Chapter I

THE MAKING OF UNESCO

Unesco\(^1\) is a creature of much history, a history of the evolution of an idea for the creation of an organisation of this nature. Without going into antiquity, it would be worthwhile to study Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's part in the origins of the idea of Unesco. We shall, thus, study his attitude towards international cooperation, and the possible organisational structure(s) to promote it, as it materialised from time to time, particularly during the period of the League of Nations when he was active in the International Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, sometimes described as "Unesco's embryo".

It is possible to do so in a number of ways: First, we examine the manner as to how Radhakrishnan brought his own philosophy to bear upon his attitude towards international cooperation and international organisation.\(^2\) Then we take up his attitude in regard to

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1 This abbreviated term has been adopted officially in place of the acronym written as UNESCO or U.N.E.S.C.O. See Besterman, Theodore: UNESCO, Peace in the Minds of Men (London) 1951, p. 4.

2 In fact, his deep study of philosophy and religion was reflected in his bearing and conduct to such an extent that Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India (1920-31) nominated, in 1931, Dr. Radhakrishnan to the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as India's representative. He served the Committee right up to its end in 1939.
the basic premises on which international organisation had thus far been structured. We also take note of his contribution to intellectual cooperation at international level through initiative and enterprise. It is expected that, as a result, the novelty or difference of his approach to the entire question of international cooperation and its foundations would emerge.

Analysis, further, of this period, 1931-39, is necessary because this seems to have been the time when Radhakrishnan developed a distinctive attitude to the question of cooperation and organising to achieve and promote it. And, of course, this was actually the period when the principles on which Unesco has been structured took shape. This was in certain respects, the period of experimentation -or the need of it- in the field of possible intellectual cooperation among nations. We may, accordingly, be able to bridge Radhakrishnan's ideas in this regard before and after the establishment of Unesco.

Like all men, Radhakrishnan also was greatly influenced by some of the individuals of his time -especially, Gandhi, Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru- that he came in contact with. At the same time, he reflected

3 Incidentally, the Unesco too was inspired in some of its activities by the ideas of these men.
deeply upon the prevailing world situation to give in his scheme of things a particular place to international cooperation, and organising to achieve it. His speeches and writings on the League of Nations and the functional international cooperation which inspired the activities of the technical organs of League of Nations are an important source for these.

Apart from men, events also affected his thinking, as they invariably do in regard to sensitive and creative people.

The War as a Catalyst

The outbreak, and causes, course and consequences, of the First World War was a traumatic experience for many a thinker, statesmen and politicians of the time. In their bewilderment they applied their minds to what causes war, how it can be prevented and what are the conditions necessary for the establishment of peace. In the League of Nations was created, manifestly, a structure for prevention of war and promotion of peace. The perception of the victorious Western powers formed the bases of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles from which emerged the League. Quite naturally, therefore, their outlook was determined by their understanding of the behaviour of different nations before and during the war. The victors held Germany squarely
responsible for the war. Dr. Radhakrishnan, on the other hand, felt that something was seriously wrong with the spirit of Europe as a whole.

According to him, the primary cause of the War was "the will to possess, the aggressive spirit" which had "the West by the throat". The disease lay in the body-politic of Europe. The responsibility for the war, he held, was not on any particular country, it was in the spirit which was not exclusively German but European. The war was the natural and logical outcome of the spirit which had animated the west for the last four or five centuries. The west had regarded herself as the God appointed agent to civilise the backward races of the world and the "sole claimant" to the uninhabited portions of the earth's surface. This they considered the white man's burden. The Britishers had a head start in the race. French, he thought, were second only to the British. The Germans had 'inherited the European spirit'. Thus the will to dominate the planet Earth had led to the conflict of interests. The result was mutual suspicion, jealousy and hatred. Although the European nations talked of international friendship, this friendship without the heart was but "a sort of cat friendship, paw today

4 "A view from India on the War", Asiatic Review, Vol. VI, May 1915 pp. 371ff. The second part of the article was not allowed to appear, as the Censor did not permit its publication.
and claw tomorrow". It was the western spirit which was violent, selfish and aggressive in matters affecting world politics.

In this article, Radhakrishnan most perceptively raised the question of race being a cause of conflict. This is remarkable, particularly when it is recalled that Gandhi in this period is supporting the British Empire, and nobody of any note anywhere seems to bother about such basic and subtle factors and forces. He argues that it is the race question that had brought about the War. All nations were responsible for it, "England no less than Germany, France no less than Austria". All had sinned, some more, some less. Germany had only struck the match in the explosive atmosphere of suspicion, jealousy and hatred.

He seemed to have little faith in arrangements like the friendships of convenience, balance of power, checks and balances, and so on. He pleaded for an arrangement of friendship of the heart based upon equality rather than the will to dominate. The cause of wars, he firmly believed, thus lay in the minds of men which were set on outward ends and material aims while the inward vision and the spiritual impulse were lost.

5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 374.
So, Radhakrishnan had concluded what the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee came to three decades later, viz., that something was wrong with the minds of men. As Unesco was being established, Attlee -borrowing from some poet of years immediately preceding the second World War, as he acknowledged later- used the term minds of men in which war is born. This expression, as we know, was incorporated in the preamble of Unesco. Can we not then say that Radhakrishnan was decades ahead of his times?

Such singular perception can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Radhakrishnan had, among other things, drank deep the wisdom of Hinduism and other classical texts. Not only was he profoundly impressed by the philosophy and the sweep of ideas embedded in Hinduism, he promptly dedicated himself to interpreting this wisdom of the ancients to the West and to the world at large. In the shaping of his mind, views and attitudes, his vast reading played a crucial role as did, indeed, his exposure to and association with some of the eminent personages of his time, and of course the experience of his travels abroad.

Inter-War Years

For his M.A. degree (Madras, 1908) Radhakrishnan

7 See Unesco Constitution.
had written a thesis on the ethics of the Vedanta, "intended to be a reply to the charge that the Vedanta system had no room for ethics". After the degree, he was appointed to the department of Philosophy in the Presidency College, Madras. Thus started a lifetime of serious study of Indian philosophy and religion from which were to flower his ideas and attitudes that form the mainsprings of our study. His intellectual pursuits, however, were not confined to Indian philosophy and religion; his reading was both wide and deep. A rapid survey of his career and study may be given here with profit.

Radhakrishnan was appointed Professor of Philosophy in 1918 at the newly established University of Mysore. In 1921, he got appointment to the most prestigious chair of philosophy in India, the King George V Chair of Mental and Moral Science at the University of Calcutta. His odyssey of erudition and education was now in full swing.

