

## Chapter 5: What Can we Learn from the Past? What is the Future?

We learn from the past in order to shape our future. A knowledge of the historic labour movement can help us to shape our sense of strategy, our tactics, and our political direction today.

As outlined in the introduction, we live in a period of growing crisis. The far-right is on the rise globally, war threatens ever-greater sections of humanity, environmental crisis is undermining the ability of human life to exist on the earth, the neoliberal restructuring of the world has undermined our conditions and rights while making organising more difficult, and increasingly huge national and regional and economic blocks are determined to confront one another, risking war and economic hardships for us all. The labour movement faces challenges on a scale not seen in many years.

However, as this text has aimed to demonstrate, there are a huge number of positive examples from both recent history and the more-distant past which can be drawn on to inspire further action and organisation today. Workers have defeated dictatorships, broadened and diversified the movement, organised across borders to improve conditions in TNC's, forced changes to laws and welfare structures, and built strong, fighting sections in industries and companies long thought to be unassailable.

At the Global Labour Institute, we made a conscious decision not to write a conclusion to this text, but instead to appeal to activists from the labour movement to contribute their conclusions. We want to hear what you think are the key lessons to be learned from history, and the ways that they can be incorporated in our struggles today.

Over the course of 2023, we will be organising with Global Union Federations, national, regional, and local trade union bodies, and labour NGO's to organise a series of discussions, workshops, and educational programmes. Participants in these events will be asked to make short contributions on what they think the value of labour history is to them, and their contributions will be collated into the physical version of the text which will be translated, printed, and distributed by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung during the course of the year.

If you are interested in taking part in this process, please do get in touch with us at [gli-uk@global-labour.net](mailto:gli-uk@global-labour.net) and we would be happy to offer support and supplementary materials to facilitate this.



## References and Further Reading

### References

*This reference section is not intended to be comprehensive. Where there have been particular texts that were key influences on sub-sections or case studies they are listed under the title of the relevant sub-section. Where there have been texts that have informed multiple sub-sections or overarching approaches taken throughout the text, or else are of a potential general interest to readers, they are listed in the further reading section at the end of this appendix. This list includes individual texts from edited collections and journals where they have been particularly important, as well as references to entire collections where several contributions have been significant.*

### Chapter 1

#### 'What Have the Unions Ever Done for us?'

Dan Gallin, *The Labour Movement* (Manchester, 2009)

#### Religious Proto socialism

Saygin Salgirli, 'The Rebellion of 1416: Recontextualizing an Ottoman Social Movement', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol 55 (2012), pp.32-73

Frederick Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1850/peasant-war-germany/>

#### Before the Unions: Guilds

Samuel K Cohn, *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence*, Academic Press (New York, NY), 1980.

Jan Lucassen, Tine De Moor, and Jan Luiten van Zanden. "The Return of the Guilds: Towards a Global History of the Guilds in Pre-Industrial Times." *International Review of Social History* Vol 53 (2008): pp. 5–18.

Hugo Soly, 'The Political Economy of European Craft Guilds: Power Relations and Economic Strategies of Merchants and Master Artisans in the Medieval and Early Modern Textile Industries', *International Review of Social History*, Vol 53 (December 2008), pp. 45 - 71

#### Before the Unions: Journeymen Associations

Catharina Lis, Hugo Soly and Lee Mitzman, "'An Irresistible Phalanx": Journeymen Associations in Western Europe, 1300-1800,' *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 39, SUPPLEMENT 2: Before the Unions: Wage earners and collective action in Europe, 1300–1850 (1994), pp. 11-52

Gervase Rosser, 'Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town', *Past & Present*, No. 154 (Feb., 1997), pp. 3-31

#### Before the Unions: Friendly Societies

Malcolm Chase, *Early Trade Unionism: Fraternity, Skill and the Politics of Labour* (London, 2000)

Jeff Horn, 'Machine-breaking in England and France during the Age of Revolution', *Labour/Le Travailleur*, (2005). Vol. 55, pp.145–169.

