BOOK III
Political ideologies in modern India were forged under circumstances somewhat different from those prevailing in the Western countries. When Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto the socialist thought and movement were already crystallizing out of the crucibles of the national democratic revolutions of Europe. Marx and Engels read the portends of their time, visualized a new social order, drew its outline and traced the steps of its advance. The treaty of Versailles and the failure of social democracy created a situation in central European countries from which the only escape seemed to be in a sort of militant nationalism such as was championed by Mussolini and Hitler. In England the democratic tradition combined with insistent demands for social justice and social security to produce a new creed of democratic socialist synthesis where the individual and the society are sought to be evenly balanced against each other. In China where socialist ideas have not grown beyond a cry for bare livelihood and where democracy is not known as a parliamentary form of government a new democracy is taking shape where the people are assured freedom from starvation and from the colonial-feudal bondage. All these political creeds were evolved under the stress of certain insistent problems prevailing in the respective countries of their origin. All these doctrines have to prove their value through their practical utility although all have as their epilogue a utopia to inspire their adherants and to prepare them for necessary suffering and sacrifice.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century the one insistent problem of India was that of national liberation against British rule. Indian ideologues, therefore, had in their background this national struggle for emancipation. The goal of independence was fixed in a setting of universal freedom and brotherhood. The world was assuredly moving towards this consummation and India with her ancient cultural heritage has to make her own contributions in it. The philosopher-leaders of India are not, therefore, occupied with the question of finding a new social order, setting the limits between state and individuals.
in the national economy or setting up a democratic or a totalitarian form of government. The thought which is uppermost is to discover the process of Indian history; to forge a technique of national struggle in accordance with India's traditions and with the ultimate object to absorb and assimilate the scientific challenge of the West and to find out the mission of India in the final synthesis towards which the classes and the nations will gradually lead. All of them have, a firm mooring in India's past, a bias for her spiritual traditions with a bold and liberal approach towards the ideas and experiments of the modern world.

The Renaissance begins with Ramakrishna and Vivekananda who between them, make one complete personality. Vivekananda was the dynamic complement of the mystic Ramakrishna. Loaded with the commission of his master he wandered throughout the country and nurtured the whole generation of youth in his puritan idealism. He taught them to dedicate their lives to the motherland, to keep firm on their feet in the midst of the storm from the West, to acquire "muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills that nothing can resist". He went to the poor and downtrodden and believed that the struggle for freedom must begin among them. In the Upanishads he discovered the message of all-round freedom, - physical, mental and spiritual freedom, not only for India but for the whole world; and he confidently asserted that this freedom will be attained "when the sleeping soul is roused to self-conscious activity".

The thought movement of the twentieth century grew up in the context set by Vivekananda. Aurobindo, Gandhi, Tagore and Bose are four outstanding philosopher-leaders of modern India who stand at the crossways of her national liberation movement. Each was profoundly Indian, deeply religious and intensely political but each had a Weltanschauung which led them to quite different paths in pursuit of the ideal which they shared in common. There were other ideologies which actively influenced the national movement or which still control to a large extent the present phase of socialist democratic struggles. But these are foreign ideologies of Marxian or Fabian brand imported into Indian soil.
CHAPTER XI : AUROBINDO

1. Evolution and Progress

Like Hegel, Aurobindo believes in continuous progress around cycles and spirals circling "round an ever-advancing centre", never going really backward. In this process the past loses its forms and names but its soul, its power and essence live veiled in the present and go deepening in the future. The future comes with the offer of death and life, -- death to old names and forms and life of a new realization.

Aurobindo finds the dialectical law of strife between opposite elements in Nature which appears in society as the strife between two equally deep-rooted human tendencies, viz., individualism and collectivism. But strife, he says, leads to compromise and not to fusing which is Nature's ultimate plan.

With Hegel, Aurobindo also shares the belief that progress is the working out of Thought in life. Sometimes it manifests itself on the surface and sometimes it sinks below. When there is this lapse of Thought below the surface humanity has its period of apparent retrogression and Thought works out its phase by pressure of the externals of life, i.e., the economic, political and personal interests of man. When Thought returns to the surface humanity is conscious of its deeper aim within and has its period of light and efflorescence.

