

Speaker's Notes

I. MATERIAL FOR A SPEECH ON FEDERAL UNION

All speeches for F.U. should be designed:—

- (1) to show:
 - (a) which are the crucial problems of reconstruction;
 - (b) why federation is the only method of solving them;
 - (c) what should be done now
- (2) to make perfectly clear what federation is and what it involves, and how it differs from a League.
- (3) to make it clear that F.U. is a membership organisation, at present directing its activities to the collection of signatures for a Manifesto affirming the necessity for Federation in the Peace.

Material for (1) is contained in these notes, in the official policy pamphlet, "Federation: Target for To-morrow" (4d.), and in the Manifesto (free). In addition, keep a watch on Federal Union News for the Federalist angle on changing events.

Material for (2) is to be found in all the standard books on Federation, Streit, Curry, Mackay, etc., and in the pamphlets by Beveridge, Brailsford, Lothian, and in "Uncommon Sense." (A full list of F.U. literature appears in "Target for To-morrow.")

Material for (3) is to be found in "Target for To-morrow," and in "How You Can Help."

Answers to 40 stock questions are now published: "Questions and Answers" (2d.), and give the official line on most of the topics likely to be met at meetings.

II. FOUR POINTS FOR SPECIAL STRESS.

There are four main points which all official speakers for F.U. should always make. The reason for this is that the secret of successful political propaganda is to have a few simple and concrete points which are repeated on all available occasions. The order in which they are stressed, and the arguments and examples used to support them can be varied as the speaker wishes. The four points are set out in the form of an outline for a speech, as follows:—

(i) Co-operation in War must lead to Unity in Peace.

The particular points which we should select as the present concern of F.U. under this head are:—

- (a) *The co-operation of the United Nations, though insufficient, shows what can be done by joint action as opposed to isolation and neutrality.*
- (b) *The joint machinery of co-operation must be continued through the war, the Armistice, and into the peace. It must be developed continuously, not only for negative ends but for positive purposes.*

SUMNER WELLES, 22/7/41:

The abolition of offensive armaments, and the limitation and reduction of defensive armaments, and of the tools which make the construction of such armaments possible, can only be undertaken through some rigid form of international supervision and control. Without such practical and essential control no real disarmament can ever be achieved. And second, so long as any one people or any one Government possesses a monopoly over natural resources or raw materials which are needed by all peoples, there can be no basis for a world order based on justice or peace.

POINT III.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 8/7/41:

Four essential human freedoms: Freedom of speech; freedom of worship; freedom from want; freedom from fear.

HENRY A. WALLACE, 8/5/42:

Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity . . . That which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and half ago . . . The century which will come of this war can be and must be the century of the common man.

C. R. ATLEE, 8/11/39:

Europe must federate or perish.

RICHARD LAW, January, 1940:

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.

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, February, 1940:

Federation will be rejected by some as Utopian. The plan dares and needs to be Utopian, because the choice is between Utopia and Hell.

WILLIAM TEMPLE, March, 1940:

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.

POINT IV.

SIR JOHN ORR, May, 1942:

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.

BROADCAST FROM GERMAN FREEDOM STATION, August, 1940 (reported in *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 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.

(ii) The Peace must start a World War on Want.

The particular points which we should select in connection with reconstruction as the concern of F.U. are: that reconstruction depends on:—

(a) *The existence of common positive objectives which are defined and measurable in terms of consumers' needs.*

(b) *The consent of the peoples of all nations to plans of reconstruction and the provision of machinery for registering consent or dissent.*

(c) *Rejection of isolationist planning, and establishment of effective machinery for international planning.*

(d) *Instead of national power politics, an international authority with control of arms and armed forces.*

(iii) The Peace Treaty must contain a Peoples' Charter, a Federal Constitution, and the Constitution of a World Confederation.

(iii) The Peace Treaty must contain a Peoples' Charter, a Federal Constitution, and the Constitution of a World Confederation.

(a) *The lesson of our relations with France, culminating in the Government's offer of Union as an admission that other methods of preserving unity of action are precarious, is the best argument for the inclusion of federation in the peace.*

(b) *The Peace Treaty must therefore include:—*

(1) *A Charter to provide equality of opportunity and lay down standards, in terms of nutrition, housing and education, as the objectives of the War on Want, and the civil liberties needed to ensure personal freedom and the proper working of democracy. The precise interpretation of these standards for each State to be worked out by the competent Federal Authority.*

(2) *A Federal Constitution establishing a Federal Government as the principal means of giving expression to international public opinion and an opportunity for service to an international community, providing popular authority and effective powers for international planning. Establishment and maintenance of a Federal force in such a way that the loyalty of that force is attached to the Federal Government and is not dependent on the fulfilment of promises between separate governments.*

(3) *A World Confederation whose member states pledge themselves to co-operate in the World War on Want by working towards the objectives set out in the Charter.*

(N.B. We advocate this without suggesting that we can place reliance on it, and primarily as a means of improving relations, between the Federation and the nations outside as a means of building steps towards World Union.)

(iv) We demand action now.

We select two proposals:—

(a) *An International Reconstruction Commission to co-ordinate the preparation of plans of reconstruction by the Allied governments and to incorporate these on behalf of the United Nations in a single plan for the transition from war to peace, and to draw up a draft treaty outlining the structure of the future World Order, as laid down in Section iii (b).*

(b) *An International Political Warfare Board to co-ordinate allied propaganda on the basis of proposals set out in Section iii (b) in order to obtain unity in resistance to Nazism as a step to unity in building a common peace.*

III. THE MOVEMENT: OBJECTS AND MANIFESTO

Get the Chairman to read out the three objects of Federal Union (printed on every enrolment card, in the official policy leaflet, and in "Target for To-morrow").

In the course of your speech make it clear that F.U. is collecting signatures for the Manifesto. Read the Manifesto (or have it read) or available on the chairs.

At the end of your speech, point out (1) that F.U. is a membership organisation, and appeal to the audience to join; (2) that the Manifesto is available in the room for signature, appeal for signatures and help in collecting further signatures.

IV. USEFUL QUOTATIONS.

The following are examples of quotations which could be used to give effect to the Four Points.

POINT I.

ERNEST BEVIN, 20/4/42:

In war, out of sheer desire for self-preservation, we are ready to undergo control, regulation and discipline . . . When the "cease fire" sounds . . . we must submit to national and international discipline for the sake of the generations yet unborn . . . No country can afford to be blinded by its own limited interest . . . The less you discuss things as countries, and the more you face them as problems, affecting all countries, the more likely you are to find a correct solution.

STAFFORD CRIPPS, 3/5/42:

The interests of individual nations must give way in some matters at least, to those of the wider community.

ANTHONY EDEN, 23/7/42:

We are working together for the victory, and beyond. We have not been fighting to return to a world of fear, hunger and frustrated hopes. No nation can hope to live alone; we have been taught that by the tragedy of this second World War. We must either build an orderly, law-abiding international society, in which each nation can live freely, or we shall all be destroyed in a welter of barbaric strife.

POINT II.

ANTHONY EDEN, 29/5/41:

Social security will be our policy abroad not less than at home.

JOHN G. WINANT, 6/6/42:

When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries. The drive for man-power in war, a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality. The drive for an all-out war effort by the United Nations must become a drive for an all-out peace effort, based on the same co-operation and willingness to sacrifice.