

THE WAY OF THE WORLD CITIZEN

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World Peace and World Citizenship are twin concepts. One might almost say that they are Siamese twins; for they have been closely linked since the dawn of the Age of Reason in the 18th century. Men began seriously to think of World Peace when they began seriously to think of the Brotherhood of Man, of the fact of sharing a common Humanity transcending class and national distinctions. As Winwood Reade wrote In *The Martyrdom of Man*, "Jacques Bonhomme, who had hitherto gone on all fours, discovered to his surprise that he also was a biped; the world became more light; the horizon widened; a new epoch opened for the human race." The Rights of Man became something glorious to strive for, and the full enjoyment of those rights required a condition of world peace. The teachings of Rousseau and Tom Paine went hand in hand with the peace projects of Kant and Jeremy Bentham. It was these related themes that inspired the nineteenth century poets, and found expression in the Socialistic commonwealths conceived by Fourier and Saint-Simon.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution created a new sense of working-class solidarity, which though it was not achieved to the extent invited in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels nevertheless did foster in the nineteenth century an internationalism expressive of a feeling of wider kinship and common purposes. To that extent even the class-struggle could and did make a significant contribution in its own way towards the apprehension that mankind is one in its fundamental needs.

But indeed the nineteenth century was full of movement and activity conducive both to a world conscience and a world consciousness. The idea of slavery became repugnant, and utter poverty and destitution was found intolerable in civilized lands. The belief in collective responsibility for the remedying of social evils took hold. The general right to elementary education and access to knowledge was conceded. Exploration and imperial expansion opened up unknown lands and promoted colonization and settlement. The European moved out into all the continents. The blank areas on the map of the globe became increasingly filled in until but little *terra incognita* remained. Conditions of comparative peacefulness encouraged trade and travel. The products of all the earth were in the shops and markets. The Cosmopolitan, if not yet the World Citizen, appeared on the scene. The railway and the steamship speeded transport, while the telegraph and postal services speeded communication. The popular press and the photographic reproduction made distant events and scenes common property. There was "nothing so cold as yesterday's news."

Scientific discovery now created an internationalism of its own, as did great commercial enterprises. This was felt to be the Age of progress, conveying Man ever more speedily towards Prosperity and World Order. The Universe revealed to the questing mind more and more of its secrets. Even works of fiction began to take in the moon and the stars. The conquest of the air was at hand.

There was another advance that must be given due weight in this rapid survey, the advance into the past. Civilized history was carried thousands of years further back by the archaeologists. The dead languages of Egypt and Assyria came to life. And where the archaeologists left off, the anthropologists and geologists took over. Darwin put forward the general theory of Evolution. Ages upon Ages unfolded in the story of Man and of the Earth before Man. Creation in 4,004 B.C. was utterly discredited. The history of individual Nation-States lost much of its appeal and importance. For the first time with any precision the history of the human race, the history of the world, made its impact upon the modern mind. The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 seemed to underline something of what was being learnt, and among the swelling number of internationalisms of all kinds the principle of International Arbitration between States was put solemnly on record.

All these circumstances could encourage faith in the realisation of Tennyson's vision of "the

Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." Yes, but if World Peace was now achievable so also was World War. Internationalism was not the same thing as World Citizenship. Internationalism could not stop war.

World Citizenship: the First Attempt

At the outbreak of the First World War a Movement was founded by a man from the Middle-East, resident at the time at Pitlochry, Scotland. His name was Yervant H. Iskender, and the Movement was called 'Citizens of the World.' In the autumn of 1914 the Movement claimed 10,000 supporters and sympathisers, but the present writer has no record of what became of it or its founder. The sole source of our information is a booklet and covering circular letter sent out in September 1914.

