

FEDERAL UNION

Limited by personal guarantee

3 Gower Street, London, W.C.1
(Museum 3747)

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* Denotes Members of Executive.

Names in italics are Regional members, others are National members.

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ADDRESSES OF REGIONAL ORGANISERS ARE AS FOLLOWS :—

N. IRELAND :	Professor R. Corkey, 5 College Park, Belfast.
SCOTLAND :	Mrs. C. R. Dunford, 6 North-East Circus Place, Edinburgh, 3.
WALES :	T. C. Hart, Esq., Lasswade, Forrest Road, Penarth, Glam.
NORTH :	Gordon Evans, Esq., International House, 66 Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
NORTH-WEST :	Miss M. Kane, 1 Halton Bank, Pendleton, Salford, 6.
YORKSHIRE :	Mrs. Saran, c/o 9 Alvanley Gardens, N.W.6.
MIDLANDS :	Mrs. Hastilow, Chenda, Barnt Green, Birmingham. L. G. Harris, Esq., Mill House, Stoke Prior, Worcestershire.
E. MIDLANDS :	(To be appointed by the Region.)
EASTERN :	Miss B. M. Brown, Waldon, Eaton Bray, Dunstable, Beds.
SOUTH-WEST :	D. W. Sanders, Esq., Cothill, Clevedon, Somerset.
THAMES VALLEY :	Shirley Phillips, Esq., Federal Union, Oxford.
S. HOME COUNTIES :	Miss M. Hodgson, 14 Park Road, Haslemere, Surrey. R. A. Price, Rodenhurst, Oxsted, Surrey.
LONDON :	Howard Fox, Esq., 24, Fyecombe Corner, N.12.

FEDERATION TARGET FOR TOMORROW!



SOME SUPPORTERS OF THE FEDERAL IDEA

- G. R. Attlee, M.P.:** "Europe must federate or perish."—November, 1939.
- Sir Wm. Beveridge** (Government expert on Insurance and Rationing): "Federation will be rejected by some as Utopian. The plan dares and needs to be Utopian, because the choice is between Utopia and Hell."—February, 1940.
- The late John Buchan:** "If the world is ever to have prosperity and peace there must be some kind of federation of states which accept the reign of law."—January, 1940.
- Sir Stafford Cripps:** "The interests of individual nations must give way in some matters to those of the wider community, whether the European or the world community of nations."—May, 1942.
- Dr. C. E. M. Joad:** "Federal Union, which is the first step beyond the nation state towards the world state, is in the direct line of evolutionary advance."—March, 1941.
- Richard Law, M.P.** (now Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs): "Have we any reason to suppose that federation would be more successful than the League? I think we have . . . and it may be that there is no other method of solving what we are all beginning to recognise as 'the German problem'."—January, 1940.
- Sir John Orr** (greatest living nutrition expert): "Federal Unionists are right in their contention that peace is impossible so long as every country has an independent fighting force . . . The U.S.A., the British Commonwealth and the U.S.S.R., who have solved the problem of federation, should take the lead in bringing about the final federation of all nations."—May, 1942.
- Dr. Temple** (now Archbishop of Canterbury): "If Federation offers the only means, as I believe, of delivering the civilised nations from the hideous evils of war, we must set our faces that way."—March, 1940.

And also:—

Sir Herbert Baker
Professor Norman Bentwich
Ernest Bevin, M.P.
Sir Montague Burton
Ritchie Calder
The Bishop of Chichester
E. F. M. Durbin
Lord Elton
H. N. Brailsford
Dr. H. Hamilton Fyfe
William Gallagher, J.P.
Sir Richard Gregory
Lynda Grier
J. L. Hammond
Henry I. Harriman

Professor Lancelot Hogben
Edward Hulton
Professor Julian Huxley
Storm Jameson
E. McKnight Kauffer
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Captain B. H. Liddell Hart
Dr. Scott Lidgett
Lord Marley
B. Kingsley Martin
Raymond Massey
Somerset Maugham
André Maurois
Sir Walter Napier
J. B. Priestley

Canon C. E. Raven
Lady Rhondda
Seeborn Rowntree
Robert E. Sherwood
Sir Thomas Drummond
Shiels
Wickham Steed
Clarence Streit
General Sir Ernest Swinton
Dorothy Thompson
Admiral C. V. Usborne
Sir John Fischer Williams
Francis Williams
Dr. Vaughan Williams

