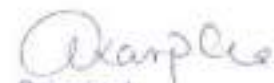


To whom it may concern**Subject: Completion of Project by PLSA students of Semester IV in 2021-22**

The undersigned hereby certifies that the students mentioned in the table given below have completed their Projects for the University of Calcutta B.A/B.Sc. Semester-IV Examination, 2021 in CC-8 course of Political Science Honours. These students are mentioned in the modified template of Metric 1.3.2 (for DVV compliance) as PLSA (SEM IV) with pdf link of their projects stated alongside.

SL.NO.	REGISTRATION NO.	COLLEGE ROLL NO.	NAME	SUBJEC
1	013-1212-0136-20	20/BAH/0016	ADRITA DAS	PLSA
2	013-1211-0050-20	20/BAH/0048	KRITIKA JALODIA	PLSA
3	013-1212-0048-20	20/BAH/0055	NEHARIMPA MONDAL	PLSA
4	013-1211-0032-20	20/BAH/0066	ADRIKA MUKHOPADHYAY	PLSA
5	013-1211-0060-20	20/BAH/0073	MANDABI BANERJEE	PLSA
6	013-1211-0015-20	20/BAH/0114	SHRABANA CHAKRABORTY	PLSA
7	013-1211-0029-20	20/BAH/0164	SAMPRITY DAS	PLSA
8	013-1211-0024-20	20/BAH/0167	PRAJUKTA MUKHERJEE	PLSA
9	013-1211-0135-20	20/BAH/0185	NEHA SADHUKHAN	PLSA
10	013-1211-0066-20	20/BAH/0221	SANSKRITI PRADHAN	PLSA
11	013-1211-0009-20	20/BAH/0230	SUKANYA GHOSH	PLSA
12	013-1211-0088-20	20/BAH/0249	SOUMI KAR	PLSA
13	013-1211-0011-20	20/BAH/0250	EESANI MAZUMDER	PLSA
14	013-1211-0075-20	20/BAH/0254	ISHANI SINHA	PLSA
15	013-1211-0014-20	20/BAH/0263	SOHINI SAHA	PLSA
16	013-1211-0010-20	20/BAH/0264	RITWIK DUTTA	PLSA
17	013-1211-0103-20	20/BAH/0274	ANEESHA SENGUPTA	PLSA
18	013-1211-0321-20	20/BAH/0275	SUDARSHANA RAUT	PLSA
19	013-1211-0001-20	20/BAH/0300	SANJANA PRASAD	PLSA
20	013-1211-0091-20	20/BAH/0301	SANGITA MANDAL	PLSA
21	013-1211-0315-20	20/BAH/0302	SHRUTI KUMARI MISHRA	PLSA
22	013-1211-0322-20	20/BAH/0303	SNEHA BISWAS	PLSA
23	013-1211-0013-20	20/BAH/0304	ISHITA HALDER	PLSA
24	013-1211-0138-20	20/BAH/0305	SUNNY SHARMA	PLSA
25	013-1211-0137-20	20/BAH/0306	PRIYANKA ROY	PLSA
26	013-1211-0016-20	20/BAH/0307	SAGARIKA MOOKERJEE	PLSA
27	013-1211-0144-20	20/BAH/0330	SHALINI CHAKRABORTY	PLSA
28	013-1211-0143-20	20/BAH/0331	UPOMA GANGULY	PLSA
29	013-1211-0145-20	20/BAH/0336	SHAGUFTA YASMIN	PLSA
30	013-1211-0350-20	20/BAH/0340	SUBEKSHA RAI	PLSA



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Jinnah's Two Nation Theory

By Adrita Das

Department of Political Science

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College roll number- 20/BAH/0016

CC8 Tutorial Project

Gokhale Memorial Girl's College

2021

1 APR 2023

Authenticated

Chandra

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Gokhale Memorial Girls' College



15/06/22

Introduction

The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire. According to this theory, Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion and traditions; therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India, one in which Islam is the dominant religion, and be segregated from Hindus and other non-Muslims. The two-nation theory advocated by the All-India Muslim League is the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement (i.e., the ideology of Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in the northwestern and eastern regions of India) through the partition of India in 1947.

Jinnah's Biography

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also called Qaid-i-Azam (Arabic: "Great Leader"), (born December 25, 1876, Karachi, India (now in Pakistan)—died September 11, 1948, Karachi), Indian Muslim politician, who was the founder and first governor-general (1947–48) of Pakistan.

Entry into politics

Jinnah first entered politics by participating in the 1906 session of the Indian National Congress (Congress Party) held at Calcutta (now Kolkata), in which the party began to split between those calling for dominion status and those advocating independence for India. Four years later he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council—the beginning of a long and distinguished parliamentary career. In Bombay he came to know, among other important Congress Party personalities, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the eminent Maratha leader. Greatly influenced by those nationalist politicians, Jinnah aspired during the early part of his political life to become "a Muslim Gokhale." Admiration for British political institutions and an eagerness to raise the status of India in the international community and to develop a sense of Indian nationhood among the peoples of India were the chief elements of his politics. At that time, he still looked upon Muslim interests in the context of Indian nationalism.

Jinnah's Ideology

He was influenced by the liberal and secular ideas of Morley, who authored the book, 'On Compromise'. JS Mill's greatest disciple, Morley remained Jinnah's hero. The noble ideas of Burke & Mill stirred his mind and heart. Jinnah was fascinated by Dadabhai Naoroji, Ferozshah Mehta & Gokhle. He joined national movement as liberal nationalist, in 1906, he attended the Calcutta session of INC as secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji. He strongly defended individual rights and liberty. In his initial political activity, he believed in a nationalist, secular, modern democratic foundation of the state. He was champion of civil liberty, individual rights, equal justice. He was critic of the British Rule in India, and believed in constitutional methods for the emancipation of India from the foreign rule. He was opposed to any sort of communalism, whether hindu/muslim. He advocated the cause of hindu-muslim unity as a goal of swaraj. S. Naidu gave him the title of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'. He rejected the separate electorate formula proposed by Morley & Minto. He attended the annual meetings of INC and ML in Bankipur during 1912. In 1913, after persuaded by Mohammad Ali & Wazir Hasan he joined the Muslim League. He was the main architect of the pact between Congress & Muslim League. India for the Indian's was central concern of his political thinking. He strongly criticized Britain's recruiting drive during WWI. Jinnah assailed Rowlett Act Bills as 'Black Bills.' He argued to Gandhi on NCM that it may be an excellent weapon for the purposes of bringing pressure upon the government, but will not succeed in destroying the British empire. He was an uncompromising nationalist. About a question what are you first, a Muslim or Indian?, reply was Indian first then Muslim. While addressing students of the Osmania University, he claimed himself to be a nationalist & a liberator of India. He presided over the All-Indian Muslim League session in 1937, & a passed a resolution for complete independence for India. He considered issue of unity b/w Hind-Muslim necessary for attainment of swaraj. He was called the Muslim Gokhle. Reacting to Motilal Nehru's report that advocated joint electorate without sufficient safeguards for the muslims, Jinnah declared that the minorities must have a complete sense of security. He argued that majorities are apt to be oppressive & tyrannical. At the Round Table Conference, he revealed being Indian first followed as Muslim, then again, he agreed that no Indian can ever serve his country if he neglects the Muslim interests. He was critic of religious orthodoxy and sectarian views of priestly classes of both communities. He advocated social reforms, opposed caste-based inequalities. He favoured modern notion of state, constitutionalism, civil and political rights and equal citizenship.

Muslim League

Muslim League, original name All India Muslim League, political group that led the movement calling for a separate Muslim nation to be created at the time of the partition of British India (1947). The Muslim League was founded in 1906 to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims. At first the league was encouraged by the British and was generally favorable to their rule, but the organization adopted self-government for India as its goal in 1913. For several decades the league and its leaders, notably Mohammed Ali Jinnah, called for Hindu-Muslim unity in a united and independent India. It was not until 1940 that the league called for the formation of a Muslim state that would be separate from the projected independent country of India. The league wanted a separate nation for India's Muslims because it feared that an independent India would be dominated by Hindus.

Jinnah and the Muslim League led the struggle for the partition of British India into separate Hindu and Muslim states, and after the formation of Pakistan in 1947 the league became Pakistan's dominant political party. In that year it was renamed the All Pakistan Muslim League. But the league functioned less effectively as a modern political party in Pakistan than it had as a mass-based pressure group in British India, and hence it gradually declined in popularity and cohesion. In the elections of 1954, the Muslim League lost power in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and the party lost power in West Pakistan (now Pakistan) soon afterward. By the late 1960s the party had split into various factions, and by the 1970s it had disappeared altogether.

Conclusion

It asserted that "a Muslim of one country has far more sympathies with a Muslim living in another country than with a non-Muslim living in the same country." Therefore, "the conception of Indian Muslims as a nation may not be ethnically correct, but socially it is correct."

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to my teacher Dr. Sarmistha Mandal Chowdhury ma'am as well as our principal ma'am Dr. Atashi Karpha who gave me the golden opportunity to do this wonderful project on the topic Types of Authority of Sociology, which also helped me in doing a lot of Research and I came to know about so many new things. I am really thankful to them.

Secondly I would also like to thank my parents and friends who helped me a lot in finalizing this project within the limited time frame.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE TUTORIAL

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UNIVERSITY ROLL NUMBER - 202013-11-0039

COLLEGE - GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY - CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

TOPIC - JINNAH TWO NATION THEORY



11 APR 2023



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On the very outset of this project I would like to extend my sincere and heartfelt obligation towards all the personages who have helped me in this endeavour. Without their guidance, help, encouragement and cooperation and encouragement, I would not have made headway in the project. I am extremely indebted to my teacher Madam SARMISTHA MANDAL CHOWDHURY for conscientious guidance and encouragement to complete this project. I am extremely thankful and pay my gratitude to my friends for their valuable guidance and support on completion of this project in it's presently. I also extend my gratitude to my college Gokhale Memorial Girls College for giving me this opportunity. I am also thankful to my parents and members of the family, who have always supported me morally as well as economically.

Thanking you,

Kritika Jalodia

INTRODUCTION

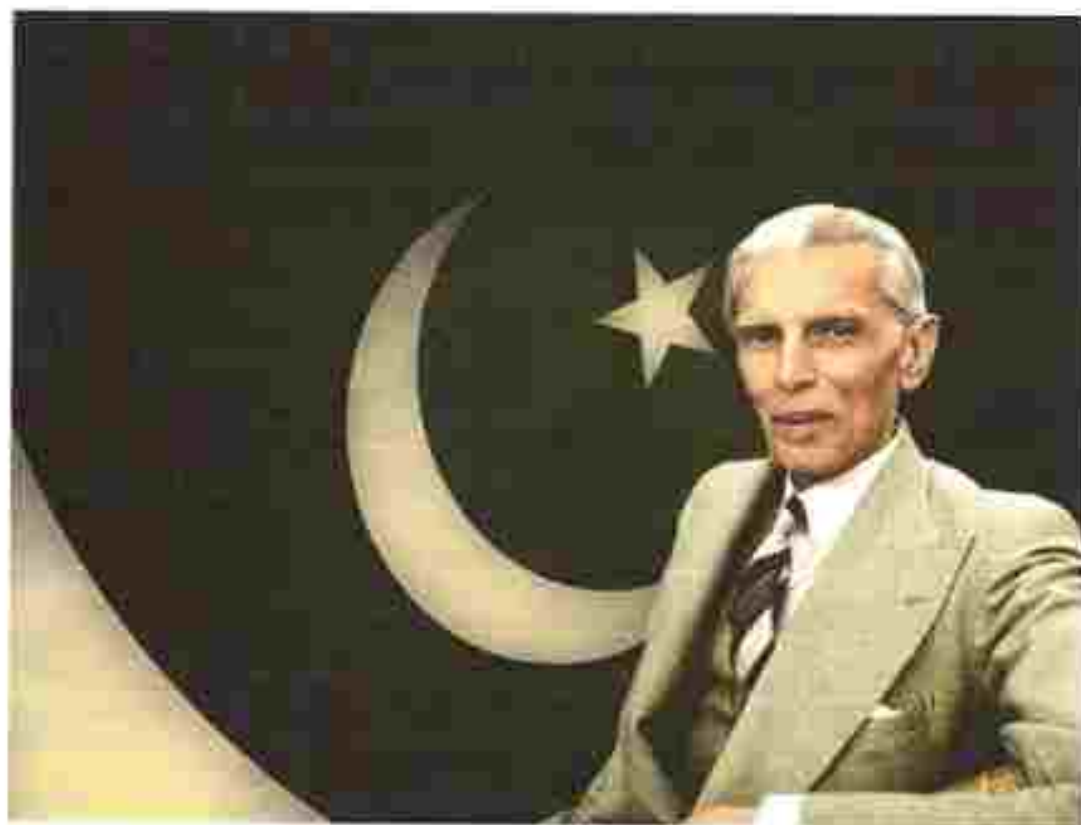
The Indian freedom struggle had many luminaries who contributed immensely with their ideologies. But some of them did not necessarily find Gandhi's leadership as inspiring and held on to their respective ideologies steadfastly. Prominent among them are Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the state of Pakistan and Vinanayak Damodar Savarkar, who had leanings towards right-wing ideology. Both were critics of Gandhi's leadership in the national freedom movement. Their ideologies had an overwhelming influence on some sections of their respective communities.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on December 25, 1876 in Karachi, undivided India. At the time of his birth, Jinnah's official name was Mahomedali Jinnahbhai. When Jinnah was six years old, his father placed him in the Sind Madrasatul-Islam school. Jinnah's parents then enrolled him in the Christian Missionary Society High school. Jinnah then left for London to study Law. Jinnah was a barrister, politician and the founder of Pakistan. Jinnah served as the leader of the All India Muslim League from 1913 until the inception of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, and then as the Dominion of Pakistan's first governor-general until his death. He is revered in Pakistan as the *Quaid-i-Azam* ("Great Leader") and *Baba-i-Qaum* ("Father of the Nation"). His birthday is observed as a national holiday in Pakistan.

EARLY POLITICAL LIFE

During Jinnah's visit to the House of commons, Jinnah had developed a growing interest in the field of politics, deeming it a more glamorous field than Law. He was particularly inspired by Dadabhai Naoroji when he saw that Dadabhai Naraoji became the first Indian to earn a seat in the House of commons. In 1904, Jinnah attended a meeting of the congress session in Bombay where he met Gopal Krishna Gokhale, his future mentor. In 1906 he joined congress himself. In 1912, Jinnah attended a meeting of the All India Muslim League prompting him to join the league the following year in 1913. While working with the Hindu leaders and with the Muslim league simultaneously, Jinnah realized that the Hindu leaders of congress held a political agenda that was incompatible with his own. Earlier Jinnah was against separate electorates, but few years later, Jinnah shifted to the opposite view and began supporting separate electorates. The Morley-Minto scheme of reforms created a separate electorate for the Muslims and under a system of weightage, enabled the Muslims to obtain more seats in the various councils than their population in the country. At that stage of his political career, Jinnah left congress and dedicated himself more fully to the muslim league. Initially Jinnah believed in 'one nation theory.' He emphasized the unity between the Hindus and Muslims. In the initial phase of his career he

strived for Hindu-Muslim harmony. However, after the British occupation of the subcontinent, the domination by Hindus, backwardness of Muslims and the threat for their survival, coupled with sporadic clashes between Hindus and Muslims led to the two-nation theory. Later, Nehru's 'simon commission' refused to give separate electorates to the Muslims and this further aggravated the situation.



MEANING OF TWO-NATION THEORY

The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire. According to this theory, Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion, and traditions; therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India, one in which Islam is the dominant religion, and be segregated from Hindus and other non-Muslims. The two-nation theory advocated by the All India Muslim League is the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement (i.e. the ideology of Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in the northwestern and eastern regions of India) through the Partition of India in 1947.



WHAT LED TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE TWO NATION THEORY

On March 27th, 1927, in a conference in relation to the Nehru's report, Jinnah made three amendments, namely:-

- 1) Separate electorate system should remain.
- 2) There should be reservations for Muslims.
- 3) Residuary powers should be vested in the provinces.

However, these amendments were rejected by the congress in 1928. Jinnah's passion for Hindu-Muslim unity was replaced by his belief in two-nation theory after he had rejected the 'simon commission.' The two-nation theory was a concept that emphasized a separate state for the Muslims in the sub-continent. Jinnah's two-nation theory harped on three crucial attributes. Firstly, he believed that the Hindus and Muslims inhabiting the vast continent are not two communities but should be considered as two nations. Secondly, Hinduism and Islam are very different from each other and have distinct social orders. Hence they are incompatible to each other requiring a separate territory for their existence. Thirdly, Hindus and Muslims follow two contrasting religious ideologies and philosophies having two distinct lineages. They

cannot co-exist as a community since they follow two different strands of thought. The theory describes Muslims as a nation, with different culture, heritage, values and civilization. He began to emphasize that since Muslims are one as a nation they must preserve their culture and separate identity. He said that Hindu extremism could be dangerous to Muslim existence. Further, the separatist tendency that developed in India much before Jinnah started advocating it during the British rule led to the partition of India.

This separatist movement started during the British rule when the British created the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims, between the upper class and Lower class because it is easier to control people when they are divided and are not united. This was done so that they could rule over India for a longer period of time. Leaders like Jinnah made it a political weapon for the creation of 'Pakistan' as a new state. He successfully gave an ideological and religious tinge to the two nation theory. Also, it has been suggested that the fight between Muslims and Hindu communalists and the formulation of the two-nation theory led to the partition. The British did follow the policy of divide and rule which is evident in their decisions to partition Bengal and to introduce separate electorates for the Muslims. It was the strengthening of this communal division between Hindus and Muslims that led to the partition of India-Pakistan.

HOW ARE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS DIFFERENT AS SAID BY JINNAH

The Hindus and Muslims belong to different religions. Islam preaches Tawheed (oneness of Allah) and believes in equality of man before law. Muslims are the believers of God, The Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) the Holy Book Quran and hold a cohesive approach towards life. Hinduism, on the other hand is based on the concept of multiple Gods. Their society follows a caste system and is divided into four classes and have a very narrow approach towards life. Muslim followed the Islamic culture while Hindus inherited a self build culture. The Hindus burnt their dead bodies while Muslims buried them. Hindus considered the 'Mother cow' as a sacred animal and the Muslims allows the slaughter of cows and consumption of beef, as long as the cow is slaughtered in a religious ritual called zabiha similar to the Jewish shechita. The two communities of the Sub Continent differ in their social life as well. The clothes,

the foods, the household utensils, the layout of homes, the words of salutation, the gestures and every thing about them was different.

CONCLUSION

Two nation theory for Pakistan was based on religious differences between the Muslims and the Hindus as Muhammad Ali Jinnah said. According to him, there should be a separate state for the Muslims in the subcontinent, and this happened too. Pakistan is a separate Muslim country. It could be argued that partition has left a particularly happy legacy. In the Indian subcontinent the wars between India and Pakistan in 1965, 1971 and 1984 showed that the communal tensions of the pre-partition period had become translated to the international level.

In my opinion, all the Muslims should have migrated to Pakistan, based upon the theory propounded by Jinnah. Unfortunately it didn't happen, majority of Muslims refused to leave their homes in India, and majority migrated to Pakistan. Now India is a secular state. Eventually the Muslims will have to go to Indian secular schools, study and live with the people of different or no faith. If the two-nation theory is true as proposed by Jinnah, then Muslims everywhere should be living in a single country, and not in 56 countries. If religion is not sufficient to bind all Muslims into a single country, then how could it bind the Muslims of India into a single country. When pPakistan was created, more Muslims stayed in India than left. Just days before Pakistan was created, Jinnah said, "you are free

to go to your temples, mosques or any place of worship in this state of Pakistan."

In science, a theory is only accepted if it stands up to evidence, the two nation theory does not stand and should be rejected.

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The books that I have considered while preparing the tutorial are:-

V. Mehta and Th. Phantam, Political ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations

Am
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CLASS - Semester VI

SUBJECT - Political Science

PAPER - CC-8

CU ROLL - 202013-11-0127

CU REGISTRATION No. -

013-1212-0048-20



11 APR 2023

Authenticated

Alarpha

Principal

O. P. J. Memorial Girls' College

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~মূল্যায়ন~

পরিচয়, আমায় উপভোগ্য করে কাজে লাগিয়ে,
 'দি-ঘাতি তবু'র যে বীণার বীণ অক্ষ হৈল
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or to any other place of worship in the state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state....." Article 25

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ଆହ୍ୱାନନ

■ ଶ୍ରୀରାମ ବାହାଦୁରୀ

କୋଷ - ଅନ୍ତରାଳ ପ୍ରକାଶନ

ପ୍ରକାଶକ - ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ

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ପ୍ରକାଶକ - ବିଜ୍ଞାନ ଆହ୍ୱାନନ - ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ

ପ୍ରକାଶନ - ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ୩୫ ବାହାରେ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ

ବ୍ୟୟ - ୧୦୦୦୦୦

ପ୍ରକାଶନ - ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ, ୨୦୧୫

~ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ସ୍ତବ~

ଆମି ଅବିଭକ୍ତ ସ୍ୱାତନ୍ତ୍ରତା ଲାଗାନ୍ତି ଆଜାଦର
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23/4/2022

ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ



MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH



A Man who was called the Best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity ended up demanding PAKISTAN

Authenticated.
Chandana
Principal
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11 APR 2023

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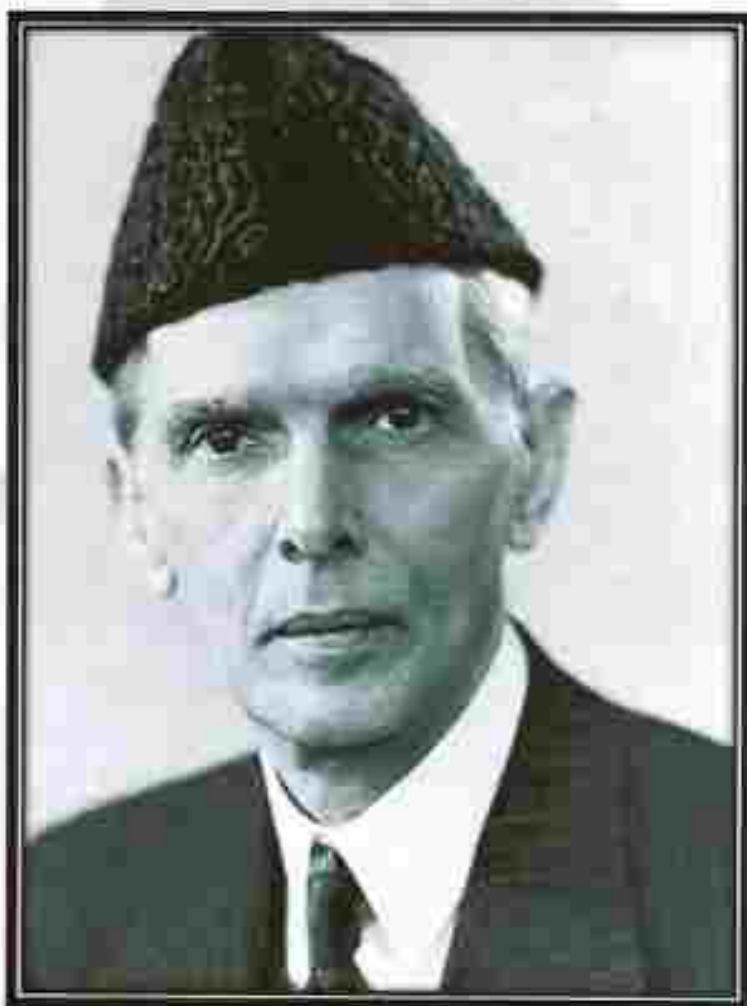
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TOPIC



MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

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I would like to thank my teacher SARMISTHA MANDAL CHOWDHURY MA'AM who gave me this opportunity to work on this project. I got to learn a lot from this project about the great leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I would also like to thank our school principal Dr. ATASHI KARPHA MA'AM.

At last, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my parents because without their help this project would not have been successful. Finally, I would like to thank my dear friends who have been with me all the time.

THANK YOU

Adrika Mukhopadhyay.

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INTRODUCTION

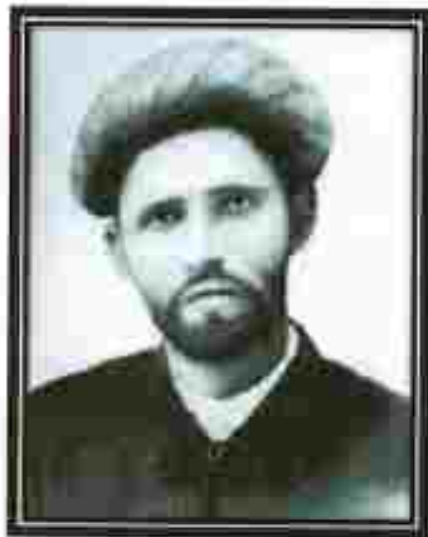
Muhammad Ali Jinnah (December 1876 – 11 September 1948) was a barrister, politician and the founder of Pakistan.[1] Jinnah served as the leader of the All-India Muslim League from 1913 until the inception of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, and then as the Dominion of Pakistan's first governor-general until his death. He is revered in Pakistan as the Quaid-i-Azam ("Great Leader") and Baba-i-Qaum ("Father of the Nation"). His birthday is observed as a national holiday in Pakistan.



Born at Wazir Mansion in Karachi, Jinnah was trained as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in London, England. Upon his return to British India, he enrolled at the Bombay High Court, and took an interest in national politics, which eventually replaced his legal practice. Jinnah rose to prominence in the Indian National Congress in the first two decades of the 20th century. In these early years of his political career, Jinnah advocated Hindu–Muslim unity, helping to shape the 1916 Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, in which Jinnah had also become prominent. Jinnah became a key leader in the All-India Home Rule League, and proposed a fourteen-point constitutional reform plan to safeguard the political rights of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. In 1920, however, Jinnah resigned from the Congress when it agreed to follow a campaign of satyagraha, which he regarded as political anarchy.

EARLY YEARS

Jinnah's given name at birth was Mahomedali Jinnahbhai, and he likely was born in 1876, to Jinnahbhai Poonja and his wife Mithibai, in a rented apartment on the second floor of Wazir Mansion near Karachi, now in Sindh, Pakistan but then within the Bombay Presidency of British India. Jinnah's paternal grandfather was from Paneli Moti village in Gondal state in Kathiawar peninsula (now in Gujarat, India). He was of a Gujarati Khoja Nizari Isma'ili Shi'a Muslim background, though Jinnah later followed the Twelver Shi'a teachings. After his death, his relatives and other witnesses claimed that he had converted in later life to the Sunni sect of Islam. His sectarian affiliation at the time of his death was disputed in multiple court cases. Jinnah was from a wealthy merchant background.



Portrait of Jinnah's father, Jinnahbhai Poonja

They had moved to Karachi in 1875, having married before their departure. Karachi was then enjoying an economic boom: the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 meant it was 200 nautical miles closer to Europe for shipping than Bombay. Jinnah was the second child; he had three brothers and three sisters, including his younger sister Fatima Jinnah. The parents were native Gujarati speakers, and the children also came to speak Kutchi and English. Jinnah was not fluent in Gujarati, his mother-tongue, nor in Urdu; he was more fluent in English. Except for Fatima, little is known of his siblings, where they settled or if they met with their brother as he advanced in his legal and political careers.

STRUGGLE FOR PAKISTAN

Until the late 1930s, most Muslims of the British Raj expected, upon independence, to be part of a unitary state encompassing all of British India, as did the Hindus and others who advocated self-government.[98] Despite this, other nationalist proposals were being made. In a speech given at Allahabad to a League session in 1930, Sir Muhammad Iqbal called for a state for Muslims in British India. Choudhary Rahmat Ali published a pamphlet in 1933 advocating a state "Pakistan" in the Indus Valley, with other names given to Muslim-majority areas elsewhere in India. Jinnah and Iqbal corresponded in 1936 and 1937; in subsequent years, Jinnah credited Iqbal as his mentor, and used Iqbal's imagery and rhetoric in his speeches.



Although many leaders of the Congress sought a strong central government for an Indian state, some Muslim politicians, including Jinnah, were unwilling to accept this without powerful protections for their community.[98] Other Muslims supported the Congress, which officially advocated a secular state upon independence, though the traditionalist wing (including politicians such as Madan Mohan Malaviya and Vallabhbhai Patel) believed that an independent India should enact laws such as banning the killing of cows and making Hindi a national language. The failure of the Congress leadership to disavow Hindu communalists worried Congress-supporting Muslims. Nevertheless, the Congress enjoyed considerable Muslim support up to about 1937.

Events which separated the communities included the failed attempt to form a coalition government including the Congress and the League in the United Provinces following the 1937 election.[102]

According to historian Ian Talbot, "The provincial Congress governments made no effort to understand and respect their Muslim populations' cultural and religious sensibilities. The Muslim League's claims that it alone could safeguard Muslim interests thus received a major boost. Significantly it was only after this period of Congress rule that it [the League] took up the demand for a Pakistan state ..."



Balraj Puri in his journal article about Jinnah suggests that the Muslim League president, after the 1937 vote, turned to the idea of partition in "sheer desperation". Historian Akbar S. Ahmed suggests that Jinnah abandoned hope of reconciliation with the Congress as he "rediscover[ed] his own Islamic roots, his own sense of identity, of culture and history, which would come increasingly to the fore in the final years of his life". Jinnah also increasingly adopted Muslim dress in the late 1930s. In the wake of the 1937 balloting, Jinnah demanded that the question of power sharing be settled on an all-India basis, and that he, as president of the League, be accepted as the sole spokesman for the Muslim community.

TWO- NATION THEORY

The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire. According to this theory, Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion, and traditions; therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India, one in which Islam is the dominant religion, and be segregated from Hindus and other non-Muslims. The two-nation theory advocated by the All India Muslim League is the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement (i.e. the ideology of Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in the northwestern and eastern regions of India) through the partition of India in 1947.

The ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of Indian Muslims was undertaken by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who termed it as the awakening of Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. It is also a source of inspiration to several Hindu nationalist organisations, with causes as varied as the redefinition of Indian Muslims as non-Indian foreigners and second-class citizens in India, the expulsion of all Muslims from India, the establishment of a legally Hindu state in India (which is currently secular), prohibition of conversions to Islam, and the promotion of conversions or reconversions of Indian Muslims to Hinduism.



A map of the British Indian Empire, 1909, including British India and the princely states, showing the majority religions.

There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory, based on whether the two postulated nationalities can coexist in one territory or not, with radically different implications. One interpretation argued for the secession of the Muslim-majority areas of British India and saw differences between Hindus and Muslims as irreconcilable; this interpretation nevertheless promised a democratic state where Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated equally. A different interpretation holds that a transfer of populations (i.e. the total removal of Hindus from Muslim-majority areas and the total removal of Muslims from Hindu-majority areas) is a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that "cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship".

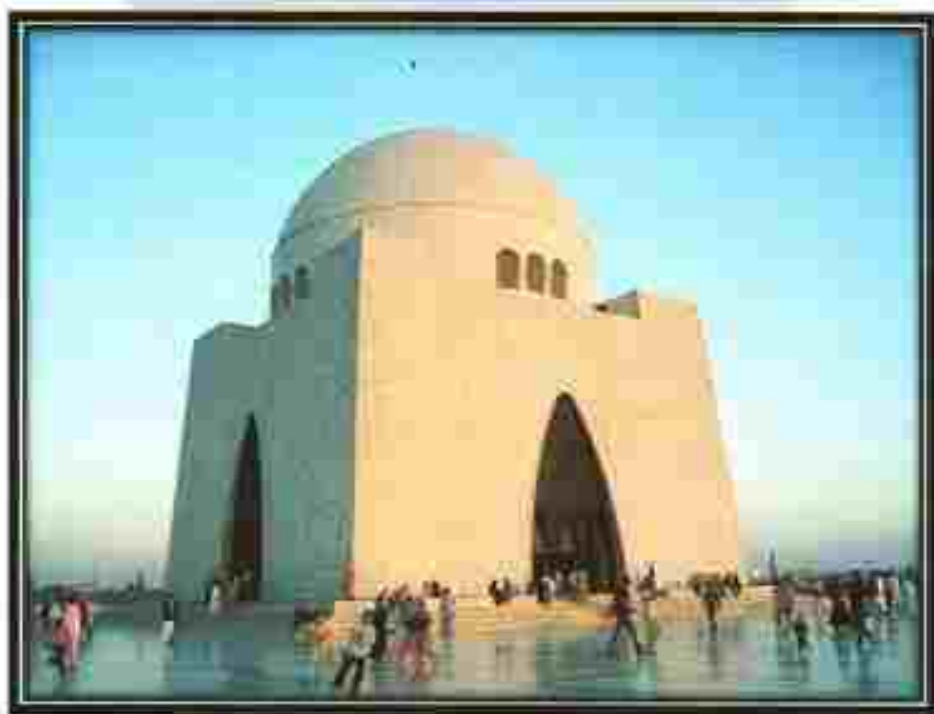


Opposition to the two-nation theory came from both nationalist Muslims and Hindus, being based on two concepts. The first is the concept of a single Indian nation, of which Hindus and Muslims are two intertwined communities. The second source of opposition is the concept that while Indians are not one nation, neither are the Muslims or Hindus of India, and it is instead the relatively homogeneous provincial units of the Indian subcontinent which are true nations and deserving of sovereignty; this view has been presented by the Baloch, Sindhi, Bengali, and Pashtun sub-nationalities of Pakistan, with Bengalis seceding from Pakistan after the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 and other separatist movements in Pakistan are currently in-place.

The state of India officially rejected the two-nation theory and chose to be a secular state, enshrining the concepts of religious pluralism and composite nationalism in its constitution.

LEGACY

Jinnah's legacy is Pakistan. According to Mohiuddin, "He was and continues to be as highly honored in Pakistan as [first US president] George Washington is in the United States ... Pakistan owes its very existence to his drive, tenacity, and judgment ... Jinnah's importance in the creation of Pakistan was monumental and immeasurable." Stanley Wolpert, giving a speech in honour of Jinnah in 1998, deemed him Pakistan's greatest leader.



Tomb of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Karachi

According to Jaswant Singh, "With Jinnah's death Pakistan lost its moorings. In India there will not easily arrive another Gandhi, nor in Pakistan another Jinnah." Malik writes, "As long as Jinnah was alive, he could persuade and even pressure regional leaders toward greater mutual accommodation, but after his death, the lack of consensus on the distribution of political power and economic resources often turned controversial." According to Mohiuddin, "Jinnah's death deprived Pakistan of a leader who could have enhanced stability and democratic governance ... The rocky road to democracy in Pakistan and the relatively smooth one in India can in some measure be ascribed to Pakistan's tragedy of losing an incorruptible and highly revered leader so soon after independence."

CONCLUSION

Jinnah was the most Westernised political leader in all the annals of Indian Islam; no other Muslim political leader could match him in terms of modernity and a modern outlook. He was completely at home with the milieu in cosmopolitan Bombay and metropolitan London. He also married a Parsi girl, so unconventional for a Muslim leader at that time, though after getting her converted to Islam. During his chequered career, Jinnah came in contact with an exceedingly large number of non-Muslim leading personalities and a host of British officials, more than any other Muslim leader and had interacted with them for some four decades – before he underwent a paradigmatic shift. Jinnah was also a man who minced no words, stood no humbug, and called a spade a spade. He held political rhetoric in high disdain; he preferred political wilderness to playing to the gallery. Such a man could not possibly have gone in for an Islamic orientated discourse unless he felt that the Islamic values he was commending were at home with the values underlying modernity, that Islam was in consonance with progress and modernity. During the debate on Islam and secularism, this is a point that has lain ignored.



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CC8 TUTORIAL

M.N. ROY - RADICAL HUMANISM

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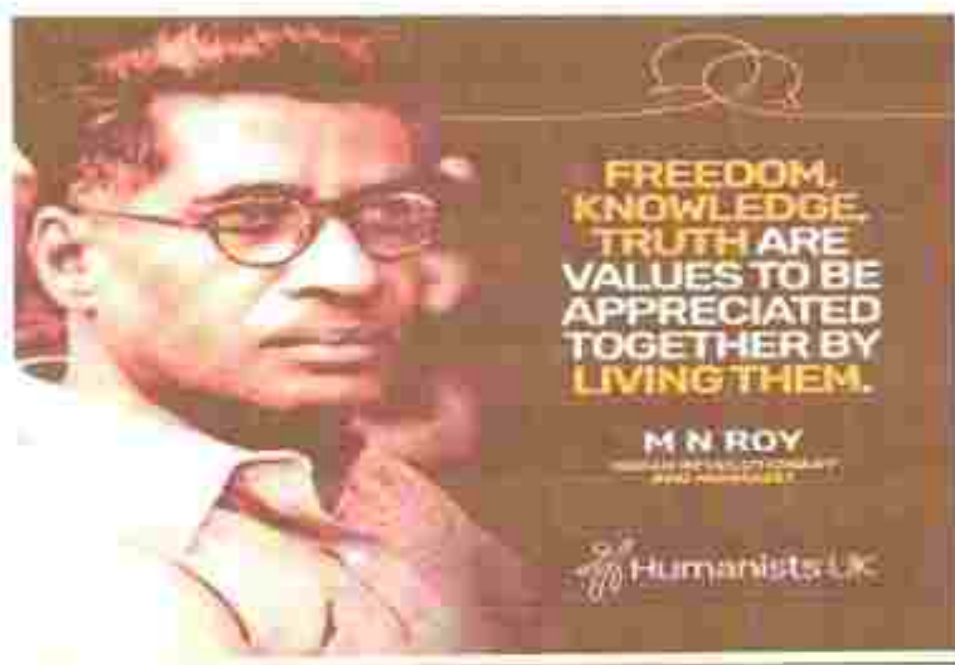
I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY SPECIAL THANKS OF GRATITUDE TO MY PROFESSOR DR MAUSUMI MUKHERJEE AND PRINCIPAL DR.ATASHI KARPHA FOR GIVING ME THE GOLDEN OPPOTUNITY TO WORK ON THE PROJECT M.N.ROY- RADICAL HUMANISM.

