

AFTER THE INVASION HAS BEEN REPULSED

or if it does not come—
Hitler's continental
armies have still to
be defeated. HOW?

FAMINE IN EUROPE IS FORECAST THIS WINTER

—Britain is blockad-
ing Europe — friends
as well as foes will
go short of food—
Hitler will blame us.

How can we counter this?

**THIS PAMPHLET ANSWERS
THESE VITAL QUESTIONS.**

HOW WE SHALL WIN

THREE PENCE

HOW WE SHALL WIN

"The important thing is we should take the initiative in proposing the collaboration of the free peoples in a common scheme for economic and social planning as the true method for reorganising Europe."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. 30.7.40.

"If Hitler can establish a Fifth Column in France, we can establish a Fifth Column in Germany, where there are so many people whom their rulers have persecuted. If Hitler can drive a wedge between the people and their rulers in Belgium and France, we can do the same thing in Germany and Italy. . . . Now is the time for us to establish Fifth Columns of freedom, ready to create a real United States of Europe—united against Hitler."

DAILY EXPRESS. 25.6.40.

"Preoccupied though it is by the needs of defence and offence, the British Government should not allow Hitler's challenge to go by default. Much harm may be done to our cause, both in Europe and overseas, by the insinuation that we stand for the old order and that our only aim is to restore the status quo in Europe and to maintain it at home. This charge should be emphatically and authoritatively refuted."

THE TIMES. 18.7.40.

"Why not forestall Hitler? . . . Why wait for Hitler's European plan? Why let Ribbentrop rush around the Balkans with his lightning strokes? Has Britain no plan for Europe save the defeat of Hitler?"

"I suggest that we should establish now in London—

"The Federation of a Free Europe.

"At the Court of St. James's we should create a Federation Council consisting of representatives of all the nations which have been over-run by Germany."

BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P. 18.7.40.

"There's a legion that never was 'listed.' And it is in this war. It is an Allied Army: an army many millions strong.

"It wears no uniform. It carries no arms. It fights no spectacular battles.

"But it is there all the time. It is Britain's Fifth Column on the Continent.

"A great, voluntary, spontaneous Fifth Column, operating in every country that Germany has over-run—and in Germany itself.

". . . This great Fifth Column is at work already, sometimes passively, sometimes actively, from the Loire to the Vistula.

"As the first shock of the sweeping invasions passes, and stunned men sense reality again, it will develop . . . now it is worrying the German high-ups.

"What—comes the inevitable question—are we doing about this Fifth Column of ours?"

"What are we doing to help it, to cheer it, to encourage it?"

W. N. EWER. 25.7.40.

At present we are thinking only of defence. But we cannot win by defence alone. When invasion has been repelled, or if it does not come, everyone will be asking, "How shall we win?"

We must answer that question NOW because we can take the offensive with our propaganda NOW.

With Hitler in control of Europe, there are in effect two great political movements ranged across the continent. On the one hand, the Nazi Fascist party headed by Hitler, which is comparatively small in size but highly organised and in sole control of all arms. On the other hand, the anti-Nazi democrats.

The purpose of British policy and propaganda should be to organise the Anti-Nazi democrats into a single movement with a positive aim. It is the only method by which Britain can achieve her declared purpose—the overthrow of the Nazi regime and the establishment of a free system in Europe.

In order to do this we must examine Nazi technique in which there are three stages:

- (1) Propaganda directed to undermining trust in the existing regime.
- (2) The despatch of agents to organise fifth column cells.
- (3) The active intervention of the fifth column organised to paralyse military operations, and simultaneously to set up an alternative government.

These methods and others can be used against the Nazis but the objectives of the democrats can only be attained if there is a well defined programme including a complete political philosophy. Only with a full and hopeful programme can we expect men to make the sacrifice and undertake the risks involved in revolution against the Gestapo.

Persuasion must be accompanied by instruction to action. Only in this way can the Nazi system be undermined so that there is an alternative which can assume authority when Naziism collapses. Without such an alternative, there will be sheer barbarism and chaos.

