THE ORGANISATION AND ITS TASKS

The emergence of "Unesco idea" was a long drawn process in which the contribution of the years of the Second World War was significant -in fact, critical and catalytic. The defunctness of the League of Nations with the outbreak of hostilities in Europe failed to sublimate or suppress the pulsations of international intellectual cooperation, and the dire need of it.

The outrage, the sheer brutality of war on unprecedented scale, and its spread overwhelmed and numbed the conscience of mankind. As the shock wore out and combat seemed to come within the grasp of managability the impulse for international intellectual cooperation surfaced, and started beating again. It manifested itself in the shape of a Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) held at London in October 1942.

The Conference had been invited by the British Council to consider what would be the overall -immediate as well as long term- needs of education in the occupied Europe, the USSR, China and other countries of the Far East. The Ministers of Education (or their nominees) of Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Norway, France and Great
Britain attended the Conference. Subsequently, the bi-monthly meetings of the various commissions established by the Conference to deal with particular problems, policies or aspects of education, were also attended by observers from the USSR, China, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, the other British dominions, and India.¹

The US Government started associating itself with the work of the Conference from about the spring of 1944, when the dimension of cultural restoration in post-war period was also added to the concerns of the Conference.

American association with these exercises soon enough precipitated tangible proposals for creating a United Nations organisation for educational and cultural reconstruction at the conclusion of the War. The draft proposals in this regard were published, publicised on 1 August 1945 and sent to the Governments concerned for consideration.

Eventually, a conference for the establishment of Unesco was called by Britain alongside France² and convened on 1 November 1945 at London. This conference

² This caused the Soviet Union to dissociate itself and not attend the Conference on the ground that Economic and Social Council of the UN should have called the Conference rather than UK and France. Laves and Thomson, ibid., p. 24.
had been called in accordance with the recommendations of the Conference of San Francisco (26 June 1945) and upon the request of the CAME.

London Conference for the Establishment of Unesco (November 1945)

It was a radically altered, badly battered and bruised world in which the Conference gathered to give thought to the measures that will promote the abhorrence of war and entrench the idea of peace. The devastation of the War, the dawn of the atomic age with its potential to annihilate mankind, the irrepressible expanding urgency of nationalist upsurge the world over, and the tremendous technological leap had brought into being a world that posed unprecedented challenges.

Preservation and promotion of peace became crucial prerequisites of survival as never before; its fragility and value correspondingly drew the consuming passion of all concerned. The environment and the mood called for bold steps while putting to use whatever tenuous or meagre wherewithal for the task had come from the years before the War.

Conscious that civilisation could survive only if a climate of mutual understanding and faith among peoples was fostered, the London Conference opened in November 1945 with representatives of 44 countries.
attending. Among these were the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and his Minister of Education, Ellen Wilkinson; Leon Blum, the former French Premier; Gilbert Murray; Henri Bonnet, for years the Director of IIIC, Paris; Jean Piaget, Director, IBE, Geneva; and many famous scholars, philosophers and men of letters from different parts of the world, who were later to serve Unesco as its Directors-General or in other capacities in the years to come. The UN Charter had created a body; this Conference was to work out the soul for that body in the form of a constitution for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco).

The agenda of the Conference consisted broadly of four categories of concerns: (a) educational and cultural reconstruction of war-damaged countries, (b) "to make education an instrument for peace rather than war, curb the destructive force of exaggerated nationalism, throw the beam of truth on the claims of racism, and establish the human rights of every man", (c) exchange of knowledge among educational leaders and scholars, and (d) aid to economically less developed countries for improving the lot of their people.  

The deliberations and debates of the Conference eventually resulted in the adoption of the constitution of Unesco on 16 November 1945, and the organisation was born.  

3 Ibid., pp. 5-8.
Argument on the conception of Unesco

The foregoing mention of Conferences should not obfuscate the persisting difference of opinion as to how Unesco was conceived. There are those who hold that this kind of development had long been foreseen by men of wisdom and vision. Others are firmly of the opinion that bodies like ICIC and the International Bureau of Education are in fact Unesco's progenitors in a significant respect. The latter view, stressing the "inheritence" of the Organisation, felt more strongly in the immediate post-war years than it is now, is substantiated by the record of the ICIC. Unfortunately, despite the eminence of intellectuals who served the ICIC (Gilbert Murray, Einstein, Radhakrishnan among others), the Committee "failed completely to bring (the intellectual workers) into a common front against the dangers of national hatreds and national ambitions". It was totally divorced from the masses and the narrow nationalisms permeating educational policies of their countries. This prevented the Committee from entering the field of education to any appreciable extent.  

