

Birth of a World People

INTRODUCTION

The document published here is the text of the Provisional Constitution of the Commonwealth of World Citizens. It is thus a political document of a remarkable character, of concern to every government and people throughout the world. When this Constitution is adopted at a duly convened Constituent Assembly of those who have elected to become World Citizens in fact, and not merely in name, not only will a new people have come into legal existence, but a people of a new order without exact historical parallel.

Why is this happening? And what does it mean? As founder of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, and to a large extent the architect of its Constitution, it devolves upon me to answer these questions as exactly as possible, and to explain the position of World Citizens in relation to the States of which at present most of them are nationals.

I wish to make it immediately clear that the Constitution is not a blue print for World Government. The structure it will create is that of an additional world institution in the sphere of government, but not one that requires the adhesion of sovereign States or seeks to impose any direct obligations upon them. Neither does it represent any attempt to change their political structure or intervene in their internal affairs. No higher authority is set up in the international sphere comparable to the United Nations, only an auxiliary authority at the service of every nation.

The idea of the Commonwealth of World Citizens has been no secret for a good many years, though comparatively few have known what was taking place. Everything connected with this enterprise on behalf of mankind has been stated openly from the beginning, and it has been a fundamental principle all along not only that nothing should be concealed, but that there should be nothing to conceal. That is why in 1944, when the project was taking shape under the auspices of the Service-Nation Movement and the Second World War was still in progress, all the Allied and Neutral Governments were informed of what was intended. And that is why in 1951, when work began in London to put the plan of the Commonwealth of World Citizens into operation, the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were duly notified of what was being done. It would have been most improper to start to build a new people on British soil without reporting the fact to the Government. Both letters were acknowledged from Downing Street without comment, and the Commonwealth of World Citizens was thus free to go ahead.

I think that this may be regarded as some indication that the Commonwealth of World Citizens is an agency without any inimical or undisclosed designs. In time past it would not have been at all necessary to mention this; but in these days of acute suspicion, both in official and unofficial circles, people find it difficult to believe that a world organisation for humanitarian objects is simply what it purports to be, and has no hidden motives or secret partizan connections, and is not in any sense being used for some subversive activity.

It is part of the curse of this generation that such an attitude should govern and continually poison human relations, and that groups should be working against one another to an extent which affords some justification for it. It is obvious that without a recovery of mutual faith and goodwill, inspired by a new spirit of friendly cooperation, the whole fabric of organised life on this planet is threatened. It is by no means least among the functions of the Commonwealth of World Citizens to promote the growth of this spirit not only by precept, but by a living example.

GENESIS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

I must now say something about how the Commonwealth of World Citizens originated. This I am in the best position to do, since it was in my own mind that the plan was born. In the Thirties we were all reacting in one way or another to the menace of the Master-Race concept as currently expressed in Nazism, Fascism and State-Shintoism. There was a horrible pitilessness and bestial use of mass-psychology in these power-drunk systems which did far more than shatter peace: they overturned sanity. It was as if an evil and malignant spirit stalked the earth broadcasting the germs of a hideous political disease. All democratic peoples were afraid of it. The League of Nations was helpless before it. It was a sickness so dire that it seemed as if only a spiritual means in complete contrast could wholly conquer it. It appeared to me that there had to be summoned not force to meet force, not power to combat power, but the much stronger unarmed and despised weak things of the world, love, compassion, and selfless service. I conceived the coming among men of a Servant-Nation, the very antithesis of domination and aggression. That was in 1938. And neither the war itself, nor the state of affairs that has followed it, has in any way changed my conviction.

I imagined the Servant-Nation as 'a people to serve all peoples', composed of individuals drawn from every land, willing to accept the responsibility of being true World Citizens. That is to say, their primary loyalty would be given to mankind as a whole, and to every part of humanity without distinction or discrimination. The new people would be distributed throughout the world, yet functioning as a people under its own form of government suited to its character and purpose. It would be without armed force, without a territorial homeland, entirely impartial, in itself a demonstration of world unity, contributing to the welfare of every State.

Inherent in the basic thinking was the evident requirement that there should be an agency in the world which everyone could trust, and none had cause to fear, that such an agency might serve by consent in a mediatorial capacity, helping to heal wounds, and bridge gulfs. Further, it should be a kind of conscience to the world, a soul within the body politic. It should be the guinea-pig of fruitful experiments in community, enabling all countries to profit by the results. It should be the channel through which the nations could help one another without risk of the accusation of economic or political self-interest. It should be the means of adding to the productivity of the world by reclaiming deserts and waste places. In every way it should act in the interests of the general and individual good, yet without any coercive power.

