

FEDERAL UNION LIMITED

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*Directors

FEDERAL UNION

LET'S NOT MAKE
THE SAME MISTAKE
TWICE

SOME SUPPORTERS OF THE FEDERAL IDEA

C. R. Attlee	B. Kingsley Martin
Sir Herbert Baker	Raymond Massey
Professor Norman Bentwich	Somerset Maugham
Ernest Bevin	André Maurois
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The Bishop of Chichester	Sir John Orr
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Richard Law, M.P.	Dorothy Thompson
Max Lerner	Admiral C. V. Osborne
Captain B. H. Liddell Hart	Sir John Fischer Williams
Dr. Scott Lidgett	Dr. Vaughan Williams
Lord Marley	The Archbishop of York

OPINIONS ON FEDERAL UNION

THE RT. HON.
C. R. ATTLEE: "There must be a recognition of an international authority superior to the individual states . . . Europe must federate or perish." 8th November, 1939.

THE LATE
LORD LOTHIAN: "Some form of federation . . . at any rate for part of Europe is a necessary condition of any stable world order." 1st November, 1939.

THE ARCHBISHOP
OF YORK: "I hope it may be possible to . . . start along the road that leads to federal union."

1st July, 1941.

F O R E W O R D

The first war aim of the British people is victory over Nazi aggression.

When we have won that victory, what shall we do with it?

For victory is not enough. It must be used.

In 1918 we won the greatest and completest victory in the history of British arms. We fought for Democracy and Freedom and did not create a world organisation which secured either.

In 1939 we had to start fighting again, to protect what we thought we had safeguarded forever twenty years ago, Democracy and Freedom.

We did not use the victory of 1918. All that we fought to secure for ourselves, for our children, for mankind, eluded us.

Why? Because we made a mistake. Because we left in existence the very conditions of international anarchy—sovereign states—inadequate political systems—and unstable economic systems—out of which the war of 1914-1918 sprang.

Let's not make the same mistake twice.

If a home is to enjoy peace it must be well ordered. If a nation is to enjoy peace it must be well ordered. If the world is to enjoy peace it must be well ordered.

Federal Union is a programme for a well-ordered world based on:—

International Democracy by the creation of one or more Federations as the beginning of a World Federation.

Political Democracy by securing for all states and federations an effective political system with representative and responsible Government and civil rights for all.

Economic Democracy by broadening Political Democracy both in the national and international sphere so as to secure economic stability and social security for all.

NEXT STEPS IN FEDERAL UNION

Federal Union is a movement pledged to oppose Nazi-Fascist domination until all peoples suffering under it are free and to secure a well-ordered world.

What is the next step?

How can these aims be realised?

Peace Aims,
BY WORKING FOR A Federal Council,
A Democratic Federation.

PEACE AIMS

Federal Union is working for an early official publication of war aims which would unite all democratic peoples by offering as an alternative to the Nazi union a Federal Union based on the Rights of Man, and guaranteeing freedom, security and economic justice for all.

A FEDERAL COUNCIL

Federal Union is working for the immediate establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on which would sit representatives of the nations, peoples and groups at present resisting aggression, and will support such other common action among the governments or peoples of the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A. and the other nations resisting aggression, as may serve both for more effective resistance and as a basis for post-war federation.

A DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Federal Union is working to secure popular support for the establishment at the appropriate time of a democratic federation, whose constitution shall embody the principles of representative and responsible government and shall contain adequate powers to provide economic and social security and civil rights for all, such a federation to include Great Britain and the British Dominions, the countries of Western and Central Europe, and the United States of America, or any combination of them.

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MARCH OF AN IDEA

1938

SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER

A group of three agreed that the peoples of Europe were united in a desire for peace with freedom and justice, agreed that only the federal system would provide such a peace and that constructive action was urgent. Other organisations were approached, important people interviewed, and donation of £100 made secretarial help available.