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

‘A History of Trade Unionism in the Philippines’ <https://libcom.org/article/history-trade-unionism-philippines>

### **The Earliest Unions**

Robert Poole, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford, 2019)

### **Organising Internationally**

Christine Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees: German Socialism in Britain 1840-1860* (London, 2006)

Doris Beik and Paul Harold Beik (Eds) *Flora Tristan, Utopian Feminist: Her Travel Diaries & Personal Crusade* (Indiana, 1993)

### **International Anti-Slavery Movements**

David P Geggus (Ed.), *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, 2020)

Maurice Jackson, Jacqueline Bacon (Eds.) *African Americans and The Haitian Revolution: Selected Essays and Historical Documents* (London, 2010)

Birgitta Bader-Zaar, *Abolitionism in the Atlantic World: The Organization and Interaction of Anti-Slavery Movements in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/transnational-movements-and-organisations/international-social-movements/birgitta-bader-zaar-abolitionism-in-the-atlantic-world-the-organization-and-interaction-of-anti-slavery-movements-in-the-eighteenth-and-nineteenth-centuries>

### **International Capitalism and Empire**

Peter Richardson ‘Coolies and Randlords: the North Randfontein Chinese miners’ ‘strike’ of 1905’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2:2 (1976), 151-177

Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro (Eds), *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives* (New Delhi, 2014)

Ulbe Bosma ‘Dutch Imperial Anxieties About Free Labour, Penal Sanctions And The Right To Strike’ in Alessandro Stanziani (Ed) *Labour, Coercion, and Economic Growth in Eurasia, 17th–20th Centuries* (Leiden, 2012)

### **The First International**

Fabrice Bensimon, Deluermoz Quentin, and Jeanne Moisand (Eds), *“Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth”: The First International in a Global Perspective* (Leiden, 2018).

- Fabrice Bensimon, ‘The IWMA and Its Precursors in London, c. 1830–1860’
- Antje Schrupp, ‘Bringing Together Feminism and Socialism in the First International: Four Examples’

Mary Gabriel: *Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull, Uncensored* (North Carolina, 1998)

Lehning, A. Müller, ‘The International Association (1855–1859)’, *International Review for Social History*, 3, pp185–286

### **Industrial Unionism**

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

Steven Parfitt, 'The First-and-a-half International: The Knights of Labor and the History of International Labour Organization in the Nineteenth Century', *Labour History Review* (2015), 80, (2), 135–167.

Steven Parfitt, *Knights Across the Atlantic: The Knights of Labor in Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool, 2017)

Ralph Darlington, (2014). 'Strike waves, union growth and the rank-and-file/bureaucracy interplay: Britain 1889–1890, 1910–1913 and 1919–1920'. *Labor History*, 55, pp.1-20

Larry Peterson, 'The One Big Union in International Perspective: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism 1900-1925' *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 7, 1981, pp. 41–66. JSTOR,

### **International Trade Secretariats- the Origins of the Global Union Federations**

*Solidarity: The First 100 years of the International Transport Workers Federation* (London, 1996)

### **Revolutionary Syndicalism and the IWW**

Susan Milner, *The Dilemmas of Internationalism: French Syndicalism and the International Labour Movement, 1900-1914* (Oxford, 1990)

Wayne Thorpe, *The Workers Themselves: Revolutionary Syndicalism and International Labour 1913-1923* (London, 1989)

Ángel Cappelletti, *Anarchism in Latin America* (Edinburgh, 2017)

Ralph Darlington, 'Syndicalism and Strikes, Leadership and Influence: Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, and the United States', *International Labor and Working-Class History*. Vol 83, 2013, 37-53

John Newsinger, 'Jim Larkin, Syndicalism and the 1913 Dublin Lockout', *International Socialism* 2 : 25, Autumn 1984, pp. 3–36.