A series of his articles on the philosophy of M. Bergson appeared in Mind (London). His reading of the important philosophers of his day - Leibniz, James

8 RADHAKRISHNAN READER (Bombay) 1969 (hereafter cited as READER) p. 5.

9 Bergson, with whom Radhakrishnan differed intellectually in holding that intuition and intellect are complementary to each other, served as a member of the Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation.
Ward, William James, Rudolf Eucken, Hastings, Rashdale, Bertrand Russell, to name a few—was careful and constant. The essence of his analysis and response to their views appeared in Radhakrishnan's Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy (Macmillan, 1920)—a text widely used by students of metaphysics in Indian, British and American universities for many years. He had already written, at the invitation of Professor J H Muirhead in 1917, a systematic and readable account of Indian philosophy for the well-known series, "Library of Philosophy", which established Indian philosophy as a recognised and important field of study. At the request of the editors, he contributed the article "Indian Philosophy" in the pages of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th edition). His writings in the Hibbert Journal brought him in touch with its editor, Dr L P Jacks, the Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, who invited Radhakrishnan to deliver Upton Lectures in 1926 on the Hindu view of life. Calcutta University deputed Radhakrishnan to represent it at the Congress of Universities of British Empire in June and the International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard in September that year, while delivering the lectures at Oxford. This was, obviously, the year when Radhakrishnan can be said to really begin addressing himself to intellectual cooperation at international level with growing seriousness.
There can be little doubt that in opening out to the world, so to speak, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan was consciously inspired and influenced by Rabindra Nath Tagore, with whom he came in closer contact after his appointment at the Calcutta University. Indeed, it can well be said that the two were kindred souls, especially in their views of Hindu ethics, the essentially moral nature of Hindu religion, the Hindu doctrine of *Maya*, and in the need of the time for intellectual understanding and cooperation among the peoples of the world. This is clearly reflected in Radhakrishnan's occasional contributions to learned journals like the *International Journal of Ethics, The Monist,* and *The Quest.* In admiration thus he acknowledged:

"Rabindra Nath Tagore inaugurated the era of world cooperation. He visited different parts of the world, East and West and gave the message of tolerance, universality and understanding".

Above all, Radhakrishnan's travels abroad and personal association with important international societies, provided him with the opportunity to give full and impassioned expression to his views on

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10 Illusion, especially the material world regarded as deceptive and unreal.
11 *READER, op.cit.,* p. 6.
intellectual cooperation among the peoples of the world. Travel is an experience and education in itself; in Radhakrishnan's case it seems to have been the more so. For, the more he travelled abroad the more definite and assertive his views became in regard to internationalism, peace, and the cooperation among peoples at intellectual plane.

In his address at the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy (September 1926) Radhakrishnan reminded the philosophers of the real task before them: "we are not so much in need of a keen analysis of particular problems", said he, "as those of essence and existence, sense and perspectives, or a pragmatic insistence on methodology and on the futility of metaphysics". These were interesting no doubt but he stressed that philosophy must show concern with the problems of the world and give guidance. Need is of philosophy "in the larger sense of the term, a spiritual view of the universe, broad-based on the results of the sciences and aspirations of humanity". Here was the exhortation to the thinkers to apply their knowledge to the solution of the problems of the world. The theme

Cited in READER, op.cit., p. 612.
of the address to the Congress was the note he took of a distressing lack of spiritual values in modern civilisation. He developed this idea at some length subsequently in his book, *Kalki Or The Future of Civilisation* (1929).

According to Radhakrishnan the renewal of the civilisation must start from within and must begin with an individual. It is by transforming ourselves that we shall be able to transform the world: "the soul of all improvements is the improvement of the soul." He held that the faith of the future lay in cooperation. In so far as the need for the transformation of the individual has been recognised by both the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as well as Unesco, Radhakrishnan seems to have already been in tune with the principles of these organisations.

Nineteen twenty nine saw Sr Radhakrishnan visiting Oxford, London and Manchester. He lectured on comparative religion, and gave the Hibbert lectures on "An Idealist View of Life" to large audiences at all the three places. In the lectures he commented upon some of the ultimate problems of philosophy. His main theme at Oxford, developed eventually in his book, *East and West in Religion*, was that religion consists in doing justice,

in loving mercy and in making our fellow creatures happy. Universalism implied here found its inevitable echo in his views on international intellectual and other cooperation.

Of greater significance in this regard, however, are Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's utterances at various places within the country, marked as they are by their detailed elucidation and frequency.

Elected Chairman, Executive Council of the Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925 he held this position till 1937. He was the general President of the third session of the Indian Philosophical Congress meeting at Bombay in 1925. He became, in 1931, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Andhra, and continued in that capacity till 1936. Even otherwise he was prominent in the intellectual and academic life of the country.

His mind is revealed in his writings and speeches of this time, and his FREEDOM AND CULTURE 16 is particularly noteworthy in this regard and very relevant to our study. Indeed, it can well be said that this particular book contains the quintessence of Radhakrishnan's view of the world and the need of the time.

About 1927, Radhakrishnan finds humanity in "frustration", and badly in need of pulling 'down the

16 (Madras) 1936.
walls, to breathe freely, to look around on a vaster horizon. It was quite impossible for any nation to stand still and stiff within its gates, while humanity was "marching on". The world, Radhakrishnan felt, was no longer a miscellaneous collection of odd and dislocated spots where people could live alone, in isolation. The world had become a small neighbourhood where the peoples could "neither live alone nor be left alone". Radhakrishnan's perspicacity and prescience in thus recognising the growing and necessary interdependence among the peoples of the world is truly remarkable, the "splendid isolation" of the United States of America at that time notwithstanding.

But -and he was very clear in his mind about it- the desirable interdependence among nations has to flow from mutual respect, understanding and cooperation rather than conflict or destructive competition among them. Acutely aware that there was a flood of modern ideas from every side which was permeating the times the world over, he pleaded for channelising these impulses along cooperative and mutually enriching avenues. Ideas should flow across nations: "where other cultures may give us the light, our own furnishes the conditions for actions".  

17 Ibid., p. 6; also pp. 11ff.
18 Ibid., p. 12.
Jawaharlal Nehru felt that to "understand another people and another nation is to like them and appreciate their good points ...; international contacts promote mutual comprehension and the spirit of goodwill and are thus the surest guarantee of an enduring peace". Radhakrishnan had believed and stood for the same since long.

International cooperation to be fruitful and enduring, insisted Radhakrishnan, must be founded on the principal of "honourable relations" among nations. Significantly, and quite logically, he advocated that the relations of India with other countries be based on this sound principle. That the Indo-British relations be governed by this principle was obvious to him, of course. But when he talked of the relationship between India and Britain, what he seemed to have in mind was primarily a relationship between two distinct and rich cultures rather than two unequal countries with differing political status. By reducing the countries essentially to their cultures, Radhakrishnan articulated the more readily acceptable principle on the basis of which different and divergent civilisations in the world could find compatibility and cooperation, and the relations

19 "India and the Need for International Contacts", New Era, op.cit., p. 27.
20 FREEDOM AND CULTURE (Madras) 1936, p. v.
between colonising and the colonised countries could be smoothened and harmonised. In this way, political antagonisms and bitterness among peoples were bypassed and the requisite climate of understanding and mutual appreciation among them created. Political status of the country is not ignored, but only given a secondary position.

He used the world empire synonymously with cooperation among nations, and stood for an empire "in which Great Britain and India will be bound down together in an honourable relationship -each proud of its association with the other". That he wanted political independence to be a condition for co-operation becomes abundantly clear when he says in categorical terms,

"I have no doubt that no true Britisher would wish to see India pledge herself to the support of British control in perpetuity nor is there any Indian who will sever the British connection if it earns its right to be preserved".