7 Sathyamurthy, op.cit., p. 17.
During the years 1937-1945 the concept of intellectual and cultural cooperation expanded. The cause of peace was sought to be promoted through such cooperation not merely among and by a few intellectuals but by means of communication and cultural intercourse among "the peoples of the world".

Thus it was that as the United Nations and its specialised agencies were being given shape, the feeling grew that a distinct organisation should be created which would go beyond just giving aid for the reconstruction of education.

**Different views on the Nature, Scope and Role of Unesco**

Memories were still fresh of the long discussions which had led to the establishment of ICIC. The IBE had never been able to obtain universal support although it had considerable intellectual audience.

The period of preparation for the creation of Unesco was marked by numerous efforts to have a fresh look at the question of intellectual cooperation and its place in the general scheme of international peace and world order. Different ideas were advanced as to the nature, scope and role of intellectual cooperation during this period. While the United States of America had visualised an organisation of the United Nations which would itself try to solve the problems of education
and culture in the reconstruction period that was to follow the conclusion of the war, France was interested in the revival of the work of intellectual cooperation which had been discontinued because of war. But Soviet Union did not want international cooperation in the field of education to go beyond the limit of an exchange of information. But at the later stage a general consensus emerged on the view that any agency for educational cooperation should be set up on a permanent basis and not only for the post war reconstruction period and that the scope of such an agency should cover as wide as area of activity as possible.

Those interested in science and its applications attained a base among the educators of CAME (Conference of Allied Ministers of Education) and from this base they worked out a formal status for science and technology within Unesco. The men of science were at the outset better organised internationally than were educationists and others. In fact, the scientists who were organised under the International Council of Scientific Unions had hoped for a separate agency of their own, but when they saw that such an organisation was not possible they came to be a part of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Thus, only when it became apparent that developments could not sponsor a specialised

agency for science were the leaders of International Council of Scientific Unions prepared to join forces with the educationists.\(^9\)

The organisation was initially contemplated as an international educational agency. But it speedily became clear that education could not be separated from the culture which it is designed to transmit and the provisional title proposed to the constituent conference in London in November was the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation.\(^10\) At that Conference, however, it was pointed out that only in the loose and broad sense could culture be taken to include science, especially applied science, and thus the organisation became United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. It was at the second plenary meeting that the head of the British delegate, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, announced that science be included in the title: "It is the scientists themselves, I am glad to say, who have insisted on ... putting forward the proposal".\(^11\) The proposal was readily accepted. But the union of science with education and culture was uneasy.\(^12\) Later a draft agreement was signed with the International Council of Scientific Unions. The conference adopted the

\(^9\) Ibid.
\(^11\) Ibid., p. 24.
\(^12\) Ascher, op. cit., p. 4.
That the preparatory commission of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation be requested by this Conference to consult with the International Council of Scientific Unions on methods of collaboration to strengthen the program of both bodies in the area of their own common concern...". 13

This resolution was communicated to the executive secretary of the International Council of Scientific Unions at its meeting on 4 December 1945, and the committee passed the resolution,

"The President should appoint a committee of three members to study conjointly with a corresponding committee of Unesco the details of a working agreement between the two bodies in accordance with the terms of the resolution". 14

Thus the term "Scientific" came to be included in the title of the organisation. In fact, this inclusion of science was to serve another purpose. The constitution of Unesco was to some extent devised to ensure the continued functioning of the Grand Alliance in the background of everything Unesco would undertake. At any rate, the Western Allies hoped it would function thus in so far as the Soviet Union was concerned. But that Government was difficult to win over.


14 Ibid.
The reason why the term scientific appears in the organisation's title was not primarily because exchanges of scientific information were deemed desirable. For that the international institute had already provided, at least in part. Rather, it was believed that the "language of science" was the medium in which conversations with the Russians could prove possible. So ardent was this conviction that those representing the natural sciences declared that they would leave Unesco even before its founding unless the point was conceded. But it was after a long time that Russians agreed to join the organisation, in the year 1954.

The differing views regarding the structure, nature, role and scope of Unesco were presented in a crystal form at the London Conference for the establishment of Unesco. These were the views that found a consensus in the form of Unesco constitution.