*Marcel Van Der Linden's essays on syndicalism were particularly useful in thinking through this chapter, and can be found in the edited collections listed in the 'Further Readings' section.*

### **Christian Unions**

Barnes, Samuel H. 'Christian Trade Unions and European Integration: Organizations And Problems' *Relations Industrielles / Industrial Relations*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1962, pp. 15–33

Paul Misner, 'Catholic Labor and Catholic Action: The Italian Context of "Quadragesimo Anno"', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Oct., 2004), pp. 650-674

Paul Misner, *Catholic Labor Movements in Europe*, (Washington DC, 2015)

### **Bundism**

Bernard Goldstein (translated by Marvin Zuckerman) *Twenty Years with the Jewish Labor Bund: Twenty Years with the Jewish Labor Bund in Warsaw (1919–1939)*, Indiana (2016)

Jack Jacobs (Ed.) *Jewish Politics in Eastern Europe: The Bund at 100* (Basingstoke, 2001)

Alain Brossat and Sylvia Klingberg, (translated by David Fernbach), *Revolutionary Yiddishland: A History of Jewish Radicalism* (London, 2016).

'The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Labor Bund' <https://jewishcurrents.org/rise-fall-jewish-labor-bund/>

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

Samuel Farber, 'Lessons from the Bund', *Jacobin* <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/01/jewish-bund-poland-workers-zionism-holocaust-stalin-israel>

### **Women's Unions and Socialist Feminism**

Sheila Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions (an Outline of Women in the British Trade Union Movement)* (London, 1977)

Louise Raw, *Striking a Light: The Bryant and May Matchwomen and their Place in History* (London, 2011)

Pernilla Jonsson, Silke Neunsinger, Joan Sangster (editors) *Crossing Boundaries: Women's Organizing in Europe and the Americas, 1880s–1940s* (Uppsala, 2007)

### **More than Unions and Parties**

Frederick Engels, *On the History of Communist League*  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/communist-league/1885hist.htm>

R. F. Wheeler, (1978), 'Organized Sport and Organized Labour', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13(2), 191–210.

J. Hargreaves, (1992), 'Sport and Socialism in Britain', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 9(2), 131–153.

Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (London, 1982)

Semanyshyn Tetiana, *International Cooperative Alliance From Its Origins* (2013)

Stuart Finkel, 'The "Political Red Cross" and the Genealogy of Rights Discourse in Revolutionary Russia', *The Journal of Modern History* 2017 89:1, 79-118

Katharina Luger, *Solidar: History of a Movement* (2008)

'A Brief History of IFM-SEI' <https://ifm-sei.org/the-organisation/our-history/>

### **Early Environmentalism**

Gregory Claeys, 'John Adolphus Etzler, Technological Utopianism, and British Socialism: The Tropical Emigration Society's Venezuelan Mission and Its Social Context, 1833-1848', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 399 (Apr., 1986), pp. 351-375

## **Chapter 2**

### **Revolution in Russia and Germany**

Pierre Broué, [translated by John Archer and edited by Ian Birchall and Brian Pearce], *The German Revolution 1917-1923* (Leiden, 2005)

### **The Creation of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions**

Reiner Tosstorff, 'Moscow Versus Amsterdam: Reflections on the History of the Profintern' *Labour History Review* (2003), 68, (1), 79–97.

Reiner Tosstorff, *The Red International Of Labour Unions, 1920-1937* (Leiden, 2004)

### **The Formation of the ILO**

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

‘The ILO at 100’, *International Union Rights*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2019

Gerry Rodgers et al (Eds), *The International Labour Organization and the Quest for Social Justice, 1919-2009* (Geneva, 2009)

Geert Van Goethem, ‘An International Experiment of Women Workers: The International Federation of Working Women, 1919-1924’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, vol 84, 4, (2006) pp. 1025-1047;

Eileen Boris, Dorothea Hoehtker, Susan Zimmermann (Eds), *Women’s ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present* (Leiden, 2018)