Issued: September, 1942

2nd Edition—October, 1942

FEDERAL UNION LTD., 3 GOWER STREET, W.C.1

(Museum 3747)

Serial No. H.O.5179

FEDERATION: TARGET FOR TOMORROW

VICTORY'S OTHER HALF

The first war-aim of the United Nations is victory over Nazi aggression. When we have won that victory, what shall we do with it? For victory alone is not enough. It must be used. In 1918 the Allies won. But Homes for Heroes did not appear; the World was not Made Safe for Democracy; and World War No. 1 did not prove to be a War to End War. If this time we are to secure Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear, we must learn from the mistakes of last time.

Competition for power between nations must end. At present there is no competition for power among the United Nations, because the war has brought a common objective to the forefront, and national interests are forgotten in the common effort. The peace must have its common objective, too. If we are to win a victory for a democracy which really means anything, we must use our common powers to solve the vast problems of malnutrition, ignorance, inadequate social services, gross inequalities of economic opportunity and social standing, which confront ordinary people in every country, and which stand between them and FREEDOM. Peace, however, is the first condition of human freedom. Only under peace can the peoples of the world mobilise their time, energy and resources for a WORLD WAR ON WANT. How to keep the peace is therefore our chief job.

TREATIES AND LEAGUES ARE NOT ENOUGH

The Atlantic Charter, Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," the Treaty with the U.S.S.R., all point the way. But goodwill and good intentions cannot by themselves create a world of long-term co-operation. Treaties, Kellogg Pacts, Protocols, Economic Conferences, Disarmament Conferences, have proved quite ineffective. What one government agrees today its successor may undo tomorrow; there is no continuity, no security, no control across frontiers.

Nor will a League of Nations do. In joining a League the Governments of different countries sign an agreement to abide by certain promises. But they keep their independence. They continue to have separate armed forces, to make separate foreign policies, to plan exclusively in terms of their separate national interests. And they retain the right to disregard their promises at their own discretion. If at any stage one particular country should dislike the implications of the agreement made by a previous government in different circumstances, that country can leave the League. Germany, Italy, Japan, all did so. We know with what results.

What we need, then, is a system which will make competition for power between nations impossible, but which is flexible enough to allow each country to make its own individual contribution to civilisation.

FEDERATION is the solution.

WHAT IS FEDERATION?

Federation is a way of linking up a number of different countries under a common government for certain purposes, the most important of these being the

common control of foreign policy and of armed forces. At the same time, the separate national governments remain, but deal only with internal matters. The national governments are not subordinate to the common government nor is the common government subordinate to the national governments. They are merely set up by the peoples to do different jobs for the peoples.

The exact borderline between common affairs and internal affairs must be settled by the countries concerned, and must appear in the Federal Constitution, which will define the powers to be transferred to the Federal government.

The citizens of all the countries which federate will automatically be citizens of the federation. They will elect the federal parliament, and military service will be only in the federal armed forces—national armed forces ceasing to exist.

Federation is not a new form of government. It has been tried, and it works, as a means of preventing war within the federated area. Among countries governed according to federal constitutions are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Switzerland, Canada and Australia.

UTOPIAN?

Federation may seem politically Utopian, or technically impracticable.

Politically Utopian? Churchill did not think so when in 1940 he offered Federation to France. Common citizenship and common control of war policy and armed forces were then the only practical means of saving France. The French government turned the offer down by only 13 votes to 10—and once more Treaty Agreement between sovereign states showed itself to be a useless instrument of co-operation. France capitulated in spite of a Treaty and in spite of the closest co-operative machinery short of federation. Had she joined in an Anglo-French Federation, the fall of France would have meant no more than the fall of part of Anglo-French territory; the fleet would have been saved for the Allies, and politically France would have been able to fight on.

As for technical difficulties: look what's happened to Europe to-day. National barriers are down; to a large extent tariffs no longer exist; labour is being moved about without immigration formalities; passports are meaningless; currency exchange rates almost as much so. There is common government with a vengeance—but no peace, and no security, and above all, no freedom. Technically it is no longer a matter of 'Union must come.' Union has come by the force of events. The nations of Europe failed to unite against Fascism, and now they have paid the price by being forcibly united under Hitler.

