



गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुः गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः।
गुरुः साक्षात् परंब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरुवे 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.

Realization

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An e-magazine of Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch

तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् ।
अप्रमत्तस्तदा भवति योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययौ ॥

The state unperturbed when the senses are imprisoned in the mind, of this they say "it is Yoga". Then man becomes very vigilant, for Yoga is the birth of things and their ending.

– Katha Upanishad 2.3.11

Sri Aurobindo Ashram-Delhi Branch

Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016

011-2656 7863; www.sriaurobindoashram.net

Ongoing & Forthcoming Events

May 2016

Meditation & *Satsang* venue: Meditation Hall

Monday – Saturday

7 – 7:30 pm

Collective Meditation

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

May 01	<i>Sadhana ke Pahle Kadam</i> (Preliminary Steps on the Spiritual Quest)	Ms. Aparna Roy
May 08	<i>Karma Yoga and Karma Sannyasa</i> in Bhagvad Gita	Acharya Navneet
May 15	<i>The Other Earths</i> – A sonnet by Sri Aurobindo	Shri Prashant Khanna
May 22	<i>Moksha</i> (Liberation)	Shri Udhav Surekha
May 29	<i>Uttarpara Speech</i> of Sri Aurobindo	Dr. Ramesh Bijlani

Other Programs

May 07	6:30–7:30 pm	<i>Bhajan Sandhya</i>	Ms. Jalaja Shankar
May 16-26	Workshop on Music & Art for children aged 5-10 years		Ms. Preamsheela

Contact: 011-2656 7863; contact@aurobindoonline.in

Ongoing Classes venue: Vidya Block Room 099

Wednesday	11:30 am–12:30 pm	Bhagvad Gita	Shri Prashant Khanna
Saturday	6:00 –7:00 pm	Bhagvad Gita	Shri Prashant Khanna
Sunday (Except 15th)	11:30 am–12:30 pm	Savitri	Shri Prashant Khanna

Contact: 011-2656 7863; 2651 7426

The Mother's Integral Health Centre Activities

(Phone 011-2685 8563 ; <tmihc2000@yahoo.co.in>; Mrs. Bhatia (93122 65447))

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

Speciality Clinics – By Appointment Only

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

Integrated Health Services : Tailor-made packages of 4 hrs./day (Tu/Th/Sa)

Includes: Ayurveda, Naturopathy, *Yogasana*, *Pranayama*, Accupressure, Eye Exercise, Integral Health Consultation

May 01 & 15	6–7 am	<i>Mahamrityunjaya Havan & Gita Paath</i>	
Tue/Thu/Sat	6:45-7:45 am	<i>Yogasana class</i>	Shri Debi Prasad
Mon/Wed/Fri	8–9 am	<i>Yogasana class</i>	Ms. Preeti Bhardwaj
Mon/Wed/Fri	9:45-10:45 am	Yoga for Senior Citizens	Ms. Monica Srivastava
Mon/Wed/Fri	11 am–12 noon	<i>Yogasana class</i>	Ms. Ritu Birla
Tue/Thu/Sat	5– 6 pm	<i>Yogasana class</i>	Shri Deepak Jhamb

Tue/Fri	Contentment Building Month for Individual/Family		Ms. Neha Bhimwal
May 2-16	M/W/F 10 am-12 noon	Vedic Healing Chants Camp	Dr. Shardha Batra MD
May 14-15	6:30-9:30 am	Ayurveda Camp	Dr. Surinder Katoch
Contact: 011-2685 8563; 98111 99167; < tmihc2000@yahoo.co.in >			
May 21-26	7:30 am	Integral Eye Exercise Camp	
Contact: 011-2685 8563; Madhu 92683 84794			

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

Monday	3:30–4:30 pm	<i>Vivekachoodamani</i>	Dr. Tarun Baveja
Wed/Fri	3:30–4:30 pm	<i>Chhandogya Upanishad</i>	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. Preamsheela
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	4:00-6:30 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>

2016 Camps in the Kumaon Himalayas

Venue: Madhuban, Ramgarh

May 04-10	Spiritual Retreat	Gujarati/English	SAS Baroda
May 07-09	Amartya Kanya Gurukul, Kurukshetra	Teacher Training	
May 11-13	Teacher's Training Camp (M.I.S.)	English	Dr. Ramesh Bijlani
May 18-21	Self-transformation through Integral Psychology	English	Dr. Pulkit Sharma
May 21-24	Spiritual Retreat		VIMHANS
May 25-31	Spiritual Retreat/Ramkrishna Mission, Delhi	Eng/Hindi	Sw. Shantatmananda

