





गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुः गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः। गुरुः साक्षात् परंब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः।।

Guru is Brahma (the Creator), Guru is Vishnu (the Preserver), and Guru is the god Maheshwara (the Destroyer). Unto that Guru who is truly the manifest Parabrahman, I bow down with reverence.



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अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य ज्ञानांजनशलाकया। चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः।। Salutations to the noble Guru, who has opened the eyes blinded by darkness of ignorance with the collyrium-stick of knowledge.

> Sri Aurobindo Ashram - Delhi Branch Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016

Ongoing & Forthcoming Events March 2016

Meditation & Satsang venue: Meditation Hall

7 -7:30 pm **Monday - Saturday Collective Meditation**

Sunday Meditation & Discourses 10:00 - 11:30 am

March 06 Sadhana ke Pahle Kadam (Preliminary Steps on the Spiritual Quest) Ms. Aparna Roy **Spiritual Journey - Handling of the Emotional Self** March 13 **Acharva Navneet** March 20 The Life Divine (Bk 2, Ch 10: Knowledge by Identity and Separative Knowledge) Shri Prashant Khanna

Defects and Difficulties (Based on *The Great Adventure*, pp 122-23) March 27 Dr. Ramesh Bijlani

Contact: 011-2656 7863: <contact@aurobindoonline.in>

Ongoing Classes venue: Vidya Block Room 099

11:30 am-12:30 pm **Bhagvad Gita** Wednesday **Shri Prashant Khanna Saturday** 6:00 -7:00 pm **Bhagvad Gita Shri Prashant Khanna Shri Prashant Khanna** Sunday (Except 20th) 11:30 am-12:30 pm Savitri

Contact: 011-2656 7863: 2651 7426

The Mother's Integral Health Centre Activities

(Phone 011-2685 8563; <tmihc2000@yahoo.co.in>

General O.P.D. **Daily** 8:30-9:30 am 2:30-3:30 pm

Speciality Clinics - By Appointment Only

Tue/Thu/Sat Tue/Thu/Sat **Accupressure** Ayurveda **Clinical Psychology** Mon/Tue/Wed/Fri Daily (11am-1pm) **Physiotherapy** Mon/Wed/Thu/Fri Tue/Thu **Homeopathy Gynaecology Mind Body Medicine Orthopaedics Daily** Tue Tue/Thu/Sat **Thursday** Ophthalmology (Eye) **Naturopathy** Wed/Thu **General Surgery Psychiatry** Wed

Wed/Fri Dental

Integrated Health Services: 7 February - March 6, 2016

(Tailormade Packages of 1, 2, and 3 days available: Choice is Yours) Includes: Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Naturopathy, Yogasana, Pranayama, Accupressure, Counselling, Fasting blood sugar test

Optional: Physiotherapy: Other blood tests: ECG

Contacts: Mrs. Bhatia (93122 65447); Madhumita (99584 55014); <tmihc2000@yahoo.co.in>

March 6 & 13 6-7 am Mahamrityunjaya Havan & Gita Paath

Mon/Wed/Fri 8-9 am Yogasana class Ms. Preeti Bhardwai Mon/Wed/Fri 11 am-12 noon Yogasana class Ms. Ritu Birla Tue/Thu/Sat 5-6 pm Yogasana class **Shri Deepak Jhamb**

Mon/Wed/Fri **Yoga for Senior Citizens** 9:45-10:45 am Ms. Monica Srivastava

March 12-17 **Integral Eye Exercise Camp** 8:00 am March 19-20 7-10 am Ayurveda Camp Dr. Surinder Katoch

Contact: 011-2685 8563: Madhumita 99584 55014

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Ongoing Classes venue: The Mother's Integral Health Centre Rm 15J

