The New York Public Library Humanities and Social Sciences Library Manuscripts and Archives Division

Campaign for World Government. Records of the New York office. 1917-1972 MssCol 461

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## Summary

Main entry:	Campaign for World Government (Organization)
Title:	Campaign for World Government. Records of the New York office, 1917-1972
Size:	14.25 linear feet (34 boxes)
Source:	Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection
Abstract:	The Campaign for World Government, founded by Rosika Schwimmer and Lola Maverick Lloyd in December 1937, was among the first organizations to advocate a democratic federal world government. The Campaign was divided between two offices in separate cities, with the international campaign headquartered in New York City and the national campaign in Chicago. This collection consists of the records of the New York office, but documents both the Campaign's international and national efforts. Records of the Chicago office are described separately.
Access:	Apply in the Special Collections Office for admission to the Manuscripts and Archives Division.
Preferred citation:	Campaign for World Government. Records of the New York office., Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.
Special formats	Photographs.

#### **Provenance note**

The Campaign for World Government records were originally donated and arranged as series T of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection. This series was reprocessed in 2006 as the Campaign for World Government Records. Although now a separate collection, it remains under the administrative aegis of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection.

For materials on other world government organizations previously located with the Campaign for World Government records, readers are directed to review series T of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection finding aid.

#### **Related materials note**

American Movement for World Government Records, ca. 1953-1987. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.

Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.

United World Federalists (U.S.). New York State Branch Records, 1942-1950. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.

#### **Historical note**

The Campaign for World Government was founded by the Hungarian pacifist Rosika Schwimmer and her friend and fellow veteran of World War I peace mediation efforts, Lola Maverick Lloyd. In 1937, disenchanted with the League of Nations and its perceived weaknesses, they announced the Campaign's mission to promote a federal world government directly representing the interests of the world's people, as opposed to the interests of states. While the specific methods promoted for achieving this goal shifted over the next several decades, the Campaign adhered to the concept of a populist global federalism throughout its existence.

The Campaign's early platform was outlined in 1937 in their pamphlet "Chaos, War or a New World Order?" which called for the creation of a World Constitutional Convention. At this convention, it was hoped, a framework for a Federation of Nations would be formed, and democratic elections to the federation would be scheduled. Schwimmer and Lloyd included a tentative plan for this novel federal body, including full membership for all countries, direct representation, and several organs of government. Among the plan's elements were a new international date system, the abolition of all military bodies, the peaceful transfer of people out of population-dense regions, and a combined global free-trade and command economy.

Over time, as Schwimmer and Lloyd recognized the increasing unlikelihood of national governments voluntarily forming a world government, their plan shifted emphasis to the peaceful popular demand for the election of such a body. Following this shift, the Campaign began to focus on national consciousness-raising and international conferences of other like-minded groups.

Through congressional testimony, lobbying of legislators, national letter-writing campaigns, and participation in numerous world government conferences, the Campaign continued to advance its platform. Numbered among its successes was Hamilton Fish's introduction of a resolution at the1938 New York State Constitutional Convention encouraging President Roosevelt to call a world constitutional convention, and several Congressional resolutions and bills, including the "Alexander Peace Bill" (H.J.R. 610, 76th Cong. (1940), and the "Tenerowicz Peace Bill" (H.J.R. 131, 77th Cong. (1941).

The Campaign was divided between two offices in separate cities, with the international campaign headquartered in New York City and the national campaign in Chicago. The organizational hierarchy was often amorphous in structure and job responsibilities overlapped. Until their deaths in 1944 and 1948, Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer were officially listed as co-directors, or occasionally "international co-chairmen," heading up the Chicago and New York City offices, respectively. While Lola was active in drafting the Campaign's mission, records within the collection indicate her participation to have been largely titular in later years. Documentation in the Lola Maverick Lloyd Papers (see separate finding aid) indicates the financial role she played in the organization.

In Chicago, William Bross Lloyd, Jr. headed the national campaign until 1944, when the draft for WWII led him to opt for alternate service at a conscientious objector camp. Previous to his departure, William regularly supervised Edith Wynner as head of the New York branch of his national campaign, while she simultaneously served as personal assistant to Madame Schwimmer in the international realm. There do not appear to have been regional or state branches other than Wynner's New York branch.