With Hegel, in this working of Thought philosophy stands above religion, reason above faith. With Aurobindo it is the reverse. "Philosophy is the intellectual search for the fundamental truth of things, religion is the attempt to make the truth dynamic in man." \(^1\) The religion of Aurobindo, however, is not a dogma, faith or creed but "a sustained and all-comprehending effort at spiritual self-evolution". \(^2\)

1. Ideal and Progress, pp.50-51
2. Thoughts and Glimpses, pp.38-39
The Spirit which works out the evolution manifests itself in a people as a communal soul. A people like a man is an organic living being subject to the cycle of birth, growth, youth, ripeness and decline. In each people there is a soul idea or life idea at work less mortal than its body. "If this idea is itself sufficiently powerful, large and force-giving and the people sufficiently strong, vital and plastic in mind and temperament to combine stability with a constant enlargement or new application of the power of the soul idea or life idea in its being it may pass through many such cycles before it comes to a final exhaustion". The communal soul, again, is a manifestation and vehicle of the greater eternal Spirit which is seeking its fulness in humanity in time and on earth. Therefore, a people which learns to live not solely in its physical and outward life but in the soul and spirit behind may not exhaust itself and end by dissolution into or under the impact of new races and peoples. Having itself fused into its life many original smaller societies it may absorb the new impacts by the force of its spirit and live through a more glorious cycle.

Human society has to pass through three stages of evolution before it can arrive at the completeness of its possibilities. In the first stage the customs and institutions, the forms and activities of communal existence are the spontaneous play of the powers and principles of its life. The growth is an organic development expressing without intelligent self-consciousness the communal psychology, temperament, vital and physical need partly under the pressure of an internal impulse, partly under the pressure of the environment acting on the communal mind and temper. In the second stage the communal mind becomes more and more intellectually self-conscious. It learns to review its ideas, needs and institutions with the power of critical and constructive reason and acquires a "strict and armoured efficiency" with its scientific knowledge and reason, for social modelling. It also becomes aware of higher

1. Spirit and Form of Indian Polity, pp.19-20
social and political ideals which promise to raise the community above the level of vital existence and inspire bold experiments which open the possibilities for the realisation of a more ideal society.

But the second stage of history is also attended with a serious danger. Reason, working with the materials of life turns away from the principles of a people's vitality, forgets that society is a living growth and treats it as a machine. "The result is an exaggerated dependence on system and institution, on legislation and administration and the deadly tendency to develop in place of a living people a mechanical state." A powerful but mechanical and artificial organization is created at the cost of an organically self-developing communal soul in the body of a free and living people. It is this error of scientific reason stifling the vital and the spiritual under the deadweight of its mechanical method which has arrested the progress of Europe and has deceived her aspirations.

This error is overcome only when society reaches the third stage of its evolution, when collective life is governed neither by the instincts of the vital self nor by the constructions of a reasoning mind but "by the power of unity, sympathy, spontaneous liberty, supple and living order of his discovered greater self and spirit in which the individual and the communal existence have their law of freedom, perfection and oneness." At this stage reason acts as an intermediary and regulating factor. It is used to test and assure the steps towards the higher spiritual life. "It can only come when man's attempt to reach and abide by the law of the spiritual existence is no longer an exceptional aim for individuals or else degraded in its more general aspiration to the form of a popular religion, but is recognised and followed out as the imperative need of his being and his true and right attainment the necessity of the next step in the evolution of the race."

1. Ibid. p.25.
3. Ibid. p.28; Also The Human Cycle, New York, 1930, pp. 205.
2. Political and Social Organisation

The first value of a culture is its power to raise and enlarge the mind, the soul, the spirit. But a culture must also serve the external existence of man, ensure progress in political, economic and social life, power and efficiency enabling a people to survive, growth towards collective perfection and a vital elasticity and responsiveness which will facilitate constant advance in the outward expression of the mind and the spirit. The task of the social polity of a people is, therefore, to coordinate the collective outward life with the liberated spiritual existence. A people have to discover first their own spirit, the inner oneness or communal soul and build up their social, economic and political life with the adumbration of the spiritual significance behind.