Europe is in subjection under a bad form of government: tyranny. What we have to do is to keep the unity and introduce a good form of government: federation. And not in Europe alone, but wherever we can, whenever we can.

NOT A PANACEA—BUT A PIECE OF MACHINERY

Federal Union does not pretend that as soon as we introduce Federation all human ills will be at an end, or even that all difficulties will become easy to solve. Federation is not an end in itself. It is only machinery of government and can be turned to good or bad use by the people who control it. BUT THE ESSENTIAL THING IS TO HAVE SOME MACHINERY TO USE. We don't cease to invent airplanes because they may be used as bombers; we don't forbid chemical research because someone may discover a new poison gas; nor do we try to do without Parliament at home on the grounds that we may have a bad House of Commons, or on the grounds that some citizens may break the laws made by Parliament. So we must not stop working for a more sensible form of international organisation because 'it may be used to strengthen the powers of reaction.' So it may. But it's up to forward-looking people to see that it isn't.

One thing is certain: Unless and until we recognise the interdependence of nations and plan the machinery of international government accordingly, there can never be the power, though there may remain the will, to implement the hopes raised by Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and by the Atlantic Charter.

CHARTER AND CONSTITUTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Federal Union is not out for federation of any sort at any price. A federation of totalitarian states would be disaster. Decisions taken without the approval of the peoples would lead to friction and separation, not to common effort and co-operation. What is advocated is a federation founded on an up-to-date democracy. The principles of this democracy would be defined in a Charter of Human Needs and Rights, and would be the basis of the common attack on Want and Fear: the basis because it would define the objectives of the attack.

The following is a brief outline of the points to be included in the CONSTITUTION of such a Federation:—

(1) **Charter of the Common Man.** The federation to be open only to countries recognising an up-to-date democracy as essential to civilised society. The principles of this democracy to be defined in a Charter embodying the following points:—

Civil Liberties—Freedom of association, faith and speech;

International Democracy—The rule of law, both nationally and internationally;

Political Democracy—The use of the State as an instrument, not of domination, but of public service;

Economic Democracy—The use of the resources of the community to provide adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care and education for every individual. (Specific standards must be here defined);

Social Democracy—The denial of the validity of privilege that is unrelated to function but based instead on membership of a special class, nation or group.

(2) The federation to be open on **equal terms** and at any time to all countries whose governments, as well as accepting the Charter, are willing to sign the federal Constitution.

(3) Within the federation, **common citizenship** for every individual in addition to national citizenship.

(4) Federal parliament, like national parliaments, to be **elected** by the citizens.

(5) Federal government to have **sole authority** over foreign affairs and over armed forces and arms supply. National governments to have no separate diplomats or armed forces.

(6) Federal government to have **substantial powers** over such matters as currency, tariffs, social welfare, migration, colonial administration.

(7) Federal government to lay down minimum **standards** for human welfare in accordance with the Charter of Human Needs and Rights, and to take responsibility for seeing that member states conform.

(8) Federal government to **make laws** in its own field. These laws to act directly on the citizens, and to be backed by Federal Police and Federal Courts. (cf. a League which can only draw up agreements between governments.)

(9) Federal government to have power to **tax** or otherwise raise funds in order to finance its projects. National government, relieved of the burden of financing national armed forces, embassies and so on, to have power to tax for internal projects only.

(10) Within these limits, national governments to be guaranteed freedom to develop their own national life culturally, socially, economically and politically.

PEACE AIM — WAR WEAPON

Federation is a constructive Peace Aim. This could be Democracy's answer to Hitler's New Order. The Nazis hold out hopes to the few of world domination. Let Democracy hold out hopes to the many of world co-operation.

But why bother about peace aims? Why not concentrate on winning the war first, and then see where you are? Well, it was Napoleon, a war-winner, who said: "There is one thing stronger than armies: an idea whose time is come."