Additional campaign staffing was informal and included the efforts of such family members as Madame Schwimmer's sister Franciska, and Lola's daughters, Mary and Jessie. Other staff included Caroline Lexow Babcock, Frances Bird, Katherine Devereux Blake, Tracy Mygatt, and Catherine Rumball. The overlapping offices and titles eventually resulted in discord between the two offices. Following Lola Maverick Lloyd's death in 1944, and William's departure for a civilian public service camp, the friction over authority and mission led to a falling-out between the Lloyd children and Rosika Schwimmer. In 1945, the organization split into two bodies, with Edith Wynner taking the lead of the International Campaign for World Government in New York, and Georgia Lloyd leading the Campaign under its previous title in Chicago.

#### Scope and content note

The Campaign for World Government Records document the activities of the organization in its attempts to lobby for a federal world government and shed light on other initiatives for international cooperation. The staff collected and produced information on the League of Nations, the United Nations, innumerable anti-war and world government conferences, and major world events they felt illustrated the need for a federal world government. The bulk of the materials in this collection stem from the 1930s through the 1960s.

The records of the organization are arranged in four series which consist of both materials generated by the Campaign--such as correspondence, reports, publications, and writings--and a large amount of material from other organizations--including press releases, newsletters and pamphlets. The collection also contains participant packets containing programs, agendas, final reports, notes, and papers presented at various international conferences. A small number of photographs are present, scattered throughout the collection.

The collection is predominantly in English, with occasional documents in other European languages, including Danish, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish. Many of the notes included throughout the collection were taken in shorthand.

#### Arrangement note

The Campaign for World Government. Records of the New York office. are organized in the following series:

Series I. Correspondence, 1933-1970, n.d. Series II. Writings, 1917-1960, n.d. Series III. Campaigns and conferences, 1924, 1937-1972, n.d. Series IV. Topical files, 1924, 1932-1969, n.d.

#### Series descriptions and container list

## Series I. Correspondence, 1933-1970, n.d.

7 boxes

Correspondence is divided into two subseries: General Correspondence and Federation of Nations, each arranged chronologically by month.

The correspondence consists of both incoming and outgoing letters. Notes on many of the letters indicate they were typescript copies of original correspondence, made to be circulated between the New York and Chicago offices. In addition, many items are labeled with two dates: the date of creation, and a stamped date noting date received. All items have been arranged by date of creation, except in cases where date received was the only available information.

Prominent correspondents include: John G. Alexander, Devere Allen, Emily Green Balch, Stringfellow Barr, Crichton Clarke, Dorothy Detzer, Fyke Farmer, Hamilton Fish, Philip Isely, A.J. Muste, Vernon Nash, Joseph P. Nye, Thane Read, Clarence Streit, Rudolph Tenerowicz, Henry Usborne and Jerry Voorhis.

### A. General correspondence, 1933-1970, n.d.

5.5 boxes

The Campaign for World Government correspondence sheds light on the inner workings of the organization, and on behind-the-scenes politics of the greater world government movement. Extremely detailed in their coverage, the letters appear to provide comprehensive documentation of the Campaign's efforts.

Topics covered include the details of letter-writing campaigns, fund-raising efforts, collaborations with other similar organizations, ongoing dialogue on world events and pacifist politics, strategizing and communications with members of congress sponsoring Campaign for World Government bills, and other general lobbying efforts. A sizeable amount of correspondence is devoted to the discussion of contentious issues and factions within the larger circle of world government activists, including debates as to whether certain organizations were Communist fronts. The correspondence reveals that Campaign staff often viewed the movement as a zero-sum competition. Evidence of occasional rancor is found most frequently in the correspondence related to Rosika Schwimmer's pamphlet "Union Now, for Peace or War?," her response to Clarence Streit's successful book *Union Now*. Researchers interested in Streit's plan and Schwimmer's rebuttal should also consult the files in Series III Campaigns and Conferences.