Venue: Van Niwas, Nainital

May 04-10	Sri Arvind aur Yog	Gujrati	Dr. Bharatsinh Jhala
May 11-17	Savitri	Gujrati	Dr. Bharatsinh Jhala
May 18-24	Sri Arvind aur Kala	Hindi	Shri Bharat Gupt
May 25-31	Spiritual Retreat	Oriya	Shanti
May 04-10	Adventure Youth Camp	Sri Aurobindo International School, Hyderabad Adventure Group Udavi School, Auroville	
May 11-17	Adventure Youth Camp	SAIERC, Rajgangpur, Odisha Rani Saheb Kelavi Mandal, Lemdi, Gujarat	
May 12-14		Shikshantar School, Gurgaon	
May 18-24	Adventure Youth Camp	The Millenium School, Bhatinda, Punjab Sri Aurobindo Centre, Ratlam	
		RMX Foundation of New Hope	
May 25-31	Adventure Youth Camp	Odisha Youth Govt. Arts College, Talaja, Gujarat Indian Classical Music Camp	

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29 May Anniversary of Relics Enshrinement at Van Niwas, Nainital

Yoga

According to the scientific theory, the human being began as the animal, developed through the savage and consummated in the modern civilised man. The Indian theory is different. God created the world by developing the many out of the One and the material out of the spiritual. From the beginning, the objects which compose the physical world were arranged by Him in their causes, developed under the law of their being in the subtle or psychical world and then manifested in the gross or material world. From *kârana* to *sukshma*, from *sukhsma* to *sthula*, and back again, that is the formula. Once manifested in matter the world proceeds by laws which do not change, from age to age, by a regular succession, until it is all withdrawn back again into the source from which it came... Whether we take the modern scientific or the ancient Hindu standpoint the progress of humanity is a fact. The wheel of Brahma rotates for ever but it does not turn in the same place; its rotations carry it forward.

The animal is distinguished from man by its enslavement to the body and the vital impulses. *Asanâyâ mrtyuh*, Hunger who is Death, evolved the material world from of old, and it is the physical hunger and desire and the vital sensations and primary emotions connected with the *prâna* that seek to feed upon the world in the beast and in the savage man who approximates to the condition of the beast. Out of this animal state, according to European Science, man rises working out the tiger and the ape by intellectual and moral development in the social condition. If the beast has to be worked out, it is obvious that the body and the *prâna* must be conquered, and as that conquest is more or less complete, the man is more or less evolved. The progress of mankind has been placed by many predominately in the development of the human intellect, and intellectual development is no doubt essential to self-conquest. The animal and the savage are bound by the body because the ideas of the animal or the ideas of the savage are mostly limited to those sensations and associations which are connected with the body. The development of intellect enables a man to find the deeper self within and partially replace what our philosophy calls the *dehâtmaka-buddhi*, the sum of ideas and sensations which make us think of the body as ourself, by another set of ideas which reach beyond the body, and, existing for their own delight and substituting intellectual and moral satisfaction as the chief objects of life, master, if they cannot entirely silence, the clamour of the lower sensual desires.

The development of the emotions is therefore the first condition of a sound human evolution. Unless the feelings tend away from the body and the love of others takes increasingly the place of the brute love of self, there can be no progress upward. The organisation of human society tends to develop the altruistic element in man which makes for life and battles with and conquers *Asanâyâ mrtyuh*. It is therefore not the struggle for life, or at least not the struggle for our own life, but the struggle for the life of others which is the most important term in evolution,—for our children, for our family, for our class, for our community, for our race and nation, for humanity. An ever-enlarging self takes the place of the old narrow self which is confined to our individual mind and body, and it is this moral growth which society helps and organises.