According to him, the Indo-British friendship, which was the one issue that engaged the world in 1920s, "would be a great step towards the peace of the world". It would be a great day not only for India and Great Britain but for the whole world, if a just settlement is arrived at by which India was content to remain a member of the British Empire, without sacrificing her "pride, self-respect and freedom of independent nationhood".

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.; also p. 71.
Let it be stated clearly that political independence of the state, for Radhakrishnan, was to be a starting point for any kind of meaningful cooperation. That is why he fully supported political independence for India. He could possibly not do otherwise, proud as he was of India's glorious heritage and believed as he did so firmly in the superiority of Indian culture. The thought that a people with such high culture be held in bondage or servility would be galling and preposterous to a lesser man; to Radhakrishnan, who knew so much of Indian thought and achievement, it would be the more so.

Thus, in his writings and speeches he fearlessly criticised the "British repression" and the "cringing servility" of the Indian moderates, and supported Gandhi's 'militant' nationalism. In an interview with Paul Arthur Schlipp, Radhakrishnan "unhesitatingly admitted that—especially for the former colonised peoples— the only path of true internationalism lay through initial national independence".

The theory of functional international cooperation, as we know, lays great stress on social justice as an approach, as a means, to ensure world peace. Radhakrishnan, in his pleadings for international cooperation, does

23 Kairon, Partap Singh in RADHAKRISHNAN NUMBER (Madras, Vyasa) 1962, p. 46.
24 Schilpp, Paul Arthur in Dr S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Souvenir Volume (Moradabad) 1964, p. 403.
the same. Analysing the anarchical conditions prevailing in the world before the second World War, he traced them to a "lack of cooperation on terms of justice and equality among nations". The prevailing chaos was due "to no small extent to the tragedy at Versailles which created sullen and discontented peoples". And it was just not possible to "keep down proud and great peoples either in the west or in the east in perpetual humiliation and bondage and expect peace". There was, in fact, the need of broadening the "smaller minds" for the purpose. He was convinced that even as a decent social order cannot be built out of slavery, "a world commonwealth cannot be composed of slave nations... As social freedom and equality are the basis of the state so is international freedom the essential condition of peaceful world order".

It is in this spirit that Radhakrishnan interpreted the British connection in terms of a 'larger objective' of 'goodwill and sympathy', and opposed an Empire if it meant "markets for the central power, men, money and munition for planting the flag in the extremes of the world", if it meant "the massing of troops in a variety of colours against similar groupings on battle fronts", if it meant "the exploitation of the weak and backward". Such an empire, in his considered opinion, was "a vulgarity, a reaction, a danger to the peace of the world". 26

26 Ibid., p. 44.
Thus, according to Badhakrishnan, the ideal worth striving for was a firm political connection secured by common interests, a sound economic interchange and mutual industrial helpfulness on healthy lines, a new cultural relationship between the two most important sections of humanity - Europe and Asia - in which they could exchange all that is vital and valuable as equal members of the 'human household', "a close partnership in building a new and rich culture for a nobler humanity".27

The need of cooperation, felt Radhakrishnan, was in non-political as well as political fields as should be evident from his heavy stress on social justice and culture as a bridge and bond among the peoples. In this sense, he can be said to have enriched - if not inaugurated - the functional approach to international relations. His plea for broadening the "smaller minds" may be considered as something of a contribution to the working philosophy, in general of the structure to be created for achieving intellectual cooperation internationally (possibly under the auspices of the League of Nations) and of the Unesco as it subsequently emerged. "The bonds of friendship", he said, "are a defence more solid than soldiers and machine guns".28

27 Ibid., pp. 43-44.
28 Ibid., p. 44.
He was quite aware of the difficulties in bringing about a change of minds, of course, when it was too arduous to change or surmount even physical habits. Long established habits of thought and mind, all know, require patient and long efforts. Indeed, many may—and do—question the very necessity of doing so, for change may not be for the better. But "we need not shy at change". This is one of the functions of culture: "Culture is not culture if it does not produce the type of mind which will never assist intellectual and social tyranny". 29

The Quality of Intellectual Cooperation

Changed minds will create a culture conducive to congealing of intellectual cooperation internationally. But what exactly would be the kind and complexion of that cooperation? The central idea of intellectual cooperation was to promote in all spheres which come within its range a coordination of effort and a collaboration capable not merely of saving time and facilitating information, distribution and progress, but also of promoting the creation, gradually perhaps, of an "international outlook". 30

29 Ibid., pp. 4, 10.

More specifically, the objective of such cooperation is to create new links between and among all the major governments of the world that had perforce something to do with intellectual subjects. Peace depends on education and education develops the mind. The growth and collaboration in education among peoples would automatically facilitate, promote intellectual cooperation. Endeavour in this regard should be devoted to fostering direct contact between the governmental departments concerned with education. Mechanisms and institutions could easily be created that would tackle common, recurring problems in this regard, having exchanged freely the relevant information. In fact, the idea of intellectual cooperation among peoples is very old, though nothing definite was attempted in this regard till after the first World War. The intellectual had always been attracted to the idea, but the politicians were not too keen to do anything about it. Thus, all that the intellectual could do was to steadfastly keep the idea alive.

The concept of intellectual cooperation appeared in Europe. John A. Comenius (1592-1670), a teacher gave expression to the idea in the seventeenth century.31

The aim of education, according to him was, to be the

acquisition of all knowledge; **Pansophy** was the name he gave to this purpose of education. In order that all things could be taught to all men, Comenius proposed establishment of a 'Pansophic' college which would take all knowledge as its province. All available knowledge, however, was not to be acquired for its own sake. It was to be coordinated and 'unified' as a means to achieve world peace. A similar scheme for unification of world's knowledge through a central institute, the **Solomon House**, had also been put forward by Bacon. But these ideas outran the imagination of the day. Nothing practical came of them though the idea had struck roots. In the wake of the terrible Napoleonic wars, it was mooted that an international commission for compiling and disseminating information about the various educational systems then prevailing, be instituted. Nearly a century later, there was again a move for initiating an international education union. During the 1890's, Herman Molkenboer of the Netherlands proposed a permanent and international "Council of Education". In fact, the Netherlands -virtually a centre of efforts for peace- issued a call for holding an international conference with that objective in view. But the World War I extinguished these early

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32 Ibid.


34 A succinct account of these endeavours is provided in Rosello, P: FORERUNNERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION (London) 1944.
sparks. Norman Angell, a distinguished journalist, convinced that there was no sense in armed conflict, called attention to the "great illusion" of trying to solve problems through armaments and war, and campaigned ceaselessly for the cause of peace through his writings.

At the conclusion of the War in 1919, the idea of undergirding, maintenance and promotion of peace through education was once again aired and canvassed in the draft of League of Nations. It was argued that for banishing war permanently the children's mind must be swept clear of the germs of war through a proper system of education. An international Bureau of Education was, therefore, proposed to be stipulated in the League Convenant.

