A critical Evaluation of Radical Humanism

Let us not be utopians. Ideals are never completely attained. We can only achieve a greater or lesser approximation towards an ideal. The end of the basic human urge is to approximate to the greatest possible extent the ideal of freedom. If freedom is defined as the progressive elimination of all restrictions on the unfoldment of the potentialities latent in man, if ceases to be an abstraction, and can be intimately and concretely related with the daily affairs of human life.

M.N. Roy

Politics, Power and Pariah
CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RADICAL HUMANISM

From the foregoing research into the different concepts of Radical Humanism it may be inferred that the entire philosophy of Radical Humanism is completely based on the concept of freedom. It is the central concept of Roy's life and philosophy. Here, Human freedom is indicated as the nexus theme in Roy's central thought, motivating his whole ideological march from Radical Nationalism through Radical Marxism, Radical Democracy to Radical Humanism.

An attempt is made to present in this concluding part of the dissertation, predilections of some of the main deliberations undertaken in the preceding chapters, in order to highlight both their crucial relevance and their limitations as a vital part of the contemporary political scenario in which Radical Humanism has come to be established on a global scale.

There is a tendency among scholarly intellectuals to regard Roy's philosophy of Radical Humanism as much too ambitious, much too idealistic, a dream of a visionary based on an over optimistic view of man and his capabilities. Some have even traced the traditional Indian ascetic strain in him. Roy's belief in the essential rationality of man, in his capacity to act and behave morally, in man's inherent urge for freedom, in his desire to live in harmony with others so as to arrive progressively at a universal, cosmopolitan human brotherhood - these and such other ideas might, if taken in an over all context, leads one to implicate him. But, before one
dismisses Roy's ideas as irrelevant being out of touch with realities, one would do well to ponder over certain facts. Chief among them is the fact that Roy's characterization of the contemporary crisis into which human experience has culminated is generally shared on all sides. The lament over loss of morals and erosion of values in public as well as private life is almost universal. Roy is not being unique in his call for the restoration of moral order as the corrective to the human situation of the day. He is unique in his diagnosis of the causes of that loss and his faith in man's capacity to take his affairs in his own hands, which faith is not just a pious wish, but a well grounded conviction, grounded in scientific knowledge. Man's essentially rational nature or his biological property of reason on which Roy's view of humanity rests is confirmed by many biologists and several scientists. Professor H.J. Eysenck remarks with almost exacting similitude what Roy has maintained "Man is a biological as well as social organisation; evolutionary doctrine teaches us that our brain, our autonomic system and our body structure have evolved through millions of years in response to a very hostile environment. What has singled it out from all other animals has been the unique development of the neo-cortex, that great mass of white and grey matter inside our skull, which enables us to function intelligently, to adjust rationally, our entire culture is based on this fragile basis; without our intellect, it would be wiped out in very little time, by animals much better equipped in many ways to survive in a world created by nature red in tooth and claw"...

Another fact to note and consider is that Roy has not looked upon the contemporary crisis merely in local or regional context. He has studied and analysed it in its fully magnitude and in all its dimensions.

In his quest for a solution, and apart from evaluating all available experience, Roy has gone from one discipline to another for whatever right, wisdom and insights may be gained. With all his conscientious and meticulous exercise, he evolved a solution appropriate to its global magnitude and dimension, rather than one which would be exhausted with its local and regional applications. It is this aspect of Roy's thought that makes it so forbidding, but not to reject it as over ambitious and irrelevant. Roy had diagnosed the global crisis of our age in his inevitable style and applied his remarkable qualities as a rationalist and a logician to an equally deep analysis of the acute crisis in post-war India. The whole analysis and diagnosis was formulated by Roy with his scientific bent of mind. Roy views the present country's crisis in its ultimate analysis, as the moral crisis. He considered and partook of modern totalitarianism, Parliamentary democracy and nationalism before realising that they were the major sources of this crisis. Hence he renounced them totally.