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TEACHER'S SIGNATURE.

STUDENT'S SIGNATURE

MANDABI BANERJEE



PIC1: MANABENDRA NATH ROY

Cc- 8

M.N.ROY - RADICAL HUMANISM

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1. INTRODUCTION

2. M.N.ROY- CRITIQUE OF MARXISM

3. RADICAL HUMANISM

4. CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Narendranath Bhattacharya, later known as Manabendra Nath Roy or M.N.Roy is one of the greatest Indian philosophers of the 20th century. M.N.Roy was born on 21st March 1887 at Arbellia (North 24 Parganas), West Bengal into a family of priests. He was a born revolutionary. In his early years he was influenced by Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra, Dayanand Saraswati and Jatin Mukherjee. At the age of 14 he joined the Revolutionary movement for India's Independence. He actively participated in the Swadeshi Movement and the Anti Partition Movement in Bengal in 1905. During World War 1 inspired by Revolutionary terrorism he was entrusted with the task of receiving a German steamer carrying arms for the revolutionary terrorists. This 1914 attempt to smuggle arms in ships failed and the plan for an armed insurrection against the British was aborted. He reached San Francisco in 1915. It was here that M.N.Roy came in contact with the Indian revolutionaries and Indian students who were working for India's Independence. From the USA, M.N. Roy went to Mexico in 1916. Here he contributed several articles about India's poverty and the method in which the British were exploiting India's resources. Roy founded the first Communist Party in Mexico, the first in America and outside the European continent and became its Secretary-General. While he was in Mexico he was called by V.I. Lenin after the Bolshevik Revolution to Russia. Roy reached Russia in the beginning of 1920 and became an advisor of the Bolshevik Party on

colonial questions. Roy was also elected as a member of the Central Asiatic Board by the Communist Party to propagate the cause of Communism in India. In 1922, Roy started a journal 'The Vanguard of Indian Independence'. He also insisted for a separate communist party in India and suggested the formation of People's party with the Revolutionary program. Within the communist organisation he had a difference of opinion with Lenin and as a result he was expelled from being an advisor of the Bolshevik Party and so he came back to India in December 1930. On invitation of Pandit Nehru, M.N. Roy became a member of the National Congress. In April 1937 he started his weekly, 'Independent India' which was later named as Radical Humanist. In 1940 he contested the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress and was defeated by Abdul Kalam Azad so after his defeat he organised his Radical Democratic Party in December 1940 and moved towards 'New Humanism'. Although M.N. Roy was the powerful exponent of Marxism in the early years of his life, he later on became a pronounced critic of the Communist theory and practice. Therefore he changed over from Marxism to what he called 'Radical Humanism' which was a great contribution towards Modern Indian Political Thought.

M.N.ROY CRITIQUE of MARXISM

After World War 2 broke out M.N. Roy began to move out of the Soviet Union and ideals of Marxism. M.N. Roy was thoroughly disillusioned by the Soviet Union as it amounted to a system where the state instead of withering away established itself more firmly. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat what was really established was the dictatorship of the Communist Party which controlled all social organisations like trade unions, cooperative movements so Roy realised that this was antithetical to freedom and so designated Soviet state socialism as state capitalism. He however did not blame Stalin for misdirecting the Soviet state resolution but instead realised that the Soviet experiment failed to get freedom because of the fallacies inherent in Marxism. This provoked M.N. Roy to move away from Marxism and enunciate his new policy of Radical Humanism in 1946.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Roy developed a new concept and termed it as Radical Humanism with a view to distinguish it from the humanist versions of other thinkers. It was radical because it rejected most of the traditional, political and philosophical assumptions of Indian society. It was humanism because it focussed entirely on the needs and situation of human beings.

Radical humanism assumes that man in Humanism is not the object of social organisation but its maker. He called his humanism new or radical as he thought it to be reinforced by the discoveries of science. He thus calls his humanism scientific. Roy totally rejected Religious Humanism to give humanism a materialist basis. So he, in this light, saw human nature in the light of the discoveries of science. Accordingly, human nature has two main characteristics - 1. rationality and 2. urge for freedom. Roy tried to give it a materialistic foundation.

- A) The core of Radical humanism of Roy lies in greatest emphasis personality of the individual as human being. In other words, Radical Humanism of M.N.Roy is Individualism. For instance his opposition to Marxism stemmed due to the undue stress on the phenomenon of class struggle under which the human being lost his Individuality to become a part of one class or the other. At the same time he also denounced the framework of nationalism as it subjugates the personality of the human being within the meta

constructions of nationhood. M.N. Roy explains 'Radical Humanism' as a philosophy of freedom based on modern scientific knowledge.

B) The human being as the central agent of Radical Humanism of M.N. Roy is supposed to be characterized by three fundamental elements of reason, morality and freedom.

> REASON according to Roy is a biological property and is not opposed to human will. Roy takes rationality as the unifying element in every human being due to the diversity of nature and characteristics of the vast majority of people. The rationality of every human being allows him to discover the laws of nature in order to unfetter him from the hidden bondages which happen to be imposed on him for the time being.

> MORALITY constitutes another significant trait of man as conceptualised by M.N. Roy. Morality which originates from the scientific application of human rationality for a harmonious and mutually beneficial social relations in society. Roy asserts that morality aims for the collective and common good of the whole society.

The most important characteristic of radical humanist ethics is FREEDOM OR LIBERTY. Roy stated that men created society with certain objectives in mind. It meant that all relations whether political, economic, social and ethical must be adjusted to the fundamental requirement of promoting Freedom or Liberty of the individual. Roy even subordinated religion, morality or any of the Supernatural powers to individual freedom. The state and Society was established to maintain Liberty. Roy regarded marriage, family and class as obstacles to human development and

freedom. Roy referred that human beings' quest for freedom is due to his struggle for existence of the laws of nature and the dynamics of the functioning of the cosmos to enable him to get rid of the restrictions imposed by nature. Therefore, the notion of freedom consists of the inalienable elements of Humanism: Individualism and Rationalism.

The cumulative impact of elements of the reason, morality and freedom on human beings has provided a Cosmopolitan perspective to the theory of New Humanism. A Cosmopolitan Commonwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited to the boundaries of the national States - capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist or of any other kind which will gradually disappear under the impact of the 20th century Renaissance of man. The realization of the dream of cosmopolitanism therefore means that nation-states are neutralized as the formidable actors in the world.

- C) **The ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF Radical Humanism states that re-organisation of society free from exploitation of one man by another leading to the establishment of a cooperative economy.** He was prudent enough to factor the role of state in the economic activities of men and considered it as some sort of necessary evil. Roy is of the opinion that advent of the mechanism of state is neither due to a social contract not superimposed on the society. It happens to be a historical and natural phenomenon arising out of the need for a common instrument order for all in the society. Roy seeks to organize the structure and functions of the state based on the doctrines of democracy, decentralization and pluralism to avoid the concentration of power on the administrators of the state. Roy also argues for minimal interference of the state in the activities of people and for the emergence of equally important and autonomous social institutions to ensure free and contented life for the people.

> Roy was not opposed to private property provided it did not lead to exploitation of one man by another. He insisted that for sometime the large scale industries not be passed on to the private sector and the state should act as a coordinating agency both in the public and private sector. In case of the underdeveloped countries like India which is predominantly an agricultural country he emphasized the need of large scale industrialisation. He was opposed to the introduction of Agricultural Machinery in a country like India as it would throw thousands of peasants and workers out of employment. The state would fix the remuneration and the working conditions of the wage earners and the salaried employees.

D) To M.N.Roy Ideation is a physical process and IDEAS have an autonomous existence not mere super-structure on economic mode of production and have a logic of their own development. In Roy's opinion this is a dialectics of ideas, one idea gives rise to another without any change in the economic foundation of the country. To M.N. Roy Ideas have an important role to play in human history. Ideas being conceived by individuals are of much more importance than any collective ego.

E) The notion of ORGANISED DEMOCRACY is the hallmark of the political dimension of Radical Humanism. Roy nevertheless despise the classical Parliamentary form of democracy as prevalent in the West. To him democratic political setup must be the facilitator of a participatory citizenry in the country. He also denounced the communist democratic systems characterized by the notion of democratic centralism and asked for dismantling the same. The conception of organised democracy therefore was expected to serve the very people who lie at the roots of the democratic system of the country.

F) New Humanism believes in humanist politics also which means in simple terms politics not for power but question and rationalization of the political life of people. MN Roy's concept of organised democracy was based on decentralization and partyless democracy. According to M.N. Roy with the rise of the party system the idea of popular sovereignty became a constitutional fiction. The system of party politics leads to bribery and corruption as the main objective of the political parties is to capture political power by all means. In Roy's conception of Organised Democracy there was no place for political parties and power as power would be vested in the hands of the people themselves. In this new social order the people were the sovereign.

> Roy believed that even in large political units and highly complex organisations direct democracy would be possible in the form of a network of small Cooperative Commonwealth which will replace the helpless atomized voter of formal parliamentary democracy. Small Cooperative community. Roy laid down certain conditions for the success of the organised democracy 1). One such condition was that people should be of sufficiently high general cultural level. 2) The power should be vested only in those persons who have high moral character and high standard of intelligence, as election alone cannot possibly bring its best elements.

> Roy drafted a model Constitution of India on the basis of his Organised Democracy. Part 1 of the Constitution deals with the declaration of rights and fundamental principles according to which the supreme sovereignty would rest in the people who would have the absolute right to change or modify any political unit. A bill of rights containing not only political and social but economic rights incorporated in the constitution. According to Roy all the provinces in India would be formed on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity. He suggested a federal type of government and advocated for institutions of referendum, initiative and recall.

- G) A very significant facet of M.N Roy's Radical Humanism was a strong advocacy in favour of EDUCATION. Education should help men and women to think rationally and to decide themselves about how the problems are to be solved. He opined that no national education provided by the government in any country is the true democratic education. Roy considered that scientific education will make people self-dependent, rational and distinctive and they cannot be misled by any self interested groups or parties. The democratic nation of Institution- social political and economic is possible only through proper education which gives importance to these values. Such education should be universally available, accessible and affordable to all sections of society. According to M.N. Roy education could be the slow but sure emancipation of the people from the shackles of an irrational system of life. Hence he pleaded for the denunciation of the idea of violence and quick revolution to defend the virtues of rationality, morality and freedom among the people treating the background for the ushering of a new era of evolutionary life. Therefore the whole scheme of Roy's New Humanism would be operationalised only when the masses are adequately educated in rational thinking so they are able to deal with the problems plaguing the society. The credit of the vast expansion of education among the backward sections of Indian society goes as much to Roy as to the other contemporary Indian philosophers of education.

CONCLUSION

M.N. Roy is perhaps the most fascinating radical among the Indian Nationalists in his generation. Roy underwent a complete metamorphosis in his personality transforming from a nationalist revolutionary into a rationalist-humanist during the final years of his life. He remained a Marxist until his disenchantment with the technique of dictatorship of the proletariat which undermined the very concept of individual freedom vis-a-vis the collective identity of the state. He was equally apprehensive about the success of parliamentary parties and their leaders at the apex who played a decisive role in getting candidates selected and elected to form a government where sectarian sympathies and partisan emotions were the cunning tactics of winning elections. Roy realized that it was too early for the Indian common man to understand the meaning and value of participatory democracy propagated by his Radical Democratic Party because they were steeped in the feudal tradition of monarchic hierarchy as well as in the customs of a religious patriarchal society. Roy had envisaged a scientific, rational, egalitarian and humanist Indian society. M.N. Roy was opposed to both capitalism as it promotes exploitation and socialism as it inhibits individual freedom. Roy gave the scheme of cooperative economy where all workers shall remain the owners of the factory and they will collectively own and run the factories as by nature, man is rational and moral so he would be able to communicate with one another and control the factories. M.N. Roy believed that his ideas of Humanism can never be achieved in a country that is devoid of political consciousness and education.

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TOPIC

M. N. ROY



INTRODUCTION

Manabendra Nath Roy, born Narendra Nath Bhattacharya is better known as M. N. Roy; (21 March 1887 – 25 January 1954) was an Indian marxist revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century. Roy was the founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. He was also a delegate to congresses of the Communist International and Russia's aide to China. In the aftermath of World War II Roy moved away from orthodox Marxism to espouse the philosophy of radical humanism, attempting to chart a third course between liberalism and communism.

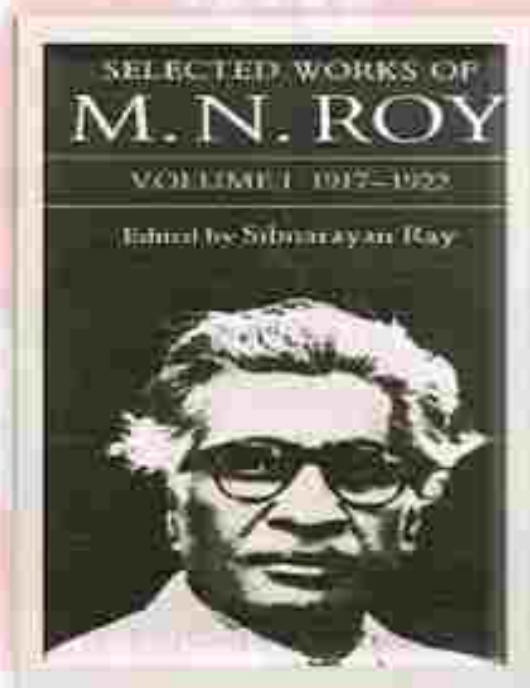


EARLY LIFE

Narendra Nath "Naren" Bhattacharya, later known as M. N. Roy, was born on 21 March 1887 at Arbelia, located in the North 24 Parganas of West Bengal, near Calcutta (Kolkata).

Naren Bhattacharya's early schooling took place at Arbelia. In 1898 the family moved to Kodalia. Bhattacharya continued his studies at the Harinavi Anglo-Sanskrit School, at which his father taught, until 1905. Tall for his age, Bhattacharya was strong and athletic.

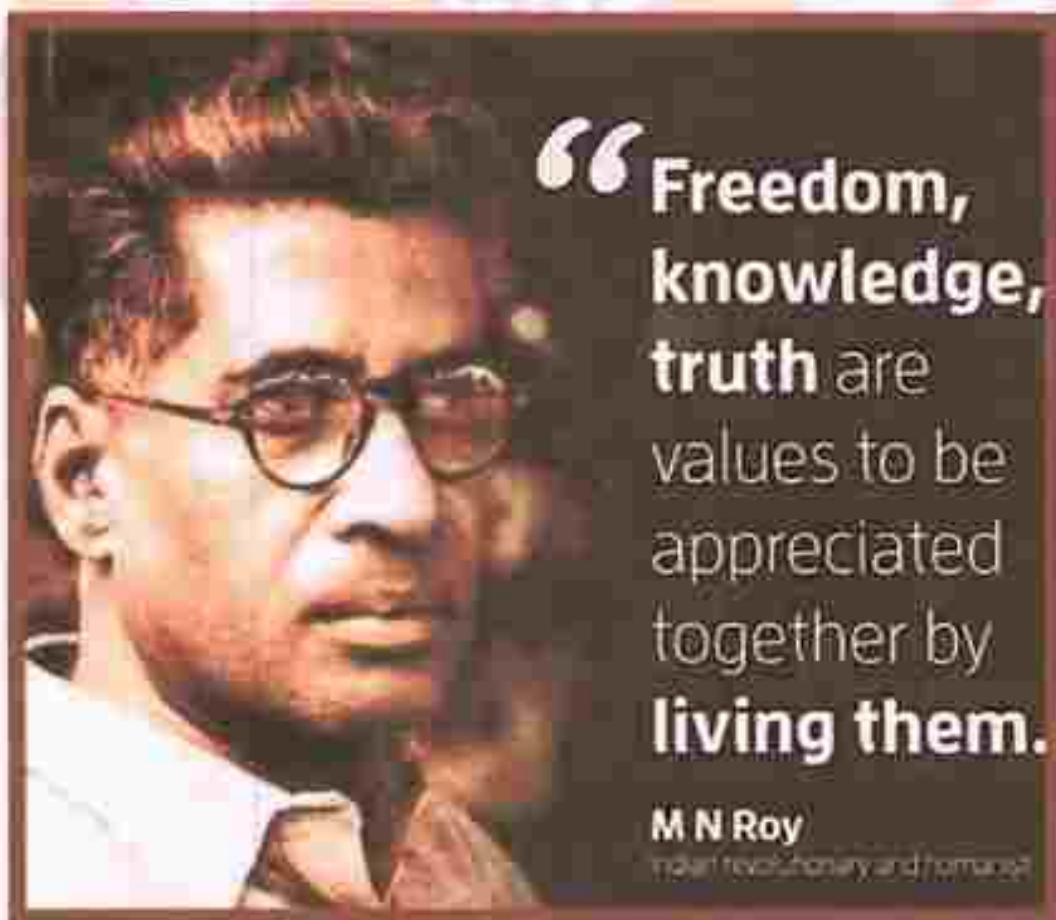
Bhattacharya later enrolled at the National College under Sri Aurobindo, before moving to the Bengal Technical Institute (present Jadavpur University), where he studied Engineering and Chemistry. Much of Bhattacharya's knowledge was gained through self-study, however.



ROLE IN INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Towards the end of the 19th Century revolutionary nationalism began to spread among the educated middle classes of Bengal, inspired by the writings of Bankim and Vivekananda. Naren Bhattacharya was swept up in this movement, reading both of these leading luminaries extensively.

According to one biographer, Roy gained an appreciation from Bankim that true religion required one not to be cloistered from the world, but to work actively for the public good. In July 1905 a partition of Bengal was announced, scheduled to take effect in October. A spontaneous mass movement aimed at annulment of the partition emerged, giving radical nationalists like Naren Bhattacharya and his co-thinkers an opportunity to build broader support for their ideas. Following his expulsion from high school for organising a meeting and a march against the partition, Bhattacharya and Chakravarti moved to Kolkata and joined in the active work of the Anushilan.



M. N. ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM

M.N. Roy was a national revolutionary and a man devoted to the cause of Indian national freedom, though his approach was very different and his method of struggle quite untraditional. He was sufficiently under the influence of Communism and basically adhered to that philosophy though he differed from Marx in details. He developed his own philosophy which he called Radical Humanism and for which he wanted to have an independent nature and character.

Basic principles of his philosophy were:

- **Individual Freedom** -According to M.N. Roy individual was an end in itself and every other organization in the society was simply means to an end. He pleaded that everything was below individual freedom which should not be subordinated to anything else. He was not ready to subordinate individual freedom even to religion or morality or to any other super-natural power.
- **His Ideas about nature of Man**- According to M.N. Roy by nature man loves freedom. With regard to human nature he was rather close to Rousseau who said that man was born free and everywhere he was in chains. In his opinion man was governed by the same principle as physical sciences and in fact there was no basic difference between the two. He, however, distinguish between the two on the basis of rationalism.
- **His views about Democracy**- According to M.N. Roy in its present form democracy did not grant either economic or social or political freedom. In fact, he came to the conclusion that the present impure democracy sacrificed individual freedom for the sake of collective freedom. He also came to the conclusion that democracy required a fundamental changed both in nature and character.
- **His views about Materialism**- M.N. Roy believed in the basic doctrine of historical materialism by Marx, but he differed from him in details. In his opinion there was no differences between organic and un organic matter. He was of the opinion that all living bodies were formed out of certain chemical matters and their combination in resulted in in the creation of other matters. In his opinion mind was a characteristic of matter at a high stage of development. He thus tried to establish a close relationship between an individual's mind and matter.
- **His views about history**- According to M.N. Roy, human history was nothing else but a record of struggle for freedom. History was a witness that the people always fought either for their political, social or economic freedom and that at no stage did their struggle come to an end.
- **His views about obstacles on individual freedom**- M.N. Roy very much loved individual freedom. He, however, felt that there were certain obstacles in the way of individual freedom. The greatest obstacle was the state which was trying to become an end in itself rather than retaining its essential character remaining means to an end.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

A critical evaluation of Roy's new humanism or radical humanism revealed certain discrepancies because the idea of new humanism was advanced by Roy in the face of his utter dissatisfaction with the theoretical constructs of Marxist ideology. Roy could not resist the temptation of his associations with Marxist ideologies. He called for the abolition of the political parties and conduct of political activities in order to evolve a model of humanist politics. But such assertions fall flat in the face of their practical value for the country. Roy's concept was critical rather than constructive.



CONCLUSION

M.N. Roy was perhaps the most fascinating radicals among the Indian nationalists of his generation. Roy underwent a complete metamorphosis in his personality transforming from a nationalist-revolutionary into a rationalist-humanist during the final years of his life. He followed the nationalist-revolutionary line of thought of action until he realised that independence of a nation from foreign bondage was not a necessary and natural corollary of the freedom of its citizens from servitude of exploitation. He remained a Marxist until his disenchantment with the technique of dictatorship of the proletariat which undermined the very concept of individual freedom vis-à-vis the collective entity of a state. He was equally apprehensive about the success of parliamentary democracy in which political parties and their leaders at the apex played a decisive role in getting candidates selected and elected to form governments; where sectarian sympathies and partisan emotions were the cunning tactics of winning elections. M.N. Roy's contribution in Indian political thought cannot be denied.



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TOPIC – MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH: TWO
NATION THEORY

SEMESTER – SEMESTER 4

DEPARTMENT – POLITICAL SCIENCE

11 APR 2023



Authenticated

Principals

Principal

Gokhale Memorial Girls' College

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Samprity Das.

not oppose the Press Bill. He was in favor of Indian Defense Force Bill. First he had been opposed to communal electorate, but in 1917 he declared that separate electorate was a matter of interest to Muslim who by this method alone could be roused from their mental lethargy.

JINNAH'S EARLY LIFE:

Jinnah was the eldest of seven children of Jinnah Bhai Poonja, a prosperous merchant, and his wife, Mithibai. His family was a member of the Khoja caste, Hindus who had converted to Islam centuries earlier and who were followers of the Aga Khan. There is some question about Jinnah's date of birth: although he maintained that it was December 25, 1876, school records from Karachi give a date of October 20, 1875. After being taught at home, Jinnah was sent in 1887 to the Sind Madrasat al-Islam in Karachi. Later he attended the Christian Missionary Society High School, where at the age of 16 he passed the matriculation examination of the University of Bombay. On the advice of an English friend, his father decided to send him to England to acquire business experience. Jinnah, however, had made up his mind to become a barrister. In keeping with the custom of the time, his parents arranged for an early marriage for him before he left for England. In London he joined Lincoln's Inn, one of the legal societies that prepared students for the bar. In 1895, at the age of 19, he was called to the bar. While in London Jinnah suffered two severe bereavements—the deaths of his wife and his mother.

Nevertheless, he completed his formal studies and also made a study of the British political system, frequently visiting the House of Commons. He was greatly influenced by the liberalism of William E. Gladstone, who had become prime minister for the fourth time in 1892, the year of Jinnah's arrival in London. Jinnah also took a keen interest in the affairs of India and in Indian students. When the Parsi leader Dadabhai Naoroji, a leading Indian nationalist, ran for the British Parliament, Jinnah and other Indian students worked day and night for him. Their efforts were crowned with success: Naoroji became the first Indian to sit in the House of Commons. When Jinnah returned to Karachi in 1896, he found that his father's business had suffered losses and that he now had to depend on himself. He decided to start his legal practice in Bombay (now Mumbai), but it took him years of work to establish himself as a lawyer. It was nearly 10 years later that he turned actively toward politics. A man without hobbies, he divided his interest between law and politics. Nor was he a religious zealot: he was a Muslim in a broad sense and had little to do with sects. His interest in women was also limited, to Rattenbai —the daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, a Bombay Parsi millionaire—whom he married in 1918 over tremendous opposition from her parents and others. The couple had one daughter, Dina, but the marriage proved an unhappy one, and Jinnah and Rutti soon separated. It was his sister Fatima who gave him solace and company.

JINNAH'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

He split his time between the legal profession and politics. As a liberal nationalist trained in British constitutional and democratic tradition, he became a passionate advocate of Hindu Muslim unity against British rule. For almost two decades he devoted his energies to bringing the two communities together on one political platform by focusing on the idea of common political interests against British imperialism. By the early 1920s, he began to feel disenchanted by the leaders of Indian National Congress party. He did not feel comfortable with their militant, confrontational style with the British. Rather he advocated the course of moderation and dialogue to win freedom. His real disappointment came on the issue of minority rights, especially those of Muslims who comprised nearly 20% of population, with concentration in the eastern and western part of British Indian Empire. Given their number, they were not a minority in a traditional sense, but a people with a heritage of more than one thousand years of Muslim rule and separate sense of identity. Jinnah favored a tripartite understanding on the constitutional guarantee for the right of Muslim once India became independent. Muslim nationalism developed parallel to secular Indian nationalism in the later part of the nineteenth century. Muslims in the Indian subcontinent regarded themselves as a separate community with distinctive culture and civilization. But their political separatism was confined to the issue of minority rights that Muslim leaders like Jinnah strongly advocated in seeking

representation in elected councils through separate electorates for Muslims. That would get adequate representation according to the size of their population. The dominant Hindu, including the congress party, were opposed to continuing any such arrangements once the British left. In the earlier phases he did not advocated the separate electorate concept since he advocated Hindu Muslim unity. He was called as Quaid-i-Azam. In 1906 he did not support or encourage the idea of separate electorate but before long he had changed his mind when he perceived that the demand for separate electorate had the mandate of community. In 1910 he became an elected member to Imperial Council on a reserved Muslim seat. From then on he was in touch with Nadva, Aligarh and All India Muslim League and he was selected by League to advance a bill on 'Waqf Alal Aulad' a problem of profound importance to Muslims since the time of Syed Ahmed Khan. He was committed it to the principle of self-government and Hindu Muslim unity for the following 3 years thus aligning League with Congress due to their mutual goals or objectives. He joined League as an official member in October 1913 and nominated as its president in 1916. He used his position to collaborate League and Congress. A result of his hard work was Congress League Lucknow Pact of 1916 which put temporary end to controversial electorate issue and made a warm atmosphere among Hindus and Muslims. He believed in united nationhood which permit Hindu Muslim cooperation in power sharing to achieve the goal of a free and powerful India. But during 1920-1937 Jinnah became more concerned with the

continued growth of Hindu extremism and separatism. In 1937, his strategy for independence of India shifted. Muslim now identified with the concept of their need for reinforcing their sense of community with a sense of power. Despite his changed political discourse and platform, he still believed in democracy but not in a Westminster style parliament, which in his eyes led to a permanent Hindu majority and a permanent Muslim minority.

JINNAH'S TWO NATION THEORY:

After 1937 Jinnah's politics took a different course. He enunciated the two-nation theory to advance the interest of Muslim after the British withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent. Partition caused catastrophic and untold misery for both Hindu and Muslims. The Two-Nation Theory had germinated much before Jinnah. The late 19th century witnessed the evolution of this theory. Muslim modernist and reformer Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started the movement for self-awakening and identity. He established Aligarh Muslim University. Muhammad Iqbal's presidential address to league on 29th December 1930 at Allahabad is considered as the first articulation of the two-nation theory. He said that he wants Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into one single state. Rehman Ali was the first person who publicly articulated this theory and produced a clear-cut plan. A definite shape to an idea of Pakistan was given by him. He coined the term Pakistan and ignited the

imagination of Muslim community. Basically, The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire. According to this theory, Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion, and traditions; therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India, one in which Islam is the dominant religion, and be segregated from Hindus and other non-Muslims. The two-nation theory advocated by the All India Muslim League is the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement through the partition of India in 1947. There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory, based on whether the two postulated nationalities can coexist in one territory or not, with radically different implications. One interpretation argued for the secession of the Muslim-majority areas of British India and saw differences between Hindus and Muslims as irreconcilable; this interpretation nevertheless promised a democratic state where Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated equally. A different interpretation holds that a transfer of populations is a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that "cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship".

CONCLUSION:

Jinnah's two nation theory was and is considered responsible

for many religious violence, riots in pre-independent India, independent India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, soon after Jinnah's death, the countrymen succumbed to the centrifugal forces of religious intolerance unleashed by the notion that Muslims were so different from Hindus that they constituted a nation of their own. Jinnah's assumption of "one unified nation for Muslims" was proved to be wrong when the majority of Muslim population of Indian subcontinent decided to stay in India after partition. Pakistan itself got divided in 1971 in the form of Bangladesh. Some historians like HM Seervai and Ayesha Jalal assert that Jinnah never wanted partition- it was the outcome of congress leaders being unwilling to share power with the Muslim League. It is asserted that Jinnah only used the Pakistan demand as a method to mobilise support to obtain significant political right for Muslims. Jinnah was given the admiration of major Indian nationalist politicians like Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani- the latter's comments praising Jinnah caused an uproar in his own Bhartiya Janata Party. The scenario of now is, most of the Pakistanis still worship him as "Quaid-e-Azam" (Greatest Leader) or "Baba-e-Azam" (Father of the Nation) and most of the Indians blame Jinnah for 'collusively' partitioning India on the basis of religion. But he was not fully responsible for the partition. Hindu Mahasabha and Congress were equally responsible. Since in the initial years Jinnah was known as a messiah for Hindu-Muslim unity but later due to the aggression of the Hindus his political stance totally changed. Two nation theory is a major reason as to why partition took place but Jinnah is not the only one responsible for it.

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TOPIC

Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory



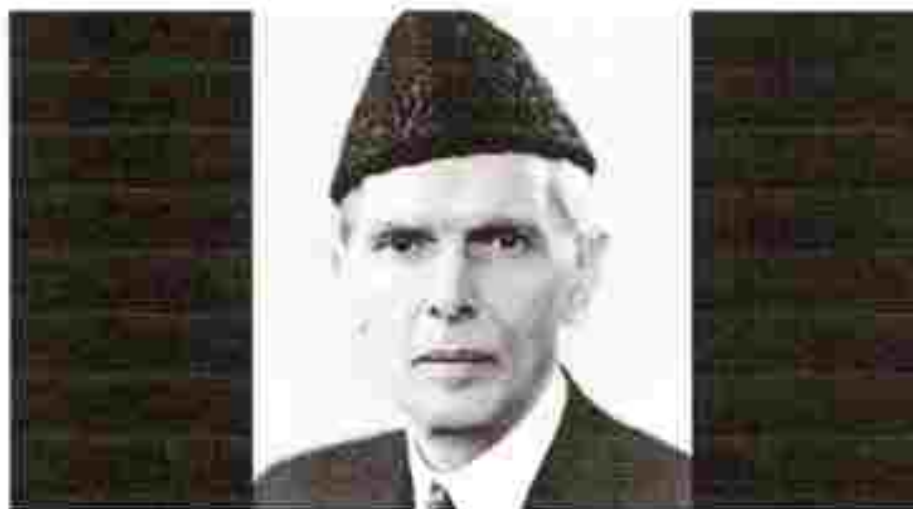
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INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on December 25th, 1876 in Karachi. Jinnah studied law in London. In addition to fulfilling his formal studies, Jinnah made frequent visits to the House Of Commons, where he could observe the powerful British government in action first hand. With his law degree in hand in August .



Jinnah was influenced by the British Liberalism he was associated with leading individuals- Gokhale , S.N Banerjee and RC Das. His early Liberalism was a product of English education and Influence of the liberals. He had uncompromising faith in the unity of the country. In the initial stage Jinnah strived for Hindu Muslim unity. According to him Britishers created problem between the Hindus and the Muslims as a distraction. Jinnah was also impressed by Gokhale and his views. he also came to be known as "Muslim Gokhale. Even though he was not a direct member of the Indian national Congress , he was an insider of the party and a regular attendee of the meeting.



THE TWO-NATION THEORY

The Bhakti movement, Deen-e-Ilahi and other similar ideologies, which tried to absorb Islam into Hinduism, prompted Muslim scholars to attempt to preserve the purity of Islam. After the British occupation of the subcontinent, the domination by Hindus, backwardness of Muslims and the threat for their survival, coupled with sporadic clashes between Hindus and Muslims led to the two-nation theory. As time passed in the Indian National Movement, communal violence erupted between Hindus and Muslims. These instances of hatred made Jinnah think a vital fact: achieving Hindu-Muslim unity would become complicated and eventually impracticable. One such action was the Nehru Report of 1928 that refused to give separate electorate to the Muslims and allowed reservations for them only in areas where Muslims were a minority. Jinnah was thus drawn towards the Muslim League and demanded more rights and opportunities for the Muslim community. The two-nation theory was a concept that emphasized a separate state for the Muslims in the subcontinent. Jinnah's Two Nation Theory harped on three crucial attributes. First, he believed that the Hindus and Muslims inhabiting the vast subcontinent are not two communities but should be considered as two nations in many aspects. Secondly, Hinduism and Islam are not two religions in the strict sense of the term, but different and distinct social orders. Hence, they are incompatible to each other requiring a separate territory for their existence. Finally, Hindus and Muslims follow two contrasting religious philosophies having two distinct lineages. They cannot co-exist as a community since they follow two different strands of thought. The theory describes Muslims as a nation, with different culture, heritage, values and civilization. By 1939 Jinnah came to believe in a Muslim homeland on the Indian subcontinent. In Jinnah's own words, "we (Muslims) are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life". According to Jinnah,



Hindus and Muslims were not able to live together therefore Jinnah's vision was that Muslims should have an independent state where they can practice their religion freely and live peacefully.

As Jinnah joined the Muslim League, he started noticing the curtailed Hindu agenda of the Indian National Congress and Muslims were a minority in India at that time. Slowly Jinnah shifted from his policy of Hindu Muslim unity to "protecting the minority Muslims".



THE FOURTEEN POINTS PROPOSED BY JINNAH

The Fourteen Points of Jinnah were proposed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a constitutional reform plan to safeguard the political rights of Muslims in a self-governing India.

- The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
- All provinces must be given equal Autonomy.
- All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted by keeping in view the representation of the minorities in every province.
- In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
- Representation of communal groups shall continue to get the separate electorate and get open authority to join any community.
- Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP provinces.
- Full religious liberty shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- One-third representation shall be given to Muslims in both central and provincial cabinets.
- No bill or resolution shall be passed in any legislature if three-fourths of the members of any community in that body oppose the bill.
- Sindh should be separated from the Bombay to a province.
- Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Baluchistan on the same footings as in the other provinces.
- Muslims should be given an adequate share in all services, having due regard to the requirement of efficiency.



- The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture, education, language, religion and personal laws, as well as for Muslim charitable institutions.
- No change will be made in the constitution without the consent of the provinces.

THE NEHRU REPORT (1928)

The then secretary for the state of India Birkenhead challenged the Indian leaders to frame a constitution for the country. The challenge was accepted and a committee was set up headed by Motilal Nehru. This report was submitted on August 28 1928. This was the first ever attempt taken by the Indians to draft a constitution for themselves.

The recommendations in the report are-

1. Dominion Status for India in the British commonwealth
2. Nineteen fundamental rights including the right to vote for men and women above the age of 21.
3. Equal rights for men and women.
4. No separate electorates.
5. No state religion
6. The Governor-General will be the constitutional head of the country.
7. A federal form of government with residual power at the centre.
There would be a bicameral legislature at the centre.
8. A proposal for the creation of the Supreme court,



THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NEHRU REPORT AND JINNAH'S 14 POINTS

- 1) The Nehru report rejected the idea of separate electorates for minorities, whereas, Jinnah's 14 points demanded separate electorates for various communities.
- 2) The Nehru report recommended 1/4th representation for Muslims, while Jinnah's 14 points demanded 1/3rd representation in the Central government.



- 3) According to the Nehru report there wouldn't be any reserved seats for communities in Bengal and Punjab. However, the reserved seats would be provided to Muslim communities in provinces where the Muslim population was at least 10%. Jinnah's 14 points, however, demanded that appropriate representation should be given to Muslims in all provinces; even if the population was less than 10%.
- 4) Jinnah's 14 points also demanded a certain percentage of the Ministers in all cabinets to be Muslims which was not recommended by the Nehru report; which led to a lot of conflicts between the two reports.
- 5) Nehru report demanded a strong central government, while on the other end Quaid-e-Azam believed more in Provincial Autonomy.



THE TWO NATIONS THEORY: RESULT

According to Stanley Wolpert "Few individuals significantly alter the course of history, fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation state and Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three". The Indian National Congress wanted India to remain united as a secular state with equality for followers of all religions. But Muslim leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Chaudhari Rehmat Ali and Allama Iqbal became advocates of the demand of creation of the new domain for Muslims called 'Pakistan'. The skeleton of the 'Two Nation Theory' rendered life in the Allahabad Session of 1930 and Lahore Session of 1940 of the Muslim League – the common demand in both the sessions being, the demand for a separate province for the Muslim fraternity. In Jinnah's own words, "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions." So, "It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality," he added. Under total support of Muslim League and Jinnah Hindu-Muslim riots and severe violence erupted in pre-independent India. Their agenda was clear "Larke Lenge Pakistan" (we must gain Pakistan through fighting). So, the Freedom of India was sealed with a curse – the Curse of the Partition which divided the unified nation into India and Pakistan. Jinnah and his Two Nations Theory is explicitly considered responsible for the unwarranted 'Partition'.



