

## Chapter One

### M. N. Roy on Radical Humanism

The radical or new humanism of M. N. Roy is the reflection of Marxist revolution against capitalism. As a wishful thinking, Marx initiated to replace socialism in place of capitalism. According to Roy, a philosophy of history which ignores other factors of human life than the forces of production and disregards moral problems cannot be a reliable guide for constructive social action. The new humanism of Roy reveals a new philosophy of history which would be comprehensive in nature and would eventually show civilised mankind as the mark of the way out of the crisis. The new humanism of Roy tries to bring back morality in *social order or social revolution*. Without morality any kind of social revolution would be futile to the community. In fact, Roy senses morality even in communist movement. He had a high regard to Marx as he considered Marx as a great humanist. In fact, Marx attributed his forerunners as utopians and thereby claimed to have made himself a science of socialism. According to Roy, Marxist socialist society was not to be created by men; rather it was the outcome of the forces of production of historical developments. As a matter of fact, it gives birth to the socialist new order in the form of new humanism.

According to Roy, Marx was not a dry-hearted mathematical prophet as many thinkers thought of; rather he was a passionate humanist. Not only that, Marx as a firm believer of socialist revolution was equally treated as a romanticist. As a great humanist and romanticist, Marx had exerted his faith in the creativeness of

man which actually brought about revolutions. As a humanist, Marx believes that the real force of his revolution actually hinges on moral appeal. According to Roy, Marx was not a revolutionist, humanist and romanticist; he was an ardent hunter of truth and intellectual honesty. Without his devotion to moral petition of the highest degree, without a passionate dislike for injustice, it would not be possible for him to undertake the long fight for changing social order. Roy says, “Marx was a great moralist, in the tradition of the ancient prophets of his race. His merciless exposition of the essence of *Capitalism* was a severe moral condemnation. In the last analysis, *Capital* is a treatise on social ethics – a powerful protest against the servitude of the toiling majority.”<sup>6</sup>

According to Roy, Marxist humanism is called radical because it is based on moral appeal. Here, Marx as a humanist stood for the freedom of the individual. In fact, Marx talked of socialism as the ‘kingdom of freedom’ where man will be regarded as the master of social environments. In new humanism which will work under socialism, human reason will overcome irrational forces. As a rational being, here man will be in charge of his own destiny. Thus, the moralist spirit of Marxism will go into the making of the new faith of our time. In this regard, Roy conceives Marxist humanism as the model of the builders of the future human life based on human legacy. According to Roy, the labour theory of value inherited from Ricardo, is the foundation stone of Marxian economics. By the term ‘labour theory of value’, Roy means ‘the theory of surplus value’ that has been drawn as a logical deduction from the labour theory of value. In

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<sup>6</sup> Roy, M.N. *New Humanism*, Ajanta Publications, 1990, p.19.

this regard, Roy refers Adam Smith. According to Smith, ‘the understandings of the greater part of men, are necessarily formed by their ordinary employment.

According to Roy, Marxist attitude towards ethical questions was very much the same as the tradition of bourgeois Utilitarianism. Bentham, in this regard, claimed that Marxist ascetic morality was the outcome of refined origin and therefore had fallen short of different social and cultural atmosphere. The philosophical Radicals, however, approached moral problems from the individualistic point of view. Radicalists have thought that the general prosperity and the well-being of individual have been promoted only by the defence of individual rights and interests. Marx, however, rejected the liberal doctrine of individualism as a bourgeois abstraction. In this regard, Marx was influenced by Hegel. Moreover, Marxian relativism has been influenced by Hegelian moral positivism. According to Roy, even Marx was influenced by Hegel’s moral nihilism which states that there is no moral standard apart from rationality. For Hegel what is rational is good and vice-versa. In this regard, there is no difference between Hegel and Marx. Roy, in this regard, says, “Hegel said: What is rational and therefore good: Marx added: The future, as I visualise it, will result inevitable from the present; ego, it will also be rational and good. In other words, if to-day might is right, it must be so to-morrow as well.”<sup>7</sup> According to Roy, the new humanism of Marxism runs with the basic principle: whatever is, is good. Everything done for the defence of the new order is moral and it is simplistically stated as ‘might is right’.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p.21.