For Iskender the Brotherhood of Man was no mere abstraction. He wanted to see it given concrete expression in a form of World Citizenship, which should be the means of doing away with war forever. "The *Citizens of the World* movement," he announced, "is based on the natural Law of Unity... If men were to become all members of one world-wide family, there would be no longer any pretext for war... An all-embracing unity is thus the solution of the problem of putting an end to war for ever... The world's inhabitants must, under one inspiring name - 'The Citizens of the World' - unite to put an end to war.

The new Brotherhood, it was stated, would take its inspiration not from the history of one people, but from the history of every people. It would unite in one corporate society every person in every land who was opposed to war. "in its irresistible current clannish or national distinctions must disappear." The 'Citizens of the World' would declare with one voice: We are all brethren, and we refuse to kill one another for any pretext. God gave us dominion over all the Earth and, therefore, we refuse to maintain the artificial and conventional barriers which have separated the nations for so long, and with results so disastrous."

Iskender even devised a kind of universal passport for the 'Citizens of the World' on which was inscribed: To all to whom these presents shall come know ye that.... (Name) has of this date been admitted to full membership of the Brotherhood known as the 'Citizens of the World,' and you are required In the Name of our Common Father? to receive and welcome him and give him all the help of which he may stand in need." Representatives of the Movement were to be appointed in every capital and important town, and the campaign was to include "the teaching of the real causes behind the facts of history, with a view to educating the masses in the knowledge of their natural rights and common brotherhood."

For Iskender 'Citizenship of the World' and the 'Brotherhood of Man' were interchangeable terms; but by emphasising the former he appears to have been the first to give to the concept of World Citizenship a quasi-political significance.

Into the Supra-National

What Iskender saw clearly was that world peace demanded primarily a changed outlook on the part of the individual, a capacity to transcend the limitations of nationalism, not by thinking in terms of internationalism but in terms of world community. He had the right idea, but was far too optimistic in his expectation of a mass response. Such a world outlook is by no means easy to achieve.

It was true of course that left to themselves the people wanted peace. They have always wanted peace. But this did not mean that they were ready for world citizenship. It is at the popular level that national, and indeed local, distinctions are most tenaciously held and maintained. There is a persistent primitive fear of loss of identity, which struggles against the inclusion of the alien within the consciousness and within the community. Politicians have been able to trade on this fear for their own ends, and Woodrow Wilson was not altogether right in saying in September 1918: "National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place."

Yet, in spite of nationalistic policies and the doctrine of self-determination for small peoples, there did emerge out of the First World War the recognition of the interdependence of nations

and of the necessity for nations to be themselves subject to World Law. The League of Nations created a new kind of internationalism, a compromise between nationalism and world order. It brought certain common concerns more definitely into the area of the supranational, and established the beginnings of a world civil service. Officials were expected to cultivate a loyalty towards all the members of the League as in a sense a World Authority, though national influences were continually working against this.

Salvador de Madariaga, who has called himself a World Citizen and was for several years a member of the League Secretariat, has written scathingly of the situation that prevailed. "More deplorable, Indeed, almost unpardonable - is the sight of League of Nations experts, paid by League of Nations funds, trusted to give evidence as free and good men, who twist their advice to suit the policy of their own Governments. This spectacle can be witnessed again and again at Geneva." He claimed that "the Secretariat should be, not an equitable and well-adjusted group of nationally-minded people, but a unit of world-minded officials." In other words, such officials ought to be real World Citizens, and some of them undoubtedly were.

Thus through the League with all its imperfections the concept of World Citizenship gained a great deal in definition. It was not Internationalism and it was not Cosmopolitanism. The Internationalist was a national working harmoniously with other nationals. The Cosmopolitan was a man at home everywhere and obligated to nowhere. The World Citizen was a man with a world consciousness, who gave his prior allegiance to mankind as a whole, and accepted responsibilities towards every section of humanity.

It is proper to say that these distinctions are still not clear to a great many, and that the three terms are frequently, and sometimes deliberately, confused. Such is the reluctance to transcend nationalism.