Firstly, the founders of UN, at least on the western side, were mainly concerned with preventing for all times any repetition of Germany's assault on world peace and took for granted certain forms of international cooperation and solidarity which seems to augur well for the future. The most important of these was the structure of war time alliances. In spite of Russia and China, it was at the time a widely accepted basis for the things to come. Therefore it
was natural that when Unesco constitution was written, attention was focused on the analysis of Nazism and forms of totalitarianism associated with it, which were held responsible for the war. Thus, a climate of opinion was sought to be created through international cultural solidarity which would render impossible the emergence of a Hitler in the future.

Secondly, the United States delegation expressed opposition to any proposal that the new organisation should busy itself in any direct or effective fashion with educational reconstruction. The reason was that influential members of the Congress were quite opposed to the budgetary considerations involved, which seemed likely to duplicate those associated with United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Therefore, financial assistance required for education in the war affected countries or others in process of development was deemed out of order. The official American viewpoint displeased many at the Conference, including some from the United States itself.

Thirdly, virtually everybody had a theory of how to create the necessary "climate of opinion" required to make a recrudescence of Nazism impossible. In London, during the still grim post-war year of 1945, many expressed confidence in the efficacy of formal education. But by the time the Paris conference opened
a year later hopes of reaching the general public through the press and the radio took precedence in many minds. It was believed that a worldwide radio network would be established so that the peoples of the earth could communicate with one another, if not always through words then at least through the medium of arts. Others spoke of "fundamental education", which on the one hand would envisage the elimination of illiteracy, and on the other provide basic education in the art of international understanding.

Last, but not the least, were those who believed that a programme of research in social sciences, designed to decrease the "tensions" that led to war, would have excellent prospects of success. Although different approaches were presented, the test for the value of each activity proposed for Unesco lay in whether the organisation could serve the cause of peace.\textsuperscript{15}

Radhakrishnan's Role

Although Radhakrishnan did not attend the Conference for the Establishment of Unesco, his ideas reached the London Conference through persons like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur from India. Besides, through his writings, Radhakrishnan's discourses inevitably came to

\textsuperscript{15} Shuster, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 8.
have a place in the Unesco's scheme of things.

An analysis of his speeches and writings shows that he was not satisfied with the existing world order at that time. He wanted the establishment of a "new world order", and thus emphasized the ideas of economic justice, social equality and political freedom. In achieving these, he stressed the role of "effective propaganda". According to him, if peace was to be won, tyranny in the realm of thought must be defeated. He looked forward to a meaningful "interdependence of peace-loving nations".

On 17 October 1945, about a fortnight before the establishment of Unesco, Radhakrishnan spoke on the structure and role of Unesco at the Karachi Rotary Club. He held that the creation of objective conditions for the success of international cooperation alone could root out the causes of war. He stressed the need for evolving harmony among various societies of world which then could prevent conflicts from arising, and providing conditions conducive to cooperation among them.

He did not agree with the view that the national and class divisions and the social and religious cleavages were based on something inherent in the human nature. There was no biological validity or scientific

16 EDUCATION, POLITICS AND WAR (Poona) 1944, pp. 129-136.
sanction which would make such conflicts unavoidable. These were merely deviations from the broad paths of social evolution, and hence could be rectified and eliminated through education and cultural cooperation. Thus human stupidity, greed, jealousy and malice, which caused of wars should be overcome through international cultural cooperation. The need, according to him, was to operate upon the "minds of men" through "cooperation in education and the furtherance of cultural interchange in the Arts, the Humanities and the Sciences". Clearly, Radhakrishnan expected the new organisation to include "science" also besides education and culture.

The constitution of the Unesco was followed a year later by a Preparatory Conference of the organisation at Paris in November 1946. Radhakrishnan had written soon after the foundation of Unesco that intellectual cooperation was "an essential factor in the organization of peace". He thus saw the work of Unesco as a part and parcel of a larger scheme of establishing world peace. In that capacity, Unesco could well be one of the factors in the process of organizing the world for peace. Unesco was a stage, a step, in that process as well as in the

17 Ibid., p. 197.
18 Radhakrishnan, S. in UNESCO, Modern India Series (New Delhi).
creation of an international organization or structure which would one day lead to the creation of an international mind. The goal of the organization, he wrote, should be to "make peace psychologically satisfying to humanity". The intellectuals, according to him, had the task of guiding the politicians in this endeavour.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