Federation is such an idea. A declaration from Great Britain that we were fighting to establish a Federation based upon the Rights of the Common Man, and open ultimately to all free peoples willing to accept its constitution, would have an immediate tonic effect at home, and abroad would bring hope to occupied Europe and to anti-Nazis inside Germany itself. It is an idea which could help to disrupt Nazism from within by sowing doubt in the face of Goebbels' propaganda that an Allied victory will mean permanent subjection for the German people. Federation, moreover, is the way to remove, not only Germany's power to make war, but also her sense of grievance, both of which are dangers to world peace.

Two quotations will bear out Federal Union's point of view.

(a) From behind the enemy lines:—

Broadcast from the German Freedom Station, August, 1940, as reported in the *News Chronicle*:—

"England has proved that she has felt the breath of the new world. She has made internal reforms which point to the future. She held out to France, while France was tottering, an offer of federation which was more European than anything in history. England should also take the spiritual lead of the new Europe. We are waiting. We shall follow."

(b) From the ranks of the British Army:—

An Australian gunner serving in the Royal Artillery, has written a book ("Bless 'Em all," by Boomerang—Secker & Warburg. 1s. 6d.) in which he says:—

"War aims are a weapon for increasing our efficiency in winning the war. A united, progressive Europe is not a post-war dream; it is something we have to organise here and now under Hitler's nose if we are ever to overthrow him. There is no need for diffidence in blowing the trumpet of the new world we are making. A vision aiming high—that is the only thing which can lift the British Army from the ruck, the slavish round of routine, the tangles of red tape."

NEXT STEPS TOWARDS THE WORLD WE WANT

Federal Union has produced a detailed statement suggesting what definite practical steps could be taken now, at the Armistice, and at the Peace Conference, in order to achieve a peaceful world. The document is published under the title "Federation—Peace Aim: War Weapon."

The details in these immediate proposals have been worked out after much research and discussion. But they are nevertheless only suggestions. They are not so important as the principles on which they are based, and which are explained in the earlier sections of this pamphlet. If you disagree on detail, come in and help to get at something which seems to you more realistic. But don't simply stay aloof. Unless we start being definite somewhere, unless we start trying to think in terms of the political steps towards what we want, Federation will remain a distant principle: **AND THAT IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH WHEN WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE MAKING OR MARRING OF THE WORLD THAT THE NEXT FEW GENERATIONS MUST LIVE IN.**

This is a personal responsibility in a democracy. For goodness' sake let's not sit back until it's too late. Now, while the war is still on, we have, perhaps, just time. Federation won't come of itself: it depends on us.

Here are the main points from Federal Union's immediate policy:—

I. DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION WITHIN WORLD

CONFEDERATION

(a) World Federation is the ultimate aim of Federal Union. But since we are unlikely to achieve world federation in one stage, the first step is to form a nucleus federation, open to all countries on equal terms (on the lines suggested in the present pamphlet). The countries most likely to join up in this way are among those already fighting the Axis—The United Kingdom, the countries of Europe, the Dominions and the U.S.A.

Federal Union wishes to see as soon as possible a federation including all or any of these. Federal Union also holds that until at least France, Britain and Germany are within one federation, the risk of war in Europe (where the major world wars have so far begun), will not be substantially reduced. And further, that unless America accepts responsibility from the start (which she seems likely to do this time), world co-operation will be thwarted.

(b) Until Federation is world-wide, there must be in addition to the nucleus federation, some looser form of world Confederation, or League, incorporating whatever remains of value in the League of Nations, the I.L.O. and the Permanent Court of International Justice. (This form of organisation will not prevent war, but it will at any rate provide some machinery for co-operation in what will be the giant task of feeding, housing and clothing the peoples of the world.) As many states as possible should be in this Confederation from the start, whether or not they are democracies.

(c) This Peace Aim should be used now as a war weapon, and an Allied Political Warfare Board is advocated to co-ordinate Allied propaganda on this basis.

II. WAR ORGANISATION TO PEACE ORGANISATION

Stages by which the Democratic Federation and World Confederation could be constructed are :—

(a) During the War.