### **The Amsterdam International and Edo Fimmen**

Bob Reinalda (ed.) *The International Transport Workers Federation 1914 - 1945, The Edo Fimmen Era* (Amsterdam, 1997)

### **The View from the Americas**

Lucas Poy ‘Working Class Politics and Labour Internationalism in Latin America: An Overview of Labour International Organisations in the Region During the Interwar Period (1919–1939)’ in Stefano Bellucci and Holger Weiss (Eds) *The Internationalisation of the Labour Question: Ideological Antagonism, Workers’ Movements and the ILO since 1919* (Cham, 2020)

Robert Jackson Alexander, Eldon M. Parker *International Labor Organizations and Organized Labor in Latin America and the Caribbean* (2009)

### **The Road to Stalinism**

Jeffrey J. Rossman, *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor* (Harvard University Press, 2005)

EH Carr, *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin* (Macmillan, 1980)

Isaac Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Unions: Their Place in Soviet Labour Policy*  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/deutscher/1950/soviet-trade-unions/index.htm>

### **Depression and New Deals**

Kiran Klaus Patel, *The New Deal: A Global History* (Princeton, 2016)

Asa Briggs, ‘The Welfare State in Historical Perspective’, *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2, No. 2, On the Welfare State (1961), pp.221-258

### **Fascism**

Reiner Tosstorff, *Workers’ Resistance against Nazi Germany at the International Labour Conference 1933* (2013), [https://www.ilo.org/actrav/pubs/WCMS\\_226941/lang--en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/actrav/pubs/WCMS_226941/lang--en/index.htm)

### **Labour and the Spanish Civil War**

Pierre Broué, *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain* (London, 1972)

### **The Cold War**

Patrick Pasture , ‘The Interwar Origins of International Labour's European Commitment (1919-1934)’ *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Jul., 2001), pp. 221-237



The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

Victor G Devinatz, 'A Cold War Thaw in the International Working Class Movement? The World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1967–1977', *Science & Society*, Vol. 77, No. 3 (JULY 2013), pp. 342-371

### Chapter 3

#### State Incorporation and the Rise of the Welfare State

Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies* (Princeton, 1997)

#### Unions and Empires

Anthony Carew, 'Conflict Within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s', *International Review of Social History*, August 1996, Vol. 41, No. 2 pp. 147-181

Elena Vezzadini, 'An Uphill Job Demanding Limitless Patience'. The Establishment of Trade Unions and the Conflicts of Development in Sudan, 1946-1952', *International Development Policy*, 8, (2017) pp. 81-108

Nicolas White, 'The Limits of Late-colonial Intervention: Labour policy and the development of trade unions in 1950s Malaya', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 36:106, 429-449,

Leong Yee Fong, 'The Impact of the Cold War on the Development of Trade Unionism in Malaya (1948-57)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1992), pp. 60-73

Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002)

Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African society : the Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996)

Tiyambe Zeleza , 'Colonialism and Internationalism: the Case of the British and Kenyan Labour Movement', *Ufahamu*, 14:1 (1998), pp. 9-28

#### South Africa and international solidarity

Interview with John Gomomo: <https://nai.uu.se/library/resources/liberation-africa/interviews/john-gomomo.html>

Nordic Africa Institute, 'National Liberation in Southern Africa' Collection:  
<https://nai.uu.se/library/resources/liberation-africa.html/>

Diane Kirkby, & Dmytro Ostapenko. (2019). ' "Second to None in the International Fight": Australian Seafarers Internationalism and Maritime Unions Against Apartheid', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 54(2), 442–464

#### The Unions and Post-War Migration

S. Goeke, (2014), 'The Multinational Working Class? Political Activism and Labour Migration in West Germany During the 1960s and 1970s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 49(1), 160–182.