Dr Radhakrishnan did not subscribe to any partial or deterministic theory of causation of war. Economic considerations were very important, but "they have not been the sole or even the main causes of difference between nations".\footnote{\textit{IS THIS PEACE? op. cit.}, p. 69.} According to him, an essential condition for peace was understanding, the sharing of knowledge and ideals. He wanted that Unesco, the new agency for educational scientific and cultural cooperation, should not only create knowledge but wisdom, since the paradox of a colossal increase of knowledge simultaneously with the stunting of wisdom, had landed humanity in a dark age. The new organization, he felt, should help cultivate the science of human relationships and the art of living together. A psychological unity thus would be fashioned out of the raw material of one world which already existed. Unesco would give soul to the world which already found itself as one body, thereby

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}
\item \footnote{\textit{IS THIS PEACE? op. cit.}, p. 69.}
\end{itemize}
making a mechanical unity into a spiritual concord.

The root cause of war in his opinion was the contradiction between the fragmentation of the human society into sovereign states and the fact of a world getting more and more integrated by mechanisation. He expected Unesco to handle this contradiction by developing a world culture and a world conscience which would see all men and nations as one brotherhood.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 66, 71.}

Significantly, Radhakrishnan was quite clear, and emphatic, that Unesco would survive and succeed only if nations work for the inalienable right of all countries to freedom and equality, and a frank repudiation of imperialism.

In so far as the Indian delegation attending the London Conference for the establishment of Unesco took the same position, there is little doubt that the delegation was airing essentially the ideas of Radhakrishnan.\footnote{CONFERENCE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNESCO, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 33-34.}

Radhakrishnan's utterances on the eve of the inception of Unesco suggest implicitly that there are certain prerequisites for the development of international cooperation in the fields of Education, Science and Culture; the most crucial among these was the
universalit of membership. From the very beginning he favoured making the membership of Unesco open to all countries, including the Axis powers, which would eventually enrich Unesco's potential to facilitate the growth of international cooperation. In this regard, his passionate pleas went a long way in crystallizing the general opinion that Unesco should represent all peoples of the world.

The emphasis of Radhakrishnan to think of "humanity as a whole" had a special meaning for all those countries which, groaning under foreign rule, had been struggling for independence. His views in this regard were obviously the result of the times in which Unesco was established. According to him no schemes for international peace and no efforts at international cooperation would be successful unless the countries oppressed for long by foreign powers were given their proper share in the building of a new world order.

Radhakrishnan's position at the time that Unesco was one of the factors in the organization of peace and that the work of such an organization was very essential has two obvious implications: (i) the importance he gave to the work of Unesco; and (ii) that the Unesco's role was but a part of the larger effort for creating peace in the world.

23 IS THIS PEACE? op. cit., p. 66.
The real significance of Radhakrishnan's view can be appreciated in the light of the distinction drawn by Inis L. Claude between international organization as a process and international organization as a set of international agencies. Radhakrishnan related the role of Unesco to the general process of "organisation of peace". His views on the question of functions, structure procedure and membership of Unesco, reflect this attitude. These may now be taken up here.

General Conference (GC)

The General Conference consists of representatives of member states. It elects members of the Executive Board and the Director-General. It adopts the programme and votes the budget for the succeeding financial year and is the sovereign body in deciding the general policy of the organization.

As the head of the Indian delegation, Radhakrishnan attended the preparatory conference held at Paris in November 1946. It is rare that the same delegate is returned to the Conference by the member countries, but Radhakrishnan was unique in that he was sent to attend the Unesco General Conference consecutively for 15 years,

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24 SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES, op. cit.

1946 to 1961. It may be remembered that he had become the Vice-President of India in 1952. Had he not been elected the President of the republic in 1962, it is quite possible that Unesco might have claimed his totally. There should be little doubt that it was his initiative that was responsible for the holding of the 9th general conference of Unesco at New Delhi -the first such conference to be held in these parts.

