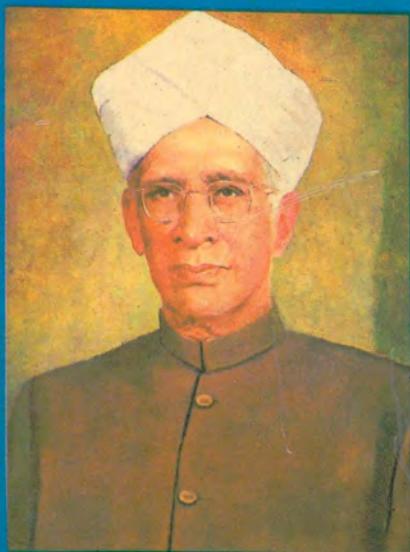


Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

A Commemorative Volume



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1888-1988

Edited by

SUDARSHAN AGARWAL
Secretary-General, Rajya Sabha

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राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA



Message

It is but appropriate that the Rajya Sabha has decided to publish a commemorative volume in honour of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, whose birth centenary falls this year.

A teacher, writer and speaker of uncommon brilliance, Radhakrishnan was the most authentic, eloquent and illuminating interpreter of India's philosophic heritage in modern times. His mind represented the best traditions of Vedic scholarship. Steeped in Sanskrit, in the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgita*, his mind was like a finely-tuned string instrument which reverberated with the cadences of the wisdom of our ancients. Radhakrishnan was capable of reaching the core of our spiritual inheritance even as a *vina* reaches the core of our aesthetic beings. He was the personification of our *dharmic* values which forswear all that is limiting and uphold all that is elevating—intellectually, morally and spiritually.

Radhakrishnan had, at the same time, a fine understanding of Western philosophical systems and religious thought. His familiarity with the range of English literature and grasp of World History invested his interpretations with a global and

modern ring. As Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics in Oxford, Radhakrishnan was rightly looked upon as an Eastern savant who was equally at home in Western philosophical thought. His audiences, like his appeal, were world-wide. His writings in *An Idealist View of Life*, *The Hindu View of Life* and his commentaries on the *Bhagavadgita* constitute one of the highest peaks reached in modern philosophical literature.

But apart from his monumental attainments in the realm of philosophy, Radhakrishnan possessed a vision of India—of her immemorial wisdom and of her present and future destiny. Both in India and abroad, he gave expression to his faith in the civilization of India as one that is propelled by *dharmā*.

Describing the core of this vision he said:

Ashoka's wheel represents to us the wheel of the Law, the wheel of the *Dharma*...

This wheel, which is a rotating thing, which is a perpetually revolving thing, indicates to us that there is death in stagnation. There is life in movement.

The vital linkage between belief and action, between precept and practice, between philosophy and life made Radhakrishnan dedicate his celebrated commentaries on the *Bhagavadgita* to Mahatma Gandhi. "I am your Arjuna", Gandhiji once said to him, "you are my Krishna".

If Gandhiji and Radhakrishnan had a common outlook on matters of the spirit, Jawaharlal Nehru found in Radhakrishnan much that appealed to his sensibility. It is not widely known that even as a Professor of Philosophy at All Souls College, Oxford, Radhakrishnan exchanged with Nehru letters and views on several national and international matters. Earlier, Radhakrishnan had won the confidence and respect of other stalwarts of the national renaissance such as Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. They saw in Radhakrishnan one who had found in the roots of our tradition a source for its contemporary efflorescence.

In 1946, at Gandhiji's suggestion, the Indian National Congress decided to induct into the Constituent Assembly some persons who were not directly involved in political work. Radhakrishnan's name was one of the first to suggest itself. The decision was more than justified. Radhakrishnan spoke rarely, but

tellingly in the Constituent Assembly. Perhaps the most memorable of his observations was made on January 20, 1947, while supporting the Objectives Resolution that Jawaharlal Nehru had moved earlier.

Speaking about the challenge before the Constituent Assembly Radhakrishnan said:

We are told that we cannot effect revolutionary changes through peaceful methods, through negotiation and discussion in constituent assemblies. We reply that we wish to bring about a fundamental alteration in the structure of Indian society. We wish to end our political and economic dependence, but those who are strong of spirit, those who are not short of sight, take their chances—they *make* their chances.

On the historic night of August 14–15, 1947 Radhakrishnan was one of the four—with Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Chaudhary Khaliqzaman—to address the House. He asked the House:

How did men like Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini get into power? Look at the methods of blood and steel, of terrorism and assassination, of bloodshed and anarchy by which these so-called great men of the world came into possession of power. Here in this land under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age we have opposed patience to fury, quietness of spirit to bureaucratic tyranny and are acquiring power through peaceful and civilised methods. What is the result? The transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred at all.

But if Radhakrishnan was aware of India's singular achievement, he also felt impelled to tell the nation:

Our opportunities are great but let me warn you that when power outstrips ability, we will fall on evil days. We should develop competence and ability which would help us to utilise the opportunities which are now open to us. From tomorrow morning—from midnight today—we can no longer throw the blame on the British.

After a brief but most successful tenure (1949-1952) as India's Ambassador to the USSR, Radhakrishnan returned to India to become our first Vice-President. The responsibility required him, in addition, to be Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was deeply conscious of the fact that in going in for a bicameral legislature, India had taken an important step. He observed:

We are for the first time starting, under the new parliamentary system, with a Second Chamber in the Centre, and we should try to do everything in our power to justify to the public of this country that a Second Chamber is essential to prevent hasty legislation. We should discuss with dispassion and detachment proposals put before us.

In the year 1955, after a certain amount of heat in discussions, the Chairman was constrained to observe:

We want to maintain the good name and dignity of this House. Every one of us is interested in that as much as I am. I do not want it to be said that sometimes these discussions suggest that we are not behaving like serious, responsible Members of the Parliament but rather like irresponsible professional agitators. That impression even all Members of this House, to whatever side they may belong, should avoid. We must be careful and preserve our good name and our dignity. That is what I am anxious about.