CONCLUSION

Jinnah's Two Nations Theory was and is considered responsible for many religious violence, riots in pre-independent India, Independent India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, soon after Jinnah's death, the countrymen succumbed to the centrifugal forces of religious intolerance unleashed by the notion that Muslims were so different from Hindus that they constituted a nation of their own. Jinnah's assumption of "one unified nation for Muslims" was proved to be wrong when the majority of Muslim population of Indian subcontinent decided to stay in India after partition. Pakistan itself got divided in 1971 in the form of Bangladesh.



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Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Two Nation Theory



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Thanking You,

Neha Sadhukhan

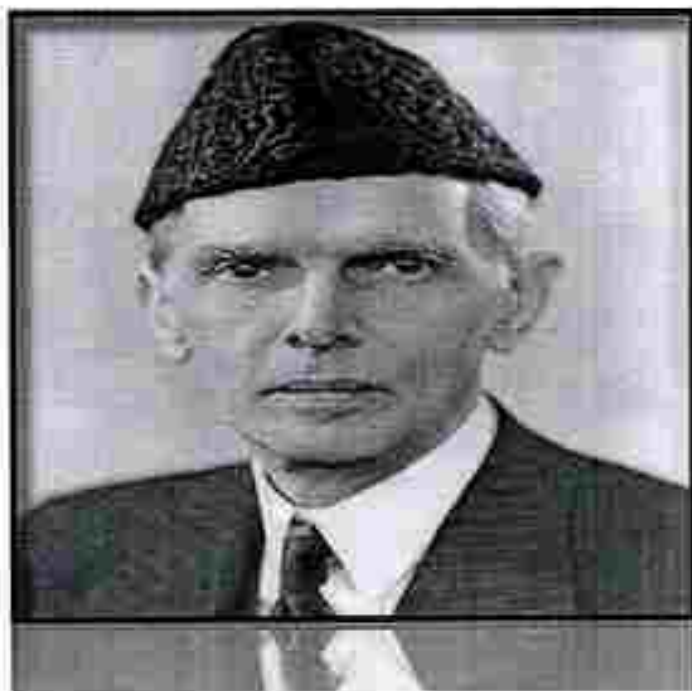
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INTRODUCTION:-

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, (born Dec. 25, 1876, Karachi, India—died Sept. 11, 1948, Karachi, Pak.), Indian Muslim politician, founder and first governor-general of Pakistan (1947–48). He was educated in Bombay (now Mumbai) and London, where he became a lawyer at age 19. After returning to India, he practiced law and was elected to India's Imperial Legislative Council in 1910. Committed to home rule for India and to maintaining Hindu-Muslim unity, he joined the Muslim League in 1913 and worked to ensure its collaboration with the Indian National Congress. He was opposed to Mohandas K. Gandhi's noncooperation movement and withdrew from the Congress. In the late 1920s and early '30s, he was seen as too moderate by some Muslims but too Muslim by the Congress Party. From 1937, when the Congress Party refused to form coalition governments with the Muslim League in the provinces, Jinnah began to work for the partitioning of India and on creating a Muslim state. Pakistan emerged as an independent country in 1947, and Jinnah became its first head of state. He died in 1948, revered as the father of the nation.



The Muslim League and Mohammed Ali Jinnah:-

The All India Muslim League, organized in 1906, aimed to give Muslims a voice so as to counter what was then perceived as the growing influence of the Hindus under British rule. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, earlier a prominent Muslim member of the Congress, assumed leadership of the league following his break with Congress leader Mohandas K. Gandhi. A firm believer in the Anglo-Saxon rule of law and a close associate of Iqbal, Jinnah questioned the security of the Muslim minority in an India dominated by essentially Hind authority. Declaring Islam was endangered by a revived Hindu assertiveness, Jinnah and the league posited a "two-nation theory" that argued Indian Muslims were entitled to—and therefore required—a separate, self-governing state in a reconstituted subcontinent. The British intention to grant self-government to India along the lines of British parliamentary democracy is evident in the Government of India Act of 1935. Up to that time, the question of Hindus and Muslims sharing in the governance of India was generally acceptable, although it was also acknowledged that Hindus more so than Muslims had accommodated themselves to British customs and the colonial manner of administration. Moreover, following the failed Indian Mutiny, Hindus were more eager to adopt British behaviors and ideas, whereas Indian Muslims bore the brunt of British wrath. The Mughal Empire was formally dissolved in 1858, and its last ruler was banished from the subcontinent. Believing they had been singled out for punishment, India's Muslim population was reluctant to adopt British ways or take advantage of English educational opportunities. As a consequence of these different positions, Hindus advanced under British rule at the expense of their Muslim counterparts, and when Britain opened the civil service to the native population, the Hindus virtually monopolized the postings. Although influential Muslims such as Sayyid Ahmad Khan recognized the growing power imbalance and encouraged Muslims to seek European education and entry into the colonial civil service, they also realized that catching up to the more progressive and advantaged Hindus was an impossible task.

Reason which forced the Muslim to have a separate nation:-

Some other factors which forced the Muslims to have a separate state:-

(1) Muslim League's Obstinacy- The Muslim League preached that the Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations.

(2) Muslims in Minority- The Mohammedans feared that the Hindus in the majority would dominate them. Hence to seek their salvation they laid the demand for a separate country. They were also instigated by the utterances of some of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders.

(3) Instigation by Muslim Countries- To preserve the Muslim religion and culture, the Muslim countries instigated the Indian Muslims to ask for a separate country.

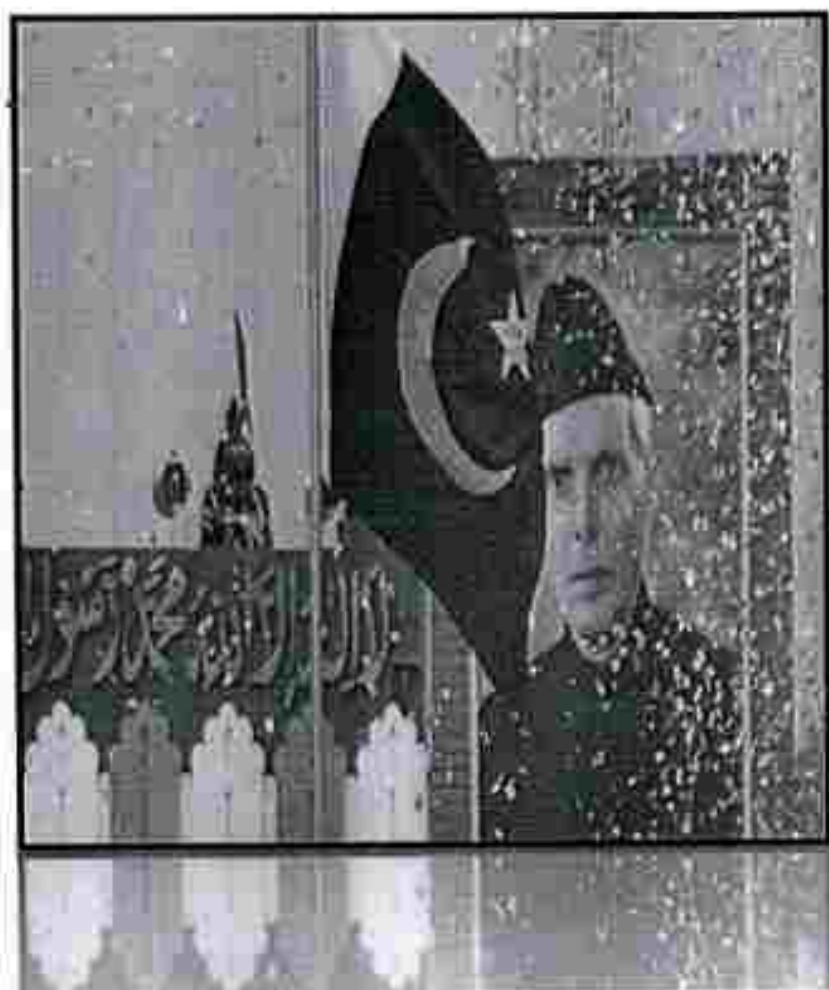
(4) Non-cooperation between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League- They were diagonally opposite in their views. The Indian National Congress formed the Interim Government in 1946. The Muslim League joined it and held the Finance Department. It did not release funds for national programme. It also retarded the smooth functioning of the government. So their separation and the acceptance of the partition of the country was the only recourse.

Two nation theory:-

The two-nation theory was a concept that emphasised a separate state for the Muslims in the subcontinent. From looking into history, it clearly shows that after the advent of Islam in the subcontinent, Muslim nationalism evolved as Muslims and Hindus could not co-exist without nationalism rearing its head. The Bhakti movement, Deen-e-Ilahi and other similar ideologies, which tried to absorb Islam into Hinduism, prompted Muslim scholars to attempt to preserve the purity of Islam. After the British occupation of the subcontinent, the domination by Hindus, backwardness of Muslims and the threat for their survival, coupled with sporadic clashes between Hindus and Muslims led to the two-nation theory. The theory describes Muslims as a nation, with different culture, heritage, values and civilization. The Congress party wanted India to remain united as a secular state with equality for followers of all religions. But the two-nation theory resulted in the partition of British India and the emergence of two separate nations: Pakistan and India.

Opposition to the two-nation theory came from both nationalist Muslims and Hindus, being based on two concepts. The first is the concept of a single Indian nation, of which Hindus and Muslims are two intertwined communities. The second source of opposition is the concept that while Indians are not one nation, neither are the Muslims or Hindus of India, and it is instead the relatively homogeneous provincial units of the Indian subcontinent which are true nations and deserving of sovereignty; this view has been presented by the Baloch, Sindhi, Bengali, and Pashtun sub-nationalities of Pakistan, with Bengalis seceding from Pakistan after the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 and other separatist movements in Pakistan are currently in-place. The state of India officially rejected the two-nation theory and chose to be a secular state, enshrining the concepts of religious pluralism and composite nationalism in its constitution.

In the 1946 Indian provincial elections, only 16% of Indian Muslims, mainly those from upper class, were able to vote. Many lower class Indian Muslims opposed the partition of India, believing that "that a Muslim state would benefit only upper-class Muslims. Critics of the partition of India argue that an undivided India would have boasted one of the strongest armies in the world, had more competitive sports teams, fostered an increased protection of minorities with religious harmony, championed greater women's rights, possessed extended maritime borders, projected elevated soft power. Pakistan was created through the partition of India on the basis of religious segregation; the very concept of dividing the country of India along religious lines has been criticized as being a backward idea for the modern era. After it occurred, critics of the partition of India point to the displacement of fifteen million people, the murder of more than one million people, and the rape of 75,000 women to demonstrate the view that it was a mistake.



Conclusion:

The theory asserted that India was not a nation. It also asserted that Hindus and Muslims of the Indian subcontinent were each a nation, despite great variations in language, culture and ethnicity within each of those groups. To counter critics who said that a community of radically varying ethnics and languages who were territorially intertwined with other communities could not be a nation, the theory said that the concept of nation in the East was different from that in the West. In the East, religion was "a complete social order which affects all the activities in life" and "where the allegiance of people is divided on the basis of religion, the idea of territorial nationalism has never succeeded." It asserted that "a Muslim of one country has far more sympathies with a Muslim living in another country than with a non-Muslim living in the same country." Therefore, "the conception of Indian Muslims as a nation may not be ethnically correct, but socially it is correct." Many common Muslims criticized the two-nation theory as favoring only the elite class of Muslims, causing the deaths of over one million innocent people. The theory has faced skepticism because Muslims did not entirely separate from Hindus and about one-third of all Muslims continued to live in post-partition India as Indian citizens alongside a much larger Hindu majority. The subsequent partition of Pakistan itself into the present-day nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh was cited as proof both that Muslims did not constitute one nation and that religion alone was not a defining factor for nationhood.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE HONOURS

PAPER- CC8

TOPIC- M.N ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM'



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INTRODUCTION

M. N. Roy was a twentieth century Indian philosopher. He began his career as a militant political activist and left India in 1915 in search of arms for organizing an insurrection against British rule in India. However, Roy's attempts to secure arms ended in a failure, and finally in June 1916, he landed in San Francisco, California. It was there that Roy, who was then known as Narendranath Bhattacharya, changed his name to Manbendra Nath Roy. Roy developed friendships with

several American radicals, and frequented the New York Public Library. He began a systematic study of socialism, originally with the intention of combating it, but he soon discovered that he had himself become a socialist! Roy met Lenin in Moscow in 1920, and went on to become an international ranking communist leader. Nevertheless, in September 1929 he was expelled from the Communist International for various reasons. He returned to India in December 1930 and was sentenced to six years imprisonment for his role in the

Kanpur Communist Conspiracy Case.

M. N. Roy's original name was Narendranath Bhattacharya. He was born on 21 March 1887, at Arbalia, a village in 24 Parganas district in Bengal. His father, Dinabandhu Bhattacharya, was head pandit of a local school. His mother's name was Basanta Kumari.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Manabendra Nath Roy was an Indian revolutionary, radical

activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher of the 20th century. Roy was a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. However, later he was disappointed with both bourgeois democracy and communism, and devoted the last years of his life to the formulation of an alternative philosophy which he called Radical Humanism. His ideas are presented in his book New Humanism. It is the theoretical basis for the philosophy of radical humanism. Humanism is

an approach in study, philosophy, or practice that focuses on human values and concerns. It represents a system of thought concerned with human affairs in general. In keeping with this definition, Radical humanism recognizes the value and dignity of man. It accepts the individual as the central point of all social thought and action. It stands for decentralization of political and economic power, and suggests party-less democracy for purifying politics.

Criticism of existing political ideologies: Through his experiences with communist states, Roy found that in communism, man had been reduced to the position of a helpless pawn in the hands of blind economic forces. He was denied independence as well as sovereignty. Instead of liberating man, he was made a slave of an almighty State run by a party under the dictatorship of the party leader. He suffered the same way under capitalism as well. It was therefore necessary to go beyond both capitalism and communism and think of

political and economic institutions that would guarantee freedom and progress to man as man and not as a member of a nation or class. Roy thought that organised democracy and co-operative economy was the solution and attempted to give these a philosophical foundation through his philosophy of radical humanism.

Emphasis on Freedom: Freedom is the basic value in radical humanism. It is the source of all human values. Roy believed that everything that man has done

from cultural progress to scientific achievements to artistic creation has been motivated by man's endless struggle for freedom. In fact, the amount of freedom available to the individuals is the measure of social progress.

Emphasis on the Individual:

According to Radical Humanism, the individual is an end in itself and every other organization in the society is simply the means to that end. Roy pleads that everything else is below individual freedom which should not be subordinated to anything

else. He is not ready to subordinate individual freedom even to religion or morality or to any other super-natural power. This is why he criticizes communism. In his view, the communist political system and its economic experiments subordinate the man of flesh and blood to an imaginary collective ego, be it the nation or class, and thus it cannot possibly be the suitable means for the attainment of the goal of freedom.

Criticism of Contemporary Democracies: In addition to

communism, Roy has discussed the shortcomings of formal parliamentary democracy too in his writings. These flaws, according to Roy, are outcome of the delegation of power. Atomized individual citizens are, in Roy's view, powerless for all practical purposes. They have no means to exercise their sovereignty and to wield a standing control of the state machinery. The alternative Roy gives is the ideal of radical democracy, consisting of a highly decentralized democracy based on a network of people's committee's through which

citizens wield a standing democratic control over the state.

To conclude, Roy's philosophy of radical humanism implies a secular ideology which espouses reason, ethics, and justice, whilst specifically rejecting supernatural and religious dogma as a basis of morality and decision-making. His philosophy aims at establishing "a social order in which the best in man could be manifest.

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B.A. SEMESTER- 4 (HONOURS) EXAMINATION (UNDER CBCS).

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M.N. ROY – RADICAL HUMANISM

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PREFACE

Most strands of Indian political thought in the early 20th century grew out of the historical conflict with colonialism. Narendranath Bhattacharya, later famous as M.N. Roy, India's first communist theorist who attempted to apply Marxism to achieve liberation from foreign rule. He was born in the village of Arbelia in 1887. During the years that he was growing up Bengal and rest of the country was witnessing an anti colonial struggle. In Bengal there was an agitation against the partition in 1911. Those were the crucial years when the politics of representation and constitutional agitation were being questioned and militant nationalism was inspiring many young activists. Influenced by the climate of militant nationalism Roy was involved in bomb making and dacoity to secure funds for revolutionary activities.

Manabendra Nath Roy was an Indian revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher of the 20th century. Roy was a founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. However, later he was disappointed with both bourgeois democracy and communism, and devoted the last years of his life to the formulation of an alternative philosophy which he called Radical Humanism. His ideas are presented in his book New Humanism. It is the theoretical basis for the philosophy of radical humanism.

Humanism is an approach in study, philosophy, or practice that focuses on human values and concerns. It represents a system of thought concerned with human affairs in general. In keeping with this definition, Radical humanism recognizes the value and dignity of man. It accepts the individual as the central point of all social thought and action. It stands for decentralization of political and economic power, and suggests party-less democracy for purifying politics.

M.N. ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM

M.N. Roy was born in Bengal in 1887. He has unique distinction of having worked with Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. Like Aurobindo Ghosh, he began his political life as a militant nationalist. Roy thinking passes through three phases. In the first phase, which lasted up to 1919, he was a nationalist and revolutionary. In the second phase, Roy became communist and in the last and the final phase, He emerged as radical humanist.

Roy as a Nationalist

Colonial government is exploitative. Befitting reply is needed against the British government. M.N. Roy wanted to uproot British government through violence. Irish revolutionaries were fighting violently against the British government. He believes in politics of bomb and pistol. In the first stage of his life, he was a revolutionary and became a member of organization named 'Yugantar'. He was accused of dacoity in Calcutta for which he was jailed. Since he was influenced by revolutionary thinking he was opposed to Indian National Congress and its peaceful Constitutional means of struggle. M.N. Roy was a nationalist and revolutionary during his first stage of his thinking.

Roy as an Ardent Marxist

During his second stage he became a Marxist. In his work 'Indian problems and its solutions 1923'. He called Congress a bourgeois party with bourgeois leaders like Nehru. His inclination towards Communism began after visiting Moscow in 1920 to attend second Congress of Communist International.

1. He accepted all Marxist ideas and theories like historical materialism, dialectical materialism, theory of surplus value and class struggle. Moreover, he also accepted Bolshevik method of revolution, which was

propounded by Lenin. Lenin said that Communist Party is the vanguard of the revolution. Therefore, method of revolution should be adopted same for each and every country. M. N. Roy is a founder of communist party in India.

2. M.N. Roy is a first thinker who undertook class analysis of Indian society. He believed in inevitability of class struggle. He said that, bringing about communist revolution is the responsibility of communist party of India, which represent the proletariat class.
3. Communism can be achieved only through Bolshevism revolution. He argued that failure of Non-cooperation movement was hesitant approach of Congress towards revolutionary means of struggle. He believed that there are two exploitative powers

(a) internal exploitative: power congress

(b) external exploitative power – (British rule) and accused congress of representing Bourgeois class working in close communion with British government. He never accepted any autonomous and specific strategy of revolution for any particular nation. For him Bolshevik revolution only method to bring about the communist revolution. In his work 'The Future of mass movement' he expressed his desire for mass movement but he wanted national movement to be converted into class struggle.

Marxist Analysis of society

M.N. Roy is the first thinker, who analyzes Indian Society from the Marxist perspective. He said that Indian Society is divided in the following classes:

- a. Landed Aristocracy
- b. Bourgeois and Intellectual
- c. Petty peasantry
- d. working class and landless peasants

Roy said that Indian society is not divided in caste as it is said by Dr. Ambedkar. Society is not analyse in terms of culture and religion which is recognize by

Aurobindo. Roy first time analyse social stratification on the base of economy. He said that Indian Society is fully capitalize due to the presence of British colonial forces. Although he admitted that social modernization and economic development of India is not like Britain but Economy becomes capitalist. For M.N. Roy Indian National Congress was not representing India. Congress only represents the interest of Bourgeois and capitalist. Congress is junior partner in exploitation of India. British capitalist are the senior partner in this exploitation. Congress is only fighting for getting concession for capitalist in India. The withdrawal of non-co-operation shows that congress wanted to defend the interest of Bourgeois in India. M.N. Roy being Marxist said that Indian society is divided into opposite class. British Government represents the interest of big with bourgeois. Congress was smaller bourgeois. Congress does not represent workers and peasant. Roy did not accepted caste, religion as a factor of understanding the society. Class based analysis depends on economic factors. Class which represented ownership of means of production is bourgeois. Workers, peasants comprised of proletariat class. Relation between class is antagonistic to each other. Class based analysis is materialistic analysis of society. Without revolution class conflict can be not abolished.

Radical Humanism

Roy's Radical humanism revolt around man. It is the man who created society, state and other institutions for his greater welfare and has the power to change them for greater welfare and convenience.

He was a humanist, par excellence. His philosophy of radical humanism is rational, scientific, secular and cosmopolitan philosophy. His philosophy rejected all kinds of irrationality, superstition, bigotry, religious fanaticism, social bondages, and state control. His new humanism is radical in the sense that it differs from mysticism and religious revivalism. It is secular and not based on theocracy. His concept of New Humanism is new because it is humanism enriched, reinforced, an elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained through centuries of modern civilizations.

The core of Radical Humanism of Roy lay greatest emphasis on the personality of the individual as human being. He was very critical of all those theories and perspectives which didn't take individual as the focal point of analysis. He propounded the radicalism thinks in terms neither of nation nor class, it's concern is man, it conceives freedom as freedom of the individual. According to him, man's struggle for freedom is continuation of biological struggle for survival on a higher level. Therefore, freedom must be defined as a progressive disappearance of manifold impediments to unfolding of potentialities which are biologically inherited by man.

According to Radical Humanism, human beings derive all their virtues and skills from their creative attainments in unravelling the mysteries of nature. The human being as the central agent of New Humanism of M.N. Roy, is supposed to be characterised by 3 fundamental elements - reason, morality and freedom. Roy took nationality as the unifying element in every human being, echoing the notion of harmony in the universe. Rationality in man is not implanted by a divine being but it's the product of biological evolution, and humanist ethics is built on the foundation of this natural rationality of man. Conscience according to him is the reflex of rationality. Roy pleads for a New Humanism based upon natural reason and secular conscience. So Roy considered reason as not an innate metaphysical entity but as an emergent in the process of biological evolution.

Morality constituted another significant trait of man as conceptualised by Roy. Roy stated that morality stemmed out of the scientific application of human rationality to dynamics of social relations and mutual adjustments of people with one another. Morality springs as an answer to man's quest for social harmony. Roy asserted that morality aimed at translating into reality the collective and common good of the whole society.

According to Roy freedom is the supreme value because the urge for freedom is the essence of human existence. Freedom to Roy meant the biological struggle for self protection and multiplication of the human beings in somewhat hostile nature. In other words, the human beings quest for finding out the laws of nature and the dynamics of the functioning of the cosmos has the ultimate objective of providing certain clues to him which enabled him to get rid of the

restrictions imposed by the nature. The product of this enterprise is freedom for man.

The cumulative impact of the elements of reason, morality, and freedom on human beings has been to provide a cosmopolitan perspective to the theory of New Humanism. According to Roy a cosmopolitan, commonwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited by the boundaries of national states - capitalist, fascist, communist and socialist or any other kind, which will gradually disappear under the impact of 20th century Renaissance of man.

Elaborating the economic dimensions of New Humanism Roy pleaded for the economic reorganization of the society free from exploitation of one man by another leading to the establishment of cooperative economy. For this he pinned his hopes on planned economic development with virtues of cooperation. However Roy was prudent enough to factor the role of state in the economic activities of men and considered state as a necessary evil. Roy maintained that the advent of the state mechanism is neither due to social contract nor super imposed on the society. On the contrary, it happened to be a historical and natural phenomenon arising out in the context of the need for common instrument to ensure the security and order for all. Roy seek to reorganise the structure and function of state based on doctrines of democracy, decentralisation and pluralism.

New Humanism believed in the value of humanist politics which in simple terms denoted politics not for power but for the purification and rationalization of the political life of the people. Like Gandhi, he too believed in communitarian politics. He too regarded the parliamentary democracy as a variant of dictatorship. He maintained that party based political activities in the country are aimed at getting the most out of the people for serving the interests of a privileged few in the society at the expense of masses. The turned politics into a corrupting instrument.

The social fabric of New Humanism is designed by M.N. Roy out of subtle conclusion that class struggle could not be the only reality in a society rather he noted that no society could sustain itself out some sort of cohesiveness existing amongst the people. So Roy was empathetic to give the primacy to the individual rather than the class in the social formation of New Humanism.

To Roy education could be the slow but sheer emancipator of the people from the shackles of the antagonistic and irrational system of life. Hence Roy pleaded for denunciation of the idea of violent and quick revolution to defend the virtues of rationality, morality and freedom. According to him education would help people to respond to a particular situation in rational manner.

EVALUATION

Through his experiences with communist states, Roy found that in communism, man had been reduced to the position of a helpless pawn in the hands of blind economic forces. He was denied independence as well as sovereignty. Instead of liberating man, he was made a slave of an almighty State run by a party under the dictatorship of the party leader. He suffered the same way under capitalism as well. It was therefore necessary to go beyond both capitalism and communism and think of political and economic institutions that would guarantee freedom and progress to man as man and not as a member of a nation or class. Roy thought that organised democracy and co-operative economy was the solution and attempted to give these a philosophical foundation through his philosophy of radical humanism.

A critical evaluation of Roy's New Humanism, or Radical Humanism, revealed certain discrepancies because the idea of New Humanism was advanced by Roy in the face of his uttered dissatisfaction with the theoretical constructs of the Marxist ideologies. Roy could not resist the temptations of his association of Marxist ideologies. He called for the abolition of political parties and conduct of political activities in order to evolve a model of humanist politics. But such assertions fall flat in the face of their practical value for the country. Roy's concept was critical rather than constructive.

To conclude, Roy's philosophy of radical humanism implies a secular ideology which espouses reason, ethics, and justice, whilst specifically rejecting supernatural and religious dogma as a basis of morality and decision-making. His philosophy aims at establishing "a social order in which the best in man could be manifest."

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GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS' COLLEGE



TOPIC- "M.N. ROY: RADICAL HUMANISM"



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INTRODUCTION

The philosophical foundations of the political thought of M.N. Roy are rooted in Radical Humanism. Radical Humanism is neither materialism nor idealism but a scientific philosophy insisting upon the freedom of the individual. Radical Humanism lays greatest emphasis on the personality of the individual as a human being. Roy was disillusioned with communism and capitalism and therefore he propounded the theory of radical humanism and proposed a new model of democracy for India. Roy's main contention with communism was its utter disregard for and contempt for the human being. In communism man is treated as a helpless being dancing to the dictates of economic forces and his individual personality is subordinated for the collective interest. Similarly, malfunctions of Parliamentary Democracy and Laissez-Faire economic doctrine are equally ineffective to solve the crises of modern society. Roy's direction was for an organized democracy and co-operative economy. He tried to give these concepts a philosophical background through his radical humanism. He founded a new party named Radical Democratic Party to mobilize people and raise awareness about his ideas. New Humanism was the manifesto of the Radical Democratic Party. Roy also emphasized on the social fabric of New Humanism. He stressed on the importance of education and rational thinking as an epitome that would give the people a perspective on how to respond to a particular situation in a rational manner.

M.N ROY: RADICAL HUMANISM

Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, later known as M. N. Roy (1887-1954) is one of the greatest Indian philosophers of the twentieth century. Roy developed a new concept and termed it as 'Radical Humanism' or 'New Humanism' with a view to distinguish it from the humanist versions of other thinkers. **It was radical because it rejected many, if not most, of the traditional political and philosophical assumptions of Indian society. It was humanism because it focused entirely on the needs and situation of human beings.** His weekly journal, **Independent India**, which started in 1937, was renamed as **The Radical Humanist** to propagate his views on society and social reconstruction. The word humanism is derived from the Latin word 'Humanus', which refers to a system of thought concerned with human affairs in general. Humanism is an attitude which attaches primary importance to man and his faculties, affairs and aspirations.

He called Scientific Humanism as the 'New Humanism', new because it is *humanism enriched, reinforced and elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during the centuries of modern civilization.*

The first section deals with M.N. Roy's transformation from a socialist to a radical humanist. In the beginning of his political career M.N Roy was an active Marxist and was in close contact with Soviet Communist leaders like Lenin and Stalin. However, later he was compelled from Comintern due to his difference with Stalin after he came back to India and founded his Radical Democratic Party. But soon after the World War broke out M.N Roy began to move out of Soviet Union and ideals of Marxism. He was thoroughly disillusioned by Soviet system as the state instead of withering away established itself more firmly. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat what really was established was dictatorship of communist party which controlled all social organization like soviets, trade unions and cooperative movements. But Roy realized that this was antithetical to freedom and so designated soviet state socialism as state capitalism. He however did not blame Stalin for misdirecting the Soviet revolution but he believed that the soviet experiment failed to get freedom because of the fallacies inherent in Marxism and propounded his new policy of '*Radical Humanism*' in 1946.

A fundamental principle of M.N. Roy's philosophy of 'Radical Humanism' is materialism. He was a thorough going Marxist but he differed from Karl Marx in several different ways. He continued to be a materialist, but believed that the Marxian doctrine of 'Materialism' was dogmatic and unscientific. Roy interpreted the term materialism in a different way. He wrote in an introduction to Scientific Politics, 'Our approach to the problems of political theory and practice claimed to be free from any dogmatic pre-supposition. Otherwise we could not pretend

to be advocates of Scientific Politics. Freedom from dogma is the specific feature of his thought. Those who regard Marxism as such a closed system of thought cannot also pretend to subscribe to the iconoclastic principles of Radicalism which knows no dogma and respects no authority". Thus, he took the scientific method of Marx in his new philosophy of 'Radical Humanism'. M.N. Roy regarded matter as real and independent. Mind is the outcome of matter. In Roy's view there is no difference between the organic and inorganic matter. All living bodies were created out of certain chemical matters. Roy believed that mind was the product of matter at a high stage of development. On the basis of matter, M.N. Roy explained the origin of life and mind. Biological evolution takes place from physical universe.

In other words 'Radical Humanism' of M.N. Roy is individualism. For instance, his opposition to Marxism stemmed from, among other things, its undue stress on the phenomenon of class struggle under which the human being lost his individuality in order to become a part of one class or the other. At the same time he denounced the framework of nationalism also apparently due to the fact that it also subsumes the personality of the human being within meta constructions of nation and nationhood. According to Roy, 'Radical Humanism', says nothing new when it demands that man must be the measure of everything.

The human being, as the central agent of the 'New Humanism' of M.N. Roy, is supposed to be characterised by three fundamental elements of reason, morality and freedom. Reason, according to Roy, is a biological property, and it is not opposed to human will. **Morality**, which originates from the rational desire for harmonious and mutually beneficial social relations, is rooted in the innate rationality of man. However the most important characteristic of radical humanist ethics is **freedom or liberty**. According to Roy, individual is an end in itself and society was simply a means to that end. He subordinated everything to individual freedom. According to Roy, man created society with certain objectives in mind. It meant that all social relations, political, economic, social and ethical must be adjusted to the fundamental requirement of promoting freedom or liberty of the individual. Roy even subordinated religion, morality and any other supernatural powers to individual freedom. According to Roy, the state and society were established to maintain individual liberty. But unfortunately some devices were trying to dominate man and suppress his freedom. Religion or morality also destroyed individual liberty imposing on human mind the chains of superstition and supernatural beliefs. Roy regarded marriage, family and class as obstacles to human development and freedom. He also regarded society and class as greatest hindrances to individual freedom. He wanted society to be understood as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. The purpose of all-rational human endeavour, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom in ever-increasing measure. The amount of freedom available to the individuals is the measure of social progress.

Highlighting on the economic dimensions of 'New Humanism' Roy emphasises for economic re-organisation of the society free from exploitation of one man by another, leading to the establishment of cooperative economy. He held that the existing economic system was responsible for crushing the individual freedom. Therefore, he emphasised on

planned economic development comprising of the virtues of cooperation and decentralisation underpinning the system. Thus, the communal pattern of social growth, as emphasised by Roy, would have yielded the maximum individual freedom to all men in the society.

The notion of 'organised democracy' is the hallmark of the political dimension of the 'New Humanism' of M.N. Roy. M.N. Roy's concept of organised democracy was based on decentralisation and party less democracy. Like Jaya Prakash Narayan, he also opposed the system of party-politics. According to M.N. Roy, the emergence of political parties has brought in its wake all the evils of party-politics. With the rise of party system, the idea of popular sovereignty became a constitutional fiction. The political parties encourage hollowness and insincerity, which leads to spoils system and degradation of moral values. In the modern democratic states, there is rule by a party which constitutes only a small fraction of the people, in fact a rule by minority over majority. According to Roy, the system of party-politics leads to bribery and corruption. The main objective of political parties is to capture political power by all means. They do not hesitate to retain power following unscrupulous and corrupt means. Money plays a very important role in politics.

A very significant facet of M.N. Roy's 'Radical Humanism' or 'New Humanism' was his strong advocacy in favour of education. Roy was against compulsory Primary Education. He condemns all types of distinctions between different sections of society based upon political, economic or social considerations. Roy thinks that the aims and ideas of education can be achieved only by realisation of human values and the establishment of a humanist society. Education should help man and women to think rationally and to decide themselves about how the problems are to be solved. Roy lamented that no government provides such an education.

The social fabric of New Humanism was designed by M.N. Roy out of his subtle conclusion that class struggle could not be the only reality in a society. Rather, Roy was of the opinion that no society could sustain itself without some sort of cohesiveness existing amongst the people. At the same time Roy also discarded the classical Marxian formulation of the existence of only two classes — the haves and the have-nots — in the society. In order to provide for an educated, rational and mobile class which could have acted as a buffer between the two seemingly antagonistic classes, Roy accorded a prized status to the middle class in his social perspective of 'New Humanism'. Despite recognising the role of middle class as the moderator of the social cohesion in the society, Roy was emphatic to give the primacy to the individual rather than the class in social formation of 'New Humanism'. Finally according to Roy, the ideal 'New Humanism' could be made productive only through the medium of education.

CONCLUSION

M. N Roy was perhaps the most fascinating radicals among the Indian nationalists of his generation. Roy underwent a complete metamorphosis in his personality transforming from a nationalist-revolutionary into a rationalist-humanist during the final years of his life. He followed the nationalist-revolutionary line of thought and action until he realised that independence of a nation from foreign bondage was not a necessary and natural corollary of the freedom of its citizens from servitude and exploitation. He remained a Marxist until his disenchantment with the technique of dictatorship of the proletariat which undermined the very concept of individual freedom vis-à-vis the collective entity of a state. He was equally apprehensive about the success of parliamentary democracy in which political parties and their leaders at the apex played a decisive role in getting candidates selected and elected to form governments; where sectarian sympathies and partisan emotions were the cunning tactics of winning elections. Roy and members of his Radical Democratic Party were not accepted by the voters because they failed to identify with the latter. He realised that it was too early for the Indian common men to understand the meaning and value of participatory democracy propagated by his party because they were steeped in the feudal tradition of monarchic hierarchy as well as in the customs of a religious patriarchal society. Roy had envisaged a scientific, rational, democratic, egalitarian and humanist Indian society. But for the few emancipated minds, the country was not open to his cosmopolitan approach towards life. Technology and its dramatic innovations were yet to influence the lives of Indian people. Roy was much ahead of his times and refused to compromise with scientifically irrational or ethically unsound tenets of practical politics. He paid a heavy cost for this and was neglected in Indian politics. He failed to become a populist leader of the masses. Roy was too early an experiment for them.

It was only later in June 1974, twenty years after Roy's death when his idea of forming 'People's Committees' at the grass-root level, giving them power to legislate, opine and vote on issues of personal and national importance as well as to recall the erring members of legislatures, thus, rendering political parties useless (all described, in detail, in his Draft Constitution of Free India) was picked up by Jaya Prakash Narayan in his concept of 'Total Revolution'. This time the youth rose to the occasion because it had become aware now of the political rights of an independent sovereign state. Yet the revolution could not fulfil its dream of a participatory party-less democracy because the voter was still not politically emancipated. They were aware of their fundamental rights but confused about their political duties. A small group of dedicated leaders could not turn the tide in 'Total Revolution's' favour and traditional power-politics again took charge of the situation. Taking the second example from the present, after sixty years of Roy's absence from the scene, Aam Admi Party (AAP) wants to govern with the help of 'Mohalla Samitees', and we are again reminded of Roy's idea of 'People's Committees'. The voter is

politically more mature now than in 1954 and 1974. But has he also become morally and culturally mature enough to know the difference of a modern, democratic, civic society from a traditional, religious, feudal society? Civic maturity of the voters is the mandatory prerequisite for the success of participatory democracy. And that has to be done with the help of expert professionals, truthful administrators and selfless politicians who are culturally reformed and scientifically modern in their approach towards life; who have learnt to respect all human beings without any discrimination with an urge to make this country a cleaner and better place to live in. They are required to work amongst the voters as their 'educators'.