Nothing, however, ever came of this officially. But the protagonists of this idea, undaunted by the cold shouldering, established the International Bureau of Education (IBE) on a private basis at Geneva.

But this propitious start in the direction of lessening the interstate rivalries and tensions through education was soon to be overcast by the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe and elsewhere. These ideologies debased and dehumanised through indoctrination of hatred, prejudice and untruth—all directed to the sole objective of total war for territorial expansion and domination. These ideologies crushed liberty which true education

35 See his The GREAT ILLUSION 1933 (London) 1933; The GREAT ILLUSION—Now (Penguin) 1938; PREFACE TO PEACE (London) 1938.
36 Rosello, op. cit.
promoted. The League of Nations, and the Bureau of Education, stood helpless in stemming the relentless tide of brutal totalitarianism of Fascism and Nazism. Yet, discouraging as all this was, the idea of international cooperation in matters educational, remarkably enough, survived. Indeed, it was kept alive even when the war was being waged with unparallel ferocity on both sides.

These views and their promotion found an easy but ardent echo in Dr Radhakrishnan's thinking and writings all through. He argued with passion and persuasion in the post-World War I years for spiritual and intellectual "renewal of consciousness". Convinced as he was of the role of education in creating peace and promoting world citizenship, Radhakrishnan pleaded time and again for developing "institutions" which would turn "people into world citizens". Education, according to him, aimed at transmitting "not only .. skills and techniques, but ... ideals and loyalties of affections and appreciations". 37

Coincidentally, some structures and bodies had emerged on the world scene which intended giving shape to these ideas and aspirations. We have mentioned IBE founded privately. Once the League of Nations had been formally established on 10 January 1920, steps got

underway to create other kindred bodies culminating finally in 1925 in the all-embracing, consolidating International Intellectual Cooperation Organisation (IICO).

International Intellectual Cooperation Organisation, 1926

The harrowing experience of a long-drawn World War and the prevailing misery and wretchedness in Europe emerging out of it made the delegations at the League of Nations articulate with great deal of passion the need to engage and commission the world of thought and ideas in the cause of an enduring peace. Men of ideas, letters, science and sensitivity were called upon to contribute towards consolidation and promotion of peace in a world badly in need of it. Cooperation among the intellectuals of the world and a concerted effort on their part were seen as a tangible and trustworthy path of lasting peace.

The members attending the very first session of the Assembly of the League in December 1920, imbued their utterances with urgency, and adopted a resolution, independent of any provision of the covenant, asking the League Council to associate itself as closely as possible with efforts for bringing about an organisation of intellectual work. The covenant, as we know, made

no express mention of such an activity, though some kind of intellectual "rapprochement" can be said to be implied in its preamble and other articles.

Within months, the Council adopted (2 September 1921), a report by Leon Bourgeois and the International Committee on International Cooperation (ICIC) was subsequently set up, which held its first meeting in Geneva on 1 August 1922. Last of the technical agencies to be set up by the League, the Committee became the first formal international organisation in the area of cultural relations. It aimed at developing worldwide contacts and inculcate and strengthen a truly international consciousness among teachers, artists, scientists, writers and other professions. Something of a pioneering activity in this field at the time, this later became a routine responding to the greatest need of the world.

39 The already functioning related to health, communications and transit, labour, and economics and finance.


42 Masani, R P in RADHAKRISHNAN NUMBER, op. cit., p. 193. Masani was associated with the League's Bombay Centre for years.
Thus, it was the effort of intellectuals like Leon Bourgeois and Gilbert Murray that led to the formation of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC). The problems and the tasks that the Committee faced were of an extremely complex, and subtle nature. But over the years it came to have the advantage of association with it of such eminent men as Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Henri Bergson and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who served on it at one time or the other. That explains partly the "commendable work" it was able to do inspite of severe and several limitations. The significant thing to be noted about the Committee is that its membership was open to twelve distinguished individuals in their personal capacity for their eminance, and not to countries. These 12 eminent men did not represent their countries as such, in a narrow nationalist sense, or the view points or policies of their governments. They were in a sense distinguished world citizens contributing to international understanding through interpretation and communication of their cultures. The Committee which started as an exclusive group of select individuals as members, grew gradually into a full-fledged international organisation for cooperation at intellectual level.

43 Name of his ancestral village.
In 1926, with the funds from the French government, the Committee set up the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) at Paris. Two years later, in 1928, the Committee accepted the representation of the Italian Government to take over two institutes at Rome—the Institute for Unification of Private Law (IUPL) and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI)—and extend its activities to those fields also. Later, the IBE, Geneva too was added to the growing conglomerate under the Committee. The Bureau, as we mentioned, had been functioning since 1922 as a private agency.

A constitution for the agency working for intellectual cooperation in the world was approved by the League Assembly on two occasions, in 1926 and in 1931. As a full-fledged international agency, IICO thus became a composite of the ICIC, the IBE and the IIIC, besides the IUPL and IECI. Dr Radhakrishnan became a member of the ICIC in 1931 for a term of 5 years that was renewed as an exception and apparently in recognition of his work and eminence for another term of 5 years; he thus served on the ICIC till the very end of the League in 1939.

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45 Gupta, D C: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (Delhi) 1974.
The IGIG acted as the advisory organ of both the League Council and Assembly. It was at the apex of IICO and superintended and coordinated all the work and activities pertaining to cultural interaction and intellectual cooperation. Three permanent institutions—viz., an International Cooperation Section in the League Secretariat, the IIIC at Paris and IECI, Rome—and the National Committees in different countries constituted the operational framework of the IICO. The Organisation (IICO) also included a large number of committees of experts whose size, period of appointment and terms of reference, varied according to circumstances, and the specific task assigned.

The Committee (ICIC) was intended to serve three purposes: (i) to improve the material conditions of those engaged in intellectual activity, (ii) to establish contacts between teachers, artists, scientists, authors and others of similar professions and promote interaction among them, and (iii) to strengthen the influence of the League for peace. Indeed, the Committee was meant to create what was described as "a League of Minds". 48

Before the first world war, intellectuals who had devoted themselves to a life of study were, on the whole, assured of a reasonable degree of competence and comfort. After the war, however, they were suddenly exposed to the

48 Ibid., 1934–1935, p. 3.
full rigour of hard competitive struggle in which the rest of the post-war societies —particularly, in Europe— were engaged. New inventions and innovations in the fields of music and drama, confronted the artists and authors with problems analogous to those that manual workers had been grappling with ever since the end of the 18th century. The pay and status of teachers, the copyright of the author, the loan of manuscripts and museum exhibits, the equivalence of examinations—all these problems, among others, had now to be settled by international action. Evidently, these fell among the tasks of the Committee.

Moreover, as the sphere of their usefulness became wider, the national committees and sub-committees increased in number, the work of the Organisation (IICO) automatically expanded. It thus had to deal now with the problems of university relations; the promotion of popular arts; coordination of bibliography; literary and scientific property; translation of literary works; equivalence of University degrees; relations between the cinematograph and international life; information and instruction regarding the principles and facts of international cooperation, and so on.