In 1959, Dr. Radhakrishnan noticed one day that the House had to be adjourned for want of quorum. He said on that occasion:

I notice that for the first time during these seven or eight years our House had to suspend business on Friday for lack of quorum. Membership of the Rajya Sabha is an honour and a distinction. It also carries with it responsibilities and obligations. If you do not carry out the latter, you damage your honour and your distinction.

With his stature as a philosopher and teacher, Radhakrishnan was able to obtain the utmost cooperation of all sections of the Upper House. His fairness was appreciated and his firmness understood. Radhakrishnan would come to his chamber half an hour before the sittings started and would go into the business listed for the day. Members were free to come to him then and seek

his permission to raise unlisted items so that no one was taken by surprise, no rules were transgressed. The procedure ensured both fairness and orderliness.

A simple, typical, example would illustrate the atmosphere that prevailed then in the Rajya Sabha. The House was discussing on March 14, 1956, the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance:

Shri Bhupesh Gupta (West Bengal): Sir, I wish to draw your attention and the attention of the House to a letter which we have received regarding the leakage of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance before it was notified and published. I am reading out certain extracts...

Chairman: For that also you had better come to me.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Only a few lines, Sir...

Chairman: No, no. You must come to me so that I may be able...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, the House has already started.

Chairman: Before the House started, I was here for half an hour. You give it to me and I will find out the position. Dr. Shrimali.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I shall give it to you.

Chairman: Yes, give it to me. Don't read it. Yes, Dr. Shrimali.

No one took the slightest offence at this firmness. Indeed, Members expected him to exercise it. Noisy scenes, walkouts, were virtually unknown when Dr. Radhakrishnan was in the chair. Dr. Radhakrishnan would help Ministers understand questions aright and would often paraphrase their answers, in brief and precise terms, for the benefit of Members. Latitude was shown but no laxity allowed; humour was encouraged but flippancy kept out; expression was not curbed but lung-power never allowed to overwhelm debate.

Dr. Radhakrishnan occupied the Chair for ten years, 1952–1962. The term synchronized with the Presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Prime Ministership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. A Gandhian among Gandhians was the President, a scholar among scholars was the Vice-President and a democrat among democrats was the Prime Minister. *Bhaktiyoga, jnanayoga* and *karmayoga* combined in those three to constitute a *trimurti* of values. When President Dr. Rajendra Prasad's distinguished tenure ended, Dr. Radhakrishnan was called upon to succeed him. The event was hailed as a modern-day realization of Plato's ideal of the philosopher-king.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's term in Rashtrapati Bhavan witnessed moments of tension and grief. Two wars broke out, in 1962 and 1965; two Prime Ministers were snatched from us. But during all those troubled times, Dr. Radhakrishnan stood out as a beacon-light of courage and fortitude instilling in the country self-confidence, self-respect and, above all, a sense of India's higher destiny.

He held before us a vision of India that lifted us all from lesser preoccupations. In his last Republic Day address as President, he observed:

It is said that our country consists of the whole geographical area bounded by the Himalayas in the North and the sea in the South—

*himalayam samarabhya yavad bindu-sarovaram
hindusthanam iti khyatam adyantaksara-yogatab*

All those who live within the limits of India are Indian, whatever may be their race, caste or community. There was practically free trade in the matter of ideas, beliefs, and customs. But, unfortunately, we have not yet developed an 'All-India' outlook. We fight with each other for petty considerations and regional advantages. Such minor interests will have to be subordinated to the larger national good.

Whenever Dr. Radhakrishnan intoned words such as these, they seemed to carry within them something of the authority of the *Vedas*. Those of us who have had the privilege of having heard his elevating and ennobling words will ever remember our experience with gratitude. For those who were denied this good

fortune, his published works and speeches will serve as a treasure-house of knowledge and wisdom. I am sure the commemorative volume being brought out by the Rajya Sabha will also serve to instruct and inspire legislators and the general reading public.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was something of a national reference-point, a lodestar. May we continue to be guided by the light of that radiant being. And may we, thereby, become more fully aware of our ancient heritage and what it enjoins on us now and in the future.

R. Venkataraman

New Delhi
July 29, 1988.

(R.VENKATARAMAN)



PRIME MINISTER



Message

I am glad that the Rajya Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Commemorative Volume on the occasion of the birth centenary of India's great philosopher-statesman Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who was the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

Dr. Radhakrishnan earned high laurels for himself and for our country. He brought dignity and lustre to the several high offices which he held with great distinction. The Rajya Sabha had the honour of having Dr. Radhakrishnan as its first Chairman, fulfilling in every measure the high expectations of him that were voiced by Jawaharlal Nehru while felicitating Dr. Radhakrishnan on his election as Vice-President:

You come to us with this background and experience and insight and knowledge of affairs in the East and the West, in the past and the present, and with some vision of the future, and I do not think our country could have been more fortunate than to have you in this high position.

During his ten-year term as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan displayed his masterly skill in conducting the affairs of the House. He established important conventions, valuable practices and secured to the Rajya Sabha a distinct and dignified place in the parliamentary system of our country.



New Delhi
August 16, 1988.

(RAJIV GANDHI)



SPEAKER, LOK SABHA



Message

I am glad to learn that the Rajya Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a commemorative volume on the occasion of the birth centenary of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, on 5 September, 1988.

An eminent son of modern India, Dr. Radhakrishnan's was a personality synthesising the wisdom of the East and the West and of the past and the present. An eminent educationist, philosopher, statesman and an orator nonpareil, his contribution in guiding our Republic in its formative years was significant. A man of simple living, very high thinking and superb intellectual attainments, Dr. Radhakrishnan left an indelible mark on our national life. As the distinguished Presiding Officer of the Rajya Sabha from its very inception for a whole decade, and later as our *Rashtrapati*, he laid down many a sound tradition. His achievements in many fields will, for long, be a source of pride and inspiration for our countrymen from all walks of life.