This is what Roy had suggested, honesty in desire is one thing but ability to fulfill it is another. Complex issues of the modern society cannot be solved merely by goodwill and consensus but by expert opinions as well, otherwise chaos and anarchy will prevail. The traditional political bosses are impatiently waiting for this turn of events to disprove the concept of participatory democracy in India challenging the ability and maturity of the voters to do so. When our nation was basking in the glory of the Westminster model of representative democracy, Roy was apprehensive of the political morality of its representatives. He had categorically said that corruption in politics and administration would be the natural by product of power-hungry politicians and politically immature and vulnerable citizens. He wanted a socially and culturally reformed India where ethically emancipated and politically matured voters would select politicians from among the selfless social workers at the grass-root level. He wanted dedicated humanists to help in ushering in a scientific renaissance in traditionally orthodox minds of our country-men. We live in an age where production is sumptuous but distribution is partial; where science has conquered irrationality but religion is propagating myths and superstitions where technology has brought humanity closer but nationalism is instigating wars and terrorism. Philosophers and thinkers have contributed to the refinement of human knowledge; science and technology have given facilities of comfort and ease to human existence but frauds and deceptions have tried to spoil true human progress in all areas of the world's living humanity. In such a situation Roy's principle of ethical-politics and rational-social morality appears to be the only solution for the salvation of human strife.

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SAVARKAR'S CONCEPT OF 'HINDUTVA'

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INTRODUCTION

Savarkar had an intellectual personality whose uniqueness represented an unconventional strand of political thought in India in so far as he propounded a theory of cultural nationalism contrast to the theory of territorial nationalism as propounded by the leaders of mainstream nationalist movement. His ideas reflected the opinion that real personality of India could only be reflected through the reestablishment of what he called '**Hindu Rashtra**.'

Savarkar's political philosophy appeared as a distinct ideological formulation having its focus on the homogeneity of the Hindu population living in a particular tract of land and having the urge to create a nation based on the cultural moorings of the majority of the people.

V.D. Savarkar was a charismatic leader who played a significant role in the independence of India. He was influenced by Italian philosopher Joseph Massini, supporting the concept of composite Indian nationalism. Savarkar's childhood acculturation appears to have been made in deep inculcation of the values of the Hindu religion and culture, and exhortations of reviving the glorious legacies left by the great Maratha rulers like Shivaji. He was instigated at the age of 10 at the hearing of the news of communal riots in the United Province that gathered a group of dozen-odd students of his school and stoned a place of worship to take an apparent revenge for the killing of Hindus in that riot. Hence, it is quite clear that his political concepts and social ideas had developed right from his childhood days.

SAVARKAR'S SOCIAL IDEAS & HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Savarkar's social ideas and thoughts were very much influenced by the societal situation during his times. His ideas have an essence of nationalism and reflected his views on '**Hindutva**.'

Savarkar was a trenchant critic of the occupation of India by foreign invaders in the form of the Muslim and English rulers. He held the view that India, which he preferred to call as '**Hindus than**', rightfully belonged to the Hindus and her forcible occupation by non-Hindus was a patent act of aggression which must be resented and repulsed by all Hindus of the country.

Savarkar's nationalist interpretation of history found its eloquent articulation in his tract, *Hindu Pad Pad Shahi*, published in 1925 and written to analyze the rise of Maratha power in Maharashtra, even in the face of Muslim predominance in other parts of the country. The valor and idealism of the Maratha rulers impressed him in a way that he praised the system of governance adopted by Shivaji, as conforming his ideas about struggle culminated the use of violence and he was totally against Gandhian ideals of non-violence. His nationalist view laid emphasis on the inculcation of the indigenous values like '**Swadharma**' and '**Swaraj**.'

In Savarkar's conceptualizing of '**Hindutva**' and '**Hindu Rashtra**,' his social ideas became quite critical as they provide a blueprint for suitable transformations in the Indian society. He believed in social change and dynamism in society. He was also a social reformer in Indian society who was against obscurantist and evil social practices. He criticized the hold of caste system on the Hindu society, repudiating the **Chaturvarnya system** as the root cause of inhuman practices like untouchability.

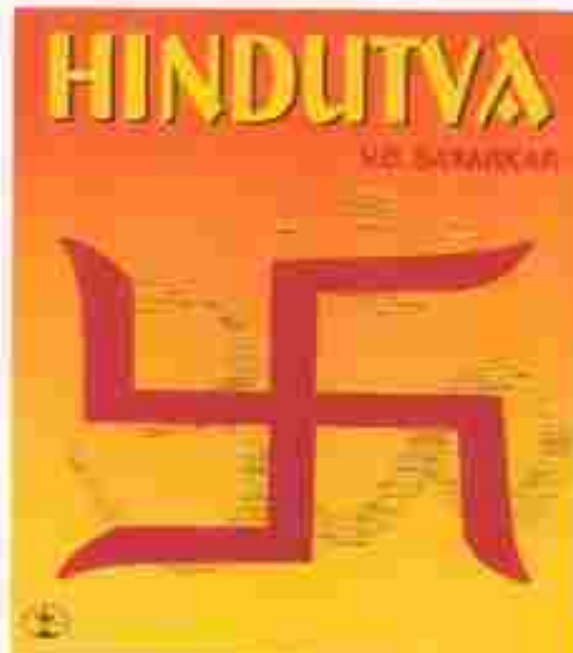
Thus, social thoughts of Savarkar appeared quite contemporary and aimed at infusing a sense of critical and broader comprehension in the minds of the people.

SAVARKAR'S VIEWS ON 'HINDUTVA'

The ideology of '**Hindutva**' was essentially the ideology of Hindu nationalism. V.D. Savarkar was the first exponent of Hindu nationalist ideology. His book '**Hindutva**' published in 1924 explains the basic principles of Hindu nationalism. It was an ideological construct to provide consolidation of Hindus in India.

Savarkar began his conceptualization of the idea of '**Hindutva**' by elucidating to the question as to what could be considered as a Hindu. According to him a Hindu could be anyone who considered this land of '**Bharat Varsha**,' from the Indus to the seas, as his fatherland as well as his '**holy land**,' that would be the cradle land of his religion.

Savarkar's '**Hindutva**' was rooted in the vision of Hindu solidarity. To him Hindus are bound by common cultural, historical, religious and social ties. To Savarkar, in the making of the Hindu Rashtra, the most essential factor was the unity of people on these ties. Further he envisaged three fundamental binds that would conjoin the Hindus as a common entity, namely, **rashtra (territory)**, **jati (race)** and **sanskriti (culture)**. According to Savarkar people having common national identity along with contiguous and adequate landscape constituting a political formation, marked by the internal cohesion brought about by subtle cultural and racial affinities which are the characteristics of the Hindus, undoubtedly constituted a nation in Hindu Rashtra.



THE BOOK 'HINDUTVA' WRITTEN BY V.D. SAVARKAR

HINDU NATION & INDIAN STATE

Savarkar was of the opinion that the Hindus constituted a nation characterized by common affinities. He wanted this 'nation' to be strong and powerful to withstand the struggle between the countries. He had laid stress on the principle of 'exclusion,' excluding the Muslims and the Christians from the Indian nation because they did not consider India as a holy land because their religious places were situated outside India. Hence the Hindus were always fighting to save their community from the non-Hindus.

Savarkar's concept of nation totally excluded the non-Hindus who might not become members of nation but they were members of Indian state.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

The life and thoughts of Savarkar has drawn criticisms from a number of quarters. His ideology has failed to achieve mass support because it aimed at the protection of Hindu interests against Muslim encroachment. He could not properly define the concept of nationalism because Hindus, Muslims and Christians shared common traditions and affinities in India even in the field of religion.

His advocacy of reason, science and technology were instrumental in the sense that for him it was useful because they helped him forge strong Hindu nation. Savarkar's advocacy of relativist ethics did not resolve tensions because reason, science and ethics did not recognize ascriptive loyalties. These tensions can only be overcome through the application of these to the entire society.

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Ans
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CC-8, MODULE-2
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INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Ali Jinnah (born 25 December 1876 – 11 September 1948) was a barrister, politician and the founder of Pakistan. Jinnah served as the leader of the All-India Muslim League from 1913 until the inception of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, then as the Dominion of Pakistan's first governor-general until his death. He is revered in Pakistan as the Quaid-i-Azam ("Great Leader") and Baba-i-Qaum ("Father of the Nation"). His birthday is observed as a national holiday in Pakistan. Born at Wazir Mansion in Karachi, Jinnah was trained as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in London, England.

Upon his return to British India, he enrolled at the Bombay High Court, and took an interest in national politics, which eventually replaced his legal practice. Jinnah rose to prominence in the Indian National Congress in the first two decades of the 20th century. In these early years of his political career, Jinnah advocated Hindu–Muslim unity, helping to shape the 1916 Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, in which Jinnah had also become prominent. Jinnah became a key leader in the All-India Home Rule League, and proposed a fourteen-point constitutional reform plan to safeguard the political rights of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

In 1920, however, Jinnah resigned from the Congress when it agreed to follow a campaign of satyagraha, which he regarded as political anarchy. By 1940, Jinnah had come to believe that the Muslims of the subcontinent should have their own state to avoid the possible

marginalized status they may gain in an independent Hindu-Muslim state. In that year, the Muslim League, led by Jinnah, passed the Lahore Resolution, demanding a separate nation for British Indian Muslims. During the Second World War, the League gained strength while leaders of the Congress were imprisoned, and in the provincial elections held shortly after the war, it won most of the seats reserved for Muslims.

Ultimately, the Congress and the Muslim League could not reach a power-sharing formula that would allow the entirety of British India to be united as a single state following independence, leading all parties to agree instead to the independence of a predominantly Hindu India, and for a Muslim-majority state of Pakistan. As the first Governor-General of Pakistan, Jinnah worked to establish the new nation's government and policies, and to aid the millions of Muslim migrants who had emigrated from neighbouring India to Pakistan after the two states' independence, personally supervising the establishment of refugee camps. Jinnah died at age 71 in September 1948, just over a year after Pakistan gained independence from the United Kingdom. He left a deep and respected legacy in Pakistan. Innumerable streets, roads and localities in the world are named after Jinnah.

Several universities and public buildings in Pakistan bear Jinnah's name. According to his biographer, Stanley Wolpert, Jinnah remains Pakistan's greatest leader.

JINNAH'S COMMITMENT TO LIBERALISM

Jinnah was initially influenced by British Liberalism. He was associated with leading Indian Liberals like, Dadabhai Naoroji, G.K Gokhale, S.N Banerjee and R.C Das. His early liberalism was the product of his English education and the influence of Indian Liberals. He had an uncompromising faith in the concept of nationalism, democracy, socialism and the unity of the country. Jinnah had said that, the Liberalism of Lord Morley thrilled him very much.

The thrill intensified on June 12, 1892, when he read of the Royal Assent to the Amendment to the Indian Council Act, empowering the Viceroy to increase the numbers in the Legislative and Provincial Councils-an amendment that gave the people of India, for the first time, a potential voice in the government of their country. Jinnah's liberalism stood for freedom and constitutionalism, absence of any type of Fanatism in social and political life. He didn't support the extra constitutional method in an agitation. He felt that even the non-cooperation movement was a non-liberal movement.

He acknowledged the positive contribution of the British rule. He believed that, development of feelings of nationalism and patriotism were the result of attitudes and policies of the UK Government. He expressed belief in the democratic institution of local self-government. According to him, the government should not be above public criticism.

He felt that, the involvement of the masses affected the liberal character of Indian National Congress, therefore, he left the Indian National Congress and started contradicting whatever he said earlier.

He approached to politics during the liberal phase was secular. According to Jinnah, the amalgamation of liberalism and nationalism in India was the result of colonial policies:-

- Integration of India into politics and social unit.
- Spread of English education.

JINNAH'S CONCEPT OF NATION:

THE TWO NATION THEORY

The two-nation theory is an ideology of religious nationalism which significantly influenced the Indian subcontinent following its independence from the British Empire. According to this theory, Indian Muslims and Indian Hindus are two separate nations, with their own customs, religion, and traditions. Therefore, from social and moral points of view, Muslims should be able to have their own separate homeland outside of Hindu-majority India, one in which Islam is the dominant religion and be segregated from Hindus and other non-Muslims. The two-nation theory advocated by the All-India Muslim League is the founding principle of the Pakistan Movement through the partition of India in 1947.

The ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of Indian Muslims was undertaken by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who termed it as the awakening of Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. It is also a source of inspiration to several Hindu nationalist organizations with causes as varied as the redefinition of Indian Muslims as non-Indian foreigners and second-class citizens in India, the expulsion of all Muslims from India, the establishment of a legally Hindu state in India (which is currently secular), prohibition of conversions to Islam, and the promotion of conversions or reconversions of Indian Muslims to Hinduism.

There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory:-

- One interpretation argued that, for the secession of the Muslim-majority areas of British India and saw differences between Hindus and Muslims as irreconcilable. This interpretation nevertheless promised a democratic state where Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated equally.
- A different interpretation holds that a transfer of populations, that is, the total removal of Hindus from Muslim-majority areas and the total removal of Muslims from Hindu-majority areas is a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship.

EMERGENCE OF TWO-NATION THEORY

Long before the British invaded and seized control of the subcontinent, Muslim armies had conquered the settled populations in the rolling flat land that stretched from the foothills of the Hindu Kush to the city of Delhi and the Indo-Gangetic Plain and eastward to Bengal. The last and most successful of the Muslim conquerors was the Mughal dynasty (1526–1857), which eventually spread its authority over virtually the entire subcontinent. British superiority coincided with Mughal decline, and, following a period of European successes and Mughal failures on the battlefield, the British brought an end to Mughal power. The last Mughal emperor was exiled following the failed Indian Mutiny of 1857–58.

In 28 December, 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed to give political representation to British India's indigenous people. Although membership in the Congress was open to all, Hindu participants overwhelmed the Muslim members. The All-India Muslim League, organized in 1906, aimed to give Muslims a voice so as to counter what

was then perceived as the growing influence of the Hindus under British rule. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, earlier a prominent Muslim member of the Congress, assumed leadership of the league following his break with Congress leader Mohandas K. Gandhi.

A firm believer in the Anglo-Saxon rule of law and a close associate of Iqbal, Jinnah questioned the security of the Muslim minority in an India dominated by essentially Hindu authority. Declaring Islam was endangered by a revived Hindu assertiveness, Jinnah and the league posited a Two-nation theory, that argued Indian Muslims were entitled to require a separate, self-governing state in a reconstituted subcontinent.

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS THAT LED TO THE EMERGENCE OF TWO-NATION THEORY

Initially, Jinnah believed in one-nation theory. He emphasized the unity of Hindus and Muslims. To Jinnah, politics was a gentlemen's game where rabble rousing using religious slogans was distasteful. Speaking to the central legislative assembly on February 7, 1935, Jinnah declared, "Religion should not be allowed to come into politics. Religion is merely a matter between man and God."

But Jinnah later got influenced and got clouded by the communal riots and British's divide and rule policy that he shifted from one nation theory to two nation theory. His transformation from the "ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" as the principal author of the Lucknow Pact in 1916 to the arrogation of the role of "sole spokesman" of Indian Muslims following the Congress's refusal to form a coalition government with the Muslim League in UP in 1937, and finally to the "father of Pakistan".

1. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's proposal for a separate state.

Seeds of separate nationhood had already been sown by the great educationist and modernizer Syed Ahmed Khan in his reformation movement. It greatly influenced the Muslim Salariat. Salariat is a salaried class of people appointed to the posts of bureaucrats or high officials. Muslim Salariat was much less in position and posts in the state apparatus compared to their Hindu counterparts.

These people were aggrieved. Long before the rise of Jinnah, Syed Ahmed Khan propagated the two-nation perspective. In beginning Sir Syed believed in Indian Nationalism but later due to Hindi-Urdu controversy, Sir Syed's faith in a united India was shaken and he began to advocate the two-nation theory. He made the Muslims realize that they are separate nation.

Their religion is very powerful. Muslims should demand for separate homeland of their own. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Muslim leader who used the word "NATION" for the Muslims of Sub-continent. According to Sir Syed in India there exist two nations, the Hindus and Muslims. They could not live together and that as the time would pass the hostility between the two-nation would grow.

2. Allama Iqbal's proposal for a separate state

Allama Iqbal was a great poet, philosopher and a politician. He was dismayed at the pathetic conditions of the Muslims in general and of the Indian Muslims in particular. Allama Iqbal delivered historical address at Allahabad: "The units of Indian society are not territorial as in the European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness."

3. Khilafat Movement

Before Partition, there were two different strands of Muslim identity politics- One was related to Pan-Islam and the other to separate statehood. The Khilafat movement brought in issues of Pan-Islam by clamouring for the restoration of the Caliphate in Turkey. Gandhi lent support to it, despite its regressive nature, to put an end to Muslim passivity in the freedom movements. Ironically, Muslims hailed the move and participated in anti-British agitations mainly because they were happy with the assertion of their exclusive identity.

The moment the non-cooperation movement, which was launched on the twin issue of Punjab wrongs and Khilafat, was called off the bonhomie with Muslim participation was lost. Jinnah was the first leader of an all-India stature to have warned the British of the consequences of reducing the status of the Khalifa. He repeated this warning in September 1919 to Prime Minister Lloyd George cautioning him of the possible impact of such a step on Muslims in India.

In January 1920, he was part of the Khilafat delegation that waited upon Viceroy Lord Chelmsford. In March, the Khilafat Conference sent a delegation to meet the Prime Minister in England but it failed to elicit any positive response. Jinnah, witnessing Gandhi's growing popularity among the Muslims through Khilafat agitations, desperately tried to dissuade Gandhi and the Congress from raising the Khilafat issue. His so-called role of a modernizer was, therefore, shaped by his personal political ambitions and not by any objective of advancement of Muslims in India.

Jinnah failed to become the sole spokesperson of Muslims on both pursuing the Khilafat demands and stopping Gandhi's Khilafat agitations. When the Non-Cooperation movement was called off

unceremoniously after the Chauri Chaura incident, the Muslims were left in the lurch and the Khilafat movement lost all its relevance after the Turks abandoned Caliphate.

4. The Lucknow Pact 1916

The Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League could be regarded as a watershed moment in the nationalistic struggle for freedom. The Lucknow Pact gave the impression of Hindu-Muslim unity in the national political scene, but it was only an impression and short-lived. The agreement between the parties on a separate communal electorate formally established communal politics in India. The British had announced under immense pressure from Indian masses, in order to satisfy the Indians, that they will be considering a series of proposal that would lead to at least half of the members of the Executive Council being elected and the Legislative Council having a majority of elected members needed.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League supported these. Both had realized that for further concessions to be gained, greater cooperation was required. The Lucknow Pact was an agreement reached between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League at a joint session of both the parties held in Lucknow in December 1916. Through the pact, the two parties agreed to allow representation to religious minorities in the provincial legislatures.

The Muslim League leaders agreed to join the Congress movement demanding Indian autonomy. Scholars cite this as an example of a consociational practice in Indian politics. Bal Gangadhar Tilak represented the Congress while framing the deal, Muhammad Ali Jinnah

who was part of both Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 and Naman Gupta also participated in this event. The Congress agreed to separate electorates for Muslims in electing representatives to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Although the Muslims were given this right in the Indian Council Act of 1909, the Indian National Congress opposed it. The Congress also agreed to the idea of one-third seats for the Muslims in the Councils despite the fact that the Muslim population represented less than a third. Apart from that, the Congress agreed that no act affecting a community should be passed unless three-quarters of that community's members on the council supported it. The Lucknow Pact was not concluded through mass participation. The Pact accepted the principle that the interests of Hindus and Muslims were separate.

The Congress made this compromise with its secular ideology in order to achieve political unity with the Muslim Leadership. By accepting separate electorates for Muslims, the Congress lost its secular claim. This played the role in future communal friction that flared up after 1940.

CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Some critics allege that Jinnah's courting the princes of Hindu states and his gambit with Junagadh is proof of ill intentions towards India, as he was the proponent of the theory that Hindus and Muslims could not live together, yet being interested in Hindu-majority states. In his book *Patel: A Life*, Rajmohan Gandhi asserts that Jinnah sought to engage the question of Junagadh with an eye on Kashmir, he wanted India to ask for a plebiscite in Junagadh, knowing thus that the principle then would have to be applied to Kashmir, where the Muslim-majority would, he believed, vote for Pakistan. Some historians like H. M. Seervai and Ayesha Jalal assert that Jinnah never wanted partition, it was the outcome of the Congress leaders being unwilling to share power with the Muslim League. It is asserted that Jinnah only used the Pakistan demand as a method to mobilize support to obtain significant political rights for Muslims.

Jinnah has gained the admiration of major Indian nationalist politicians like Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani—the latter's comments praising Jinnah caused an uproar in his own Bharatiya Janata Party.

CONCLUSION

After all this, the partition was outlined in the Indian Independence Act 1947 and resulted in the dissolution of the British Raj in India. The two self-governing independent Dominions of India and Pakistan legally came into existence at midnight on 15 August 1947. The partition displaced between 10 and 20 million people along religious lines, creating overwhelming calamity in the newly-constituted dominions. It is often described as one of the largest refugee crises in history. There was large-scale violence, with estimates of the loss of life accompanying or preceding the partition disputed and varying between several hundred thousand and two million.

The violent nature of the partition created an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion between India and Pakistan that affects their relationship to this day. As earlier told, majority of the people pose Jinnah and All India Muslim League were the ones who instigated to form a separate state according to religion. But the accusations cannot be done to Jinnah alone. The divide and rule policy of Britishers and the so-called subordination of the Muslim people led to such communal violence.

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Topic : M.N Roy's Radical Humanism.



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Thanking You.....

Teacher's Signature.

Student's Signature.

Sohini Saha.

Introduction.

Narendra Nath "Naren" Bhattacharya, later known as M. N. Roy, was born on 21 March 1887 at Arbelia, located in Culcatta. MN Roy was a Revolutionary who symbolized the new ideology of freedom movement that deferred greatly from both moderate liberalism and gandhianism. He was strongly influenced by Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra and also attracted to the political ideas of Aurobindo Ghosh. Two his attraction in the political ideas he became one of the socialist reformer is era.

Background.

Bhupendra Dutta was MN Roy's associate. He is brief Association with Revolutionary group was crucial to his career. M.N Roy visited to Mexico where he was influenced by socialist Idea. He was associated with the formation of Mexican Communist Party. Had difference of opinion with Lenin at the end of second Congress of communist on the strategically tactics to apply to National and colonial question. Roy went to Russia to attend second Congress of communist.

According to Roy the Communist Party had to engage themselves wholly in the struggle of class interest of working people. They should lend moral and material support to Revolutionary forces of colonial countries. Roy had a difference of opinion with Lenin and with the role of Gandhi in national movement. Lenin believed Gandhi was an inspiring leader of national movement but Roy thought Gandhi was cultural revivalist. Roy developed a theory of non capitalistic path of development to support his thesis.

MN Roy like Trotsky apply the Marxian model of late capitalism to colonial countries. According to Sudipto Kobiraj commented that Roy's picture of political economy of colonial India was eminent to Marxian description of Germany in mid 19th century. Roy underestimated the influence of nationalistic party on the proletariat. Roy had not visualise that proletariat masses considered bourgeoisie leader and organisation as representative of national rather as spokesman of the interest of the bourgeoisie.

Phases of Party.

MN Roy recognised the contribution of Marx in giving a new social philosophy but he rejected interpretation of Marxism by contemporary communist. MN Roy lived in Russia for pretty long time and got a opportunity of watching the implementation of Communist ideals. But ultimately he was completely dissolution. He felt that socialism or Communism would be nothing more than state capitalism. According to Roy a political and economic system with subordinate man for abstract collective ego cannot became suitable means for attainment of freedom full stop according to die dictatorship of any kind was inconsistence with the ideals for freedom. The claim of Communist that proletarian dictatorship with plant economy bring greatest good of the greatest number has been tested and proved wrong.

MN Roy was equally critical of Western democracy especially parliamentary democracy.

Democracy which means only counting of heads when heads have no freedom to live in dignity is a mere deception. Modern democracy wants to be in power and for this they want to keep people backward. Under parliamentary system intelligence integrity, wisdom, model excellence do not count for much. According to Roy there was no recognition of the importance of individual in social life and freedom in parliamentary democracy. In parliamentary democracy does not allow individual to participate in the regular functioning of political life.

Without believing in any revealed wisdom Roy asked people to learn from the record of human experience. A new world of freedom and Social Justice could not result from near economic reorganisation of society or captured the political power by a party representing the poor and exploited mass. For establishing a society constituted of free individual and for providing equal opportunity to all for unfolding rational

moral and creative potentialities Roy put forward a radical approach known as **“Radicalism”** or **“Radical Humanism”**.

MN Roy's Radical Humanism.

MN Roy called his Humanism new or radical as he thought to gain force by the discovery of science. He does call it scientific humanism. Roy totally rejected religious humanism and tried to give humanism a materialistic base, so he reinterpreted human nature in the light of discovery of Science and according to it he redefined human nature having two main characteristics: rationality and urge for freedom. MN Roy opened that rationality was not a divine Spark and he tried to relate it to the law-governed physical universe. Rationality is the foundation of morality. Man is rational and hence moral, consequently Roy was trying to insist that man can lead a purely moral life without having any faith in religion whatsoever; hence he tried to give morality or morality a secular basis.

The second characteristics of human nature is the urge for freedom. To Roy it is a continuation of higher level of the struggle for existence which is dominance in the entire animal world. but men's struggle not only to exist but also to prosper. Hence in man there is a struggle for freedom full stop this freedom is Defined by Roy as the unfoldment of the potentially lying within the man as a biological organism.

According to the scheme of radical Humanism MN Roy declared that there should be a network of people committee and the throughout the country and the people organised in this committee would be treated as the basis of the new democratic scheme. Roy said that the election candidate would be chosen by this committee from among its members. Hence he called his democracy organised and not atomised including in it all people. The election also would be done and organised by this people's committee. After the election, the elected candidate would not be responsible to any

political party but to this people's committee. He must maintain close connection with the committee and explain the problems and grievances with the areas of the committee before the legislature or the parliament.

Critical Evaluation.

The principle of radical humanism was does a total renunciation of Marxism Roy's own view of presiding period and rejecting parliamentary democracy. However Roy's views were considered by the critics to be too idealistic and not so practical. Hence one finds that his thoughts and ideology have made a very little pragmatic impact in our country except true conceptual ideas. It is true that raise criticism on party system and parliamentary democracy are just incorrect when he claimed that politics should be scientific, rational and moral. However the alternative path to party system and parliamentary democracy which MN Roy's struggled was also quite impractical to establish and difficult to pursue in an illiterate country like India.

Conclusion.

The only tangible lesson that one can derive from MN Roy's teaching is to seriously take into consideration his virulent criticism of parliamentary democracy and party rule and therefore attempt to cure this system of its Evil as much as possible. MN Roy was a man of action and wanted the world to adopt his philosophy as a healing light of the future. Unfortunately Roy could not find time to elaborate his thesis of new humanism and could not get an opportunity to apply to its practice. Thus in spite of all criticism levelled against MN Roy his contribution to Indian political thought cannot be denied.

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SEMESTER – SEMESTER 4

**TOPIC- MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S TWO NATION
THEORY**



11/1/2024



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INTRODUCTION

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was an Indian politician who successfully campaigned for an independent Pakistan and became its first leader. He is known there as '**Quaid-I Azam**' or '**Great Leader**'. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 in Karachi, now in Pakistan, but then part of British-controlled India. His father was a prosperous Muslim merchant. Jinnah studied at Bombay University and at Lincoln's Inn in London. He then ran a successful legal practice in Bombay.

Early years

Jinnah was the eldest of seven children of Jinnahbhai Poonja, a prosperous merchant, and his wife, Mithibai. His family was a member of the Khoja caste, Hindus who had converted to Islam centuries earlier and who were followers of the Aga Khan.

After being taught at home, Jinnah was sent in 1887 to the Sind Madrasat al-Islam (now Sindh Madressatul Islam University) in Karachi. Later he attended the Christian Missionary Society High School (also in Karachi), where at the age of 16 he passed the matriculation examination of the University of Bombay (now University of Mumbai). On the advice of an English friend, his father decided to send him to England to acquire business experience. Jinnah, however, had made up his mind to become a barrister.

In London he joined Lincoln's Inn, one of the legal societies that prepared students for the bar. In 1895, at the age of 19, he was called to the bar. He completed his formal studies and also made a study of the British political system, frequently visiting the House of Commons. He was greatly influenced by the liberalism of William E. Gladstone, who had become prime minister for the

fourth time in 1892, the year of Jinnah's arrival in London. Jinnah also took a keen interest in the affairs of India and in Indian students. When the Parsi leader Dadabhai Naoroji, a leading Indian nationalist, ran for the British Parliament, Jinnah and other Indian students worked day and night for him. When Jinnah returned to Karachi in 1896, he found that his father's business had suffered losses and that he now had to depend on himself. He decided to start his legal practice in Bombay (now Mumbai), but it took him years of work to establish himself as a lawyer.

It was nearly 10 years later that he turned actively toward politics. A man without hobbies, he divided his interest between law and politics. Nor was he a religious zealot: he was a Muslim in a broad sense and had little to do with sects.

HIS ENTRY INTO POLITICS

Jinnah first entered politics by participating in the 1906 session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta (now Kolkata), in which the party began to split between those calling for dominion status and those advocating independence for India. Four years later he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, the beginning of a long and distinguished parliamentary career. In Bombay he came to know, among other important Congress Party personalities, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the eminent Maratha leader. Greatly influenced by those nationalist politicians, Jinnah aspired during the early part of his political life to become "a Muslim Gokhale." Admiration for British political institutions and an eagerness to raise the status of India in the international community and to develop a sense of Indian nationhood among the peoples of India were the chief elements of his politics. At that time, he still looked upon Muslim interests in the context of Indian nationalism.

But, by the beginning of the 20th century, the conviction had been growing among the Muslims that their interests demanded the preservation of their separate identity rather than amalgamation in the Indian nation that would for all practical purposes be Hindu. Largely to safeguard Muslim interests, the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906. But Jinnah remained aloof from it. Only in 1913, when authoritatively assured that the league was as devoted as the Congress Party to the political emancipation of India, did Jinnah join the league. When the Indian Home Rule League was formed, he became its chief organizer in Bombay and was elected president of the Bombay branch.

HIS POLITICAL UNITY

Jinnah's endeavours to bring about the political union of Hindus and Muslims earned him the title of "**the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity**," an epithet coined by Gokhale. It was largely through his efforts that the Congress Party and the Muslim League began to hold their annual sessions jointly, to facilitate mutual consultation and participation. In 1915 the two organizations held their meetings in Bombay and in 1916 in Lucknow, where the Lucknow Pact was concluded. Under the terms of the pact, the two organizations put their seal to a scheme of constitutional reform that became their joint demand vis-à-vis the British government. There was a good deal of give and take, but the Muslims obtained one important concession in the shape of separate electorates, already conceded to them by the government in 1909 but hitherto resisted by Congress.

Meanwhile, a new force in Indian politics had appeared in the person of Mahatma Gandhi. Both the Home Rule League and the Congress Party had come under his sway. Opposed to Gandhi's non-cooperation movement and his essentially Hindu approach to politics, Jinnah left both the league and the Congress Party in 1920. For a few years he kept himself aloof from the main political movements. He continued to be a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and constitutional methods for the achievement of political ends. After his withdrawal from Congress, he used the Muslim League platform for the propagation of his views. But during the 1920s the Muslim League, and with it Jinnah, had been overshadowed by Congress and the religiously oriented Muslim Khilafat movement.

When the failure of the non-cooperation movement and the emergence of Hindu revivalist movements led to antagonism and

riots between Hindus and Muslims, the Muslim League began to lose strength and cohesion, and provincial Muslim leaders formed their own parties to serve their needs. Thus, Jinnah's problem during the following years was to convert the Muslim League into an enlightened, unified political body prepared to cooperate with other organizations working for the good of India. In addition, he had to convince the Congress Party, as a prerequisite for political progress, of the necessity of settling the Hindu-Muslim conflict.

To bring about such a rapprochement was Jinnah's chief purpose during the late 1920s and early 1930s. He worked toward this end within the legislative assembly, at the Round Table Conference in London (1930-32), and through his "14 points," which included proposals for a federal form of government, greater rights for minorities, one-third representation for Muslims in the central legislature, separation of the predominantly Muslim Sindh region from the rest of the Bombay province, and introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province. His failure to bring about even minor amendments in the Nehru Committee proposals over the question of separate electorates and reservation of seats for Muslims in the legislatures frustrated him. He found himself in a peculiar position at that time: many Muslims thought that he was too nationalistic in his policy and that Muslim interests were not safe in his hands, while the Congress Party would not even meet the moderate Muslim demands halfway. Indeed, the Muslim League was a house divided against itself. The Punjab Muslim League repudiated Jinnah's leadership and organized itself separately. In disgust, Jinnah decided to settle in England. From 1930 to 1935 he remained in London, devoting himself to practice before the Privy Council. But when constitutional changes were in the offing, he was persuaded to return home to head a reconstituted Muslim League.

Soon preparations started for the elections under the Government of India Act of 1935. Jinnah was still thinking in terms of cooperation between the Muslim League and the Hindu-controlled Congress Party and with coalition governments in the provinces. But the elections of 1937 proved to be a turning point in the relations between the two organizations. Congress obtained an absolute majority in six provinces, and the league did not do particularly well. The Congress Party decided not to include the league in the formation of provincial governments, and exclusive all-Congress governments were the result. Relations between Hindus and Muslims started to deteriorate, and soon Muslim discontent became boundless.

JINNAH: TWO NATION THEORY

The Bhakti movement, Din-e-Ilahi and other similar ideologies, which tried to absorb Islam into Hinduism, prompted Muslim scholars to attempt to preserve the purity of Islam. After the British occupation of the subcontinent, the domination by Hindus, backwardness of Muslims and the threat for their survival, coupled with sporadic clashes between Hindus and Muslims led to the two-nation theory. As time passed in the Indian National Movement, communal violence erupted between Hindus and Muslims. These instances of hatred made Jinnah think a vital fact: achieving Hindu-Muslim unity would become complicated and eventually impracticable. One such action was the Nehru Report of 1928 that refused to give separate electorate to the Muslims and allowed reservations for them only in areas where Muslims were a minority.

Jinnah was thus drawn towards the Muslim League and demanded more rights and opportunities for the Muslim community. The two-nation theory was a concept that emphasised a separate state for the Muslims in the subcontinent. Jinnah's Two Nation Theory harped on three crucial attributes. **Firstly**, he believed that the Hindus and Muslims inhabiting the vast subcontinent are not two communities but should be considered as two nations in many aspects.

Secondly, Hinduism and Islam are not two religions in the strict sense of the term, but different and distinct social orders. Hence they are incompatible to each other requiring a separate territory for their existence.

Finally, Hindus and Muslims follow two contrasting religious philosophies having two distinct lineages. They cannot co-exist as a community since they follow two different strands of thought.

The theory describes Muslims as a nation, with different culture, heritage, values and civilisation. By 1939 Jinnah came to believe in a Muslim homeland on the Indian subcontinent. In Jinnah's own words, "we (Muslims) are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life". According to Jinnah, Hindus and Muslims were not able to live together therefore Jinnah's vision was that Muslims should have an independent state where they can practice their religion freely and live peacefully.

The Two Nations Theory: Result- According to Stanley Wolpert "Few individuals significantly alter the course of history; fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation state and Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three". The Indian National Congress wanted India to remain united as a secular state with equality for followers of all religions. But Muslim leaders like **Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Chaudhari Rehmat Ali and Allama Iqbal** became advocates of the demand of creation of the new domain for Muslims called '**Pakistan**'.

The skeleton of the 'Two Nation Theory' rendered life in the Allahabad Session of 1930 and Lahore Session of 1940 of the Muslim League – the common demand in both the sessions being the demand for a separate province for the Muslim fraternity. In Jinnah's own words, "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions." So, "It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality," he

added. Under total support of Muslim League and Jinnah Hindu-Muslim riots and severe violence erupted in pre-independent India. Their agenda was clear "Larke Lenge Pakistan" (we must gain Pakistan through fighting). So, the Freedom of India was sealed with a curse – the Curse of the Partition which divided the unified nation into India and Pakistan. Jinnah and his Two Nations Theory is explicitly considered responsible for the unwarranted 'Partition'.

Creator of Pakistan

Jinnah had originally been dubious about the practicability of Pakistan, an idea that the poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal had propounded to the Muslim League conference of 1930, but before long he became convinced that a Muslim homeland on the Indian subcontinent was the only way of safeguarding Muslim interests and the Muslim way of life. It was not religious persecution that he feared so much as the future exclusion of Muslims from all prospects of advancement within India, as soon as power became vested in the close-knit structure of Hindu social organization. To guard against that danger, he carried out a nationwide campaign to warn his coreligionists of the perils of their position, and he converted the Muslim League into a powerful instrument for unifying the Muslims into a nation.

At that point, Jinnah emerged as the leader of a nascent Muslim nation. Events began to move fast. On March 22–23, 1940, in Lahore, the league adopted a resolution to form a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The Pakistan idea was at first ridiculed and then tenaciously opposed by the Congress Party. But it captured the imagination of the Muslims. Pitted against Jinnah were many influential Hindus and the British government seemed to be intent on maintaining the political unity of the Indian subcontinent. But Jinnah led his movement with such skill and

tenacity that ultimately both the Congress Party and the British government had no option but to agree to the partitioning of India. Pakistan thus emerged as an independent state in **1947**.

Jinnah became the first head of the new state. Faced with the serious problems of a young country, he tackled Pakistan's problems with authority. He was not regarded as merely the governor-general. He was revered as the **Father of the Nation**.