THIS MEMORANDUM DISCUSSES:

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I. THE PROGRAMME FOR ANTI NAZI REVOLUTION

The **OBJECT** must be to organise an international political movement with

A comprehensive political, economic and social policy.

Sections in each country, but stimulated from this country.

The **METHOD** must be

To attack the existing regime and to propose an alternative.

To state clearly the principles which the anti-Nazis hold in common.

To say in a comprehensive political and economic programme how these principles can be applied to present-day problems.

To make an appeal for active service in the common cause by making this programme the official aim of the British war effort and of all anti-Nazi organisations and individuals in this country and on the continent.

PROPAGANDA MUST DO TWO THINGS:

Attack the evil system.

State clearly the constructive alternative.

A. Attack the evil system.

There should be three common factors in all propaganda to continental peoples.

- (i) Attack Hitler's lust for self-aggrandisement and lack of principles.
- (ii) Attack the Nazi-Fascist system.
 - (a) For the denial of the Rights of Man and on the theory that man is made for the state.
 - (b) For the policy of guns before butter which is merely a manoeuvre to give the Nazi leaders military glory at the expense of the welfare of the people.
 - (c) Because while Hitler and his gang are in control there will be neither peace nor plenty.
- (iii) Attack on Gestapo and concentration camps, insisting on their injustice and cruelty and working up hatred of the regime.

These three points should be common to all propaganda. Other points of attack will vary according to circumstances in each country.

B. State clearly the constructive alternative.

Generalities about "a new order" are not enough, nor are exhortations to national restoration. A return to the status quo is merely a return to a world which produced this present war.

The necessary programme should be in two parts:—

AN OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW EUROPE.

A CHARTER OF TWENTIETH CENTURY FREEDOM.

(i) AN OUTLINE OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW EUROPE.

The offer of union made to the French should be made available on the basis of a charter of twentieth century freedom to any people which became free of Nazi domination as and when they did so.

The essentials of this offer were:

- (1) Common Citizenship.
- (2) A common responsible authority constituted to take over control of foreign and economic policies from the national governments.

"Economic policy" should cover control over tariffs, currency, migration, communications, and public works and also power to ensure that colonies and dependencies are administered in the interests of the inhabitants and not for the benefit of any particular country.

(ii) A CHARTER OF TWENTIETH CENTURY FREEDOM.

To be related to the actual needs of men and women at the present time—which are

Freedom from War,
Want,
Spreading of Lies and
Suppression of Truth,
Police Law,
Privilege.

The following draft Charter has been prepared in precise terms to define man's fundamental needs and rights and his obligations to a State which fulfils its primary duty to its citizens.

A DRAFT CHARTER FOR TWENTIETH CENTURY MAN

Man has certain needs and certain rights.

HIS NEEDS.

Peace
Security
Work
Leisure

HIS RIGHTS.

Equality of Opportunity in Education, for Work and for Leisure.

Self-Expression in speech and writing.

Access to the Speech and Writings of others.

Access to true information and protection against misleading official propaganda.

Freedom from arrest save for offences prescribed by law, from imprisonment without trial, from trial by biased or Party courts, and from physical and mental torture.

Freedom to change his government by peaceful means.

The purpose of the State is to fulfil these Needs and to Safeguard these Rights.

The State, therefore, has certain duties to the individual. They are:—

To plan for peace by the surrender of sovereign powers to a Federal Government.

To plan for prosperity and the common welfare.

To guarantee the citizens against violence.

To guarantee suitable occupation and reasonable leisure.

To guarantee such education as will enable the citizen to make the most of his talents.

To guarantee a free Press and a truthful Radio news service.

The Citizen of a State which fulfils this purpose owes certain Obligations.

They are:—

To serve the community to which he belongs.

To participate in the choice of its government and the conduct of its affairs.

To keep himself informed in regard to men and affairs so that he will be able to participate effectively and to choose wisely.

This Charter is submitted as a draft. Constructive comments are invited. It should be clearly understood that it is intended as a minimum basic statement from which policy and programme will be further developed.

II. HOW TO PUT IT OVER

The purpose of propaganda should therefore be to organise democratic opinion on a two point programme:

An offer of Union to all who become free of Nazi domination.

