he retired in 1964.
51. Labour Leader, 31 March 1921. The eventual loss of membership to the ILP—and the gain to the CPGB—was not, however, on the scale that the Left Wing defectors and the CPGB had wished. Walter Kendall estimates the actual number of CPGB recruits at about five hundred or, “at the absolute maximum, one thousand.” Kendall, Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 276.

Chapter 3: Ramsay MacDonald and the ILP
1. Henry Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party, 47. The “one of their own number” was evidently George Young, one of the Liberal recruits to the Labour Party.
2. Labour Leader, 24 December 1914.
3. NAC Report, 1925, 36. The New Leader, 21 November 1924, had devoted its front page to a picture of Morel, and the same issue featured his “last message” and a commemorative piece by Ponsonby.

5. Ibid., 34, 52.


John Bruce Glasier (1859–1920), who always appeared in print as J. Bruce Glasier, was the editor of *Labour Leader* until 1916, when illness forced him to resign. It was then that his wife, Katharine Bruce Glasier (1867–1950) took over as editor of the paper. She remained very active in the *ILP*, until its disaffiliation from the Labour Party, and subsequently in the Labour Party itself.

13. The *ILP*’s more left-wing members were also instrumental in the attempt, in 1911, to forge a union between the *ILP* and the *SDF* (or the Social-Democratic Party, as it had then become). The main outcome of the 1911 “unity conference” was the birth of the British Socialist Party. Only thirty-six branches of the *ILP* took part in the conference, however, with members of the Social-Democratic Party forming the core of the new organization. See Walter Kendall, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900–21: The Origins of British Communism*, 38, and, on the search for “socialist unity” before 1914, Keith Laybourn, “The Failure of Socialist Unity in Britain, c. 1893–1914.”

14. Emanuel Shinwell, *Conflict Without Malice: An Autobiography*, 115. This rather ungenerous comment may cause some to wonder about the appropriateness of the title of Shinwell’s memoir.

15. Paton, *Left Turn!* 84.

16. Ibid., 78.

17. David Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, 262. For Paton’s view of the episode, see Paton, *Left Turn!* 78.


19. Minutes of *NAC* meeting, 3 April 1905, 21.


22. Ibid., 153.

23. Ibid., 154.


27. *Labour Leader*, 2 December 1920. A militia organized in 1912 by Edward Carson, the Ulster Volunteer Force (originally the Ulster Volunteers) threatened to use violence to oppose the Liberal government’s efforts to impose Home Rule in Ireland.
34. *Justice*, 23 November 1895.
37. MacDonald, *Socialism After the War*, 43, 47.
38. Ibid., 49.
40. In his 1920 volume *Guild Socialism Re-stated*, G. D. H. Cole succinctly laid out the theory of functional democracy. An individual “should be called upon, not to choose someone to represent him as a man or as a citizen in all aspects of citizenship, but only to choose someone to represent his point of view in relation to some particular purpose or group of purposes, in other words, some particular function. All true and democratic representation is therefore functional representation.” Consequently, “there must be, in the Society, as many separately elected groups as there are distinct essential groups of functions to be performed” and individuals “must therefore have, not one vote each, but as many different functional votes as there are different questions calling for associative action in which they are interested” (32–33).
42. Ibid., 54.
43. Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, 257.
44. MacDonald, *Parliament and Revolution*, 3–4. “National Guilds” refers to the guild socialist movement, which, as we shall see in chapter 4, was to be very influential for a time in the I.L.P.
45. Ibid., 11–13.
46. Ibid., 15, 18.
47. Ibid., 19, 20.
48. Ibid., 17.
51. Ibid., 32.
52. Ibid., 34–35. It is interesting that MacDonald gave university representation as the example of the way in which the British system fell short of the benchmark of “one person one vote of equal value.” At the time he wrote the book, franchise rules were governed by the Representation of the People Act, 1918, which, though it enfranchised some women for the first time, still completely excluded those under thirty years of age. University graduates, not just of Oxford and Cambridge, could vote for university representatives in twelve separate
constituencies, as well as voting for those running for office in the constituency where they lived. There were also other forms of plural voting—notably, where property was owned that enabled people to register in more than one parliamentary constituency. This remained so until 1948.

53. Ibid., 107–9.
54. Ibid., 111, 114.
56. MacDonald, Parliament and Revolution, 66.
57. Ibid., 102–3.
58. Labour Leader, 1 April 1920.
59. Clement J. Bundock, review of J. Ramsay MacDonald, Socialism: Critical and Constructive, in Labour Leader, 8 September 1921 (the quotation is from p. 241). Bundock’s review prompted a reply from Horace Miles, the secretary of the Coventry I.L.P branch, who noted that Bundock was “a little behind the times,” since the “Soviet idea of representation and the functional theory of the Guildsmen are entirely different as he would find out if he examined them.” Miles also remarked that MacDonald was “still hopelessly in the mire of Herbert Spencer’s biological sociology.” Horace Miles, letter in Labour Leader, 15 September 1921.
60. MacDonald, Socialism: Critical and Constructive, 240–41.
61. Ibid., 240.
62. Ibid., 259.
63. Labour Leader, 10 March 1921.
64. R. T. McKenzie, British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power Within the Conservative and Labour Parties, 350.

Chapter 4: A “Distinctive Program”

1. Labour Leader, 8 April 1920 (quoting Allen’s remarks at the conference).
2. Labour Leader, 11 November 1920.
3. Labour Leader, 28 October 1920.
5. Labour Leader, 8 April 1920.
7. Resolutions for the No. 9 Divisional Conference to Be Held . . . on 20 January 1917, at Stockport, 1.
11. The use of the term guild reflects the contemporary interest in a revival of the medieval guild system as advocated in Arthur J. Penty’s The Restoration of the Gild System (1906) and in the writings of A. R. Orage, editor of the New Age. A more definitely socialist interpretation of guilds was made by S. G. Hobson in his 1914 publication, National Guilds, and a little later by some of the younger Fabian intellectuals, notably the Coles.


21. Ibid., 73.


23. *Labour Leader*, 13 January 1921. Patrick Dollan (1885–1963) was a leading figure in the I.L.P until the time of its disaffiliation from the Labour Party. At that point, he rallied many Scottish I.L.Pers and formed the Scottish Socialist Party, which affiliated to Labour.


31. Ibid.

32. *Labour Leader*, 5 January 1922. Carter’s remarks appeared in “At the Sign of the I.L.P.” a regular column in *Labour Leader* at the time that contained commentary from the editor on current issues.

33. Quoted in ibid.


41. Ibid. Directed mainly at women, Pallister’s pamphlets included *The Candle and the Pumpkin, Mrs. Smith of Wigan*, and *Socialism, Equality, and Happiness*, as well as *Socialism for Women*, which the I.L.P published in 1925 both as an ordinary pamphlet and as “I.L.P Course No. 8: 8 Short Talks for Study Circles and Discussion Classes.”

42. *Labour Leader*, 2 March 1922.

Chapter 5: The 1922 Constitution and the Allen Regime


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doi: 10.15215/aupress/9781771990257.01


5. *Labour Leader*, 20 April 1922.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid. Fred Longden had clashed with MacDonald over his attitude to the Bolsheviks in 1919 and criticized “stupid statements” about Russia in the *Labour Leader* in the same 1922 issue that reported the conference. Described by David Howell as “an old-style ILP propagandist,” Longden had been imprisoned as a conscientious objector during the war. He became a full-time lecturer for the Workers’ Educational Association in the 1920s and a Labour MP for a Birmingham constituency in 1929–31 and 1945–52. David Howell, *MacDonald’s Party: Labour Identities and Crisis, 1922–1931*, 244.


20. ILP Industrial Policy Committee, *Trade Unions and Socialism: A Report to the I.L.P. Conference, 1926*, on the Industrial Aspect of Socialism, 2, 16. Margaret Bondfield (1873–1953) was the first woman cabinet minister in Britain, having been a junior minister in the 1924 government.