Advent of Radhakrishnan

In the first quarter of this century if one were
to look for a person to campaign and canvass for cultural interaction to enrich life, and cooperation at intellectual level the world over, Dr. Radhakrishnan would have been a natural choice. His reading, thinking and philosophy all seem to cut him out for the role. Deep conviction, the sincerity and the intensity with which he felt the need for intellectual cooperation among nations as a guarantee of a lasting peace, singularly equipped him for the task. By the time the opportunity arose to play his part in the institutions developing for the purpose, Radhakrishnan's views had become known far and wide to earn him a place in some of these institutions.

His advocacy of functional international cooperation based on justice and equality got him the invitation to be on the ICIC in 1931. The objectives and the work of the Committee had evoked considerable interest in many circles in India ever since its inception. With Radhakrishnan on the Committee some of this interest could now be expressed and expanded internationally. He could tell the world that some of the front-rank leaders of his country stood for international cooperation especially in the social, cultural and economic fields. Apart from being the authentic spokesman of the popular Indian leadership, Radhakrishnan represented Indian thought in abundant measure. He did this with such manifest ability that when Unesco emerged, he was India's
natural and obvious choice for it. His years with the ICIC had tampered his views with valuable experience, and fully prepared him for an enviable, wise and creative contribution in the Unesco. We attempt here a brief discussion of his work in the Committee garnered from the scanty sources of the years of the League.

But before that, however, the point must once again be made that Radhakrishnan's work was the expression of his thinking which while emanating from his oceanic reading of Indian philosophy bore the imprint of constant interaction with contemporary colossus minds of Tagore and Gandhi at home and those of Gilbert Murray, the ICIC Chairman, Bergson, Curie, Einstein, Freud (among others) abroad. As noted earlier his thinking was a brilliant synthesis of the best in the Indian tradition of millenia and what seemed best in the West. It was a happy blend of nationalism with universalism.

Impressed by Tagore's stress on the role of education, Radhakrishnan developed his views in regard to cooperative interaction among cultures. According to Tagore, "the educator will have to play a new role in the international sphere because most problems are international and yet the international mind has not yet been found, the modern teacher's conscience not having taken its responsibility in helping to evolve it".49

There is little doubt that Tagore, in his own way and quite independently, inspired activities and moves internationally that the IIICO was committed to promoting. His letter to the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation for instance, is highly significant. Inviting attention to the resentment of the underprivileged driving them to revolt against the fortunate nations, and cautioning the latter against it, Tagore wrote,

"There was a time when we were fascinated by Europe. She had inspired us with a new hope. We believed that her chief mission was to preach the gospel of liberty to the world. We had come then to know only her ideal side through her literature and art".

Then the poet expressed his disillusionment by a number of harsh judgements on European materialism and nationalism:

"Thus, modern Europe, scientific and puissant, has partitioned out this wide earth into two dimensions. Through her filter, whatever is finest in Europe cannot pass through to reach us in the East". Yet a great light remains, Tagore went on, and without forgetting all the grievances he previously set forth, concluded: "I still aver that in the life of West they have a large tract where the mind is free; whence the circulation of their thought currents can surround the world".50

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Tagore was very sanguine that II CO will work "to instil better understanding into human relations".  

With Gandhi, Radhakrishnan believed in the energisation of love process for the relaxation, if not absolute resolving, of tensions of all kinds and at all levels. We have already noted (Supra, pp. 11-12) that like Gandhi and Aurobindo, Radhakrishnan was convinced that the path to peace lay through the transformation of man's consciousness. But, above all, Radhakrishnan had as abiding a faith in non-violence as Gandhi did. Believing that every moral idea had a corresponding intellectual outlook, Radhakrishnan stressed that non-violence basically implied a multiplicity of approaches to truth.  

The ICIC, as we know, was committed to providing a meeting place for world intellectuals, men of ideas. And a meeting of minds did take place within its ambit. Radhakrishnan's meeting with the Committee's chairman, the famous Gilbert Murray, was one such interaction that led to mutual enrichment, which left its mark on the former's thinking and attitudes. For instance, Murray was a believer in world government: "The Committee to quote one of its own documents regards international

51 Ibid., p. 43.
cooperation as the normal method of world government".\textsuperscript{54}

And Radhakrishnan pleaded for "the organisation of a federation of states based on political collaboration, economic cooperation and intellectual understanding".\textsuperscript{55}

The possibility for doing so, he believed, lay through "intellectual cooperation". This is the idea and the attitude that underpins the theory of Functional International Cooperation, which stresses the strong possibility of political integration via cooperation in non-political aspects.

Similarly, just as Murray attributed to values in Greek poetry his creative insight for understanding international relations, Radhakrishnan drew upon the ancient fountainhead of Indian philosophy for analysing and understanding the contemporary world scene. In his synthesis, thus, Radhakrishnan believed that an integrated personality was one in which reason and intuition, science and humanities complemented each other. In the same way, the empirical knowledge of the West and the intuitive wisdom of the East could, and should, complement each other: Radhakrishnan wanted a humanistic appreciation of


the classics by a mind which is free from the shackles of dogma and the preservation of cultural freedom so that the life is lived for the sheer joy of intellectual and artistic creation. Radhakrishnan believed that there was "great scope for a continuous dialogue between India and the West based on a deeper consciousness of shared values and links such as individual freedom and cultural cooperation".  

This led Radhakrishnan to the advocacy of cultural cooperation. Thus, he represented in such writings quite clearly the views that nationalist India held at that time and promoted after her independence.

But, what exactly was understood by 'intellectual cooperation'; what was its scope to be? Till about 1930 there did not seem to be much clarity or agreement of opinion in this regard beyond rhetoric or some hazy impressions and aspirations.  

When Radhakrishnan joined the ICIC in 1931, however, the IICO already seemed to be arriving at a somewhat clearer purpose when it described its objectives as the creation of "an atmosphere favourable to mutual understanding between the nations".  

56  Ranganathan, A: RADHAKRISHNAN NUMBER (Vyasa) p. 123.
57  Mahendra Kumar, op. cit., p. 25.
In fact, in 1930 a committee of enquiry had been formed to prepare a plan, to define the goal and functioning of the organisation in the light of its experience of the last 8 years. At about this time, the CIIC directed its executive committee to follow and direct work between the annual plenary sessions. In the same year the ICIC also set up a permanent committee on Arts and Letters which concerned itself with the study of the problems of international cooperation in general. The Permanent Committee entered into correspondence with scientists, philosophers and other intellectuals in Europe and elsewhere, and often published their ideas and attitudes in the form of monographs, pamphlets etc. Anyway, by the time Dr Radhakrishnan came on the ICIC, the view tended to dominate that intellectual cooperation should aim at "facilitating mutual knowledge and comprehension of the peoples by every possible means". The work of the IICO, then was in full swing.


60 Gupta, op. cit., p. 104.

The ICIC also sat as the governing body of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. This brought him in touch with the work of the Institute as well. His membership of the Committee seems to have determined that Dr. Radhakrishnan emerge as an evangelist of the gospel of international harmony and goodwill, serving as a bridge between the East and the West. Such was the impact he made in the ICIC that the Council of the League of Nations, making a rare exception, renewed Dr Radhakrishnan's term on 13 May 1936, by another five years -right till the very end of the League itself, as it turned out.