While General Correspondence is arguably the most informative series regarding Campaign efforts, researchers interested in a particular program, individual, or theme are advised to review the materials arranged in the last two series of the collection: Campaigns and Conferences, and Topical Files. For letters exchanged regarding the Alexander Peace Bill, for example, readers may wish to review both the General Correspondence for the pertinent years, as well as the approximately two boxes of files on the bill found in Campaigns and Conferences.

- Box
   Fol

   1
   1-5
   1933 -1938 Jul
- 2 1-5 1938 Aug-Dec, n.d.
- 3 1-7 1939 Jan-1940 Nov

- 4 1-7 1940 Dec-1941 Oct
- 5 1-7 1941 Nov-1944
- 6 1-4 1945-1970

# **B. Federation of Nations correspondence, 1937-1940, n.d.** 1.5 boxes

The Federation of Nations correspondence consists of letters related to the organization's overarching goal of forming a representative federal world government.

The majority of the letters in this subseries are labeled "FON" and were arranged by Campaign staff as discrete files. However, there is also a significant amount of material, similarly labeled, in the General Correspondence. Researchers interested in the early philosophies, plans and lobbying efforts of the Campaign are advised to review both series.

- Box Fol 6 5-8 1937-1
- 6 5-8 1937-1939 Aug
- 7 1-7 1939 Sep-1940 May

### Series II. Writings, 1917-1960, n.d.

3 boxes

Records created by the Campaign for World Government over the course of its activities are arranged in four subseries, the bulk of which consist of publications and staff writings. Also included are reports, interviews and a small amount of financial material. All materials are arranged chronologically by month.

### A. Reports and interviews, 1938-1957, n.d.

2 folders

This small subseries contains interview transcripts and summaries, and general reports filed by various staff members of the Campaign.

The interview transcripts summarize official interviews, surveys, and casual conversations held with a range of individuals, including members of congress, supporters and detractors of the Campaign, and possible donors. The reports are relatively frank, analyzing the intent and receptivity of the interviewee and the resulting implications for the Campaign.

The reports generally cover conferences attended, congressional testimony and votes, and meetings held with representatives of other organizations. There are a small number of yearly activities summaries, but few official printed reports regarding the finances or activities of the organization.

Box Fol 8 1 2

Reports and interviews, 1938-1957, n.d. Congressional lobbying and reference, 1938-1948, n.d.

## **B.** Publications and staff writings, 1917-1960, n.d. 2 boxes

The materials contained within this series include the official publications of the Campaign for World Government, and essays and drafts written by individual staff members. These staff writings include works written as representatives of the organization and as individual authors pursuing their own goals.

Official publications are arranged chronologically by month, and include flyers, mailings, survey forms, pamphlets, posters, and essays to be disseminated at conferences. Issues of the newsletter *World Federation Now*, edited by William Bross Lloyd and published by the Campaign, can be consulted in the Science, Industry and Business Library (SIBL).

Staff writings, arranged by author and then chronologically within, consist of two folders of published materials, typescripts, and drafts of essays and speeches. One folder contains the works of Edith Wynner, and the other the writings of Lola Maverick Lloyd, William Bross Lloyd, Jr., Tracy Mygatt, and Rosika Schwimmer. The writings speak for the personal commitment each of the Campaign staff members felt to the goal of federal world government.

Of note within the Wynner materials are the text of a 1955 statement before the Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations charter and the text of a 1956 statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. Rounding up the Wynner file are numerous articles and notes on the United Nations, world government, and the crushed Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Significant writings by Lola Maverick Lloyd include t	he 1917 pamphlet "For a
People's Peace," which argues for an international of	commission to establish
peace; a 1918 pamphlet "A New Application for Der	nocracy," which posits an
international congress to follow the end of the war, a	and a 1924 provisional
constitution for the Union of World Patriots.	-

William Bross Lloyd, Jr.'s writings include a report on the progress of world federation activities and the text of a 1940 statement made before the Resolutions Committee of the Republican Party.

Rosika Schwimmer's materials include the text of a 1937 radio speech entitled "The Unfinished Business of the Ford Expedition," and an item labeled "Outline of the Plan of the Henry Ford Peace Expedition."