32. Marwick, Clifford Allen, 77.
34. *Labour Leader*, 8 June 1922.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
42. *Labour Leader*, 28 September 1922.
43. *Labour Leader*, 24 August 1922. Leventhal tells us that Mary Agnes Hamilton was “imposed” on Brailsford at MacDonald’s insistence. F. M. Leventhal *The Last Dissenter: H. N. Brailsford and His World*, 176.
44. *New Leader*, 6 October 1922.
45. *New Leader*, 13 October and 20 October 1922.
46. *New Leader*, 27 October and 15 December 1922.
47. *New Leader*, 3 November and 29 December 1922.
49. *New Leader*, 6 October 1922.
51. *New Leader*, 17 November 1922.
52. *New Leader*, 22 December 1922.
55. *New Leader*, 16 March 1923.
56. *Now for Socialism! The Call of the I.L.P.*
58. *New Leader*, 29 December 1922.
60. Brockway, *Inside the Left*, 143.
64. Marwick, Clifford Allen, 79.
65. Dowse, *Left in the Centre*, 83.
66. *The Miners’ Next Step* was the title of a syndicalist-influenced pamphlet of 1912 published by the Unofficial Reform Committee, of which Noah Ablett was a leading member.
67. *New Leader*, 13 October and 20 October 1922.
68. *New Leader*, 3 November 1922.
70. *New Leader*, 1 December and 8 December 1922.
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72. I am grateful to Anthony Carew for this reference. For later rival attempts in the 1930s to revive guild socialism by Cole, Mellor, Hobson, and others, see David Blaazer, “Guild Socialists After Guild Socialism: The Workers’ Control Group and the House of Industry League.”

73. *Now for Socialism!*


77. Ibid., 193, 33.

78. Dowse, *Left in the Centre*, 84, citing Paton, *Left Turn!* 179. See also Brockway, *Towards Tomorrow*, 64.


82. Paton, *Left Turn!* 156.


84. Dowse, *Left in the Centre*, 75, 78.


Chapter 6: The Rise of MacDonald and the First Labour Government


6. David Kirkwood, *My Life of Revolt*, 195. Arthur Henderson (1863–1935)—“Uncle Arthur” to many Labour MPs—chaired the parliamentary party from 1908 to 1910. After MacDonald’s resignation as chairman of the parliamentary party in 1914, he held the position again until October 1917. Having been the first Labour cabinet minister in Lloyd George’s wartime coalition, he was Home Secretary in the first and Foreign Secretary in the second Labour government in 1924 and 1929–31. After its fall, he was leader of the Labour Party until October 1932. Henderson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934.

7. Emanuel Shinwell, *Conflict Without Malice: An Autobiography*, 83. Emanuel Shinwell (1884–1985), another—though temporary—“Red Clydeside” MP, held ministerial positions in both of MacDonald’s government and as Minister of Fuel and Power, then Secretary of State for War and later Minister of Defence in Attlee’s postwar governments.


Leader of the House of Commons in MacDonald’s 1924 government and was Home Secretary in the 1929–31 administration.


13. *Labour Leader*, 1 September 1921. Colonel Josiah Wedgwood (1872–1943) was another former radical Liberal MP who, unlike some of the other recruits to the Labour Party and the ILP from that quarter, had fought in the war, winning a DSO in the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign. His colonelcy dated from 1917, when he became Assistant Director of Tank Warfare. Later, he served as a cabinet minister without portfolio in the 1924 Labour government but was critical of MacDonald and not given office in the latter’s second administration.


20. Ibid., 132.

21. Ibid., 133.

22. Ibid., 133–34.


25. Ibid., 138.


28. Ibid., 95.


32. For Stewart, see Dowse, *Left in the Centre*, 102, citing *Forward*, 15 December 1923; for Clapham, see Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, 297, quoting Brailsford, letter to MacDonald, 10 December 1923, MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office 5/33.


This is the meeting that is mentioned in MacDonald’s diary on 10 December 1923, quoted in Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, 298.

34. Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, 298.

35. Brockway, *Socialism over Sixty Years*, 207.


39. Ibid., 299.
40. MacDonald to Henderson, 22 December 1923, MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office 5/35. Quoted in Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 302.
41. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 302. In a letter to MacDonald, Ponsonby protested: “The incredible seems about to happen. We are actually to be allowed by an incredible combination of circumstances to have control of the F.O. [Foreign Office] and to begin to carry out some of the things we have been urging and preaching for years. To give this job to J.T. is simply to chuck the opportunity away.” Ponsonby to MacDonald, 12 December 1923, in MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office, quoted in John Shepherd and Keith Laybourn, Britain’s First Labour Government, 57.
42. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 313.
43. Marquand quotes from Ponsonby’s diary as well as MacDonald’s: MacDonald, 2 March 1924, and Ponsonby, 17 April 1924, in Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 320.
45. New Leader, 14 December 1923, quoted in Dowse, Left in the Centre, 103.
46. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 319, 326.
47. New Leader, 11 January 1924.
48. Dowse, Left in the Centre, 104.
49. New Leader, 18 April 1924.
50. Marwick, Clifford Allen, 86. Allen’s speech was later published as the ILP pamphlet, Putting Socialism into Practice.
52. David Howell, A Lost Left: Three Studies in Socialism and Nationalism, 265.
53. Dowse, Left in the Centre, 110–11.
54. Brockway, Socialism over Sixty Years, 214.
56. Minutes of NAC meeting, 17 May 1924.
57. Dowse, Left in the Centre, 107, citing New Leader, 8 August 1921, and Allen to MacDonald, 16 September 1924. Allen’s collected correspondence is now in the Clifford Allen (Lord Allen of Hurtwood) Papers, Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries.
58. Shinwell, Conflict Without Malice, 94.
60. Brockway, Socialism over Sixty Years, 217; Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, chap. 15.
61. Shinwell, Conflict Without Malice, 94.
63. New Leader, 17 October 1924.
64. The Zinoviev letter, now believed to be a forgery, was published just four days before the election. Purportedly written by Comintern leader Grigory Zinoviev, the letter instructed the CPGB to mobilize the support of those in the Labour Party sympathetic to Soviet objectives. It was widely believed in Labour circles, both at the time and subsequently, that the publication of the letter contributed substantially to Labour’s election defeat, although this argument is no longer widely accepted. The most exhaustive investigation of the affair is the 1999 report by the chief historian of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Gill Bennett, “A
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66. Kirkwood, My Life of Revolt, 228.

Chapter 7: Preparing the Ground for the Living Wage Policy

2. “Resolutions to Be Presented to the 33rd Annual Conference, 12–14 April at Gloucester: Final Agenda, 1925,” 19.
3. Joseph Southall (1861–1944) was a Birmingham-based Arts and Crafts movement painter active in the I.L.P. A Quaker, he was an uncompromising opponent of militarism and war preparations.
4. Report of the Annual Conference Held at Gloucester, April 1925, 125; David Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 419.
5. Resolutions to the 33rd Annual Conference, 20.
6. NAC Report, 1925, 10.
11. New Leader, 2 April 1926.
13. NAC Report, 1925. The appendices were “Socialism and the Empire” (48–52); “India To-day, and the Duty of British Socialists Towards It” (52–56); “The Industrial Aspect of Socialism” (57–59).
15. New Leader, 14 December 1923.
19. New Leader, 7 March 1924. See also Alfred Salter, "A Living Wage for All": Dr. Salter's Speech in the House of Commons on 7 March 1923. When a bronze statue of Salter sitting on a park bench was stolen in November 2011 from Cherry Garden Pier, Simon Hughes, Liberal-Democrat MP for Bermondsey, expressed outrage in his blog of 21 November 2011 and described Salter as “the greatest of our MPs in the last century.” The statue was replaced in November 2014 after a local campaign raised about £60,000.
20. New Leader, 18 April 1924. There is no shortage of other examples of early usage of “Living Wage” in the New Leader. In 1924 alone, these include George Dallas’s
article “A Living Wage on the Farm,” *New Leader*, 25 July, and the debate initiated by “Historicus” the following month on “What Is a Living Wage?”


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid. An article by “Historicus” cites Rathbone at the summer school and makes a footnote reference to her “able and informative” book, *The Disinherited Family*. The article led to a number of letters the following week, including one from Rathbone herself. In it, she asked when “adjusting the income of the worker to the number in the family dependent on it” was going to become “an immediate question of Labour politics” and contrasted attitudes in Britain to the more positive ones of the Belgian and French trade unions. *New Leader*, 29 August 1924.


29. Ibid., 190.

30. Henry Noel Brailsford, *Socialism for To-day*. The note appears on an unnumbered page.

31. For example, “Realist” contributed “How to Stop the Wheat Gambler” in August 1923 and “The Cotton Trade” in March 1924.

32. Brailsford, *Socialism for To-day*, 63.

33. Ibid., 64.

34. Ibid., 66.

35. Ibid., 67.

36. Ibid., 67–68. It is notable that, even in the 1920s, Brailsford was already interested in the English revolution of the 1640s. After retiring from journalism, Brailsford (1873–1958) wrote *The Levellers and the English Revolution*. Incomplete at his death, it was edited by Christopher Hill and published in 1961.