According to Roy, production of surplus value is one of the important dimensions of Capitalism through which the working class is being exploited. Roy conceived it as the fundamental fallacy of Marxist economics. According to Roy, surplus is a must in capitalist system and social progress is made possible with the help of surplus values. In fact, Marx did not dispute the necessity and progress of social significance of surplus values. Abolition of surplus value will be impracticable and even suicidal. According to Roy, no society can make progress without surplus values. Accordingly, Roy gives special importance on surplus values. According to Roy, if production of surplus value is ever stopped, then the progress of society will languish. There we seem a dichotomy. In one sense it can be said that without surplus value, the progress of the society will be languished. Contrary to this, it can be said that where there is surplus value there is exploitation of labour. Marx, however, does not recognise exploitation of labour. He has pleaded for a kind of surplus value without exploitation of labour. Marx elsewhere claimed that the class appropriation of social surplus should stop. In this regard, Roy has narrated Marxism by saying that “the expropriation of the expropriation was the condition for the end of exploitation of man by man.”<sup>8</sup>

The question then is: how is it possible within economic system? In this regard, Roy goes on to say that such demand is not economical, but moral. According to Roy, it is a demand for social justice and it could not be demanded from Marxist scheme of revolution. However, Roy thinks that such standpoint does not match

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.34.

up ground reality. There is no logical necessity that where there is surplus value there is exploitation of labour. Surplus value even is produced in socialist economy of Russia where socialism was prevailing. How can we then justify the view that exploitation of labour is there in socialist country even in Russia? There is no ground of claiming that surplus value is the outcome of exploitation of labour. Rapid expansion of industries implies quicker and larger accumulation, which means a boarder margin of surplus value. Roy says, "If production of surplus value represents exploitation of labour, then, labour is exploited also under Socialism; and must be admitted that under the socialist economy of Russia labour is even more exploited – to produce larger surplus value to be accumulated into new capital."<sup>9</sup> Roy, therefore, believes that there is no necessary connection between exploitation of labour with surplus value accumulation. If it has been assumed that surplus value is the source of exploitation of labour, then on the same account capitalism as well as socialism would be equally guilty.

According to Roy, the fallacious doctrine of surplus value and particularly the experience of its commandeering provided the theoretical foundation of the dogma of class struggle. Marx and his orthodox followers in fact discovered class struggle throughout history. According to Marx, the history of civilization is the history of class struggle. The society was divided into classes and there we witness class conflict in terms of interests. At the same time, there we notice a cohesive tendency in the society. The society within the class conflict is not

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.25.

disintegrated. If it would be so, then there would not be any social revolution. Roy, however, thinks that Marxism is certainly wrong in perception regarding the role of middle class in the capitalist society. According to Marxism, the middle class of the society would disappear in the capitalist society. Roy, however, does not agree with Marx in this regard. According to Roy, the role of the middle class in the capitalist society is very prominent. Roy thinks that in other matters, such as, culture and education, the role of middle class is prominent. Roy thus holds that the middle class can numerically grow between the capital and the labour as an enemy of the *status quo*. According to Roy Socialism indeed is a middle class ideology. Middle class exists as antagonistic camps of capital and labour. Middle class could produce individuals who have the vision of a new order of social justice and harmony beyond the economic class confining between capital and labour. Interestingly, Roy feels that the middle class eventually joins with the labour class not for accumulating capital, but for the objective of changing the existing social order. They can do so because like the labour class, they are not culturally proletarianised. They have the vision of appreciating cultural and moral values as the constructive outcome of human civilisation. They were not prepared to sacrifice the heritage of human civilisation based on culture and moral values within the economic revolution. Thus, Roy feels that the role of middle class in building the society in a new order is huge. However, Marxist capitalism attached supreme importance to economic considerations. This was the anxiety of the mission of Roy's new humanism. According to Roy the supreme importance of economic

considerations actually alienates human, particularly, middle class, attitudes in building a new society based on culture and moral values, it thus weakening the process of revolution intellectually what Roy terms as “Selfish economism eclipsed the moral appeal of Socialism”.<sup>10</sup>