My sincere congratulations to the Rajya Sabha Secretariat for celebrating, in a befitting manner, the centenary of this great representative of our composite culture.



(BAL RAM JAKHAR)

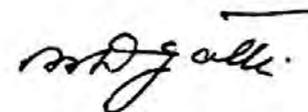


Message

I am glad to know that the Rajya Sabha is going to bring out a commemorative volume on the occasion of the birth centenary of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

He worked for two terms as Vice-President of India and one term as President of India. He impressed all who knew him by his genial humour and profound wisdom. His achievements as an author, teacher, diplomat and idealist have been outstanding. To quote Prof. H. N. Muirhead: "Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has the rare qualification of being equally versed in the great European and the not less great Asian Tradition, which may be said to hold in solution between them the Spiritual Wisdom of the World, and of thus speaking as a philosophical bilinguist upon it".

I wish the Birth Centenary Celebrations of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan a grand success.



(B.D. JATTI)



Message

It was the good fortune of our country that we had Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as the first Vice-President and the second President. He brought to these offices for a decade and a half, a rare dignity by his great international reputation as a scholar, author, philosopher and academician. He combined in himself the qualities of a Demosthenes, a Cicero and a Plato. Yet he was full of humility, milk of human kindness and a charm very rare to find. There have been few men of his stature in India and none in politics. We have had persons in high offices who were high in one field or another but there never was one like him and perhaps will never be. We of the older generation were fortunate to have known him in person.

On the occasion of the Centenary of his birth, I cherish his memory with sorrow and reverence.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'M. Hidayatullah'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underneath.

(M. HIDAYATULLAH)

Foreword

Dr. Radhakrishnan's was an authoritative voice on our spiritual and cultural heritage. True to the spirit of Indian culture, which has ever stood for synthesis, Dr. Radhakrishnan built a bridge of understanding between the East and the West, and between man and man. He perceived the diversified existence of 'beings' as rooted in one Supreme Being. As the *Bhagavadgita* says:

यदा भूतपृथग्भावमेकस्थमनुपश्यति ।

तत एव च विस्तारं ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥

A man of profound learning, Dr. Radhakrishnan provided illuminating commentaries on *prasthanatrayi*—the three-fold canon of religion—which consists of the *Brahma Sutra*, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgita*. He had deep faith in the values cherished by the *Upanishads*. He was equally well-versed in the traditions of western rationalism. Indeed, he was a seer who had the capability of synthesising diverse trends of thought and promoting peace, harmony and understanding in the world. There was, consistently, a higher human goal which animated his manifest intellectualism.

Modern times have seen a spectacular surge in the quest of scientific enquiry. Dr. Radhakrishnan appreciated this phenomenon but knew that Science alone could never provide complete answers to the mysteries and wonders of creation and the universe. In one of his essays, *On Education*, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

The ultimate questions are too deep and mysterious for science. We should recognize that we understand and control only a tiny fraction of the universe.

Dr. Radhakrishnan adorned several high offices. Being Vice-President of India, he presided over the Rajya Sabha as its Chairman for ten years. He conducted the proceedings of the House with acumen and dignity and set valuable precedents for Parliamentary practice and procedure.

He was a *Manishi*. As President of our Republic, he reflected the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king and, in his searching enquiries and expositions on profound questions and problems of philosophy, he was rightly regarded during his lifetime as the foremost modern philosopher.

[Dr. Radhakrishnan had been a distinguished diplomatist, a perceptive thinker, a gifted teacher, a far-sighted educationist and a widely-read author. We are indebted to him for his fine representation for our true culture and for interpreting and extending to the world the spiritual thought of India.]

A grateful nation remembers him today with a sense of pride. Through this commemorative volume we pay our respectful tributes to Dr. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his birth centenary.

New Delhi
August 26, 1988

SHANKER DAYAL SHARMA
Chairman, Rajya Sabha

Preface

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, whose birth centenary commences this year, was the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha which was constituted in 1952 after the coming into force of the Constitution. Besides being a world-renowned philosopher, a great thinker and an erudite scholar, he was a father figure of the Rajya Sabha, the Second Chamber of the Indian Parliament. He presided over it from 1952 to 1962 with remarkable effectiveness and brought glory to the House.

The General Purposes Committee of the Rajya Sabha thought it appropriate that Dr. Radhakrishnan's birth centenary be celebrated in a befitting manner. This volume forms a part of the celebrations.

This is a six-part compilation. The first part contains articles which are in the nature of personal reminiscences of the contributors who were contemporaries of Dr. Radhakrishnan and knew him closely. They bring out the various facets of his multidimensional personality.

At the mid-night of August 14-15, 1947, when India attained Independence, Dr. Radhakrishnan delivered a very inspiring and thought-provoking speech in the Constituent Assembly. It contains the quintessence of our great cultural heritage, as also his vision of the future of India. In view of the richness of content and its relevance to our times, the full text of that address has been reproduced in the second part.

As the Presiding Officer of the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan had to deal with a number of procedural questions and points of order that arose in the House. His prompt decisions reflected his own inimitable style and they satisfied all the sections of the House. So in the third part are included some of his important rulings and observations as Chairman.

But rulings were not the only repository of his wisdom; he had also a great sense of humour. He could defuse a tense situation in the House by his witty remarks or subtle humour. A

member of the Rajya Sabha writing about him once observed: "When he was elected President of India members missed him and felt that the Question Hour had lost its sparkle". Some interesting instances of Dr. Radhakrishnan's wit and humour embellish Part Four of the book.