A World Authority

One of the results of experiences under the League of Nations was to focus attention on the need for a World Authority, the need for "putting everything on a world basis that will work on a world basis." This raised the fundamental question argued backwards and forwards for decades, "Can an International Order become World Order?" Yes, said some, if the International Order is given force with which to maintain peace (a League with teeth in it). Yes, said the Federalists, if national governments will consent to the transference of certain minimal sovereign rights to a World Government. Yes, said the Functionalists, if a number of World Authorities are created with power in their specialised departments. In each case the accent was on the possession of power. But others much nearer to the heart of World Citizenship declared that the only real power resides in absolute love and sacrificial service. Christianity here united with Hinduism in producing a Pacifistic approach to World Order.

In these circles the ideal of the Good Community took hold, and encouraged many Community experiments. It was the revolt of the spirit against power-politics. Said Mahatma Gandhi: "The very right to live accrues to us only when we perform the duty of Citizenship of the World." Later, Dr.L.P.Jacks was to give this interpretation: "The qualities that go to the making of world citizenship are of a very high order. They imply a capacity for trusteeship, for disinterested action on all levels of conduct, for subordination of rights to duties, for loyalty to the common weal, far beyond what is currently expected even of good men within the comparatively parochial limits of the nation, and still further beyond! the current practice of foreign diplomacy."

It was evident even before the Second World War that two schools of thought were in being, the one favouring the *Authority Without* would, under some form of World Government, make all men World Citizens by law, the other favouring the *Authority Within* would have men grow into World Citizenship by the exercise of positive virtues towards their fellows.

Straws in the Wind

To many minds in the period between the Great Wars it had seemed essential to the coming of a New World Order that there should be given a definite leadership or example. It was inconceivable that without some symbol, some gesture, some national act or minority enterprise,

there could be any expectation of a widespread change of outlook of so drastic a nature as the circumstances demanded. What had to be set in train was nothing less than World Revolution, a bloodless, non-violent, and humanitarian revolution; but still a revolution, a "revolt into sanity" as Chesterton called it. After all, actual World Citizenship was a very revolutionary idea, highly subversive to the prevailing system of absolutely sovereign Nation-States. It was not only within the Secretariat of the League of Nations and among the officials of the Specialised Agencies that the problem of divided loyalties began to be felt acutely.

Since to the World Citizen every individual was of worth, no matter what might be his nationality, colour, or creed, he could not recognise any as enemies. His philosophy in this respect had to differ fundamentally from a nationalist philosophy, and even from a Socialist and Communist philosophy. As Bertrand Russell wrote long ago about the effects of a universal proletarian social revolution: "There is no alchemy by which a universal harmony can be produced out of hatred. Those who have been inspired to action by the doctrine of the class war will have acquired the habit of hatred, and will instinctively seek new enemies when the old ones have been vanquished." One can delete the words "the class" and the same views will hold good of all sectionalism, nationalistic and ideological. The acquisition of the habit of love is the beginning of World Citizenship, and without that love there can be no World Peace. In the words of Rufus King: "Loyalty to all mankind is something positive and out-going. The self-esteem that comes from unity with all is not grounded in self-deception. It excludes nothing, tolerates no meanness, and broadens the individual who espouses it. The further it extends, the more it will offer in new security and dignity for all its adherents."

World Citizenship called for such a complete switch-over from hatred to love, from power-politics to service-politics, that it could not help being in a literal sense the most revolutionary concept in the world, and therefore the most difficult to grasp and to translate into corporate action.

There were a number of suggestions as to how best the wider loyalty could be concretely exemplified, and at least two persons proposed a city.

In the early nineteen-twenties an appeal to the Government and Press of all countries was issued by "World Conscience" described as "An International Society for the Creation of World Peace by the Establishment of a World Centre City of Communication." It emanated (from the Villa Helene, Rome, and embodied a scheme conceived by a Norwegian sculptor Hendrik Christian Andersen and "worked out by him in all its details during the many years in which he studied it in Paris, Washington and Rome, while, for the actual planning of the buildings he had the professional assistance of some forty architects and engineers."