Monday 3:30-4:30 pm *Vivekachoodamani* Dr. Tarun Baveja

Wed/Fri 3:30-4:30 pm *Chhandogya Upanishad* Dr. Tarun Baveja

Contact: 011-2656 8563; Aradhana < aradhana.archer@gmail.com>

Matri Kala Mandir CLASS SCHEDULE

Mon/Fri/Sat	3:00-6:00 pm	Hindusthani Classical Vocal	Shri Kshitij Mathur
Wed/Sat	3:30-6:30 pm	Hindusthani Classical Vocal	Smt. Vijaya Verma
Tue/Thu	4:00-5:00 pm	Hindusthani Classical Vocal	Smt. Premsheela
Mon to Sat	4:00-6:30 pm	Music for The Soul	Km. Karunamayee
Wed/Fri	4:00-6:00 pm	Hindusthani Classical Vocal	Shri Shiv Prasad Rao
Wed/Sat	3:30-6:30 pm	Carnatic Vocal	Smt Jalaja Shankar
Wed/Thu	3:30-6:30 pm	Tabla	Shri Vijay Shankar Mishra
Wed/Fri	4:00-6:30 pm	Sitar	Shri Neel Ranjan Mukherjee
Mon/Fri	3:30-5:30 pm	Flute	Shri Himanshu Dutt
Mon/Fri	3:30-5:30 pm	Violin	Dr. Ranjan Srivastav
Mon/Wed/Fri	3:30-6:00 pm	Hawaian Guitar & Key Board	Shri Neel Ranjan Mukherjee
Tue/Thu	3:30-5:30 pm	Spanish Guitar	Shri Jagdish Kumar
Mon/Wed	4:00-6:00 pm	Bharata Natyam	Smt Rajeswari Natarajan
Tue/Thu	4:00-6:30 pm	Kathak Nritya	Smt. Raksha Singh
Wed/Sat	4:00-6:30 pm	Kathak Nritya	Km. Anjali Saini
Mon/Fri	3:30-5:00 pm	Odissi Nritya	Shri Dibakar Khuntia
Mon/Fri	4:00-5:30 pm	Painting	Smt. Tatini Sengupta Ray
Tue/Thu	4:00-6:00 pm	Painting	Shri Tapan Ch. Bhowmick
Tue/Thu/Sat	5:00-6:00 pm	Table Tennis	Shri Gulshan Rai Khera
Mon to Sat	5:00-6:00 pm	Taekwondo	Shri Arshad Hashish
Tue/Thu/Sat	5:00-6:15 pm	Basketball (M.I.S. students)	Shri Hridesh Rawal

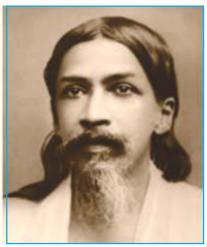
Contact: 011-3242 5661; 2656 7863; <matrikalamandir67@gmail.com>

Important Days in the Ashram

29 March Anniversary of Sri Aurobindo and Mother's first meeting

It may be presumed... that when Sri Aurobindo and Mirra met on 29 March 1914, what passed between them was rather more of a wordless communion than any formal or detailed conversation. Writing with the available hindsight, K.D. Sethna comments on it as follows:





"The meeting of the two represents the coming together of the necessary creative powers by whom a new age would be born. And it is to be noted that both Sri Aurobindo and the Mother had been pursuing the inner life on essentially identical lines which would unite Spirit and Matter. So their joining of forces was the most natural thing. And it was not only a doubling of strengths but also a linking of complementaries. Sri Aurobindo's main movement of consciousness may be said to have been an immense Knowledge-Power from above the mind, though whatever was necessary for an integral spirituality was also there in one form or another. The Mother's chief movement may be said to have been an intense Love-Power from behind the heart, even if all else needed for an all-round Yoga was present as a ready accessory. When she and Sri Aurobindo met, they completed each other, brought fully into play the spiritual energies in both and started the work of total earth-transformation from high above and deep within.

If Sri Aurobindo was an embodiment of the East-West synthesis and contained within himself "the multi-dimensional spiritual consciousness of India", Mirra was the finest flower of European culture with deep spiritual filiations with India and the East as also with Africa, and she incarnated "a practical genius of a rare order, with powers of wide yet precise organisation". Little wonder that they completed, when they met at last as if by divine dispensation, "the entire circle of the higher human activities" and were "supremely fitted to bring the East and the West together and, blending them, lead to a common all-consummating goal".

- Excerpt from *On The Mother* by K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar

Programme details will be available on the website: www.sriaurobindoashram.net

Next Cycle of Human Destiny

All would change if man could once consent to be spiritualised; but his nature, mental and vital and physical, is rebellious to the higher law. He loves his imperfection.