- (i) A Reconstruction Commission should be set up, consisting of representatives not only of the United Nations, but also of the free movements from countries without free governments. The job of this Reconstruction Commission would be first, to plan the transition from war organisation to peace organisation—particularly in the sphere of relief and economic reconstruction ; secondly, to draw up a Draft Treaty outlining the Constitution of a Democratic Federation, and of a World Confederation. This draft would be presented to the world as the basis of discussion for the Peace Conference, and should form the 'International policy' plank in the general elections or plebiscites which will be necessary in all countries after the war. Concrete proposals of this sort would provide a yardstick to measure the intentions of politicians and the will of the electorate. Moreover, since the danger of a return to national bargaining will be great as soon as the common objective of winning the war is gone, it is essential to have not only plans, but also machinery for joint action, ready in advance. The experience of co-operating on such a Commission would help to strengthen the ties which now bind us to our Allies.
- (ii) An International Consultative Parliament should be set up as soon as possible, consisting of delegations chosen by and in proportion to the different parties in the present national parliaments. The purpose of this I.C.P. would be to provide a public opinion forum, where common problems and different policies for solving them could be discussed in public by representatives of the peoples, instead of in secret by government officials as at present. The governments of the United Nations need such a sounding board of public opinion if they are to be kept aware of changing trends in the peoples' will. The tremendous effect of the visit of Russian Trade Unionists to Britain was proof of the value of personal contact between the peoples. And here again, the practical experience of international political discussion on party instead of on national lines, would be a good basis of experience for working a federal parliament.

(b) **At the Armistice.** When the Armistice is signed, the Reconstruction Commission should take control of all Allied Action, and will have three major tasks :—

- (i) Disarmament of the Axis powers, and restoration and maintenance of civil liberties in Axis and Axis-evacuated territories.
- (ii) Development of inter-Allied organisations set up for winning the war (e.g., joint production boards, economic planning boards, joint military councils), into machinery for keeping the peace and reconstructing life (e.g., feeding the liberated peoples and restarting their economic life). International economic planning must replace national bargaining.
- (iii) Creating in the liberated countries the conditions necessary for holding elections by which people can say under what form of government they wish to live. The United Nations should be ready with definite proposals for federation within confederation, so that elections can be held on this issue. Candidates elected to the various parliaments on this plank, will then have a mandate from their constituents to go forward with forming a federation.

The Armistice period may last two or three years, and during this period some of the Allied countries may make a start with actual federation, which would become legally binding on the signing of the Peace Treaty.

(c) **At the Peace Conference.** The representatives of governments who sit down at the Peace Conference will have the job of debating, modifying, and putting into legal form the Treaty drafted by the Reconstruction Commission. At the Peace Conference, states willing to join the Democratic Federation will together frame the constitution and will sign it. At the Peace Conference, too, the looser world organisation, or confederation, must be formed. The Charter of Rights must be declared the basis of both. It will define objectives which are binding on the Federation and the aim of the confederation.

III. GERMANY, ITALY, JAPAN

With a grievance and the power to build up armed forces, Germany will produce a new Hitler. How to remove that possibility is our problem. Federal Union holds that only if she is brought into a larger, federal organisation, will she be safe to other countries. But clearly Nazism will not disappear the day the Armistice is signed, and a Nazified Germany could not come overnight into a democratic federation (even if the rest of Europe were willing, which after a bloody war it is unlikely to be). During the five or six years envisaged between the signing of the Armistice and the legal formation of the Federation, Germany will be undergoing drastic change at the hands of her own people. An Allied army of occupation must hold military points of strategic importance, and at the same time (and this is important), an Allied Reconstruction Commission will be feeding, clothing, housing, and healing the Germans as well as the rest of the victims of the war. There must be trials of Nazis on charges against humanity, judged by international courts (Germans not excluded), and justice will be done on a ruthless scale—but it must be justice, not indiscriminate vengeance. As soon as Germany has a sufficiently stable government to appoint representatives to the Reconstruction Commission, she should do so, and she should become a member of the Federation at its *legal* inception. This will have given time for feelings to die down, and for Germany to give proof of her willingness to co-operate on a democratic basis.

Italy will, it is hoped, be brought into the Federation, and smaller enemy states such as Rumania, or Hungary, possibly as parts of Regional combinations of small states. Japan is unlikely to be ready for democratic government for a much longer period, and should become part of the World Confederation.