The tenor of Indian social polity is to build up the outward organization on the basis of an inner spiritual oneness. The Indian mind is bent on seeking the things of the spirit or inner being first and then to handle everything else in the light of the higher knowledge as a field for the expression of the deeper spiritual aim. Therefore, whatever it creates, it has to create first on the inner plane and then to expand it outwards. Hence it was that India, before she strove for political unity created her spiritual and cultural oneness. It was not, to begin with, a political unification, an imperial unity imposed by a conquering people as in Rome or Persia. Such unity has not endured. The people brought under the sway were not welded together into a spiritual and cultural oneness and the conquered people had to be reborn by the infusion of a foreign vitality to become modern Italy, Spain and France. But India, although she never was and is not yet an organized political nation still survives because she created the sense of underlying oneness amidst all diversities. Early invasions, the robust vigour of Islam, the steam-roller of British system, could not crush the ancient soul discovered by the Vedic Rishis out of her body. That is why the new India which is now lifting her head is not an Anglicised oriental country but the immemorial India recovering her deepest self and the concrete meaning of her Dharma.
This Dharma was a greater sovereign than the king. It was "the religious, ethical, social, political, juridic and customary law organically governing the life of the people". In spite of the great sanctity and authority attached to the royal position his was never a personal despotism as in the case of the Western Asiatic monarchies, as were the Persian, Roman or Mughal rules. The authority of the Dharma was sacred and eternal. No secular power had right to interfere with it. The Brahmanas were recorders and exponents of the Dharma, the king was its guardian, executor and servant bound by it no less than its his subjects. The king could only issue administrative decrees which had to be in consonance with the religious, social, political and economic traditions of the community. The traditions or Dharma were not a static thing. With the evolution of society changes were organically and spontaneously incorporated in it. This meant that changes were not introduced artificially from above but were developed automatically from within by the freedom allowed to families or communities to have their own rule of life.

Indian polity thus grew up as a synthesis of communal autonomies, a complex system of communal freedom and self-determination. Each group unit of the community -- the family, clan, caste, industrial guild, religious brotherhood, city, village, each has its natural existence with its own Dharma or law necessary for its proper life and business. Each is set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its fields and limits, but each is connected with the whole as a co-partner of the communal existence. The polity in its parts and in the whole is a framework and training ground for the development of the human soul through the natural to the spiritual existence. At the perfection of the state, i.e., in an entirely right and sound condition of man, individual and collective, there is no need of any political government or of state or of an artificial construction of society, because all then live freely according to the inner divine Dharma. This is the legendary golden age of Satyayuga or the

1. Ibid, p.12
Dharmarājya of Yudhishthira to which Indian idealists hark back again and again.

Although this political system with its last surviving elements has now disappeared, the golden social genius which created it remains even in the present stagnation and may reassert itself towards the third stage of communal living and a spiritual basis of society. The call is now vaguely beginning to appear in the advanced thought of the race.

3. Law and Liberty

Social evolution of the human race has proved that the progress of humanity is dependent upon the relations between three constant factors, - individuals, communities and mankind. Each seeks its own fulfilment but each has to develop in cooperation with the others. The first natural aim of the individual is his own growth in his inner and outer life but this can be accomplished only through his collaboration with the community to which he belongs and with humanity at large. The community in its turn depends for its development upon the individuals and the humanity at large. The same is true of humanity also. Mankind as a whole has as yet developed no consciously organized common life; but the nebulous organization which it has is strongly acting upon human thought and intelligence. When the whole of humanity arrives at an organized common life or seeks its fulfilment and satisfaction it can do so only by its relation to the parts.