As a thoughtful philosopher contemplating the future of humanity, Roy was deeply disturbed by the gloomy perspective of the contemporary world. But, he did not simply stand, paralysed by the feeling of helplessness amounting to fatalism. He thought furiously, so as to lay bare the cause of the malady threatening the very existence.

M.N. Roy has raised his voice of reason to warn the progressive world against the different varieties of orthodoxy and blind passion, perpetrating an atmosphere of stark madness. He was of the opinion, that it is singularly thoughtless and almost criminal, if not irresponsible to take the fatalistic view of life, that yet another war is inevitable and held that it would finally dissolve the old world and clear the ground for a new order.
This is the view of Roy, which may be in consonance with the Marxist doctrine of economic determinism, in reality, it betrays a woeful ignorance of the dynamics of human culture and represents the cynicism of the unfounded conviction. It is a remarkable antithesis of pre-history, which existed and was ruled by the law of the jungle.

The catastrophic imminence, that another world war would have the most disastrous consequences, is a potential threat most probably amounting to a complete break down of modern civilization. Greatest possible efforts must be made to head off that threatening catastrophe. According to Roy, that object can be attained only by replacing antiquated political doctrines and theoretical postulates about a non-existent Utopia, which history has mercilessly exploded. Neither the so-called western democracy nor Communism can head off another war, towards which the world is drifting as it were by fate.

Roy was interested in the Renaissance Movement, not purely out of an academic or historical sense. His interest was purposeful. Being convinced that politics could not be practised scientifically, in an atmosphere of intellectual backwardness and general ignorance, Roy felt the implicit necessity for initiating the spadework of his philosophy of partyless politics. Such a move would prepare the field for citizens to function more effectively in politics. In the given social and cultural atmosphere of this country, the political appeal of partyless politics has to be, to some extent, irrational. But, his fundamental appeal to reason was made through the Renaissance Movement. The Renaissance Movement was to be the ground on which the intellectuals could meet and keep away from politics, besides indulging in social and cultural discussions related to problems in which they were

interested, but the solutions of which could not be isolated from political
activities. Roy's philosophical activity in the Renaissance Movement was
fruitful in proportion, as it brought politically detached intellectuals closer
to politics. It could not be attributed justly, that Roy denoted to his party
politics and practised it rationally.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that humanist movements in one
form or the other have made their appearance in many other countries of the
world in recent times. But, Roy's philosophy of Radical Humanism is in a
sense unique contribution in the realm of ideas, as it is based on an out and
out materialist cosmology, while the humanist ideologies of other countries
have large religious elements in them. According to Roy, one should believe
either in God or in man, the humanist movements drawing inspiration from
religion as such may be said to contradict themselves and so would stultify
themselves sooner or later.

It is true, as Roy himself has pointed out, there is no such conception
as "new" in Radical Humanism because its basic proportions may be found
in some form or the other elsewhere too. But, that does not take away the
merit of Roy's philosophy. In any sphere of life, particularly a new
philosophy can be born only out of the spiritual heritage of mankind. Besides,
the modern function of philosophy is only to integrate and synthesise the
knowledge acquired from different departments of science. The philosophy
of Radical Humanism has sought to discharge this function.

Enumerating upon the philosophy of Radical Humanism, proclaims
the sovereignty of man on the authority of modern science, which has
dispelled all mystery about the essence of man. It maintains that a rational
and moral society is possible because man, by nature, is rational and therefore, can be moral, not under any compulsion, but voluntarily: that the sanction of morality is embedded in human nature.

In so far as it shows a way out of the crisis of our time, New Humanism is a social philosophy. But as such, it is deduced from a general philosophy of nature, including the world of matter and the world of mind. Its metaphysics is physical-realist, and its cosmology is mechanistic. Conceptual thought and sense perceptions are harmonised in its epistemology. It merges psychology into physiology, and relates the latter to physics through chemistry. It bases ethics on rationalism, and traces the roots of reason in the orderliness of nature and harmony of the physical Universe.