But why need the agency be a people? And would it not be duplicating the work of the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations and other existing bodies? The agency had to be a people so that its example would be valid for peoples, and so that its relations with States could be that of equals with full recognition of its independent status. Far from duplicating the work of the Specialised Agencies, it would operate very largely with them and through them, increasing their quality of disinterestedness and world-mindedness, and thus their value. The more that actual World Citizens were associated with world welfare agencies, the more respect would there be for their strict impartiality.

Naturally there was a great deal to be thought out and worked out, and it took the ten years from 1940 to 1950 for preparatory studies to be made of many aspects of the enterprise. These researches were conducted through the Service-Nation Movement, which from 1946 to 1950 was incorporated in the World Citizenship Movement. When it was decided in 1950 to proceed with the creation of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, as the new people was named, the broad lines of its policy and structure were already settled.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

The foresight of those concerned was confirmed by the incidence of the Cold War, which divided mankind into two camps and power-blocs. The tension was largely due to fear on both sides, to economic difficulties caused by the World War and prevailing unrest, to the legacy of mistrust and anxiety about aggression and domination handed on to a new generation, to lack of a peace settlement, to the conflict of ideologies, and to competition in the manufacture of ghastly thermo-nuclear weapons of mass-destruction. There was, indeed, too much terror abroad for wise counsel, and mutual bitterness and recrimination became the order of the day.

This deplorable state of international relations could not endure indefinitely. Something would snap. Moderation of extreme positions had to come in under the name of Peaceful Coexistence to avert a Third World War which might wreck the whole planet.

Nations had to begin to recover their composure, to regain some belief in each other's peaceful intentions, even if at first this confidence did not rise much above the level of admitting that no Great Power could be that mad or stupid as voluntarily to commit suicide. The problems did not materially change, but the atmosphere in which they were approached improved.

Throughout the period 1950-1955 the Commonwealth of World Citizens was quietly developing. Unlike societies seeking members, the Commonwealth as a people could not ask anyone to join. Those "who wished to do so were required to complete an Application Form for Citizenship which made clear to them the responsibilities they were assuming and what it meant to be a World Citizen.

People who want to escape from national obligations do not undertake more exacting world obligations. Those who have no care for their fellows do not

concern themselves with the sufferings of humanity. Those who seek personal power do not willingly become servants. Those who want an easy life; do not invite discomfort. Those who value money for its own sake do not make financial sacrifices for a cause. No one had anything to gain by entering the Commonwealth of World Citizens. There was no rush to do so.

For the first four years of its existence the Commonwealth of World Citizens was entirely dependent upon its own limited resources. This is still substantially true; for no considerable gifts from well-wishers have yet been received. In the formative stage this was an excellent thing. It showed that both as regards adherence and support the new Commonwealth was not founded upon any momentary enthusiasm or emotional appeal. Had there been a large scale influx initially it would have been difficult to establish unity of basic principles and a sense of family relationship. A people cannot be made to order: it has to evolve, become conscious of kinship and its own way of life. This process takes a considerable time even when a group shares a common country, language and culture. It is liable to be a much slower and far more difficult process when the citizens are of many races, with a variety of national traditions, and are widely distributed over the world. Had the Commonwealth of World Citizens had to start without any background, unaided by circumstances and its special structure, the hindrances to its speedy creation would indeed have been formidable. As it was, the factors in its favour proved to be quite exceptional.

There were the historic teachings of the great religions and philosophies on the essential oneness of mankind. These throughout the centuries had fostered belief in an ultimately united, peaceful and mutually cooperative world. More particularly in the past two centuries the rapid expansion of knowledge by discovery and invention had progressively been stimulating the growth of a world consciousness. The pattern of thought and behaviour was increasingly adapting itself to world concepts, world relationships and world institutions. World terms were coining more and more into popular currency in a hundred connexions of a theoretical and practical nature. Even war had been expanded into World War, leading to movements for World Order and World Government. By the middle of the present century a substantial minority of individuals were at least partly conditioned to a world outlook, and had transcended the narrower limitations of nationalism. A much smaller minority had begun to acquire the comprehensive sympathies and sense of responsibility of the World Citizen. They were already a people on their own. They only needed a means of organic coherence, a definition of their common viewpoint, and a means of realisation of their common aims. They belonged to the Commonwealth of World Citizens long before they heard of it. They were not being indoctrinated by propaganda, only awakened to a clearer perception of the implications of their position. As a consequence, in less than five years, without any publicity campaign and with only a few references in the Press during the last year, the Commonwealth could count its citizens in thirty countries representing every continent.