IV. THE BIG FOUR

The British Commonwealth, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China will have to take responsibility for maintaining peace just as they will have had the largest share in winning the war. It is hoped that those among them who allow democratic freedoms inside their own territories and are willing to transfer certain sovereign powers to the federal government will join the Democratic Federation at the outset, helping to frame its constitution. All four (or any federation of which any of them is a part) should be permanent members of the World Confederation. These four should be the only powers in the world allowed to retain heavy armaments, and must in return take responsibility for keeping world law and order.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

FEDERAL UNION has a programme. But without support it can do little. With support it can help to make history. This booklet is an appeal for your support.

WHAT CAN YOU DO PERSONALLY?

You can enrol as a member. Join a Branch, or form one. Study the idea. Argue about it. Send for more literature. You can write to your M.P., your local newspaper, your friends.

You can ask the secretary of your Club, youth organisation, church, to arrange a meeting and apply for a Federal Union speaker.

You can offer to speak yourself.

You can buy a Federal Union badge (1s., post 2d.), wear it and answer the questions that people ask about it (*see page 13*).

If you are in the Forces, you can apply to your Education Officer for a lecture on Federation. (We can send lecturers.)

If you are in the Merchant Navy, you can send for our list of M.N. Port Contacts, so that wherever you go you can keep in touch.

You can send us a Donation. If you have little time to spare, help others to do the work by giving generously. Federal Union must make more noise. Funds are needed for this purpose. You can help.

GIVE NOW!

Cheques may be made payable to **FEDERAL UNION LTD.**, and sent to 3 Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Federal Union publishes an annual balance sheet, duly audited. Federal Union Bankers are Barclays, 161 Euston Road, N.W.1.

FEDERAL UNION

WHAT IT IS WHAT IT DOES

The Objects of Federal Union are :—

- (1) To secure support in Great Britain and elsewhere for a Federation of Free Peoples under a common government elected by and responsible to the peoples for their common affairs, with national self-government for national affairs.
- (2) To ensure that any federation so formed shall be regarded as the first step towards ultimate world government.
- (3) And within such a federation to secure peace, economic security for all, and the civil rights of the individual.

Federal Union is a non-profit membership association. For legal purposes it is incorporated under the Companies Acts as a company limited by personal guarantee. Its policy is determined by the Annual Meeting of members, which is the controlling body. The Annual Meeting elects a Council, which in turn elects the honorary Directors of the Company, who are the Executive Committee of the organisation. This Executive Committee meets monthly to decide immediate business. The members of the Council and Executive for 1942-3 are listed on the back of this booklet.

Headquarters : The national headquarters of Federal Union are at 3 Gower Street, London, W.C.1 (Tel. : Museum 3747). The headquarters of the monthly paper **FEDERAL UNION NEWS** are at the same address (Tel. : Museum 5619).

Regional and Branch Organisation : For purposes of organisation the country has been divided into thirteen Regions. Each Region is divided into its Parliamentary Constituencies, and the aim of Federal Union is to have a branch in each constituency. Particulars of how to form a Branch may be had on application. To date (September, 1942) there are about 150 branches. Each Region is financially self-supporting. A Regional Organiser co-ordinates the activities of the Branches within his Region. A Branch Secretary co-ordinates the activities of the members in his area.

Membership : Membership is open to all over 16 who agree with the Objects set out above, and who pay an annual subscription. The subscription scale is as follows :—

- 1s. Registration fee, entitling you to have your name put on the official membership list.
- 2s. 6d. Entitling you to Head Office communications, to Branch notices and to full membership rights.
- 7s. 6d. Subscription to **FEDERAL UNION NEWS** for one year (but not including membership of Federal Union).
- £1 10s. All in subscription, covering membership, all pamphlets published for the year, and a year's subscription to **FEDERAL UNION NEWS**. Any balance is treated as a donation to general funds.
- £10 10s. Life membership, including **FEDERAL UNION NEWS** and all publications for five years.

Activities :

Federal Union conducts conferences, study groups, week-end schools, public and informal meetings ; publishes pamphlets and other material relating to the subject of federation ; through the branches organises educational and propagandist work such as canvassing, sending speakers to address meetings of other bodies, writing to the press. Any new members willing to give active help should get into touch with a branch secretary or Regional Organiser.

Research :

The Federal Union Research Institute is in temporary suspension owing to war circumstances. Up to October, 1941, it was active in initiating research into the various implications of federation, and has published the work of many distinguished authorities on economics, politics, colonial administration, and other branches of the social sciences.