New Humanism reconciles the romantic doctrine of revolution, that man makes history, with the rationalist notion of orderly social progress. By tracing will and reason, emotion and intelligence, to their common biological origin. History being the record of human endeavour, and man being an integral part of the law-governed universe, history is not a chaotic conglomeration of fortuitous events, Social evolution is a determined process. But, New Humanism rejects Economic Determinism, which is deduced form a wrong interpretation of the materialistic philosophy. Human will is the motivating force of social evolution; It is, indeed, the most powerful determining factor of history. Otherwise, there would be no place for revolutions in a rationally determined process of social evolution. A revolution is acceleration in the tempo of the evolutionary process, brought about by the will of a minority of men. But human will, as well as ideas, can

seldom be referred directly to nor applied to economic incentives.

CHAPTER V

Ideation* is a physiological process. Once ideas are formed in the mind of man, they exist by themselves governed by their own laws. The dynamics of ideas runs parallel to the dialectics of social evolution, the two influencing each other mutually. But, in no particular period of history can a causal relation be traced between social events and movements of ideas. Patterns of culture and ethical systems are not mere ideological superstructures of established social relations. They are also determined, through the logic of the history of ideas.

New Humanism holds that, for creating a new world of liberty and social justice, revolution must go beyond an economic reorganisation of society. The urge for freedom being the basic incentive of life, the purpose of all rational human endeavour must be to strive for the removal of social conditions, which restrict the unfolding of the potentialities of man. The success of this striving is the measure of freedom attained. The position of the individual is the indicator of the progressive and liberating significance of any collective effort of social system.

New Humanism lays emphasis on the basic fact of history that man is the maker of his world - man as a thinking being, and he can be so only as an individual. The brain is the instrument of thought, and is individually owned. It cannot be possessed collectively. Revolutions are heralded by iconoclastic ideas conceived by gifted individuals. A brotherhood of men attracted by the adventure of ideas, keenly conscious of the urge for freedom, fired with the vision of a free society of free men, and motivated by the will to remake the world so as to restore the individual in his position of primacy and dignity, would show the way of the contemporary crisis of modern civilization.

* The process of formation of Ideas or conceptualisation of ideas is ideation. This process is physiological in character and, as such, rests on physico-chemical action. Ideas are produced by human brain for which the physiological name is 'mind'.
In the last analysis, education of the citizen is the condition for such a reorganisation of society, as would be conducive to common progress and prosperity, without encroaching on the freedom of the individual. New Humanism advocates a social reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of free men, by the co-operative endeavour of spiritually emancipated moral men.

New Humanism is cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan commonwealth of spiritually free men would not be limited by the boundaries of national Status - capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist, or any other kind, which gradually disappeared under the impact of the twentieth century Renaissance of Man. In the philosophy of Radical Humanism, Roy has placed man against the cosmic background and has thus sought to determine the end of his life. He has also prescribed how he can fulfil his end. Man is also an animal but an animal of a higher order. His struggle for existence is therefore carried out at a higher plane in the shape of the unfolding of his potentialities. This constitutes the aim of his life. To pursue the aim each individual man requires freedom, or in other terms a progressive removal of all obstacles to the unfoldment of his potentialities.

Rationality constitutes the differentia of man. It is, however, but an end to a means. The aim of man is to unfold his potentialities, of which rationality is the most distinctive. To exercise and develop this capacity must therefore be an important part of his life's aim. This means that no life of man can be said to be good unless it is rational. But, rationality is also a means to remove obstacles to the unfoldment of potentialities to man, replaced very largely by the materialism of the physical universe. He can eradicate them and, to a great extent, he has removed them only with the

help of his knowledge about the physical universe. Further, to make life itself possible and to help its unfoldment, man must live in society. Man has already acquired some knowledge regarding his society, which has been congregated in different social sciences.

It is thus knowledge, which enables man to control his environment, both physical and social, so as to minister to his needs. Earlier, was monopolised by a few persons and utilized by them to their own benefit, thus putting a stumbling block to the unfoldment of the vast majority of the people. Their advantageous position in this respect has further enabled them to influence the state machinery, so as to promote their own sectarian interests. As a remedial measure, the philosophy of Radical Humanism envisages the widest possible diffusion of human knowledge and a reorganization of the social, political and economic life of man. It is to be managed by the people themselves from below.