TOWARDS CONSTITUTION

From the beginning it was known that the decisive step to be taken was

formal constitution. That would be the real birthday of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, and it could have no official status or look for governmental recognition until that event was reached. It was therefore decided at the First General Assembly of the Commonwealth held in Paris in 1951 to appoint a Drafting Commission to prepare the first text. This Commission had the advice of experts on Constitutional and International Law, and also consulted texts and drafts of various national Constitutions and even proposed World Government Constitutions. These were of some service; but of necessity the structure of the Commonwealth could not be identical with that of any sovereign State or conceivable World Federation. It had to be fashioned for its own distinctive purpose, and be devised so as to enable every progressive State to permit it to function.

The Constitution has passed through three stages. A first draft was prepared and submitted for comment to all citizens of the Commonwealth. The views expressed were then analysed and those proposed alterations which had sufficient support were incorporated in a revised text. This was again submitted to the citizens and further amendments were debated and voted upon at the Third General Assembly of the Commonwealth held in London in September 1955. The text as finally agreed was then unanimously approved by the Assembly to go forward for adoption by a duly convened Constituent Assembly of the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

The present Constitution, none the less, is Provisional. It was fully appreciated that early revision would almost certainly be required in the light of actual experience. A novel social and political experiment was being initiated, and it was impossible to anticipate what changes might become essential arising from circumstances over which the Commonwealth had no control, according to the nature of the response by governments to Article 11. What was imperative at the outset was to have a Constitution which clearly set down for the guidance of all Powers and Authorities, and of the citizens themselves, the character and structure of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, so that there should be no room for misconception or misunderstanding.

By public adoption of the Provisional Constitution the Commonwealth will recognise itself. Its de facto existence will be proclaimed to the world, and it will ask for provisional recognition of its Acting Administration by every sovereign State pending de jure recognition upon the election of the Central Administration. The period of provisional recognition will give full opportunity for discussions with governments, so as to enable the Constitution to come into effect over as wide an area as possible. By advance publication of the text it is hoped that such discussions may be informally initiated even before Constitution is reached, so that the Commonwealth of World Citizens may come into being with the approval and goodwill of all governments and peoples.

To facilitate recognition a number of precedents already exist. These are to be found in a variety of connexions, among which may be instanced degrees of internal autonomy accorded to certain racial and religious minorities, the functioning of several small States and Principalities including the Vatican, the sovereign status of the Religious Order of the Knights of Malta, the conventions regarding protected personnel applying to the International Red

Cross, and diplomatic immunities and privileges accorded to categories of officials of the United Nations Organisation, and to the Organisation itself, under Article 105 of the Charter. There is also the neutralisation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his staff under Article 100 of the Charter. By permission of a host State the government of any foreign Power may exercise sovereign functions on its soil and jurisdiction over the nationals of that Power domiciled in the country concerned. Any building or piece of land may permanently or temporarily be internationalised or extra-territorialized, and not merely embassies and legations. There are therefore no obstacles whatever in International Law, custom or usage, to the functioning of the Commonwealth of World Citizens in the manner provided for in its Constitution.

REMARKS ON THE CONSTITUTION

In certain respects the Constitution represents a compromise, not in matters of principle but of operation. It could hardly be otherwise to be acceptable to the many diverse elements of which the Commonwealth is composed. Every individual concerned, coming from different backgrounds and with different ideas of political and social institutions, has been feeling his way towards expression of the implications of World Citizenship. The Constitution has not completed this personal adjustment; but it has certainly stimulated its accomplishment by compelling each citizen to think in terms of the concrete instead of the abstract. A very great deal remains to be learnt from practical experience and mutual endeavour.

This affords additional justification for making the Constitution provisional. Yet even now there has emerged a creditable blending of the several forms of democracy with something distinctive added. This has not been due to any pressure, but to mutual questing in a hopeful spirit for a sufficiently embracing and workable system. What has chiefly contributed to ironing out difficulties has been that the system has never been considered as an end in itself. It had to be the servant of the world servants, flexible and adaptable. What was being created was a living organism, not a mechanical organisation.