So far there is little essential difference between our own ideas of human progress and those of the West except in this vital point that the West believes this evolution to be a development of matter and the satisfaction of the reason, the reflective and observing intellect, to be the highest term of our progress. Here it is that our religion parts company with Science. It declares the evolution to be a conquest of matter by the recovery of the deeper emotional and intellectual self which was involved in the body and overclouded by the desires of the *prâna*. In the language of the Upanishads the *manahkosha* and the *buddhikosha* are more than the *prânakosha* and *annakosha* and it is to them that man rises in his evolution. Religion farther seeks a higher term for our evolution than the purified emotions or the clarified activity of the observing and reflecting intellect. The highest term of evolution is the spirit in which knowledge, love and action, the threefold *dharma* of humanity, find their fulfilment and end. This is the *âtman* in the *ânandakosha*, and it is by communion and identity of this individual self with the universal self which is God that man will become entirely pure, entirely strong, entirely wise and entirely blissful, and the evolution will be fulfilled. The conquest of the body and the vital self by the purification of the emotions and the clarification of the intellect was the principal work of the past. The purification has been done by morality and religion, the clarification by science and philosophy, art, literature and social and political life being the chief media in which these uplifting forces have worked. The conquest of the emotions and the intellect by the spirit is the work of the future.

In the Katha Upanishad there occurs one of those powerful and pregnant phrases, containing a world of meaning in a point of verbal space, with which the Upanishads are thickly sown. *Yogo hi prabhavapyayau*. For Yoga is the beginning & ending of things. In the Puranas the meaning of the phrase is underlined & developed. By Yoga God made the world, by Yoga He will draw it into Himself in the end. But not only the original creation & final dissolution of the universe, all great changes of things, creations, evolutions, destructions are effected by the essential process of Yoga, *tapasya*. In this ancient view Yoga presents itself as the effective, perhaps the essential & real executive movement of Nature herself in all her processes. If this is so in the general workings of Nature, if that is to say, a divine Knowledge and a divine Will in things by putting itself into relation with objects is the true cause of all force & effectuality, the same rule should hold good in human activities.

Yoga is a means by which one arrives at union with the Truth behind things through an inner discipline which leads us from the consciousness of the outward and apparent to the consciousness of the inner and real. Yoga consciousness does not exclude the knowledge of the outer apparent world but it sees it with the eyes of an inner, not an outer seeing and experience, alters and sets right all its values in the light of an inner deeper greater truer consciousness and applies to it the Law of the reality, exchanging the law of the creature's Ignorance for the rule of a divine Will and Knowledge.

All false self merges into the true Self. Man acquires likeness, union or identification with God. This is *mukti*, the state in which humanity thoroughly realises the freedom and immortality which are its eternal goal.

– Sri Aurobindo

Activities during March 16, 2016 – April 15, 2016

INTEGRAL EYE EXERCISE CAMP : The 105th Integral Eye Exercise Camp was conducted at The Mother’s Integral Health Centre from March 12-17, 2016. All participants benefited by the routines practiced during the course as the following comments clearly illustrate: “My problems needed these exercises because of the computer work and strain. After 3 days I can see that the vision improves with practice.” (R.G.); “My daughter (Female 8 yrs.) was reading [the Snellen Chart] from 3 feet on day 1. Last day she read from 5 feet & sometimes 6 feet also.” (S.S.K.); “This program is very beneficial. From the first day to today, the last day, difference seems to be as of day and night. With both eyes, can easily read the last line. If this course were of 15 days, it will be even more beneficial.” (P.K., Male 45); “Very useful program. Great effort by the volunteers in helping us. There is a visible difference in improvement of vision. We will try to give regular practice to children as well and surely come with the numbers after testing eye. I thank God first of all for having got information about such great service and also having given opportunity to take the same.” (P., Female 36)

YOUTH CAMP AT NAINITAL : Eighty Class VII students of The Mother’s International School accompanied by five teacher/escorts



took part in a youth camp at Van Niwas, Nainital from March 20-26. The activities in the camp ranged from daily keep-fit in the morning to scrambling,



day and night trekking, bouldering, rock climbing, rappelling and river-crossing. Especially noteworthy was the trek to Naina Peak (elevation: 8,622 feet) with a breathtaking view of the snow-clad mountain peaks scores and hundreds of kilometers away. The students enjoyed all activities and were



happy to be able to come out of their comfort zones. On 24th March Holi was celebrated with *gulaal* (color powders) and *gujiya* (typical Indian sweet for the festival of Holi). Their energy level was infectious and they motivated each other to raise their benchmarks and



participate in different activities throughout the trip. They eagerly participated in *Shramdaan* post breakfast every day. It was an enjoyable trip for students and teachers alike.