The Spirit is the truth of our being; mind and life and body in their imperfection are its masks, but in their perfection should be its moulds. To be spiritual only is not enough; that prepares a number of souls for heaven, but leaves the earth very much where it was. Neither is a compromise the way of salvation.

The world knows three kinds of revolution. The material has strong results, the moral and intellectual are infinitely larger in their scope and richer in their fruits, but the spiritual are the great sowings.

If the triple change could coincide in a perfect correspondence, a faultless work would be done; but the mind and body of mankind cannot hold perfectly a strong spiritual inrush: most is spilt, much of the rest is corrupted. Many intellectual and physical upturnings of our soil are needed to work out a little result from a large spiritual sowing.

Each religion has helped mankind. Paganism increased in man the light of beauty, the largeness and height of his life, his aim at a many-sided perfection; Christianity gave him some vision of divine love and charity; Buddhism has shown him a noble way to be wiser, gentler, purer; Judaism and Islam how to be religiously faithful in action and zealously devoted to God; Hinduism has opened to him the largest and profoundest spiritual possibilities. A great thing would be done if all these God-visions could embrace and cast themselves into each other; but intellectual dogma and cult-egoism stand in the way.

All religions have saved a number of souls, but none yet has been able to spiritualise mankind. For that there is needed not cult and creed, but a sustained and all-comprehending effort at spiritual self-evolution.

The changes we see in the world today are intellectual, moral, physical in their ideal and intention: the spiritual revolution waits for its hour and throws up meanwhile its waves here and there. Until it comes the sense of the others cannot be understood and till then all interpretations of present happening and forecast of man's future are vain things. For its nature, power, event are that which will determine the next cycle of our humanity."

- Sri Aurobindo

Q. Mother, here Sri Aurobindo writes: "A great thing would be done if all these God-visions could embrace and cast themselves into each other; but intellectual dogma and cult-egoism stand in the way."

How is it possible to fuse into one all these views?

[The Mother explains and elaborates]

It is not in the mental consciousness that these things can be harmonised and synthesised. For this it is necessary to rise above and find the idea behind the

thought. Sri Aurobindo shows here, for example, what each of these religions represents in human effort, aspiration and realisation. Instead of taking these religions in their outward forms which are precisely dogmas and intellectual conceptions, if we take them in their spirit, in the principle they represent, there is no difficulty in unifying them. They are simply different aspects of human progress which complete each other perfectly well and should be united with many others yet to form a more total and more complete progress, a more perfect understanding of life, a more integral approach to the Divine. And even this unification which already demands a return to the Spirit behind things, is not enough; there must be added to it a vision of the future, the goal towards which humanity is moving, the future realisation of the world, that last "spiritual revolution" Sri Aurobindo speaks about, which will open a new age, that is, the supramental revolution.

In the supramental consciousness all these things are no longer contradictory or exclusive. They all become complementary. It is only the mental form which divides. What this mental form represents should be united to what all the other mental forms represent in order to make a harmonious whole. And that is the essential difference between a religion and the true spiritual life.

Religion exists almost exclusively in its forms, its cults, in a certain set of ideas, and it becomes great only through the spirituality of a few exceptional individuals, whereas true spiritual life, and above all what the supramental realisation will be, is independent of every precise, intellectual form, every limited form of life. It embraces all possibilities and manifestations and makes them the expression, the vehicle of a higher and more universal truth.

A new religion would not only be useless but very harmful. It is a new *life* which must be created; it is a new *consciousness* which must be expressed. This is something beyond intellectual limits and mental formulae. It is a living truth which must manifest.

Everything in its essence and its truth should be included in this realisation. This realisation must be an expression as total, as complete, as universal as possible of the divine reality. Only that can save humanity and the world. That is the great spiritual revolution of which Sri Aurobindo speaks. And this is what he wanted us to realise....

And the first sentence I read today remains the key of the entire problem not only for the individual but also for the collectivity:

"All would change if man could once consent to be spiritualised; but his nature, mental and vital and physical, is rebellious to the higher law. He loves his imperfection."

I would like us to take this as the subject of our meditation.

Activities during January 16 - February 15, 2016

Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch in association with Usha International Lim-

ited conducted a Workshop of Basic Tailoring Concepts for 10 underprivileged girls from January 12-18, 2016. First business of the workshop addressed the assembly, care, and maintenance of the instrument: the sewing machine. 'Basics of embroidery' sessions included chain stitch, buttonhole stitch, and stem stitch. Cloth cutting and sewing of clothes in-

cluded carry bags, churidaar (trousers) and shirts. At the end of the workshop, a recapitulation session discussed various queries posed by participants and, finally a service booklet was distributed to all attendees.