<u>Box</u> 8	<u>Fol</u> 3-4	Publications and press releases, 1937-1960, n.d. Staff writings
	5	Edith Wynner, 1943-1958, n.d.
	6	Others, 1917-1952, n.d.
		Drafts
9	1	The Birth of a New World Order: Why We Must Act Now, undated
	2	Chaos, War or a New World Order?, 1937
	3	A Dangerous Prescription: Clarence Streit's Federal Union of the
		Democracies, 1939-1941, n.d.
	4	A Plan for World Peace, 1937
	5	Plan for a Provisional World Government, undated
	6	Union Now- For Peace or War?, 1939

C. Financial records, 1938-1941, 1958, n.d. 2 folders

This small series consists of two folders of financial materials, arranged chronologically by month.

Box	<u>Fol</u>	
9	7	Reports and accounts, 1938-1941, 1958, n.d.
	8	Receipts, 1938-1939

#### D. Miscellaneous, 1924-1948, n.d.

1 box

The miscellaneous materials consist of notes taken by various Campaign staff, ranging over a 24-year period and occasionally taken down in shorthand; mailing lists and addresses used by the Campaign; obituaries for Rosika Schwimmer written by Edith Wynner, complete with supporting reference documents; and materials collected during Wynner's tour of Scandinavia in 1947.

The notes appear to have been preliminary to drafts of articles or pamphlets, informal jottings regarding operational plans and execution, and summaries of conferences and talks attended.

10	1-2	Notes, 1924-1948, n.d.

Fol

Box

- 3 Mailing lists and addresses, 1939-1941, n.d.
- 4 Rosika Schwimmer obituary, 1948
  - 5 Reference on Rosika Schwimmer, 1937-1939, n.d.
  - 6 Edith Wynner's Scandinavian tour, 1947

# Series III. Campaigns and conferences, 1924, 1937-1972, n.d. 17 boxes

Forming the bulk of the collection, campaign and conference materials relate to various projects with which the Campaign for World Government was involved. These projects range from congressional bills sponsored by the Campaign, such as the Alexander Peace Bill, to their 1937-1939 public attempts to challenge Clarence Streit and his competing plan. Also present is a significant amount of material from world government conferences, including many files on the World Movement for World Federal Government, beginning with the 1947 meeting in Montreux, Switzerland and ending with the 1955 gathering in Paris.

Campaign materials generally consist of working papers, correspondence, notes, reports, drafts, and printed matter. In the case of legislative bills, there are printed copies of the resolutions and bills, as well as occasional mailing lists.

Materials stemming from conferences consist of conference participant packets, agendas and minutes, reports and resolutions, correspondence, printed matter and working papers, and occasional photographs.

All materials are arranged chronologically by month.

	7 8	Alexander Peace bill Bills, drafts, and speeches , 1940 Mailing lists, Signatories, and Notes, 1940-1941, n.d.
11	1-2 3-6	Correspondence, 1940-1941, n.d. Responses, 1940 A-P
12	1-2 3-5 6 7	Q-Z Responses, 1941 A-Z Good Alexander letters, 1940-1941 Unanswered Alexander bill letters, 1940-1941, n.d.
13	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	<ul> <li>American Youth Congress</li> <li>Conference materials, 1939</li> <li>Correspondence, 1939-1940, n.d.</li> <li>Notes, 1939</li> <li>Printed matter, 1939-1940, n.d.</li> <li>International Conference of Peace Workers, Switzerland, 1946</li> <li>International Missionary Conference, Madras, 1938 Oct Dec.</li> <li>National Peace Conference, 1940-1941, n.d.</li> <li>New York Constitutional Convention, 1938, n.d.</li> </ul>
14	1 2 3 4 5-10	Pacifist Youth Conference, 1938, 1940 Pan-American Conference, Havana General, 1940-1942 Notes and reference, 1940-1942, n.d. Pan-American Conference, Lima, 1937-1939 People's Constitutional Convention Correspondence, 1943-1948 Jun
15	1-3 4 5	Correspondence, 1948 Jul-1952 Congressional candidates, 1948 Contacts, 1947 Dec-1948 Mar.