Both on his election as the Vice-President of India in 1952 and on his elevation as President of India in 1962, rich tributes were paid to Dr. Radhakrishnan in the Rajya Sabha. These tributes and felicitations reflect the respect the members of the Rajya Sabha had for him. They are included in Part Five.

The last part contains an article of Dr. Radhakrishnan, "Personal Reflections of a Philosopher", reproduced from the book *Radhakrishnan Reader—An Anthology* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan). It is a self-catharsis and provides an insight into the mind of this great creative genius who had interpreted the East to the West.

This compilation does not seek to present all aspects of Dr. Radhakrishnan's contribution to the enrichment of the philosophy, thought and culture of India. It tries to project Dr. Radhakrishnan's contribution to the functioning of parliamentary democracy in his capacity as the first and distinguished Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. For this task, the inspiration, encouragement and guidance were provided by the Honourable Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma who encouraged us to bring out a publication on Dr. Radhakrishnan *qua* Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. We are beholden to him for this as also for his Foreword. We are also beholden to the President of India, the Prime Minister, the Honourable Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and former Vice-Presidents and Chairmen of the Rajya Sabha, Shri B.D. Jatti and Shri M. Hidayatullah, for their messages. Also, we are grateful to the contributors of the first part who readily responded to our request and spared their precious time. The permission given by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for reproducing the article appearing in the sixth part is also acknowledged.

We are indebted to Prentice-Hall of India for the meticulous processing of the manuscript and bringing out the volume within a remarkably short period. Finally, we wish to put on record the generous cooperation and valuable services rendered by the officers and members of the staff of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat

particularly those of its research and library services. This volume is thus a joint effort and is a humble and respectful tribute of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat to the illustrious Chairman who was its institutional Head during its formative decade.

New Delhi

SUDARSHAN AGARWAL
Secretary-General, Rajya Sabha

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PART I

Contributors

- Shri Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, former Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
- Smt. Tara Ali Baig, Journalist and Social Worker.
- Shri B.N. Banerjee, former Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha) and former Secretary-General of the Rajya Sabha.
- Shri M.P. Bhargava, former Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
- Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy, Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
- Shri Baharul Islam, Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
- Shri Akbar Ali Khan, former Governor, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa.
- Shri Prem Kirpal, former Secretary, Ministry of Education.
- Smt. Lakshmi N. Menon, former Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs.
- Shri Sonusingh Patil, former Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).
- Dr. B. Gopala Reddi, former Governor, Uttar Pradesh and also former Minister, Government of India.
- Dr. K.L. Shrimali, former Minister of Education.
- Dr. Gopal Singh, Governor, Goa, and Administrator, Daman & Diu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli.

Radhakrishnan as a Philosopher

Dr. Gopal Singh

By any measure Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan is one of the rarest and most forceful combinations of the idealistic thought of the Upanishadic origin and the ethics of action so essential in our time. There have not been many philosophers in modern India, who could synthesize the message of the Advaita Vedanta and our everyday experience of living amidst things and persons in the world. The Upanishadic philosophy, it is well-known, preached a way of life which could not be reconciled with the values related to man's mundane affairs. The skill of Radhakrishnan lies in constructing a system in which absolute idealism running through the history of Indian thought and western activism, the theory of pure self and the contemporary welfare ethics, transcendentalism and practicalism could telescope into each other. Indeed, in undertaking this task, he could be ranked along with other luminaries of our age, such as Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda and Shri Aurobindo.

At the young age of twenty, Radhakrishnan wrote his Master's thesis titled "The Ethics of the Vedanta and its Metaphysical Presuppositions". This thesis was an attempt to reset the metaphysical thesis underlying the idealistic tradition in India, and derive from it a certain enduring humanistic lesson, valid for all times and peoples. Radhakrishnan's exposure to both the sources of Indian tradition, which he seriously studied, and the ideas of western writers, whose practicality he admired, enabled him to have a second look at the perennial doctrine of values embodied in the former and the future of the scientific adventure promised by the latter. He could not somehow regard science, and the industrial civilisation that it has given rise to, as of permanent significance to human aspirations. Through his prolific writings, Radhakrishnan tried to establish the superiority of man's pure consciousness,

man's concern about the ultimate destiny of his life in the world, to his worldly and day-to-day engagements (*Samsara*).

Three major issues are reflected in Radhakrishnan's writings: the redefinition of the vision of the Advaita Vedanta, the relationship between *Brahman* and the world, and the place of action in human life. These issues remain so intertwined in his thinking that it is difficult to speak about any one of them in isolation.

Actually, Radhakrishnan is not a thinker, whom one can separate from the entire panorama of the Hindu religious-ethical background. The basic programme of his writings is to present the classical Indian thought, as it is found in the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagwadgita* and the *Brahmasutra*. He is one of those committed interpreters of the Indian tradition, who take Indian Philosophy and Indian religions as a unified thought system. His conviction that it is the Ultimate Reality, the *Brahman*, the all-embracing spirit that alone forms the foundation of all that goes in and around us pervades all his works. Even in his later life, when he entered the career of a diplomat, he was known to have adopted a certain metaphysical stance, a vantage point of transcendental wisdom and neutrality. In this sense, his role in politics—as an Ambassador, Vice-President, and President of India—was that of a *Sthitaprajna* (the uninvolved-involved).

He registered a signal success as a diplomat in the USSR, then under Josef Stalin, where he made the first breakthrough for India, by his sophisticated, spiritual approach to the world problems. Stalin was constrained to remark: "You are the first diplomat to believe that I too am human!" During his chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha (1952–62), his calm and unruffled face, his charming smile, and his moral and intellectual stature, his natural and simple dignity, overwhelmed, if not overawed, the members, and there was hardly a time when any member, howsoever aggressive and vociferous, would dare to defy his ruling, or not obey even the casual motion of his hand! As the President of India, he carried a moral authority and an intellectual sophistication which, even in the most critical situations were hard to resist. And yet, he was human to a fault to which I bear witness from personal experience.