According to Roy, Lenin, however, saw the mistake of Marxism and attempted to rectify it mainly in the field of organisation. However, in theory proletariat will remain the chosen people of the Marxist world. Lenin felt it well that it would not be possible for the proletariat to bring social revolution in a new order. The proletariat would require the help from the outside, i, e, from the middle class intellectuals. Lenin further contented that the working class did not become the socialist. They are trade unionist. According to Lenin, the working class was unable to work out an independent ideology. The ideal of socialism and the theory of the proletariat revolution were not born out of the experience of the working class. The credit belongs to the middle class who totally ignored the orthodox Marxist scheme of education. As far as economic determination is concerned, it can be said that the proletariat was the most backward class both intellectually as well as culturally. Their life cannot be improved so long socialism has been implemented. However, Marxism allots to the proletariat the honourable role of leading society towards the higher civilisation. Thus, Roy senses a theoretical contradiction in communist practice, because Roy claims that there is no intellectual freedom in communist movement. Communists were proud of proletarian composition and it has no use for the capitalist culture and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p.28.

bourgeois morality. As there is no other culture and morality, proletarian culture is a contradiction in terms. In this regard, it can be said that the communist party is amoral as it takes a cynical or contemptuous attitude to cultural values. In this regard, Roy says, “Caught in the throes of a moral crisis, the civilised world is looking out for a better leadership with a more rational attitude towards the problems to be solved, and a nobler philosophy.”<sup>11</sup>

### **Politics and Morality: A New Venture of Humanism and Moral Radicalism**

In the sequel *A New Political Philosophy*, Roy quips: Can politics be rationalised? This question is highly controversial and we do not have a clearcut answer to this question so long the term ‘rationalisation’ is separated or detached from the domain of metaphysics. According to Roy an affirmative answer can be given if the term ‘rational’ is differentiated from the metaphysical concept of reason. Roy further contents that the question is linked with the relation between *politics and morality*. What type of morality is it? Is it a kind of morality where the revolutionary political practice be guided by the *Jesuitic dictum*, where the end justifies the means? Or is an appeal for social justice? The answer of the last question would certainly be negative because Roy feels that it would be doubtful if a moral object can ever be attained by immoral means. According to Roy even in the case of morality some temporary compromise in behaviour may be permissible where the larger issues are involved and grater things are at stake. However, when practices repugnant to ethical principles and traditional human values are stabilised as the permanent feature of the revolutionary regime, the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.30.



means defect the end. This leads to say that communist practice has not taken the world anywhere near a new order of freedom and social justice. Roy says, “On the contrary, it has plunged the army of revolution...in an intellectual confusion, spiritual chaos, emotional frustration and a general demoralisation.”<sup>12</sup> Therefore, in order to overcome this crisis, the fighters for a new world order must turn to the traditions of humanism and radicalism because only humanism and radicalism can provide a path for a new philosophy of revolution. In fact 19<sup>th</sup> century radicals who are individualistic in nature have realised secular rationalism and rationalistic ethics by studying the principles and methods of physical science related to the study of man and society. The radical scientists equally approach to the problem’s of man’s life and their inter-relations because they come to realise that the history of human civilization is a prolonged historical passage starting from the jungle of ‘pre-history’. Their development is based on social relation that can be rationally harmonised. In this regard, the application of moral values can be reconciled so that the corrupt and corrosive *status quo* can be replaced by a new order of democratic freedom. Roy feels that a moral order can be resulted from a rationally organised society because man is essentially rational and his essential rationality is co-related with morality. Roy says, “Morality emanates from the rational desire for harmonious and mutually beneficial social relations.”<sup>13</sup>

There is no question of doubt that the development of humans is the long process of biological evolution. As a man developed out of the background of the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p.35.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p.35.

physical Universe, man, with his mind, intelligence, will, remains an integral part of the physical Universe. Thus, the so called physical Universe is law governed system in which man's being, his becoming, his emotions, his will, his ideas are determined. Moreover, man is essentially a rational animal and his rationality actually incorporates the harmony of the Universe. Thus, human's morality must be referred back to man's innate rationality. In this sense, it can be said that reason is the sanction for morality because the contribution of reason actually develops human's sense of morality. Reason actually appeals to conscience and conscience is the instinctive awareness of environments. As the outcome of rationality, conscience is no longer mystic and mysterious. It is a biological function that actualises in the level of consciousness. According to Roy, the innate rationality of man assures the harmonious order of the Universe. Such harmonious order can also be attributed as *moral order* because morality is a rational function. Thus, it can be said after Roy that human's purpose of social course of action actually makes man increasingly conscious of his innate rationality. This would leads us to say that any attempt of reorganising society must start off from the root of the society, i.e., from the unit of society which in fact initiates in developing a new philosophy of revolution on the basis of human heritage, culture, ethos, and subsequently incorporates the principles of political action and economic reconstruction. This constructive process arising out of the synthesis of both morality and politics eventually helps to accomplish Radicalism.