Invariably, only the vested interests that want to thrive at the cost of the society at large prevail. When conflicts occur, as they some times do, between the interests of an individual and that of a society, not frequently the latter is sacrificed for the former. When such cases start taking place on a larger scale, social disorganization occurs as a result. This constitutes the fundamental issue of ethics. Now individuals may do an unethical act, either through ignorance or through evil desires. So far as ignorance is concerned, the remedy is simple. It is the dissemination of more knowledge. Whereas, the problem of evil desires is more complicated. These are the hang-overs from man's animal ancestry and could be tackled in two ways. One is by strengthening man's rational faculty, which would make him understand that a wilful breach of the social order does not pay in the long run,
whatever the advantages one may immediately derive from it. Man would then try to be moral, inspite of the temptations before him. However, this remedy may not be very fruitful where temptations are great. To deal with them, recourse must be made towards manipulating and moulding human desires. In such cases, man would continue to be moral again with the help of his increased capacity of knowledge through an intellectual awareness of his world.

Thus, we see that it is only knowledge, which enable man to remove all impediments in the way of fulfilling himself. This knowledge is made possible by his rational capacity, which emanates from his brain. The power to realise his life's end is thus inherent in man, and a supra natural element is involved in it. This is the philosophy of Radical Humanism, which has sought the problems of man's being and becoming with the help of knowledge acquired in the different fields of science. Roy's main purpose in the last phase of his life was to develop the philosophy of Radical Humanism as an alternative to Marxism, Capitalism and Gandhism. Following Marxism, he tried to make it comprehensive with Ontology or metaphysics, historiography, ethics, political and economic doctrines all harmoniously blended and logically integrated in a monistic philosophy. The wisdom of building up a philosophical system of this sort is now being challenged mainly from two sources - logical positivism and pragmatism1. Logical positivism is an empiricist school of thought that conceives of philosophy as logical analyses or, in other words, as a clarification of language used in the day to day life. Pragmatism is concerned with the practice of knowledge in the matter of fact world of living and prefers a piecemeal to a total approach towards the

social problems. The former makes philosophy unintelligible for all, except for a few experts and the latter abhors philosophical generalization. A piecemeal approach to social change has its merits, but without an implied perspective of total transformation, such an approach may lead such changes in contradictory directions and ultimately give rise to social maladjustment.

The need for a comprehensive philosophy of total human existence is perhaps not yet over.

A firm believer in the supreme role of ideas in the making of history, Roy tried to face the challenge of Marxism first in the belief of ideology. Through his writings and personal contacts, he was able to make a section of Indian intelligentsia keenly conscious of the dangers of Communism and create a mental climate favorable for individual freedom and initiative. But in the field of practice his idea of partyless politics remained almost barren. Success in the philosophical front he believed would pave the ground for fruitful social activities in terms of the political and economic reforms formulated by him.

To launch a broad democratic movement under the banner of a comprehensive philosophical system forecasts certain fundamental issues. A political party functioning under the democratic constitution may have a rigid philosophical basis, but a movement spearheaded with the idea of creating democratic consciousness among the people in general must remain more flexible. Democracy presupposes a diversity of views within the broad framework of set social values and attitudes. General education in a democracy cannot be imparted to the people by a movement committed to any particular rigid and comprehensive philosophy.
Though Roy tried to formulate a new social philosophy, distinct from liberalism and Marxism, and wanted to go, as he himself said, beyond Marxism instead of reverting to liberalism, to all intents and purposes, he revived the tradition of liberal humanism of the pre-Marxian era. The denunciation of all brands of collectivism and state authoritarianism in favour of the freedom of the individual made Roy essentially a liberal thinker. The values of radical humanism are all liberal values. The practice of liberalism disappointed Roy, and, therefore, he tried to replace it by a new pattern of institutions, which he believed was more in conformity with its professed ideals. He thus tried to save the spirit of liberalism against the onslaught of totalitarianism.