1939

JANUARY-JUNE

The first printed pamphlet was circulated. The name Federal Union chosen. The first notice appeared in the Press. Brought increased interest. A Panel of Advisers formed: Lionel Curtis, Lord Lothian, Wickham Steed, Barbara Wootton. Publication of Streit's book, *Union Now*, advancing a federation of 15 named democracies, and news of independent U.S. movements based on this book.

MAY-SEPTEMBER

First public meeting—attendance 300. Speaker, Mrs. Wootton. Second printed pamphlet circulated to a list of over 10,000. Large increase in membership and news of spontaneous formation of French and New Zealand movements. Publication of Lord Lothian's pamphlet, *The Ending of Armageddon*.

JULY-DECEMBER

First Conference. 300 members. Speakers: Lionel Curtis, Wickham Steed, Kingsley Martin, Joad. First branches formed. First number of *Federal Union News*. Conference of 37 branch representatives and appointment of provisional Council. Formation of *Foreign Department* to deal with organisations in Canada, Eire, Switzerland, U.S.A., France, Australia, and New Zealand. Formation and first meetings of *Research Committees* under chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge at Oxford. Rapid growth of membership. Large increase in the number of meetings addressed. Publication of W. B. Curry's Penguin Special—*The Case for Federal Union*—a personal presentation of the case for Streit's proposal.

1940

FEBRUARY-APRIL

Delegate Conference ratified a provisional Constitution for the movement. Delegates from 225 branches attended. Elected present Council, and approved Statement of Policy. Movement henceforward controlled by Annual Delegate Conference which elects a National Council. Packed public meeting in QUEEN'S HALL. Chairman, Sir Drummond Shiels, former Under Secretary of State for India. Speakers: Mrs. Barbara Wootton, W. B. Curry, Charles Kimber. Anglo-French Conference in Paris between members of Federal Union Economic Research Committee and leading French economists at Institut de Coopération Intellectuelle.

MAY-DECEMBER

The Case for Federal Union—100,000th copy sold. Publication of Sir William Beveridge's pamphlet *Peace by Federation?*; also *A Federation of Western Europe* by Dr. Ivor Jennings, and *Federal Europe* by R. W. G. Mackay. Series of Regional Conferences: Cardiff, Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds—many Area Committees formed. *How We Shall Win*, published. F.U. the idea which can disrupt Nazism from within. 28,000 copies distributed by end of August.

1941

JANUARY-MAY

Federal Union formed into a Company under the Companies Act as a Company limited by guarantee, Federal Union Ltd. Delegates' Conference at Oxford. Extension of F.U. policy decided upon, bringing F.U. into line with changing world situation. R. W. G. Mackay visits U.S.A., where he confers with Clarence Streit, and Federal Union Inc., and New Zealand and Australia, where he helps stimulate the growing Federal Union movement. Federal Union publishes six Federal Tracts by specialists on various aspects of F.U. F.U. Foreign Committee start Federal Union Lunches for anti-Nazis of all nationalities. Council passes Policy statement. Meetings begin again all over Britain.

5

STATEMENT OF POLICY

The objects of Federal Union are :—

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.

To ensure that any federation so formed shall be regarded as the first step towards ultimate world government.

And within such a federation to secure peace, economic security for all, and the civil rights of the individual.

Federal Union, therefore, stands for Democracy—International—Political—and Economic, and in the New Democracy, these three strands have to be interwoven. Thus its policy is threefold :—

- (a) On the *international* plane to promote Federation.
- (b) On the *political* plane to promote representation and responsible Government.
- (c) On the *economic* plane to promote economic and social security.

INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY

We believe that only by means of a world order based on the principles of democratic federation can we finally put an end to the vicious circle of war, fear of war, war preparations and still more war. As a first step towards making the Federation universal, we should strive to establish a union of some states which should at the same time serve as the nucleus for a looser universal association of states incorporating whatever remains of value in the League of Nations, the International Labour Organisation, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. The outline of a Constitution for such a Federation will be found on page 8.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Political democracy implies effective franchise for adults and effective representative and responsible government. Federal Union champions the

cause of effective popular representation freed from all obstructions both on the national and on the international plane. Democracy rests upon certain basic personal freedoms. These are freedom of association, faith and speech, freedom from spying and arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, and freedom of access to true information. Here our task is two-fold. We must endeavour to establish these freedoms where they are non-existent, as in the Nazi-dominated countries ; we must defend them vigorously where, as in Great Britain, they survive, but precariously. Federal Union comes forward as the champion of civil and political liberty both at home and abroad.

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Less has as yet been heard about this aspect of democracy than about civil and political rights or international order. But in terms of the real values of contemporary life, and in terms of the probable post-war situation, the economic element in democracy is second to none. It is quite unavoidable that, during the war, and at the end of the war, people will be more concerned about being fed and clothed and housed and getting medical care, than they will be about political constitutions or about voting. And, even apart from the special emergencies of war and post-war chaos, primary economic needs will continue to loom large ; and the majority will not be satisfied that true democracy has been achieved under a regime of extreme social inequality or where a theoretical civil and political equality is nullified by the concentration of irresponsible economic power in the hands of a few.

Federal Union, therefore, believes that the first charge on the resources and work of the community must be the provision for feeding, clothing, housing, leisure, education and medical care of every citizen, and that it is furthermore the responsibility of the community to see that no citizen is denied the opportunity to find work with adequate pay, and under reasonable working conditions. While the execution of these duties will fall mainly on national authorities and will be discharged in very different ways in different countries according to their social and economic practice, the obligation to lay down standards and to assist, where necessary, in seeing that they are maintained, must be federal, and must be laid down in unequivocal terms.

A DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

The following six paragraphs contain the outline of a Constitution for a Federation in which all three strands in the new democracy are interwoven.

(1) CHARTER OF RIGHTS

The Federation should rest upon a Charter of Fundamental Needs and Rights, and its Constitution should embody the basic principles of civilised government in modern society. These are:—

- (a) Freedom of association, faith and speech;
- (b) The rule of law, both nationally and internationally;
- (c) The use of the State as an instrument, not of domination, but of public service;
- (d) The promotion of high standards of living universally and not merely for a restricted group;
- (e) The denial of the validity of privilege unrelated to function and based merely upon membership of a special class, nation, or group.

(2) GOVERNMENT

The Government of the Federation should consist of a Legislature, an Executive and a Judicature. The Legislature should be elected in such a way as to ensure the proper representation of the views of the electorate. The Executive should be chosen by and responsible to the Legislature. The Judicature should be independent of both the Legislature and the Executive.

(3) POWERS

The precise division of powers between the Federal and State Governments is a matter for research, and for modification from time to time in the light of experience. Nevertheless the general lines of the division are clear, and are indicated in the following paragraphs.

(a) The Federal Government should have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation, and should, in the exercise of its powers, act directly upon each individual citizen of the Federation, and not through the medium of State Governments.

(b) The Federal Government should have *sole authority* over external affairs and defence, including control over all military, naval and air forces, armaments and the manufacture and sale of arms.

(c) The Federal Government should have *substantial powers* over: the preservation of law and order within the Federation; migration; currency and banking; tariffs, quotas, and export and import regulations; interstate trade and commerce; and legislation designed to establish and maintain minimum standards of social welfare in nutrition, health, housing, education, conditions of work, and similar matters.

(d) The Federation should make itself responsible for the maintenance of the minimum standards laid down in the Charter, and where necessary to assist or supplement the work of the States in matters relevant thereto. Both the Federal and State Governments would have power to initiate schemes of public works.

(e) The Federal Government must have powers enabling it to raise funds directly, whether by taxation or otherwise, in order to finance its own activities.