A Charter of Twentieth Century Freedom on which such a Union would be based.

This programme should be put across

**AS A NEW WORLD,
BY NEW MEN,
IN NEW WORDS.**

A. Radio will be the most important means of communication.

(i) In order to get people to listen all propaganda should be accompanied by the fullest possible service of straight news about their own countries and about other parts of the world which has been suppressed by Nazi news services.

(ii) News should be given of the objects and work of the Twentieth Century Freedom Movement abroad and in this country; mysterious explosions and acts of sabotage should be credited to the work of its members.

a. Well-known men should be chosen with care—they may arouse prejudice among certain sections of their listeners. Politicians who broadcast must be known to share the outlook expressed in the programme. Men who give regular anonymous broadcasts to their countries should be chosen for the quality of their voice, determination, vigour and sincerity being the necessary qualities.

b. Cliches and former party slogans must be avoided. The phrases should be crisp and pictorial.

(iii) Instructions should be given to supporters on the Continent.

a. Listeners and potential supporters must not be left to wait and hope. They must be asked to act and given instructions how to act.

b. A symbol should be chosen which could be chalked on walls in enemy occupied territory:

to give sense of insecurity to enemy,

to give sense of community and strength to democratic movement.

c. Later, when there is evidence of strength, specific acts of sabotage should be proposed.

d. Methods of non-cooperation and passive resistance should be suggested.

e. Agitation against the Nazi-Fascist regime over working or living conditions should be fostered wherever possible.

B. The advice of refugees in this country should be sought on the best methods of fighting Naziism, and their help accepted in the common struggle.

(i) An advisory council should be formed with responsible free representatives of the subjugated States to advise and co-operate in the conduct of the war.

(ii) The armed forces of Refugee Governments should be formed into a Federal Legion using the Federal Symbol in common with the British Forces.

(iii) Those unable to fight should be allowed to play their part through Federal Labour Corps, Federal Medical Corps, and other ways.

(iv) Anti-Nazi Refugees from the Nazi-Fascist States or occupied territories should be allowed to volunteer as agents. Much could be done by men landed or dropped by parachute near areas which they know and in which they have personal influence.

C. Need for British Example.

If this propaganda is to be effective, the British Government must show by its own actions that it is imbued with a new and up-to-date spirit and that it is acting up to the programme of the movement it is trying to found. The Government's attitude to refugees, the press, civil liberties and equality of sacrifice are obviously vital.

Note. To be effectively undertaken the whole of the work proposed in the memorandum should perhaps come under a new Ministry formed for the purpose, and working in close association with the advisory council.

APPENDIX I.

Arguments to support the programme

A. The arguments which could be used in favour of Union are:

(a) It provides restoration of self government for national communities within a secure international order which is directly related to the foreseeable conditions at the end of this war, i.e., national restoration up to a point is necessary, but the problems of post-war reconstruction will make international government essential.

(b) It is inconceivable that we should ever again allow any nation to threaten the peace of the world at its own discretion, or that the peace of the world should depend on the promises of national governments.

(c) We can only prevent this by seeing that all armaments are under a single authority and that those people who try to re-arm and who are found in possession of armaments can be dealt with in the same way as gangsters are brought to justice in America.

(d) If all arms are under a common authority so too must be foreign policy.

(e) It is inconceivable that we should ever again return to the chaos of competitive economic policies and allow trade restrictions to be used as the instruments of economic warfare. The instruments of economic policy, e.g., tariffs, etc., must therefore be under a single authority.

(f) It will be impossible to deal nationally with the devastation, disease and famine caused by this war. These can only be dealt with effectively by a single authority which could direct the fullest development of resources and expansion of markets for the benefit of the Federal community.

B. Arguments which could be used for the Charter.

(a) It is essential to show that there can be no return to the economic and social life of the pre-war period.

(b) A Charter can and must make clear that economic and social life must be socially ordered by all for the well-being and for the freedom of all and not by powerful individuals for their own interest, or by dictators for their own glory.

