Michael had always had a world agenda. He was never either parochial or nationalistic, as he proved even before joining PEP. *For Richer For Poorer*, the seminal text in his writings, was the product of a world journey. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s he watched American elections as keenly as British elections, and inside Europe he compared British politics with the politics of other countries, particularly Sweden. He believed also that the United Nations Organisation was a necessary instrument of world order and required grass-roots support. Significantly in 1960, his pamphlet *The Chipped White Cups of Dover* started not with domestic policy – or with consumers – but with ‘internationalism and reform’.

‘Growing awareness of the world outside Britain’ had to be reflected in British party politics, he argued. It was not. The Labour Party had been internationalist before the War. Now it had shrunk ‘not just into a nationalistic party, but more into a Little Englander party. Witness Labour’s attitude to Europe both before and after 1951.’ At the end of the Suez decade Britain was ‘too drab in relation to Europe’ and ‘too selfish in relation to Africa and Asia’. A move had to be made to offer leadership not through power but through ‘world reconstruction’.

In *The Chipped White Cups of Dover* the sections on Africa and Asia were more interesting than those on Europe – or on the United Nations. They began with the proposition that ‘in some ways it should be easier to strike up a new relationship with Asia and Africa than with Europe’. They were ‘in some part English-speaking continents, and we know more about them. Yet the way by which we had got to know more about them – through the politics (and economics) of empire – threatened rather than assisted future understanding.’ One of the first
tasks of ‘a party of reform with a world outlook’ would be to dispose of ‘residual wooden headed jingoism’.

These lines were written at a point in history when, as Michael saw it, the memories of service in ‘the old Empire’ were stronger influences on attitudes to foreign policy in the minds of the influential few than the presence in Britain of immigrants who had been born in it. Indeed, immigration did not figure at first in his world picture, and although he mentioned Notting Hill en passant it was in the context not of immigration but of an opinion poll taken at the time of Suez. In fact, SS Empire Windrush had landed at Tilbury Docks from the Caribbean as early as 1948 and there were disturbances at Notting Hill in 1958. The first change in the nationality laws was to be made in 1962.

In The Chipped White Cups of Dover Michael urged Britain to give a lead through the Commonwealth, ‘a free association of peoples’, and to send out to the Third World (not so described in the pamphlet) trained Britons ‘particularly agriculturists with knowledge about the tropics’ and ‘linguists of all sorts’, to give support in development projects: one section of his pamphlet was called ‘The Poorest He’. Working together would be ‘a great international experiment’.

Michael was to devote a large part of the next ten years of his life not to politics, which were uppermost in his mind after Labour’s defeat at the general election of 1959, but to education and research; and it is interesting to note that these two subjects figure prominently in the sections on foreign policy in The Chipped White Cups of Dover before being referred to (more briefly) in the later sections on ‘Reform at Home’. ‘Indians and Arabs’ studying in Britain too often had ‘to put up with racial prejudice in their leisure time and with indifference in their places of study’, and students who came to Britain from developing countries should be given a better training. ‘We have not taken the trouble to devise special courses devoted to their needs which are (in many subjects) quite different from ours. Let us have an “Asian” university in York and an “African” university in Brighton, where overseas students would be in a majority and where the staff would know Africa and Asia as well as they know Yorkshire and Sussex.’ There should also be ‘an International Service Organisation modelled to some extent on President Roosevelt’s Civilian Construction Corps, in place of National Service which is soon to be defunct’.

Michael’s pamphlet ended with a demand for research on matters of urgent concern to developing countries. Indeed, it was just as important, he claimed, as education. And he spoke in language which members of the Labour Party could easily understand. ‘What was