As perhaps could be expected, Dr Radhakrishnan was the first Asian to be elected President of the Unesco General Conference in 1952, and continued in that capacity till 1954.26 Unesco General Conference started meeting biannually -instead of annually- in 1952, the year in which Radhakrishnan became the Vice-President of India. By then, he had come to command the confidence, respect and enthusiastic support of the intellectual aristocracy of the Unesco. Indeed, he was the most illustrious -and effective- spokesman of what came later to be known as the "third world" countries at Unesco during those early years. He was usually the opening speaker on the general policy debate in the conference, and his eloquence never failed to cast a spell on all those who listened. Dr P N Kirpal, then Secretary in the Ministry of Education, and a member of the Indian

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26 He had to continue as the President in 1954, because India's Minister of Education, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who had been elected to that position died.
delegation to the General Conference who subsequently rose to be the Chairman of the Executive Board of Unesco in 1970s, describes the influence and role of Radhakrishnan in the following words:  

"His knowledge of Christianity and western philosophies was vast and western delegates were often amazed at the range of his learning. He exercised the weight of his moral and intellectual authority in favour of restraint and compromise and for the extension of a spirit of tolerance to tide over the serious difficulties in ideology and power politics that plagued the world. 

"Even in the growing tensions and fears of the cold war period Radhakrishnan's pleas for sanity, and reason, peace and good-will were received in good spirit, without the slightest irritation and resentment. This was not so in the United Nations where India's utterances were often irksome to certain blocs. 

"What was received in Unesco as a simple and courageous reminder of the need for reason and good sense was often construed by some as arrogant sermonizing or 'holier than thou' attitude in the political climate of the United Nations. Apart from the weight of his learning and the power of his oratory, Radhakrishnan drew the admiration and affection of most delegates from his personal qualities of humanity and kindness". 

The General Conference, as is to be expected, is a large body which met annually and later on once in two years. The work of the Unesco was carried on by its Executive Board which met more regularly and frequently. In regard to the relationship between these two organs, Radhakrishnan held that whatever system of priorities 

the Executive Board may work out, the hope of progress must lie with the General Conference which voted the programmes,\textsuperscript{28} and to which he wanted large delegations sent.

He was keen that the atmosphere of the General Conference of UNESCO should be qualitatively different from that which obtained in the proceedings of the UN General Assembly, for, as The Times had put it in 1948, the latter had become "a megaphone for rival propaganda".\textsuperscript{29}

**Executive Board (EB)**

The Executive Board is "elected by the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the member states".\textsuperscript{30} The constitution lays down that in electing the members of the Board the Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in Arts, Humanities, Sciences, Education and in the diffusion of ideas who were qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. The President of the General Conference sits \textit{ex-officio} in an advisory capacity on the Board. In 1954, the General Conference adopted an

\begin{itemize}
  \item General Conference (Hereafter cited as GC) Fourth Session, p. 159.
  \item UNESCO AND INDIA (New Delhi) 1948, p. 35.
  \item UNESCO CONSTITUTION, Article V, A-1.
\end{itemize}
amendment to the constitution which while maintaining the principle of electing individuals—not states—ruled that these individuals would from then on represent their Governments. It is interesting to note that while the members of the Board acted under instructions individually from their respective Governments, in the GC they represented the Board collectively.

Radhakrishnan was on the Executive Board from 1946 to 1951, that is to say, for its first 27 consecutive sessions. In 1949, he became the first Asian to head the Board.

Under Radhakrishnan, the Board drafted a rather coherent programme. It examined "the development of plans for Unesco's participation in technical assistance programme and recommendations on the admission of new member states".32

He had a first hand experience of the inadequacy of finances of the organisation. As a member (in 1947) of the Finance Committee set up by the Board,33 he was closely associated with making the budget for 1948,34 and had to draw the GC's attention to the inadequate

31 Letter dated 7 September 1982 to me from the Unesco Headquarters, Paris.
32 Unesco, Director General's Report to the UN, 1949-50.
33 Ibid., 1947, p. 84.
34 UNESCO AND INDIA, 1946-48 (Delhi) p. 22.
budget which did not match the magnitude of the work UNESCO had to carry out. He looked to the rich countries to contribute more to the budget, which was actually meagre in size than the resources of a single medium-size American University. At the same time, he advocated economy in the expenditure of the organization -no wastage, no leakage and money not to be frittered away in activities not germane to the objectives of UNESCO. He discouraged the so-called 'stick-and-carrot-policy' by the organisation which some members seemed to advocate.

Radhakrishnan has been one of the few in UNESCO who had to rely very little on the instructions of his Government. So implicit was the faith of Nehru and his government in him that he occasionally acted without instructions from the Government of India.