Radical Humanism, in the last analysis is liberalism applied to the age of socialism. Liberalism is a dynamic concept and it is not necessarily and organically related to a particular type of political and economic institution. But, Roy was reluctant to accept the position to which he was forced by the logical development of his own ideas. His Marxist past prevented him from accepting liberalism -with a clear conscience. This inner conflict of his mind is clearly revealed in his letter to Ruth Fischer, dated 23rd October 1949. He wrote: “We cannot disown a spiritual kinship with the communists, notwithstanding all their stupidities and misdeeds. On the other hand, having spent a whole life-time in quest of economic equality, real political freedom and social justice, one cannot but be suffocated in the atmosphere of big-bellied bravadoes and square-jawed vulgarity. Was Marx was not over indulgent, when he exposed the hypocrisy of the bourgeois society and the unreality of freedom under parliamentary democracy, would it be reasonable to cast doubt on the socialist theories and discord the ideal
of the social emancipation of the exploited masses (they are exploited, even when they earn five dollars an hour) because Stalin has betrayed him"?*

For an impartial evaluation of the philosophy of Radical Humanism it is necessary to differentiate the values of the philosophy from its specific doctrines. The abiding contributions of Roy in the realm of social and political thought must be sought in the liberal values of Radical Humanism. They are:-

a. The supreme importance of the individual in society;
b. The reconciliation of morality with secularity;
c. Rational and free thinking of individuals; and
d. Democracy from below or what is now called grass-root democracy.

In this age of Socialism and Statism, Planning and Technology Roy's stress on the sanctity and dignity of the individual has a great stimulating significance. He understood that individual freedom and democracy depends not primarily upon constitutional safeguards, institutional changes or economic systems but upon the quality of the individual. This explains his emphasis on education in the present era of power politics, mass movements and pressure groups. Roy's concept of rational politics practised by individuals on their own initiative is a noble attempt to bring the individuals to the center of society.

The importance of the concept of ethical politics in the present age cannot in fact be over estimated. Under the influence of natural science,

* The letter is preserved in the M.N.Roy Archives, Dehradun. It is true that gradually Roy deviated from this position but still he always tried to reach new beyond Communism instead of going back to an old
politics has become not only secular but has also developed a tendency to become value-free and objective, renouncing all relations with ethical norms and ideals. By developing the concept of secular ethics, Roy tried to combine scientific objectivity with ethical idealism in political practice. The importance of secular ethics in an age of secular public life is undeniable and therefore Roy's attempt to reconcile moral values with the secular outlook should be appreciated by all who stand for modernism, without sacrificing the positive values of the past. An attempt to reconcile moral education with the principle of secularism is an important problem of the modern age, which confronts India directly. The problem of corruption is the most vital issue of Indian public life, which Roy tried to trace to the politics of power. If his answer is not wholly acceptable, it is undoubtedly worth considering.

Roy's most outstanding contribution lay in developing in India an intellectual movement on the basis of free, rational and scientific thinking. His evaluation of the culture of India was unorthodox, illuminating and thought provoking and therein lay its significance. An uncompromising atheist, Roy brought about a revolution in the traditional pattern of thinking of a small but significant section of Indian people. It can reasonably be expected that Roy the iconoclastic thinker would survive Roy, the politician.

He considered the centralization of power, either political or economic, as inimical to individual freedom. One of the reasons was that he was opposed to socialism as well as to the present practice of parliamentary democracy. He tried to vest economic and political power in the people. There was a spirit behind his concept of Radical Democracy and the cooperative economy. He believes that to be real and effective, democracy should be practised not simply in the state legislatures or in the national
parliament, but also in every village and town. The present experiment of *panchayat raj* and the co-operative movement in India may profitably draw upon the ideas of M.N.Roy.