In the Service of the ICIC

Let us now have a look at the quality, intensity and the extent of his participation in the ICIC, and by virtue of his membership of that body -in the related institutions of the League. It is not perhaps known generally that the Disarmament Conference convened by the League in 1932 at Geneva invited some of the ICIC members to the sessions of the conference. Dr Radhakrishnan was one of the few so invited.

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conference set up a 'Moral Rearmament Committee' with a view to having continuous collaboration with the IICO. Radhakrishnan's addresses at these sessions indicate the measure of his involvement in the cause of intellectual cooperation.

In the very first session (July 1931) of the ICIC he attended on becoming its member, Dr Radhakrishnan gave forceful expression to the very fundamentals of his beliefs and ideas when he made cooperation among peoples heavily dependent upon positive understanding among them. This basic article of his faith was to expand and find repeated assertion by him at various places in the years to come. So much so that it went in as the very corner-stone of Unesco, eventually.

Thus, if the League of Nations wanted to make any headway in its assigned task its members must understand each other rather than seek or expect cooperation while mutually bearing grousers, having misunderstandings born of lack of correct information and allowing suspicions of each other to exist; cooperation can possibly not develop on ignorance or prejudice. For instance, India could muster much greater faith in the value and effectiveness of bodies like IICO, if the League knew and understood fully the

"travail of spirit through which India was passing". In achieving and promoting understanding among countries, education was the key. This is what the ICIC purported to achieve by highlighting education creating values fostering peace.

On coming to the Committee, therefore, Radhakrishnan immediately laid stress on the need of special attention to education. At the 13th session of the ICIC he urged that the intellectual and educational problems of India — as indeed those of China — deserved to be known and informed about the better, and soon. The problems had arisen because the old educational methods in India had been abolished and the new system there was not adequate or satisfactory.

The Committee had planned to send a mission to China under the leadership of Maurette to study the Chinese Educational System and suggest necessary reform in it. With a view to economising — for, ICIC was

67 Mahendra Kumar, op. cit., p. 29.
68 Minutes of the Thirteenth Session 1931. C 471, M 201, XII, p. 13. Also see Coyajee, op. cit., p. 186.
always short of funds. Radhakrishnan wanted that the mission should study the problems not of China alone but those of the whole of the Far East. Maximum advantage could, in his view, be obtained if the mission were to stop both in India and Japan, besides China, while returning to Europe, so that a comprehensive view of the education in almost the whole of the Far East could be taken.

Radhakrishnan firmly believed that there was a very close and positive relationship between evolution of "international minds" and the growth of "education and enlightenment". He argued that education constituted "a constructive process, a fundamental re-creation of the human mind directed not merely in the interests of the nation and state but for the welfare of the whole human community". His elaboration of the argument forcefully made at the joint session of the ICIC and the Committee on Moral Rearmament (July 1932) left a deep imprint on the minds present; education, he asserted, was vital for bringing about moral rearment. And there was such a crying need and scope of education—especially scientific and technical education—in a country like India. In so far as the ICIC aimed at fostering education as an instrument of cooperation it represented the 'mind and soul' of

70 Taken from Mahendra Kumar, op. cit., p. 30.
the League of Nations. The Committee advocated overcoming disincentives to cooperation be they in the mild shape of tariffs and custom barriers or more severe like armaments and attacks from the air.\textsuperscript{71} It had done much, but there was room still for much, much more.

Some thought of the ICIC as a set of elderly gentlemen keenly sensitive about their reputation for practical sense and strongly convinced of the inevitability of gradualness. Radhakrishnan admitted that their achievements were not proportional to their desires. They seemed to be in the inevitable position of the angels in Dante's \textit{Divine Comedy}, who kept neutral in the conflict between God and Satan. They were not accepted by heaven and they were rejected by hell. Radhakrishnan of course, did not quite agree with such a view of the ICIC and its members.

With Gilbert Murray he agreed that even though the Committee did not quite concern itself with politics -or matters political- it could possibly not escape being influenced by it, albeit marginally perhaps. All human actions are affected to a lesser or greater extent by the political traditions and political climate in the world; it would be fanciful to ignore the grave dangers emanating from contemporary international politics -or

\textsuperscript{71} \textit{The Hindu}, 9 Aug 1932.
politics, in general— that surrounded the civilisation. The Committee was doing its bit to help in preserving and improving the civilisation. Murray compared the work of the committee to that of workmen "carefully decorating the ceiling of a house which is about to be blown to pieces by artillery".\textsuperscript{72}

Radhakrishnan wanted the task of the Committee to be to produce the "moral and intellectual energy" necessary for a right and rapid movement. He said that if the war mind was to be diminished in power and new habits of thought were to take its place, it could only be through education and enlightenment—not a mere intellectual agitation. He lamented how it had proved to be ineffective enough in the World War I; religions which taught us peace and goodwill could not prevent the murderous war. Economic motives and injunctions that wars were an economic waste could not prevent the most appalling waste of capital. Respect for law could not compel adherence to the most elementary principle of warfare.

Defining education as a constructive process, a fundamental recreation of the human mind, Radhakrishnan wanted it to be directed not merely in the interests of the nation and state but for the welfare of the whole human community. "Let us teach the rising generation the

love of humanity and the greatness of the peace", he said, "let us impress on them the unity of mankind and the duty we owe to humanity as a whole." 73

Indeed, Radhakrishnan was keen that the leadership of the world should be with educators who alone could command the movement of the ideas which were more the causes than the effects of public actions. He stressed the importance of "changing the mind" of the youth in this regard, otherwise civilisation itself would not survive. He hoped that a world culture would emerge which would express itself in a world citizenship.

It was not easy, of course, to develop an international mind. A loyalty to the human community rather than to one's own group had to emerge and impose. But there was, he felt, "an obligation to bring moral pressure on all those who were exploiting other people". 74 Laying great stress on the functional aspect of the League, Radhakrishnan felt that it should try to enforce "justice and loyalty among all nations small and great, backward and advanced". 75

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73 The Hindu, 9 Aug 1932.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
Education, Radhakrishnan felt strongly, should promote faith in the minds of men. "We are lacking in faith" he said, 76 "we are a people without vision". It was "blank page" in the minds that had turned the world into a mad house. "It is not the world that is mad... the madness is in ourselves". IICO, he thought, could educate the youth of the world in the League's spirit. This, in fact, was one of the programmes that engaged the Organisation in the later years of the League, when the importance of the "education for peace" 77 was duly recognised.

For giving concrete shape to his views in actual practice, Radhakrishnan's contribution at the level of organising and creating agencies is also very significant. He suggested measures for strengthening the League's machinery for intellectual cooperation. His emphasis on the significance of national committees in this regard was very valuable. The relationship of the national committees with the ICIC was same as what obtains between the National Commissions vis-a-vis Unesco today. These committees linked the intellectual life of the individual countries with the ICIC. Radhakrishnan took upon himself the task of forming the National Committee in India. He prepared its blue print defining its structure and funding.