One could say on the basis of what he wrote—earlier when he was a Professor of Philosophy and later when he delivered

speeches to large gatherings of statesmen and politicians—that his commitment to the Vedanta assumptions was so deep that he dealt with the worldly affairs as some sort of drama superimposed on man's primordial self (*Atman*) and yet real in its own way.

Radhakrishnan's theory of "Reality and the World" emanated from his untainted dedication to the word of the Advaita Vedanta. His works consistently celebrate the original Upanishadic assumption that Reality is basically one, all-comprehensive, self-shining, and the source of multiple manifestations. In restructuring the Advaita-Vedanta theory of Reality, he many a time uses the idealistic idiom of Hegel, F.H. Bradley and Henry Bergson. *Brahman*, or the ultimate essence of all that exists, is for him the only frame of reference within which the world and the human existence in it could be understood. With a very visible flair for the English language, he built up in the *Hindu View of Life* (1926), *An Idealist View of Life* (1932), and in several other books, especially designed for western readers, a metaphysical system in which both the transcendental reality (*Paramarthika Satya*) and the worldly reality (*Vyavaharika Satya*) coalesce.

Radhakrishnan markedly deviated from the central Advaita Vedanta assumption of *Mayavada*, i.e. the assumption that the phenomenal world in which man operates with various interests, desires, attachments, plans, and so on, is illusory. The original postulates of the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmasutra*—which were systematically organised by Shankara later on—that the spatio-temporal world is ephemeral, and that the only thing that matters in life is the realisation of *Brahman* are corrected by Radhakrishnan in his unique attempt to synthesize the Absolute and the world, the other-worldly and the worldly, the spiritual and the material, the permanent and the contingent.

This was the view of the Sikh Gurus also. The fifth Nanak, Guru Arjun, asserted that as God, the Ultimate Reality is true, the world, His creation, could not be untrue. (*Ap Sat Kia Sab Sai*). Guru Nanak was of the view that God was deeply involved with the well-being of the world, and this should also be any serious man's concern, though in a detached way (*Nishakaam Karma*). And the world should not be broken up by caste, creed, colour or nationality, for everyone participates (or can participate) in the all-enveloping grace of God. He called the earth a *Dharmashala*

(the abode of righteousness). Also, that the Absolute and the related were one (Nanak: *So Sookham, Soee asthub*).

Radhakrishnan thought along firmly established Hindu lines, in the sense that despite the importance he attributed to wordly facts and, therefore, to science, technology and material civilisation, he was all the time convinced that the ultimate destiny of man lies in comprehending the spiritual force at the foundation of the very emergence of the world. In this sense, his approach to the riddle of human existence is that of a mystic: One can see from his work on Tagore that his mysticism was a unique synthesis of aestheticism, spiritualism and theism.

What is striking about Radhakrishnan's absolute idealism of the Vedantic brand is that nowhere did he condemn man's commitment to action. The ethics of action, which he obviously borrowed from the *Bhagwadgita*, the Sikh thought, and Mahayan Buddhism, runs through his restructuring of Hindu idealism. He criticised the West's one-sided development in scientific and technological enterprises, and its emphasis on pursuit of comforts and luxuries by indicating the perennial values of spirit preached in Hinduism. For him, the attainment of the western style of life was not the ultimate ideal of man. Thus, for him "the religion of the spirit" figures as the fulcrum around which all his intellectual commitments turn.

There is something prophetic in Radhakrishnan's saying that conflicts among peoples and nations in the world in our time could not be resolved, if we do not strike the problems at their roots. For resolving these conflicts, it would be necessary to bring about radical conversion of the statesmen's minds, perhaps through education, persuasion and dialouge. Radhakrishnan's role as an Ambassador and as a special emissary of India to numerous countries was admirable—it was to persuade (through the power of words, which he was very meticulous in choosing) international gatherings to adopt broad-mindedness, universality of outlook, compassion for the poor and the sufferer in the world. He wanted them to see that the basic perception the Indian religions have embodied for ages is that every man is born with a yearning to override the immediately gratifying bodily and material pursuits, and to concentrate on those perpetual values which would remove the distinction between one man and another, one country and another, and one culture and another.

In the East-and-the-West synthesis, Radhakrishnan's philosophical output is noted, for it involves an integration in which the West's endeavour to better the world, through the application of science and technology, is not underestimated. What this implies is that unless such endeavour is subordinated to the attainment of *humanistic* and *universalistic* ideals—a kind of 'kingdom of spirit'—, we will not really be able to change the human condition on earth. At no time is this seen to be more relevant to the earthly situation than to the one prevalent today.

In our Constitution we have pledged ourselves to international co-operation and peace. There is no isolation any more, geographical, political, economic, or cultural. The spirit of co-operativeness is to be carried beyond the nation to the community of nations. Democracy means respect for the opponent. If we believe in a certain cause and find that there are nations which do not agree with us, the democratic way requires us to try to persuade them to agree with our point of view. Even as the democratic way forbids in internal problems, direct action, mob rule, or resort to violence, in international problems also we have to assume the reasonableness of human beings and adopt the methods of negotiation, discussion, adjustment and agreement.

Radhakrishnan

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan: The First Chairman of the Rajya Sabha

B.N. Banerjee

I came in personal contact with Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan for the first time in May 1956 when I joined the Rajya Sabha as its Deputy Secretary. Dr. Radhakrishnan was its Chairman, an office he held with great distinction for two terms from 1952 to 1962. He was thereafter elected to the highest office of the President of the Republic of India. Many parliamentarians, academics, and other eminent persons will, no doubt, contribute articles to this commemorative volume to throw light on the multidimensional personality of this great creative genius. I, however, propose in this humble tribute of mine to write about some aspects of his greatness and personality which I had the opportunity to observe from very close quarters and experience during the time I was privileged to serve under him in the Rajya Sabha.