	6 7 8 9 10	Drafts, 1946-1950, n.d. Memos and plans, 1945-1946, n.d. Money-raising efforts, 1947 Pocono Pines Conference Correspondence, 1948 Reports and drafts, 1948, n.d.
16	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Notebooks and notes, 1948 Reference materials Barr, Stringfellow, 1958 Farmer, Fyke, 1947-1950 Foundation for World Government, 1954 September 20 Usborne, Henry U.S. tour materials Correspondence, 1947-1949 Financial, 1947-1948 General, 1946-1947 Notes, 1947 Printed matter, 1945-1947, p.m. People's World Convention General, 1949-1952, n.d. Geneva Conference, 1948-1950, n.d.
17	1 2 3-5 6 7	Ghent Conference, 1950 Mar. Plans and drafts, 1948-1950 Printed matter General, 1950-1960, n.d. British Crusade for World Government, 1947-1949, n.d. Foundation for a World Government, 1949
18	1 2 3 4-7 8-9	Provisional World Government Correspondence, 1941-1946, n.d. Plans and drafts, 1924, 1941-1947, n.d. Notes and printed matter, 1941-1945, n.d. Read - Isely World Government plan Correspondence, 1957-1968 Printed matter, 1950-1960
19	1-3 4-5 6 7	Printed matter, 1961-1968 World Constitutional Convention, Wolfach, Germany, 1968 Aug Republican National Convention, 1940 Jun. Streit, Clarence campaign Correspondence, 1938-1939
20	1-3 4 5 6 7	Correspondence, 1940-1942 Federal Union and Union Now printed matter Federal Union, 1938-1942 <i>Federal Union</i> and <i>Union Now</i> , 1939-1941 <i>Federal Union Green Paper</i> , 1942 <i>Federal Union News</i> , 1939-1941
21	1 2 3 4 5-6 7	Federal Union World, 1940-1941 New York Correspondent, 1939-1941 Union Now Bulletin, 1939-1940 Miscellaneous Union Now, 1938-1942 Other printed matter, 1938-1942, n.d. Pins and memorabilia, 1941, n.d.

		United World Federalists
<u>Box</u> 21	<u>Vol</u> 1	11th Annual General Assembly, Boston, 1957 May
∠ i <u>Box</u>	ı <u>Fol</u>	Thir Annual General Assembly, boston, 1957 May
22	1 2 3	Minneapolis Convention, 1948 Nov. San Francisco Conference, 1965 U Thant luncheon, 1971
	4	Volunteer Organizations and A World Without War Conference, 1963 Dec. Washington World Conference on Peace Through Law
	5-6 7	Working papers and speeches, 1965 Sept. Printed matter, 1965 Sept.
		World Association of World Federalists Brussels Conference
23	1 2	Working papers, 1972 Aug. Printed matter, 1972 Aug.
	3	Pamphlets, 1972
	4	Ottawa Conference Working papers, 1970 Aug
	5	Commission A working papers, 1970
	6	Printed matter, 1970 Aug
24	1	World Council for the People's World Convention, 1951-1953 World Movement for World Federal Government
	2 3	Asheville Conference, 1947 Feb. Brussels Conference minutes, 1947 May
	4	Copenhagen Conference, 1953 European Federation Conference at Montreux
	5 6	Reports and proposals, 1946-1948, n.d. Printed matter, 1946-1948, n.d.
	7	Geneva Conference Correspondence, 1948-1951, n.d.
	8	Reports and memos, 1948-1951, n.d.
	9	The Hague Conference, 1957 Jun Aug.
25	1	Luxembourg Conference Correspondence, 1948 Apr- Aug
	2	Reports, minutes, and speeches, 1948
	3 4	Member and council lists, 1948 Aug - Sep Notes, 1948
		Montreux Conference
	5 6	Correspondence, 1947-1948, 1972 Minutes, 1948, n.d.
	7	Reports and resolutions, 1947
	8 9	Printed matter, 1947-1948
	9	Paris Conference, 1955 Rome Conference
26	1	Correspondence, 1951
	2 3	Reports and printed matter, 1951 Jan Mar. Reports and printed matter, 1951 Apr Dec.
		Stockholm Conference
	4 5-7	Correspondence, 1949 Jul Sept. Reports and memos, 1948-1949
	8	Printed matter, 1949 Jan Sept.