The concept of Radicalism as conceived by Roy is not associated with a nation, not with a class, but with a man. The concern of radicalism is man. *It conceives freedom as freedom of the individual.* That is why it has been termed as 'New Humanism' by Roy. In justifying his own concept of New Humanism, Roy goes on to say that his radicalism is called *new humanism* because it has been enriched, reinforced and elaborated by scientific knowledge. As the outcome of scientific knowledge social experience has been gained during the centuries of modern civilisation. Roy further has conceived humanism as cosmopolitan humanism because it denies the existence of autonomous National States. According to Roy, a cosmopolitan humanism is a spiritual community of free men and women and thus by no means is dictated by the boundaries of National States, such as capitalist, fascist, communist or any other kind. With the impact of cosmopolitan humanism the existence of National States will gradually disappear. Thus, cosmopolitan humanism eventually introduces a radical perspective of the future of mankind in general.

### **Radical Humanism and Radical Democracy**

According to Roy, individual freedom is the main content of developing radical humanism and radical democracy. Even Kant while developing his morality gives equal importance on individual freedom and autonomy of the will. According to Kant, a moral agent without exception must be an autonomous moral agent and he will equally enjoy freedom. No moral action can be evaluated as good or bad so long the action is performed by a moral agent is not free. Radical humanism is a process of uplifting or process of liberating social

organisation and political institution from divergent of ideological prejudices, discordant doctrines, and conflicting dogmas. Thus, radical humanism is a continuous process of human progress and it cannot be possible by forfeiting human freedom. There is no question of doubt that pursuit for freedom can be referred back to man's struggle for existence. It accounts for the conquest for man over nature in order to fulfil his biological needs. In fact, freedom actually gives rise to the foundation for his constant search for knowledge. It helps individual to overcome the tyranny and despotism of natural phenomena and social constraints. Ever man involves into biological struggle for existence since his or her birth and in this regard, quest for freedom is a must for enhancing his potentiality and intelligence for accomplishing higher levels. One should not understand freedom of will only in the sense of economic sufficiency. We think freedom from cultural regimentation is far more important than economic sufficiency because culture freedom helps one to flourish human potentialities and creativity than economic flourishing and sufficiency. One can judge the merits of social organisation by wisdom and knowledge and that is why it has been said that 'man is the measure of everything', because only the humans within the globe can acquire wisdom, knowledge by cultivating his rationality within a decent society which is culturally rich and which is free from cultural regimentation as well. In this regard, Roy goes on to say that "the philosophy of the future should proclaim that the merit of any pattern of social organisation or

political institution is to be judged by the actual measure of freedom it gives to the individual.”<sup>14</sup>

According to Roy, society as either composed of nation, or class or individuals is the creation of man in quest of freedom. Social relationship of individuals is a constant conflict arising out of the struggle of existence. According to Sartre, human existence is a series of accidents, conflicts. Accordingly, the pursuit for freedom is the continuation of the primitive man’s struggle for existence. Freedom is the basic urge of all social development; it is the progressive elimination of all the factors, such as, physical, social, psychological etc which are the unforeseen obstructions of the unfolding of man’s rational, moral and creative potentialities. No society can be culturally developed without mutual trust, cooperation and relationship and freedom is the minimum measure through which the function of social relationships can be maintained. Therefore, Roy inclines to say that the sum-total of freedom actually enjoyed by its members individually is the measure of the liberating of any social order. Without freedom of will of the individuals the progress of the society would be *pseudo one*. In fact, economic progress without cultural attachment would be very deceptive because in such a case the cultural aspect of the society, the creativity of the individuals of the society cannot be developed.

What we can say here is that a new world of freedom will not result automatically from an economic organisation of society. Nor does freedom necessarily follow from the capture of political power by a party claiming to

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.39.