38. Ibid., 69.


40. Ibid., 82–83.

41. Ibid., 84, 88.

42. Ibid., 111–12.

43. Leventhal, *Last Dissenter*, 190, 238.

44. Brailsford, *Socialism for To-day*, 120–21, 97, 99, 102.

45. Ibid., 103–4, 109.

46. Ibid., 112.

47. Ibid., 112–15.

48. Ibid., 119.

49. Hugh Thomas, *John Strachey*, 51. Note that Thomas was writing in the 1970s, so the emphasis should be on “today.” Michael Newman writes that although both versions were nationalistic, Mosley’s was “overtly racist in one passage and full of declamatory rhetoric,” which raises the question of what would have been seen as racist, even by socialists, at the time. Michael Newman, *John Strachey*, 8. In any case, it is very doubtful that anyone in the ILP had an inkling in the
mid-1920s of the surprising future political trajectory of Mosley—or indeed, of Strachey, who returned to the Labour Party in the 1940s and was again elected as an MP, serving in the postwar Labour government. Certainly, G. D. H. Cole had no reservations about citing both pamphlet and book in *Industrial Policy for Socialists: Ten Outline Lectures for Study Classes*, 1925.

50. Fenner Brockway, *Inside the Left: Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison, and Parliament*, 209; *New Leader*, 11 April 1924. For the ease and something bordering on adulation with which Mosley and his wife, Cynthia, were received more generally in the Labour Party, including a substantial quotation from Egon Wertheimer’s 1929 *Portrait of the Labour Party*, see Kevin Morgan, *Labour Legends and Russian Gold*, 133–34.


57. Mosley, *Revolution by Reason*, 9. Hobson’s version of “underconsumptionist” economics can be traced back at least to his 1909 book *The Industrial System*, and the underlying idea can be traced back much further.


63. Ibid., 12.


66. Ibid., 150, 79.


76. Margaret Matheson, “‘Living Wage’ or Socialism?” *Socialist Review*, June 1925, 242–44 (emphasis in original).
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77. Socialist Review, July 1925, 41.

Chapter 8: The Year of the General Strike—and of The Living Wage

1. Forward, 16 January 1926.
4. For Wise’s involvement with cooperatives and Russia, see Kevin Morgan, The Webbs and Soviet Communism, 189–93.
5. New Leader, 1 January 1926.
7. Mary D. Stocks, Eleanor Rathbone: A Biography, 100. For a report by Stocks on the 1923 Labour Party women’s conference in York, which emphasized the discussion of “child endowment” policies, see New Leader, 11 May 1923.
8. New Leader, 15 January 1926. Dalton claimed that Rathbone had recently joined the Labour Party. This appears to be quite wrong. Although, as Johanna Alberti puts it, Rathbone was “willing to speak the language of ethical socialism,” she “could never have worked closely with the Labour Party.” Johanna Alberti, Eleanor Rathbone, 71.
9. New Leader, 19 February 1926. The blue Greater London Council plaque on the house where Eleanor Rathbone once lived in Tufton Street, Westminster, describes her simply as “Pioneer of Family Allowances.” She was also a very prominent early-twentieth-century feminist and, later, an independent MP.
10. New Leader, 1 January 1926. Rennie Smith (1888–1962) was Labour MP for Penistone from 1924 to 1931.
11. Ibid.
12. New Leader, 8 January, 2 April, and 15 October 1926. The series continued into the following year. A cartoon in the 7 October 1927 issue of the Leader, titled “The Living Wage Unlocks the Gate,” showed a man with a key approaching a set of gates labelled “Socialist Commonwealth.”
13. New Leader, 8 January 1926.
14. Ibid.
15. New Leader, 26 February 1926.
17. New Leader, 12 March 1926.
18. Forward, 27 March 1926.
19. New Leader, 2 April 1926.
20. Ibid.
21. Forward, 3 April 1926.
22. Forward, 10 April 1926.

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27. Ibid., 86.
28. Ibid., 83; Forward, 10 April 1926.
30. Ibid., 191.
31. Ibid., 188, 190.
32. Ibid., 191.
33. New Leader, 28 May, 4 June, and 11 June 1926.
34. New Leader, 29 October 1926.
35. Forward, 17 April 1926; New Leader, 23 April 1926; Forward, 24 April 1926.
36. Forward, 17 April 1926.
37. New Leader, 13 August 1926.
38. Forward, 17 July 1926; New Leader, 23 July 1926.
39. New Leader, 13 August 1926.
40. New Leader, 1 October and 8 October 1926.
41. New Leader, 29 April 1927.
42. New Leader, 15 October and 22 October 1926.
44. David Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 454. The original source is the MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office 6/29.
45. Ben Pimlott, Hugh Dalton, 155.
46. Labour’s Northern Voice, 16 April and 17 December 1926.

Chapter 9: Pursuing the Living Wage Policy

1. David Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 452–53.
2. Report of the Annual Conference held at Whitley Bay, April 1926, 84.
3. Forward, 10 April 1926.
4. Henry Noel Brailsford, Socialism for To-day, 119.
5. New Leader, 1 January 1926.
7. Brailsford et al., Living Wage, 1.
8. Ibid., 4.
10. Ibid., 8–12.
11. Ibid., 13–18.
12. Ibid., 20–24.
13. Ibid., 30–36.
15. Ibid., 42–43, 46, 49–50.
16. Ibid., 54.
18. Arguably, a further milestone was reached when, following its success in the 2015 election, the Conservative government announced that a “National Living Wage” would replace the existing minimum wage of £6.50 per hour. The initial increase, to £7.20 per hour, was accompanied by a four-year freeze on most working-age benefits, the elimination of government support for students from low-income households, and a number of other cuts, prompting Labour MP Harriet Harman to comment that the budget left “working people worse off.” For details, see “Budget 2015: Osborne Unveils National Living Wage,” BBC News, 8 July 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-33437115.

20. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 452.
22. Ibid., 43.
23. New Leader, 9 April 1926.
24. Brailsford et al., Living Wage, 19, 44.
27. New Leader, 7 June 1929.
28. New Leader, 5 July 1929. In a letter that appeared the following week (in the issue of 12 July), R. J. P. Mortishead, assistant secretary of the Irish Labour Party, took Wilkinson to task and made the case for proportional representation.

29. New Leader, 16 August 1929.
31. Sydney R. Elliott, Co-operation and Socialism, 3.
33. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 452.
35. New Leader, 18 May 1928.
38. New Leader, 19 December 1930.
41. W. T. Symons, A Living Wage or a Living Income: An Attack upon The Living Wage and an Alternative Policy for the Independent Labour Party, 3, 5, 6, 7. In the original, the final quotation in this paragraph was entirely in capital letters.
42. See, for example, T. H. Wintringham, Facing Both Ways: The I.L.P. and the Workers Struggle.
44. New Leader, 13 July 1928.
45. New Leader, 15 February 1929.
46. New Leader, 22 March 1929.
47. New Leader, 29 March 1929.
48. James Maxton, “Roads to Socialism”: Chairman’s Address to the I.L.P. Conference 1929, 5–6. In light of this, it might seem a little ironic that in Gordon Brown’s biography of Maxton, one of the four sections of the book is titled “Socialism in Our Time.”
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50. New Leader, 5 April 1929. The Cook-Maxton campaign will be examined in chapter 10.

51. Forward, 6 April 1929.

52. Forward, 23 June 1928.


54. New Leader, 6 February and 13 February 1931.

55. Forward, 14 February 1931.


Chapter 10: James Maxton and Increasing Tension with Labour


5. Socialist Review, February 1928, 3, 5; August 1928, 3.

6. John Paton, Left Turn! The Autobiography of John Paton, 287–88. Paton, who insisted that he had “known and liked Maxton for nearly twenty years” (292), gave the title “False Prophet” to the chapter in his book that dealt with the advent of Maxton. He was particularly critical of the Cook-Maxton episode and, later in the book, of what he saw as Maxton’s excessive toleration of the Revolutionary Policy Committee (whose ideas and activities will feature in later chapters).