The actual plans, and very remarkable they are, are still in existence; but we are here concerned only with the essentials of the scheme, which were given in these terms. "The most efficacious and perhaps the only means of ensuring world co-operation in all branches of human activity is the establishment of an *International City*, which - materially, intellectually and spiritually - would fulfil the function of a universal clearing-house. Sooner or later it will be recognised that the world needs a city belonging to no one nation but to every nation; a city existing by general consent for the welfare of mankind at large, and above all entirely beyond the sphere of political interests. Such a city... would be of incalculable benefit in promoting a spirit of mutual friendship and appreciation between the various races of the earth. Each of these races is capable of making its own unique contribution to the sum of human endeavour, and the necessary interchange of thought and experience could be effected far more readily than at present through the medium of an International City which would serve, not only as a meeting-place for prominent men of all nations but also as a centre towards which the finest products of the human mind would gravitate for diffusion throughout the world."

Andersen's extra-territorialised City of Mankind was a grandiose and ambitious enterprise, which Mussolini is said to have supported. That the project never materialised does not rob it of its significance, for something of the kind may yet come to pass.

Another who thought of a City was George Cyril Armstrong. For him it was a City of God, a Christian City associated with a regained Christian nationhood. At the time of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC), in 1924, he submitted a paper

entitled "The Holy Nation." This was not then published, but extracts from it appeared fourteen years later in *The Plough*, July, 1938. He summed up his thesis in these words:-

"The time is ripe for us Christians to assert again that sacred Nationality founded by God when He called Abram out of Chaldea, and refounded at Jerusalem on the Pentecost following Christ's ascension into Heaven. It had been God's will to work through the leaven of a chosen Community. But the leaven must be pure and strong and uncorrupted if it is to do His work.

"The Christian Nation must claim full independence both politically and economically. This is essential not merely because the biddings of secular governments clash with the biddings of Christ, but because the military and commercial fabric of secular civilisation ensnares and fetters at every turn the Christian who wishes to follow his conscience and to do the thing that is just and right and brotherly. The call is for a living and growing *nucleus* of men and women who will put loyalty to Christ before all else, and will work and pray for the rebuilding of Jerusalem here on earth.

"One of our first steps to be taken to secure our economic independence is the foundation of a Christian City with enough land around it to supply the physical needs of its citizens. Frugality and simplicity of life, and the sacrifice of many comforts, will be required of the pioneer. Industry, education, law - in a word, the whole social life of the Community - will be based on Christian principles for Christian people...

"From such a concentration of Christian life and thought, embodied in a world-wide Nationality transcending in practice as well as in theory all distinctions of race and culture, the profoundest results may be expected. Once again the world would be aware of a Christendom with a mind, a character, a purpose of its own; no longer inert by dilution of its vitality, but intense, vigorous, potent, sustaining and illustrating the doctrine which the churches proclaim by the life which the Nation lives. We often suppose that our task is to Christianise the nations. So, in a sense, it is. But we must begin by renationalising Christianity, so that we may speak to them as nation to nation... Not till the Christians of India and China converse with those of Britain and France as fellow-citizens may the treasure if the races be duly mingled, or Christian civilisation expand in unfettered growth.

"The scheme now submitted to the Churches is the outcome of many years' observation and reflection. If it runs counter to some of the most powerful currents of the time, the Gospel on its first proclamation was at a like disadvantage. The Gospel was of God, and drew to it the children of God. If the ideas here set forth are of God, and the time is ripe for their realisation, they will draw to them the men and women who shall build and rule the restored Commonwealth of Christ upon earth..."

A New Universalism

In an extremely valuable survey entitled *Causes of the Peace Failure 1919-1939*, the International Consultative Group of Geneva, an *ad hoc* body composed of widely diverse elements, reached this conclusion: "As it becomes increasingly evident that the crisis of Western civilization is in the last resort a spiritual crisis which is due to the absence of great common and compelling convictions, and that none of the ideologies which are at present in control can pretend to be able to bring about a true integration, men everywhere are searching for a new universalism."