CONCLUSION

Jinnah's Two Nations Theory was and is considered responsible for many religious violence, riots in pre-independent India, Independent India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, Soon after Jinnah's death, the countrymen succumbed to the centrifugal forces of religious intolerance unleashed by the notion that Muslims were so different from Hindus that they constituted a nation of their own. Jinnah's assumption of "one unified nation for Muslims" was proved to be wrong when the majority of Muslim population of Indian subcontinent decided to stay in India after partition. Pakistan itself got divided in 1971 in the form of Bangladesh. Some historians like H M Seervai and Ayesha Jalal assert that Jinnah never wanted partition, it was the outcome of the Congress leaders being unwilling to share power with the Muslim League. It is asserted that Jinnah only used the Pakistan demand as a method to mobilise support to obtain significant political rights for Muslims and has gained the admiration of major Indian nationalist politicians like Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani—the latter's comments praising Jinnah caused an uproar in his own Bharatiya Janata Party. The scenario of now is , most of the Pakistanis still worship him as "Quaid-e-Azam" (Greatest Leader) and most of the Indians blame Jinnah for 'collusively' partitioning India on the basis of religion.

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ANEESHA SENGUPTA

TOPIC- Muhammad Ali Jinnah's
"Two Nation Theory"

CC-8

11 APR 2023



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POLITICAL SCIENCE TUTORIAL



MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S
"TWO NATION THEORY"

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

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SIGNATURE OF STUDENT

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TOPIC- MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S "TWO NATION THEORY"



INTRODUCTION-

The Founder and the First Governor- General of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah also known as Qaid-i-Azam was born on 25th December 1876 and died on 11th September 1948. He was both born and died in Karachi, Pakistan. Jinnah had won a great fame as a subtle lawyer and had acquired a great practice at the legal profession. In 1906, he worked as a private

secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji. Gopal Krishna Gokhale had high hopes from Jinnah as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He had said "He has true stuff in him, and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu - Muslim Unity.

Jinnah was a nationalist, he started off as a staunch secularist, advocating from Hindu-Muslim Unity. However, after 19⁴3, he propounded the Two-Nation Theory, which held that Hindus and Muslims who could not live together. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is one of the most controversial figures in modern Indian history. India's collective consciousness and popular imagination still consider him a villain who was instrumental in creating Pakistan.

VIEWS OF JINNAH-

Muhammad Ali Jinnah's practical politics determined his political thought. Jinnah was influenced by the liberal and secular ideas of John Morley, the greatest disciple of John Stuart Mill remained Jinnah's hero. Jinnah was initially influenced by British Liberalism. He was also greatly inspired by personalities and associated with the Indian Liberals like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale S.N. Banerjee, R.C. Das and Pherozeshah Mehta. Jinnah joined the national movement as a Liberal Nationalist. He had uncompromising faith in the concept of Nationalism, Democracy, Secularism and in the unity of the country. He believed in constitutional methods for the emancipation of India from the Foreign Domination. He had worked hard to bring the two communities together. Jinnah was critical

of religious orthodoxy and the sectarian views of priestly classes of both communities. He did not agree with the Aligarh Movement or Syed Ahmed Khan that if the British left India, Hindu Raj would be established. He disagreed with Gandhiji on the issue of mixing Politics with Religion. He opposed sectarian ideologies, caste, gender hierarchies and the inhuman value systems. He considered human liberation from social and religious bondage as an important component of democratic transformation of society. He believe that the developments such as growth of feeling of patriotism and nationalism were the result of attitudes and policies of the British Government. Jinnah was invited to the Council of Meeting of Muslim League where he went as a Congressman. Jinnah felt that the involvement of the masses affected the liberal character of the Indian National Congress.

Therefore, he left the INC and started contradicting whatever he said earlier.

JINNAH'S TWO NATION THEORY-

Initially he believed in one nation theory. He emphasised the unity between the Hindus and Muslims. India had a single nationality. This nationalism was a liberal and secular nationalism. He rejected the separate electorate propounded by the Morley Minto Reform of 1909 but paradoxically he became the Calcutta Councils of Muslim Member of Bombay. After 1937, Jinnah's politics took a different course. He enunciated the 'Two Nation Theory' to advance the interests of his co-religionists after the British withdrawal from the Indian subcontinent. The partition of India caused catastrophic and untold misery.

for the Muslims who remained in post-colonial India. The 'Two Nation Theory' had germinated much before Jinnah. The late 19th century witnessed the evolution of this theory. Muslim modernist and reformer Sir Syed Ahmad Khan started the movement for self-awakening and identity. He established the Aligarh Muslim University. Jinnah translated the two-nation theory into the political reality of a nation state. He argued that the Muslims of the subcontinent were separate and a distinct nation from the Hindus. He wanted to negotiate a constitutional arrangement based on equitable sharing of power between the Congress and Muslim League, representing Hindus and Muslims respectively. The Congress insisted on the unity of the nation and refused to share power at British India's unitary centre. It paved the way for the articulation of the Two-Nation Theory by

Jinnah and the subsequent partition of India. Jinnah stated that Hindus and Muslims belonged to two different religious philosophies, with different social customs and literature, with no intermarriage and based on conflicting ideas and concepts. Their outlook on life and of life was different and despite one thousand years of history, the relations between the Hindus and Muslims could not attain any level of cordiality. He considered religion as the basis of nation. For rationalisation of his Two Nation Theory, he argued that they are not simply religions, but a distinct cultural and national community. Jinnah's speech in Pakistan's Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947 throws light on the nature of the Pakistani state. The father of Pakistan had dreamt of a secular state which would guarantee not only every citizen's freedom to practice his or her religion but also

ensure that they would not be discriminated by the state on the basis of religion, race and caste. Even after establishing Pakistan on the basis of two-nation theory and religion, he wanted a modern, liberal, secular and democratic state. Delivering the presidential address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he talked about an inclusive and impartial government, religious freedom, rule of law and equality for all. He also argued for the separation of church and state. He assured the minorities, i.e., non-Muslims that they would be treated on the basis of equality of mankind. He argued that the minorities would enjoy fullest security of life, property and honour. Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated on equal footing. He further argued that the new state would function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

Jinnah was not sure about what the ultimate shape of the constitution of Pakistan was going to be, but he visualised Pakistan polity to be structured on democracy and secularism.

CONCLUSION

Muslim communal leaders had defeated and repudiated his policy. He did not budge from his ideological position even under pressure from conservative Muslim sections. He remained a defender of Hindu-Muslim co-operation. He considered the Hindu-Muslim issue as a national one which had to be solved in a national way. Jinnah viewed that the Hindu-Muslim unity as a 'sine qua non' of the any future constitution. A constitution would be successful if it provided a comprehensive sense of security to the Muslim community. He argued that 'no constitution will ever receive the support of the minorities unless they can

feel that they, as an entity, are secured under the proposed constitution'. Jinnah repudiated Congress' claim that it represented the entire nation. He argued that any future constitutional structure must protect and safeguard the position and interest of the Muslims. This demand of the Muslims did not go against the basic principles of secularism. Muslims stood shoulder to shoulder with Hindu communities and did not lag behind in their patriotic co-operation with Hindus. Even after establishing Pakistan on the basis of two-nation theory and religion, he wanted a modern, liberal, secular and democratic state. Jinnah advocated the compatibility of democracy and Islamic principles. The ideological structure of Islam's world view was conducive to democracy. He argued that democracy was in consonance with the principles of Islam. He did not advocate an

orthodox Islamic state. Islam would provide ethical value to the modern democratic structure of the state.

THE END

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M. N.
ROY'S
RADICAL
HUMANISM

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INTRODUCTION

Manabendranath Roy was a revolutionary who symbolised a new ideology of the freedom movement that differed greatly from both moderate liberalism and Gandhism. He was strongly influenced by swami Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and was also attracted to the political ideas of Aurobindo Ghosh. Supendranath Dutta was his associate. His brief association with revolutionary group was crucial to his career. It was not an apprenticeship in making a revolution, but his terrorist days may have shaped some of his personal dislikes. This revolutionary group did not rely on mass support. There were inherent mistakes in the techniques and methods of this group. After its failure M. N. Roy went to Mexico where he was influenced by socialist ideas. He was associated with the formation; of the Mexican Communist Party.

M. N. Roy had differences of opinion with Lenin at the second Congress of the Comintern on the strategian tactics to apply to the national and colonial questions. Roy went to Russia to attend the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Both Lenin and Roy had disputes on the issues of Burgeoise democratic revolution.

BACKGROUND

In the beginning of his political career, MN was active Marxist and was in close contact with the Soviet Communist leader like Lenin and Stalin. However, later he was expelled from the Comintern due to his differences with Stalin after which he came back to India and founded his radical Democratic Party. But soon after as the 2nd World War broke out MN began to move away from the Soviet Union and the ideals of Marxism.

MN was thouroughly dissolution by the Soviet system as it amounted to a virtual totalitarian system where the state instead of withering away established itself more firmly. Instead of the dictatorship of the Proletariat what really was established was the dictatorship of the Communist Party which controlled all social organizations like the Soviets trade union, and cooperative movements. But Roy realized that this was anti thetical to freedom, so he designated Soviet state socialism as State Capitalism. He however did not blame Stalin for misdirecting the soviet Revolution but insisted that the Soviet experiment failed to give freedom because of the fallacies inherent in Marxism. This made MN to move away from Marxism and enunciate his new philosophy of Radical Humanism in 1946.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Radical Humanism assumes that man in humanism is not just the object of social organization, but also its maker. So MN called his humanism new or radical as he thought it to be reinforced by the discoveries of Science. He thus called his humanism scientific. Roy totally rejected religious humanism and tried to give humanism a materialistic basis. So he interpreted human nature in the light of the discoveries of Science and accordingly he reasoned human nature as two main characteristics, rationality and an urge for freedom. Roy tried to give both a materialistic foundation.

M. N. Roy opined that rationality was not a divine spark and he tried to relate it to the law of governed physical universe. He insisted that coming out from the background of law governed universe, man is essentially rational. Man having a brain and a nervous system is conscious of the law governed process of physical nature and begins to think in terms of cause and effect. Thus he becomes rational. To Roy, Rationality is a foundation of morality. Man is rational and hence moral. Consequently Roy was trying to insist that a man can lead a purely moral life without facing any faith in whatsoever religion. Hence he tried to give morality a secular basis.

The 2nd characteristic of human nature, the urge for freedom to Roy is a continuation of the higher level of the struggle for existence, which is dominant in the entire animal world. But man struggles not only to exist but also to prosper, hence, in men there is a struggle for freedom. This freedom is defined by Roy as the unfoldment of the potentialities lying within man as a biological organism. This struggle

for freedom leaves man to a search for truth which to Roy is a content of knowledge. Thus while in the animal world the struggle for existence takes the form of adaptation to the environment; in the human world the struggle for freedom takes the form of changing the environment. Man can change the environment as he has knowledge. Hence ideas are knowledge to Roy has a crucial role to play in the making of history.

To M. N. Roy ideation is a physiological process and ideas have an autonomous existence. So ideas are not mere superstructure. On economic mode of production and have a logic of its own development. In Roy's opinion this is the dialectics of ideas meaning that one idea gives rise to another without any change in the economic foundation of the country. Through MN made a lot of stress on ideation, he did not abandon it and insisted that ideas have physical foundation and cannot exist in an embodied state.

To M. N. Roy ideas have an important role to play in human history. Ideas being conceived by individuals who are of much more importance than any collective ego. This trend of thought made M.N. Roy a champion of democracy though he was totally against the concept of parliamentary democracy.

M. N. Roy held that the democratic idea of popular sovereignty is not realized through the institutions of parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary democracy is based on delegation of power. Moreover, Roy felt that in democracy people should exercise their sovereign authority on a constant basis and not just during elections held periodically, moreover, he felt that parliamentary democracy is even more viciated due to the right of party system. During the

elections the parties select the candidates to be nominated for elections, run and finance election campaigns and after the elections the elected representatives remain responsible only to the party. So parliamentary democracy promotes party rule and not just the rule of people. Also in the party rule the powers are concentrated only in one or few leaders, thus it is a negation of democracy. Also party rule gives rise to immortality in practical politics. The elections thus become a mere scramble for power, without considerations of truth and morality, as the parties went to capture power by any means, fair or foul. But MN as a humanist tried to give politics a truly moral basis. Hence, he rejected parliamentary democracy with its party rule and delegation of power and expounded his own scheme of democracy termed as radical or organized democracy.

According to the scheme of Radical Democracy, MN declared that there should be a network of People's Committees throughout the country and the people organized in these committees would be treated as the basis of the new democratic scheme. Roy said that the election candidates would be chosen by these committees from among its members. Hence he called his democracy organized and not atomized including in it all people. The elections also would be run and organized by the People's Committees. After elections the elected candidates would not be responsible to any political party to which he might belong, but to these People's Committees. He must maintain close connection with the Committees and explain the problems and grievances of the area of the Committees before the legislature or the Parliament.

OPPOSITION BY CAPITALISM

MN Roy's Radical Humanism was opposed by capitalism as it promotes exploitation and socialism as it inhibits individual freedom. Hence, Roy gave his scheme of Cooperative economy where all workers shall remain the owners of the factory. They will collectively own and run factories. Roy believed as by nature man is rational and moral, he cooperates with one another in order to run and control the factories. Thus in his view of economics we find that like M. N. Roy was opposed to socialism and capitalism. But the path that he advocated was different from that of Mahatma Gandhi who advocated the trusteeship system.

M. N. Roy however believed that his ideals of humanism can never really be achieved in a country that is devoid of political consciousness and education. So he insisted any programme for Democracy and Humanism but he was convinced that political parties cannot help spread education in the country as they are interested only in capturing power. With this consideration in mind Roy dissolved his Radical Democratic Party in 1948 and launched his campaign to spread education. This campaign Roy believed was a Renaissance of the 20th century.

CONCLUSION

M. N. Roy thus propounded an elaborate view on what he called Radical or new Humanism which stood for the ideals of Democratic Freedom and Economic equality. He opined that new Humanism advocates a social reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of free men, by the cooperative endeavor of spirituality emancipated moral men. The commonwealth and fraternity of free men would not be limited by the boundaries of the national state – Capitalist, Facist, Socialist or Communist or of any other kinds which would gradually disappear under the impact of the 20th century renaissance of man. The conduct of public affairs by spiritually free individuals could guarantee the Fundamental Democratic Principles – the greatest good of the greatest number.

The Principle of Radical Humanism was thus a total renunciation of Marxism, M. N. Roy's own views of the preceding and rejectioner of the parliamentary Democracy. His intolerance of religion and nationalism remains unchanged. This new philosophy was seen by political analyst as, a resuscitation of the rationalist humanism of the European Renaissance and which perhaps explains this fascination for the Renaissance motives.

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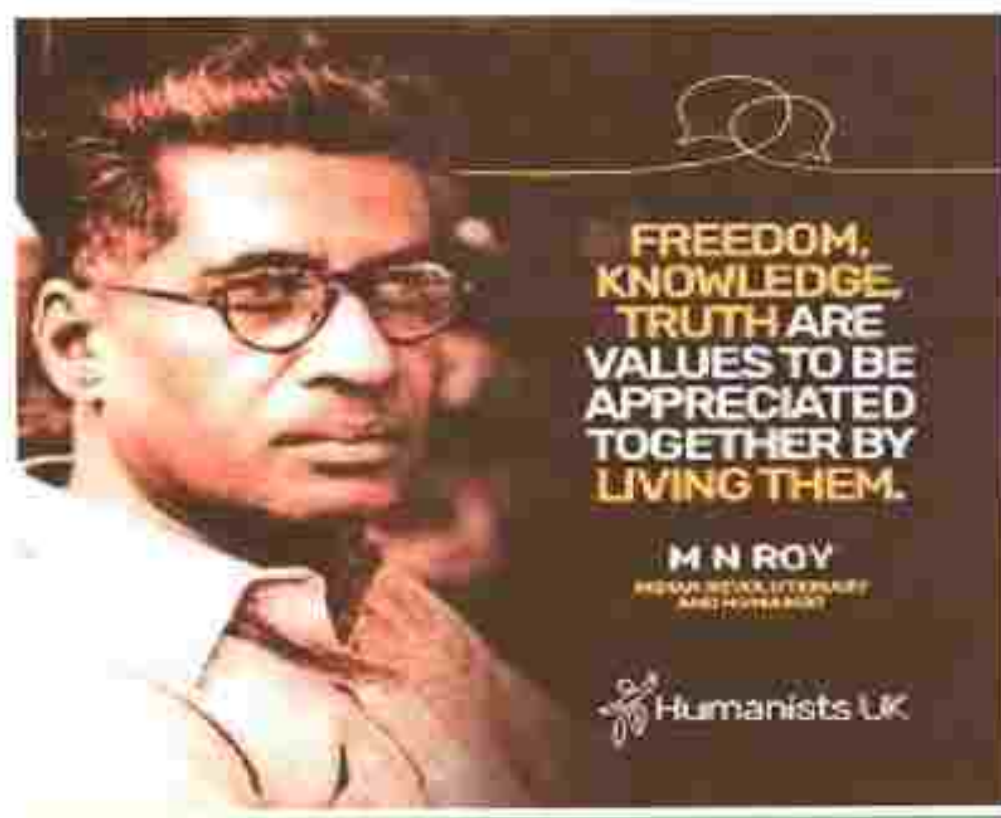
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“THANK YOU”

SIGNATURE OF TEACHER.

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Sanjita Prasad.

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❖ INTRODUCTION:-



M.N. Roy or Manavendra Nath Roy was born on February 1886 at Arbelia (North 24 Parganas), West Bengal into a family of priests. His earlier name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. During his childhood, Roy visited *maths* and *ashrams* to educate himself. His father, Dinabandhu Bhattacharya, also taught him Sanskrit and ancient Indian texts. He was a revolutionary from his student days. In his early years he was influenced by Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, Swami ram tirtha and Dayanand Saraswathi.

He was enthusiastic about the political ideas of Aurobindo Ghosh, bipin Chandra pal and Surendra Nath Banerjee. The oratorical gusto of pal and Banerjee moved him. At 14, Roy joined the underground revolutionary organisation Anushilan Samiti. After it was banned, he helped to organise the Yugan tara Group under the leadership of Jatin Mukherjee. He also worked in cooperation with the leaders and workers of the Yugan tara group. Roy described meeting Mukherjee as a turning point in his life.

He wrote in *My Experiences in China*, "At that time I did not know what was the attraction...later on, I realised what attracted me: It was his personality." He drew considerable inspiration and quickening influence from the life of sacrifice and sufferings of V.D. Savarkar.



ALM. Big official release from JAL, collected by R.S. Harnam, Marjorie Kinn, Yusuf Khatib, Lailaevati Alundi (1914)

Roy also participated in a series of political dacoities against British rule. In November 1908, he shot dead Nandalal Banerjee, the police officer who had arrested revolutionary Khudiram Bose. Bose (18) was hanged for an attempt to assassinate Douglas Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

In 1915, after World War I had begun, Roy made several trips to Indonesia, with help from German contacts, to procure arms to overthrow the British. In 1916, he landed in the United States. Roy was tracked so closely by British Intelligence that the day he landed at San Francisco, a local newspaper published a report headlined, "Mysterious Alien Reaches America, Famous Brahmin Revolutionary or Dangerous German Spy."

This forced him to flee south to Palo Alto, California. It was here that he changed his name from Narendra Nath Bhattacharya and became Manavendra Nath Roy. When the United States participated in WWI, Roy was arrested for his anti-colonial leanings. He jumped bail and escaped to Mexico. In Mexico, he became a vocal advocate of the socialist state and founded the Mexican Communist Party in 1917. In *M.N. Roy's Memoirs*, he wrote, "...Mexico was the land of my rebirth...during my stay in Mexico... new vision became clear

and the dissatisfaction with a sterile past was replaced by a conviction to guide me in a more promising future."

Roy was a restless spirit always on the move. Inspired by his experiences in Mexico, Roy founded the Communist Party of India in 1920 along with six other leaders at Tashkent now in Uzbekistan. He also travelled to Moscow to attend the second conference of the Communist International. There he formed a favourable impression of Communists leader Vladimir Lenin, met Joseph Stalin and became a part of the Communist International.

By 1926, he was serving the policy-making bodies of the Communist International and in 1927, he visited China. Roy's mission to make Chinese Communist Party implement guidelines by the Communist International failed. Following this, he was expelled from the Communist International in September 1929.



Roy returned to India in 1930 and was sentenced to six years imprisonment in 1931 for his involvement in 1924 Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case. Roy and other senior communist leaders, including S.A. Dange and Shaikat Usmani,



were arrested for trying "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution."

While in jail, Roy wrote *Prison Manuscripts*, a set of nine thick volumes. These have not been published in totality. They are preserved at Nehru Memorial Museum and National Archives of India, New Delhi. After his release in 1936, Roy joined the Indian National Congress. He left the party later in 1940 as a result of Congress' reluctance to aid the British in World War II. In 1946, Roy established the Indian Renaissance Institute at Dehradun in order to develop the Indian Renaissance Movement. Roy died of a heart attack on 25 January 1954.

❖ FROM NATIONALISM TO RADICAL HUMANISM: -

M.N. Roy had a chequered and colourful political career. He represented a new ideology within the nationalist discourse which was opposed to moderate liberalism and Gandhism. He vigorously advocated for grass root politics. It is in this context that an attempt has been made through paper to contextualize and analyse critically political ideas of M.N. Roy which went through four successive phases of militant nationalism (1912-16), Marxism (1917-29), modified Marxism (1930-36) and radical humanism (1937-54).

❖ THE FIRST PHASE OF MILITANT NATIONALISM: IN SEARCH OF ARMS: -



M.N. Roy was a nationalist and revolutionary during his first stage of his thinking. Roy began his political career as a militant nationalist at the age of 14, when he was still a student. He joined an underground organization called *Anushilan Samiti*, and when it was banned, he helped in organizing *Yugan tara Group* under the leadership of Jatin Mukherji. In 1915, after the beginning of the First World War, Roy left India for Java in search of arms for organizing an insurrection to overthrow the British rule in India. From then on, he moved from country to country, using fake passports and different names in his attempt to secure German arms.

Finally, after wandering through Malay, Indonesia, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, Korea and China, in June 1916, he landed at San Francisco in United States of America. Roy's attempts to secure arms ended in a failure. The Police repression had shattered the underground organization that Roy had left behind. He had also come to know about the death of his leader, Jatin Mukherji, in an encounter with police. Therefore, we can say that this phase is marked by Roy's role as a militant nationalist.

❖ THE SECOND PHASE: AN ARDENT MARXIST: -



During his second stage he became a Marxist. In his work 'Indian problems and its solutions 1923' he called Congress a bourgeois party with bourgeois leaders like Nehru. His inclination towards Communism began after visiting Moscow in 1920 to attend second Congress of Communist International.

- He accepted all Marxist ideas and theories like historical materialism, dialectical materialism, theory of surplus value and class struggle. Moreover, he also accepted Bolshevik method of revolution, which was propounded by Lenin. Lenin said that Communist Party is the vanguard of the revolution. Therefore, method of revolution should be adopted same for each and every country. M. N. Roy is a founder of communist party in India.
- M.N. Roy is a first thinker who undertook class analysis of Indian society. He believed in inevitability of class struggle. He said that, bringing about communist revolution is the responsibility of communist party of India, which represent the proletariat class.
- Communism can be achieved only through Bolshevism revolution. He argued that failure of non-cooperation movement was hesitant approach of Congress towards revolutionary means of struggle. He believed that there are two exploitative powers

- (a) internal exploitative: power congress
- (b) external exploitative power - (British rule) and accused congress of representing bourgeois class working in close communion with British government.

He never accepted any autonomous and specific strategy of revolution for any particular nation. For him Bolshevik revolution only method to bring about the communist revolution. In his work 'The future of mass movement' he expressed his desire for mass movement but he wanted national movement to be converted into class struggle.



According to M. N. Roy Congress and Swaraj leaders like Moti Lal Nehru represented feudalistic class they antagonistic to interest of proletariat class which includes workers, peasants etc. However, M.N. Roy's influence started fading when Bengal Krishan Party leader Saumendra Nath Tagore in his speech said that communist revolution cannot be brought to India because there are few communist in India, insufficient to mobilize mass movement. In 1929, he was expelled from communist international and returned to India in 1930. Then he was tried in Kanpur conspiracy case and imprisoned for six years.



When Roy returned to India, he was still a full-fledged communist, though he had broken from the Comintern. The forced confinement in jail gave him more time than before for systematic study and reflection. His friends in Germany, especially his future wife, Ellen Gottschalk, kept providing him books, which he wanted to read. Roy had planned to use his prison years for writing a systematic study of 'the philosophical consequences of modern science', which would be in a way a re-examination and re-formulation of Marxism to which he had been committed since 1919.

The reflections which Roy wrote down in jail grew over a period of five years into nine thick volumes (approximately over 3000 lined foolscap-size pages). The 'Prison Manuscripts' have not so far been published in their totality, and are currently preserved in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Archives in New Delhi. However, selected portions from the manuscript were published as separate books in the 1930s and the 1940s. These writings show that Roy was not satisfied with a primarily economic explanation of historical processes.

He studied and tried to assess the role of cultural and ideational factors in traditional and contemporary India, in the rise and expansion of Islam, and in the phenomenon of fascism. He was particularly severe on the conservative professions and practices of neo-Hindu nationalism. Roy tried to reformulate materialism in the light of latest developments in the physical and biological sciences. He was convinced that without the growth and development of a materialist and rationalist outlook in India, neither a renaissance nor a democratic revolution would be possible. In a way, seeds of the philosophy of new humanism which was later developed fully by Roy, were already evident in his jail writings.

❖ THE THIRD PHASE: MODIFIED MARXISM: -

- M.N. Roy came to India in 1930 and was arrested. He was set free from prison in 1936. From 1930 to 1936 Roy felt need to rethink over basic assumption and theoretical vision of Marxism and strategy and tactics of revolution. By the late 1920's a new trend had emerged in Roy's view. These new trends manifested themselves in full during this period. Roy still claimed that his basic ideology was Marxism.
- He maintained that bourgeois democratic independence should be aim of Indian revolution. He held that Indian National congress is progressive organization which can liberate the Indian nationalism from British Imperialist power. In his letters to August Thalheimer, Dehradun, Roy maintained that "Indian workers are too backward politically to play a completely independent role." Indian worker's attempt to establish an independent organization would only serve to isolate them from anti-colonial struggle.
- During early 1920's, M.N. Roy overplayed the maturity of the proletariat to lead national liberation movement and the socialist revolution. Now he came near to Menshevik ideology. He did not rely on revolutionary potential of the working class. It shows nihilistic attitude of Roy.
- In early 1920's Roy advocated that Comintern's goal should be socialist revolution not bourgeois democratic revolution. It should strive to establish socialist society. In late 1920's and 1930's he changed his ideological position. He diluted communist vanguard in a larger democratic and petty bourgeois movement.
- Roy proposed the idea that communism should be replaced by the Jacobinism. In 1940, Roy held that Indian communists should "raise the banner, not of communism, but of Jacobinism." He considered French Jacobin as Marxist of their time. He suggested Indian communists to follow Jacobin ideology. He regarded the slogan of national democratic

revolution ideologically due to petty bourgeois radicalism with Jacobinism as its political expression.

- M.N. Roy considered Indian National Congress as an organ of national struggle with the support of Indian masses. He considered Indian National Congress as nation's democratic forces which had to free revolutionary movement for national independence from leadership of the bourgeoisie, and from Gandhi. He wanted the Congress to get rid from the influence of Gandhism and from that of bourgeoisie. The Congress, according to him, was a mass nationalist movement. It was not the party of any particular class.
- In 1930's Roy considered the Congress as synonymous to united national front. He was opposed to all attempts of left forces to create an organization of working people and revolutionary elements independent of the congress. It tended to weaken the congress. It will go against the ideology of united front. Roy opposed the formation of the congress socialist party inside the congress because it would prevent it from accepting as alternative to Gandhi's programme for a national revolution. It would divide the congress between the proponents and opponents of socialism.

❖ THE FOURTH AND FINAL PHASE: RADICAL HUMANISM:

As the ultimate theoretical construct of M.N. Roy, the philosophy of Radical Humanism or New Humanism represents the zenith of an intellectual journey spanning over a period of over 30 years. His beginning as a brand nationalist was inspired by Marxist ideology later went beyond communism because he was convinced that communism was not the solution to individual liberty and thus, he developed his own philosophy of radical humanism or new humanism. Radical humanism tried to present itself as a philosophy which covers the entire field of human existence from abstract thought to social and political reconstruction. It is unsurprisingly a materialist philosophy. His radical humanism revolved around man. It is man who created the state, society, other institutions for greater welfare and has greater power to change them from greater welfare and convenience.

He was a humanist power excellence and his philosophy is a rational, scientific, secular, and cosmopolitan. His philosophy rejected all kinds of irrationality, superstitions, social bondages, religious fanaticism and state control. It is radical in the sense that it differs from the other mysticism and religious revivalism.

His 'New Humanism, is said to be new, because it is Humanism enriched, reinforced and elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during the centuries of modern civilization. The core of the Radical Humanism of Roy lies in laying greatest emphasis on the personality of the individual as a human being. He was very critical of all those theories and perspectives which did not take individual as the focal point of analysis. He was categorical in propounding that 'Radicalism thinks in terms neither of nation nor class; its concern is man; it conceives freedom as freedom of the individual.

According to him, man's struggle for freedom is the continuation of the biological strygggle for survival at higher levels. Therefore freedom must be defined as aprogressive diappearance of manifold of impediments to unfloding the potentialities which are biologically inherited by man. According to him radical humanism man derives all his virtues and powers from their creative attainment in unravelling the

mysteries of nature. The human being as the central agent of the New Humanism of M.N. Roy, is supposed to be characterised by three fundamental elements of reason, morality and freedom. Roy takes rationality as the unifying element in every human being echoing the notion of harmony in the universe. He considered conscience to be reflex of rationality. Roy pleaded for new humanism which would be based on natural reason and secular conscience, so he considered reason to be an innate metaphysical entity but as an emergent in process of biological evolution.

Morality constitutes another significant trait of man as conceptualised by M.N. Roy. He stated morality stemmed out of the scientific application of human rationality to the dynamics of social relations and mutual adjustments of people with one another. Roy asserts that it aims at translating into reality the collective and common good of the whole society.

Freedom, to Roy, is the supreme value because the urge for freedom is the essence of human existence. according to him freedom is the biological struggle for self-protection and multiplication of the human beings in a somewhat hostile nature. In other words, the human being's quest for finding out the laws of nature and the dynamics of the functioning of the cosmos has the ultimate objective of providing certain clues to him to enable him to get rid of the restrictions imposed by nature. The product of this enterprise is freedom for man. Therefore, the notion of freedom.

The cumulative impact of the elements of reason, morality and freedom on human beings has been to provide a cosmopolitan perspective to the theory of New Humanism. Roy pointed out, New Humanism to be cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan commonwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited by the boundaries of national states—capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist, or of any other kind which will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century renaissance of Man. Elaborating the economic dimensions of New Humanism, Roy pleads for economic reorganisation of the society free from exploitation of one man by another, leading to the establishment of cooperative economy. For this, he pinned his hopes on planned economic development with the virtues of cooperation Roy was prudent enough to factor the role of state in the economic activities of men and considered it as some sort of

necessary evil. Roy maintained that the advent of the mechanism of state was neither due to a social contract nor superimposed on the society. On the contrary, it happened to be a historical and natural phenomenon arising out in the context of the need for a common instrument to ensure the security and order for all in the society. New Humanism believes in the value of humanist politics also, which means, in simple terms, politics not for power but for the purification and rationalisation of the political life of the people. He maintained that party-based political activities in the country are aimed at getting the most out of the people for serving the interests of a privileged few in the society at the cost of the masses. Thus, politics has become a corrupting instrument.

The social fabric of New Humanism is designed by M.N. Roy out of his subtle conclusion that class struggle could not be the only reality in a society. Rather, Roy noted that no society could sustain itself without some sort of cohesiveness existing amongst the people. So Roy was emphatic to give primacy to individuals rather than class in the social formation of new humanism.

To Roy education could be slow but sure emancipator of the people from the shackles of anachronistic and irrational spheres of life. Hence, he pleaded for the denunciation of violent and quick revolution to defend the virtues of morality, rationality, and freedom. According to him education could help people to respond to a particular situation in a rational manner.

❖ CONCLUSION:-

There are two distinct phases in the evolution of M.N. Roy's political ideas: first, instead of blindly following Marxism while seeking to grasp colonialism and nationalism in India, Roy reinterpreted Marxism in a creative manner. By suggesting that the nationalist forces needed to be strengthened in colonies, he provided the most critical inputs to the Marxists who failed to grasp the historical importance of the 'indigenous bourgeoisie' in a particular historical context. This was undoubtedly an innovative idea which was useful in organising the masses against colonialism, especially when the communist parties remained politically peripheral. Similarly, New Humanism of M.N. Roy appears to be a fresh perspective on the system of life prevalent in India during the times of the national movement. Apparently, the most astounding feature of New Humanism seems to be the reassertion of certain values as basic to the realisation of a good life for the people. Hence, rooted in the individualism of human beings, the philosophy of New Humanism rests on the eternal values of reason, morality and freedom, which have been stressed to be the underlying characteristics of the life of the people in modern times. Presenting the theory of New Humanism as a comprehensive and somewhat all-inclusive theoretical construct, Roy seeks to advocate a model of life having a distinct imprint on all the aspects of human life. Thus, in the political field, he calls for the setting up of an organised democracy which would be a party less polity where the run of politics would be inherently humanistic. Economically, New Humanism seeks to provide for a cooperative economy where production would be carried out with the sole purpose of serving human needs under communal ownership of the means of production. Similarly, the social order under New Humanism would be marked by the prevalence of a deep social cohesion amongst the people as against the notion of class struggle, which has been found to permeate the society under Marxian scheme of things. Thus, despite the comprehensiveness and refreshing perspective of the theory of New Humanism, what is tragic on the part of it is that it has found very few takers in India. And it appears

that the same tragedy visits almost all aspects of the intellectual enterprises initiated by M.N. Roy all through his life:

Roy's radical humanism has faced number of discrepancies because the idea of new humanism was advanced by him in the face of his utter dissatisfaction with the theoretical constructs of Marxian ideology. Roy could not resist temptations of his association of his Marxist ideologies. He called for the abolition of political parties and conduct of political activities in order to evolve a model of humanist politics. But such assertion falls flat at the face of their practical value of the country. Thus, we can conclude by saying that Roy's concept was critical rather than constructive.

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GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRL'S COLLEGE

POLITICAL SCIENCE TUTORIAL PROJECT

SEMESTER -IV

Name- Sangita Mandal

University Registration Number- 013-1211-0091-20

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College Roll Number- 20/BAH/0301

Session-2022-2023



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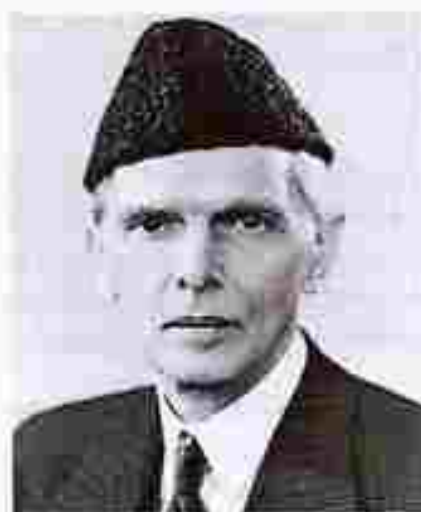
It is not possible to prepare a project without the assistance and encouragement of other people. This one is certainly no exception. The success and outcome of this project were possible by the guidance and support from many people. It required a lot of effort from each individual involved in this project with me and I would like to thank them.

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INTRODUCTION



One of the most divisive figures in the recent history of Indian politics was none other than Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He is still considered by many as the villain who was solely responsible for the creation of Pakistan. He started off as a staunch secularist, advocating Hindu-Muslim unity to face the oppressive and divisive policies of the British government. However, after 1937 he propounded the two-nation theory, which held that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations who could not live together. His story is a fascinating tale from being termed as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity in the initial days of his political life and to be called the man who created Pakistan and the one who divided India. His transformation and resulting political scenarios have left behind a deep legacy in the Indian minds.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born On December 25, 1876, in Karachi as Chandimal Parera Umethra Muhammad Ali Jinnahbhai to a Hindu family by race and a Muslim family by religion. His family converted to Islam from Hinduism and belonged to the Ismaili Shia sect known as Khojas. He attended Gokal Das Tejpal School for primary school and Mission High School for secondary school.

Jinnah left for England at the age of 16 in 1892, but he was already married to Emibai, who died soon after his departure for England. He studied law in London and became a member of the Lincoln's Inn. During his student years in England, Jinnah was influenced by 19th-century British liberalism, like many other future Indian independence leaders. His main intellectual references were peoples like Bentham, Mill, Spencer, and Comte. This political education included exposure to the idea of the democratic nation, and progressive politics. During his stay at England he was deeply influenced by Dadabhai Naoroji, the founder and President of the Indian Society in London, and under him developed a sense of political values, fairness, enthusiasm and patriotism. Jinnah even campaigned for him, when he stood up for elections to the House of Commons.

After finishing his studies in England, he returned to India in 1896 and began practising law, first as a temporary President Magistrate and then as an advocate in Bombay. Jinnah excelled in his profession, gaining a lot of reputation, fame, money, and respect among the Indian intelligentsia's elite. Jinnah became a successful lawyer—gaining particular fame for his skilled handling of the "Caucus Case".

government in India as an integral part of the British empire..." At that time, Gandhi was a mere witness to these events. Since his return from South Africa he was trying to understand India. He was being slowly drawn into various local movements- Champaran in Bihar, Kheda and Ahmedabad in Gujarat. At the Amritsar Congress in 1919, Tilak, Gandhi and Jinnah, all received Montague's initiatives with enthusiasm. But within weeks, the introduction of the Rowlatt Bill spoiled the situation. When Gandhi tried to apply his 'satyagraha' technique, he realised that the masses needed to be trained in non-violence. After some 'Himalayan' failures, and withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement, Gandhi gradually convinced the Congress party of the soundness of his philosophy. Jinnah, however, could not accept Gandhi's new approach.