CAMP FOR M.I.S. STUDENTS AT DELHI ASHRAM : A camp was conducted for 25 class IX M.I.S. students at the close of their academic year 2015-2016 from March 27-29 in the Ashram ambience. The group was led by their teacher Shri Yogesh Sharma. Activities included talks by Dr. Ramesh Bijlani on spiritual topics and health. Dr. Deeksha Tyagi (Gynaecologist) imparted guidance to

female students on various gender issues. Sessions on physical fitness through dance were conducted by Shri Ashwin Yadav (Dance Teacher – MIS). No outside foods, snacks or soft drinks were consumed by students during the entire period of the camp. One of the main objectives of the camp was to build and cement inter-personal relationships through discussions and work-together play-together sessions. Daily *shramdan* (selfless work offering) and meditation were also an integral part of the camp. At the end, students expressed their consequential appreciation for this opportunity to grasp much useful information and to develop value-based traits and relationships in their psyche.



MOTHER'S FIRST MEETING WITH SRI AUROBINDO : The Mother's first arrival 102 years ago in Pondicherry was commemorated on March 29. In the forenoon, Karuna didi chanted in the Meditation Hall for the divine Presence.

In the evening, lamps of aspiration were kindled around the Shrine by Ashram residents and visitors. Dr. Ramesh Bijlani in a brief talk said that the historic meeting between Sri Aurobindo and



the Mother on 29 March 1914 was culmination of the design that was being worked out by the Divine since a long time.

Surface life of these two spiritual collaborators was only a preparation for this event. Sri Aurobindo and the Mother seemingly had occult knowledge of this plan far in advance. When the time came, things moved rapidly, and with clock-work precision. Sri Aurobindo reached Pondicherry in 1910, Paul Richard visited him there in the same year; he was told to come with the Mother only after four years. When Mother first met Sri Aurobindo, there was instant mutual recognition, although no words were exchanged. The Mother stayed during that visit for less than a year, but even this short stay triggered the momentous publication of the *Arya*, a monthly journal in which most of Sri Aurobindo's writings (later collected in book form) were serialized.

After the talk, Ms. Jyotika Dayal Paust made an offering of devotional songs followed by distribution of *Prasad* to all present.



BHAJAN SANDHYA : Sushree Vijaya Verma, teacher of Hindustani Classical Vocal music at Matri Kala Mandir, and her students presented a bevy of devotional songs in the monthly *bhajan sandhya* on 2 April to collective acclaim.

SRI AUROBINDO S RETURN FROM ENGLAND : Sri Aurobindo's arrival in Pondicherry on 4 April 1910 was commemorated by invocation for divine Presence by Karuna Didi in the forenoon. In the evening, in an open air function in the Tapasya courtyard (Tapasya building was inaugurated on 4 April also), Tara Didi recited Sri Aurobindo's poem, *Parabrahman*. The recitation was followed by a sooth-



ing flute recital by Shri Himanshu Dutt ably assisted by his disciple Shri Akshay Pant on flute and by Shri Fateh Singh on *tabla*.

AYURVEDA CAMP : An Ayurveda camp was conducted under the auspices of The Mother's Integral Health Centre in the Ashram on April 9-10, 2016. Chanting of the Lord's name while walking around the campus (*prabhat pheri*) started the camp activities on both days. Subsequently a 45



minutes session on Yoga elaborated on the true meaning and power of yoga. In a one hour interactive session, Dr. Surinder Katoch, Ayurveda physician & yoga expert, gave details of basic Ayurvedic wisdom in simple terms so that the insight could be used for physical, mental, social and spiritual well-being. On the second day, *prabhat pheri* was followed by *havan* (sacrificial offering) with recitation of *Maha*



Mritunjaya mantra and slokas from the Bhagvad Gita. Second day's interactive session's focus was on management of lifestyle diseases, such as diabetes and hypertension. Behavioral traits especially discussed included *aahar* (food), *vihaar* (daily schedule), *aachaar* (conduct) and *vichaar* (thought patterns). Both days, traditional Indian games also formed part of the camp. Online course information on "Ayurvedic & Yogic Style Of Living" conducted by Dr. Katoch can be accessed at <http://clsl.in/tD>.