This was the outcome of the Fantastic Thirties - of the experience of Fascism, Nazism, and Communism - the search for a new universal-ism, a true and sane integration. Never before had there been such searching, eager, analytical, and even feverish, in the hope of preventing war; and Great Britain seemed to be the hub of this strenuous activity. There was the Peace Ballot, the World State Movement *Cosmopolis*, the Community Movement, the Wells-Sankey new "Declaration of the Rights of Man." There was the beginning of Education for World Citizenship for the young. There was a call to Federate the League of Nations as the commencement of World Government. There was Clarence Streit's Federal system. The first periodical bearing the name of "The World Citizen", described as the Harbinger of the World State, appeared in London in August 1936. Some wanted to attack the problem of world unity at the top, some at the bottom. It was all very confusing and pathetic, an erupting ant-hill of

frightened termites scurrying hither and thither.

But one thing was clear, the idea of World Citizenship had become firmly fixed in the minds of a steadily increasing minority. The Geneva Group did not make the equation; but the new universalism for which men searched was the *method* by which World Citizenship could be realised. To this extent the world revolution had started.

John Macmurray put the position in this way. "A world-revolution moves towards world-unification. What has produced it is that the separate national forms of the common life can no longer support the common life of each nation. In all lands the common life has been invaded by forces from beyond the national borders. What happens under alien skies spells happiness or misery, frustration or fulfilment for ourselves and those we love. Only a world tradition, a world-wide community of social habit can provide the stable framework within which the common life can escape disaster anywhere. This is the end towards which the world revolution drives."

In the same vein Vera Brittain wrote: "The movement that seeks to create this community which knows neither force nor frontiers is inevitably a revolutionary movement. It is a society within society, a living force which depends neither on economic systems nor political machinery - though it may work through both - but upon the power of the spirit... Perhaps you may feel that a minority so small, surrounded by powerful forces so adverse to its growth, is unlikely ever to achieve its purpose of leavening the lump. But you must remember that nearly all the great revolutions of history not only started as minority movements, but seldom became anything else even when they had succeeded."

H.G.Wells characteristically termed this revolutionary process 'The Open Conspiracy.' "A revolutionary movement must begin," he said, "and can only begin, as the work of a small and devoted elite. Such an elite has always been at hand throughout the whole historical period at every phase of mental excitement, and in the present crisis, more universally stirring than any that has preceded it, there is no reason whatever for doubting that it will be forthcoming."

Looked at in this way, it became reasonable to conceive World Citizenship not as something that simultaneously happened to everybody by a miraculous conversion of World Anarchy into World Law and Order under a World Government, however desirable this might be, but as something that first happened to a minority of people who began to recognise themselves as World Citizens. As has been said already, two schools of thought emerged, which may be represented by the question, "Would World Citizenship come because there was a World Government, or would World Government come because there were World Citizens?" Revolutionary, and equally evolutionary, considerations favoured the second expectation. A new universalism does not arise as a universally experienced event: it arises unknown to the majority in the consciousness of perhaps quite an obscure few. Those few may be widely separated in space, and quite unknown to one another. They may even think they are quite unique in the vision they have seen, yet under slightly varying forms and aspects it has been granted to them all.

The Service-Nation

At the beginning of the Second World War the present writer independently conceived the idea of a Service-Nation ministering to all nations and leading them in the paths of peace. The idea had come to him as a result of studying the Biblical Judaeo-Christian concept of "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" and relating this to the requirements of the international situation. It was only when his thesis had been formulated that he was made aware that it had partially been anticipated by Iskender's World Citizen Movement, by Andersen's extra-territorialised City of Mankind, and by Armstrong's supra-national Christian nation.