(c) A Charter is a traditional method. Witness nineteenth century revolutions on the continent for freedom and a constitution.

(d) A Charter makes clear that the British Empire is not fighting for its own soil but for the principles of civilisation.

APPENDIX II.

The Nazi-Fascist party and anti-Nazis

A. The Nazi-Fascist Party.

(i) Hitler has appealed to those who have seen the shortcomings of nineteenth century individualism by demanding co-operation instead of independence, duties, service and sacrifice instead of rights. He has also made use of modern inventions. He has thus proved himself to be a man of the times, so appealing to youth. Hence the need to demand service in a common cause and to make clear that a new spirit breathes in democracy.

(ii) He has won support as a man of action and by sheer ruthless effectiveness. He has cut through red tape and tradition in the same way as the public demands that our present government should do. This has won to his side great business interests who have recognised that their governments were powerless to protect them and in consequence hastened to make a deal with him. Hence the importance of government action to support the programme it is putting forward. Thorough-going action must support words.

(iii) He has won support because he provided a measure of economic security by abolishing unemployment. It is for this reason that the programme of the anti-Nazi movement must show that one of the first duties of democratic government is to provide economic security and social justice.

(iv) As an effective antagonist of "Bolshevism," he has played on the fear of a breakdown of law and order. Hence the need for giving an outline of the structure of the new Europe.

(v) He has won support by posing as a man with a just grievance against a dictated peace. The nations he has subjugated now have the same grievance against him.

(vi) By arousing a 'religious fervour' in support of a political programme outlined in a written document, "Mein Kampf." This applies only to Germans since the "religion" of German racial superiority can hardly be expected to appeal to non-Germans. Hence the need for a clear programme appealing to principles and for a call to action.

His supporters range from young revolutionaries who are tired of tradition, to old reactionaries whose actions are entirely dominated by a fear—"Bolshevism"—and who are prepared to jettison everything to preserve their position.

This international Nazi-Fascist party has been organised consciously from Germany, first as a series of fifth columns in different countries and now as a ruling clique in Europe. The common bonds in the Nazi-Fascist party are:

PRIVILEGE—a privileged race and a privileged financial and commercial clique.

UNPRINCIPLED EFFICIENCY.

The driving force is the fervour of the young Nazis who are ready to make sacrifices for what they deem to be a common good.

B. The anti-Nazi Movement.

(i) It has failed to resist Nazism because it has so far had to work through separate national governments and was not organised from any centre in the way that the Nazi fifth columns were organised from Germany.

(ii) It is desperately dispirited, since the government of every democratic nation in Europe has either let down or been let down by one or more of its fellows in the space of the last two years, except Denmark which asked for no help and got none and Switzerland which has up to now succeeded in maintaining a precarious neutrality.

The real damage done by the appeasement policy was not so much the loss of material. It was the demoralisation caused by the failure to stand by a principle, the failure to resist aggression as such. Hence the supreme importance of a Charter to make clear that we are not fighting for our soil but for ideas and principles which all democrats hold in common.

(iii) It is unorganised to the point of non-existence.

(iv) Numerically it is far stronger than the Nazi-Fascist party and has shown its latent strength several times in recent years.

(v) It has the common bond of democratic principles—belief in government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

APPENDIX III.

Other methods will not do

There is only one honourable alternative course open to this country:—

Continue as we are, relying on military action and economic blockade, either alone or with any other nations with whom we may ally, e.g., the United States. (If the United States joins the war we should at once form a Union with her.)

(i) We shall have to organise a tremendous imperial expeditionary force to make landings on the continent and to conduct an unparalleled offensive campaign against the German armies.

(ii) The war will be long and costly. It is not clear to what extent the resources of Russia, the Near and Middle East, and of the French colonial Empire may be available to the Nazis, nor to what extent they can succeed in making Europe self-supporting, but we must not under-rate German organising ability in this direction to nullify the effects of blockade.

(iii) It will be some time before we can take the offensive. (Especially if, as Mr. Churchill suggested on the 14th July, we may have to wait until 1942 before "the war will take a different form from the defensive in which it has hitherto been bound.") In the meantime Hitler will have the priceless opportunity of consolidating his position. It is quite possible that at the present time the threat of invasion is a blind to keep us occupied while the Gestapo does its work.