represent the oppressed and exploited classes. Roy feels that without individual freedom social reconstruction cannot be possible. The meaning of freedom in the true sense of the term cannot be manifested within political constraints, economical decorum because political constraints and economic decorum actually bring about individuals' collective ego that actually goes against the sanctity of freedom. Roy does not agree with the view that the negation of freedom is the road of freedom. Freedom for Roy is the outcome of all rational collective endeavours. It has been an ever larger measure of individual. In this sense, freedom is real only as individual freedom. Roy therefore suggest that freedom of the individuals can only be restored by abolishing of private property, state-ownership, planned economy. Such things actually do not by themselves end exploitation of labour, not ensure an equal distribution of wealth. According to Roy, planned economy defects its own purpose because instead of ushering in a higher form of democracy on the basis of economic equality and social justice, it may introduce a political dictatorship. Thus, the so-called economic democracy is conditional. It is conditional in the sense that it can function only within the environment of political democracy. However, it has been termed as planned economy because it will ensure greatest good of the greatest number. It will then mean equal distribution of wealth and thereby ensures social justice in the face of economic justice. In this sense, one has to say that planned economy actually reconciles planning with freedom and thus it would be more acquiescent to human welfare. However, Roy does not agree with this proposal. Planned economy is created by man and it can subserve

man's purpose. The relevance of political dictatorship cannot be ruled out from planned economy and any form of dictatorship cannot be entertained by Radical-Humanist in social evolution. According to the radical humanist, politics cannot be divorced from ethics without jeopardising the cherished idea of freedom. It is an empirical truth that immoral means necessarily corrupt the end.

Roy does not agree with the pattern of Western Democracy. He feels that the Western Democracy is equally disappointing. He stresses on the reorientation of Western Democracy on the human face. He claims that democracy of any form must be reverted to the human tradition instead of controlling it by a few political heads. He criticises formal democracy and instead of formal democracy he has welcomed actual democratic practice where the character of the party has not been measured by its ability to *catch votes* but by the merits of the *proclaimed principles and published programme*. According to Roy, the character of the party should be judged on the basis of the records of the government. However, even democratic government cannot ensure individual freedom as it allows scope neither for the individual nor for the intelligence. In fact, even in actual democracy, intelligence, integrity, wisdom, moral excellence, as a rule counts for nothing. Roy thus feels so long the purifying influence of human values is brought to bear upon the political organisation and administration of the society, so long the true human conscience and creativity is not reflected, the democratic way of life, even if it would be a liberal one, can never be realised. Roy in this regard says, "...a dictator regime, even if established as the means to a laudable end, discourages the rise of that type of

citizens. Thus, between formal democracy and dictatorship, humanity is deprived of the benefit of having its affairs conducted by spiritually free individuals, and is consequently debarred from advancing towards the goal of freedom.”<sup>15</sup>

According to Roy, even liberal democracy encourages dictatorship. It equally regiments the creation of human values. According to Roy, so long the creation of human values are not allowed to influence or flourish, there is no meaning of democracy. Democracy can only be recovered by ensuring the creation of human values in its full form. Democracy must recover the humanist tradition of modern culture. This does not require changing the earlier slogan that ‘man is the measure of everything’; it will remain even in the revised form of democracy where ‘man must again be the measure of all things’. Thus, in the accepted form of democracy, Roy feels, intelligence, integrity, wisdom, moral excellence, should be the test of leadership. However, in the past and even in the present democracy has been questioned. Even the advocates of social democracy have failed to give a suitable answer in this regard. Democracy at times has failed come up from its dictatorship. Therefore, Roy suggests that the fundamental democratic principle, i.e. the greatest good to the greatest numbers, can only be realised when the conduct of public affairs will be in charge of *spiritually free individuals* who represent their own conscience before anything else. Roy gives more importance on moral sanction. For him moral sanction is the greatest sanction. In this regard, we find a similarity between Kant and Roy. Kant equally

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.42.



emphasised the supremacy of moral sanction. The default of parliamentary democracy is that it overemphasises political laws and thoughts instead of morality. It is important to observe here that there we notice moral dictatorship in moral sanction what Kant called 'categorical Imperatives'. Roy equally admits moral dictatorship as it claims to be the means to an end. However, unlike political dictatorship, moral dictatorship is something different. In the case of morality imperatives come from within bounded by rationality and consciousness, whereas in politics, the dictations come from outside in mitigating or fulfilling vested interests. Thus, Roy feels that democracy must have philosophical reorientation in order to survive and tackle and resist the powerful onslaught of dictatorship.