Note: Pictures can be viewed up to 200% size for finer detail

THE IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY

CHAPTER XXIX

THE IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The only means that readily suggests itself by which a necessary group-freedom can be preserved and yet the unification of the human race achieved, is to strive not towards a closely organised World-State, but towards a free, elastic and progressive world-union. If this is to be done, we shall have to discourage the almost inevitable tendency which must lead any unification by political, economic and administrative means, in a word, by the force of machinery, to follow the analogy of the evolution of the nation-State. And we shall have to encourage and revive that force of idealistic nationalism which, before the war, seemed on the point of being crushed on the one side under the weight of the increasing world-empires of England, Russia, Germany and France, on the other by the progress of the opposite ideal of internationalism with its large and devastating contempt for the narrow ideas of country and nation and its denunciation of the evils of nationalistic patriotism. But at the same time we shall have to find a cure for the as yet incurable separative sentiments natural to the very idea to which we shall have to give a renewed strength. How is all this to be done?

On our side in the attempt we have the natural principle of compensating reactions. The law of action and reaction, valid even in physical Science, is in human action, which must always depend largely on psychological forces, a more constant and pervading truth. That in life to every pressure of active forces there is a tendency of reaction of opposite or variative forces which may not immediately operate but must eventually come into the field or which may not act with an equal and entirely compensating force, but must act with some force of compensation, may be taken as well established. It is both a philosophical necessity and a constant fact of experience. For Nature works by a balancing system of the interplay of opposite forces. When she has insisted for some time on the dominant force of one tendency as against all others, she seeks to correct its exaggerations by reviving, if dead, or newly awakening, if only in slumber, or bringing into the field in a new and modified form the tendency that is exactly opposite. After long insistence on centralisation, she tries to modify it by at least a subordinated decentralisation. After insisting on more and more uniformity, she calls again into play the spirit of multiform variation. The result need not be an equipollence of the two tendencies, it may be any kind of compromise. Or, instead of a compromise it may be in act a fusion and in result a new creation which shall be a compound of both principles. We may expect her to apply the same method to the tendencies of unification and groupvariation in dealing with the great mass unit of humanity. At present, the nation is the fulcrum which the latter tendency has been using for its workings as against the imperialistic tendency of unifying assimilation. Now the course of Nature's working in humanity may destroy the nation-unit, as she destroyed the tribe and clan, and develop a quite new principle of grouping; but also she may preserve it and give it sufficient power of vitality and duration to balance usefully the trend towards too heavy a force of unification. It is this latter contingency that we have to consider.

The two forces in action before the war were imperialism—of various colours, the more rigid imperialism of Germany, the more liberal imperialism of En-

gland,—and nationalism. They were the two sides of one phenomenon, the aggressive or expansive and the defensive aspects of national egoism. But in the trend of imperialism this egoism had some eventual chance of dissolving itself by excessive self-enlargement, as the aggressive tribe disappeared, for example, the Persian tribe, first into the empire and then into the nationality of the Persian people, or as the city state also disappeared, first into the Roman Empire and then both tribe and city state without hope of revival into the nations which arose by fusion out of the irruption of the German tribes into the declining Latin unity. In the same or a similar way aggressive national imperialism by overspreading the world might end in destroying altogether the nation-unit as the city state and tribe were destroyed by the aggressive expansion of a few dominant city states and tribes. The force of defensive nationalism has reacted against this tendency, restricted it and constantly thwarted its evolutionary aim. But before the war, the separative force of nationalism seemed doomed to impotence and final suppression in face of the tremendous power with which science, organisation and efficiency had armed the governing States of the large imperial aggregates.