The Service-Nation (as Schonfield saw it) was the antithesis of the Master Race (Herrenvolk) idea, the only valid answer to the spirit of aggression and domination. He conceived this new nation as one composed entirely of World Citizens drawn from every clime and country, individual men and women of goodwill, who for the sake of mankind would be prepared if need be to surrender their national citizenship in order to give their complete allegiance to humanity as a whole. The Service-Nation would have no armed forces, no country to defend, being distributed throughout the world with its citizens domiciled in every land, functioning administratively

from a series of extra-territorialised centres. It would be strictly non-partisan, acting in a mediatorial capacity, and through its functional agencies performing services for the benefit of all peoples without distinction. It would exhibit an example of world unity, and constitute something in the nature of World Government in miniature. Thus in organic form it would be representative of that enlightened minority of which so many thinkers were writing: it would be the advanceguard of united humanity. Schonfield took the view that only a nation, though one of a new order, could offer a true example in a world of nations, surmounting the problem of sectional allegiance and divided loyalties, utilising the precedents already created in developing international relationships. He foresaw a time when through the growth of power blocs there might be no neutral States, and when the system initiated by Henri Dunant of Red Cross "neutralized personnel" to care for the sick and wounded in war would need to find ultimate expression in the neutralized World Citizens of the Service-Nation.

The Service-Nation Movement naturally attracted Christian and other Pacifists, adherents of the Community movement, and of the pre-war Peace Army. It was the first enterprise to place World Citizenship on a concrete social, political and humanitarian basis. Planning proceeded steadily, and in December 1944, the Movement informed all the Allied and Neutral Government! of its intention to create the new nation. Considerable further planning and activity were necessary, however, before this step could be taken, and this was greatly assisted in 1946 by the merger of the Service-Nation Movement, the World Unity Movement, and World Foundation, in a general World Citizenship Movement.

The WCM had as its aims: "To foster the development of a democratic society of free individuals in which citizenship, hitherto limited by local or State considerations, shall also be practised on a world basis, without distinction of race, nationality, sex or creed. To further research, discussion and public action as to the supra-national institutions which are essential today for establishing effective world justice and administration and for ensuring the peace and welfare of the world community. To create a universally-recognised status of world citizens functioning, individually and collectively, as an agency impartial in its approach to international problems and acting as mediators and conciliators, dedicated to the service of humanity as a whole."

Among the useful achievements of the Movement was the sponsoring of a Correspondence Course in World Citizenship.

The United Nations Contribution

The initial spirit of optimism which prevailed at the end of the war encouraged great hopes of the establishment of effective World Organization through the United Nations, the League's successor, and it became quite common for statesmen to speak about World Citizenship. They usually meant by this no more than that world affairs were now everyone's concern, and that the closest cultural ties should be promoted between the member States and their peoples. At this stage, at any rate, the United Nations was thought of as representing the world, and therefore ideally the citizen of any State within the Organization was a world citizen. It was this viewpoint that inspired the work of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, a department of the United Nations Association fostering international understanding among young people.

The really important thing about the United Nations Organization in the history of World Citizenship was, that if it was thought desirable to accord to a World Agency which was not a State certain rights and powers formerly reserved to sovereign States there was nothing in international law or custom to prevent it. It was perfectly practicable to carry on world work through a world personnel and world machinery while retaining the independent Nation-State system. All that was required was universal respect and support for the Agency itself. The terms of certain Articles in the UN Charter are very significant in this connection particularly the following:-

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as

international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfillment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

The effect of these articles was shown in the status accorded to UNRRA officials, and to United Nations Mediators and Observers.

Where the United Nations failed, despite the great advance on the League which it represented, was in trying again to combine Internationalism with World Citizenship, or in assuming their virtual identity. The Organization was composed of Member States, and became inevitably involved in their disagreements and conflicts. The principle of universality of membership was destroyed by the right of the Great Powers to employ the veto, and the Organization was placed in a completely partizan position by the war in Korea being conducted in its name.

"We the Peoples..."