But, despite his best efforts, the Committee could not be formed till the meeting of the second general conference of national committees held in 1937.78

Dr. Radhakrishnan had suggested that pending the formation of such a committee, the Inter-University Board of India might be recognised as the national committee of India, and vigorously pursued this proposal. It was only as a result of his efforts and influence in the ICIC and, of course, in the Inter-University Board that the latter decided in February 1935 that it would carry out, at least partially, the functions of a National Committee.79

Formation of the Committee was delayed for political reasons.

The Inter-University Board was to concern itself with matters relating to higher education, while those at other levels of education came to be the responsibility of the Education Commissioner, Government of India.80

Dr. Radhakrishnan, who wanted the body to be non-official, foresaw the great advantage of including in it the Government's representative with a view to procuring the necessary funds from the Government. Here is an instance of how he combined in himself pragmatism with idealism.81

78 The first general conference of the national committees was held in 1929.
80 See League of Nations: NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION (1937) p. 70.
81 This quality in him explains his success almost everywhere including Unesco.
But, more important than the possible financial assistance, the crucial merit of having a Governmental nominee on the National Commission was to establish the vital liaison between a non-official cultural agency and the Government. This arrangement was accepted not only at that time (1937), and by India in 1950, but it was adopted as the pattern by the Unesco itself with regard to its Executive Board in 1954. At the 12th meeting of the Thirteenth Session of the ICIC (25 July 1931) when the question of establishing an Indian National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation came up, Radhakrishnan felt that it would neither be feasible nor desirable to have just a single National Committee for the whole of the country. It would advisable to have a central committee, or a coordinating body, with three or four regional sub-committee which would represent the intellectual life of the south the north, the east and the west of the country. Its character, he was emphatic, would have to be non-official, non-governmental; otherwise they could not really be the true representatives of the cultural life of the whole nation. There should be only one or two members nominated to it by the Government, so that the Committee might receive requisite funds from there.

The best way to arouse interest for the work of the League of Nations in matters of intellectual

82 Mahendra Kumar, op. cit., p. 45.
cooperation among the intellectuals of India, according to Radhakrishnan, was for the universities in the country to have suitable representation on the proposed National Committee. ICIC Chairman, Gilbert Murray, lent his full support to this idea of a "non-official body" consisting of a central committee and the regional sub committees. Such a body eventually came into existence with the "state support" in 1937. In bringing about a "non-official" agency with "state support" was the best arrangement possible in a country seeking projection of its cultural heritage while suffering under foreign rule. Radhakrishnan devised a different approach in this regard once the country became free and its role vis-a-vis Unesco had to be defined.

Radhakrishnan's formula of a "non-official" body enjoying "state support" had wider relevance to all those countries in the world that were in a position similar to that of India. In essence, it meant absence of official, bureaucratic interference in the work of Intellectual Cooperation while, at the same time, ensuring effective, meaningful functioning inherent and inevitable under decentralisation.

That official interference in the work of intellectual cooperation should be to the minimum possible

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extent had also been implied in the speech of Lord Hardinge of Penhurst, one of the delegates of India to the League of Nations in 1923 when the question of enlargement of the ICIC was being considered in the fifth committee assembly. His Lordship deeply regretted that the enlargement was being contemplated on the basis of nationality rather than that of "scientific qualifications".

What came to be widely acknowledged later on (in 1965) as the most viable area wherein international cooperation and peace endured -viz., the "moral and intellectual realms" - was anticipated and indicated by Radhakrishnan in his address at Allahabad in 1934, when he declared:

"The responsibility of the intellectuals, the natural leaders of thought and life, is immense. The anxious preoccupation of the statesmen of all countries at the present moment when competing social, economic and political views are in the field, raises questions of fundamental importance. The issues involved are vital to every interest, both of the individual and of humanity." 86

Born, bred and belonging to a country of tremendous diversity that India had, Radhakrishnan was naturally conscious of the need, and the corresponding difficulties,

86 See FREEDOM AND CULTURE, op. cit., p. 100.
of bringing about "unity out of diversity" at national level. This consciousness qualified him, so to speak, to grasp the identical situation at international level, obtaining among a medley of nations, with ease and suggest approaches with confidence and correctness.

Freud in his letter to Einstein echoed similar thoughts: "Though weak in the face of political upheavals, cultural cooperation appears nevertheless as a powerful instrument for shaping public opinion and through it, the world of tomorrow".  

Radhakrishnan saw the barriers that the principle of sovereignty created in the path of cooperation among nations. This he felt could be skirted by stressing the possibilities at intellectual and cultural levels, palpably manifest in Arts and Letters. The ICIC had entrusted the task of exploring avenues of cooperation in this regard to a permanent committee on Arts and Letters. In the very first meeting of the ICIC Radhakrishnan attended (1931), he argued that in so far as in the weakening of the appeal and hold of religion peace had lost its mainstay, its place could be taken by Arts and Poetry. The beauty, the appeal, the impact of poetry and the arts surmounted the separated barriers

87 Bonnet, Henri, op. cit., p. 175.
88 ESSENTIAL FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, op. cit., p. 266.
of all kind and evoked finer instincts in men. It was possible, he said, to disagree with the policy, political or economic, of a country but one could easily be drawn to its literature and art, wherein the genius of a nation inevitably found expression. He drew attention, in this context, to the works of Gorky, Tagore and other great men of letters, and artists of the East, whose works had a universal appeal and relevance.

It followed, therefore, that the classics of the world should be translated and made easily available. The classics, he said, "shake us out of our complacency". The Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, accordingly, adopted a resolution in this regard. Radhakrishnan had to point out, however, that although many of the great classics had been translated into the various Indian languages, Indian classics had not had the same exposure; they also should be so treated.

That being so, communication and cooperation could develop not only among the members of the League but also with those who were not its members. Communication and cooperation, Radhakrishnan argued, could be truly global, voluntary -if not spontaneous- and lasting. "Efforts in this respect should not be limited", he said,

89 Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, op. cit., p. 19.
90 FREEDOM AND CULTURE, op. cit., p. 60.
"to Europe or even to the states members of the League of Nations. They should extend to nations such as the United States of America and Russia".91

Clearly, Radhakrishnan's argument was at the same time a plea for universalisation, globalisation of the membership of the international organisations and for functional international cooperation. The theory of functionalism, it may be recalled, underlines the fact that the habits of cooperation and fruitful discussions developed in the non-political field can in time be transferred to the political field.

So, he lauded the League's efforts to "working not for any specific culture but for culture as a whole so that each country could develop in accordance with its own genius". For, he favoured "unity and not uniformity".92 Like Gandhi, Radhakrishnan also did not want a particular culture to flourish at the cost of other, local cultures. Needless to say that Radhakrishnan's views made quite an impact in the Committee.93

The Committee on Arts and Letters organised several "conversations" between eminent representatives of world

91 Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, op. cit., p. 19.
93 Coyajee, op. cit., p. 187.
thought on questions of direct interest to the future of human culture in existing world conditions. It also published "correspondence" between eminent leaders of thought in different countries.