Roy had developed the citizens a need to show new respect for the dignity and capacity of an average man. He attempted by building from below (people’s committees always constituted a basic concept in Roy’s political philosophy). His scheme of revolution, his philosophy of Radical Humanism are all reared on the faith in the capacity of the ordinary man in making significant contributions to the more important sectors of human life. In this respect too, Roy was a definite improvement upon Rousseau, who notwithstanding his belief in innate morality of man did not think that the ordinary people could be led to recognize the truth by rational demonstration and without pondering on their prejudices.

In his autobiography, Nehru with some regret speaks of Roy as a "lonely figure deserted by every body" and this was but natural. As a matter of fact, Roy was not an ordinary political leader. Unlike other leaders, he was never after cheap popularity and never sought to build up his support upon the ignorance, prejudices and backwardness of the general masses. As a matter of fact, in India Roy was almost always moving against the current. It is proverbially a country of authoritarian tradition. For centuries, the people had grown accustomed to think it their duty to meekly submit to the oppression of the privileged caste. Hence, they were ready either to dictate or to be dictated. Moreover a narrow irrational radical sentiment was dominating the contemporary scene of India. Roy, who always drew his inspiration from the creative spirit of Renaissance and the enlightened had to play the role of a prophet of a modern, rational and scientific out

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look in India. His thought also was far ahead of his times. Roy's task and fate were essentially those of a pioneer.

Human civilization owed all its progress to the pioneers of thought. Yet they had to bear the cross. They were maligned and abused by the very persons for whom they bled. And their services too remained mostly unacknowledged for the time being. Roy's failure in India was therefore not a matter to be regretted. It was a noble failure, no doubt, India certainly required a fearless soul and an intellectual mind like that of Roy to sow the seeds of enlightenment on her soil. So as to germinate and frutify if not immediately, atleast in the fullness of time. Accepting Roy would imply reposing of confidence in man, although it should not be forgotten that of all the changes, a change in the philosophical outlook is generally most difficult to bring about. Roy undoubtely belongs to that group of "disinterested reformers" by whose appearance Bryce said, "hope is revived".

Inspite of his isolation and comparative obscurity, Roy's ideas did not remain barren. He was largely influenced by Jayaprakash Narayan, the prominent Bhoodan leader and a great advocate of partyless democracy. Roy's influence on Jayaprakesh can be traced as much to the period when he accepted Marxism, as when he gave up Marxism in favour of Sarvodaya philosophy. Referring to his conversion to Marxism in the United States of America, Jayaprakesh writes.. "The pungent writings of M.N.Roy that found their way from Europe into the communist cells, particularly of Asian students, completed the conversion to Marxism". Again, while explaining his new philosophy, Jayaprakash refers to "the significant and seminal

contributions of the late M.N.Roy to the body of thought". The Indian committee for cultural freedom is dominated mainly by the followers of Roy. The philosophy of Radical Humanism directly or indirectly has influenced and is likely to influence more the movement of democratic socialism in India. His humanist philosophy was also given an international recognition. In August 1952, several humanist organisations from different parts of the world formed the International Humanist and Ethical Union (I.H.E.U) with its head quarters at Amsterdam. Roy was elected as one of the Vice-presidents of the humanist International and he was invited to participate in its first Congress. He was also invited by a number of universities and academic institutions in Europe and the United States. While he was thus on the threshold of a new chapter of his life, he died of cerebral thrombosis on 25th January 1954. Thus ended the chequered career of Roy, "a figure in revolutions: Russian, Chinese and Indian".

M.N.Roy thereby began his political career as a revolutionary and ended as a liberal humanist. He tried to bring about an ideal transformation, but realized that the revolutionary's quest for the New Jerusalem lying on the other side of "the struggle" was an impossible dream. The lure of Utopia to be conquered in future gave way to the reality of the present to be improved by human co-operation. As a humanist, he understood that if heaven cannot be achieved, the earth at least can be repaired. He died a disillusioned, but possibly not a wholly disappointed man.