I first saw Dr. Radhakrishnan sometime in the 1930s when he was holding the Chair of Philosophy as George V Professor in the University of Calcutta, my alma mater. It was the Annual Day of our college and Dr. Radhakrishnan was to preside over the function and distribute the prizes. I could never dream then that later in life I would have the privilege and opportunity to serve under this distinguished professor from whose hands I received my prizes on that afternoon in Calcutta.

Readers will pardon me if I refer to the circumstances which led to my coming to the Rajya Sabha as its Deputy Secretary. Since 1950 I was an officer in the Central Ministry of Law where I had joined after eight years of service in the Bengal judiciary, and in 1952 I was appointed Assistant Legal Adviser to the Indian High Commissioner in London. Sir Dhiren Mitra, the Legal Adviser in London, came to India on leave and joined as Secretary to the

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and I was appointed as Legal Adviser in his place. Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was then the High Commissioner in London and Shri Y.D. Gundevia was the Deputy High Commissioner. In February 1956, I was transferred back to the Law Ministry as Deputy Secretary, and when I met Shri Gundevia to say him good bye before I left London, he casually enquired from me what were my future plans in Delhi. I told him that I was going back to my old Ministry as Deputy Secretary but added that some friend from India suggested that the Rajya Sabha was looking for a Deputy Secretary who could hope to become Secretary quite early, since the then Secretary was nearing his age of superannuation. Without telling me anything more or even ascertaining from me if I really wanted to go to the Rajya Sabha, Shri Gundevia, who worked as Minister to Dr. Radhakrishnan when he was India's Ambassador in Moscow and was very close to him, wrote a personal letter to say that he would do well to secure my services for the Rajya Sabha. As I was leaving for India, Shri Gundevia handed over to me a copy of that letter in which he wrote in very glowing terms about my work in the Mission—I doubt if I did really deserve all those compliments. After I came to Delhi and joined the Ministry of Law as Deputy Secretary, the Secretary, Rajya Sabha, one day called me to the Parliament House and told me that Dr. Radhakrishnan wanted me to join the Rajya Sabha. I could not say no to this offer and so joined the Rajya Sabha in May 1956 as Deputy Secretary. The first day I saw Dr. Radhakrishnan in his chamber in the Parliament House, he looked at me and welcomed me with a smile and said, "We are peaceful men here and I hope peace would abide with you". I may add that this was the first time I met him after I had seen him about twenty five years earlier while receiving prizes from his hands on the Annual Day of our college in Calcutta. It was Shri Gundevia's letter to Dr. Radhakrishnan who did not otherwise know me at all that changed the course of my life and career.

As the only Deputy Secretary in the Rajya Sabha (at that time there was no other officer between the Secretary and myself), I made it a point to attend the whole sitting of the House to learn parliamentary practice and procedure which was absolutely new to me. I was thus always there between the question hour and lunch break when the Chairman invariably presided over the House. He never attended the afternoon session of the House

unless something very important was coming up, and all his successors in office followed the same tradition. How majestic did he look on the chair in his *dhoti*, white long silk coat and spotless white turban! There were, at that time, very eminent parliamentarians, both in the ruling party and in the opposition, but none did dare to question the authority of the Chairman. So great was his personality. The Ministers, including the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, held him in the highest esteem and they were all very respectful in their dealings with him and so were the opposition members. Alas! The situation has changed now, and it can be said without any fear of contradiction that both sides of the House have on many occasions in recent times questioned the authority of Chairman and even cast aspersions, suggesting that he was not conducting the House with the fairness expected of him. The very recent incident when the present Chairman of the House threatened to resign his office when such a situation arose in the House could not be conceived of in those days.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's handling of the House was superb and masterly. He gave the opposition full opportunity to express their views but never permitted them to exceed the necessary limit. Not only did he finish the starred question list every day, but came up for a second round, calling the names of members earlier found absent. No other Chairman would do this. He never allowed speeches during question hour and insisted that supplementaries were brief and to the point. This may sound strange at the present time when hardly half a dozen starred questions reach for oral answers.

Dr. Radhakrishnan seldom consulted the Constitution, the Rules of Procedure, or May's Parliamentary Practice in the House when a point of order was raised. He knew the content of the books quite well, for I know that he read these books very often at home. He was a voracious reader and never forgot anything he had read once. While he delivered his speeches he never consulted any notes or draft. His speeches, delivered in most chosen words, were always extempore. Once he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. As was usual with him, he made an extempore speech rarely heard in that forum. It surprised everybody how such an extempore speech could be made by him when the practice in U.N. was for the speakers to

read out their written speeches. I asked his stenographer the mystery of such extempore speeches. I was told that, whenever he had to make any important speech, he always dictated a draft, then he corrected it, and once he had read the corrected speech, his phenomenal memory enabled him to reproduce the same speech extempore without any change of words, comma or full stop. As Chairman, Dr. Radhakrishnan was not fond of giving long rulings in the House. He heard both sides patiently and invariably came to the right decision—super-intellectual as he was.

As the first Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan was mainly responsible for establishing its position and enhancing its reputation as an apex legislative chamber. Anyone familiar with the Indian Constitution knows that the Lok Sabha is a more powerful body, as it should be since it is directly elected by the people, and that the Rajya Sabha has much less powers. But thanks to the eminence of Dr. Radhakrishnan, the first Chairman, and the respect he enjoyed from the great democrat, the first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and the attitude of Pandit Nehru to the Rajya Sabha and his cooperation with the Chairman, it became firmly established that both the Houses of Parliament were equally important. Neither was superior or inferior to the other, each enjoyed its powers under the Constitution and had its own role to play. This position was clearly established in what is known as N.C. Chatterjee's case and was possible due to the deft handling of the case by Dr. Radhakrishnan and the statesmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was due to the efforts of Dr. Radhakrishnan that Rajya Sabha members could become members of the Public Accounts Committee with full rights, and following this precedent they later became full members of the Committee on Public Undertakings. It may also be mentioned that the Rajya Sabha members enjoyed the same salary, benefits and perquisites as the Lok Sabha members. Dr. Radhakrishnan was greatly responsible for making this possible.