The popular weekend orientation to integral yoga held on January 16-17, 2016 was attended by 42 persons. The program included yogasanas & pranayamas conducted by Shri Debi Prasad; lectures by Dr. Bijlani on yoga, spiritual worldview, purpose of life, and stress management; and a musical session by Sushree Premsheela. Some of the appreciative feedbacks about the program are: "gave me the perspective that I was long looking for"; "an enlightening, absorbing and life-transforming program"; "a mind awakening exercise"; "a crisp overview of important things in life"; "completely unpretentious and 'basics only' approach"; "especially enjoyed the musical part" and "very well organized."

The eighty-sixth birth anniversary of Late Shri Anil Jauhar was observed on January 20. In the evening Km. Karunamayee made a musical offering in the Meditation Hall, and Dr. Ramesh Bijlani spoke briefly about Shri Anil Jauhar's





life and summed up his personality in three Ps: principled, punctual and polite. Prasad was distributed to the attendees after the program.

The Mother's Inter-





national School held a special assembly in the morning to commemorate the occasion in which students recited from the works of Sri

Aurobindo and the Mother. In the forenoon, commencement of Shri Anil Jauhar Memorial Inter-school Girls Basketball Tournament was inaugurated by Km. Tara Jauhar and Shri Pranjal Jauhar. After several days' of exciting competition, Delhi Public School, R.K. Puram won

the tournament. New Green Fields School team was the runner-up.

Also in the forenoon, a workshop on leadership was conducted by Shri Ravi Srivastava for Class X M.I.S. students as part of the program.



Dr. Mithu Pal, a Ph.D. in education and academic supervisor at Cambridge Primary School, offered a varied selection of devotional songs from the repertoire of saints & god-lovers,—Surdas, Mirabai, Kabir, Tulsidas—in the Meditation Hall on 6 February in the continuing series of *bhajan sandhya* at the Ashram. For the non-Hindi speaking audience, she gave a gist of songs in English. She ended

the rendition in her truly melodious timbre by singing the glory of the Mother.

Sixtieth Foundation Day of Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch celebration: Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch was founded by Late Shri Surendra Nath Jauhar with the blessings of the Mother on 12 February 1956. The celebrations to mark its 60th anniversary began on 11th with a *havan* (sacrificial fire ritual) and chanting of Vedic hymns at the site of founder's *Samadhi* in the Ashram premises.

February 12 programs began with invocation for the Divine Presence in the morning followed by release of an audio CD, *Satyamayee Parame*, a collection of devotional songs by Shantanu, Durba & Mitra Bhattacharya by Shri Tapan Pramanik in the Meditation Hall. In the forenoon, a Photo Exhibition capturing briefly the history of the Ashram, pre-



pared by Mirambika teachers and teacher trainees, was inaugurated in the lawn next to Sri Aurobindo's bust. Ashram community and visitors were especially



fascinated by the older Ashram photos. Also in the forenoon, students of the Junior Wing of The Mother's International School presented a lovely program of devotional songs in their young sweet and melodious tenor.

In the afternoon a film of Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch was screened in the Hall of Joy followed by the annual event of group pictures of the Ashram community (given at the end of Activity section).

Lamps of aspiration were kindled around the Shrine in the evening. Pandit



Barun Kumar Pal thereafter gave a *Hansveena* recital of several ragas – *Basant Pancham*, *alaap*, *Jodh*, *Gat in Mattataal*, *drut gat* and *jhala* in *Teen Taal* – in the Meditation Hall. He was accompanied by Shri Debojyoti Mukherjee on Sitar, Shri Subhash Kanti Das on Tabla, and Shubrodeep Paul on the



Tambura. The music filled the hall with peaceful melody, starting slow and gradually building up to an amazingly rapid pace. Remarkably, however, the sounds continued to stay well-rounded with no sharp

edges whatsoever! Prasad was distributed to the audience after the program.

A two-day seminar on school education was organized in the Hall of Grace of The Mother's International School (MIS) on 13 & 14 February 2016. The seminar was attended by 400 participants.