It was not the fault of the United Nations as an Organization that by 1947 the world was divided into two opposing power blocs; but it was felt increasingly that the safeguarding of peace could no longer be left to government spokesmen of the Member States. At least this was the feeling in the West. It led to considerable expansion of the movement in favour of World Federal Government. The peoples, it was asserted, must be allowed directly to elect their own representatives to a World Parliament.

But how was the transition to be achieved? One answer was supplied by Henry Osborne MP. A campaign would be launched to persuade the people to elect in the first instance, on the basis of one per million, delegates to a Peoples World Convention. This Convention, a continuing body, when it had become sufficiently representative of countries, would draft a Constitution for a World Federal Government to be laid before the respective governments for ratification.

As a result of experience this plan has lately been considerably modified, and stress is laid on the creation of a Peoples' Chamber as part of an endeavour to bring about the conversion of the United Nations into a World Federal Government when the opportunity for revision of the existing Charter arises in 1955. Any previous Peoples' Assembly that may be practicable would be of a preparatory nature, and organisation is in the hands of a World Council for the Peoples World Convention which has headquarters in Paris.

For our purpose the significance of the PWC project lies in the dramatic association with it of a new development in World Citizenship. This came about by the action of an American ex-bomber pilot Garry Davis in September 1948. In the cause of peace Davis chose to take quite literally the implications of world citizenship inherent in the United Nations. He renounced his American citizenship, tore up his passport, and at Paris called upon the Assembly of the United Nations in session at the Palais de Chaillot to proceed forthwith with the making of peace.

Davis was informed that the United Nations was not a peacemaking but a peace-preserving Organization. Nothing was done about his request that the Assembly should consider convening a World Constituent Assembly in preparation for World Government (the PWC plan); but his gesture brought a widespread response with the concrete result of the establishment by his supporters of an International Registry of World Citizens. Anyone might now register as a World Citizen, receiving an Identity Card which reminded the holder of his responsibilities towards the World Community and stated his right to vote in the election of a Peoples World Convention.

The Registry was in no sense an organization, simply a census-taking machinery for purposes of the PWC World Government plan. The so-called World Citizens did not have to renounce their nationality or assume any special obligations. They were merely anticipating symbolically the universal application of World Citizenship under a World Government. There was an extension of the registration scheme later, sponsored in France by Robert Sarrazac and others, to apply to towns and communes which, also symbolically, could proclaim themselves as 'World Territory' by determining by popular vote to become signatories of a Charter of Mundialisation.

In addition to these enterprises the Esperantist World Government organisation *Universala Ligo* also cultivated a form of world citizenship, not only furnishing an identity card, but further devising and employing a kind of universal currency for the use of its members.

The Commonwealth of World Citizens

By 1950, as a result of these various activities, the idea of World Citizenship had obtained so much acceptance that it might truly be said to have received definite embodiment. There were many thousands of people all over the world thinking of themselves as World Citizens and beginning to associate in that capacity. They seemed to themselves to represent a distinct and new category of persons, experiencing considerable difficulty in definition and purpose, floating somewhere between a hell of nationalism and a heaven of world government without clear function or anchorage. They wanted to turn their world citizenship to account, to act, to make an impact; but except for participation in the World Government movement and in certain cases staging demonstrations, such as attempts at frontier-crossing without passports, a satisfying objectivity eluded them. They had adopted a badge, a symbolic World Man, a conventionalised human figure standing within a circle; but for the most part in their mental processes they were still first of all nationals looking out upon the world, rather than world citizens looking in upon the nation.

In this dilemma of World Citizenship the supporters of the Service-Nation concept believed that the time had come to bring their plan into operation. The people composed of world citizens which had been conceived ten years previously had never been given a name. Now the title was found, and on November 11, 1950, work began to Inaugurate the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

Immediately, to a nucleus, World Citizenship became instinct with life and meaning. World Citizens knew exactly what they had to do and could set about doing it. Suddenly the New Universal-ism was present. As by a strange alchemy all the elements coalesced, the strivings and intimations of the past, recent developments, the citizens of the World, the Holy Nation, pacifism, the Open Conspiracy, the Rights of Man, all fitted into what appeared to be their appointed place and pattern.