(f) Within these limits, the greatest possible freedom should be reserved to the State Governments to legislate for the economic, social and cultural welfare of their own citizens, and to develop their national life in their own way. Provided the terms of the Fundamental Charter are not infringed, there should be wide freedom for experiment and variety in the economic and social policies and methods of the various member states.

(4) COLONIES

The colonies of the States members of the Federation should be part of the Federation. Whether they should be administered by the Federation, or by the States under Federal supervision, is an open question. In the administration of all colonial territories and peoples, the aim should be to promote the utmost material well-being and social progress of the inhabitants, and to provide as soon as possible for democratic self-government for the colonial populations.

(5) NEW STATES

The Federal Legislature should have power to admit new members of the Federation, provided it is satisfied that a new State is both able and willing to accept the Federal Constitution and to abide by the terms of the Charter of Fundamental Needs and Rights. A new State should not be required to accept conditions different from those already binding upon existing members of the Federation. With the consent of the State or States concerned, the Federal Legislature should have power to create new States out of any State or States which are members of the Federation.

(6) ALTERATION

Due provision should be made for the amendment of the Constitution subject always to the limitation that nothing shall infringe the terms of the Charter of Rights.

FEDERAL UNION

WHAT IT IS WHAT IT DOES

The Company :

FEDERAL UNION LIMITED is incorporated under the Companies Acts, as a company limited by guarantee. It is a non-profit making membership association. The policy of the Company is determined by the Annual Meeting of the members of the Company, which is the controlling body. The Annual Meeting elects a Council, of whom twenty-four are elected nationally and twenty-six are elected regionally. Ten of the members of the Council are co-opted. The Council thus consists of sixty persons. The Directors of the Company number eleven, all of whom are members of the Council. Eight of the Directors are elected by the Council, but the remaining three are co-opted. The Board of Directors form the executive body of the organisation and meet monthly to decide immediate business. The Members of the Council and the Directors of the Company for the year 1941 are listed on page sixteen.

National Headquarters :

The national headquarters of FEDERAL UNION LIMITED is situated in London and the address is :—

3 Gower Street,
London, W.C.1

The Telephone Number is Muscum 3747

Regional and Branch Organisation :

For purposes of organisation the country has been divided into thirteen regions for each of which it is hoped to have a regional organiser. Each region is divided into its Parliamentary Constituencies, and it is hoped that there will be a branch of the organisation in each of these Parliamentary Constituencies. The regional organiser co-ordinates the activities of the branches in the different Constituencies and in the region. Federal Union is thus a political organisation, which is organising branches all over the United Kingdom.

Research :

The Federal Union Research Institute commands the services of distinguished authorities on economics, politics, colonial administration, and other branches of the social sciences. The Secretary is PATRICK RANSOME, 31, Wellington Square, Oxford.

International Bureau :

FEDERAL UNION is in close touch with other organisations with similar aims in the Dominions and in the U.S.A. Up to May, 1940, it was in contact with similar bodies in nearly all the democratic European countries. An International Bureau has been established with three Sections, a European Section, an American Section and a Dominions Section. Nationals of any other country living in Great Britain may join these Sections and become Associate Members of Federal Union Ltd. The subscription for both members and Associate Members is the same.

Activities :

FEDERAL UNION conducts conferences, study groups, week-end schools, public and informal meetings. Organisations requiring speakers should write to National Headquarters, stating the approximate size of the meeting to be addressed and the nature of the talk required. Individual members are, wherever possible, put in touch with a Branch, so that activities such as writing to the Press, canvassing, etc., may be systematically organised throughout the country.

Any new members who are willing to give active help should get in touch with their Branch Secretaries, who will welcome their co-operation.

Support :

FEDERAL UNION is an organisation worthy of the whole-hearted support of all who believe that through the application of federalism to the relations between states now sovereign lies the surest, if not the only, hope of lasting peace. This brochure, accordingly, is an appeal for your support—for your intellectual support, your moral support, your active support. Last, but not least, it is an appeal for your financial support.