APPENDIX

The philosophy of Radical Humanism embodies the philosophical principles and their political deductions in the form of twenty-two theses. They are formulated in an effort to offer a solution to the crisis in which the contemporary world has been involved.

ONE

Man is the archetype of society, co-operative social relationships contribute to develop individual potentialities. But the development of the individual is the measure of social progress. Collectivity presupposes the existence of individuals. Except as the sum total of freedom and well-being, actually enjoyed by individuals, social liberation and progress are imaginary ideals, which are never attained. Well-being, if it is actual, is enjoyed by individuals. It is wrong to ascribe a collective ego to any form of human community (viz. nation, class etc.), as that practice means sacrifice of the individual. Collective well-being is a function of the well-being of individuals.

TWO

Quest for Freedom and search for Truth constitute the basic urge of human progress. The quest for freedom is the continuation, on a higher level of intelligence and emotion of the biological struggle for existence. The search for truth is a corollary thereof. Increasing knowledge of nature enables man to be progressively free from the tyranny of natural phenomena, and physical and social environments. 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. Freedom is progressive disappearance of all restrictions on the unfolding of the potentialities of individuals, as human beings, and not as cogs in the wheels of a mechanised social organism. The position of the individual, is the measure of the progressive and liberating significance of any collective efforts of social organisation. The success of any collective endeavor is measured by the actual benefit for its constituent units.

FOUR

Rising out of the background of the law-governed physical nature, the human being is essentially rational. Reason being a biological property, it is not the anti-thesis of will. Intelligence and emotion can be reduced to a common biological denominator. Historical determinism, therefore, does not exclude freedom of the will. As a matter of fact, human will is the most powerful determining factor. Otherwise, there would be no room for revolutions in a rationally determined process of history. The rational and scientific concept of determinism is not to be confused with the teleological or religious doctrine of predestination.

FIVE

The economic interpretation of history is deduced from a wrong interpretation of Materialism. It implies dualism, whereas Materialism is a monistic philosophy. History, is a determined process; but there are more
than one causative factors. Human will is one of them, and it cannot always be referred directly to any economic incentive.

SIX

Ideation is a physiological process resulting from the awareness of environment. But once they are formed, ideas exist by themselves, governed by their own laws. The dynamics of ideas runs parallel to the process of social evolution, the two influencing each other mutually. But in no particular point of the process of the integral human evolution, can a direct causal relation be established between historical events and the movements of ideas. ('Idea' is here used in the common philosophical sense of ideology or system of ideas). Cultural patterns and ethical values are not mere ideological super-structures of established economic relations. They are also historically determined by the logic 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 necessarily follow from the capture of political power in the name of the oppressed and exploited classes and abolition of private property in the means of production.

EIGHT

Communism or socialism may conceivably be the means for the attainment of the goal of freedom. How far it can serve that purpose, must be judged by experience. A political system and an economic experiment which subordinate the man of flesh and blood to an imaginary collective ego, be it the nation or a class, cannot possibly be the suitable means for the
attainment of the goal of freedom. On the one hand, it is absurd to argue that negation of freedom will lead to freedom; and on the other hand, it is not freedom to sacrifice the individual at the altar of an imaginary collective ego. Any social philosophy or scheme of social reconstruction which does not recognise the sovereignty of the individual, and dismisses the ideal of freedom as an empty abstraction, can have no more than a very limited progressive and revolutionary significance.

NINE

The State being the political organisation of society, its withering away under Communism is a Utopia which has been exploded by experience. Planned economy on the basis of socialised industries presupposes a powerful political machinery. Democratic control of that machinery alone can guarantee freedom under the new order. Planning of production for use is possible on the basis of political democracy and individual freedom

TEN

State ownership and planned economy do not by themselves end exploitation of labour; not do they necessarily lead to equal distribution of wealth. Economic democracy is no more possible in the absence of political democracy than the latter is the absence of the former.