Muslims formed a movement to defend the Khilafat and sought Gandhi's advice. The Khilafat Movement had religious overtones, and Jinnah was opposed to incorporating religion into politics. Gandhi saw this as an opportunity to integrate Muslims into mainstream nationalist politics and force them to adhere to nonviolence. This was the first major national nonviolent mass uprising in history, but it also marked the end of a relationship between two powerful figures. Gandhi took control of the Congress Party and restructured it in 1920, first at the special Calcutta session and then at Nagpur. Jinnah was humiliated and resigned from the Congress party.

Even after leaving the Congress, Jinnah was part of an initiative in 1924 that called for the unification of all political parties. In 1925, he even attempted to unite parties and provide a new orientation, but the leaders' prejudices prevented such an initiative from succeeding. Despite his failures to unite political parties, he remained an uncompromising nationalist and was vociferous in his opposition to the Simon Commission. His opposition to the Commission even caused a deep divide in the Muslim League, resulting in the formation of a bloc of Muslim leaders led by Mohammed Shafi who chose to work with the Commission. Jinnah attended the All Parties Conference in an attempt to unite both the Congress and the Muslim League in order to dispel Muslim fears of Hindu dominance, but his views were not shared by his contemporaries.

Jinnah supported participation in the Imperial government's Round Table Conference, seeing it as his duty and opportunity to advocate his point of view to the British, a dream to achieve self-rule through constitutional means, i.e., negotiated settlement. Jinnah decided to leave Indian politics and practise law in London after the Round Table Conferences failed. When he returned to politics three years later, his politics shifted and he became a critic of the Congress, labelling them as a communal Hindu organisation.

The Congress questioned Jinnah's representative character and, rather than accepting the nationalist and his views for a united India, pushed him into the lap of the separatist. His demand was to be recognised as the "sole spokesperson" of Muslims, and he was offended by the Congress' election of Maulana Azad as its President. Throughout his life, his goals were to liberate his country, and he considered himself a nationalist until the end.

as a Hindu party seeking to establish "Hindu Raj." He claimed that the establishment of democracy would result in the annihilation of Islam.

Almost at the same time, Muslim students at Cambridge University were launching an agitation for Pakistan's independence. Rahmat Ali, a Cambridge University student, founded the Pakistan National Movement. Iqbal, the poet, inspired him. He published a pamphlet titled "Now or Never: Are We to Live or Perish?" He worked to establish Pakistan, which would apparently include the following regions: Punjab, NWFP (Afghanistan), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan. On March 4, 1934, the Muslim League met in Newaehi to establish party unity. Though Jinnah supported the communal award, which was opposed by the Congress, he abstained from voting on it. Jinnah continued to ignore Rahmat Ali's call for Pakistan and his angry attacks even in 1937. But he changed his position during the election campaign of 1937.

He went on to say that there were "historical" and "cultural" differences between Hindus and Muslims. He considered Hinduism and Islam to be "two completely distinct and separate civilisations." They adhere to various religions, philosophies, and social customs, as well as two distinct bodies of literature. They do not intermarry and do not interline. They were members of two different societies. During the 1937 election campaign, Jawaharlal Nehru refused to acknowledge the existence of the Muslim League. In response to Nehru's attitude, Jinnah stated, "There is a third party (aside from the Congress and the government) in this country, and that is the Muslims." He urged Congress to "leave Muslims alone." At the All India Muslim League session in October 1937, Jinnah complained that the Congress discriminated against the Muslim League in Hindu-dominated areas. During 1938 and 1939, he prioritised the formation of a Muslim mass party. Between the Lucknow session in 1937 and the Lahore session in 1940, the Muslim League's membership grew exponentially. He continued to strive for an independent India that would protect the interests of Muslims. He chastised Congress for enforcing "Bande Matram" (Hail to the Mother). In January 1938, he compared Indian Muslims to "African Negroes" and "Slaves." Jinnah demanded the division of India into "autonomous national states" on March 20, 1940. He did not, however, use the word Pakistan. However, after Jinnah finished his speech in Lahore, the historic Pakistan resolution was passed. Jinnah stated that Hindu Mahasabha leaders wanted to treat Muslims "like Jews in Germany." Jinnah saw the "Quit India" demand as an attempt to "compel Mussalmans to submit to Congress terms of dictation."

Jinnah maintained that "Muslims cannot divorce their religion from politics ... Hence Hindu-Muslim unity or nationalism, signifying homogeneity between them in all non-religious matters, is unimaginable". As a result, Muslims demanded a separate homeland. In July 1948, Jinnah exhorted Muslims to prepare for the battle to establish Pakistan in Baluchistan. In the 1940s, he reminded Muslims of the discrimination they had faced in previous decades. On Pakistan Day, March 23, 1944, Jinnah said, "Pakistan is within grasp— Insha-Allah, we shall win." In October 1945, Jinnah told a public meeting in Ahmedabad, "Pakistan is a question of life and death for us." He campaigned on the issue during the 1945 elections. On June 20, 1947, a large majority of Bengal legislative Assembly members voted in favour of partitioning their province. Sind completed it later. The 'Partition Council' was established. Separatist Muslim nationalism had existed long before Jinnah advocated it. However, prior to Jinnah's support, the character and content of separate Muslim nationalism were largely cultural. Jinnah used it as a political tool to establish Pakistan as a new state. He was successful in imbuing the two-nation theory with ideological and religious overtones. Jinnah's two-nation theory distorted his earlier understanding of liberal democracy. His new democratic vision was limited to a separate homeland for Muslims. He did not dismiss the spiritual dimensions of democracy in Islam. He was opposed to the application of Western-style democracy in India. He believed that India was unfit

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POLITICAL SCIENCE TUTORIAL (CC8)

SEMESTER-4

NAME – SHRUTI KUMARI MISHRA

UNIVERSITY ROLL NO – 202013-11-0159

REGISTRATION NO – 013-1211-0315-20

TOPIC – MN ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM



11 APR 2023

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18/06/23

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- **SHRUTI KUMARI MISHRA**

INTRODUCTION

Manabendra Nath Roy was an Indian revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher of the 20th century. MN Roy was a founder of the Mexican communist party and the communist party of India. However later he was disappointed with the bourgeois democracy and communism and devoted the last year of his life to the formulation of an alternative philosophy which he called Radical humanism. His idea is presented in his book new humanism. It is the theoretical basis for the philosophy of radical humanism.

Humanism is an approach in study, philosophy or practice that focuses on human value and concerns. It represents a system of throughout concerned with human affairs in general. In keeping with this definition, Radical humanism recognizes the value and dignity of man. It accepts the individual as the central point of all social thought and action. It's stands for decentralization of political and economic power and suggests party less democracy for purifying politics.

EARLY LIFE of M.N ROY'S

Narendra Nath "Naren" Bhattacharya, later known as M. N. Roy, was born on 21 March 1887 at Arbelia of West Bengal, near Calcutta (Kolkata).

Naren Bhattacharya's early schooling took place at Arbelia. In 1898 the family moved to Kodalia. Bhattacharya continued his studies at the Harinavi Anglo-Sanskrit School, at which his father taught, until 1905. Bhattacharya later enrolled at the National College under Sri Aurobindo, before moving to the Bengal Technical Institute (present Jadavpur University), where he studied Engineering and Chemistry.

GERMAN CONSPIRACY

Germans had agreed to provide the money and material necessary for the launch of an Indian war of independence from British rule. Revolution seemed nearby.

The task of obtaining funds and armaments for the coming struggle was entrusted to Naren Bhattacharya. Early in 1915, Bhattacharya set out, leaving India in search of vaguely promised German armaments. Roy would not see his homeland again for 16 years. At the last minute, money for the conduct of the operation failed to materialize and "the German Consul General mysteriously disappeared on the day when he was to issue orders for the execution of the plan," Bhattacharya recalled.

COMMUNIST

It was in the New York City public library that Roy began to develop his interest in Marxism. Bothered by British spies, Roy fled to Mexico in July 1917 with Evelyn. German military authorities, on the spot, gave him large amounts of money.

The Mexican president Venustiano Carranza and other liberal thinkers appreciated Roy's writings for El Pueblo. The Socialist Party he founded (December 1917), was converted into the Communist Party of Mexico in 1919, the first Communist Party outside Russia.

A few weeks before the Congress, Vladimir Lenin personally received Roy with great warmth. At Lenin's behest, Roy formulated his own ideas as a supplement to Lenin's Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions.

In October 1920, as he formed the Communist Party of India. From Moscow, Roy published his major reflections, India in Transition, almost simultaneously translated into other languages.

In 1922 Roy's own journal, the Vanguard, which was the organ of the emigre Communist Party of India, was first published. These were followed by The Future of Indian Politics (1926) and Revolution and Counter-revolution in China (1930), while he had been tossing between Germany and France.

Roy returned to India for the first time in December 1930. Upon reaching Bombay, Roy met leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose.

Roy's political activity in India proved to be brief, on 21 July 1931 he was arrested in Bombay on an arrest warrant issued in 1924. Proceedings were conducted from 3 November 1931 until 9 January 1932, at which time Roy was sentenced to 12 years of rigorous imprisonment.

Roy filed an appeal in his case to the Allahabad High Court, but this was dismissed on 2 May 1933 - although Roy's sentence was at the same time reduced from 12 years to 6 by the court. Roy ultimately served 5 years and 4 months of this term, sitting in five different jails.

LATER LIFE

Gandhi proceeded to foment Quit India in August 1942. In response The British imprisoned without trial almost the entire Indian National Congress leadership within hours.

Sensing India's independence to be a post-war reality following the defeat of the Axis powers and the weakening of British imperialism, Roy wrote a series of articles in Independent India on the economic and political structures of new India, even presenting a concrete ten-year plan, and drafting a Constitution of Free India (1944).

Meaning of Radical Humanism:

M.N Roy defined it as a "philosophy of freedom based on modern scientific knowledge" Rational and ethical as human nature is, it can construct a social edifice characterized by freedom, humanity, liberalism, and justice.



Fundamental Principles of Radical Humanism:

1. **Materialism:** It is a form of philosophical monism that holds that matter is the fundamental substance in nature, and that all things, including mental status and consciousness are results of material interactions.
2. **Humanism:** It is a philosophical stance that emphasizes the value and agency of human beings, individually and collectively. It views humans as solely responsible for the promotion and development of individuals.
3. **Rationalism:** It is defined as a methodology or a theory in which the criterion of the truth is not sensory but intellectual and deductive.
4. **Morality:** M.N Roy sets his face against religion as a source of morality. It must be referred to man's innate rationality. Only then man will be moral, spontaneously, and voluntarily.

Fundamental Features of Radical Humanism

Philosophy of freedom based upon modern scientific knowledge. Now here are the following features of Radical Humanism by M.N Roy are: -

1. ***Man is the outcome of biological Evolution:*** New Humanism is based on the principle that the origin and development of man is not in the hands of any external religion or natural force. Rather, Man is the result of social evolution, Man is the bin of creature that has evolved in the environment of this physical universe according to the certain laws of biology.
2. ***Roy's view about human nature:*** Man is part of physical nature on account of his biological descent and lineage from matter. Man is subject to some laws as given in physical nature and such laws are called natural laws. Human rationality is instinctive. There is the instinctive belief in man that objects of experience are connected by a relationship of cause and effect.
3. ***Man is a rational Being:*** M.N Roy believed that humans beings are by nature rational, and they have acquired this discrimination from birth. There has never been a time in human history when a person did not have the power of conscience and thinking. Therefore, it can be said that man is a discriminating creature . It is a combination of evolution and succession.

4. ***Urge for freedom is natural to man:*** According to M.N ROY, it is natural for human beings to have a desire for freedom from the very beginning, Freedom for knowledge acquires the Motivation for man. His strong desire for independence is immortal and lasting.

5. ***Man is the Central point of everything:*** Roy's humanism revolves around man. Man is the main source of complete social progress Society; State and all other institutions are built by man himself and man can change it according to his needs Protagoras believed that man is the root of everything.

6. ***Roy's view about history:*** According to Roy's human history had been a history of the struggle for independence. History is proof that man has always fought for sociopolitical and economic independence and this struggle never ends. In his view, evolution has been the theory of history and evolution is rarely the case revolution can only succeed if it is necessary for the development if a united society.

Ethics and politics

M.N Roy was a firm believer that politics could not be separated from ethics. If this is done, then the freedom of individual can't be protected but these moral principles that M.N Roy wanted to apply in politics were not based on any religion. M.N Roy believed there was no need for certain principles of social ethics to make a person moral.



Roy's Materialism:

As a materialist, he deliberated life to be an end. According to him, the main purpose of life is to live and to live is to have the power and resources to satisfy the desires that naturally spring in man's mind. Thus, Roy was a Benthamite, who addressed Indians to believe in concepts like self-denial and simplicity, and the joy of satisfying one's desires.

In broad sense, Roy's philosophy is in the tradition of materialism. However, there are some important differences between Roy's materialism and traditional materialism. Roy's "materialism" is a restatement of traditional materialism in the light of then contemporary scientific knowledge. According to Roy, "The substratum of the Universe is not matter as traditionally conceived: but it is physical as against mental or spiritual. It is a measurable entity. Therefore, to obviate prejudiced criticism, the philosophy hitherto called materialism may be renamed Physical Realism". Roy has discussed the nature of philosophy and its relationship with religion and science in his books *Materialism and Science* and *Philosophy*.

Criticism

1. Too much emphasis on the Rationality of man: Roy has shown the virtue of conscience in a human being but at the same time no one can deny that a human being is an idol of emotions. Many of a person's action are the result of his emotions. Ordinary man behavior is mainly based on emotions.
2. Religion has been responsible for progress of civilization and morality: Roy has strongly criticized religion and said that it is a major obstacle in the way of independence. But there is no denying that religion has been responsible for the development of our culture and mental intelligence. There is no society without religions and there can be no future also. This is essential for Human's life.
3. The relation between society and individual improper: Roy believed Man is the soul of society, and he is also its creator. Roy's thought about the relationship between the society and individual were not as much appropriate. Social interest. Infact, neither the existence of society is possible without individuals nor the life of individuals without society.
4. Negative aspect of freedom: Roy put great emphasis on individuals' freedom and religion, or state become obstacles in the way of human freedom. Their notion of independence was negative. Infact, there was freedom to implicit the law.

6. Anti-National Feeling: M.N was a traitor. His humanism was the antithesis of nationalism. This seems impossible. For E.g. - A person who is motivated by a sense of nationalism can't accept his neighbor as Brother then how he can achieve the goal of the world community. So, there is a contradiction between Roy's nationalism and his humanism.

6. Politics without power is a dream: Powerless politics is a good idea, but its existence can never be realized in practice. Man is naturally inclined to seize power is an essential feature of politics. Roy wanted to make people awake through education and he was of the view that conscious and high-profile people would be able to put powerless politics into practice.

7. State is necessary natural institution: Like pluralist, Roy advocates the idea that the state is an institution like any other social institution. Their idea is not acceptable. The state is an essential institution operate within the law. If the state is, consider any other social life is not possible.

8. Social Morality is distinct from individual morality: Roy believed the rational behavior of a person is the basic of social ethics. It is true that a person can accept or reject theory based on his discretion. But it is an established fact that social ethics differs from individual ethics.

CONCLUSION

From this tutorial we can conclude that, whatever may be the flaws in Roy's philosophy of Radical Humanism. It can't be denied that his interest in individual liberty was second to none. His approach to and definition of individual liberty is quite significant and magnificent.

First phase is from 1905 to 1915. He was active in India through his extremely militant methods. 2nd phase shows his international career with span from 1915 to 1930. He was transforming from being a radical freedom fighter to brilliant communist leaders challenging the idea of Lenin, spreading revolutionary Marxist idea in Asia's. 3rd phase of Roy begins in 1930 when on returning to India he was put into prison for 6 years. This phase ended in 1948 when he deserved his radical democratic party and retired from active politics. The last phase of his political phase is from 1948 to 1954 when he decided to stay at Dehradun by forming India Renaissance Institute.

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M.N.Roy

Introduction

Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, later known as M.N.Roy (1887-1954) is one of the greatest Indian philosophers of the twentieth century. Roy developed a new concept and termed it as 'Radical Humanism' or 'New Humanism' with a view to distinguish it from the humanist versions of other thinkers. 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 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." 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 Richardo, 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 this regard, Roy refers Adam Smith. According to Smith, 'the understandings of the greater part of men, are necessarily funned 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; ergo, it will also be rational and good. In other words, if to-day might is right, it must be so to-morrow as well." 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'. 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." 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 up ground reality. There is no logically 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."9

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 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".¹⁰ 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 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."

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 practice repugnant to ethical principles and traditional human values are stabilised as the permanent feature of the revolutionary regime, the 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." 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 19th 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 problems 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." 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 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 lead 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." 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 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 1- freedom." 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 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."

Principles of Radical Humanism

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.

One,

Man is the archetype of society; co-operative social relationships contribute to develop individual potentialities. Roy intuites 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 emphasis 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 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.

Conclusion

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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Muhammad Ali Jinnah
Two Nation Theory :

EARLY YEARS

Jinnah was born as Mahomedali Jinnahbhai in Wazir Mansion, Karachi, Sindh (now in Pakistan). The earliest records of his school register suggest he was born on October 20, 1875, but Sarojini Naidu, the author of Jinnah's first biography gives the date December 25, 1876. Jinnah was the eldest of seven children born to Jinnahbhai Poonja (1857-1901), a prosperous Gujarati merchant who had emigrated to Sindh from Kathiawar, Gujarat. Jinnahbhai Poonja and Mithibai had six other children—Ahmad Ali, Bunde Ali, Rahmat Ali, Maryam, Fatima and Shireen. His family belonged to the Khoja branch of Shi'a Islam. Jinnah had a turbulent time at several different schools, but finally found stability at the Christian Missionary Society High School in Karachi. At home, the family's mother tongue was Gujarati, but members of the household also became conversant in Kutchi, Sindhi and English.

In 1887, Jinnah went to London to work for Graham's Shipping and Trading Company. He had been married to a distant relative named Emibai, who is believed to have been either 14 or 16 years old at the time of their marriage, but she died shortly after he moved to London. His mother died around this time as well. In 1894, Jinnah quit his job to study law at Lincoln's Inn and graduated in 1896. At about this time, Jinnah began to participate in politics. An admirer of Indian political leaders Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Jinnah worked with other Indian students on Naoroji's campaign to win a seat in the British Parliament. While developing largely constitutionalist views on Indian self-government, Jinnah despised the arrogance of British officials and the discrimination against Indians.

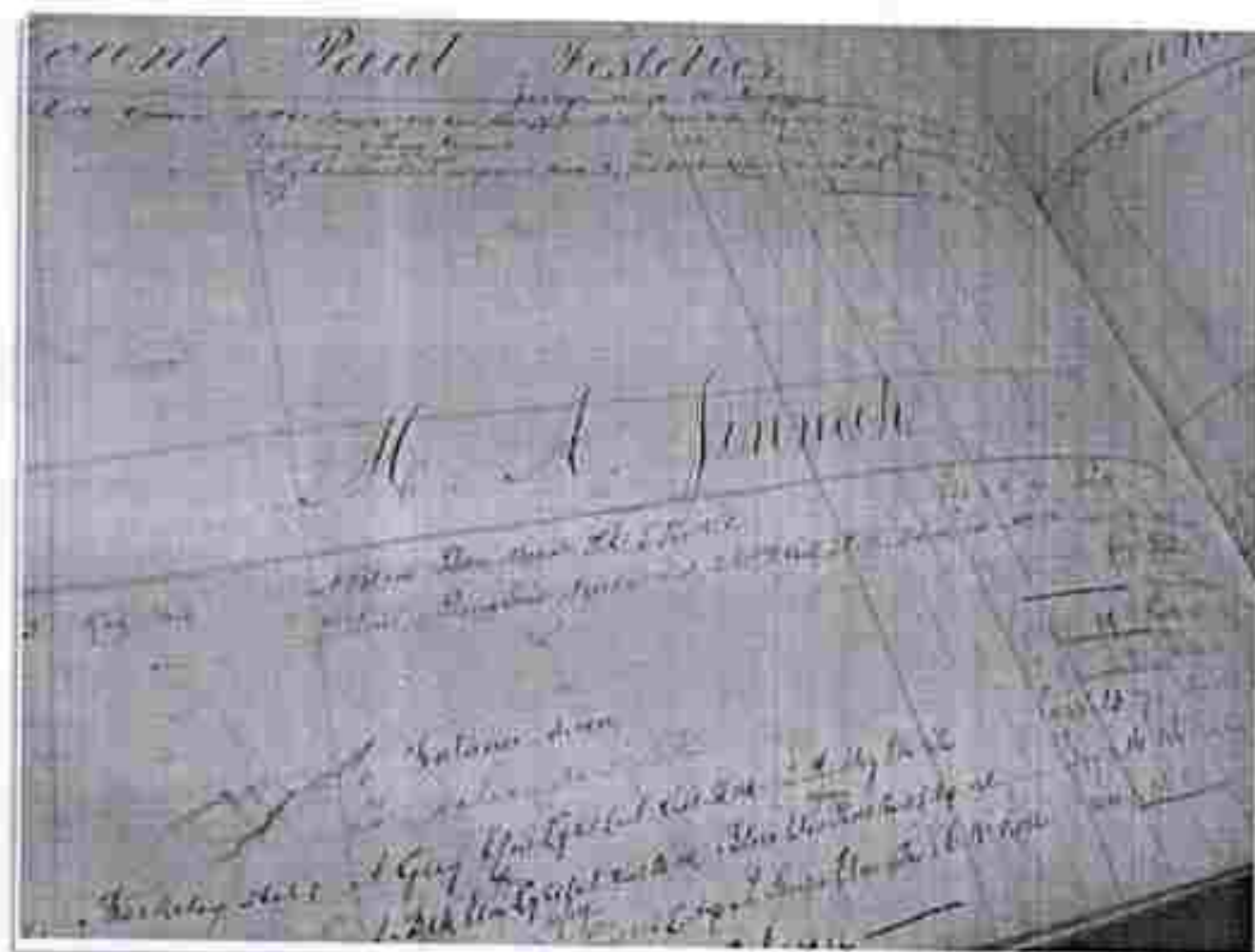
Jinnah came under considerable pressure when his father's business was ruined. Settling in Bombay, he became a successful lawyer—gaining particular fame for his skilled handling of the "Caucus Case". Jinnah built a house in Malabar Hill, later known as Jinnah House. He was not an observant Muslim and dressed throughout his life in European-style clothes, and spoke in English more than his mother tongue, Gujarati. His reputation as a skilled lawyer prompted Indian leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak to hire him as defence counsel for his sedition trial in 1905. Jinnah ably argued that it was not sedition for an Indian to demand freedom and self-government in his own country, but Tilak received a rigorous term of imprisonment.

ENTRY OF JINNAH INTO POLITICS

In 1896, Jinnah joined the Indian National Congress, which was the largest Indian political organization. Like most of the Congress at the time, Jinnah did not favour outright independence, considering British influences on education, law, culture and industry as beneficial to India. Moderate leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale became Jinnah's role model, with Jinnah proclaiming his ambition to become the "Muslim Gokhale". On January 25, 1910, Jinnah became a member on the sixty-member Imperial Legislative Council. The council had no real power or authority, and included a large number of un-elected pro-Raj loyalists and Europeans. Nevertheless, Jinnah was instrumental in the passing of the *Child Marriages Restraint Act*, the legitimization of the Muslim wakf—religious endowments—and was appointed to the Sandhurst committee, which helped establish the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. During World War I, Jinnah joined other Indian moderates in supporting the British war effort, hoping that Indians would be rewarded with political freedoms.

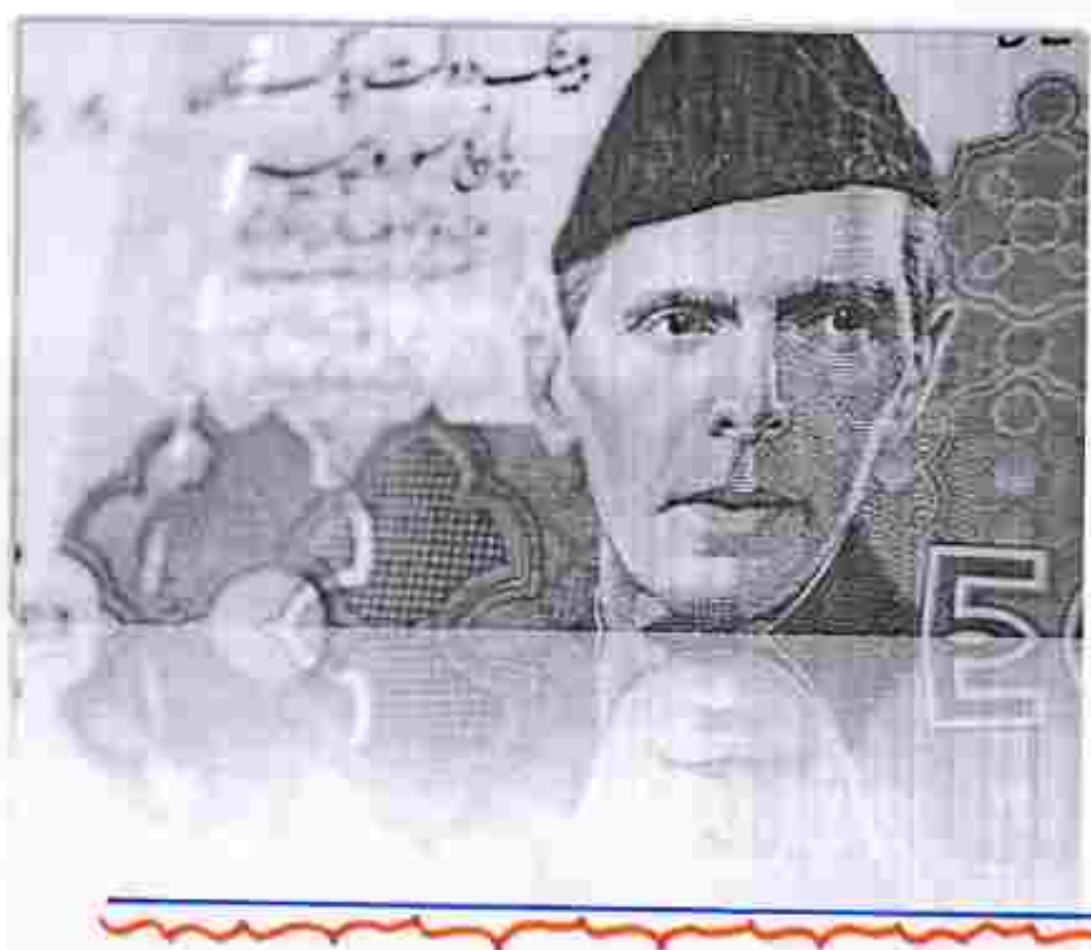
Jinnah had initially avoided joining the All India Muslim League, founded in 1906, regarding it as too communal. Eventually, he joined the league in 1913 and became the president at the 1916 session in Lucknow. Jinnah was the architect of the 1916 Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the League, bringing them together on most issues regarding self-government and presenting a united front to the British. Jinnah also played an important role in the founding of the All India Home Rule League in 1916. Along with political leaders Annie Besant and Tilak, Jinnah demanded "home rule" for India—the status of a self-governing dominion in the Empire similar to Canada, New Zealand and Australia. He headed the League's Bombay Presidency chapter. In 1918, Jinnah married his second

wife Rattanbai Petit ("Ruttie"), twenty-four years his junior, and the fashionable young daughter of his personal friend Sir Dinshaw Petit of an elite Parsi family of Mumbai. Unexpectedly there was great opposition to the marriage from Rattanbai's family and Parsi society, as well as orthodox Muslim leaders. Rattanbai defied her family and nominally converted to Islam, adopting (though never using) the name "Maryam"—resulting in a permanent estrangement from her family and Parsi society. The couple resided in Bombay, and frequently travelled across India and Europe. She bore Jinnah his only child, daughter Dina, in year 1919.



Jinnah's Ideologies

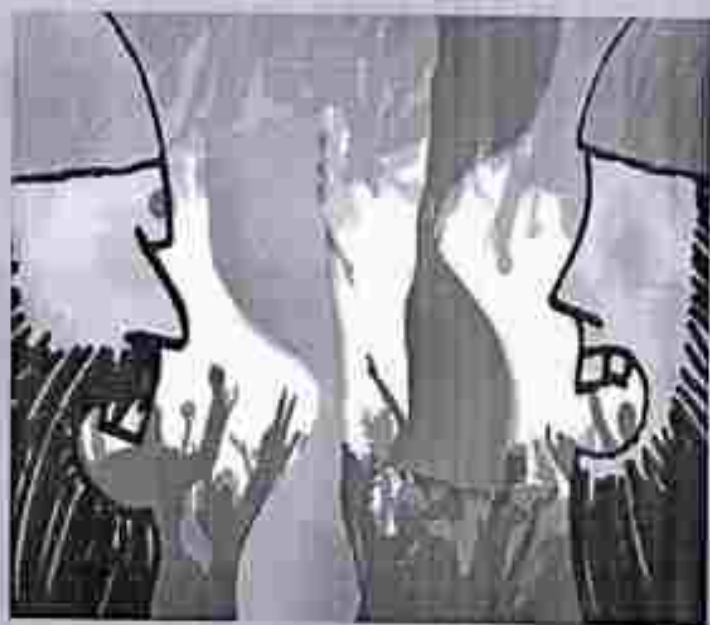
Jinnah rose to prominence in the Indian National Congress in the first two decades of the 20th century. In these early years of his political career, Jinnah advocated Hindu-Muslim unity, helping to shape the 1916 Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, in which Jinnah had also become prominent. Jinnah became a key leader in the All-India Home Rule League, and proposed a fourteen-point constitutional reform plan to safeguard the political rights of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. In 1920, however, Jinnah resigned from the Congress when it agreed to follow a campaign of satyagraha, which he regarded as political anarchy.



JINNAH'S TWO NATION THEORY

The ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of Indian Muslims was undertaken by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who termed it as the awakening of Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. It is also a source of inspiration to several Hindu nationalist organisations, with causes as varied as the redefinition of Indian Muslims as non-Indian foreigners and second-class citizens in India, the expulsion of all Muslims from India, the establishment of a legally Hindu state in India (which is currently secular), prohibition of conversions to Islam, and the promotion of conversions or reconversions of Indian Muslims to Hinduism.

There are varying interpretations of the two-nation theory, based on whether the two postulated nationalities can coexist in one territory or not, with radically different implications. One interpretation argued for the secession of the Muslim-majority areas of British India and saw differences between Hindus and Muslims as irreconcilable; this interpretation nevertheless promised a democratic state where Muslims and non-Muslims would be treated equally. A different interpretation holds that a transfer of populations (i.e. the total removal of Hindus from Muslim-majority areas and the total removal of Muslims from Hindu-majority areas) is a desirable step towards a complete separation of two incompatible nations that "cannot coexist in a harmonious relationship".



CONCLUSION

Jinnah emphasizes that the Muslim League was the sole organization committed to voicing the concerns of Muslims in India, arguing that they'd been betrayed after the 1937 elections with Muslim interests inadequately catered for. A divorce from Congress was advocated, with fears that the Constituent Assembly, much like independent India's political life would be dominated by Hindus. Furthermore, since Muslims would have a key part to play in the political life of an independent India, they too must also have a role in decisions made with regard to independence, whilst also stressing that Hindus and Muslims constituted different nationalities; this is the two-nation theory.

With Gandhi and Nehru spearheading the 'Quit India Movement' during the chaos of the Second World War, both ending up in prison, Jinnah was able to define himself as a key British ally amidst the chaos, earning sympathies and consolidating opinion behind him as the best protector of Muslim interests against a Hindu dominance. In 1945-6 the Muslim League succeeded in general elections, widely becoming recognised as a 'third political force' in India alongside Congress and the British. With tensions increasingly heightened over the 1940s by regional political leaders, such as H. S. Suhrawardy, Muslim League Chief in Bengal, who provoked rioting against the Hindu populace in Calcutta, civil disturbances continued to rise. With the British administration feeling increasingly unable to manage what seemed an steadily worsening political situation, the then British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, announced before Parliament that British rule would end in India "a date not later than June, 1948." This was

ultimately brought forward by a year by the British administration.

Partition was even by the late 1940s just one in a number of potential political outcomes. The notion of dividing the Indian subcontinent into Hindu-majority and Muslim-majority areas as is now characterized as the brainchild of Jinnah's Muslim League went through various stages of evolution. Jinnah was most in favour of federation, given that Muslims were scattered right across the country. Nehru proved steadfast however in advocating a centralised and unified Indian state.

In the end, Nehru got a centralized Indian state, but not a unified one. Jinnah is often cast as the victor in Partition, achieving his goal of an independent Pakistan, yet he complained bitterly before his death in 1948 that the final settlement was "moth-eaten" and incomplete.

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PAPER -CCS

TOPIC -RADICAL HUMANISM BY M.N ROY

11 APR 2023



Authenticated

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Gokhale Memorial Girls' College

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17.6.23

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I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE MY SPECIAL THANKS OF GRATITUDE TO MY PROFESSOR MAUSUMI MUKHERJEE MA'AM AND AS WELL AS OUR PRINCIPAL DR ATASHI KARPHA MA'AM WHO GAVE ME THE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO DO WONDERFUL TUTORIAL ON THE TOPIC M.N ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM .IT HAS HELPED ME TO DO A LOT OF RESEARCH AND I CAME TO KNOW ABOUT SO MANY NEW THINGS REGARDING THE TOPIC FOR WHICH I AM VERY THANKFUL TO THEM . LAST BUT NOT THE LEAST I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO THANK MY PARENTS AND FRIENDS WHO HAVE HELPED ME IN COMPLETING MY PROJECT WITHIN THE LIMITED TIME FRAME .

INTROUCTION

M. N. Roy was prominent Indian philosopher of a twentieth century. He was famous as the Father of Indian communism and viewed as the first revolutionary leader of India. He started his career as a militant political activist and left India in 1915 in search of arms for organizing an insurgency against British rule in India. M. N. Roy was definitely the most scholarly of modern Indian political philosophers (N. Jayapalan 2000). He was also a great speaker, who had a very distinct and dynamic style; and he had written huge number of texts. His most voluminous book was about 6,000 pages titled,

Manabendranath Roy had a mysterious personality in the history of anticolonial extremism. The broad outlines of Roy's political activities and intellectual musings are well known. An anticolonial rebellious who played vital role in an effort to secure arms from Germany for an uprising in India during World War I, later on, he became a political expatriate whose life took to the United States, Mexico, Russia, and Germany, and through several pseudonyms and political variations. As a member of the Communist International, he pondered Lenin on national liberation and operated in the upper levels of international communism; this was followed by his tragic failure in organizing the communists in China in 1927 and subsequent expulsion from the Comintern, and then his slow drift into the darks of postcolonial Indian politics, and his speech of an esoteric radical humanism that noticeable his alienation from radical political struggles.

BACKGROUND

M. N. Roy was prominent Indian philosopher of a twentieth century. He was famous as the Father of Indian communism and viewed as the first revolutionary leader of India. He started his career as a militant political activist and left India in 1915 in search of arms for organizing an insurgence against British rule in India. M. N. Roy was definitely the most scholarly of modern Indian political philosophers. He was also a great speaker, who had a very distinct and dynamic style; and he had written huge number of texts. His most voluminous book was about 6,000 pages titled. Manabendranath Roy had a mysterious personality in the history of anticolonial extremism. The broad outlines of Roy's political activities and intellectual musings are well known. An anticolonial rebellious who played vital role in an effort to secure arms from Germany for an uprising in India during World War I, later on, he became a political expatriate whose life took to the United States, Mexico, Russia, and Germany, and through several pseudonyms and political variations. As a member of the Communist International, he pondered Lenin on national liberation and operated in the upper levels of international communism; this was followed by his tragic failure in organizing the communists in China in 1927 and subsequent expulsion from the Comintern, and then his slow drift into the darks of postcolonial Indian politics, and his speech of an esoteric radical humanism that noticeable his alienation from radical political struggles.

M.N ROY'S COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Roy began his political career as a militant nationalist, considering in the cult of the bomb and the pistol and the requirement of an armed insurrection. He ascended to high position in the communist movement. The high position vested him with power and prestige (S. Karik, 1973). Roy made sincere and meticulous efforts to establish contact with the communist world, and attracted the attention of the scorching Indian revolutionaries and converted them into communists. M.N.Roy introduced the process of displacing communism in India by sending his trained representatives to different parts of the country. He met a number of Indian Muslims abroad who had left their country as a remonstrance against the British policy in regard to Turkey. These Muslims once kept in imprisonment were released by the Russian forces. Initially they were not aware of communism. However, Roy convinced them. He made it clear that they could accomplish their mission and liberate India by embracing the path of communist revolution. Finally, they agreed to carry the message of Marxism and Communist thought to India. Nalini Gupta, Shamsuhuda and Ajodhya Prasad were the first communist emissaries who reached India through the sea route (Pyotr Kutsobin, et, al., 1987). Thus communism that began in the early 1920 got supported when Moscow trained Indian representatives were sent out spread the new philosophy (Pyotr Kutsobin, et, al., 1987). Roy was a creator of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India. He was also a representative to congresses of the Communist International and Russia's aide to China. Following the rise of Joseph Stalin, Roy left the mainline communist movement to pursue an independent radical politics. Roy recognized that the

congress was "the leader of the movement for national liberation" and appealed for the adoption of a liberal economic program dedicated to enhance the standard of living of the disadvantaged workers and peasants. The manifesto stated that only by working for the economic betterment of the masses, the congress hope to gain their support in the struggle for independence and thus become a real mass movement. Roy was harshly critical of the exploitation of workers' turbulence by the nationalist for their political aim. He urged the Indian National Congress to procure the support of the workers and peasants by including the redress of their immediate grievances in its programme (Shashi Bairath, 1987). In September 1921, Roy sent Nalini Gupta to Calcutta. He originated a communist group and retained it under Muzaffer Ahmed before returning to Europe in March 1922. Under Roy's leadership, Shaikat Usmani, a resident of Bikaner, came back to India in December 1922 and formed communist groups at Banaras and Kanpur, where he was detained on 9 May 1923.