Rinus Penninx and Judith Roosblad (Eds), *Trade Unions, Immigration, and Immigrants in Europe, 1960-1993 : A Comparative Study of the Attitudes and Actions of Trade Unions in Seven West European Countries* (Oxford, 2000)

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

Satnam Virdee, *Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider* (London, 2014)

### **Europe and Social Partnership**

Hans-Jürgen Bieling, 'European Constitutionalism and Industrial Relations' in Andreas Bieler & Adam David Morton (Eds) *Social Forces in the Making of the New Europe: The Restructuring of European Social Relations in the Global Political Economy* (Basingstoke, 2001)

Andreas Bieler (2007), 'Co-option or resistance? Trade unions and neoliberal restructuring in Europe' *Capital & Class*, 31(3), 111–124

## **Chapter 4**

### **Globalisation**

César F. Rosado Marzán, 'Organizing with International Framework Agreements: An Exploratory Study', *U.C. Irvine Law Review*, 725 (2014)

<https://scholarship.law.uci.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1153&context=ucilr>

Jamie K. McCallum, *Global Unions, Local Power: The New Spirit of Transnational Labor Organizing* (London, 2013)

### **Trade Unions in the Global South**

Idesbald Goddeeris, 'Western Trade Unions and Solidarność: A Comparison From a Polish Perspective', *The Polish Review*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (2007), pp. 305-329

Robert O'Brien, *Labour Internationalism in the Global South : The SIGTUR Initiative* (Cambridge, 2019)

### **Social Movement Unionism**

Sam Gindin, 'Beyond Social Movement Unionism', *Jacobin*,

<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/beyond-social-movement-unionism>

Kim Scipes, 'Social Movement Unionism or Social Justice Unionism? Disentangling Theoretical Confusion within the Global Labor Movement' *Class, Race and Corporate Power*, Vol 2:3

### **The Collapse of the Soviet Union**

Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (London, 2008)

### **Globalisation and the Breakdown of Post-Colonial Alliances**

Peter Dwyer And Leo Zeilig, *African Struggles Today: Social Movements Since Independence* (Chicago, 2012)

Nick Bernards, (2017) 'The International Labour Organization and African Trade Unions: Tripartite Fantasies and Enduring Struggles'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 44 (153), pages 399-414

Tiyambe Zeleza, 'Pan-African Trade Unionism: Unity And Discord', *Transafrican Journal of History*, Vol. 15 (1986), pp. 164-190

Lise Rakner 'Trade Unions in Processes of Democratisation: A Study of Party Labour Relations in Zambia' (1992)



### **The ‘New’ Organising Agenda**

Melanie Simms & Jane Holgate (2010). Organising for what? Where is the debate on the politics of organising? *Work, Employment and Society*, 24(1), 157–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010361413>

Edmund Heery, Melanie Simms, ‘Constraints on Union Organising in the United Kingdom’, *Industrial Relations Journal*, Volume39, Issue1, January 2008, Pages 24-42

Erik Forman , ‘The “Organizing Model” Goes Global’, *Labor Notes*, April 15, 2013  
<https://www.labornotes.org/2013/04/organizing-model-goes-global>

### **International Workers’ Education and Globalisation**

Saliem Patel, ‘Study Circles: Solidarity through Learning’, in Astrid von Kotze and Shirley Walters (Eds) *Forging Solidarity: Popular Education at Work* (Rotterdam, 2017)

Ben Salt ‘Workers’ Education And Neoliberal Globalization: An Adequate Response To Transnational Corporations?’ London, England RONALD M. CERVERO ANDREW HEROD

Frank Hoffer, ‘The Global Labour University Network – Bringing Unions and Universities Together’

Linda Cooper (2021), ‘Conceptualising the Historical Tradition of Radical Workers’ Education in South Africa’, *Social Dynamics*, 47:3, 534-549,

### **Post-Communist Unions –Stagnation and Repression in Eastern Europe**

Tatiana Chetvernina, Trade Unions in Transitional Russia - Peculiarities, Current Status and New Challenges [https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/1435-2869-2009-3-407.pdf?download\\_full\\_pdf=1&page=0](https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/1435-2869-2009-3-407.pdf?download_full_pdf=1&page=0)