International Bureau :

An international bureau has been formed, and is open to nationals of other countries. The aim of the members of the international bureau is to spread the federal idea among their own countrymen, and to act in an advisory capacity to the Executive of Federal Union in matters concerning the international work of the movement. The subscription scale is the same as that for ordinary membership. The Committee of the International Bureau includes members from 14 different nationalities.

Federal Union Overseas :

Federal Union is in touch with other organisations having similar aims, in the Dominions and in the U.S.A. Up to May, 1940, it was also in touch with federalist organisations in France, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland. Headquarters of federalist bodies overseas are :—

ARGENTINA : Federal Union, Av. Presidente Roque Saenz, Pena 501, Buenos Aires.

AUSTRALIA : Federal Union, 28, Bond Street, Sydney, N.S.W. ; Federal Union, 34, The Crescent, Brighton, Victoria ; Federal Union, 333 George Street, Brisbane, Queensland ; Federal Union, 25, Elizabeth Street, N. Croydon, Adelaide, S. Australia.

CANADA : National Committee for Union Now, 2585, Cavendish Avenue, Victoria, B.C.

INDIA : Federal Union Club ; F. Strethill Wright, c/o Manickavelo, Palace Road, Bangalore.

NEW ZEALAND : Inter-Democracy Federal Union, P.O. Box 1107, Auckland.

SWITZERLAND : Mouvement Populaire Suisse en faveur d'une Federation des Peuples, Miremont, 33, Geneva.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA : Federal Union, P.O. Box 5492, Johannesburg, Transvaal.

U.S.A. : Federal Union Inc., 8, E. 40th Street, New York ; World Federalists, 285, Madison Avenue, New York.

THE MARCH OF AN IDEA

1938

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER : Federal Union founded by Charles Kimber, Derek Rawnsley and Patrick Ransome. Other organisations were approached, important people interviewed. Donation of £100 made secretarial help available.

1939

JANUARY—MAY : First pamphlet. Name Federal Union chosen. Panel of Advisers formed : Lionel Curtis, Lord Lothian, Wickham Steed, Barbara Wootton. News of publication of *Sureit's Union Note* in U.S.A. and of formation of independent American movement based on this book.

JUNE—SEPTEMBER : First public meeting. Second pamphlet published and sent to a list of over 10,000. Large increase in membership. News of spontaneous formation of French and N. Zealand movements.

OCTOBER—DECEMBER : First Conference. First branches formed. *Federal Union News* started. Formation of Foreign Department, and of Research Committee meeting under Chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge. Publication of W. B. Curry's Penguin *The Case for Federal Union*.

1940

JANUARY—APRIL : Delegate Conference from over 100 branches agrees on a Constitution for the movement, elects a Council, and approves a Statement of Policy. First large public meeting in Queen's Hall. Anglo-French Conference in Paris organised by Research Institute between leading French and British economists.

MAY—DECEMBER : 100,000 copies of *The Case for Federal Union* sold. Publication of *Peace by Federation?* by Sir William Beveridge, *A Federation for Western Europe* by Dr. Ivor Jennings, and *Federal Europe* by R. W. G. Mackay, all three members of Federal Union. Regional conferences organised throughout England, Scotland and Wales.

1941

JANUARY—MAY : Federal Union formed into a Company, limited by personal guarantee. Annual Meeting approves extension of policy to include more specific reference to economic democracy. R. W. G. Mackay (Chairman of Hon. Directors) visits U.S.A. and Australasia, where he speaks extensively. Six Federal Tracts by specialists published. Blitz temporarily stops public meetings. Discussion groups thrive.

JUNE—DECEMBER : Miss F. L. Josephy becomes Chairman of Hon. Directors. Tours Britain speaking. Two M.P.s ask in Parliament for the suppression of Federal Union ; Home Secretary upholds F.U.

1942

JANUARY—MAY : Annual Meeting adopts Peace Aims Statement drawn up by Joad, Josephy, Kimber and Ziliacius. Full document published and circulated widely. F.U. initiates co-operation between organisations working for reconstruction in international affairs, by forming Liaison Committee at House of Commons. News of formation of National F.U. movement in S. Africa. Public meetings increase in number.