M.N ROY'S RADICAL HUMANISM

Humanism: Roy was a born revolutionary. He was influenced by Marxists when stayed in USA. He was one of the learned person of Marxist in world. Later on, some differences arose between Roy and Stalin and Roy was criticised as a revisionist. With time, Roy became critic of Marxist. In later years, he transformed his philosophy from Marxism to radical humanism which was called new humanism. It was great contribution of Roy in the arena of modern Indian political thought. The uttermost piece of his original work which is planned to be man's ultimate fulfillment is New Humanism. Humanism is concerning the relation between individual and society. Roy stated that individual was an end itself and society was simply a mean to an end. Roy believed that man created society for certain objects. It means that all social relations, political, economic, social, ethical must be adjusted to the fundamental requirement of promoting the freedom and liberty. Humanism is derived from the Latin word Humanus, meaning a system of thought concerned with human affairs in general. Humanism is an attitude which attaches primary importance to Man and his faculties, affairs and aspirations. Humanism had to pass through a process of development and change, but its main idea was that Man must remain the Supreme Being. Humanism means respect for man as Man and not only because of his individual achievements. The essence of Humanism is the importance

placed on human being, the individual as the centre of all aspirations of human activities. And, there should no dogmatic authority over life and thought."

It can be interpreted from Roy's views that Roy distinguishes his new humanism from the French and German schools of Humanism of the 19th century. New Humanism is based on the investigations of physical science, sociology, philosophy and other branches of knowledge. Its philosophical foundation is provided by materialism and its methodology is mechanistic. It professes confidence in the creative power of man. Man derives his sovereignty from his creative achievement in the understanding and partial conquest of nature. New Humanism, according to Roy, claims to reassert the independence of man by highlighting that history offered man's activities and state or society has no power to impose absolute power of man. New Humanism is based on a mechanistic cosmology and materialistic metaphysics. Man derives rationality from nature through biological evolution. Thus Roy claims that humanism is a philosophy based on a synthesis of the achievement of modern knowledge.

New Humanism of Roy aims at instilling a sense of primacy of values and the urge for eternal freedom. Roy described that democracy would be efficacious only when spiritually free individuals assume the conduct of public affairs. He strongly believed in the greatest good of the greatest number that can be accomplished only when members of the government are responsible in the first place to their respective morality. Roy has moved far beyond Marxism and he

has articulated some fundamental philosophies on which his Humanism stands. The main board is an independence of man. Sovereignty is a wide-ranging concept which includes freedom of man. It forbids the assumption of any other superior forces. Another main factor is that humanism demands passable emphasis on all permeating democracy as distinguished from Parliamentary democracy. All pervading democracy means democracy infiltrating into all layers of administration, all layers of society and all layers of individual life. The other important twang is rationality. For man, his only guide is the voice of reason and rationality of action follows from it. New Humanism implies these three principles essentially and other guiding forces will follow from them. Humanism must be a moral philosophy. It must assert that Man alone is responsible for what he is. Radical Humanism brought Roy closer to Gandhi's beliefs. There were similarities as also differences between the thoughts of the two. Both recognized the individual as the centre of all social movements. Both supported decentralization of political and economic process. Roy was however a materialist while Gandhi was guided by spiritualism.

Roy's New Humanism is cosmopolitan in its viewpoint. New Humanism is promised to the idea of a commonwealth and fraternity of freeman. He supported a world federation. In his well known work, Reason, Romanticism and Revolution, Roy wrote that "New Humanism is cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan common wealth of spiritually free men would not be limited by the boundaries of national states- capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist or any other kind which

will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century renaissance of Man". Roy makes a dissimilarity between cosmopolitanism and internationalism. He pleads for a spiritual community or a cosmopolitan humanism. Internationalism assumes the existence of separate nation states. Roy considers that true world government can be built only by the decentralization of nation states.

Roy's philosophy of humanism was heavily criticised. Roy's philosophy of humanism was heavily criticised on various grounds. As Roy stated that all living beings originated out of the matter. Even the mind is the product of matter. But challengers argued that he had failed to give logical and adequate reasons as to how the living bodies are created out of the matter. He developed his theory on assumption that man is essentially a rational being. Roy was also criticized for religious as a hindrance in the development of freedom. Antagonists argued that religion played an important role in our cultural and intellectual development. Another presumption of Roy was that physical and social beings are governed by the same laws but such an analogy is not viewed as correct by other thinkers.

Conclusion

"Innovation was in the blood of MN Roy. He was a radical activist, confident leader, renowned writer, and political theorist. His contribution both nationally and internationally is highly acknowledged. With his recommendation of communism to Indians as a weapon of freedom struggle till the concept of radical Humanism, he was praised a lot. He coordinated with so many extremists in India and formed many free-thinking organizations. All-round development of human beings is the stepping stone towards a modern society. He supported renaissance with a colossal philosophical legacy.

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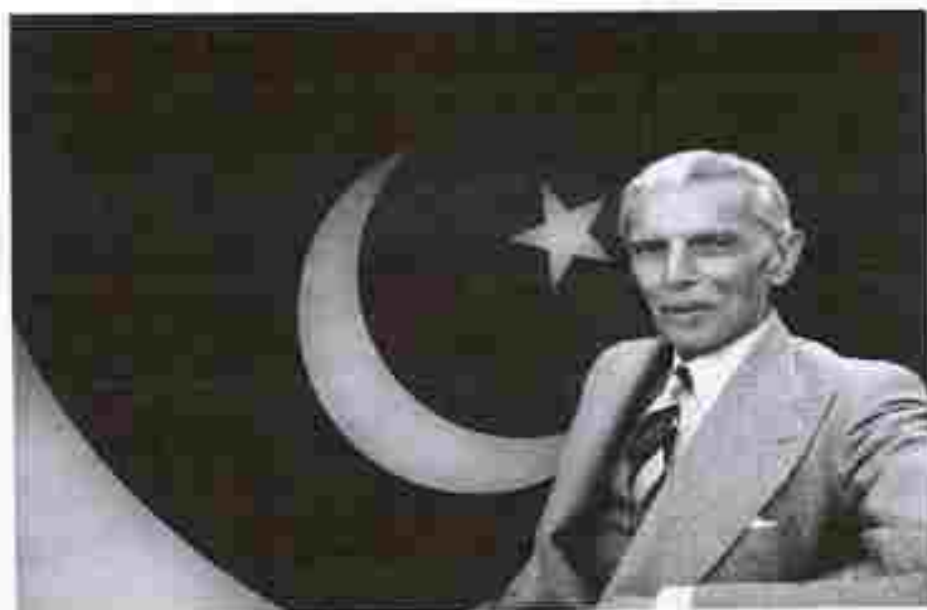
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BOOKS

Indian Political Thought by OP GAUBA

POLITICAL SCIENCE PROJECT



TOPIC – JINNAH'S TWO NATION THEORY

NAME – PRIYANKA ROY

COLLEGE ROLL NO. – 20/BAH/0306

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INTRODUCTION

MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also called Qaid-i-Azam, Indian Muslim politician, who was the founder and first governor-general (1947–48) of Pakistan. Jinnah first entered politics by participating in the 1906 session of the Indian National Congress (Congress Party) held at Calcutta (now Kolkata), in which the party began to split between those calling for dominion status and those advocating independence for India. Four years later he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council—the beginning of a long and distinguished parliamentary career. In Bombay he came to know, among other important Congress Party personalities, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the eminent Maratha leader. Greatly influenced by those nationalist politicians, Jinnah aspired during the early part of his political life to become “a Muslim Gokhale.” Admiration for British political institutions and an eagerness to raise the status of India in the international community and to develop a sense of Indian nationhood among the peoples of India were the chief elements of his politics. At that time, he still looked upon Muslim interests in the context of Indian nationalism.

But, by the beginning of the 20th century, the conviction had been growing among the Muslims that their interests demanded the preservation of their separate identity rather than amalgamation in the Indian nation that would for all practical purposes be Hindu. Largely to safeguard Muslim interests, the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906. But Jinnah remained aloof from it. Only in 1913, when authoritatively assured that the league was as devoted as the Congress Party to the political emancipation of India, did Jinnah join the league. When the Indian Home Rule League was formed, he became its chief organizer in Bombay and was elected president of the Bombay branch.

CREATOR OF PAKISTAN

Jinnah had originally been dubious about the practicability of Pakistan, an idea that the poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal had propounded to the Muslim League conference of 1930, but before long he became convinced that a Muslim homeland on the Indian subcontinent was the only way of safeguarding Muslim interests and the Muslim way of life. It was not religious persecution that he feared so much as the future exclusion of Muslims from all prospects of advancement within India, as soon as power became vested in the close-knit structure of Hindu social organization. To guard against that danger, he carried out a nationwide campaign to warn his coreligionists of the perils of their position, and he converted the Muslim League into a powerful instrument for unifying the Muslims into a nation. At that point, Jinnah emerged as the leader of a nascent Muslim nation. Events began to move fast. On March 22–23, 1940, in Lahore, the league adopted a resolution to form a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The Pakistan idea was at first ridiculed and then tenaciously opposed by the Congress Party. But it captured the imagination of the Muslims. Pitted against Jinnah were many influential Hindus, including Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. And the British government seemed to be intent on maintaining the political unity of the Indian subcontinent. But Jinnah led his movement with such skill and tenacity that ultimately both the Congress Party and the British government had no option but to agree to the partitioning of India. Pakistan thus emerged as an independent state in 1947. Jinnah became the first head of the new state. Faced with the serious problems of a young country, he tackled Pakistan's problems with authority. He was not regarded as merely the governor-general. He was revered as the father of the nation. He worked hard until overpowered by age and disease in Karachi, the place of his birth, in 1948.

TWO NATION THEORY

At that point, Jinnah emerged as the leader of a nascent Muslim nation. Events began to move fast. On March 22-23, 1940, in Lahore, the league adopted a resolution to form a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The Pakistan idea was at first ridiculed and then tenaciously opposed by the Congress Party. But it captured the imagination of the Muslims. Pitted against Jinnah were many influential Hindus, including Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. And the British government seemed to be intent on maintaining the political unity of the Indian subcontinent. But Jinnah led his movement with such skill and tenacity that ultimately both the Congress Party and the British government had no option but to agree to the partitioning of India. Pakistan thus emerged as an independent state in 1947.

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The two-nation theory in its simplest way means that cultural, political, religious, economic and social dissimilarities between the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims of the Sub-continent. These differences of outlook, in fact, were greatly instrumental in giving rise to two distinct political ideologies which were responsible for the partition of the sub-continent into two independent states. The two-nation theory means that the Hindus and the Muslims are two different nations. On the basis of two-nation theory the Quaid-i-Azam demanded the partition of India into two states, a Muslim state to be called Pakistan and the other Hindu India that is Bharat.

EVOLUTION OF TWO NATION

Theory concept of Muslims as a Nation developed before the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan was the product of this concept of nationhood rather than Pakistan creating a concept of nationhood. Retrospectively the Muslim nationalism emerged with the advent of Islam that introduced new principles pertinent to every sphere of life. It pledged the redemption of the humankind establishing a benign society based on Qur'anic teachings. The beginning of the Muslim nationalism in the Sub-Continent may be attributed to the first Indian who accepted Islam. The Arab traders had introduced the new religion, Islam, in the Indian coastal areas. Muhammad bin Qasim was the first Muslim invader who conquered some part of India and after that, Mahmud of Ghazna launched 17 attacks and opened the gate to preach Islam. The Muslim sufi (saints) like Ali Hujwiri, Miran Hussain Zanjani etc. entered Sub-Continent. They, rejecting the vices in the Indian society, presented the pure practical picture of the teachings of Islam and got huge conversions. Qutub-ud-Din Aibak permanently established Muslim dynasty in India that followed Sultanate and Mughal dynasties. Thus a strong Muslim community had emerged in India who had its own way of life, traditions, heroes, history and culture. Islam could not be absorbed in Hinduism. Deen-e-Ilahi, Bakhti movements, etc. created reaction amongst the Muslim ulama to preserve the pure Islamic character and save it from external onslaught. Role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi and others is noteworthy. Equality and social justice inspired conversions to Islam. The British won over the Muslim rulers due to the industrial and scientific developments and modern war strategy. The War of Independence (1857) was a shattering setback to the Indian Muslims who were held responsible for the rebellion by the British. The Muslims were put into the backwardness with the help of Hindus. This was one of the outstanding motivations that paved the way to declare the separate identity of nationalism, the Muslim

nationalism. The Muslim scholars sought to reform the teaching of Islamic law and to promote its application in a Muslim society. The prominent name among them is Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) who awakened and guided his community well in time. His educational drive, the Aligarh movement, proved to be the best means of social mobility for the Muslim gentry under colonial rule. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded to indicate the beginning of the Indian nationalist movement under the British. The Congress worked and helped the British rule. Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to join it because, he thought, the Muslims were not in position to involve into the anti-government activities. It has been argued that Sir Syed's fear of Hindu domination sowed the seeds for the "Two Nations Theory" later espoused by the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906 and led to its demand for a separate state for the Muslims of India. Sir Syed argued that modern education and non-political activities might be the key to Muslim advancement. The Aligarh movement produced educated leadership who could protect the Muslims' rights on the Western political lines. All India Muslim League had been founded in Dhaka to promote loyalty to the British and to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India. Thus the concept of "separate electorates" was put forward to dawn a new day for the Indian Muslim.

IMPORTANCE OF TWO NATION THEORY

The Two-Nation Theory served as the basis of demand for Pakistan by the Muslims in British India.

There are two major nations in British India.

The Muslims are not a community but a nation with a distinctive history, heritage, culture, civilization, and future aspirations.

The Muslims wanted to preserve and protect their distinct identity and advance their interests in India.

They wanted to order their lives in accordance with their ideals and philosophy of life without being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority.

Initially, they demanded safeguards, constitutional guarantees and a federal system of government with powers to the provinces for protection and advancement of their heritage, identity and interests.

Later, they demanded a separate state when neither the British nor the Hindu majority community was willing to offer those guarantees and safeguards.

JINNAH ON TWO NATION THEORY

By the end of the 1930's Jinnah & the Muslim League had completely abandoned the concept of 'our country' & 'common motherland'. Now Muslims were not a minority but a full fledged nation. Delivering the presidential address at the Lahore session of Muslim league on march 22, 1940, he said :

The problem in India is not of an inter communal character but manifest of an international one & it must be treated as such. If the British government are really in earnest & sincere to secure peace & happiness of the people of the subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states.

According to him Islam & Hinduism were not two different religion but,

In fact, different & distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Muslims & Hindustan ever evolve a common nationality had the misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is cause of more of our troubles and will lead Indian into destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus & Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs & literature. They neither inter marry nor interline together & thus they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas & conceptions.

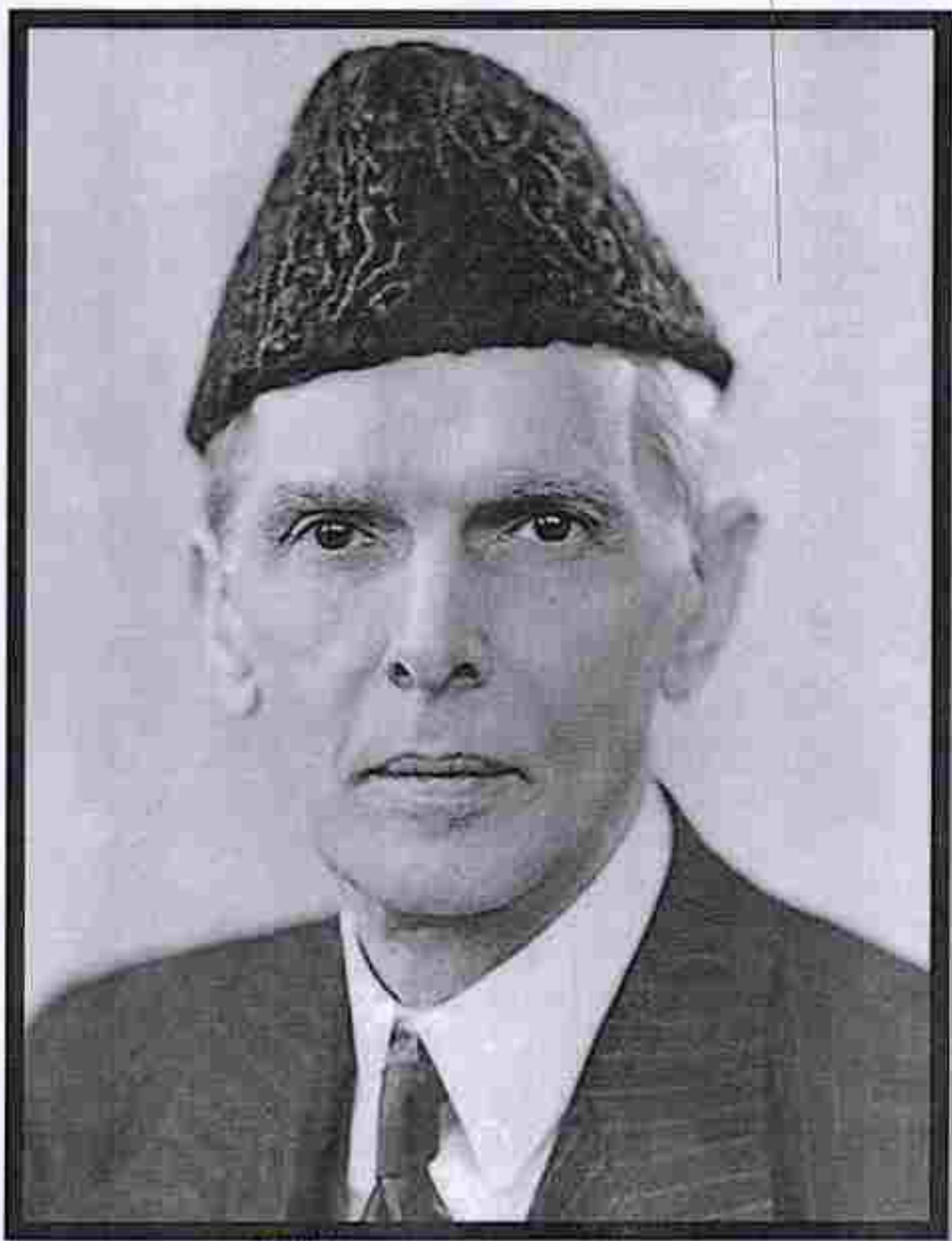
The whole argument revolved around the logic that 'Hindus & Muslims were different nations with entirely irreconcilable worldviews, sense of history & destiny.

It is to be noted that until 1930 the idea of Pakistan or even two nation theory was not an issue. The forceful preaching of the concept did not appeal to the masses & neither did the Muslim

league took a notice of it. Jinnah's case was no different. He started as a congress ideologue & remained committed to composite nationalism for a long time. He converted to two nation theory only in late 1930's. His conversion played a major role in popularising the concept.

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ক্রমিক নম্বর - ২০/বি.এ.এইচ/০৩০৭

বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ক্রমিক নম্বর-২০২০১৩-১১-
০০১৫

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০০১৬-২০

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জীবনের গোড়ার দিকে একজন একনিষ্ঠ জাতীয়তাবাদী হলেও, পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে মহম্মদ আলি জিন্না এক গোঁড়া সাম্প্রদায়িক ব্যক্তিত্বে পরিণত হন। প্রকৃতপক্ষে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার যে নিজস্ব যুক্তি থাকে ও একেবারে প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে যদি তাকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ না করা যায় তাহলে পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা যে অনিবার্যরূপে ব্যাপকতর আকার ধারণ করে, এই প্রস্তাবনার সত্যতা জিন্নার জীবনের ইতিহাসকে ধাপে ধাপে পর্যালোচনা করলে নিঃসন্দেহে প্রমাণিত হয়। তাই একজন ব্যক্তি যিনি হিন্দু মুসলমান ঐক্যের প্রবক্তা হিসেবে জীবন শুরু করেছিলেন, সেই জিন্না পাকিস্তানের দাবী করার মাধ্যমে তাঁর জীবন শেষ করেন।

জিল্লার কংগ্রেসের দিনগুলি

এক উদারনৈতিক চিন্তাবিদরূপে জিল্লা ধর্মাস্কতা, গোঁড়ামি ও মৌলবাদের বিরোধিতা করেছিলেন। জাতীয়তাবাদী নেতা রূপে তিনি স্বাধীনতা, সাংবিধানিকতা এবং সামাজিক তথা রাজনৈতিক জীবনে বিভাজনের অনুপস্থিতিকে সমর্থন করেছিলেন। দাদাভাই নৌরোজি, সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, গোখলে ও অন্যান্যদের মত কংগ্রেসের উদারনৈতিক নেতৃবৃন্দের আদর্শ ও চিন্তাধারা থেকে জিল্লা প্রাথমিকভাবে তাঁর জাতীয়তাবাদী চেতনা ও অনুপ্রেরণা লাভ করেছিলেন। তিনি কংগ্রেসের কলকাতা অধিবেশনে (১৯০৬) নৌরোজির ব্যক্তিগত সচিবরূপে কাজ করেন। জিল্লাকে হিন্দু মুসলিম ঐক্যের প্রবক্তারূপে চিহ্নিত করে গোখলে দাবি করেন যে সার্বিকভাবে জিল্লার শ্রেণী সংকীর্ণতা ও শ্রেণীবিদ্বেষ মুক্ত মনোভাব তাঁকে হিন্দু মুসলমান ঐক্যের সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ প্রবক্তায় পরিণত করবে। মুসলিম লীগের বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী মনোভাব প্রতিহত করার ক্ষেত্রে তিনি উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। ১৯১৩ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে জিল্লা মুসলিম লীগের নতুন সংবিধানের একটি খসড়া প্রণয়ন করেন যা সাংবিধানিক উপায়ের মাধ্যমে কংগ্রেসের

স্বশাসনের আদর্শকে সমর্থন করেছিল,এবং অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতার আবশ্যকতা ও জাতীয় ঐক্যের উন্নতি সাধনের ওপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিল।

প্রাথমিকভাবে সাম্প্রদায়িক রাজনীতিতে কোনো আগ্রহ না থাকলেও জিন্না মুসলিম লীগে যোগদানের মাধ্যমে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার পথে তাঁর প্রথম পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করেন। প্রকৃতপক্ষে মুসলিম লীগে যোগদান করার পর থেকেই একজন বিশুদ্ধ জাতীয়তাবাদী থেকে জিন্না একজন সাম্প্রদায়িক জাতীয়তাবাদীতে পরিণত হন ও তাঁর পতন শুরু হয়। ১৯২১-এর সেপ্টেম্বর পর্যন্ত জিন্না কংগ্রেসের একজন সদস্য ছিলেন এবং নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থায় পৃথক নির্বাচক মন্ডলীর উপস্থিতি যে ভারতকে দুটি পৃথক ও পরস্পর বিচ্ছিন্ন ভাগে বিভক্ত করবে-এই যুক্তি অনুধাবন করে তিনি পৃথক নির্বাচন ব্যবস্থার বিরোধিতা করেন। কংগ্রেস ও লীগের মধ্যে সম্পর্কের পুনঃস্থাপন ও বোম্বাইপাড়ার ক্ষেত্রে জিন্না গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করেন, যার ফলে ১৯১৬ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে লখনউ চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরিত হয়। হোমরুল আন্দোলনের সঙ্গেও তিনি যুক্ত ছিলেন।

সাম্প্রদায়িকতার পথে জিন্না

কিন্তু পরবর্তীকালে জিন্না উপলব্ধি করেন যে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর নেতৃত্বাধীনে কংগ্রেস ভুল পথে চলেছে। তাঁর একথাও মনে হয় যে বিভিন্ন সময়ে গান্ধী তাঁকে উপেক্ষা করে নেহেরুর অনুকূলে তাঁর সমর্থন ব্যক্ত করেছেন। তাই একদিন যে ব্যক্তি হিন্দু মুসলমানের ঐক্যকে সমর্থন করেছিলেন, তিনি একসময় কংগ্রেসকে হিন্দু সাম্প্রদায়িকতাবাদের সমর্থকরূপে বিবেচনা করতে শুরু করেন ও কংগ্রেসকে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তরনের পরিস্থিতিতে হিন্দুদের দ্বারা সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় অত্যাচারিত হবে বলে আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করেন। তাই তিনি ১৯২১ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে কংগ্রেস ত্যাগ করেন। মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, জিন্নাকে অন্যায়ভাবে গুরুত্ব দেওয়ার জন্য এবং মুসলমান স্বার্থের একমাত্র রক্ষকরূপে গণ্য করার জন্য ব্রিটিশরাও বহুলাংশে দায়ী ছিল। ব্রিটিশদের এই মনোভাব জিন্নার নতুন দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিকে অনেকাংশে প্রভাবিত করেছিল।

জিল্লার দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্ব

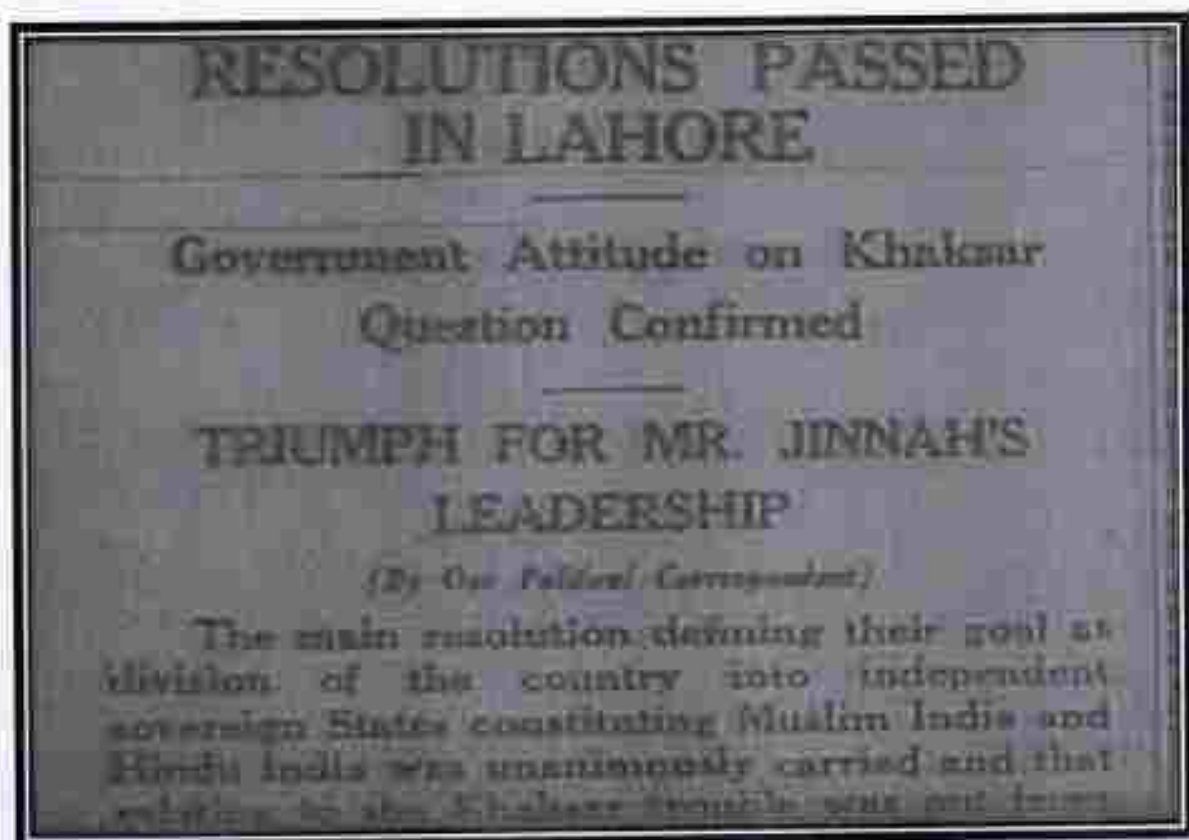
১৯২৪ নাগাদ জিল্লা মুসলমানদের স্বার্থ ও অধিকার-এর সুরক্ষার জন্য দাবী তোলেন। মুসলমানদের যে সংগঠিত ও ঐক্যবদ্ধ হতে হবে- এই বুনিয়াদি সাম্প্রদায়িক চিন্তাধারার ওপর ভিত্তি করেই এখন থেকে জিল্লার রাজনীতি আবর্তিত হতে থাকে। তিনি প্রচার করতে শুরু করেন যে ইতিহাস, সংস্কৃতি, আইন ও অন্যান্য বিষয়গত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকে হিন্দু ও মুসলমানেরা সম্পূর্ণ পৃথক। তারা একটি পৃথক জাতি, যাদের সামাজিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক চরিত্র এবং বৈশিষ্ট্যের সঙ্গে হিন্দুদের কোনো মিলই নেই। হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের ধর্ম, দর্শন, সাহিত্য, সংস্কৃতি ও সামাজিক নিয়মকানুন সব কিছুই ভিন্ন। তারা পরস্পরের মধ্যে বিবাহও করে না, পরস্পরের সঙ্গে ভোজনও করে না। হিন্দু ও মুসলমান-রা হলো পরস্পরবিরোধী ধারণা ও ভাবাদর্শের ভিত্তিতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত সম্পূর্ণ পৃথক দুটি সভ্যতার প্রতিনিধি।

জিল্লার দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্বের বিবর্তন ও পাকিস্তান রাষ্ট্রের দাবি

জিল্লা কংগ্রেসের পদক্ষেপগুলিকে মুসলমানদের বিরুদ্ধে গৃহীত এক পরিকল্পিত ও সুচিন্তিত নীতি রূপে ব্যাখ্যা করেন ও কংগ্রেসকে এমন একটি হিন্দু সংগঠন রূপে চিহ্নিত করেন যার প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য হলো সকল সংখ্যালঘুকে নিশ্চিত করা। তিনি আরো অভিযোগ করেন যে ভারতীয় মুসলিমরা কংগ্রেসের কাছ থেকে কোনো ন্যায়বিচার পাবে না। তাঁর নেহেরু রিপোর্টের বিরোধিতা থেকে কংগ্রেস সম্পর্কে জিল্লার গভীর, বদ্ধমূল ঘৃণা সুস্পষ্টভাবে প্রকাশ পায়। জিল্লা অভিযোগ করেন যে, গান্ধীজী ভারতে হিন্দুরাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার চেষ্টা করছেন ও সেই লক্ষ্যকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়ার জন্য কংগ্রেসকে কাজে লাগাচ্ছেন। তাই ভারতীয় মুসলিমদের সামনে একমাত্র উপায় হলো এক সংগঠিত, স্বতন্ত্র গোষ্ঠীরূপে আত্মপ্রকাশ করা। ১৯৩৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দের নির্বাচনে কংগ্রেসের বিপুল জয়, পরিস্থিতির আরো অবনতি ঘটায়। ১৯৩৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দে মুসলিম লীগের লখনউ অধিবেশনে জিল্লা কংগ্রেসের শাসনকে হিন্দু

শাসনের নামান্তররূপে অভিহিত করেন। লীগকে একটি সংগঠন হিসেবে শক্তিশালী করে তোলার উদ্দেশ্যে মুসলমানদের ওপর কাল্পনিক অত্যাচারের ঘটনা উদ্ভূত করে জিল্লা ১৯৩৭-৩৯ পর্যন্ত কংগ্রেসের বিরুদ্ধে সাম্প্রদায়িক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি পোষণের এক পরিকল্পিত অপপ্রচার চালিয়ে যান, যার ফলে সারাদেশে প্রায়শঃই সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা ঘটতে থাকে। এই সময় থেকে জিল্লার নেতৃত্বাধীনে মুসলিম লীগ ধীরে ধীরে একটি নতুন ও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দাবি অর্থাৎ পৃথক পাকিস্তান রাষ্ট্রের দাবি উত্থাপন করতে শুরু করে। জিল্লা দুটি স্লোগানের মাধ্যমে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের সমর্থন আদায় করতে সচেষ্ট হন: ১) তার প্রথমটি হল যে বিভিন্ন প্রদেশে কংগ্রেস মন্ত্রীসভা মুসলিমদের প্রতি পাশবিক আচরণ করে আসছে এবং মুসলমানেরা সংখ্যালঘু নয়, বরং তারা ভারতীয় উপমহাদেশের একটি জাতি। ১ জানুয়ারি ১৯৪০ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে গান্ধীজীকে লেখা একটি চিঠিতে জিল্লা নিম্নলিখিত বিষয়গুলির ওপর জোর দেন “এবিষয়ে আমার কোনো বিভ্রান্তি নেই ও আমি আবার বলি যে ভারত কোনো জাতিরাষ্ট্রও নয়, রাষ্ট্রও নয় এটি হলো বিভিন্ন জাতির সমন্বয় গঠিত একটি উপমহাদেশ যার

প্রধান দুটি জাতি হলো হিন্দু ও মুসলমান। জিন্মা এভাবেই মুসলিম লীগের লাহোর অধিবেশনে তাঁর দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্বের ব্যাখ্যা করেন। এই তত্ত্ব নির্দেশ করে যে ভারতের হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের এরূপ দুটি পৃথক জাতিরূপে চিহ্নিত করা যায়, যাদের মিলন কোনোদিনই সম্ভব নয়। প্রাথমিকভাবে এই তত্ত্বকে সাংস্কৃতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি থেকে উত্থাপন করা হলেও পরবর্তীকালে জিন্মা ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের জন্য পৃথক রাষ্ট্রের দাবির সমর্থনে এটিকে একটি রাজনৈতিক অন্তরূপে ব্যবহার করেন।

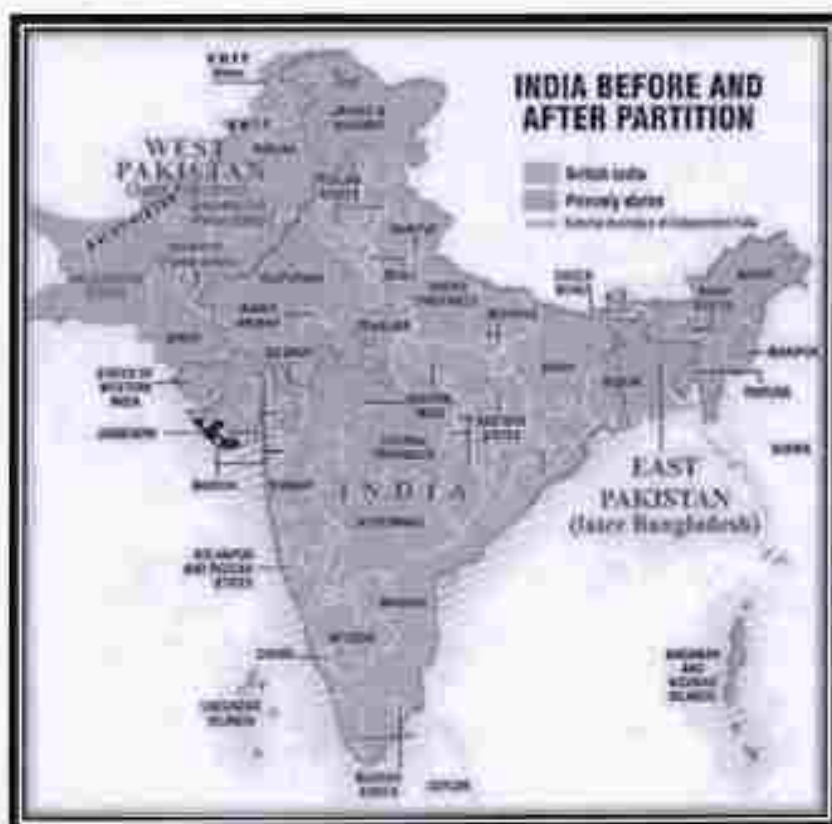


তিনি জোরের সঙ্গে দাবি করেন,যেহেতু হিন্দু ও মুসলমানরা ধর্মীয়,সাংস্কৃতিক ও সামাজিক রীতিনীতির দিক দিয়ে পৃথক,তাই তারা একটিমাত্র জাতিরাষ্ট্র গঠন করতে পারেনা। তাই একমাত্র আলাদা জাতি গঠনের মধ্যে দিয়েই মুসলমানদের স্বাভাব্য রক্ষিত হতে পারে।জিন্না বলেন এই দুই স্বতন্ত্র জাতিকে একই রাষ্ট্রের অন্তর্ভুক্ত করার চেষ্টা করা হলে চরম বিশৃঙ্খলার সৃষ্টি হবে।তাই এই বিশৃঙ্খলাকে এড়ানোর একমাত্র উপায় হলো দেশভাগ করে হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের জন্য পৃথক পৃথক রাষ্ট্র গঠন করা।তাঁর দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্বের অঙ্গ হিসেবে জিন্না মুসলমানদের জন্য ভারতের উত্তর-পশ্চিম এবং উত্তর-পূর্ব ভারতে এক পৃথক মাতৃভূমির দাবি করেছিলেন- যা হবে প্রতিরক্ষা,বৈদেশিক বিষয়,যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থা ইত্যাদি বিষয়ের ওপর সম্পূর্ণ নিয়ন্ত্রণ ক্ষমতার অধিকারী একটি স্বতন্ত্র ও স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র।তিনি একটিমাত্র কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারসহ সর্বভারতীয় প্রকৃতির সংবিধানকে মেনে নিতে অস্বীকার করেছিলেন।১৯৪৪ খ্রিষ্টাব্দে গান্ধী-জিন্না বৈঠকের সময় মুসলমানরা যে একটি জাতি- এই তত্ত্বকে জিন্না উন্মাদনার সঙ্গে ও প্রবলভাবে সমর্থন করেন এবং জোরের সঙ্গে