ELEVEN

Dictatorship tends to perpetuate itself. Planned economy under political dictatorship disregards individual freedom on the pleas of efficiency, collective effort and social progress. Consequently, a higher form of democracy in the socialist society, as it is conceived at present, becomes an impossibility. Dictatorship defeats its professed end.
TWELVE

The defects of formal parliamentary democracy have also been exposed in experience. They result from the delegation of power. To make democracy effective, power must always remain vested in the people, and there must be ways and means for the people to wield the sovereign power effectively, not periodically, but from day to day. Atomised individual citizens are powerless for all practical purposes, and most of the time. They have no means to exercise their sovereignty and to wield a standing control of the State machinery.

THIRTEEN

Liberalism is falsified or parodied under formal parliamentary democracy. The doctrine of *Laissez-faire* only provides the legal sanction to the exploitation of man by man. The concept of economic man negativates the liberating doctrine of individualism. The 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, and conscience is the instinctive awareness of, and reaction to, environments. It is a mechanistic biological function on the level of consciousness. Therefore, it is rational.

FOURTEEN

The alternative to parliamentary democracy is not dictatorship; it is organised democracy in the place of the formal democracy of powerless atomised individual citizens. The parliament should be the apex of a pyramidal structure of the State reared on the base of an organised democracy
composed of a countrywide network of People’s Committees. The political organisation of society (the State) will be coincident with the entire society, and consequently the State will be under a standing democratic control.

FIFTEEN

The function of a revolutionary and liberating social philosophy is to lay emphasis on the basic fact of history that man is the maker of his world - man as a thinking being - and he can be so only as an individual. The brain is a means of production, and produces the most revolutionary commodity. Revolutions presuppose iconoclastic ideas. An increasingly large number of men conscious of their creative power, motivated by the indomitable will to remake the world, moved by the adventure of ideas, and fired with the ideal of a free society of free men, can create the conditions under which 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. A social Renaissance can come only through determined and widespread endeavour to educate the people as regards the principles of freedom and rational co-operative living. The people will be organised into effective democratic bodies to build up the socio-political foundation of the post-revolutionary order. Social revolution requires in rapidly increasing number men of the new Renaissance, and a rapidly expanding system of people’s committees, and an organic co-ordination of both. The programme of revolution will similarly be based on the principles of freedom, reason and social harmony. It will mean elimination of 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. Progressive satisfaction of material necessities is the precondition for the individual members of society unfolding their intellectual and other finer human potentialities. An economic reorganisation, such as will guarantee a progressively rising standard of living, is the foundation of the Radical Democratic State. Economic liberation of the masses is an essential condition for their advancing towards 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. Its political organisation excludes delegation of power which, in practice deprives the people of effective power; it will be based on the direct participation of the entire adult population through the People's committees. Its culture will be based on universal dissemination of knowledge and on minimum control and maximum scope for, and incentive to, scientific and creative activities. The new society, being founded on reason and science, will necessarily be planned. But it will be planning with the freedom of the individual as its main purpose. The new society will be democratic - politically, economically as well as culturally. Consequently, it will be a democracy which 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. They will function as the guides, friends and philosophers of the people rather than as their would be rulers. Consistently with the goal of freedom, their political practice will be rational and therefore ethical. Their efforts will be reinforced by the growth of the people’s will to freedom. Ultimately, the Radical Democratic State will rise with the support of enlightened public opinion as well as intelligent action of the people. Realising that freedom is inconsistent with concentration of power, Radical Democrats will aim at the widest diffusion of power.

TWENTY

In the last analysis, education of the citizen is the condition for such a reorganisation of society as will be conductive to common progress and prosperity without encroaching upon the freedom of individual. The people’s Committees will be schools for the political and civic education of the citizen. The structure and function of the Radical Democratic state will enable detached individuals to come to the forefront of public affairs. Manned with such individuals, the State machinery will cease to be the instrument in the hands of any particular class to coerce others. Only spiritually free individuals in power can smash all chains of 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 a moral, intellectual as well as a social content; it offers a comprehensive theory of social progress in which both the dialectics of economic determinism and dynamic of ideas find their due recognition ; and it deduces from the same a method and a programme of social revolution in our time.
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