12. Marwick, Clifford Allen, 100.

13. Report of the Annual Conference Held at Gloucester, April 1925, 147. Hugh Dalton (1887–1962) played little part after this time in the ILP. There are few references to the party in the first volume of his memoirs, though he does tell us about his joining the Cambridge branch as a student and later losing interest in it before the outbreak of the war, in which he served as an artillery officer. He also mentions his nomination by the ILP as a Labour candidate. Hugh Dalton, Call Back Yesterday: Memoirs, 1887–1931, 46–47, 70, 139. In a July 1923 diary entry in which he refers to a letter from Brockway informing him of the nomination and asking whether he was an ILP member, Dalton wrote, “I thereupon join or rather rejoin after a lapse of years.” Ben Pimlott, ed., The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton, 1918–40, 1945–60, 35. See also David Howell, “Traditions, Myths and Legacies: The ILP and the Labour Left,” in Alan Mckinlay and R. J. Morris, eds., The ILP on Clydeside, 1893–1932: From Foundation to Disintegration, 210. Dalton was later a key figure in the postwar Attlee governments and is remembered for promptly resigning as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1947 as a result of unintentionally leaking some details to a journalist on his way to the House of Commons about an hour before making the budget speech.
15. Ibid., 100.
16. Allen to Maxton, 21 October 1925, Allen Papers, quoted in Marwick, Clifford Allen, 100–101, and also included in Martin Gilbert, Plough My Own Furrow: The Story of Lord Allen of Hurtwood as Told Through His Writings and Correspondence, 194–95.
17. Ibid.
18. Allen to MacDonald, 2 November 1925, MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office, quoted in David Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, 430.
19. Brailsford to Allen, undated but ca. 1934, quoted in Gilbert, Plough My Own Furrow, 297.
22. Gordon Brown, Maxton, 204.
23. New Leader, 22 April 1927.
25. New Leader, 22 April 1927.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
29. To begin with, “Maxton-Cook” was favoured by the New Leader and other ILP sources, but in the long run alphabetical correctness won out and it is now usually known as Cook-Maxton and will be referred to as such in this account—except when Maxton-Cook appears in quotations.
30. New Leader, 22 June 1928. It is not completely clear whether Cook was an ILP member at this time. He is referred to as such on several occasions, but Dollan asserted, in Forward, 28 July 1928, that he was not a member.
33. New Leader, 29 June 1928.
34. Brockway, Inside the Left, 194—95, 276. See New Leader, 16 May 1930, for Paton’s tribute to Wheatley at the time of his death.
35. Paton, Left Turn! 297–98.
36. Ibid., 300–301. McAllister lists the same eight “left-wingers” in his 1935 biography of Maxton, James Maxton, 184.
37. New Leader, 6 July 1928.
40. Labour’s Northern Voice, 6 July 1928.
41. Labour’s Northern Voice, 13 July and 20 July 1928.
42. Forward, 30 June 1928.
43. Forward, 7 July 1928.
44. New Leader, 6 July 1928.
45. Forward, 7 July 1928.
46. New Leader, 6 July 1928.
47. Forward, 14 July 1928.
48. New Leader, 13 July and 20 July 1928.
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56. Ibid., 3–6.

57. Ibid., 9–10.


59. Ibid., 10–11, 12, 19, 20.

60. Ibid., 21–22.


64. *Socialist Review*, December 1928, 7. Rajani Palme Dutt (1896–1974) was a member of the CPGB and the founder of *Labour Monthly*, which he edited from 1921, when it began publication, until his death. The paper survived him by seven years: its final issue appeared in 1981.


68. On the Poplar episode, see Noreen Branson, *Poplarism, 1919–25*: *George Lansbury and the Councillors’ Revolt*. Scurr’s wife, Julia Sullivan Scurr, was also a Poplar councillor and was likewise jailed for her role in the rebellion. A well-known suffragist and a long-time activist on behalf of working women, she had died in April 1927, at the age of only fifty-seven.


70. See Matthew Worley, *Class Against Class: The Communist Party in Britain Between the Wars*. “Third period” refers to an analysis of the postwar years as consisting, first, of an upsurge in militancy, followed by a second period of capitalist consolidation, ushering in a revolutionary “third period”—a schema adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1928.


73. *Forward*, 2, 16, and 23 March 1929.


75. *New Leader*, 4 January 1929.


77. *New Leader*, 16 January 1931.

78. *New Leader*, 4 October 1929.
Chapter 11: The Second Labour Government

2. *New Leader*, 5 April 1929.
3. Ibid.
4. *New Leader*, 5 April and 12 April 1929.
5. *New Leader*, 4 May 1929.
6. *NAC* resolution, 9 June 1929, as reported in *NAC Report*, 1930, 45.
12. *New Leader*, 25 October 1929. The sentence was italicized in the original.
23. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. In the original, the text of the resolution was printed in boldface.
41. Hansard, 17 July 1930; New Leader, 25 July 1930. Brockway gives his account of this episode in Inside the Left, 204–6, and, surprisingly given the course Beckett had taken during the intervening years, records his "friendly memory of earlier association" with him (206).

42. New Leader, 25 April 1930.

43. New Leader, 9 May 1930.

44. New Leader, 6 June 1930.


47. Paton, Left Turn! 322–23.


50. Ralph Miliband, Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour, 166.


52. New Leader, 15 August 1930.


54. New Leader, 14 November 1930.

55. New Leader, 21 November 1930.

56. Ibid.

57. New Leader, 10 April 1931.

58. Skidelsky, Politicians and the Slump, 87.

59. Ibid., 195–207.

60. Brockway, Inside the Left, 211.


62. Ibid., 128.

63. Noel Thompson, John Strachey An Intellectual Biography, 66.

64. New Leader, 27 February 1931.

65. Foot, Aneurin Bevan, 120.

66. New Leader, 12 December and 19 December 1930.

67. Forward, 13 December 1930. The press baron Lord Beaverbrook, owner of the Daily Express and other large circulation papers, was a lifelong campaigner for the unity of the British Empire/Commonwealth.

68. New Leader, 30 January 1931.

69. New Leader, 13 February 1931.

70. New Leader, 27 February 1931.

71. New Leader, 6 March 1931. Poland's Marshal Józef Piłsudski was certainly a dictatorial figure, though not a fascist. He did have in common with Mussolini that he was a former socialist.

72. New Leader, 20 March 1931. In the original, Trevelyan's remark was set in bold type.

73. New Leader, 24 April 1931.

74. Labour's Northern Voice, 17 April 1930. Elijah Sandham (1875–1944) was a Labour MP for the Liverpool constituency of Kirkdale in the 1929–31 parliament. As we will see in chapter 16, he would break with the ILP in 1934, chiefly over the issue of a united front with the Communists.

75. New Leader, 20 February 1931.
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76. *New Leader*, 12 June 1931. In the paper, these words were set in boldface, as were “no fewer than . . .”
77. *New Leader*, 10 July and 17 July 1931.

Chapter 12: The Road Towards Departure

2. *Forward*, 29 August 1931.
7. Brailsford, The “City” or the Nation? 8.
10. Ibid.
12. Ibid. The “three deserters” were, of course, MacDonald, Snowden, and Thomas.
18. Some sources give the Labour total as 52, others as 46: see, for example, Marwick, *Clifford Allen*, 115.
24. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
30. *Forward*, 7 November and 12 December 1931.
34. New Leader, 15 January 1932.
35. New Leader, 1 January 1932.
37. Forward, 9 January 1932.
40. New Leader, 29 January 1932.
41. Forward, 30 January 1932.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid. Hughes reported Maxton’s vote in the next issue (6 February).
44. New Leader, 5 February 1932; Forward, 6 February 1932.
45. New Leader, 12 February 1932.
46. New Leader, 19 February 1932.
50. New Leader, 26 February 1932.
51. New Leader, 18 March 1932.
52. Forward, 27 February 1932.
54. Lee was the youngest MP in 1929 but lost her seat in the 1931 debacle. As she put it in the introduction to her memoir, “At twenty-four I was thrown into Parliament. . . . Three years later I was thrown out again.” Jennie Lee, This Great Journey, xiii. The book, written when Lee was working for Beaverbrook’s Ministry of Aircraft Production, was partly concerned with presenting the “people’s war” to Americans and Canadians.

Chapter 13: Disaffiliation Wins the Day

1. New Leader, 1 April 1932.
2. Ibid.
3. New Leader, 1 April 1932.
5. New Leader, 1 April 1932.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. The Brüning government, which had been in power in Germany since the indecisive election of 1930, relied on presidential decrees to implement its policies. The Weimar constitution gave President Hindenburg considerable emergency powers, which he used until May 1932 to support Brüning.
8. Forward, 2 April 1932.
10. Forward, 2 April 1932.
12. Ibid., 241, 238.
13. Forward, 2 April 1932.
15. New Leader, 15 April 1932.
17. Forward, 7 May and 14 May 1932.
18. Forward, 21 May 1932.
20. New Leader, 10 June 1932.
23. Ibid. The NAC report the following year praised the ILP’s women’s conference delegates for “putting forward the I.L.P. point of view on the various subjects discussed,” adding that “their fight was all the more praiseworthy in that it was made against obvious attempts by the platform to limit their freedom in debate which ultimately led to their withdrawing from the Conference as a protest.” NAC Report, 1933, 27. The “ex-Minister” was Margaret Bondfield, and the “unjust” Act for which she was held responsible was the Anomalies Act, against which the ILP parliamentary group had fought a determined rearguard action.
25. New Leader, 1 July 1932.
28. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 4, 8, 10. The “historic Socialist resolution” refers to what had happened nine years earlier. In March 1923, Snowden, back in the Parliament as MP for Colne Valley since the previous year’s general election, had moved a motion in the House of Commons calling for “the gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and distribution.” It had, of course, been rejected. Hansard, HC Deb, 20 March 1923, vol. 161, cc2472.
34. Jowett, I.L.P. Says No, 9, 11, 15.
35. Ibid., 7–8, 11, 16. Jowett ended his pamphlet emphatically with these final three words all in bold and increasing in size.
38. Forward, 23 July 1932.
39. Daily Worker, 25 July 1932. A few days earlier, the paper had published “The Swindle of I.L.P. Disaffiliation,” in which it compared disaffiliation from Labour to the time when the ILP had broken with the Second International and flirted with the Third, only to end up back in the Second again. “No worker,” the paper declared, “should allow himself to be deceived by this gang.” The ILP leadership was accused of “holding back the rank and file.” Daily Worker, 20 July 1932.
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40. *Labour’s Northern Voice*, August 1932. (Formerly a weekly, the paper had switched to monthly publication.)
44. *Forward*, 30 July 1932.
47. *New Leader*, 5 August 1932. The red shirts advertisement first appeared on 19 August.
49. In the *New Leader*, 8 July 1932, Wise was listed to speak on “Is Capitalism Breaking Down?”; Dollan, on “Is the I.L.P. Right or Wrong?”; and Brailsford, on “Democracy and the Revolutionary Problem.”
53. Ibid.
55. *Forward*, 6 August 1932.
60. *Daily Herald*, 1 August 1932.