Stephen Crowley, (2004) ‘Explaining Labor Weakness in Post-Communist Europe: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspective’ *East European Politics and Societies*, 18(3), 394–429

Stephen Crowley and David Ost, *Workers after Workers’ States: Labor and Politics in Postcommunist Eastern Europe* (Lanham, 2001)

Irina Kozina, (2010) ‘Transnational Corporations, Labor Relations and Trade Unions -Russia Case’ *South-East Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs*, 13, pp.69—88

### **Organising in the Informal Economy**

Dave Spooner & John Mark Mwanika, ‘Trade Unions In Transformation- Transforming Transport Unions through Mass Organisation of Informal Workers in Uganda’ (2017)

### **Digital Unions**

*Notes from Below*, Issue 8, June 2019 <https://notesfrombelow.org/issue/logout>

Eric Lee, *The Labour Movement and the Internet: The New Internationalism* (London, 1997)

### Further Reading

#### Books and Collections

- Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (New York, 2012)
- Rosa Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution* (1918)  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/>
- Anthony Carew et al (Eds) *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (Oxford, 2000)
- Dan Gallin, *Solidarity: Selected Essays* (2014)
- Edo Fimmen, *Labour's Alternative: The United States of Europe or Europe Limited* (London, 1924)
- Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1992)
- Lars Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered: What Is to Be Done? In Context* (Leiden, 2005)
- Geert Van Goethem, *The Amsterdam International : the world of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), 1913-1945* (London, 2018)
- Magaly Rodríguez García, *Liberal Workers Of The World, Unite?: The ICFTU And The Defence Of Labour Liberalism In Europe And Latin America (1949-1969)* (Oxford, 2010)
- Marcel Van Der Linden and Frits van Holthoorn (Eds), *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940* (Leiden, 1988)
- Marcel Van Der Linden, *Transnational Labour History: Explorations* (London, 2017)
- David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London, 2012)
- Asbjørn Wahl, *The Rise and Fall of the Welfare State* (London, 2011)
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford, 2005)
- Lewis L. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement – History, Policies, Outlook* (New York, 1953)
- Gary Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London, 1983)
- Karin Hofmeester and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Handbook The Global History of Work* (Berlin, 2018)
- Anthony Carew, *American Labour's Cold War Abroad: From Deep Freeze to Détente, 1945-1970* (Athabasca, 2018)
- Don Thomson and Rodney Larson, *Where Were You, Brother? An Account of Trade Union Imperialism* (London, 1978)
- Stefano Bellucci and Holger Weiss (Eds) *The Internationalisation of the Labour Question: Ideological Antagonism, Workers' Movements and the ILO since 1919* (Cham, 2020)
- Michael E. Gordon and Lowell Turner, *Transnational Cooperation Among Labor Unions* (London, 2000)
- Peter Rütters and Rüdiger Zimmermann (Eds), *On the History and Policy of the IUF* (Bonn, 2003)

#### Articles

- Richard Hyman, 'Shifting Dynamics in International Trade Unionism: Agitation, Organisation, Bureaucracy, Diplomacy', *Labor History*, 46:2, 137-154

The Story of our International Labour Movement –  
Chapter 5: What can we learn from the past? What is the future? & Further Reading

- John McIlroy & Richard Croucher (2013) 'The turn to transnational labor history and the study of global trade unionism', *Labor History*, 54:5, 491-511
- Daniel Laqua (2015), 'Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 24(02), 175–192.
- Susan Milner (1988), 'The International Labour Movement and the Limits of Internationalism: the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres, 1901–1913' *International Review of Social History*, 33(01), 1
- Anthony Carew, Free Trade Unionism in the International Context (2002)  
[https://www.arbark.se/pdf\\_wrd/Carew\\_int.pdf](https://www.arbark.se/pdf_wrd/Carew_int.pdf)
- Jennifer Luff, (2018) 'Labor Anticommunism in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, 1920–49.', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 53 (1). pp. 109-133.