In his inaugural message, Professor Shyam Menon, Vice Chancellor of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University, emphasized the role of schoolteacher as a guide in the learning process. Prof. Menon described the school as a factory of memories – memories created by teachers, not so much by what they teach, but by how they make the students learn and feel.

The Chief Guest, Prof. Manoj Das, renowned writer and Ashramite of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Puducherry, said in his address that a glorious picture of the future has been proclaimed to us by Sri Aurobindo that the time of the new consciousness has come; we have to have faith and confidence that its gradual flowering will be instrumental in eventually solving all problems of humanity.

The first lecture of the seminar was delivered by Dr. Shirley Telles, Director of Research, Patanjali Research Foundation, Haridwar, on 'Yoga in Schools –

Resounding Support from Global Research.' Extensive research in India and abroad has documented benefits of yoga beyond physical domain in providing better ability to cope with stressors, en-



hanced emotional strength, conversion of violent emotions into 'soft emotions', reduction in need for diversions such as TV and computer games, self-esteem, higher school attendance, and improvement in punctuality, memory & academic performance.

The post-lunch session, on 'The significance and impact of the 21st Century Guru empowered with Internet and Allied Technologies' by Prof. M.M. Pant, Former Pro-Vice Chancellor, Indira Gandhi National Open University, was utterly engrossing. He highlighted positive uses of internet-based technology in school education. Anticipating the reservations that people may have about his views, he pointed out that initial reservations have been the fate of all major advances – printing, steam, electricity, electronics, computers – and today we are experiencing the fourth revolution of empowerment in the realm of artificial intelligence, robotics, autonomous vehicles and 3-D printing.

The last talk of the day was on 'The Interaction and Impact of Relevance, Relationships and Rigour in Learning' by Mr. Manit Jain, Director of the Heritage Schools in Delhi and Gurgaon. He called Relevance, Relationships and Rigour the three R's of learning. Learning is relevant if one has opportunities to use what is learnt, if it is enlightening, if it empowers the learner to lead a better life, and if it makes the learner feel his responsibilities. On relationships, he pointed out the importance of the teacher establishing a good relationship with the students. Just one remark made by a teacher can make or mar a person, he said, based on anecdotes from his own life. Rigour automatically follows, if enough attention is given to relevance and building relationships.

Second day of the seminar began with a talk entitled 'The Dilemma of an Educationist' by Acharya Navneet, an Alumnus of

IIT-Kharagpur & Arsha Vidya Gurukulam (AVG), Anaikatti, Coimbatore. Educationists face, in fact not a dilemma, but a 'multilemma', because of the multiple pressures to which schools are subjected. These pressures, he said, include parental pressure, management pressure, and a plethora of contempo-



rary societal values' pressures. Each pressure group believes that its own agenda is of primary importance in school education, and contrives to pressurize for its implementation by the educationist.

In the next talk titled 'Are the Children Happy? Exploring Classroom Practices and the Aims of Education', Dr. Deepti Priya Mehrotra, Fellow of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, started with the misplaced but popular tendency to keep children under control in the class by coercion. If the children were kept busy with inspiring and motivating activities, they become quiet and disciplined without need of external control. She further touched on contemporary societal problems and undesirable habits and their remedy which could be accomplished through improvement of education in schools.

The afternoon session began with the lecture entitled 'Where No Child is left



Invisible: Creating richer Stories for our Children in Schools.' The speaker, Dr. Shelja Sen, Co-founder of the Children First Institute of Child & Adolescent Mental Health, said that our failure to accept children unconditionally creates in them anxiety, which may manifest through the child becoming withdrawn and 'invisible'. Such a child may escape to living in a virtual world. She pointed out that for

children to do well; an emotionally safe zone is a pre-requisite.

In the closing session, the Chief Guest, Professor Santosh Panda, Chairperson of the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), shared with the audience prospective changes on the anvil in school and teacher education. Planned changes include introduction of 4-year integrated B.A., B.Ed. and B.Sc., B.Ed. courses. Skills of teaching yoga as well as proficiency in imparting education to children with special needs will also be introduced in B.ED and B.El.Ed. curricula. In conclusion Prof. Panda said that teacher education colleges would become multi-disciplinary institutions, and eventually the 2-year B.Ed. degree will be phased out. Greater transparency in the functioning of NCTE is also to be achieved in near future.