The same law is operating in the field of Nature. Nature always works through these three terms, - the individual, community and humanity. She starts from the manifestation of the one and the many, from the totality and its constituent units and then creates the intermediary units between the two to bridge the gulf. In the life-type she creates the three terms of genus, species and the individual. But while in the animal kingdom separation between the different types is absolute, in human life Nature strives to seek for and realize a unity between the divisions made by her. Thus the law of Nature appears...
to maintain unity in diversity. "Therefore it would seem that the ideal or ultimate aim of Nature must be to develop the individual and all individuals to their full capacity, to develop the community and all communities to the full expression of that many-sided existence and potentiality which their differences were created to express, and to evolve the united life of mankind to its full common capacity and satisfaction, not by suppression of the fullness of life of the individual or the smaller commonalty, but by full advantage taken of the diversity which they develop." ¹

The united progress of mankind would thus be realized by a general principle of interchange and assimilation between the one and the many, the totality and the constituent units. Humanity is yet to develop such a free and harmonious mutuality. There is still the struggle, an opposition between and suppression of ideas and interests which humanity will have to transcend but has not discovered the means to. It now endeavours to get rid of this strife in which humanity has entangled itself by a subordination of the life of the individual to the life of the community. The call of the community or at best of the state to the individual to sacrifice his freedom for law and order is full of danger.

"Freedom is as necessary for life as law and order. Diversity is as necessary as unity to our true completeness. Existence is only one in its essence and totality, in its play it is necessarily multiform."² Life can be enriched by the diversity which it creates. Hence absolute uniformity means the cessation of life. But uniformity is not to be confounded with unity. Diversity is essential for life and vigour and unity is necessary for order, arrangement and stability. "Unity we must create but not necessarily uniformity. If man could realize a perfect spiritual unity, no sort of uniformity would be necessary; for the utmost play of diversity would be scarcely possible on that foundation."³ Although life-power in man demands unity in diversity, the danger of creating uniformity is still there. Human reason also

1. The Ideal of Human Unity, Pondicherry, 1950; p. 179f.
2. Ibid. p. 181
3. Ibid. p. 181
favours uniformity as it is deceptive and can easily assume the form of unity in place of real oneness which is much more difficult to create. Uniformity is also preferred because it helps man to manage the otherwise difficult business of law, order and regimentation. It can economise his energies in different directions and can standardise his economic and social existence and escape its problems. But here also, the complex unity of oneness asserts its truth. "In the end man's total intellectual and cultural growth suffers by social immobility, --- by any restriction or poverty of his economic life; the spiritual existence of the race, if it attains to remote heights, weakens at last in its richness and continued sources of vivacity when it depends on a too standardised and regimented society; inertia from below rises and touches even the summits."¹

The defect of our mentality has facilitated the growth and development of uniformity but the real aim of Nature is a true unity supporting a rich diversity. This is evident from the fact that although she casts the things as if in a mould, she insists on infinite variation. Thus the plan of human structure is one, yet no two human beings are exactly alike. The natural variation of human communities from each other proceeds on the same plan as the variation of individuals. This variation found in different departments of Nature, in different organizations of humanity does not prevent free interchange, does not oppose the enrichment of all from a common stock and of a common stock, rather it is the source of a lively assimilation. "Therefore we see that in this harmony between our unity and our diversity lies the secret of life; Nature insists equally in all her works upon unity and variation."² A real spiritual and psychological unity can dispense with uniformity but until we can attain this stage of perfection the principle of uniformity can be applied but with limitation so that it may not spoil the vitality of life.

The quarrel between law and liberty stands on the same ground and moves to the same solution. The diversity and variation must be

1. Ibid. p. 182   2. Ibid. p. 183
a free variation. Nature does not manufacture or impose a pattern from outside, she creates it and impels life to grow from within. All liberty, individual or national, social or religious abides by this natural principle. "By liberty we mean the freedom to obey the law of our being, to grow to our natural self-fulfilment, to find out naturally and freely our harmony with our environment." The dangers of unrestrained liberty are obvious but they arise from the absence of or defective realization of true unity. If a real, a spiritual and psychological unity were effectuated, the perils of liberty would be removed. Our present imperfection and ignorance of true unity have necessitated the existence of external law or order. The facile advantages of law and regimentation are obvious but equally great are their disadvantages. This law can bring a mechanical unity but if carried too far, it is bound to block the onward march of humanity. Anarchy is better than the long continuance of law which humanity cannot assimilate, and repressive laws are really the substitute for the true law which is bound to develop from within and not imposed from outside. "Human society progresses really and vitally in proportion as law becomes the child of freedom; it will reach its perfection when, man having learned to know and become spiritually one with his fellow-man, the spontaneous law of his society exists only as the outward mould of his self-governed inner liberty." 2