World Youth Conference

- 1 Correspondence, 1938 Jul. Sep
- 2 Edith Wynner's notes and drafts, 1938
- 3 Programs and reports, 1938
  - 4 Printed matter, 1938
    - Photographs and postcards, 1938

# Series IV. Topical files, 1924, 1932-1969, n.d. 7 boxes

The Topical Files consist primarily of reference materials Campaign staff collected for use in support of their writings and daily activities. These files focus on subjects deemed of practical use and personal interest, especially individuals and organizations with which they collaborated or whom they considered necessary to monitor. There are files on events attended, and on general topics such as universal disarmament or the Spanish Civil War. Each topical file largely consists of printed matter published by the entities in question, and material writen about them. Many folders also include correspondence, memoranda, and reports.

Items of particular interest are the collection of alternate peace plans proposed by variety of their "competitors'," often heavily marked with editorial and substantive criticisms; and the files concerning the League of Nations and the United Nations, which contain analyses of the organizations' failings and the changes needed to remedy them. Also of note are the materials related to the World Movement for World Federal Government, one of the most widespread early movements for world government, which began at the Montreux Conference of 1947 and is still active today as the World Federalist Movement. Researchers interested in the World Movement for Sovernment for World Federalist Movement are advised to also see their conference materials in Series III.

<u>Box</u> 27	<u>Fol</u> 6 7-8	Abbé Pierre, 1955-1956 Alternate peace plans General, 1937-1939
28	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8-11 12	Belden Peace Plan, 1939 Apr. Caesar Radioplan, 1939 Van Zeeland Report, 1938-1939 American Association of Political and Social Sciences, 1942 Feb - May, n.d. Barter, Marjorie, 1961-1966 Clarke, William Crichton, 1938 Commonwealth of World Citizens, 1956 Conference Upon Research and Education (CURE) Surveys and printed matter, 1953-1962 Edith Wynner's responses, 1955-1957, n.d.
29	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Disarmament, 1956 Jan - Jun Federation of Nations 'Material arguments', 1932-1940, n.d. Fenner, Frances, 1953-1958, n.d. 'Fifth Column', 1940 Aug 1 Formosa, 1955 Jan - Feb Fish, Hamilton, 1938-1939 Golden Rule Foundation, 1946, n.d. Hodossy Gold Plan, 1939 Interplanetary Union, 1937-1938 Kamp, Joseph P., 1950-1958, n.d.

11 League of Nations demise, 1938-1939, n.d. (Articles and photographs)

27

5

	12 13 14	Lord Lothian, 1939-1940 Militarization of women, 1940 Mooney, James, 1940 Jun-Aug
30	1 2-3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	National Convocation on the Challenge of Building Peace, 1969 Mar Pacem In Terris, 1965 Resolutions, general, 1939 Scandinavian kings, 1937-1939 Smedley, Frederic, 1941, 1957-1958, n.d. Spain, 1937 Jan-Apr Szilard, Dr. Leopold, 1955 Feb-Mar Szirmai, Irma, 1958 Tenerowicz, Rudolph Correspondence, 1940 Nov - 1941 May Reports and notes, 1941 Jan - Mar Statements, 1941 Feb - Mar Printed matter, 1941 Jan - Jul
31	1 2-3 4 5 6-8 9	United World Federalists Bylaws, memos and programs, 1947-1957, n.d. Printed matter, 1947-1957, n.d. Union of World Patriots, 1924, 1936-1937 The United Nations and Hungary, 1956 Oct 1957 Jan., n.d. United Nations charter revision, 1944-1956, n.d. United Pacifist Committee, 1938-1939
32	1 2 3 4 5-8	United States Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, 1961-1963 War Resisters League, 1950-1957, n.d. Wilkie, Wendell, 1940-1941 World Association of Parlimentarians Correspondence, 1951, 1957-1960 Memos, reports, and printed matter, 1951-1960, n.d.
33	1 2-7	World Movement for World Federal Government Correspondence, 1947-1950 Memos, reports and programs, 1946-1954
34	1 2-3 4	<i>The World Federalist</i> , 1954-1957 Printed matter, 1947-1957 World Student Federalists, 1948-1956, n.d.