All the facts were pointing in one direction. Korea had disappeared into the nascent Japanese empire on the mainland of Asia. Persian nationalism had succumbed and lay suppressed under a system of spheres of influence which were really a veiled protectorate,—and all experience shows that the beginning of a protectorate is also the beginning of the end of the protected nation; it is a euphemistic name for the first process of chewing previous to deglutition. Tibet and Siam were so weak and visibly declining that their continued immunity could not be hoped for. China had only escaped by the jealousies of the world-Powers and by its size which made it an awkward morsel to swallow, let alone to digest. The partition of all Asia between four or five or at the most six great empires seemed a foregone conclusion which nothing but an unexampled international convulsion could prevent. The European conquest of Northern Africa had practically been completed by the disappearance of Morocco, the confirmed English protectorate over Egypt and the Italian hold on Tripoli. Somaliland was in a preliminary process of slow deglutition; Abyssinia, saved once by Menelik but now torn by internal discord, was the object of a revived dream of Italian colonial empire. The Boer republics had gone under before the advancing tide of imperialistic aggression. All the rest of Africa practically was the private property of three great Powers and two small ones. In Europe, no doubt, there were still a few small independent nations, Balkan and Teutonic, and also two quite unimportant neutralised countries. But the Balkans were a constant theatre of uncertainty and disturbance and the rival national egoisms could only have ended, in case of the ejection of Turkey from Europe, either by the formation of a young, hungry and ambitious Slav empire under the dominance of Serbia or Bulgaria or by their disappearance into the shadow of Austria and Russia. The Teutonic States were coveted by expanding Germany and, had that Power been guided by the prudently daring diplomacy of a new Bismarck,—a not unlikely contingency, could William II have gone to the grave before letting loose the hounds of war,—their absorption might well have been compassed. There remained America where imperialism had not yet arisen, but it was already emerging in the form of Rooseveltian Republicanism, and the interference in Mexico, hesitating as it was, yet pointed to the inevitability of a protectorate and a final absorption of the disorderly Central American republics; the union of South

America would then have become a defensive necessity. It was only the stupendous cataclysm of the world war which interfered with the progressive march towards the division of the world into less than a dozen great empires.

The war revived with a startling force the idea of free nationality, throwing it up in three forms, each with a stamp of its own. First, in opposition to the imperialistic ambitions of Germany in Europe the allied nations, although themselves empires, were obliged to appeal to a qualified ideal of free nationality and pose as its champions and protectors. America, more politically idealistic than Europe, entered the war with a cry for a league of free nations. Finally, the original idealism of the Russian revolution cast into this new creative chaos an entirely new element by the distinct, positive, uncompromising recognition, free from all reserves of diplomacy and self-interest, of the right of every aggregate of men naturally marked off from other aggregates to decide its own political status and destiny. These three positions were in fact distinct from each other, but each has in effect some relation to the actually possible future of humanity. The first based itself upon the present conditions and aimed at a certain practical rearrangement. The second tried to hasten into immediate practicability a not entirely remote possibility of the future. The third aimed at bringing into precipitation by the alchemy of revolution—for what we inappropriately call revolution, is only a rapidly concentrated movement of evolution—a yet remote end which in the ordinary course of events could only be realised, if at all, in the far distant future. All of them have to be considered; for a prospect which only takes into view existing realised forces or apparently realisable possibilities is foredoomed to error. Moreover, the Russian idea by its attempt at self-effectuation, however immediately ineffective, rendered itself an actual force which must be counted among those that may influence the future of the race. A great idea already striving to enforce itself in the field of practice is a power which cannot be left out of count, nor valued only according to its apparent chances of immediate effectuation at the present hour.

The position taken by England, France and Italy, the Western European section of the Allies, contemplated a political rearrangement of the world, but not any radical change of its existing order. It is true that it announced the principle of free nationalities; but in international politics which is still a play of natural forces and interests and in which ideals are only a comparatively recent development of the human mind, principles can only prevail where and so far as they are consonant with interests, or where and so far as, being hostile to interests, they are yet assisted by natural forces strong enough to overbear these interests which oppose them. The pure application of ideals to politics is as yet a revolutionary method of action which can only be hoped for in exceptional crises; the day when it becomes a rule of life, human nature and life itself will have become a new phenomenon, something almost superterrestrial and divine. That day is not yet. The Allied Powers in Europe were themselves nations with an imperial past and an imperial future; they could not, even if they wished, get away by the force of a mere word, a mere idea from that past and that future. Their first interest, and therefore the first duty of their statesmen, must be to preserve each its own empire, and even, where it can in their view be legitimately done, to increase it. The principle of free nationality could only be applied by them in its purity where their own imperial interests were not affected, as against Turkey and the Central Powers, because there the principle was con-

sonant with their own interests and could be supported as against German, Austrian or Turkish interests by the natural force of a successful war which was or could be made to appear morally justified in its results because it was invited by the Powers which had to suffer. It could not be applied in its purity where their own imperial interests were affected, because there it was opposed to existing forces and there was no sufficient countervailing force by which that opposition could be counteracted. Here, therefore, it must be acted upon in a qualified sense, as a force moderating that of pure imperialism. So applied, it would amount in fact at most to the concession of internal self-government or Home Rule in such proportion, at such a time or by such stages as might be possible, practicable and expedient for the interests of the empire and of the subject nation so far as they could be accommodated with one another. It must be understood, in other words, as the common sense of the ordinary man would understand it; it could not be and has nowhere been understood in the sense which would be attached to it by the pure idealist of the Russian type who was careless of all but the naked purity of his principle.