Roy thus suggests a form of radical democracy instead of political liberal democracy. Radical democracy is a kind of democracy that has been set on the basis of philosophical orientation. According to Roy, such an organisation of society can unfolds ample opportunity for man, it will replace the executive power of the state under the control of free individuals. Radical democracy should not be survived on the basis of the will of periodical elections. Elected delegates always enjoy dictatorship because they realise that they have been elected by the people. Accordingly, Roy feels that delegation of power stultifies democracy. He further contends that government for the people can never be fully a government of the people and by the people. Democracy will be placed above parties. We are enjoying a democracy in India at present. We think that Roy's suspicion is still very much present in Indian democracy. Even though our

constitutional preambles recognise a democracy which is no longer a cadre based democracy, but the ground reality in most cases does not match up the preambles. Indian democracy is party based democracy. Thus Roy criticises a form of democracy which exhibits its loyalty towards party members, which ignores intellectual independence, moral integrity and individual wisdom. A radical democracy will be a kind of democracy which objective is to stimulate conscious and integrated effort amongst the people, which ensures freedom of the individuals, the spirit of free thinking, and the will of the individuals. Side by side it will resist external forces which would be detrimental to the progress of the state. Thus, a new Renaissance, based on rationalism, individualism and cosmopolitan Humanism is essential for democracy to be realised and capable of defending itself. This will create an atmosphere of making human values triumph. During this transition period the valuable service of those who are best qualified to the leaders of the society will recommend a specific number for membership of the Council of State. The economic life of the society must be progressively freed from the paralysing and corrupting control of vested interests. Thus, radicalism presupposes economic regimentation of society based on vested interests in order to eliminate the possibility of exploitation of man by man.

According to Roy, the economy of the new social order will be based on production for use and distribution with reference to human needs. Its culture will be based on universal distribution of knowledge and incentive to scientific and all other kinds of creative activity. The new society will necessarily be a

planned one based on the freedom of the individual as its main objective which will equally be politically, economically, culturally sound. Thus, it will be a democracy capable of defending itself. Thus, for Roy, radical democracy can be attained through collective efforts of spiritually free men and women. As it has been accomplished by creating a new order of freedom of spiritually free men and women, it will function as the guides, friends and philosophers of the people rather than as dictator rulers. Their political practice will be rational with a coherent amalgamation of both reason and morality. The radical Democratic State thus encourages the support of enlightened public opinion as well as the intelligent action of the people. Instead of capturing power, the Radical Humanists will help democratic organisation without encroaching upon the freedom of the individual. An increasing larger number of men who are conscious of their creative power, motivated by a determined will to remake the world, moved by the adventure of ideas, and fired with the ideals of a free society of free men, can create conducive conditions under which democracy will be possible. Roy says, “Spiritually free individuals at the helm of affairs will smash all chains of slavery and usher of freedom of all.”<sup>16</sup>

### **Principles of Radical Democracy**

After defending the ground of radical democracy instead of political democracy, Roy then suggests a few principles of radical democracy. In this regard, he suggests twenty two theses altogether. Let us explain each of these theses in turn after Roy.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p.49.

One

*Man is the archetype of society; co-operative social relationships contribute to develop individual potentialities.* Roy intuits social progress through the development of individual because collectivity presupposes the existence of well-being. For Roy collective well-being is the function of the well-being of individuals.

Two

*Quest for freedom and search for truth constitute the basic urge of human progress.* According to Roy, quest for freedom is the biological struggle for existence which eventually paves the way of attaining or gaining a higher level of intelligence and emotion. Pursuit of truth has multifarious implications as it enhances the level of intelligence; it enables man to be progressively free from the tyranny of natural phenomena. According to Roy, truth is the content of knowledge.

Three

*The purpose of all rational human endeavour, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom in ever increasing measure.* Through individual freedom individual potentiality is unfolded and accordingly individual progress is made possible. Accordingly, the position of the individual is the measure of the progressive and liberating significance of any collective effort.

Four

*Rising out of the background of the law-governed physical nature, the human being is essentially rational. According to Roy human reason is a biological property and it has symmetry with human will. Historical determinism therefore does not exclude freedom of the will. Human will, as a matter of fact, is supposed to be the powerful determining factor and one should not confuse the teleological or religious doctrine of predestination with human freedom of the will.*

Five

*The economic interpretation of history is reduced from a wrong interpretation of materialism. This is a mistake, because the economic interpretation of history implies dualism, whereas materialism is a monistic philosophy. Human 'will' cannot always be inferred directly to any economic incentive.*

Six

*Ideation is a philosophical process resulting from the awareness of environments. However, once they are formed, then they exist by themselves and governed by their own laws. Ideas and the process of social evolution run parallel to each other mutually without a dictation of causal relation, rather they are historically determined on the basis of the history of ideas.*