(iv) We shall be obliged to treat our subjugated friends on the continent exactly as we treat their Nazi conquerors.

(v) Our friends on the continent will be turned against us because it will be repeated that we are responsible for continuing the war, and for starving them. Europeans will not be convinced by arguments that the British Empire will not harm them. To them the British Empire appears as a constant provocation to aggression to the big "have-not" powers. Nor does the argument appeal to them that the British Empire is a bulwark of peace for them. It has not proved to be so in the past.

APPENDIX IV.

"An appeal from the night"

Message from German Freedom Station reported in "News Chronicle," July 18th.

"Our battle against National Socialism is older than this war and therefore, in a certain sense, independent of it. It will not weaken if England, too, is sacrificed to Hitler. But to-day we feel ourselves profoundly linked with those who look on the Hitler-gangsters as the arch-enemies of mankind, of culture, of civilisation.

"We regret that this England, which was the first country in our continent to give her citizens the Magna Carta of civil rights and liberties, which has to-day become the last bulwark of European freedom, fails to raise her voice in announcement of a new Magna Carta for the new Europe—her voice which could impress the peoples of Europe with more force than any uproar of Hitler's. . . .

"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 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."

YOUR ANSWER

This memorandum suggests that the British Government should inspire a revolution on the Continent, by adopting and practising a policy which involves:—

An offer of Union to any people who achieve freedom from Nazi-Fascist domination on the basis of
A Charter of Twentieth Century Freedom.

The Union guarantees

security under law and
the end of power politics.

The Charter guarantees

civil liberties and
social justice.

To organise the revolution

Britain must use every method of
propaganda
Refugees must help
Britain herself must give an example
of twentieth century democracy
at work.

Britain can do none of these things until you approve.

If you do, please sign below, and return this form to Federal Union. Give what help you can as indicated in the next page and if possible send a donation to help the campaign.

"I support the programme advocated by Federal Union in its memorandum 'How We Shall Win.'"

Signed

Address

I enclose a donation of £ s. d. to help the Campaign.

FEDERAL UNION, 44, GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

This pamphlet is published by Federal Union, which is open to all those who accept the following statement of aims:

The aims of Federal Union are:

(1) To obtain support for a federation* of free peoples under a common government, directly or indirectly 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 federation.

(3) Through such a federation to secure peace, based on economic security and civil rights for all.

To this end the present policy of Federal Union is:

(1) To work for an Allied statement of Peace Aims challenging the idea of race superiority with a declaration of the rights of man, and the method of aggression with a declaration of readiness to federate with any people whose government is prepared to recognise these rights.

(2) To welcome any steps towards such a federation of the Allies or any other groups of peoples, provided that at the time of its formation the federation is declared open to accession by other nations, including Germany.

In this way, by preparing belligerent and neutral opinion for federation, Federal Union believes it will obtain a response which will shorten the war and ensure a peace with hope for the future.

*NOTE: The Federation would control foreign policy, Armed Forces, and armaments. It would have substantial powers over tariffs, currency, migration, communications, public works, and similar matters. It would also have power to ensure that colonies and dependencies were administered in the interests of the inhabitants and not for the benefit of any particular country.

Please send me particulars of how I can become a member of Federal Union.

Please send me _____ issues of Federal Union News (weekly) for which I send you (3/- for 13, 6/- for 26).

Your name and address should be overleaf—there is no need to write it again here.

What you can do to help —

1. Send for more copies of this memorandum at once, and circulate it with a personal note to your relations, friends, colleagues at work, and any prominent persons you know. (One copy 3d, three copies 7½d. Six copies 1/-, 12 for 1/9, 25 for 3/-, 50 for 5/-, 100 for 8/-).
2. Write to your M.P. and the local and national press about it—also magazines and the trade press.
3. Get any organisation to which you belong to discuss the memorandum with a view to passing a resolution endorsing it.
4. Send us a list of the names of any well known people you know and to whom you are willing personally to introduce the memorandum.

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