SCALE OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

1. 1/- minimum Annual Registration Fee.
2. 10/6 to include in addition to the above (1) "Federal Union News" for one quarter.
3. £1 1s. to include in addition to the above (1) "Federal Union News" for one quarter and Pamphlets up to 3d. each.
4. £1 10s. to include in addition to the above (1) a full year's subscription to "Federal Union News" and all Pamphlets.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

FEDERAL UNION is a great idea.

By FEDERAL UNION we can win the Peace.

FEDERAL UNION can do nothing without money to convey its idea to millions of minds. FEDERAL UNION needs an income of at least £3,000 each year to run even a small nation-wide organisation.

Its finances are derived exclusively from membership subscriptions and donations, sales of literature and collections at meetings.

You can help, individually, by telling your friends. But you can help more by multiplying all that you can do personally a thousand-fold—that is what a contribution to this fund means.

That support we greatly need and earnestly ask of you.

GIVE NOW!

Cheques may be made payable to FEDERAL UNION LIMITED, and sent to 3, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. Federal Union's bankers are The Midland Bank, Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

PUBLICATIONS

FEDERAL UNION LIMITED publishes a fortnightly 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 :

BOOKS

- "Union Now," Clarence K. Streit (Jonathan Cape) 7s. 6d.
 "Union Now with Britain," Clarence K. Streit (Cape) 7s. 6d.
 "The Case for Federal Union," W. B. Curry (Penguin Book Co.) 6d.
 "One Anglo-American Nation," George Catlin (Andrew Dakers Limited) 3s. 6d.
 "Federal Europe," R. W. G. Mackay (Michael Joseph) 10s. 6d.
 "A Federation of Western Europe," Ivor Jennings (Cambridge University Press) 3s. 6d.
 "Peace Aims and the New Order," R. W. G. Mackay (Michael Joseph) 2s. 6d.
 "The Economic Causes of War," Prof. Lionel Robbins (Cape) 5s.
 "Economic Planning and International Order," Prof. Lionel Robbins (Macmillan) 8s. 6d.
 "Federation and World Order," Duncan and Elizabeth Wilson (Nelson) 2s. 9d.
 "Federal Union," A Symposium, M. Channing-Pearce (Cape) 10s. 6d.
 "Why Federation Means Peace," Prof. H. Stanley Jevons (Peace Book Co.) 2s. 6d.
 "Nationalism and the Future of Civilisation," Prof. H. J. Laski (Watts & Co.) 2s.
 "Our War Aims," Wickham Steed (Secker & Warburg) 3s. 6d.
 "The World in Union," John S. Hoyland (Peace Book Co.) 3s. 6d.
 "National Sovereignty and International Order," Prof. George S. Keeton (Peace Book Co.) 7s. 6d.

- "Thinking Ahead—A Study of Federation as a Plan for Lasting Peace," Gilbert Hawarth and Leaver (Hall) 1s.
 "Nationalism"—a Report by a Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Oxford University Press) 12s. 6d.
 "Federal Union in Practice," H. R. G. Greaves (Allen & Unwin) 5s.
 "The Economic Basis of a Durable Peace," T. E. Meade (Allen & Unwin) 6s.
 "The Common Menace of Economic and Military Armaments," William E. Rappard (Cobden-Sanderson) 1s.
 "The Federalist," Hamilton, Jay and Madison (Dent) 2s. 6d.

PAMPHLETS

Federal Tracts—

- No. 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.
 "The Ending of Armageddon," Lord Lothian 2d.
 "America Speaks," Clarence Streit 3d.
 "The Federal Idea," H. N. Brailsford 2d.
 "Peace and Prosperity for the Asking," Raymond O'Malley 2d.
 "How We Shall Win" 3d.

FEDERAL UNION NEWS

FEDERAL UNION NEWS is the news sheet of Federal Union and appears fortnightly.

It costs 3s. for 13 issues, 6s. for 26 issues, 12s. for 52 issues.