Balance, therefore, has had a prominent place in the conception of structure, balance between the unit and the collectivity, between central and regional organs of administration, enough government but not too much, coordination of heart and head, of head and hand. The Constitution is Statelike, but does not create a State. It builds a functional agency, which is yet a People. It provides for a man's natural loyalties, but makes him nevertheless a World Citizen. It exemplifies world unity without instituting a World Government.

In the forefront of the Constitution the Commonwealth has set its Principles. These go far beyond anything that has ever been expressed in an instrument of this nature, and they are regarded as of greater consequence than the rest of the Constitution put together. Every other Article is to be looked at in the light of these Principles, which may be thought to offer to all mankind an interpretation of what should be the common aim for the coming time.

The General Provisions that follow bring the Principles to bear upon the institutional character of the Commonwealth and its external relations. It is clear that the Commonwealth denies to itself all means of compulsion to establish itself. It entrusts the practicability of its existence with complete confidence to the goodwill of every State, and has not the slightest fear that it will encounter any lack of responsiveness.

The internal government of the Commonwealth of World Citizens as set out in the body of the Constitution has been designed to facilitate the carrying into effect of the primary object of service to humanity at every level, local, regional and universal. The respective administrative organs will work everywhere in conjunction with national and international authorities, and will at all times be approachable to perform special tasks or meet specific needs contributing to human well-being, with the means placed at their disposal.

The numerical strength of the Commonwealth is never likely to be excessive in relation to the population of any country. This is assured by the nature of the responsibilities which have to be assumed, and to an extent confirmed by the relative smallness of the total membership of organisations directly engaged in welfare activities. Provision for the widest possible distribution of citizens has been made in Articles 10, 41 and 42.

Since the Commonwealth is not technically a State almost all its administrative functions can be performed by courtesy of the territorial Power without exercise of sovereignty over lands and buildings. Sovereignty will only be necessary by an arrangement of extra-territorialisation in the case of central and regional seats of deal remains to be learnt from practical experience and mutual endeavour. This affords additional justification for making the Constitution provisional. Yet even now there has emerged a creditable blending of the several forms of democracy with something distinctive added. This has not been due to any pressure, but to mutual questing in a hopeful spirit for a sufficiently embracing and workable system. What has chiefly contributed to ironing out difficulties has been that the system has never been considered as an end in itself. It had to be the servant of the world servants, flexible and adaptable. What was being created was a living organism, not a mechanical organisation.

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The Commonwealth will have no titular head, its highest dignity being reserved for the elected members of the Supreme Council whose functions will be judicial and humanitarian rather than political. Such duties of a State character as are necessary will be discharged by the President of the Supreme Council during his year of office.

CITIZENSHIP

The subject of citizenship of the new Commonwealth has to be approached in the light of its principles and purpose. If these are admitted to be right and desirable no problem is created by the coming into effect of a valid World Citizenship restricted to those who have formally been received into the Commonwealth of World Citizens under its naturalisation laws. It simply means that such persons have been set apart for the carrying out of their impartial world obligations, and are to be released from certain claims of the State which would qualify or make it impossible to fulfil those obligations. This requires some discussion.

Citizenship is not a fixed star in the political firmament. It is not universally recognised as a natural right, automatically conferred by birth and enjoyed until death, unless voluntarily exchanged for another citizenship by naturalisation. In some countries a person can lose or be deprived of his citizenship, and we are now familiar with the terrible condition of statelessness. Neither is there any universal agreement that a change of

citizenship has automatically to be conceded. It has happened that a State has refused to relinquish its citizens even when they have validly acquired another citizenship. There are circumstances which permit an individual to hold two citizenships and use two passports, employing whichever may be convenient. Two kinds of citizenship may also be recognised, such as that of the British Commonwealth and of the separate elements within it. The terms and conditions of citizenship are therefore what any State chooses to make them, and it is fully within the competence of every State to allow a citizen to hold World Citizenship in the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