An offering of classical vocal music was made by Shri Kshitij Mathur in the Meditation Hall on 15 February 2016. He was accompanied by Shri Khadag Singh on Tabla, Shri Chetan Nigam on Harmonium, and Shri Virender Singh and Shri Saksham Bharadwaj on Tanpura.



Ashramites on 12 February 2016



Below: Aspirants, Teachers & Teacher-trainees, and Vocational Trainees respectively with Ashramites



THE IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY

CHAPTER XXVII THE PERIL OF THE WORLD-STATE

This then is the extreme possible form of a World-State, the form dreamed of by the socialistic, scientific, humanitarian thinkers who represent the modern mind at its highest point of self-consciousness and are therefore able to detect the trend of its tendencies, though to the half-rationalised mind of the ordinary man whose view does not go beyond the day and its immediate morrow, their speculations may seem to be chimerical and utopian. In reality they are nothing of the kind; in their essence, not necessarily in their form, they are, as we have seen, not only the logical outcome, but the inevitable practical last end of the incipient urge towards human unity, if it is pursued by a principle of mechanical unification,—that is to say, by the principle of the State. It is for this reason that we have found it necessary to show the operative principles and necessities which have underlain the growth of the unified and finally socialistic nation-State, in order to see how the same movement in international unification must lead to the same results by an analogous necessity of development. The State principle leads necessarily to uniformity, regulation, mechanisation; its inevitable end is socialism. There is nothing fortuitous, no room for chance in political and social development, and the emergence of socialism was no accident or a thing that might or might not have been, but the inevitable result contained in the very seed of the State idea. It was inevitable from the moment that idea began to be hammered out in practice. The work of the Alfreds and Charlemagnes and other premature national or imperial unifiers contained this as a sure result, for men work almost always without knowing for what they have worked. But in modern times the signs are so clear that we need not be deceived or imagine, when we begin to lay a mechanical base for world-unification, that the result contained in the very effort will not insist on developing, however far-off it may seem at present from any immediate or even any distant possibilities. A strict unification, a vast uniformity, a regulated socialisation of united mankind will be the predestined fruit of our labour.

This result can only be avoided if an opposite force interposes and puts in its veto, as happened in Asia where the State idea, although strongly affirmed within its limits, could never go in its realisation beyond a certain point, because the fundamental principle of the national life was opposed to its full intolerant development. The races of Asia, even the most organised, have always been peoples rather than nations in the modern sense. Or they were nations only in the sense of having a common soul-life, a common culture, a common social organisation, a common political head, but not nation-States. The State machine existed only for a restricted and superficial action; the real life of the people was determined by other powers with which it could not meddle. Its principal function was to preserve and protect the national culture and to maintain sufficient political, social and administrative order—as far as possible an immutable order—for the

real life of the people to function undisturbed in its own way and according to its own innate tendencies. Some such unity for the human race is possible in the place of an organised World-State, if the nations of mankind succeed in preserving their developed instinct of nationalism intact and strong enough to resist the domination of the State idea. The result would then be not a single nation of mankind and a World-State, but a single human people with a free association of its nation-units. Or, it may be, the nation as we know it might disappear, but there would be some other new kind of group-units, assured by some sufficient machinery of international order in the peaceful and natural functioning of their social, economic and cultural relations.