JUNE—SEPTEMBER : R. W. G. Mackay, Chairman 1940-41, contests Mandaff and Barry by-election, with Federation as his foreign policy war-aim plank. Even though not elected, 14,000 vote in favour of this policy after a ten-day war-time campaign. Three branches are formed as a direct result. First Summer School held, with distinguished speakers.

PUBLICATIONS

FEDERAL UNION LIMITED publish a monthly news, and pamphlets and leaflets from time to time. A list of Federal Union publications and a list of books dealing with the subject of Federation follows :—

(a) Introductory

"Uncommon Sense"—a simple explanation of the federal idea and its implications -	2d.
"The Ending of Armageddon"—by the late Lord Lothian	2d.
"The Federal Idea"—by H. N. Brailsford -	2d.
"America Speaks"—by Clarence K. Streit, author of "Union Now" -	3d.
"The Case for Federal Union"—a Penguin Special by W. B. Curry (<i>out of print</i>) -	6d.
"How We Shall Win"—the Federal Union pamphlet that preceded the 'V' campaign -	3d.
"Federation: Target for Tomorrow" (<i>i.e.</i> , this pamphlet)	4d.

(b) General :

"Union Now," Clarence K. Streit (Jonathan Cape) -	7s. 6d.
"Union Now with Britain," Clarence K. Streit (Jonathan Cape) -	7s. 6d.
"Federal Europe," R. W. G. Mackay (Michael Joseph) -	10s. 6d.
"Peace Aims and the New Order," R. W. G. Mackay, (Michael Joseph) -	2s. 6d.
"A Federation of Western Europe," Ivor Jennings (Cambridge University Press) -	3s. 6d.
"One Anglo-American Nation" George Catlin (Andrew Dakers) -	3s. 6d.
"Federation and World Order," Duncan and Elizabeth Wilson (Nelson) -	2s. 9d.
"Federal Union," a Symposium. M. Channing Pearce (Jonathan Cape) -	10s. 6d.
"National Sovereignty and International Order," Prof. G. Keeton (Peace Book Co.) -	7s. 6d.
"Federal Union in Practice," H. R. G. Greaves (Allen & Unwin) -	5s.
"What is at Stake and Why Not Say So?" C. E. M. Joad (Gollancz) -	2s. 6d.

"Why Britain Fights," R. H. Tawney (Macmillan) -	3d.
"Action," Lionel Curtis (Macmillan) -	9d.
"Decision," Lionel Curtis (Macmillan) -	9d.
"The Future Europe," Mary Saran (International Publishing Co.) -	4d.
"Calling All Europe" (International Publishing Co.) -	6d.

(c) Special Aspects :

"Federation: Peace Aim, War Weapon" (Report of Federal Union Peace Aims Committee) -	6d.
"Nationalism"—A report by a Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Oxford University Press) -	12s. 6d.
"The Economic Causes of War," Prof. Lionel Robbins (Jonathan Cape) -	5s.
"The Economic Basis of a Durable Peace," T. E. Meade (Allen & Unwin) -	6s.
"The Federalist," Hamilton, Jay and Madison (Dent) -	2s. 6d.
"Fighting for What?" Sir John Orr (Macmillan) -	2s. 6d.

FEDERAL TRACTS :

1. "Peace by Federation?" Sir William Beveridge -	6d.
2. "Economic Aspects of Federation," Lionel Robbins -	6d.
3. "The Colonial Problem and the Federal Solution," Prof. Norman Bentwich -	6d.
4. "What Federal Government Is," K. C. Wheare -	6d.
5. "The Philosophy of Federalism," C. E. M. Joad -	6d.
6. "Socialism and Federation," Barbara Wootton -	6d.
7. "Federation and the Colonies," Lord Lugard -	6d.
8. "Anglo-American Union," Geo. Catlin -	6d.

(d) Periodical :

FEDERAL UNION NEWS appears monthly. It costs 7s. 6d. per year.

(e) **Badge :** Made in white enamel for use in the lapel, the Federal Union Three Arrows badge is adapted from the famous symbol used by Anti-Nazis in Europe to delete the Swastika. Price 1s., post 2d. From 3 Gower Street, W.C.1.