A gratified Radhakrishnan stressed the value of these "conversations" and "exchange of letters". He showed a special interest in such contacts between the East and the West, and pressed for increasing the contacts not only with China and Japan but also with India, Persia and other countries. This was, he pointed out (1934), fulfilling "the service of the minds" in an increasing degree. At his own individual level Radhakrishnan, all his life, tirelessly sought to bring East and West closer through his writings and attempts at a synthesis of the Eastern and Western philosophy.

"The metaphysics of Radhakrishnan's absolute idealism represents a real fusion of East and West in so far as it boldly confronts the problem which haunted Bradley—that of the God of religious experience—and answers it in the form of an Eschatology at which Bradley may have hinted in his denial of ultimate reality to the finite self but which he never made fully explicit. Radhakrishnan suggests a solution of the problem which is in essentials derived from Indian Idealism".

96 For example, see EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGH, op. cit.
97 The Times Literary Supplement, 3 May 1934.
An Interim Assessment

Radhakrishnan's contribution to International Intellectual Cooperation can be divided into his contribution at individual level, and that as a member of the ICIC; at the level of ideas, and that relating to implementation of those ideas. Quite obviously it is impossible to divide these categories into rigid, watertight compartments; they overlapped so indistinguishably as to be visible as a composite whole. Nor should one try to dissect the whole into unrelated categories; it would be so pointless to do so.

The measure of Radhakrishnan's contribution to international intellectual cooperation is directly proportional to the quality of his participation in the deliberations and work of IICO and its subsidiaries from 1931 on. Quite simply, he emerged as a natural leader of thought, initiative and innovation. This was the more in evidence in regard to the East, particularly India.

Thus, Radhakrishnan presided over the First Asian Educational Conference (26-30 December 1930) held at Benaras, the very first of its kind ever. Highlighting the importance of moral education, especially after the World War, the Conference adopted a resolution on character training, moral and religious education while
emphasising the "cause of humanism". Again, he attended the Seventh World Education Conference (Cheltenham, England, 31 July - 14 August 1936) where his lecture, "Spiritual Freedom and the New Education" made deep impact.

At home, Radhakrishnan's remarkable contribution -besides his academic eminence and glorious record in the promotion of education- lies in getting the Indian National Committee constituted, and that too on a pattern that was adopted by the rest of the world, and years later by Unesco.

"The recovery of the old knowledge", said he, "in its depth and fullness, its restatement in new forms adapted to present need and an original handling of the novel situation which had arisen in the light of the Indian spirit are urgent necessitites and if our universities do not accomplish them nothing else will". And Radhakrishnan achieved a fair measure of success in accomplishing it.


99 New Era Vol. XVII, p. 233ff. For a detailed account of such Conferences attended by him and lectures delivered there, see READER, op. cit., pp. 7ff.

100 R. Luckmidas Kashavjee (Bombay) 1932, p. 147.
That his views on education made impact and eventually contributed in no small measure to independent India's education policy, is too well known to be elaborated here. But what is pertinent to point out at this stage is that many of these views were accepted and incorporated by Unesco in its programmes and policies.

The points which emerged from the ideas of Radhakrishnan on education have a value for the efforts of Unesco, especially in its work in the areas of the World which have been under colonial rule for centuries and which have inherited the problems created by imperialist rule. It had been pointed out correctly that India was "greatest example" of "problems of imperialism".

Radhakrishnan's contributions to the university education has been a recognised fact. He not only contributed to the Indian Education through his ideas, when occasions arose, he zealously guarded the educational interests of the country. An example will illustrate our point as to how he contributed to the Indian Education practically. Radhakrishnan held the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University during the most critical period of its history. When

101 FREEDOM AND CULTURE, op. cit., 1, 2, 9, 14, 18, 19, 21 and 24.
the British Governor of U.P., Maurice Hallet, threatened to turn the B H U campus into a war hospital, Radhakrishnan handled the situation with tact and firmness which saved the university. 102

At another level, internationally, his exchanges in the Open Letter Series, 103 stand out in testimony to his wisdom and vision of a world of friendship and peace. He drew attention to the objective conditions which must exist in the international environment if international cooperation had to be real and meaningful. He advocated development of an "international mind" -a vital objective of international cooperation which was possible only through the development of common loyalty to mankind. He stressed inculcation of the attitude to think of "humanity as a whole" and of the "welfare of the whole human community". An important element of this loyalty, according to him, was the establishment of "justice and equality among all nations". Thus he canvassed for the emancipation of countries under foreign political subjugation. Those seeking peace through intellectual cooperation must exert moral pressure in this regard. Clearly, he had India's freedom from foreign yoke in mind. 104

102 Panikkar, K M in RADHAKRISHNAN NUMBER (Vyasa), p. 43.
103 A series of open letters exchanged among the world intellectuals before the second World War were subsequently published.
104 See "The World Challenges the League of Nations", op. cit.
We may maintain that at the level of universal theory, Radhakrishnan contributed significantly to the concept and approach of Functional International Cooperation. He did not do so consciously or formally perhaps, but then the concept itself was formalised by Mitrany in early 1940s; Radhakrishnan's ideas and endeavours date back to early 1930s. The discussion brings out quite clearly Radhakrishnan's approach to international cooperation through stress on non-political, non-legal areas of culture, education, arts, science etc., for bringing peoples together for common endeavour and objective of world peace. Whatever the reservations in this regard, the proposition we moot here, namely, that Radhakrishnan's ideas and approach do not contribute to the theory of Functional International Cooperation in the strict sense of the term, it can nonetheless not be denied that he was a precursor of this approach in more ways than one.

Further, it is quite evident that Radhakrishnan keenly sympathized and supported 'nationalist' urges in countries under foreign rule. Strongly critical of colonialism and foreign domination, he argued earnestly that a meaningful, lasting cooperation among peoples would materialise only if the objective conditions of

105 See his SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES, 3rd edn. (New York) 1964.
political independence, lack of exploitation of one country by another, were available. His persistent stress on equality among countries and cultures as vital to international cooperation implies nothing else than a plea for freedom of the subject peoples.

Radhakrishnan seems to have had premonition in early 1930s of the League of Nations' failure, and possible demise. The League, he wrote in 1934, "is the only symbol of the essential unity of mankind, the only light that was left in a dark world.\textquoteleft\textquoteleft, it would be "monstrous to extinguish that light". But that "monstrosity", sadly came to pass when the declaration of the Second World War in September 1939 "extinguished" the League of Nations.

During the War not much activity could be expected of the defunct League of Nations, nor was intellectual cooperation - or cooperation of any kind or at any level, for that matter- among peoples was possible. But Radhakrishnan kept up the pursuit of his passion at personal level. His visit to China in 1944 and the lectures delivered there,\textsuperscript{107} urging and emphasising cultural cooperation between that country

\textsuperscript{106} See, "The World Challenges the League of Nations", \textit{op. cit.}, p. 115.

\textsuperscript{107} Radhakrishnan, S: \textit{INDIA AND CHINA} (Bombay) 1954.
and India, should be seen as evidence of his sincerity and earnestness in this regard.

It was during the War years that the "Unesco Idea" can be said to have been conceived. 108