Seven

*For creating a new world of freedom, revolution must go beyond an economic reorganisation of society. Freedom does not mean necessarily the capture of political power. Freedom is required for the manifestation of humanity.*

Eight

*Communism or socialism may be the conceivable means for the attainment of the goal of freedom. Thus, the goal of freedom is the manifestation of humanity through which communism or socialism is revealed. It is absurd to argue that negation of freedom will lead to freedom; rather it is the freedom to give up the individual at the altar of an imaginary collective ego.*

Nine

*The state being the political organisation of society, its withering away under Communism is a utopia which has been exploded by experience. Powerful political machinery persists within planned economy on the basis of socialised industries. Only democratic control of that machinery alone can guarantee freedom under the new order.*

Ten

*State ownership and planned economy do not by themselves end exploitation of labour; nor do they necessarily lead to an equal distribution of wealth.*

Eleven

*Dictatorship tends to perpetuate itself.* Planned economy under political leadership disregards individual freedom.

Twelve

*The defects of formal parliamentary democracy have also been exposed in experience.* In fact to make democracy effective power must always remain vested in the people, and there must be ways and means for the people to wield.

Thirteen

*Liberalism is falsified or parodied under formal parliamentary democracy.* Here economic man is bound to be a slave or a slave-holder. This vulgar concept must be replaced by the reality of an instinctively rational being who is moral because he is rational. Morality is an appeal to conscience.

Fourteen

*The alternative to parliamentary democracy is not dictatorship.* Rather it would be an organised democracy as an alternative of formal democracy constituted by powerless atomised individual citizens. The parliament as an apex body composed of a countrywide network of people's committees. The state will be coincided with the entire society and thus will be under a standing democratic control.

Fifteen

*The function of a revolutionary and liberating social philosophy is to lay emphasise on the basic fact of history that man is the maker of his world. Man is a thinking being. His brain is a means of production and produces the most revolutionary commodity. Men are conscious of their creative power. Men with their creative power remake the world. Thus, free men can create conditions under which the democracy will be possible.*

Sixteen

*The method and programme of social revolution must be based on a reassertion of the basic principle of social progress. Social progress can be made possible by educating men regarding principles of freedom as well as rational co-operative living. The programme of revolution will be based on the principles of freedom, reason and social harmony by eliminating every form of monopoly and vested interest in the regulation of social life.*

Seventeen

*Radical democracy presupposes economic reorganisation of society so as to eliminate the possibility of exploitation of man by man. Economic reorganisation actually unfolds human potentialities and thereby guarantees progressively rising standard of living. It is the foundation of the Radical Democratic state. Economic liberalisation is the goal of freedom.*



## Eighteen

*The economy of the new social order will be based on production for use and distribution with reference to human needs. Unlike the political organisation the new society based on reason and science will necessarily be planned with the freedom of the individual. Freedom of individual is the culmination of the new society. The new society will be politically, economically and culturally democratic. As the new society is politically, economically and culturally democratic, the new society can defend itself.*

## Nineteen

*The ideal of radical democracy will be attained through the collective efforts of spiritually free men united in the determination of creating a world of freedom. Unlike the rules, they will function as the guides, friends and philosophers of the people. As they will function as the goal of freedom, their political practice will be rational and ethical. The objective of radical democracy is to ensure the goal of freedom of the people. As freedom is inconsistent with power, radical democrats will aim at to defuse power.*

## Twenty

*Education of the citizen is the condition for reorganisation of society. Education makes people progressive and prosperous without encroaching upon the freedom of the individual. The impact of radical democracy is huge in the sense that it brings back detached individuals to the forefront of public affairs. The state machinery will cease the freedom of the will of the individual. Only spiritually*

free individuals in power can demolish all chains and slavery and usher in freedom for all.

#### Twenty One

*Radicalism integrates science into social organisation* and reconciles individuality with collective life. It gives to freedom of moral-intellectual as well as social content. It offers a comprehensive theory of social progress where dynamic ideas find their due recognition.

#### Twenty Two

*Radicalism starts from the dictum that “Man is the measure of everything”* (Protagoras) or “Man is the root of mankind” (Marx). Therefore, importance should be given to the reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and friendly of free men by the collective endeavour of spiritually emancipated moral men.

In conclusion, it can be said, in brief, that M. N. Roy as the exponent of New Humanism has asserted that the advance of science was the factor for the liberation of man’s creative nature from which emerges the future of modern civilisation in the progressive triumph of science over superstition, reason over faith.

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