Which then of these two major possibilities would be preferable? To answer that question we have to ask ourselves, what would be the account of gain and loss for the life of the human race which would result from the creation of a unified World-State. In all probability the results would be, with all allowance for the great difference between then and now, very much the same in essence as those which we observe in the ancient Roman Empire. On the credit side, we should have first one enormous gain, the assured peace of the world. It might not be absolutely secure against internal shocks and disturbances but, supposing certain outstanding questions to be settled with some approach to permanence, it would eliminate even such occasional violences of civil strife as disturbed the old Roman imperial economy and, whatever perturbations there might still be, need not disturb the settled fabric of civilisation so as to cast all again into the throes of a great radical and violent change. Peace assured, there would be an unparalleled development of ease and well-being. A great number of outstanding problems would be solved by the united intelligence of mankind working no longer in fragments but as one. The vital life of the race would settle down into an assured rational order comfortable, well-regulated, well-informed, with a satisfactory machinery for meeting all difficulties, exigencies and problems with the least possible friction, disturbance and mere uncertainty of adventure and peril. At first, there would be a great cultural and intellectual efflorescence. Science would organise itself for the betterment of human life and the increase of knowledge and mechanical efficiency. The various cultures of the world those that still exist as separate realities—would not only exchange ideas more intimately, but would throw their gains into one common fund, and new motives and forms would arise for a time in thought and literature and Art. Men would meet each other much more closely and completely than before, develop a greater mutual understanding rid of many accidental motives of strife, hatred and repugnance which now exist, and arrive, if not at brotherhood,—which cannot come by mere political, social and cultural union,—yet at some imitation of it, a sufficiently kindly association and interchange. There would be an unprecedented splendour, ease and amenity in this development of human life, and no doubt some chief poet of the age, writing in the common or official tongue—shall we say, Esperanto?—would sing confidently of the approach of the golden age or even proclaim its actual arrival and eternal duration. But after a time, there would be a dying down of force, a static condition of the human mind and human life, then stagnation, decay, disintegration. The soul of man would begin to wither in the midst of his acquisitions.

This result would come about for the same essential reasons as in the Roman example. The conditions of a vigorous life would be lost, liberty, mobile variation and the shock upon each other of freely developing differentiated lives. It may be said that this will not happen, because the World-State will be a free democratic State, not a liberty-stifling empire or autocracy, and because liberty and progress are the very principle of modern life and no development would be tolerated which went contrary to that principle. But in all this, there is not really the security that seems to be offered. For what is now, need not endure under quite different circumstances and the idea that it will is a strange mirage thrown from the actualities of the present on the possibly quite different actualities of the future. Democracy is by no means a sure preservative of liberty; on the contrary, we see today the democratic system of government march steadily towards such an organised annihilation of individual liberty as could not have been dreamed of in the old aristocratic and monarchical systems. It may be that from the more violent and brutal forms of despotic oppression which were associated with those systems, democracy has indeed delivered those nations which have been fortunate enough to achieve liberal forms of government, and that is no doubt a great gain. It revives now only in periods of revolution and excitement, often in the form of mob tyranny or a savage revolutionary or reactionary repression. But there is a deprivation of liberty which is more respectable in appearance, more subtle and systematised, more mild in its method because it has a greater force at its back, but for that very reason more effective and pervading. The tyranny of the majority has become a familiar phrase and its deadening effects have been depicted with a great force of resentment by certain of the modern intellectuals; 1 but what the future promises us is something more formidable still, the tyranny of the whole, of the self-hypnotised mass over its constituent groups and units.²

This is a very remarkable development, the more so as in the origins of the democratic movement individual freedom was the ideal which it set in front both in ancient and modern times. The Greeks associated democracy with two main ideas, first, an effective and personal share by each citizen in the actual government, legislation, administration of the community, secondly, a great freedom of individual temperament and action. But neither of these characteristics can flourish in the modern type of democracy, although in the United States of America there was at one time a tendency to a certain extent in this direction. In large States, the personal share of each citizen in the government cannot be effective; he can only have an equal share—illusory for the individual although effective in the mass—in the periodical choice of his legislators and administrators. Even if

¹ E.g. Ibsen in his drama, "An Enemy of the People".

² There was first seen the drastic beginning of this phenomenon in Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia. At the time of writing this development could be seen only in speculative prevision. It assumed afterwards the proportions of a growing fact and we can now see its full and formidable body.

these have not practically to be elected from a class which is not the whole or even the majority of the community, at present almost everywhere the middle class, still these legislators and administrators do not really represent their electors. The Power they represent is another, a formless and bodiless entity, which has taken the place of monarch and aristocracy, that impersonal group-being which assumes some sort of outward form and body and conscious action in the huge mechanism of the modern State. Against this power the individual is much more helpless than he was against old oppressions. When he feels its pressure grinding him into its uniform moulds, he has no resource except either an impotent anarchism or else a retreat, still to some extent possible, into the freedom of his soul or the freedom of his intellectual being.