Ostentation was a thing unknown to this great man. As Chairman of Rajya Sabha (also the Vice-President), he had only two persons in his personal staff: a Personal Assistant (Stenographer) from the Rajya Sabha Secretariat and an Assistant Private Secretary in the Vice-President's Office. He used his own private car and never used official staff car and took the chair punctually at 11'0 clock every morning. He never interfered in

the day-to-day administration of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat, and nobody could say that he ever asked or hinted that somebody be given an appointment or promotion in the Rajya Sabha Secretariat. Whenever he went abroad, he seldom, perhaps never, took any member of his family or staff to accompany him. He travelled alone as an ordinary first class passenger in a commercial aircraft.

It is a matter of public knowledge that Dr. Radhakrishnan was very unhappy when the Congress party decided to elect Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President of India for the second term and that he was on the point of resigning his office as Vice-President and leaving Delhi for Madras. It was good for all concerned and for the country that at the last moment he was persuaded to change his mind and he continued for a second term of five years as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. He laid down his office as Vice-President in 1962 and was elected to the highest office of the President of India, which he filled with great distinction. So profound was his love and attachment for the Rajya Sabha that he had in his private study in the Rashtrapati Bhawan got installed a microphone which enabled him to hear the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha, and regularly listened to these proceedings.

I was made a Joint Secretary in the Rajya Sabha when Dr. Radhakrishnan was the Chairman. But before he appointed me to this post he constituted a Board consisting of the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Shri Krishnamoorty Rao, Shri R.N. Banerjee, Ex-Chairman of Union Public Service Commission, and Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, a senior opposition parliamentarian, and signed the appointment order only after the Board selected me for appointment as Joint Secretary. After the death of the Secretary, Shri S.N. Mukherjee, in October 1963, I was appointed the Secretary of Rajya Sabha by the then Chairman, Dr. Zakir Husain, after he consulted the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, both of whom agreed with the Chairman in his selection. I remember, on the day I took over as Secretary of the House, I along with my wife called on the President in the Rashtrapati Bhawan to seek his blessings. I will never forget the words he uttered: "You will always have a place in my heart. May God bless you".

On my retirement from the post of Secretary—then designated Secretary-General—I was, on the recommendation of

the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, nominated by the President, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, as a member of the Rajya Sabha. I was greatly honoured by the distinction conferred on me, which I realised was mainly for my services to the Rajya Sabha. I discharged my duties as an Independent member to the best of my ability. Perhaps I may add that nominated members to which class I belonged have very little scope in the House. Sometime in late 1974 or early 1975, I accompanied a Parliamentary Committee to Madras where the Committee was sitting. I lost no opportunity to go to the Mylapore residence of Dr. Radhakrishnan to pay my respects to this great son of India. He was lying in his sick bed, but he recognised me without any difficulty and enquired how the Rajya Sabha was functioning. He also made specific enquiries about Shri Bhupesh Gupta, for whom he had great love and affection. I stood by his bedside for a few minutes, touched his feet and begged leave of him to which he nodded. As I came out of the house, tears rolled down my eyes, and with great difficulty I walked back to my car. I, however, had great satisfaction that I could pay my respects to him while he was still alive. He breathed his last shortly thereafter.

Dr. Radhakrishnan is no more. But his writings, speeches and memories will live forever. Anyone having anything to do with the Rajya Sabha can never forget that the prestige this House of Parliament enjoys today is mainly due to the contribution made by its first Chairman, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

Let us all salute this noble son of India in his birth centenary year and pray that his soul rest eternally in peace in Heaven.

Mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material slums.

Radhakrishnan

Dr. Radhakrishnan: A Philosopher-Statesman

M.S. Gurupadaswamy

"From the beginning of history, India has adorned and idealised not soldiers and statesmen, not men of science and leaders of industry, not even poets and philosophers who influence the world by their deeds or by their words, but those rarer and more chastened spirits whose greatness lies in what they are and in what they do, men who have stamped infinity on the thought and life of the country, men who have added to the invisible forces of goodness in the world. To a world given over to the pursuit of power and pleasure, wealth and glory, they declare the reality of the unseen world and the call of the spiritual life."

These are the memorable words of Dr. Radhakrishnan portraying the spiritual landscape of India. By his writings and teachings, enriched and enlivened by his inimitable style, he not only breathed the new spirit but also provided the most revealing and rational exposition to the philosophical, metaphysical and institutional aspects of Indian heritage through centuries. He enunciated as well as believed that "while other civilisations have perished, or have been absorbed in the changes that have transpired in the march of over five thousand years, the Indian Civilisation which is contemporary with those of Egypt and Babylon, is still functioning". Though it has its origin in the spiritual and the vedic period, it has imbibed so much from the pre-Aryan and Dravidian customs, ideals and beliefs that it is rather difficult to disentangle, in modern Indian thought, the vedic and non-vedic elements. Dr. Radhakrishnan ably and sincerely interpreted the Indian tradition and Hindu philosophy in broad transcendental light of modern consciousness. According to him, religion in India is not dogmatic as understood by the narrow