The ideal unification of mankind must be based on free grouping according to natural divisions of race, culture, locality, economic convenience, etc. The two alternative possibilities are "a World-State founded upon the principle of centralisation and uniformity, or a mechanical and formal unity, or a world-union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity". A world state may give peace, economic well-being, security and cultural and social progress up to a length, but it will not be conducive to liberty and diversity. Even "Democracy is by no means a sure preservative of liberty; on the contrary, we see to-day the

1. Ibid. p. 184  2. Ibid. p. 185  3. Ibid. p. 234
democratic system of government march steadily towards such an organized annihilation of individual liberty as could not have been dreamed of in the old aristocratic and monarchical systems." The tyranny of the majority has become a familiar phrase and its deadening effects are realized by many modern intellectuals.

A free world union on the other hand, though originally founded on national basis will lead to a union of less compact group-aggregations preserving the necessary element of independence and variation for individual and group. It must be accompanied by an intellectual and psychological change to give durability to the unification. This change Aurobindo calls the growth of the living idea of religion of humanity, a sentiment which must overcome national ego which lives by separativeness. "As the free development of individuals from within is the best condition for the growth and perfection of the community, so the free development of the community or nation from within is the best condition for the growth and perfection of mankind."

4. The State and Human Unity

Theoretically the state is the collective wisdom and force of the community organized for the general good. Practically, it does not secure the largest good and it produces a good deal of organized blundering and evil. The ruling class or body in a state never represent the soul of a people or its aspirations and there is no guarantee that they would represent even the best mind of the nation. At best the state machinery brings to the surface a certain amount of intellect and power available in the community which is again caught in the machinery and hampered by it as well as by the large amount of folly and selfish weakness that come up in the emergence. It is a collective egoism much inferior to the best of which the community is capable. Unlike individual egoism it is not hampered by internal scruples or external checks. It has no soul and an ill-developed ethics.

1. Ibid. p.290
The call of the state to the individual to immolate himself on its altar and to give up its free activities into an organized collectivity is, therefore, not the way for fulfilment of the ideal of human unity. The subordination of the individual to the state machine is something quite different from the ideal of expanding the ego beyond its limitations and losing it in mankind.

The state is not the best means of human progress. Its utility lies only in providing necessary facilities for and in removing disabilities and obstacles from cooperative action of individuals in the community. "The non-recognition of the possibilities of human-cooperation was the weakness of English individualism, the turning of a utility for cooperative action into an excuse for rigid control by the state is the weakness of the Teutonic idea of collectivism. When the state attempts to take up the control of the cooperative action of the community, it condemns itself to create a monstrous machinery which will end by crushing out the freedom, initiative and serious growth of the human being."  

The state is not an organism. For it is not capable of that free, harmonious and varied action which is proper to organic growth. It is and works like a machine without tact, taste, delicacy or intuition. "It tries to manufacture, but what humanity is here to do is to grow and create." When the state tries to control education and culture it brings only a dead uniformity. The business of the state, so long as it continues as a necessary element in society, is to provide all possible facilities for cooperative action, to remove injustice, "to secure for every individual a just and equal chance of self-development and satisfaction to the extent of his powers and in the line of his nature". 

The nation is the largest natural unit which humanity has been able to create and maintain so far for its collective living. The central question is whether it is also the last and ultimate unit or

1. The Ideal of Human Unity, p.27
2. Ibid. p.27
3. Ibid. p.28
whether a greater aggregate can be formed including many or all
nations in a united totality. The tendency of the human race is
towards larger and larger aggregation. Through family, tribe, clan
and city state man has come upon the nation. As a group-soul
the nation is destined to remain until it is superseded by a higher
unity or supranational aggregation. The impulse to build supra­
national aggregates is a part of the instincts of the human race
but the form so far adopted was the domination and exploitation of
weaker nations by the stronger. The possibility of uniting the
world by conquest under a dominant power is still there. And there
is equal possibility of combination of peoples under an ideology
with a powerful head like Soviet Russia. But both, if they ever
happen, are sure to defeat their purpose.