For this is one gain of modern democracy which ancient liberty did not realise to the same extent and which has not yet been renounced, a full freedom of speech and thought. And as long as this freedom endures, the fear of a static condition of humanity and subsequent stagnation might seem to be groundless,—especially when it is accompanied by universal education which provides the largest possible human field for producing an effectuating force. Freedom of thought and speech—the two necessarily go together, since there can be no real freedom of thought where a padlock is put upon freedom of speech—is not indeed complete without freedom of association; for free speech means free propagandism and propagandism only becomes effective by association for the realisation of its objects. This third liberty also exists with more or less of qualifying limitations or prudent safeguards in all democratic States. But it is a question whether these great fundamental liberties have been won by the race with an entire security,—apart from their occasional suspensions even in free nations and the considerable restrictions with which they are hedged in subject countries. It is possible that the future has certain surprises for us in this direction.³ Freedom of thought would be the last human liberty directly attacked by the allregulating State, which will first seek to regulate the whole life of the individual in the type approved by the communal mind or by its rulers. But when it sees how all-important is the thought in shaping the life, it will be led to take hold of that too by forming the thought of the individual through State education and by training him to the acceptance of the approved communal, ethical, social, cultural, religious ideas, as was done in many ancient forms of education. Only if it finds this weapon ineffective, is it likely to limit freedom of thought directly on the plea of danger to the State and to civilisation. Already we see the right of the State to interfere with individual thought announced here and there in a most ominous manner. One would have imagined religious liberty at least was assured to mankind, but recently we have seen an exponent of "new thought" advancing positively the doctrine that the State is under no obligation to recognise the religious liberty of the individual and that even if it grants freedom of reli-

³ A surprise no longer, but more and more an accomplished fact. At this moment freedom of speech and thought exists no longer in Russia; it was entirely suspended for a time in Germany and Southern Europe.

gious thought, it can only be conceded as a matter of expediency, not of right. There is no obligation, it is contended, to allow freedom of cult; and indeed this seems logical; for if the State has the right to regulate the whole life of the individual, it must surely have the right to regulate his religion, which is so important a part of his life, and his thought, which has so powerful an effect upon his life.⁴

Supposing an all-regulating socialistic World-State to be established, freedom of thought under such a regime would necessarily mean a criticism not only of the details, but of the very principles of the existing state of things. This criticism, if it is to look not to the dead past but to the future, could only take one direction, the direction of anarchism, whether of the spiritual Tolstoyan kind or else the intellectual anarchism which is now the creed of a small minority but still a growing force in many European countries. It would declare the free development of the individual as its gospel and denounce government as an evil and no longer at all a necessary evil. It would affirm the full and free religious, ethical, intellectual and temperamental growth of the individual from within as the true ideal of human life and all else as things not worth having at the price of the renunciation of this ideal, a renunciation which it would describe as the loss of his soul. It would preach as the ideal of society a free association or brother-hood of individuals without government or any kind of compulsion.

What would the World-State do with this kind of free thought? It might tolerate it so long as it did not translate itself into individual and associated action; but the moment it spread or turned towards a practical self-affirmation in life, the whole principle of the State and its existence would be attacked and its very base would be sapped and undermined and in imminent danger. To stop the destruction at its root or else consent to its own subversion would be the only alternatives before the established Power. But even before any such necessity arises, the principle of regulation of all things by the State would have extended itself to the regulation of the mental as well as the physical life of man by the communal mind, which was the ideal of former civilisations. A static order of society would be the necessary consequence, since without the freedom of the individual a society cannot remain progressive. It must settle into the rut or the groove of a regulated perfection or of something to which it gives that name because of the rationality of system and symmetrical idea of order which it embodies. The communal mass is always conservative and static in its consciousness and only moves slowly in the tardy process of subconscient Nature. The free individual is the conscious progressive: it is only when he is able to impart his own creative and mobile consciousness to the mass that a progressive society becomes possible.

- Sri Aurobindo

⁴ It was an error of prevision to suppose that the State would hesitate for a time to suppress freedom of thought altogether. It has been done at once and decisively by Bolshevist Russia and the totalitarian States. Religious liberty is not yet utterly destroyed, but is being slowly ground out in Russia, as it was in Germany, by State pressure.

One Day

The Little More

One day, and all the half-dead is done,
One day, and all the unborn begun;
A little path and the great goal,
A touch that brings the divine whole.

Hill after hill was climbed and now,
Behold, the last tremendous brow
And the great rock that none has trod:
A step, and all is sky and God.

- Sri Aurobindo

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