The Commonwealth came into being quietly and without publicity. Its sole demonstration of its existence was at the Peoples World Convention at Geneva at the close of the year, where it was represented as a separate people. From its inception it was organised in accordance with its nature. A provisional administration was set up with a Secretariat consisting of departments of planning, citizenship, revenue, information, and functional activity. The Commonwealth had no members, only citizens, and this citizenship was treated as a higher and preferential citizenship to that of the State citizenship of the applicant. Those who applied took a pledge of loyalty to mankind which debarred them from inflicting physical or moral injury on any section of the human race, and therefore from participation in war. Every citizen had to be registered with the International Registry of World Citizens, and his Identity Card was stamped with the seal of the Commonwealth.

Within two years the Commonwealth had citizens in *fourteen* countries, it had obtained a piece of land in Delphi in Greece, it had adopted its flag, chosen Esperanto as its official language, and prepared the first draft of its political constitution. At the beginning of 1953 the Commonwealth incorporated the Civil World Army organised from Stockholm as its active world service agency. It now anticipates the holding of its Constituent Assembly before the close of 1954, when the Commonwealth of World Citizens, *La Mondcivitana Respubliko*, will be proclaimed in being *de facto* to the governments of all nations.

The Commonwealth regards itself as "a people to serve all peoples." It will have no force at its disposal, no country to defend. It will be strictly non-partizan, seeking to win recognition and respect by its work for the benefit of all men everywhere. But it is not simply a humanitarian agency: it is a new experiment in political economy in a world context, a working-model of World Government and a fresh factor making for unification and co-operation, in international relationships. All Peace organisations will now have to take this remarkable development into account, and many of them are already doing so. It can well be the Commonwealth of World Citizens that answers to the hope expressed by Dr. L.P.Jacks when he wrote: "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, to 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme' - I mean, by the unexpected emergence of some commanding aim. of an over-arching purpose that would capture the imagination of the multitudes, drown their quarrels, override their disputes, make them ashamed of their former petty-minded-ness and carry them forward on a tidal wave of magnanimous resolve to an end worth attaining by man." Who can tell? Very rightly the Commonwealth of World Citizens has refrained from making any public and general announcement of its existence until it has reached a suitable degree of readiness.

The Way of the World Citizen

As we have endeavoured to show in this brief survey, the history of World Citizenship has been the history of Man trying to keep pace with the rapid alteration in the conditions of life on this planet brought about by startling advances in knowledge, which have revolutionised, and continue to revolutionise the whole structure of organised human society. It was impossible that all men equally should be able to make the fundamental adjustment in outlook and perspective demanded by the requirements of a world order which rendered obsolete both nationalism and imperialism. The beginnings of a world consciousness and a sense of universal obligation and responsibilities were bound to manifest themselves first of all in a sentient minority, which would be the precursor of a united world. The wars and upheavals, the ideological conflicts and social struggles of the twentieth century, testify eloquently to the difficulties encountered, psychologically and structurally, in the process of conversion and adaptation to changed conditions. The organisational devices, such as the League and the United Nations, equally exhibit the evidence of a hasty and almost panic-stricken endeavour to contrive transitional machinery so as to prevent complete chaos and disaster.

We are still in the stage of ferment, and disorder for a protracted period is to be anticipated; but we can see the emergence of the world order beyond the present strife in the evolution of World Citizenship. The New Man of the world of to-morrow has started to appear and to multiply. Doubtless he will be attacked and persecuted; but it may be that in a comparatively brief space of time he will win a great spiritual victory, and lead our restless race into an era of harmony, calm and fruitfulness. The Way of the World Citizen is our assurance and proof that we in our troubled and despondent generation are not witnessing the beginning of the End, but undergoing the travail at the end of the Beginning.