For his personal qualities Radhakrishnan exercised more influence in the Board than other members. He was looked upon as one who in his own person represented the culture, the wisdom and the refinement of an ancient people. On his part he held in high esteem such members in EB who behaved not merely as representatives of their

35 G C Second Session, p. 61.
36 Ibid, Sixth Session, p. 166.
37 Kirpal, op. cit., p. 218.
particular country but as "citizens of the world".\textsuperscript{38} What a sharp contrast with the present position, where mere Government officials, not particularly informed or interested in issues of intellectual principles serve on the Executive Board!

**Secretariat**

According to the constitution of Unesco, a Director-General shall be the chief administrative officer of the organization and shall appoint staff of the secretariat under GC approved resolutions. The budget is administered by the secretariat.

Of all the organs of Unesco, the one in which Radhakrishnan took a keen interest was the secretariat, wherein he insisted on a fair representation for all the member states. For, he was convinced that the effectiveness of the organization directly depended upon the relations between the secretariat and the Governments, the National Commissions for Unesco wherever they existed, and other non-governmental, voluntary, international organizations. The willing cooperation of the latter was very necessary. Thus, he pointed out, Unesco was more than just a secretariat in Paris. The objectives and tasks of the organization could only be fulfilled if

\textsuperscript{39} GC Fourth Session, p. 44.
the governments and the National Commissions played
their part sincerely and whole-heartedly. In the early
years of Unesco, he lamented how the activities of many
member states did not extend beyond attendance at GC
sessions and stressed that there should be no breakdown
in the means of implementation of Unesco's programme
at the national level. 39

He contributed to the strengthening of the
machinery of the organization by pressing for setting
up the national commissions in the countries where they
had not so far been and some which existed only on paper.
Unless this was done in earnestness the future of the
organization, according to Radhakrishnan, would be in
jeopardy.

At the same time, Radhakrishnan devoted great
deal of attention to the question of geographical
distribution of the staff of the secretariat. In fact,
he took the lead in this regard and pressed for it
earnestly and persistently, conference after conference.

The Director-General of Unesco, Radhakrishnan
felt, should be a person known for his eminence,
objectivity and impartiality. He was equally concerned
with the question of salaries and allowances of the
39 GC Fourth Session, p. 44.
secretariat staff. These, he advised, must be based on needs, and not such as to encourage careerists. In making the appointments, loyalty to the ideas and ideals of Unesco, personal fitness, technical efficiency and geographical distribution must be the chief considerations. He had an excellent rapport with almost all the Directors-General, especially with Rene Maheu.

To the term "efficiency" Radhakrishnan gave a new meaning, by insisting on the consideration of an equitable geographical and cultural parity between the various regions of the world. Special effort to recruit competent persons from the different regions was to be put in, so that the impression that the organization was merely an Anglo-American concern was dispelled. Radhakrishnan cautioned against the precedent of UN, where the financial contribution determined the appointments from the different countries. This practice, he felt, should not be followed in Unesco.

Radhakrishnan had, as early as the second GC (1947), pointed out to the fact that till the founding of the Unesco not many international organizations (excepting perhaps the UN, its special agencies and one or two others) existed. And not a single one of

40 Ibid., Second Session, p. 60.
these had as its functional head a person from the under- or un-represented areas of the world (like, for instance, Asia, Africa or even Latin America). He pleaded that something should be done to rectify this injustice.

The acme of Radhakrishnan's long association with Unesco was visibly reached when he was invited to inaugurate Unesco's own new building —"full of light and warmth, color and beauty"— in the afternoon of 3 November 1958. He did so with the words Shanti! Shanti! Shanti! (Peace! Peace! Peace!). He thus summed up his own philosophy and that of the organization in a single word.

Apparently then, Radhakrishnan's hand—and, of course, heart—in shaping the Unesco was both intimate, extensive and constant. There was not an area of the organisation's structure or functioning which did not engage him or which did not bear his imprint, however subtle or implicit or not so direct. He did not always have his way, and not in all the aspects of the organisation, of course. But if a single individual ever fashioned an international organisation, and that too of the importance of Unesco, it quite clearly was

Radhakrishnan; such or similar instances of a person (rather than a nation) playing an active, enduring and important role in international affairs are hard to come by. Fuller diversions of this manner of personality factor in international relations emanated from the realm of ideas. That is what made Radhakrishnan unique and universal, and that is what we take up in the next chapter.