What then would be the practical consequences of this qualified principle of free nationality as it would have been possible to apply it after a complete victory of the Allied Powers, its representatives? In America it would have no field of immediate application. In Africa there are not only no free nations, but with the exception of Egypt and Abyssinia no nations, properly speaking; for Africa is the one part of the world where the old tribal conditions have still survived and only tribal peoples exist, not nations in the political sense of the word. Here then a complete victory of the Allies meant the partition of the continent between three colonial empires, Italy, France and England, with the continuance of the Belgian, Spanish and Portuguese enclaves and the precarious continuance for a time of the Abyssinian kingdom. In Asia it meant the appearance of three or four new nationalities out of the ruins of the Turkish empire; but these by their immaturity would all be foredoomed to remain, for a time at least, under the influence or the protection of one or other of the great Powers. In Europe it implied the diminution of Germany by the loss of Alsace and Poland, the disintegration of the Austrian empire, the reversion of the Adriatic coast to Serbia and Italy, the liberation of the Czech and Polish nations, some rearrangement in the Balkan Peninsula and the adjacent countries. All this, it is clear, meant a great change in the map of the world, but no radical transformation. The existing tendency of nationalism would gain some extension by the creation of a number of new independent nations; the existing tendency of imperial aggregation would gain a far greater extension by the expansion of the actual territory, world-wide influence and international responsibilities of the successful empires.

Still, certain very important results could not but be gained which must make in the end for a free world-union. The most important of these, the result of the Russian Revolution born out of the war and its battle-cry of free nationality but contingent on the success and maintenance of the revolutionary principle, is the disappearance of Russia as an aggressive empire and its transformation from an imperialistic aggregate into a congeries or a federation of free republics.¹ The second is the destruction of the German type of imperialism and the salvation of

¹ Not so free in practice under Bolshevik rule as in principle; but still the principle is there and capable of development in a freer future.

a number of independent nationalities which lay under its menace.² The third is the multiplication of distinct nationalities with a claim to the recognition of their separate existence and legitimate voice in the affairs of the world, which makes for the strengthening of the idea of a free world-union as the ultimate solution of international problems. The fourth is the definite recognition by the British nation of the qualified principle of free nationality in the inevitable reorganisation of the Empire.

This development took two forms, the recognition of the principle of Home Rule³ in Ireland and India and the recognition of the claim of each constituent nation to a voice, which in the event of Home Rule must mean a free and equal voice, in the councils of the Empire. Taken together, these things would mean the ultimate conversion from an empire constituted on the old principle of nationalistic imperialism which was represented by the supreme government of one predominant nation, England, into a free and equal commonwealth of nations managing their common affairs through a supple coordination by mutual goodwill and agreement. In other words, such a development could mean in the end the application within certain limits of precisely that principle which would underlie the constitution, on the larger scale, of a free world-union. Much work would have to be done, several extensions made, many counterforces overcome before such a commonwealth could become a realised fact, but that it should have taken shape in the principle and in the germ, constitutes a notable event in world-history. Two questions remained for the future. What would be the effect of this experiment on the other empires which adhere to the old principle of a dominant centralisation? Probably it would have this effect, if it succeeded, that as they are faced by the growth of strong nationalistic movements, they may be led to adopt the same or a similar solution, just as they adopted from England with modifications her successful system of Parliamentary government in the affairs of the nation. Secondly, what of the relations between these empires and the many independent non-imperial nations or republics which would exist under the new arrangement of the world? How are they to be preserved from fresh attempts to extend the imperial idea, or how is their existence to be correlated in the international comity with the huge and overshadowing power of the empires? It is here that the American idea of the League of free nations intervened and found a justification in principle.

Unfortunately, it was always difficult to know what exactly this idea would mean in practice. The utterances of its original spokesman, President Wilson, were marked by a magnificent nebulous idealism full of inspiring ideas and phrases, but not attended by a clear and specific application. For the idea behind

² Unfortunately this result seems destined to disappear by the formidable survival of a military Germany under the Fuhrer.