The purpose of the nation unit "is to provide a larger mould
of human aggregation in which the race, and not only classes and
individuals, may move towards its full human development. So long
as the labour of formation continues, this larger development may
be held back and authority and order be accepted as the first
consideration, but not when the aggregate is sure of its existence
and feels the need of an inner expansion. Then the old bonds have
to be burst; the means of formation have to be discarded as obstacles
to growth."¹ Then liberty and justice become the watchword. The
ecclesiastical order is dispossessed of its authority, the king
and aristocracy of their monopolies and their privileges and bour­
geois capitalism has to surrender to a new economic order in which
exploitation will go and wealth of the community will be shared
equally by all. Under a just social order there is equal opportunity,
equal training for all to develop their faculties and to use them
and equal share in aggregate life. This could be assured by "an
ideal and free cooperation guided and helped by a wise and liberal
central authority expressing the common will, but it has actually
reverted to the old notion of an absolute and efficient state"² -
the secular democratic socialist state sacrificing liberty to the

¹. Ibid. p. 128  
². Ibid. p. 129f.
need of equality and efficiency. "Perhaps liberty and equality, liberty and authority, liberty and organized efficiency can never be quite satisfactorily reconciled so long as man individual and aggregate lives by egoism, so long as he cannot undergo a great spiritual and psychological change and rise beyond mere communal association" to that third ideal, viz., fraternity which no mechanism can create and which "must take birth in the soul and rise from hidden and divine depths within." 

At one time it was hoped that the extension of socialism to all nations will overcome rivalries and separatism and lead to a stable international unity. But socialism has not proved to be immune from the spirit of separatism. When it comes to power and inherits competing national interests it may further lose its international tendency. Moreover, socialism has appeared in different colours.

On the one hand, there is the rigidly determined automatism of the state machine, on the other hand, there is the idea which has some respect for the freedom of the individual. It is difficult to fit the two in the same system, although the difference need not necessarily perpetuate. "Socialism itself might well develop away from Marxist groove and evolve less rigid modes; a cooperative socialism, for instance, without any bureaucratic rigour of a coercive administration of a police state might one day come into existence." Such a generalization of socialism throughout the world is, however, not expected in near future. The two orders, viz., capitalism and socialism each in modified form, are likely to exist side by side in the U.N. system which, in spite of conflicts and inequalities within it, is preserved by its imperative utility.

Mere socialism in its present form cannot bring man nearer to the goal of a free unity. "Even cooperative action is injurious if, instead of seeking the good of all compatibly with the necessities of individual growth, - and without individual growth there can be no real and permanent good of all, - it immolates the individual to

1. Ibid. p. 129 2. Ibid. p. 129 3. Ibid. p. 397
a communal egoism and prevents so much free room and initiative as is necessary for the flowering of a more perfectly developed humanity. All collective ideals which seek to subordinate the individual lead to the static condition of routine and security. "It is the individual who progresses and compels the rest to progress." Modern socialism with its principle of holding property in common and management by the organized state "implies an abrogation or at least a rigorous diminution of all individual liberty,".

On the other hand, capitalism and imperialism now block the advance of free nationalities more effectively. In the present world conditions a federation of free nations is a chimera, but it is quite possible that federated empires and free nations should be drawn towards a closer association and realize some form of political unity for mankind. This may be the starting point for a natural unfolding of the spiritual and ethical progress of mankind which may lead to a healthy political, social and economic foundation as might enable man to develop his higher self, the nobler part of his destiny.

But the unity of the human race will not be secured by the mechanical unity of a state whether by bringing about a single world state or a well-ordered comity of nations. Aurobindo will agree with Hegel that the state is the realization of reason but reason is not the instrument to bring about a healthy unity of mankind. Man has devised numerous forms of state relying upon reason. But every time the national idea has become a captive of its machinery. A new political idea with another turn of the logical machine has broken the machinery but substituted in the end another mechanical system, another credo, formula and practice. The external or administrative unity of a state, of a federation or of an international comity may be necessary in near future in order to accustom the human race to the idea of a common life and destiny but it is sure to break down, like the ancient world, leading to confusion and anarchy unless something more profound, internal and real is developed. This is the religion of humanity spiritualising itself and becoming the general inner law of human life.