Chapter 14: What Is a Revolutionary Policy?

4. “Summary of Discussion at Meeting of Divisional Representatives with the N.A.C. Held in the Labour Hall, Blackpool, on Friday March 25th, 1932, A. F. Brockway Presiding.”
5. Ibid.
9. Minutes of *NAC* meeting, 8–9 October 1932, 8.
12. “The Return to Fundamentals: Marx and Morris,” draft of an address to the ILP’s summer school in Caerleon, August 1932, John Middleton Murry Papers, MS 2508.12, p. 1. Murry’s address formed the basis of a two-part essay published later that year in The Adelphi (October and November 1932).


16. New Leader, 1 January 1932. Ethel Edith Mannin (1900–1984) had begun her career in copywriting and journalism. Having been a Labour supporter earlier, she had become disillusioned with that party and played an important role in the ILP in the 1930s.

17. “Community,” John Middleton Murry Papers, MS 2508.32b, pp. 1, 2.

18. The first three articles, “Historical Materialism,” “The Class War,” and “More About the Class War,” appeared in the New Leader on 1 March, 15 April, and 20 May 1932, respectively.


20. Forward, 2 April 1932.

21. John Middleton Murry, The Necessity of Communism, 50. Board schools were primary schools—or as they were then called, elementary schools. Set up by the 1870 Education Act, they were run by directly elected school boards until control was passed to the general local authorities by the 1902 Education Act.

22. Forward, 2 April 1932.


25. Murry, The Necessity of Communism, 9; the sentence was italicized in the original.

26. Ibid., 107, 9, 11, 15.

27. Ibid., 20, 29, 127.

28. Ibid., 120–22.

29. New Leader, 2 September 1932.


32. Ibid., 1, 2.

33. Ibid., 9.

34. “Memorandum of Comments,” John Middleton Murry Papers, MS 2508.15a, p. 15. Murry anticipated much opposition from within the ILP to the proposal that its members attempt to infiltrate the Labour Party, but he appears to have overlooked the probable reaction of Labour Party leaders themselves.


36. Ibid., 4, 5, 6.

37. Ibid., 6.

38. Ibid., 9.

39. Ibid., 11.


42. Ibid., 396–98.

43. Ibid., 399–400.
45. Revolt, 14 May 1932.
47. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 12.
50. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 111.
51. Labour’s Northern Voice, February and March 1933.
54. New Leader, 31 March and 7 April 1933. William Noble Warbey (1903–80) was elected as a Labour MP in 1945. He represented the Luton constituency and later Broxtowe, then Ashfield until he retired in 1966. The NUWM was the National Unemployed Workers’ Movement, founded by Wal Hannington in 1921. It was seen by the Labour Party, with some justification, as a Communist front and is now mainly remembered for its organization of the hunger marches. As we shall see in the next chapter, the question of what attitude the ILP should take towards it became inextricably linked to that of relations with the CPGB.
55. New Leader, 14 April 1933.
56. Ibid.

Chapter 15: Turbulent Waters
1. Paton to Aplin, 10 March 1933, ILP Collection.
2. Paton’s letter dated 16 March 1933, ILP Collection.
4. Minutes of NAC meeting, 14–15 April 1933, 4.
6. NAC Report, 1933, 3.
7. Ibid., 17.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 16.
12. Ibid., 19.
13. Ibid., 20.
14. Ibid., 34.
15. “Final Agenda: Resolutions to Be Submitted to the 41st Annual Conference, Derby, Easter, 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th April 1933,” 26.
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19. Ibid., 33, 31.
20. Ibid., 31.
21. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 29.
28. New Leader, 5 May 1933.
30. Minutes of Meeting of National Administrative Council Held in the York Hotel, Derby, on Tuesday, April 18th 1933, 1.
32. Minutes of NAC meeting, 14–15 April 1933, 3.
34. Forward, 15 April 1933.
36. NAC Report, 1933, 8.
39. Ibid., 36, 37.
40. Ibid., 37.
41. New Leader, 21 April 1933.
42. Minutes of NAC meeting, 18 April 1933, 3.
43. Forward, 23 April 1933.
44. New Leader, 6 January 1933.
45. New Leader, 3 February 1933. Harry Pollitt (1890–1960) was elected general secretary of the CPGB in 1929 and, apart from a period at the beginning of World War II, continued in that position until 1956.
46. New Leader, 5 May 1933.
47. Ibid.
48. Minutes of NAC meeting, 13–14 May 1933, 16.
49. Ibid., 9–12.
50. New Leader, 19 May 1933.
51. New Leader, 2 June 1933.
52. New Leader, 16 June and 23 June 1933.
54. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 47.
56. Ibid., 9, 10.
57. Ibid., 13, 14.
58. Ibid., 15, 16, 17. On Guy Aldred, see Mark Shipway, Anti-Parliamentary Communism: The Movement for Workers' Councils in Britain, 1917–45. Shipway quotes Aldred as explaining his recent (February 1933) resignation from the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation he had founded in 1921: it was “no longer necessary to pioneer Anti-Parliamentarism, because Anti-Parliamentarism has conquered” (130). No doubt his view seemed supported by the post-disaffiliation developments in the ILP.
59. Ibid., 18, 21.
60. New Leader, 30 June 1933.
62. Minutes of the Subcommittee on General Policy, 1 July and 2 July 1933, 1–2.
63. Ibid., 1–4.
64. “The Policy of the I.L.P.,” report of the Subcommittee on General Policy to the NAC (marked in pen “Confidential”), 3.
67. Ibid., 5, 6.
68. Minutes of the meeting of the Subcommittee on General Policy, 22–23 July 1933, 1.
69. Minutes of NAC meeting, 5–7 August 1933, 13, 14.
70. Ibid., 14, 17.
71. Ibid., 17, 19, 20, 21.
72. Ibid., 21, 22, 23.
73. New Leader, 11 August 1933.

Chapter 16: Lancashire Revolts
1. Minutes of NAC meeting, 18 April 1933, 1. See also Gidon Cohen, “Special Note: The Independent Socialist Party,” 233. As Cohen points out, the Power Fund (as it was generally called) “led to increasing demands on divisional finances to support the top-heavy party centre” (233).
3. Labour’s Northern Voice, June and July 1933. The Voice began to carry advertisements for The Adelphi, a publication now edited by Rees but still closely associated with Murry, in July.
5. Forward, 22 July 1933.
7. New Leader, 25 August 1933; The Adelphi, August 1933, 318.
8. Minutes of NAC meeting, 23–24 September 1933, 15, 17–21. The New Leader reported on the NAC meeting on 26 September 1933.
10. The Adelphi, September 1933, 391.
11. Labour’s Northern Voice, October 1933.
12. Labour’s Northern Voice, November 1933.
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15. New Leader, 2 February 1934.
18. Minutes of NAC meeting, 6–7 January 1934.
19. Minutes of NAC meeting, 10–11 February 1934, 7, 15.
24. New Leader, 6 April 1934.
25. Ibid.
27. New Leader, 6 April 1934.
28. Minutes of NAC meeting, 6–7 January 1934, 4.
29. Minutes of NAC meeting, 3 April 1934, 3.
30. Ibid.
32. New Leader, 20 April 1934; Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 101. The Socialist League, which was affiliated to the Labour Party, already contained many former ILPers who had opposed disaffiliation in 1932. More will be said about its fortunes in chapter 21.
33. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 19 April 1934, 2.
34. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 26 April 1934 (a single page).
36. Forward, 5 May 1934.
38. Controversy, June 1934.
41. Labour’s Northern Voice, July 1934.
42. Labour’s Northern Voice, August 1934.
43. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 10 August 1934, 3; New Leader, 17 August 1934.
44. Minutes of NAC meeting, 16–17 November 1934, 7.
45. Report of Meeting of Inner Executive with Representatives of the Communist Party, 12 December 1934, 1.
46. Minutes of NAC meeting, 9–10 June 1934, 13.
49. New Leader, 3 May 1935.
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52. Report of the Annual Conference Held at Glasgow, April 1920, 111.
54. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 45.
55. Minutes of NAC meeting, 10–11 February 1934, 4.
56. Decisions of the 42nd ILP Annual Conference, 7, 10.
58. Labour’s Northern Voice, August 1934.
60. Labour’s Northern Voice, August 1934.

