

## 12. SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF A WORLD MIND

Peace and nonviolence have no direct or immediate relevance to the situation in Europe. Several cities of Europe look like hollow ghosts at night, and the use of the atom bomb by both sides in a war threatens many more with a similar fate. Yet the anti-war sentiment is weaker today than 16 years ago when I was last in Europe.

No matter what pacifists may say, peace is in conflict with sentiment and reason; the morality and the desire for peace are in conflict with the morality and the desire for free growth.

Every one dislikes war, but almost every one dislikes slavery even more. The people of Europe are a little more weary but also a little more resigned to the acceptance of war as a last defence of freedom and growth. Mahatma Gandhi has not yet come to Europe nor ever shall, as long as those who speak in his name fix peace as their central aim and make moral appeals, which are eminently reasonable, but stop just short of being completely reasonable. In India, nonviolence went side by side with freedom and growth, and was a corollary perhaps as weighty as the theorem, but nevertheless a corollary.

Until peace and nonviolence can be convincingly correlated to freedom and growth, it is an expensive exaggeration to speak of a European Gandhism.

Freedom and growth are today in Europe embodied in the two symbols of capitalism and communism, the images growing mightier and their swords nearer a clash as time passes. Any other image before which men could burn the incense of their passion and not of ritual does not yet exist.

Socialism or the Third Force is fast turning into a ritual; it

is so deeply identified with either capitalism or communism, according to its local habitat, that its features melt and is, therefore, not cohesive nor powerful enough to be a world image.

Mankind has ceased to think. In spite of the great ideological debates, there is a fertility and fullness of old theories and new slogans but a poverty of thought. Thinking has ceased to be creative. It is propagandist. Ideas are designed and tested for their value to one or the other of the two power blocs.

Facts are forced into the rigid framework of old ideas; free interplay between facts and ideas has ceased to be; some kind of dread of new voyaging has come over men; they cling to the shores of thought reached 50 years ago.

That is why ideas have never before been such a complete servant of force as today. Force has often enough served idea in the past; the relationship is completely reversed today. The stage is perhaps not yet when the use of force can be abandoned altogether. But the question of all questions stridently urging an answer is which shall serve what; shall idea serve force or force, idea?

Incidentally, the two rigid ideas of communism and capitalism, so mortally in combat, bear a close kinship; both are doctrines of political and economic centralization, of force, of technical and organizational efficiency, of seeing in any one people the image for others to follow, of environmentalism.

As pointers of creative thinking, one must locate and list the world's main diseases and seek the remedies.

Regional inequality in production is the world's most dangerous and obstinate disease. An hour of labour in the United States produces three times as much as in Europe and 15 to 20 times as much as in Asia or Africa. Side by side with these many worlds in economics, one world in politics is an impossibility.

Furthermore, world trade and economy cannot expand until this great rock is removed. The now oft-spoken desire in

advanced economies to help retarded economies is a ritual and at best a scratch on the surface of the problem. Entire economic theories will have to be restated and techniques of engineering remodelled. As an illustration in theory, I suggest that the doctrine of full employment now being used for theories of world trade and social security has to yield place to the doctrine of relatively equal productivity. In the same way, small-unit technique, power-driven of course, as distinct from large-scale technique, is the securer road in engineering to achieve new formations of capital on a world scale. The problem of relatively equal production in all regions and of new formations of capital on a world-scale can, therefore, be solved not by charitable ritual or one-way assistance but by mutual help and a supreme effort in economic thinking and engineering practice.

Political inequalities among peoples still prevail. The peoples of the world must immediately enjoy equality of rights, and their freedom and unity must be restored to them on the basis of democracy and human rights. A violation of ideas takes place when one speaks of the internationalization of the Ruhr without at the same time wanting to internationalize Pittsburgh or Newcastle or Brittany or Jharia or the Donetz.

Furthermore, preaching of curtailment of national sovereignty does not make sense in over three-fourths of the world where it is already curtailed; the national sovereignty of the two or three big powers alone requires to be curtailed so as to make it of equal status with the others.

Although imperialism is speedily dying out and only ten per cent of the world's population is politically unfree, thus reducing colonialism to a marginal phenomenon, it is poisoning human relationships in devious ways. All peoples, particularly in Africa and some parts of Asia, must immediately obtain political freedom.

While equality in the relationship of peoples must be achieved, a like effort in the direction of internal equality

within a people is necessary. Social security and full employment or production are not enough, although they must patently continue to be a chief aim of state policy, but to starve the hunger for equality in order to achieve them is dangerous.

Men will do mad things if their hunger for equality is not appeased. Industry must be socialized and economy planned. Social ownership and control must be decentralized to the maximum extent possible; in addition, the enjoyment of human rights which are the basis of all equality should not be interrupted.

The inadequacy of liberal democracy has caused the challenge of proletarian dictatorship. The claims of either are being raucously raised, but neither is able to fulfil the human need which gave them birth. They cannot, for the frame of reference is common to them both. The world, liberal as well as proletarian, has hitherto known only the two-pillar state. Constitutional theories are being evolved and their elaborate applications continually reconstructed in order to achieve division of the state's functions and powers into its two limbs, the federating centre and the integrating units.

Democracy can bring warmth to the blood of the common man only when constitutional theory starts practising the state of four limbs, the village, the district, the province, and the centre. Organically covered by the flesh and blood of equalities already indicated, this constitutional skeleton of the four-pillar state can bring to democracy joyous fulfilment. The time is ripe to add a fifth limb to the state, at least in theory, for a world centre is an urgent necessity.

This is a rough sketching of the new image. I have been continually asked if Russia would accept it. I may as well ask if America or England would. The point is not which government does or does not accept it, but what peoples and which organizations make it the object of their hearts' desire. A possible and reluctant use of force, like a dark interregnum, in the service of this image is not altogether denied.

People talk of a World Union and a European Union and the like and, in the process of doing so, distort this new image so hideously as to melt it into the contours of the two great giants. This image may be worshipped as a whole or not at all, for its parts do not admit of a logical or mental sequence, although a historical sequence, the achievement of any one part earlier than another, is possible. But clever men, some of whom claim to be realistic statesmen and others equally realistic reformers, are raising what may be a regrettable historical sequence, such as the European Union or the World Government of police powers that may precede a full Union, into a disastrous mental sequence.

Peace can come only via a World Government, and this can come only via a new world view. All those who desire a World Government must aspire to achieve a world view of equality and against class or caste or regional inequalities.

This world view will be barren if it waits on events and approves them or condemns them after they have taken place. It must penetrate into the texture of events as they take place, weaving it with the toil of the organizational or technical eye as much as dyeing it with the warm blood of the body.

Socialism or the new world-image is sought to be achieved somewhere by parliament and cost accountancy. Miserable attempts these, for the active spirit is dulled and stifled by the weight of bureaucratic organization and force.

Spirit and organization must come to terms and an adjustment in which neither is sacrificed to the other. Furthermore, the eye must necessarily redden at an act of injustice and at the fact of poverty and inequality, but it must also shed a tear. One man has proved, the first man to do so, that this joining together of wrath at class society and sympathy with all men and things is not a political fancy but a practical possibility. Europe is dying because of the red eye without the tear, and Asia of the tearful eye without the red, and both are approaching a fixed and blank look.

Socialism alone can save Asia as well as Europe, and, to do

this, it must combine action with sympathy, abundant sympathy, and weave them both into an image and an idea whose contours are not fixed in a rigid pattern but grow ever richer in outline as well as in detail.

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