1. Ibid. p. 28
2. Ibid. p. 29
3. Ibid. p. 84
5. The Aim of Human Unity

"A religion of humanity means the growing realisation that there is a secret Spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one; that humanity is its present vehicle on earth, that the human race and the human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here. — By its growth within us oneness with our fellow men will become the leading principle of all our life, not merely a principle of cooperation, but a deeper brotherhood, a real and inner sense of unity and equality and a common life."¹ This religion is yet unborn but it cast its shadow in the thinking of the Eighteenth century rationalists. It is the cult of man standing above the nation, state or church. "Man must be sacred to man regardless of all distinctions of race, creed, colour, nationality, status, political or social advancement. The body of man is to be respected, made immune from violence and outrage, fortified by science against disease and preventable death. The life of man is to be held sacred, preserved, strengthened, ennobled, uplifted. The heart of man is to be held sacred also, given scope, protected from violation, from suppression, from mechanisation, freed from belittling influences. The mind of man is to be released from all bonds, allowed freedom and range and opportunity, given all its means of self-training and self-development and organized in the play of its powers for the service of humanity. And all this too is not to be held as an abstract or pious sentiment, but given full and practical recognition in the persons of men and nations and mankind."²

Man has been already marching towards this intellectual religion. Its great results have been humanitarianism, democracy, socialism and pacifism. It succeeded considerably in humanising society, but it is far behind the ideal. "This is because the idea of humanity has been obliged in an intellectual age to mask its true character of a religion and a thing of the soul and the spirit and to appeal

¹. Ibid. p. 365 378  ². Ibid. p. 378.363
to the vital and physical mind of man rather than to his inner being." It has helped man to revolutionize political and social institutions, to work at the machinery of human life and on the outer mind but much less upon the soul of the human race. It is only an appeal to the spirit that can overcome the ego of the individual, the class or the race. The key to the triple gospel of humanity, - liberty, equality and fraternity, - is brotherhood. "But brotherhood exists only in the soul and by the soul; it can exist by nothing else. For this brotherhood is not a matter either of physical kinship or of vital association or of intellectual agreement. When the soul claims freedom, it is the freedom of its self-development, the self-development of divine in man, in all his being."²

The vital problem of the age is whether the progress of humanity is to be ruled by modern materialistic and political mind of Europe or by a nobler pragmatism guided, uplifted and enlightened by spiritual culture and knowledge. "The hope of the world lies in rearousing in the East of the old spiritual practicality and large and profound vision and power of organization under the insistent contact of the West and in the flooding out of the light of Asia on the Occident, no longer in forms that are now static, effete, unadoptive, but in new forms, stirred, dynamic and effective."³

In this upward progression Power, Knowledge and Love have to be brought together. Love fails because it rejects the world's discords. Power fails because it seeks to organize only an external arrangement. "The world's discords have to be understood, seized and transmuted. Love must call Power and Knowledge into the temple and seat them beside her in a unified equality; Power must bow its neck to the yoke of Light and Love before it can do any real good to the race."⁴

The aim is the unity and the self-transcendence of man. Human race has to be unified by an inner oneness. From the animal and

1. Ibid. p. 367
2. Ibid. p. 368
3. Ideal and Progress, p. 50
4. The Superman, p. 12
economic, from the intellectual and aesthetic, he must resurge into the glories of spiritual existence. The power of the spirit will be poured into the physical mould and the mental instrument so that man may develop into the superman. "Man, the individual, has to become and to live as a universal being; his limited mental consciousness has to widen to the super-conscious unity in which each embraces all; his narrow heart has to learn the infinite embrace and replace its lusts and discords by universal love —- his whole nature has to reproduce to the individual the unity, the harmony, the oneness-in-all of the supreme Existence-Consciousness-Bliss."¹

¹ Life Divine, Calcutta, 1944, vol. I, p. 133