I have used the word citizenship so as to avoid confusion with nationality. Nation and State are sometimes regarded as interchangeable terms, and even united in the form Nation-State. A new nation may evolve from the creation of a State by the fusion of diverse national elements, or a State may be founded by a single nation, and so make it possible to speak correctly of national citizenship. But a State may consist of two or more associated nations, and State frontiers may also divide a nation so that parts of it are citizens of different States. People do not readily lose their nationality when they change their citizenship, and such ideas as loyalty and patriotism are therefore open to widely different interpretations, as indeed is what is called the right of self-determination of peoples. The State as an artificial structure can hardly claim natural loyalty: it can only claim loyalty to its laws from those who consent to be governed by them and enjoy the privileges of the particular society which the State represents. Citizenship in this sense is not concerned with nationality: it corresponds to membership of a society. The difficulties which arise are due to the problem of domicile, since the State is a form of society associated with territory. Ideally a man may be free to choose the society in which he will live; but practically the State possesses a terrible coercive weapon in that it can make domicile and opportunity of labour dependent on obedience. This weapon can also be employed to control freedom to join other non-State societies whose laws may in fact be nobler and worthier than those of the State. The degree of allegiance demanded by the State should strictly be limited to matters affecting good conduct, internal social security, and a fair contribution to maintenance. Everything else should be voluntary. Internal social security implies that nothing should be done to overthrow the State in the interest of any foreign Power; but it does not preclude an indigenous people exercising a natural loyalty by asserting a right to self-determination or reunion with an unnaturally separated part of the same people.

The distinctions to which I have drawn attention are for the sake of clarification of Articles 34 and 37 of the Constitution. The Commonwealth of World Citizens, while it is a self-governing people, is not a foreign Power. It is a cross-section of our common humanity, the voice of Everyman hitherto unheard and unrepresented in the councils of the nations. It holds before every people the image of its true self, the self that is united in brotherhood with all mankind. The Commonwealth, therefore, does not require its citizens to divest themselves of their State citizenship, to divorce themselves from their surroundings, associations and civic obligations. It only stipulates that the responsibilities of such narrower citizenship shall be restricted to those which do not do violence to world responsibilities. The area of obedience covers everything conducive to good neighbourliness, and it should be held

that persons holding the Principles of the Commonwealth are the most satisfactory kind of citizens. They make a positive contribution to the welfare of the Community. They also actively assist in promoting peaceful international relations and economic well-being, thus increasing State security from external aggression and internal subversion. Even without a specific higher citizenship it is customary for a State to recognise a limitation of obligations where a special vocation is concerned, as in the case of priests and ministers of religion and members of the medical profession, and also now in the case of officials of the United Nations Organisation. What a State will justifiably not tolerate is action prejudicial to its integrity, and in this connexion the Commonwealth of World Citizens furnishes explicit guarantees in Article 14.

The Commonwealth does not challenge the right of a State to defend itself from attack. Neither does it require anyone who is not a World Citizen to be governed by its chosen standards. Its creation does not give rise to a problem of dual allegiance, for the allegiances are not equal. There is a primary allegiance to mankind, and a secondary allegiance to the State. These allegiances are not opposed, since the good of the whole benefits every part. This is understood in all States of a federal or unionist character, such as the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and U.K. The Commonwealth of World Citizens is itself in a sense a Federation, not of States but of individuals, and consequently it involves for those individuals as regards their State citizenship certain restrictions of personal sovereignty. For these essential limitations they ask respect as servants of humanity.

Undoubtedly the existence of the Commonwealth creates a new situation, for under its Constitution there comes into being a self-governing people of a new order, which will have no homeland of its own and no force at its disposal. It creates a world community for the performance of world services, and must operate by goodwill and for goodwill. The status of its citizens must therefore be a matter for agreement with each State, and it is not doubted that such agreement will be reached because the need for such an agency is great, and becoming steadily greater as every country faces the complexities of the coming time.

LOOKING FORWARD

We are apparently moving forward at the same regular pace of years and seasons governed by the turning and orbital movement of the Earth which is our present home. But in our knowledge and the circumstances of our lives we are hurtling forward with ever increasing momentum. We are driving headlong towards world unity. Some of us, the pioneers, have gone further than others; but all of us inexorably are being carried along into what will be the real beginning of civilisation, the age in which war will be abolished. We have not yet got rid of war, but the fright of the hydrogen bomb has started to teach us that we have to. We must hope that we shall require no sterner warning. A great deal now depends on the rapidity with which we can adapt our thinking, especially our social and political thinking, to the requirements of the coming time. If disaster comes it will be through the failure of those who formulate policy and make decisions at all levels to advance from their

old positions. Youthfulness of imagination and flexibility of judgement has become indispensable to survival. In this respect some octogenarians are far more agile and adventurous than those with less than half their years. That is because they have personally witnessed and experienced the rate at which change is taking place.