³ Now called Dominion Status. Unfortunately, this recognition could not be put into force except after a violent struggle in Ireland and was marred by the partition of the country. After a vehement passive resistance in India it came to be recognised there but in a truncated form shifting the full concession to a far future. In Egypt also it was only after a struggle that freedom was given but subject to a controlling British alliance. Still the nationalistic principle worked in the creation of a free Iraq, the creation of Arab kingdom and Syrian republic, the withdrawal of imperialistic influence from Persia and, above all, in the institution of Dominion Status substituting an internally free and equal position in a commonwealth of peoples for a dominating Empire. Yet these results, however imperfect, prepared the greater fulfilments which we now see accomplished as part of a new world of free peoples.

the head of the President we must look for light to the past history and the traditional temperament of the American people. The United States were always pacific and non-imperialistic in sentiment and principle, yet with an undertone of nationalistic susceptibility which threatened recently to take an imperialistic turn and led the nation to make two or three wars ending in conquests whose results it had then to reconcile with its nonimperialistic pacifism. It annexed Mexican Texas by war and then turned it into a constituent State of the union, swamping it at the same time with American colonists. It conquered Cuba from Spain and the Philippines first from Spain and then from the insurgent Filipinos and, not being able to swamp them with colonists, gave Cuba independence under the American influence and promised the Filipinos a complete independence. American idealism was always governed by a shrewd sense of American interests, and highest among these interests is reckoned the preservation of the American political idea and its constitution, to which all imperialism, foreign or American, has to be regarded as a mortal peril.

As a result and as the result of its inevitable amalgamation with that much more qualified aim of the Allied Powers, a League of Nations was bound to have both an opportunist and an idealistic element. The opportunist element was bound to take in its first form the legalisation of the map and political formation of the world as it emerged from the convulsion of the war. Its idealistic side, if supported by the use of the influence of America in the League, could favour the increasing application of the democratic principle in its working and its result might be the final emergence of a United States of the world with a democratic Congress of the nations as its governing agency. The legalisation might have the good effect of minimising the chances of war, if a real League of Nations proved practicable and succeeded,—even under the best conditions by no means a foregone conclusion.⁴ But it would have the bad effect of tending to stereotype a state of things which must be in part artificial, irregular, anomalous and only temporarily useful. Law is necessary for order and stability, but it becomes a conservative and hampering force unless it provides itself with an effective machinery for changing the laws as soon as circumstances and new needs make that desirable. This can only happen if a true Parliament, Congress or free Council of the nations becomes an accomplished thing. Meanwhile, how is the added force for the conservation of old principles to be counteracted and an evolution assured which will lead to the consummation desired by the democratic American ideal? America's presence and influence in such a League would not be sufficient for that purpose; for it would have at its side other influences interested in preserving the *status quo* and some interested in developing the imperialist solution. Another force, another influence would be needed. Here the Russian ideal, if truly applied and made a force, could intervene and find its justification. For our purpose, it would be the most interesting and important of the three anti-imperialistic influences which Nature might throw as elements into her great crucible to reshape the human earth-mass for a yet unforeseen purpose.

— Sri Aurobindo

⁴The League was eventually formed with America outside it and as an instrument of European diplomacy, which was a bad omen for its future.

Now I believe that it is possible
To manage the arising clouds, to silence
The thunder when it roars and put our rein
Upon the lightnings. Only first within
The god we must coerce who wallows here
In love with his subjection and confined
By his own servants, wantonly enslaved
To every lure and every tempting bond.
And therefore man loves power, but power o'ercome,
Force that accepts its limits. Wherefore then
A limit? Why not dare the whole embrace,
The vast attraction? Let us risk extinction then
If by that venture immortality
And high omnipotence come near our grasp...
O to be perfect here, to exceed all bounds,
To feel the world a toy between our hands!
Yet now enough that I have seized one current
Of the tremendous Force that moves the world.
I know, O God, the day shall dawn at last
When man shall rise from playing with the mud
And taking in his hands the sun and stars
Remould appearance, law and process old.
Then, pain and discord vanished from the world,
Shall the dead wilderness accept the rose
And the hushed desert babble of its rills;
Man once more seem the image true of God.

– Sri Aurobindo

(Excerpted from *The Meditations of Mandavya*)

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