Chapter 17: The Abyssinian Crisis and the Fate of Democratic Centralism

1. I use the name “Abyssinia,” most commonly used at the time in Britain, although the use of “Ethiopia” was not unknown. Sylvia Pankhurst’s anti-fascist newspaper, founded in response to the Italian invasion, was called the New Times and Ethiopia News, and The Adelphi also used Ethiopia (see The Adelphi, February 1936, 290). The ILP’s New Leader generally used Abyssinia but did refer to the “Ethiopian Legation” in its issue of 22 February 1935. On Sylvia Pankhurst’s involvement with Ethiopia, see Richard Pankhurst, “Sylvia and the New Times and Ethiopia News,” in Ian Bullock and Richard Pankhurst, eds., Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-Fascist, 121–48.

5. New Leader, 6 September 1935.
6. In addition to Abyssinia—Crisis for the Workers and Workers’ Action Can Stop the War! the London Division circulated other, similar leaflets, including Abyssinia . . . and You and Abyssinia—Workers! Watch Your Step!! All are now in the ILP Collection.
9. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 13 September 1935, 1.
12. New Leader, 4 October 1935. Describing James as “a Negro Socialist,” the paper identified him as the chairman of the Finchley ILP branch.
20. Ibid., 6, 2.
21. Ibid., 6, 3, 10.
24. This presumably refers to the “Communist Opposition,” which was inspired by Bukharin rather than Trotsky.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 1–5, 6.
27. Minutes of NAC meeting, 30 November–1 December, 1935. Gidon Cohen, who interviewed Gaster in 2000, writes that because of the position Gaster had taken on the issue, he was initially denied membership in the CPGB. He was only allowed to join after making an appeal to that party’s general secretary, Harry Pollitt. He subsequently played a significant role in the CPGB for more than half a century. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 94.
29. New Leader, 10 January and 6 March 1936.
30. New Leader, 7 February 1936.
31. Minutes of NAC meeting, 15–16 February 1936, 17.
32. New Leader, 3 April 1936.
33. NAC Report, 1936, 2.
34. The ILP had played a major role in the IBRSU since the formation of the Bureaucracy in 1931, and its secretariat had been moved to London in 1935 under the wing of the ILP. The International Bureau would remain the “London Bureau” until transferred to Paris in 1939. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 166–68.
38. Minutes of NAC meeting, 14 April 1936, 3.
40. Forward, 18 April 1936.
41. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 23 May 1936, 1–2.
42. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 174.
43. New Leader, 29 May 1936.
45. Minutes of NAC meeting, 4–5 July 1936, 2, 3.
46. Ibid., 3, 4, 5.
49. New Leader, 26 June 1936.
50. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 175.
52. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 176.
53. Minutes of NAC meetings, 1933 and 1934. For a description of the two cases, see Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 88–89.
54. Controversy, April 1935, 1.
56. Controversy leaflet, ILP Collection.
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57. NAC Report, 1937, 11.
59. NAC Report, 1939, 15.
60. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 23 May 1936, 2.
62. Ibid., 10.
63. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 25 March 1936, 1.
64. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 109.
66. Minutes of NAC meeting, 2–3 August 1935, 8.
67. Minutes of NAC meeting, 10–12 August 1935, 5.
68. NAC Report, 1936, 13.
69. Minutes of NAC meeting, 30 November–1 December 1935, 6.

Chapter 18: Soviet Foreign Policy and the League of Nations

3. Revolt, 18 June 1932, 2.
5. New Leader, 24 March 1933.
7. Gidon Cohen, The Failure of a Dream: The Independent Labour Party from Disaffiliation to World War II, 87–91. As Cohen explains, the Communist-sponsored Affiliation Committee which included undercover members of the CPGB, who were not content with the reliability, from their point of view, of the RPC, 87.
8. For a detailed and convincing analysis of the development of the Webbs’ view of the USSR over the period, see Kevin Morgan, The Webbs and Soviet Communism.
10. For MacDonald and Snowden’s initially relatively sympathetic view of the Bolsheviks, see Ian Bullock, Romancing the Revolution: The Myth of Soviet Democracy and the British Left, chaps. 3 and 4.
12. Fenner Brockway, Socialism over Sixty Years: The Life of Jowett of Bradford, 310, 327.
13. Labour Leader, 7 March 1918; Bullock, Romancing the Revolution, 148–49.
15. New Leader, 16 April 1926.
17. NAC Report, 1924, 33.
22. New Leader, 10 January 1936.
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29. “A Socialist Policy for Britain”: Statement to Be Submitted by the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. to the Annual Conference of the Party to Be Held at the Keir Hardie Hall, Derby, April 20th to 23rd 1935, 3, 13, 5.

30. “New Russia Supplement No. 14,” *New Leader*, 12 May 1933. The Four-Power Pact or (sometimes called the “Quadripartite Agreement,” a term also applied to several other pacts) originated from a document drafted by Mussolini that sought to encourage closer cooperation among Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, in part by awarding them greater power within the League of Nations. After considerable revision, a somewhat tepid version of the pact was signed on 15 July 1933 by all four countries, but it was never fully ratified.


32. *New Leader*, 30 June and 7 July 1933.


34. *I.L.P. and Comintern with the 21 Points of the Communist International: Correspondence Between the Secretaries of the British I.L.P and the Executive Committee of the Communist International*, 3–7 (Kuusinen) and 8–11 (Brockway). Brockway noted in his memoir *Inside the Left* that Kuusinen had “become known to the whole world as the head of the ill-fated puppet government set up by Russia in Finland.” Fenner Brockway, *Inside the Left: Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison, and Parliament*, 249.

35. *New Leader*, 4 May 1934. This issue also carried an article headlined “Russia Is Not Starving, Oft Repeated Lies of the Capitalist Press Answered by the Facts.”


38. Ibid.


40. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 5 December 1934, 1, and 10 April 1935, 2; report of the Inner Executive to the NAC, April 1935, 2.

41. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 15 April 1935, 1.

42. Minutes of NAC meeting, 19 April 1935, 1.

43. Minutes of NAC meeting, 23–24 April 1935, 4.

44. *New Leader*, 5 January 1934.

45. *Controversy*, December 1933, 1.
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47. Minutes of NAC meeting, 10–11 February 1934, 15–16; Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 87–89.


49. Paton’s letter (now in the ILP Collection) was dated 6 March 1933 and was written on behalf of the ILP, the Independent Socialist Party (Holland), the Socialist Workers’ Party (Germany), the Independent Socialist Workers’ Party (Poland), the Party of Proletarian Unity (France), the Socialist Party (Italy), and the Labour Party (Norway).


51. New Leader, 22 February 1935.


54. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 19 July 1935, 1.


56. Minutes of Inner Executive meeting, 10 April 1935, 2.

57. Minutes of NAC meeting, 23–24 April 1935, 4.


59. Ibid.


Chapter 19: The ILP and the USSR

1. New Leader, 13 March 1936.


3. New Leader, 28 August and 4 September 1936.

4. In Inside the Left: Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison, and Parliament, Brockway tells us that, at the ILP summer school in 1937, he learned of Maurin’s survival from his wife, Jeanne, who had just received a letter from him (290). Maurin was imprisoned by Franco for several years and went to the United States when he was released. Brockway’s 1938 book, Workers’ Front, is dedicated to Jeanne and Joaquin Maurin.

5. Gorkin’s “undelivered speeches” were published by the ILP under the title “We Conquer or Die”: Spanish Workers Appeal to You. The publication was described on the title page as “Two Speeches which Sir John Simon tried to Stop.” Simon was the Home Secretary responsible for refusing Gorkin entry to Britain.

Penrose, 27. A friend and later biographer of Picasso, Penrose also organized a tour of Picasso’s Guernica in 1938, in support of the Republican cause. One of the founders, in 1946, of London’s Institute of Contemporary Arts, he married the celebrated photographer and war correspondent Lee Miller— the former associate of Man Ray— in 1947.