Within a few decades the whole world will be under continual observation from artificial satellites. All parts of the planet will be in instantaneous visual contact, and physically reachable in a few hours. Atomic fission will be providing a superabundance of cheap fuel and power. Automation will be lowering hours of labour. There will be many other striking alterations in the pattern of social and political existence of which we already have some indications. It is folly to believe that the forms of organised corporate life as we know them today will indefinitely continue, and it is our duty to those who will come after us to foresee as far as we can what will be the effect of present scientific and technical developments when they come into full force. It is our business to plan, so that the transformation can take place with a minimum of friction and dislocation. This is where the advocates of World Federal Government are partly right and partly wrong. They are right in anticipating a world that is functioning as a unity, but wrong in supposing that the way in which it is governed as a whole will necessarily correspond to any system now in operation over a limited area. Doubtless every system that has been tried out will have something to contribute, for there is bound to be a certain continuity of ideas and practices. But there will also be features that are quite novel arising from unprecedented conditions and requirements. This has been evident in our own time, when we have created a League of Nations and a United Nations Organisation with characteristics in some respects startlingly at variance with previous concepts of international relations.

Political State machinery is rather cumbersome and slow-moving, and the human mind inevitably runs ahead of it, and must do so, if there is to be progress and improvement. If the machine is called upon for a spurt it is liable to break down or crack up. Then there is war or bloody revolution. A new machine has hurriedly to be built or improvised from pieces of different machines. We had the League only because of World War One. We had the United Nations only because of World War Two. Must we have World Unity only because of the supreme smash of a Third World War?

This is not necessary. As the State machine cannot move fast enough to keep pace with the present rate of change, we can construct a lightly built mobile machine not bedded in the concrete of territory, which can scout ahead and explore and report back. We can employ an agency that is sufficiently Statelike, yet not a State, to experiment in world unity and fresh forms of community living. In this way inevitable change will be robbed of its terrors, since it will first take place on the harmless proving ground provided by the Commonwealth of World Citizens. And even so, there is no compulsion. It will be at the discretion of every government whether or not it makes use of the knowledge freely placed at its disposal.

On the other hand the Commonwealth will be able to act for all States in the character of a World Development Authority which is now being widely advocated. All great Powers, and a good many small ones, in varying degrees are increasingly playing the part of World Citizens. That is to say,

they are giving technical and material help to countries in need because it is the right thing to do, and not because they gain something by it. Some of this aid is direct. Some of it is canalised through the Specialised Agencies of the U.N. and through the World Bank. But there still needs to be built up a Mutual Aid clearing house to devise, to co-ordinate, and to carry out programmes. It seems only natural that for such World Citizen work an impartial World Citizen Agency should be employed. It would be almost impossible for the States to create this; but they could thankfully use it when it is created for them. '

With the Commonwealth of World Citizens there comes into being an adjunct to international organisation which can be serviceable in a hundred ways. That is why it is being constituted, to serve. That there should be found throughout the world in our day and generation a nucleus of ordinary men and women with this spirit in them is surely a happy augury for the future. It lights up the whole sombre landscape of our fortunes with a smile.

POSTSCRIPT

We are constantly being treated to surprises, some of them breath-taking, some of them alarming. But there is one surprise of a joyful nature for which in Man's hour of crisis each one of us, deep down within us, has been waiting, whether we are statesmen, philosophers, or simple working people. We could not give a name or a form to what we were expecting; for we did not know in what way, from what quarter, or in what shape it would come. We could not justify our faith by reason. We only felt instinctively that something to compensate for all the terror ought to happen. One noble old man, not many years ago, expressed this feeling thus: 'Who can doubt that the unimaginable sufferings and the heroic endeavours of the present time, the depth of the one and height of the other, the mingling of shame and glory, the tension and distress of the war-agony are the symptoms of a world in birth-pangs? But the birth of what? Perhaps of a great surprise.' And he explained: 'It may be that just when confusion is at its height and about to break out into conflict, the clamour will be hushed by the sudden trumpet-call to a new enterprise for humanity I mean, by the unexpected emergence of some commanding aim, of an overarching purpose that would capture the imagination of multitudes, drown their quarrels, override their disputes, make them ashamed of their former petty-mindedness, and carry them forward on a tidal wave of magnanimous resolve to an end worth attaining by man.'*

It could be that the totally unexpected advent of the * Dr L. P. Jacks in The Hibbert Journal, July 1944.

Commonwealth of World Citizens, this people for the service of all peoples, will sound out that trumpet-call. If that should be so, if even the breath of such a call is wafted to the ends of the earth, then the birthday of this people, the day on which its Constitution is solemnly adopted in the sight of all nations, will be a day to set all the world singing.

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

Office of Coordination, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, London, W.B.
Further information and a form of Application for Citizenship may be obtained from the Secretary-General at the above address.