বলেন যে হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের মধ্যে মতপার্থক্য দূর করার একমাত্র উপায় হলো দেশভাগ, যা অনিবার্যভাবে মুসলমানদের জন্য পৃথক রাষ্ট্রে অর্থাৎ পাকিস্তান সৃষ্টির পথ প্রশস্ত করেছিল।

রাজনৈতিক অস্থিরতা ও দেশভাগ

১৯৪৬ সালের সেপ্টেম্বরে নেহেরুর নেতৃত্বাধীনে অন্তর্বর্তী সরকার গঠিত হয়। প্রথমদিকে লীগ এই সরকারকে বয়কট করলেও অক্টোবরে লিয়াকত আলীর নেতৃত্বে পাঁচজন সদস্য এই সরকারে যোগদান করেন। তারপর গভর্নর জেনারেল হিসেবে দায়িত্বভার গ্রহণ করে মাউন্টব্যাটেন এই সিদ্ধান্তে আসেন যে বাটোয়ারা অর্থাৎ ভারত বিভাজন ছাড়া হিন্দু-মুসলমান সমস্যার সমাধান অসম্ভব। ১৯৪৭-এর জুন মাসের মাউন্টব্যাটেন পরিকল্পনা থেকে এই বিভাজন সম্পর্কে মোটামুটি ধারণা লাভ করা যায়। অবশেষে ১৯৪৭-এর আগস্ট মাসে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তরনের মাধ্যমে উত্তর-পশ্চিম এবং পূর্ব ভারতের খানিকটা অংশ নিয়ে পাকিস্তান ও অবশিষ্টাংশ নিয়ে ভারত-এই দুটি পৃথক রাষ্ট্রের সৃষ্টি হয়। বাংলা ও পাঞ্জাবের বিভাজন করে যে পৃথক পাকিস্তানের সৃষ্টি হয় তার পরিণামে এই দুই দেশের সীমান্তে ব্যাপক গণহত্যা, সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা, লুণ্ঠতরাজ ও ধর্ষণের ঘটনা

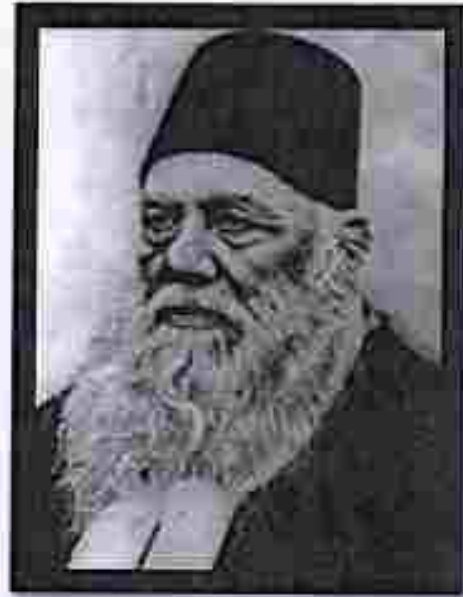


ঘটে।একই দেশের মানুষ নেতাদের রাজনৈতিক সিদ্ধান্তের কারণে হটাৎ করে দুটি ভিন্ন দেশের নাগরিক পরিণত হয়ে যে বিপর্যয় ও ক্ষয়ক্ষতির সম্মুখীন হয়েছিল,তা আজও পূরণ হয়নি।

নবরূপে জিন্মা- ভারতভাগের উদ্দেশ্য সিদ্ধির পর জিন্মা পাকিস্তানের সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের অধিকারের রক্ষাকর্তার নয়া অবতারে অবতীর্ণ হন।তিনি চেয়েছিলেন

যে পাকিস্তানের সকল সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় তাদের সংকীর্ণ চিন্তাধারার উর্ধ্বে উঠুক ও নিজেদের একমাত্র পাকিস্তানের নাগরিক হিসেবে বিবেচনা করুক। এমনকি লীগকে একটি ধর্ম নিরপেক্ষ চরিত্র দানের জন্য জিল্লা মুসলিম লীগের পরিবর্তে পাকিস্তান ন্যাশনাল লীগ নামকরণের কথাও ভাবেন। কিন্তু বিভিন্ন মৌলবাদী গোষ্ঠীর সক্রিয় বিরোধিতায় তাঁর এই প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয়, যারা যুক্তি দেয় যে পাকিস্তান রাষ্ট্রে যেহেতু মুসলিম জাতি গঠন প্রক্রিয়ার ফসল, অতএব তার সংবিধানও শরিয়তী আইনের অনুসরণে গড়ে ওঠা উচিত। কিন্তু ভারতভাগের অব্যবহিত পরেই কাশ্মীরের অধিকার নিয়ে উভয় রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে সংঘর্ষ শুরু হলে জিল্লা আবারও ধর্মীয় জেহাদের আশ্রয় নেন। তিনি ঘোষণা করেন যে পাকিস্তান এবং ইসলাম ধর্মের সম্মান রক্ষার্থে কাশ্মীর উপত্যকায় পাকিস্তানিরা বীরত্বপূর্ণ সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্ব সম্পর্কে আরও দু-চার কথা-বস্তুত স্যার সৈয়দ আহমেদ এবং ইকবালের রচনাতেই সর্বপ্রথম জিল্লার দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্ব ও উপমহাদেশের মুসলিমদের এক সমসত্ত্ব, একান্তবাদী জাতি হিসেবে বিবেচনা করার প্রথম



প্রবণতা লক্ষ্য করা যায়। পাশপাশি, ব্রিটিশ সরকারও বিভাজনের এই মানসিকতাকে দীর্ঘদিন করে সমস্ত পোষণ করেছিল। সৈয়দ আহমেদ ও তাঁর অনুগামীদের আলিগড় আন্দোলনের প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য মুসলমানদের মধ্যে সাংস্কৃতিক নবজাগরণ ঘটানো হলেও, সেই সঙ্গে তাদের পৃথক ও স্বতন্ত্র জাতিগোষ্ঠীরূপে গড়ে তোলার একটা প্রবণতাও নিহিত ছিল। সৈয়দ আহমেদ শঙ্কিত হয়েছিলেন যে গণতান্ত্রিকতার প্রসার ঘটলে সংখ্যালঘু মুসলমানরা সংখ্যাগুরু হিন্দুদের আধিপত্যধীন হয়ে পড়বে। তাই তিনি জাতীয় কংগ্রেস পরিচালিত কোনো আন্দোলনের সঙ্গে ভারতের মুসলমানদের জড়িত থাকার বিরোধী ছিলেন ও এমনকি প্রয়োজনে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের, ব্রিটিশ শাসকের মুখাপেক্ষী

থাকারও পক্ষপাতী ছিলেন। ১৯৩০ সালে এলাহাবাদে অনুষ্ঠিত লীগের সভায় ইকবাল ঘোষণা করেন যে উত্তর-পশ্চিম ভারতে এক সুসংবদ্ধ মুসলিম রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হলো ভারতীয় মুসলিমদের ভবিষ্যৎ। অনুরূপে চৌধুরী রহমত আলীও উত্তর-পশ্চিম ভারতে পাকিস্তান গঠনের দাবি জানান। জিল্লার উত্থান ও তাঁর রাজনৈতিক কর্মকাণ্ড এই পাকিস্তান গঠনের দাবিকে কেন্দ্র করে গড়ে উঠেছিল।

মূল্যায়ন

হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের জন্য পৃথক নির্বাচক মন্ডলীর দাবি ও এই বিষয়ে লীগের একান্ত প্রয়াসের মাধ্যমে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা একটি প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক স্বীকৃতি লাভ করে। তাছাড়া হিন্দুস্ববাদের পুনরুত্থানও লীগের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল মনোভাবের জন্য বহুলাংশে দায়ী ছিল। জিন্নার দ্বিজাতি তত্ত্ব ও স্বাধীন পাকিস্তানের দাবির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উপমহাদেশের সমস্ত মুসলমানদের ধর্মীয়, রাজনৈতিক, ভাষাগত ও সাংস্কৃতিক বিভেদকে উপেক্ষা করে তাদের এক সমসত্ত্ব, স্বতন্ত্র ও একমাত্রিক রূপদানের এই প্রচেষ্টাকে লীগের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল রাজনীতিরই ফসল বলা যেতে পারে। ব্যক্তিগত জীবনে আধুনিক, ধর্ম নিরপেক্ষ মানসিকতা সম্পন্ন হওয়া সত্ত্বেও জিন্না তাঁর স্বার্থসিদ্ধির জন্য ধর্মকে রাজনৈতিক হাতিয়ার হিসেবে ব্যবহার করেন, যার পরিণামে হিংসা, সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ ও জাতি দাঙ্গার সৃষ্টি হয়। জিন্নার এই কার্যকলাপ হিন্দুস্ববাদী প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তির কার্যকলাপেরই অনুরূপ

বলা চলে। তাঁর কার্যকলাপের পরিণামে অথন্ড ভারতবর্ষকে
দ্বিখণ্ডিত করে ভারত ও পাকিস্তান সৃষ্টির পরিণামে
উপমহাদেশে যে স্থায়ী সমস্যার সৃষ্টি হয়, স্বাধীনতার ৭৫
বছর পরে তা আজও বিদ্যমান এবং প্রাসঙ্গিক।

গ্রন্থপঞ্জী

অনাদিকুমার মহাপাত্র- ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্র দর্শন

ভি.পি.ভার্মা- মডার্ন ইন্ডিয়ান পলিটিক্যাল থট

ও.পি.গবা- ইন্ডিয়ান পলিটিক্যাল থট



কৃতজ্ঞতা স্বীকার

মাঁর নিরন্তর প্রচেষ্টা,সহায়তা,পথ নির্দেশনা ও উৎসাহ দান ছাড়া এই প্রকল্পের রূপায়ণ সম্ভব হতো না,তিনি আমাদের বিভাগীয় অধ্যাপিকা শ্রীমতী শর্মিষ্ঠা মন্ডল চৌধুরী ম্যাডাম।বিভিন্ন সময়ে প্রয়োজনীয় বইপত্র ও অন্তর্জাল লিংক সরবরাহ করে তিনি আমাদের সহায়তা করেছেন।বিভিন্ন সময় প্রজেক্ট সম্পর্কিত বিভিন্ন প্রশ্ন নিয়ে যখনই তাঁকে বিরক্ত করেছি,তিনি একটুও অধৈর্য না হয়ে আমার সন্দেহের নিরসন করেছেন।আমি তাঁকে আমার আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা ও শ্রদ্ধা জানাই।

ধন্যবাদান্তে,

সাগরিকা মুখার্জী

অধ্যাপিকার স্বাক্ষর

GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRL'S COLLEGE

MANABENDRA NATH ROY
RADICAL HUMANISM

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11 APR 2023

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17/06/22

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Shalini Chakraborty

INTRODUCTION

Manabendra Nath Roy (born as Nanendrabath Bhattacharya, better known as MN Roy, 21st March 1887 to 25th January 1954) Was an Indian Marxist revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist As well as noted philosopher in 20th century. Roy was the founder of Marxist Communist Party and Communist Party in India.



MN Roy was a revolutionary, who symbolized new ideology of freedom movement that differ greatly from both moderate liberalism and Gandhism. He was strongly influenced by Vivekananda and Bankimchandra, he was also attracted to the political ideas of Aruvindo Ghosh. Bhupendranath was his associate. His brief association with the revolutionary group was crucial to his career.

In Mexico, MN Roy was influenced by socialist ideas. He was associated with the formation of Mexican Communist Party. In the aftermath of World War Two, Roy moved away from orthodox Marxism to espouse the philosophy of radical humanism attempting to chart a third course between liberalism and communism.



BACKGROUND

MN Roy had differences in opinion with Lenin at the second comintern standard on the strategy and tactics to apply The national and colonial questions. Roy went to Russia to attend the 2nd Congress of common turn. Both Lenin and Roy had disputes on the issues of bourgeoisie democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Roy debate with Lennn has to interpret it in context and application of marxian theory of the colonial society. As a contributory to this policy Lenin put forward his thesis " the socialist revolution and the right of nation to self-determination", with respect to the self-determination of nation he mentioned three groups of nations. The first group was western European US, second was Eastern Europe and third was semi colonies.

The proletariat task in the first and Second World would be unfinished without championing the right of nation to self-determination. At the 2nd Congress of comintern Lenin unmasked the new set of contradiction of capitalism, by analyzing the different phases of capitalism he advanced his thesis that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism.

MN Roy debate with Lenin was related to the comintern oriented policy. MN Roy has differences of opinion with Lenin on the national and colonial questions too. Roy came forward with his own thesis known as supplementary thesis of the national and colonial questions. The communists in Roy's view

was not to support bourgeois democratic materialism but only the revolutionary element. The communist had to engage himself wholly into struggle for the class interests of the working people. Roy opined that the national movement in the colonial countries was ideologically reactionary it would not necessarily mean a bourgeois democratic revolution.

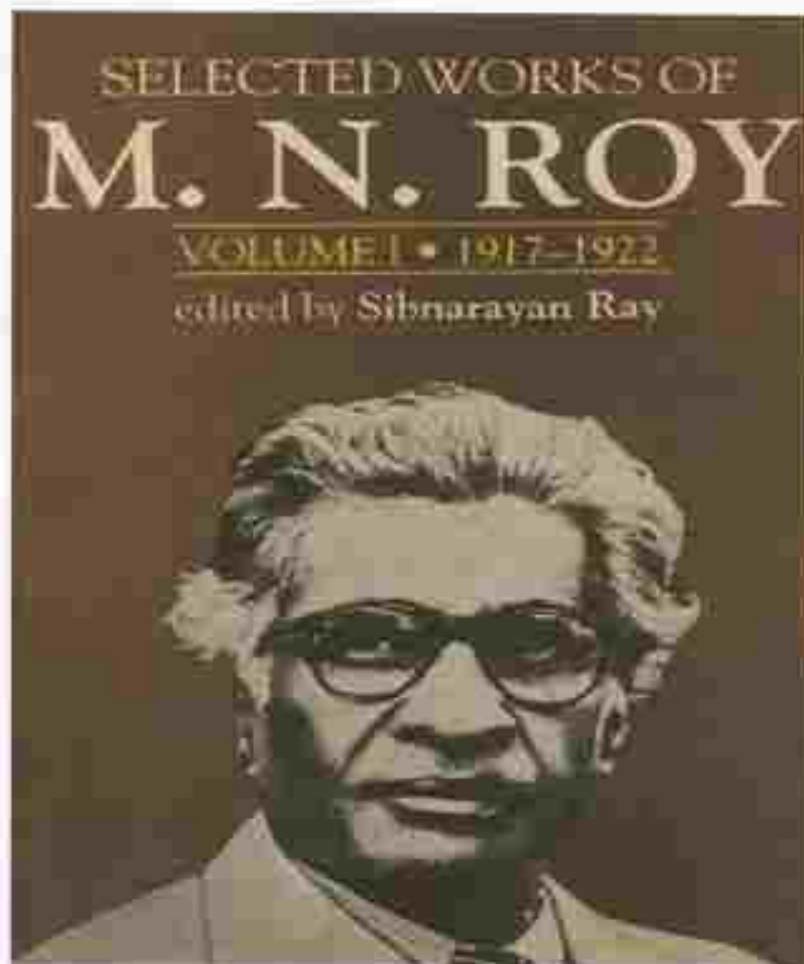
Party flag



MN Roy was one of the founders of "communist party of India".

RADICAL HUMANISM

MN Roy was an activist and was in close contact with Soviet leaders like Lenin and Stalin. MN Roy was dissatisfied by the Soviet system, as instead of dictatorship of the proletariat what really was established was the dictatorship of Communist Party which controlled all social organization like the trade unions and cooperative movements. MN Roy then moved away from Marxism and enunciated his new philosophy of radical humanism in 1946.



MN Roy called his humanism new or radical as he thought it to be reinforced by discoveries of science. Roy reinterpreted human in the light of discoveries of science. New humanism is new because it is humanism enriched, reinforcement, elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during centuries of modern civilization. The core of this theory is greater emphasis on the individual as a human being.

In other words radical humanism of MN Roy is individualism. He was critical of all those theories and perspectives which did not take the individual as the focal point of analysis. For instance his opposition to Marxism As it put undue stress in class struggle where human beings lost their individuality.

The philosophy of new humanism or radical humanism, says that human beings derive all their virtues and powers from their creative attainments in unraveling the mystery of nature.

The human being as a central agent of new humanism of MN Roy, is supposed to be characterized by these fundamental elements of **reason** and **freedom**.

Reason, according to Roy, is a biological property and is not opposed to human will. Taking every man essentially rational, Roy argues that the behavior of every person is rational, though it may appear to be irrational at times owing to the differences in the underline patterns of life in different parts of the world.

The most important characteristics of radical humanist ethics is **freedom or liberty**.

Man struggle not only to exist but also to prosper hence in men there is a struggle for freedom. This freedom is defined by Roy as the unfoldment of potentialities lying within men. This struggle for freedom leads man to search for truth, which to Roy is the content of knowledge. Animals struggle to adapt in their environment and in human world the struggle for freedom takes the form of changing environment. Freedom or liberty, Roy, epitomizes the crux of biological struggle for self protection and multiplication of the human beings in somewhat hostile nature. Quest for freedom, search for truth, according to Roy constitute the basic urge of human progress.

Economic dimensions of MN Roy radical humanism

As far as the economic dimension of new humanism is concerned, Roy wanted economic reorganization of society. Such as a society will be free from exploitation of one man by another, Where workers shall be made the owners of the factories they will collectively own and run the factories. He suggested planned economic development with virtues like cooperation and decentralization. The state will regulate only minimum economic activities, for him state must be a necessary evil.

MN Roy was not opposed to **private property**, provided it did not lead to exploitation of one man by another. Therefore, he insisted for sometime the industry should not be passed on to the private sector and the state should act as the coordinating agency both in public and private sector.

The notion of **organized democracy**

MN Roy held that the democratic idea of popular sovereignty is not realized through the institutions of parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary democracy is based on delegation of power but if the people are sovereign there cannot be any delegation of power. Moreover Roy felt that in a democracy people should exercise their sovereign authority on a constant basis not just in the election held periodically. According to him parliamentary democracy promotes party rule, in a party rule

**Party System will Bring out the worst in PEOPLE
and POLITICAL party leader's will Bring out
ULTIMATE backwardness in People.**

----- MN Roy -----

the powers are concentrated only in one or few leaders thus it is negation of democracy.

Thus he rejected the parliamentary democracy and propounded his own schemes of democracy termed as radical or organized democracy. According to this schemes of organized radical democracy, MN Roy declared that there should be a network of people community throughout the country and the people organizing this committee would be treated as the basis of new democratic scheme. Roy said that the Representative would be chosen by these communities from among its members. The election would be run and organized by the people's committee after the election the elected candidate would not be responsible to any political parties. He must maintain close connection with the committees and explain their problems or grievances of the committee before the legislature or the parliament.

Radical humanism – In favor of education

Roy was against compulsory primary education, any compulsion is against liberty. Education should help men and women to think rationally and decide themselves about how the problems are to be solved. For a true democratic education one must have knowledge of its citizenship, knowledge of politics, freedom to have education, education for different sections of society.

CRITICS

MN Roy was perhaps the most fascinating radicals among the Indian nationalists of his generation. Roy underwent complete personality transformation from nationalist revolutionary into a radical list humanist during the final years of his life. He rejected the system of parliamentary democracy, And rebounded his theory. However, Roy and members of his radical Democratic Party were not accepted by the voters because they failed to identify with their Moto.

However Roy's views were considered by the critics not so practical. Hence one find that his thought of ideology have made very little pragmatic impact in our country except for the conceptual ideas. Jayprakash Narayan for instinct was greatly influenced by Roy concept of party less democracy.

But his experiment with Janta party was surely not an attempt to establish party less democracy. However it is true that Roy is criticism on party system Of parliamentary democracy are just Incorrect when he claimed politics should be scientifically moral and rational. He was right in pointing out that the New Democracy party loyalty would no longer apply intellectual independence. He was also right in asserting that democracy had to recover the humanitarian traditions of modern culture.

However the alternative part to party system and parliamentary democracy Which Roy suggested was also quite impractical to establish and difficult to pursue.

The only tangible lesson that one can derive from Roy teaching is to seriously take into consideration his criticism of parliamentary democracy and party rule and thereafter attempt to cure this System of evils as much as possible.

Thus, in spite of all criticism directed at MN Roy his contribution to Indian political thought cannot be rejected.

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Radical Humanism
According To Manabendra
Nath Roy



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Upoma Ganguly

Signature of the student

Abstract:

Manābendra Nath Roy (21 March 1887 – 25 January 1954) or M. N. Roy was an Indian marxist revolutionary and political theorist, philosopher as well as a radical activist in the 20th century.

Despite not being a popular figure in the current political zeitgeist of India, Roy's contribution to the development of the country's political philosophy is immense.

His experiences were transcontinental and only few other political theorists or revolutionaries of the Indian National Movement had lived a life as colourful and adventurous as him.

Roy was the founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India (Tashkent group). He was also a delegate to congresses of the Communist International and Russia's aid to China. He rubbed shoulders with the likes of Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin and was one of the few Indians who watched the machinations of the great Russian leaders unfold from such a close distance.

In the aftermath of World War II, Roy moved away from orthodox Marxism to espouse the philosophy of radical humanism, attempting to chart a third course between liberalism and communism. His position is well articulated in his book "**Reason, Romanticism and Revolution**".

Roy devised a new philosophy based on human freedom and progress. He had been part of the nationalistic movement and was an ardent Marxist, however he grew largely disillusioned with the ideologies - especially after WWII - and elaborated and encapsulated his theses in a manifesto called the "**New Humanism**".

M. N. Roy, in his later life, considered himself to be a humanist and not an orthodox Marxist.

He opined that in any revolutionary social philosophy, individuality of man - as opposed to the collective "class structure" theorized in Marxism - must be recognized. He emphasized on the autonomy of a person as a moral entity - this was his Radical Humanism.

Background:

Personal and Political History Of M. N. Roy:

M. N. Roy was born as Narendranath Bhattacharya (and later assumed the aforementioned name) on 21 March 1887, at Arbelia of the North 24 Parganas district of the state of West Bengal, India, into a family of hereditary priests.

His childhood was spent in visiting and obtaining knowledge through *maths* and *ashrams*. He was also taught Sanskrit and ancient Indian texts by his father. From a young age, Roy was interested in social services and often volunteered to help at organizations and camps dealing with social issues.

When he was 14, he joined the underground revolutionary organisation *Anushilan Samiti*. After it was banned, he helped to organise the Jugantar Group under the leadership of Jatin Mukherjee. Mukherjee left a lasting impression on Roy and he later emulated the former's political and personal views into his manifesto of Radical Humanism. Roy described meeting Mukherjee as a turning point in his life.

After that Roy continued on with any and all sorts of protests against the colonial, imperial government including participating in a series of political dacoities against British rule. In November 1908, he shot dead Nandalal Banerjee, the police officer who had arrested revolutionary Khudiram Bose.

After World War I began, Roy left to travel the world in the hopes of procuring arms to help in overthrowing the British. He made several trips to Indonesia during that time with the help of German contacts.

In 1916, he landed in the United States. He was closely tracked by British Intelligence and was finally forced to change his name in California, USA, to avoid detection. It was here that Narendranath Bhattacharya became Manabendra Nath Roy.

He was almost arrested and prosecuted several times because of his anti-colonial leanings but he jumped bail.

He went to Mexico and became very involved in the country's political scenario. He was a vocal advocate of the socialist state and founded the Mexican Communist Party in 1917.

In 1920, Roy founded the Communist Party of India along with six other leaders at Tashkent (modern day Uzbekistan).

He also travelled to Moscow to attend the second conference of the Communist International. It was here that he met Communists leader Vladimir Lenin and made a favourable impression on him and also met Joseph Stalin and became a part of the Communist International.

By 1926, he was serving at the policy-making bodies of the Communist International and visited China in 1927.

Roy's mission was to make the Chinese Communist Party implement guidelines by the Communist International, however he failed in doing that. Following this, he was expelled from the Communist International in September 1929.

In 1931 Roy was sentenced to six years imprisonment, after returning to India, for his involvement in the 1924 Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case. While in jail, Roy wrote "*Prison Manuscripts*", a set of nine thick volumes.

After his release in 1936, Roy joined the Indian National Congress but left the party in 1940 as a result of Congress' reluctance to aid the British in World War II.

In 1946, Roy established the Indian Renaissance Institute at Dehradun in order to develop the Indian Renaissance Movement.

Roy died of a heart attack on 25 January 1954.

Radical Humanism According To M. N. Roy:

With the declaration of World War II, Roy condemned the rising totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy, instead supporting England and France in the fight against fascism. He severed connections with the Congress Party and created the Radical Democratic Party in 1940.

Roy's line was clearly different from that of the mainstream of the independence movement. It was then that he started his manifesto that would become the philosophy of *Radical Humanism*.

Radical Humanism was also known as scientific humanism as it employed scientific mechanisms for understanding man and his place in the world. It is known as materialism or monistic naturalism whose characteristics are naturalism, determinism and monism.

Roy emphasized the sovereignty of an individual as a moralistic entity instead of being just a biological entity.

Roy accepted humanism because humanists had always approached life from the assumption of the sovereignty

of man. He believed that all citizens are equal members of society. The human quality of possessing consciousness - of being aware - empowers one to create freedom for the benefit of humanity.

Humanism is an inherently pluralistic belief that accepts that society consists of individuals - both good and bad; those who can co-operate and those who cannot, and those who can inflict injury and those who cannot - and all of them can coexist under the same societal framework. The State should protect them all. The State, science, technology, etc. are all means of an end that are there to help individuals to flourish.

Much of Roy's Radical Humanism theory was developed with keeping a robust criticism of Marxism in mind. He found the basic tenets of Marxism to be dogmatic and unscientific.

Roy was critical of the Marxian concepts of economic determinism, dictatorship of the proletariat, dialectical materialism, and surplus value. According to him, the economic structure of the society should be so planned that it would promote freedom and well-being of the individual.

Thus Roy stressed that neither Capitalism or Parliamentary System can solve the problems of mankind. New Humanism is the only alternative, which reconciles social organization and individual freedom. His philosophy of Radical Humanism is considered as his most important contribution, which may provide for a strong foundation to Indian democracy.

Conclusion:

M. N. Roy's contribution in the Indian political landscape is immense. His idea of Radical Humanism was a different perspective that emerged between the dichotomies of the ideologies of the Indian National Congress and the Communist Party of India. It was attuned to the holistic development of all human beings despite their differences and was utterly scientific aiming to crush the dogmas established by Marxism. His legacy lives on even today as a radical humanist who chose to question and challenge all archaic notions in society.

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GOKHALE MEMORIAL GIRLS COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION

Manabendra Nath Roy (21 March 1887 – 25 January 1954) was an Indian Marxist revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century. Roy was the founder of the Mexican Communist Party and the Communist Party of India (Tashkent group). He was also a delegate to congresses of the Communist International and Russia's aide to China. In the aftermath of World War II Roy moved away from orthodox Marxism to espouse the philosophy of radical humanism, attempting to chart a third course between liberalism and communism.

M.N. Roy, who founded the philosophy of Radical Humanism, was in many ways a unique person. He distinguished himself both as a man of action and as a man of thought. In both the fields, he lived an intense life. As a man of action, he was a devoted and dedicated revolutionary. As a man of thought, he developed into a profound and original social philosopher. There was a fine blend of Romanticism and Rationalism in his mental make-up. His practical experience and evolving thought led him through three distinct phases of political life. He started as an ardent nationalist, became an equally ardent communist and ended as a creatively active radical humanist.

M. N. Roy's Radical humanism

M. N. Roy was an activist and was in closed contact with soviet leaders like Lenin and Stalin. However later he was expelled from the Comintern due to his difference with Stalin after which he came back to India and founded his radical democratic party but soon after the Second World War broke out MN Roy began to move away from Soviet Union and the ideals of Marxism.

M.N. Roy was thoroughly dissatisfied by the Soviet system as it amounted to a virtual totalitarian system where the state instead of withering away established itself more firmly. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat what really was established was the dictatorship of the communist party which controlled all social organizations like the soviets, trade unions and cooperative movements. But Roy realized that this was anti-theatrical to freedom and so he designated his soviet state socialism as state capitalism. He however did not blame Stalin for misdirecting the Soviet revolution but insisted that the Soviet experiment failed to give freedom because of the policies inherent in Marxism. This provoked M.N. Roy to move away from Marxism and enunciate his new philosophy of Radical Humanism in 1946.

Radical Humanism assumes that man in humanism is not just the object of social organization, but also its maker. So M.N. Roy called his humanism new or radical as he thought it to be reinforced by the discoveries of science. He thus called his humanism scientific. Roy totally rejected religious humanism and tried to humanism a materialistic basis. So he reinterpreted human nature in the light of discoveries of science and accordingly he reasoned - human nature has two main

Rationality

M.N. Roy opined that rationality was not a divine spark and he tried to relate it to the law governed by physical universe. He insisted that, coming out of background of law governed universe, and is essentially rational. Man emotes with brain and nervous system, and is conscious of the law governed process of physical nature and begins to think in terms of laws and effects. Thus he becomes rational. To Roy, rationality is a foundation of morality. Man is rational and hence moral. Consequently Roy was trying to insist that a man can lead a purely moral life without having whatsoever faith in religion. Hence, he tried to give morality a secular basis.

Urge for Freedom

The second characteristic of human nature, the urge for freedom to Roy is a continuation of the higher level of the struggle for existence, which is dominant in the entire animal world. But man struggle not only to exist but also to prosper hence there is an immense struggle for freedom. This freedom is defined by Roy as the unfoldment of potentialities lying within man as a biological organism. This struggle for freedom leads man to a search for truth which to Roy is a content of knowledge. Thus while in the animal world the struggle for existence takes the form of adaptation to the environment. In the human world the struggle for freedom takes the form of changing environment. Man can change the environment as he has knowledge. Hence, ideas and knowledge to Roy has a crucial role to play in the making of history.

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*I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY THANK
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*WHO GAVE ME THIS GREAT OPPURTUNITY
TO WORK ON THE TOPIC "MN ROY'S
RADICAL HUMANISM".I WAS ABLE TO
COLLECT IMPORTANT INFORMATION
THROUGH THIS PROJECT WHICH HELPED
ME TO ELLABORATE MY KNOWLEDGE*

INTRODUCTION

Manabendranath Roy was a revolutionary who symbolised a new ideology of the freedom movement that differed greatly from both moderate liberalism and Gandhism. He was strongly influenced by swami Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and was also attracted to the political ideas of Aurobindo Ghosh. Suspendranath Dutta was his associate. His brief association with revolutionary group was crucial to his career. It was not an apprenticeship in making a revolution, but his terrorist days may have shaped some of his personal dislikes. This revolutionary group did not rely on mass support. There were inherent mistakes in the techniques and methods of this group. After its failure M. N. Roy went to Mexico where he was influenced by socialist ideas. He was associated with the formation; of the Mexican Communist Party.

M. N. Roy had differences of opinion with Lenin at the second Congress of the Comintern on the strategian tactics to apply to the national and colonial questions. Roy went to Russia to attend the 2nd Congress of the Comintern. Both Lenin and Roy had disputes on the issues of Burgeoise democratic revolution.

BACKGROUND

In the beginning of his political career, MN was active Marxist and was in close contact with the Soviet Communist leader like Lenin and Stalin. However, later he was expelled from the Comintern due to his differences with Stalin after which he came back to India and founded his radical Democratic Party. But soon after as the 2nd World War broke out MN began to move away from the Soviet Union and the Ideals of Marxism.

MN was thouroughly dissolution by the Soviet system as it amounted to a virtual totalitarian system where the state instead of withering away established itself more firmly. Instead of the dictatorship of the Proletariat what really was established was the dictatorship of the Communist Party which controlled all social organizations like the Soviets trade union, and cooperative movements. But Roy realized that this was anti thetical to freedom, so he designated Soviet state socialism as State Capitalism. He however did not blame Stalin for misdirecting the soviet Revolution but insisted that the Soviet experiment failed to give freedom because of the fallacies inherent in Marxism. This made MN to move away from Marxism and enunciate his new philosophy of Radical Humanism in 1946.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Radical Humanism assumes that man in humanism is not just the object of social organization, but also its maker. MN called his humanism new or radical as he thought it to be reinforced by the discoveries of Science. He thus called his humanism scientific. Roy totally rejected religious humanism and tried to give humanism a materialistic basis. So he interpreted human nature in the light of the discoveries of Science and accordingly he reasoned human nature as two main characteristics, rationality and an urge for freedom. Roy tried to give both a materialistic foundation.

M. N. Roy opined that rationality was not a divine spark and he tried to relate it to the law of governed physical universe. He insisted that coming out from the background of law governed universe, man is essentially rational. Man having a brain and a nervous system is conscious of the law governed process of physical nature and begins to think in terms of cause and effect. Thus he becomes rational. To Roy,

Rationality is a foundation of morality. Man is rational and hence moral. Consequently Roy was trying to insist that a man can lead a purely moral life without facing any faith in whatsoever religion. Hence he tried to give morality a secular basis.

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To M. N. Roy ideation is a physiological process and ideas have an autonomous existence. So ideas are not mere superstructure. On economic mode of production

and have a logic of its own development. In Roy's opinion this is the dialectics of ideas meaning that one idea gives rise to another without any change in the economic foundation of the country. Through MN made a lot of stress on ideation, he did not abandon it and insisted that ideas have physical foundation and cannot exist in an embodied state.

To M. N. Roy ideas have an important role to play in human history. Ideas being conceived by individuals who are of much more importance than any collective ego. This trend of thought made M.N. Roy a champion of democracy though he was totally against the concept of parliamentary democracy.

M. N. Roy held that the democratic idea of popular sovereignty is not realized through the institutions of parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary democracy is based on delegation of power. Moreover, Roy felt that in democracy people should exercise their sovereign authority on a constant basis and not just during elections held periodically, moreover, he felt that parliamentary democracy is even more viciated due to the right of party system. During the elections the parties select the candidates to be nominated for elections, run and finance election campaigns and after

the elections the elected representatives remain responsible only to the party. So parliamentary democracy promotes party rule and not just the rule of people. Also in the party rule the powers are concentrated only in one or few leaders, thus it is a negation of democracy. Also party rule gives rise to immortality in practical politics. The elections thus become a mere scramble for power, without considerations of truth and morality, as the parties went to capture power by any means, fair or foul. But MN as a humanist tried to give politics a truly moral basis. Hence, he rejected parliamentary democracy with its party rule and delegation of power and expounded his own scheme of democracy termed as radical or organized democracy.

According to the scheme of Radical Democracy, MN declared that there should be a network of People's Committees throughout the country and the people organized in these committees would be treated as the basis of the new democratic scheme. Roy said that the election candidates would be chosen by these committees from among its members. He called his democracy organized and not atomized including in it all people. The elections also would be run and

organized by the People's Committees. After elections the elected candidates would not be responsible to any political party to which he might belong, but to these People's Committees. He must maintain close connection with the Committees and explain the problems and grievances of the area of the Committees before the legislature or the Parliament.

OPPOSITION BY CAPITALISM

MN Roy's Radical Humanism was opposed by capitalism as it promotes exploitation and socialism as it inhibits individual freedom. Hence, Roy gave his scheme of Cooperative economy where all workers shall remain the owners of the factory. They will collectively own and run factories. Roy believed as by nature man is rational and moral, he cooperates with one another in order to run and control the factories. Thus in his view of economics we find that like M. N. Roy was opposed to socialism and capitalism. But the path that he advocated was different from that of Mahatma Gandhi who advocated the trusteeship system.

M. N. Roy however believed that his ideals of humanism can never really be achieved in a country that is devoid of political consciousness and education. So he insisted any programme for Democracy and Humanism but he was convinced that political parties cannot help spread education in the country as they are interested only in capturing power. With this

consideration in mind Roy dissolved his Radical Democratic Party in 1948 and launched his campaign to spread education. This campaign Roy believed was a Renaissance of the 20th century.

CONCLUSION

M. N. Roy thus propounded an elaborate view on what he called Radical or new Humanism which stood for the ideals of Democratic Freedom and Economic equality. He opined that new Humanism advocates a social reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of free men, by the cooperative endeavor of spirituality emancipated moral men. The commonwealth and fraternity of free men would not be limited by the boundaries of the national state – Capitalist, Facist, Socialist or Communist or of any other kinds which would gradually disappear under the impact of the 20th century renaissance of man. The conduct of public affairs by spiritually free individuals could guarantee the Fundamental Democratic Principles – the greatest good of the greatest number. The Principle of Radical Humanism was thus a total renunciation of Marxism, M. N. Roy's own views of the preceding and rejectioner of the parliamentary Democracy. His intolerance of religion and nationalism remains unchanged. This new philosophy was seen by political analyst as, a resuscitation of the rationalist humanism of the European Renaissance and which

perhaps explains this fascination for the Renaissance motives.

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