7. NAC Report, 1937, 4. A Catholic— although, he insisted, an opponent of “clerical domination from the pulpit” since the age of eighteen— McGovern held that “where the Church has remained on the side of the people they have been treated with respect and reverence,” citing the Basque provinces in support of this view. Why Bishops Back Franco: Report of Visit of Investigation to Spain, 11.

8. NAC Report, 1937, 4. For a detailed and well-illustrated account of the ILP volunteers in the Spanish war, see Christopher Hall, “In Spain with Orwell”: George Orwell and the Independent Labour Party Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939. Bob Edwards (1906–90) chaired the ILP from 1943 to 1948, was elected general secretary of the Chemical Workers’ Union, and was a Labour MP from 1955 to 1987, becoming, in 1983, the “father of the House,” that is, the oldest MP in the House of Commons.

10. New Leader, 2 April 1937.
11. Ibid.
15. New Leader, 12 March 1937.
18. Hugh Thomas, The Spanish Civil War, 20, 29; Ian Slater, Orwell: The Road to Airstrip One, 134.
24. “Left Communists,” or “council Communists,” were active in the short-lived Comintern Sub-Bureau in Amsterdam. The leading members were Antonin Pannekoek and Herman Gorter. In Britain, this tendency flourished for a few years in Sylvia Pankhurst’s Communist Party (British Section of the Fourth International). They were perceived to be a serious enough threat for Lenin to denounce them dismissively in “Left Wing” Communism: An Infantile Disorder. Pankhurst’s later Communist Workers’ Party was an affiliate of the original Fourth International, also known as the Communist Workers’ International, which preceded the Trotskyist organization of the same name by roughly a decade and a half. Officially formed in 1922, it was made up of a number of small groups similar to Pankhurst’s, of which the most important was a faction of the KAPD—the Communist Workers’ Party of Germany. Over the course of the 1920s, it disintegrated and, by the start of the 1930s, was essentially inactive. On

25. Daily Worker, 6 April 1937.
27. New Leader, 21 May 1937.
29. Ibid., 11, 14–15. Brailsford’s article had appeared in the New Statesman and Nation, 21 May 1937.
32. New Leader, 28 May and 4 June 1937; Daily Worker, 10 June 1937.
33. Thomas, Spanish Civil War, 581; New Leader, 18 June 1937.
34. Tom Buchanan, The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain, 110. Buchanan devotes an entire chapter of his book to the circumstances of Smillie’s death, basing his account mainly on the David Murray papers at the National Library of Scotland (acc. nos. 791415. He concludes, after considering the possibility that “intent” as well as negligence may have played a part, that “the full facts of Bob Smillie’s death may never be established” (121). In Failure of a Dream, Cohen says that Smillie died as a result of the “extreme neglect of his Republican captors” (139).
36. Ibid., 110.
37. Minutes of NAC meeting, 11–12 December 1937, 1, 3.
38. Ibid., 1.
40. New Leader, 13 August 1937.
41. Thomas, Spanish Civil War, 579–81. The Soviet secret police operated under the NKVD (Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del, or People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs), which was responsible for carrying out the Stalinist purges of 1936 to 1938. Organized in 1934, the NKVD incorporated the OGPU (Obyedinyonnoye gosudarstvennoye politicheskoje upravleniye, or Joint State Political Directorate), which, in 1922, had replaced the Cheka as the Soviet Union’s secret police. In 1934, the OGPU was renamed the GUGB (Glavnoe upravlenie gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti, or Main Directorate for State Security), which eventually evolved into the KGB, founded in 1954.
42. Brockway, Truth About Barcelona, 14; New Leader, 4 June 1937. The Left Book Club, founded just over a year before, had been advertised in the Leader, but now the ILP paper began to question the club’s “political limits.” It cited a Gollancz “editorial” sent out to convenors of Left Book Club discussion groups that urged them not to tolerate “Leftist” criticisms. New Leader, 11 June 1937. For a brief discussion of Sloan’s book, see Bullock, Romancing the Revolution, 326–31.
43. New Leader, 11 June 1937.
44. Daily Worker, 14 June and 18 June 1937. The reference was to the farcical trial and subsequent execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky and a number of other senior officers of the Red Army.
47. *Daily Worker*, 13 July; *New Leader*, 16 July 1937.
50. *New Leader*, 14 January 1938. A review, in the same issue, of seven recently published books on the Soviet Union noted that “Stalin gets a majority here by the odd vote in seven.” Whereas Paul Winterton’s *Russia—with Open Eyes* and Hubert Lee’s *Twenty Years After: Life in the USSR To-day* both offered “the orthodox Communist apologia for Soviet foreign policy, the ‘Trotskyist’ purge, the ‘democratic’ Constitution etc.,” the “most valuable” of the seven was Eugene Lyons’s *Assignment in Utopia*. Lyons wrote that, although he had gone to the USSR in 1928 as “an enthusiastic supporter of the Communist Party,” he was now “thoroughly disillusioned.” In his view, the system that had evolved there should be called “not Communism but Sovietism”—a system “backed by armies and secret services.”
52. *New Leader*, 4 March 1938.
53. *New Leader*, 11 March 1938; Brockway, *Inside the Left*, 260. The Communist Opposition, which comprised a number of small organizations in several countries, began as the “Right Opposition,” who were supporters of Bukharin (as distinct from the “Left Opposition” followers of Trotsky) in 1929.
62. Crick, *George Orwell*, 314–15, 317. See also Michael Shelden, *Orwell: The Authorised Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1991), 276. In fact, Orwell may not have been misled about the need for socialist credentials. Brockway described how a Spanish border official had rejected McNair’s British passport on the grounds that it had been issued by “a Capitalist Government.” After McNair produced a letter from the *ILP*, however, he was allowed to enter Spain. Brockway, *Workers’ Front*, 111.
63. *New Leader*, 12 March 1937. In the second half of *The Road to Wigan Pier*, Orwell tackles the question of why socialism—which clearly represents a solution to the terrible conditions described in the first half of the book—holds such little appeal to most people.
64. Quoted in McArthur, *We Carry On*, 4. Brockway still referred to Orwell as “Mr. Eric Blair” in *Workers’ Front* (1938), mentioning his service with the North West Frontier Police (111).
65. Crick, George Orwell, 348; Shelden, Orwell, 308.
66. New Leader, 13 August 1937. Jeanne Antonino was the wife of Joaquin Maurin.
68. New Leader, 24 September 1937.
70. New Leader, 8 July 1938.
71. Shelden, Orwell, 328; Crick, George Orwell, 380.
72. New Leader, 2 September 1938. The report was signed “GOEM.”
73. Brockway, Workers’ Front, 224.
74. NAC Report, 1939, 3.
75. George Orwell, letter to Raymond Postgate, 21 October 1938, in Orwell in Spain, 310. One of the founding members of the CPGB, Raymond Postgate (1896–1971) split with the party only two years later, in 1922, over the Comintern’s insistence that its constituents abide by Moscow’s directives. A novelist, journalist, social historian, and founder of the Good Food Guide, Postgate remained committed to the socialist cause.
76. Basic Resolutions for ILP Annual Conference, 16–19 April 1938, in Manchester, 10.
77. New Leader, 10 July 1936.
78. New Leader, 8 May 1936.
79. New Leader, 27 November 1936.
80. A review of her novel The Pure Flame appeared a little later that year. New Leader, 6 March 1936. As well as novels and travel books, she also wrote seven volumes of autobiography, beginning with Confessions and Impressions, published in 1930, and ending with Sunset over Dartmoor: A Final Chapter of Autobiography, in 1977. Brockway says that Mannin was “a Maxton worshipper” who joined the ILP after it disaffiliated from Labour. He says that later, under the influence of her friendship with Emma Goldman, her views “came to approximate closely to the anarchist position.” He also pays tribute to her for donating all her available capital to buying a ship to break the Bilbao blockade during the Spanish Civil War. When this failed, the money raised was used to finance a refuge for Basque children in Somerset. Brockway describes her as “heroically generous.” Brockway, Inside the Left, 299, 320–22.
82. New Leader, 31 January 1936.
83. New Leader, 14 February and 21 February 1936.
86. Between Ourselves, October 1939, 10–12.

Chapter 20: Calls for Unity as War Approaches

2. The march, billed as an “Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Demonstration,” was advertised in a leaflet issued by the St. Pancras branch, titled Abyssinia! Workers’ Action or World War?
3. The names of the speakers were listed on the postcard-sized admission ticket, headed “Abyssinia—Workers’ Action or World War?” which extended an invitation to “Bearer and Friend.” See also New Leader, 11 October 1935.


5. Gidon Cohen, The Failure of a Dream: The Independent Labour Party from Disaffiliation to World War II, 69–70. In chapter 4 of his book, Cohen provides a brief, but comprehensive, survey of the ILP’s electoral activities, national and local, during the years following disaffiliation.


8. Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 72. In both cases, the ILP candidate came in second.


13. Get Round the Table! The letter was dated 4 August 1936 and later appeared as an appendix in the nac’s report to the 1937 annual conference (23–24).


17. New Leader, 10 March and 31 March 1933.

18. Brockway, Inside the Left, 270.

19. The speech of “La Pasionaria”—Isidora Dolores Ibárruri Gómez (1895–1989)—was broadcast on radio on 18 July 1936.


22. No doubt the figure cited by the ILP is a very generous estimate of the number who took part in the protest. That said, it is notoriously difficult to estimate the size of even an orderly demonstration taking place with police consent. How much more difficult it must have been in the Cable Street context.

23. New Leader, 9 October 1936.

24. Daily Worker, 5 October 1936.

25. They Did Not Pass: 300,000 Workers Say No to Mosley, 3, 4, 8.


27. Benewick, Fascist Movement in Britain, 225, 226. For recent books on Cable Street, see Dave Renton’s review in Socialist History 44, 91–94, of a number published in 2011.

28. Brockway, Inside the Left, 272. According to the New Leader report of 9 October 1936, before the fascist march was diverted by the police, Brockway phoned the Home Office from a call box and was later told by the Press Association that the decision to prevent Mosley’s march taking its intended route had been made half an hour after his call. “I have always doubted whether my message had anything to do with the decision to call off the procession,” Brockway concluded, probably accurately enough.
29. NAC Report, 1937, 6; minutes of NAC meeting, 7–8 November 1936, 6; minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 24 November 1936; Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 134.
30. New Leader, 1, 8, 22, and 29 January 1937.
32. Ben Pimlott, Labour and the Left in the 1930s, 95.
33. New Leader, 15 January 1937. More of this article is quoted in Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 134–35.
34. Labour’s Northern Voice, February 1937; Forward, 2 January 1937.
35. New Leader, 12 February 1937.
36. Tribune, 1 January 1937.
39. New Leader, 2 April 1937; Tribune, 14 May and 21 May 1937.
40. NAC Report, 1938, 13. This was not too different from Forward’s assessment, which appeared on 12 February 1938 and gave the following four reasons for the breakdown of the unity campaign: the pledge to refrain from criticism of the USSR; the Communists pushing for an alliance between Russia, France, and Britain while the ILP wanted a “pact with Working Class Governments”; tensions over Spain, with ILPers being denounced as fascists; and the Moscow trials.
42. Ibid., paras. 8, 11, 12. The “minimum conditions” for ILP reaffiliation would appear again in early 1938 in Fenner Brockway’s Workers’ Front (217).
44. Minutes of NAC meeting, 11–12 December 1937; “Preliminary Agenda of Resolutions, Fortieth-Sixth Annual Conference, April 16th to 19th, 1938,” 13; Socialist Policy for 1938 [Resolutions Adopted by the Annual Conference of the I.L.P., Manchester, April 16th–18th, 1938], 9.
46. Simone de Beauvoir, The Prime of Life, 147.
48. New Leader, 5 February 1937.
49. New Leader, 15 October and 24 December 1937; 22 July, 29 July, 2 September, 9 September, 23 September, and 30 September 1938.
51. New Leader, 7 October 1938. More of McNair’s report is quoted in Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 194. Maxton’s speech was also published separately by the ILP: James Maxton, Maxton’s Speech in Parliament.
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55. New Leader, 7 April 1939; Brockway, Inside the Left, 334; Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 195.
57. Brockway, Workers’ Front, 252.
59. Ibid., 210.
60. “Survey of the Party Position,” 6–7. Brockway listed the following books as “in hand”: C. A. Smith, Power and the State; George Orwell, Barcelona Tragedy (presumed to be an early version of Homage to Catalonia although no additional information is available); Ethel Mannin, Women and the Revolution; Victor Serge, From Lenin to Stalin; and his own Workers’ Front. In the latter book, Brockway described the Left Book Club as the CPGB’s “main instrument” for promoting the Popular Front policy. It was “a clever device to use a sympathetic and enterprising publisher for the purpose of influencing the large class of readers who are interested in ‘Left’ questions” (244).
61. New Leader, 15 July 1938; Minutes of NAC meeting, 30 July–1 August 1938, 5–6.
63. Brockway, Inside the Left, 273.
64. NAC Report, 1939, 10.
67. New Leader, 7 April and 14 April 1939.
68. New Leader, 14 April 1939. See also Cohen, Failure of a Dream, 158–60.
70. Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, 23 April 1939, 3.
71. New Leader, 14 July 1939.
72. Between Ourselves, July 1939, 2.
73. Ibid., 2, 3.
74. Minutes of NAC meeting, 5 August 1939, 1, 2, 3.
75. Ibid., 5, 6.
76. Ibid., 7.
77. New Leader, 11 August 1939.
78. New Leader, 25 August 1939.
79. NAC Report, 1940, 9.

Chapter 21: The Ex-ILP

3. Forward, 13 August 1932.
4. New Clarion, 27 August 1932. After the original Clarion closed in 1931, there was a short-lived attempt to revive it the following year. Brailsford contributed regularly during its short life.
5. Forward, 20 August 1932; New Leader, 19 August 1932.
7. *Forward,* 19, 17, and 24 September and 19 November 1932; 14 January 1933.
8. *Forward,* 4 February and 18 March 1933.
9. *Forward,* 1 April 1933 and 30 March 1935.
15. *Forward,* 8 January and 12 February 1938.
20. *Forward,* 5 November 1938. Only the four largest cities in Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen—have Lord provosts. Others have provosts whose function is similar to that of mayors in other parts of the UK. The Lord provosts combine this role with that of the largely ceremonial Lord lieutenants of the county.
22. Jupp, *Radical Left in Britain,* 28; Pimlott, *Labour and the Left in the 1930s,* 44. See also Michael Bor, *The Socialist League in the 1930s.*
27. *New Leader,* 23 September 1932.
32. Seyd, “Factionalism Within the Labour Party,” 207.
36. Ibid.
37. Jupp, *Radical Left in Britain,* 42.
40. *Socialist Leaguer,* 15 January; March–April; May 1935.

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44. *Socialist Leaguer*, December 1934. See also Pimlott, *Labour and the Left in the 1930s*, 55.
47. Quoted in Seyd, “Factionalism Within the Labour Party,” 222.
49. Seyd, “Factionalism Within the Labour Party,” 221.
57. Ibid., 2.
58. Ibid., 3.
59. *Behind Rearmament: Preparing for Fascism in Britain!* 6, 8.
60. Ibid., 8.
62. *Labour’s Northern Voice*, September 1935; May 1936. Herbert Read (1893–1968) was an anarchist poet and art critic. He was a cofounder, with Roland Penrose, of the Institute of Contemporary Arts.
63. “Speech to the I.S.P. Convention” (draft), John Middleton Murry Papers, MS 2508.27, 1, 2.
64. Ibid., 3–4.
65. Ibid., 4, 6. There is a certain irony here. Although Murry opposed emphasizing *ILP* traditions, his call for unity echoed Robert Blatchford’s Clarion campaigns for “socialist unity” in 1894, the year after the *ILP*’s formation, when the notion of the “unattached” first saw the light of day for *ILP*ers. Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock, *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement, 1880–1914*, 83.
69. Martin Gilbert, *Plough My Own Furrow: The Story of Lord Allen of Hurtwood as Told Through His Writings and Correspondence*, 204.
70. “Speech to the I.S.P. Convention” (draft), John Middleton Murry Papers, MS 2508.27, 3.
76. *New Leader*, 13 May 1932.
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79. Gilbert, Plough My Own Furrow, 205.
81. The Next Five Years: An Essay in Political Agreement, 312, 316.
82. Ibid., 3.
83. Ibid., 12.
84. Ibid., 17–18.
85. Daily Herald, 26 July 1935.
86. Forward, 8 September 1934; 22 May 1937.

Conclusion

6. John Beckett (1894–1964) edited the British Union of Fascists’ Action and Blackshirt. He later broke with Mosley and founded the National Socialist League. He was interned during the Second World War and continued to play a role in the fascist movement in the postwar period.
8. Tony Judt, Thinking the Twentieth Century, 191.
9. Friends of the Soviet Union, The New Democracy: Stalin’s Speech on the New Constitution; Friends of the Soviet Union, Spies, Wreckers, and Grafters: The Truth About the Moscow Trials; W. P. Coates, More Anti-Soviet Lies Nailed. Coates and his wife, Zelda, were founder members of the CPGB.