thinking elite, but it is a harmonious synthesis that goes on gathering into itself new conceptions as philosophy makes progress. In real sense, it is a working hypothesis of human conduct. When traditionally accepted beliefs wear out with time or become inadequate, or society becomes impatient with them, a different stage of spiritual development will usher in. The march of human thought is a forward movement. The inner thread of continuity is never broken. According to him, "the epochs of decadence are in truth periods of transition from an old life to a new". In all human societies, the forces of progress and retrogression intermingle and interact, but the dominant trend is one of progress. He wrote that "instead of resting content with the foundations nobly laid in the past, we must build a greater edifice in harmony with ancient endeavour as well as the modern outlook". He particularly noted in India the conservatives glorifying the ancient heritage and the radicals believing in the futility of it. Both were in his eyes equally wrong. He observed that "those who condemn Indian culture as useless are ignorant of it, while those commend it as perfect are ignorant of any other". He pleaded for healthy marriage of ancient knowledge with modern science, as their common goal is truth. It is very much true to say that Dr. Radhakrishnan had the rare quality of grasping the vital significance of the past without losing the insight of the present and foresight of the future. He had realised that the scriptures of the ancient age cannot and will not provide answer to the perplexing problems of the modern age. But nevertheless, the wisdom and teaching of the ancient philosophers, thinkers and scholars should remain the life-spring of inspiration. Dr. Radhakrishnan's perception was tersely analytical and reflective, as well as penetrating and discerning. By his catholicity of outlook and humanism, he transcended the regional and national barriers and welded together the eastern and the western thoughts.

In a sense, Dr. Radhakrishnan was a many-sided personality. He began his career as a teacher, but soon blossomed into a great thinker, writer, scholar and erudite speaker. But could such a man, be a diplomat as well? Philosophy and diplomacy are poles apart as they require different qualities, style and temperament. A philosopher is normally secluded, rigid and taciturn; a diplomat, on the other hand, has to be just the opposite of these qualities; he has to be more formal, tactful and evasive, and sometimes even

devious in his talk and behaviour. And so it was rather strange and even somewhat inexplicable how Nehru thought, of all people, of Dr. Radhakrishnan who was a novice in diplomacy, to succeed Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. But to the surprise and happiness of all, Dr. Radhakrishnan during his term in Moscow proved to be one of the most unconventional and successful diplomats of the time. K.P.S. Menon writing on him said: "The secret of his success as a diplomat lay in his personality." In his opinion, "he lacked the technique of the career diplomat, but he had two virtues without which all other qualities are as tinkling and sounding cymbal, namely sincerity and detachment". He was an ambassador in Moscow at a time when the East-West relations were strained and the cold war was raging at its highest. Even the Indo-Soviet relations had not yet taken a firm shape, and never were at their cordial best. Mahatma Gandhi, in the Soviet view of those days, was a reactionary, and Jawaharlal Nehru was considered at best a confused socialist. In such a situation, Dr. Radhakrishnan's standing and prestige largely contributed to his success. He functioned more as a philosopher-diplomat than a routine political plenipotentiary. Stalin showed a rare gesture in receiving him when he took charge of his assignment. The same courtesy was not extended by Stalin to his predecessor when she assumed office. Again he received him on the eve of his departure from Moscow. This shows the respect Dr. Radhakrishnan commanded. Dr. Radhakrishnan was bigger than the office he occupied.

His election as the Vice-President was widely acclaimed by all quarters. Nehru the statesman and Dr. Radhakrishnan the philosopher made an ideal pair and were focus of public admiration. As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan brought superlative charm, dignity, poise, wit and wisdom to the affairs of the House. He kept the proceedings lively and bright by his timely humorous interventions. He believed in the democratic dictum that it is the right of the majority to rule and the right of the opposition to oppose. Both the treasury benches and the opposition tried to observe remarkable restraint under his watchful eye; no rude, crude, ugly and repulsive behaviour by members was allowed. During question hour and debate whenever any member became needlessly provocative and unruly, upsetting the even tenor of the House, Dr. Radhakrishnan

would just adopt his paternalistic posture and say, "It is enough, please sit down". These words did have a magic effect on the member and he would immediately sober down. In such situations, which were rare, there was no frequent resort to rules of procedure by the members as is being done now. Dr. Radhakrishnan conducted the proceedings of the House less by rules and more by the waving of his hand. His benign personality had a sobering and soothing effect on the members of the House. Perhaps the quality, the level and the standard of the members at the time might have also contributed a great deal to the chastened mood of the House. Dignity rather than levity, humour rather than slander, criticism rather than abuse, and satire rather than vulgarity marked the character of the debates. Harmony instead of acrimony had an upper hand.

In one of the seminars on "Parliamentary Democracy" in the Central Hall of Parliament, Dr. Radhakrishnan declared that "majority is not always right and minority is not always wrong". In all his utterances and observations in the House or outside, one could see in him the majestic scholarship and undiminished zeal for rectitude and honesty. Both as the Vice-President of India and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, he became almost a legend in the eyes of the people. Perhaps, we would never find another like him to preside over the Rajya Sabha for a long time to come.

When he became the President of India after Dr. Rajendra Prasad, it was hailed as a great event not only in India but all over the world. Nehru as Prime Minister and Dr. Radhakrishnan as Rashtrapati formed a formidable pair in modern history. Bertrand Russell, the philosopher, declared that his election as the Head of the State "is an honour to philosophy... it is a tribute to India." Sardar K.M. Panikkar epigrammatically put it thus: "Dr. Radhakrishnan, apart from being the President of India, is 'Guru of the nation'". The *Daily Telegraph* of London in paying tribute to him in June 1963 observed that "no living Head of State in the world approaches his intellectual distinction." He illuminated the halls and corridors of Rashtrapati Bhawan by his luminous intellect and moral splendour. He brought glory to India wherever he travelled in the world. He gave unbiased sound advice to the Government whenever there was need and admonished it whenever it was necessary. Dr. Radhakrishnan was an eloquent

exponent of Gandhiji's teaching. He once said, "violence is the betrayal of the spirit and letter of democracy. We will not be truly democratic unless we avoid violence. Democracy means rule of law and rule by reason." This is as true as ever.

Whatever we may mean about secularism, religion is there, rooted in the nature of man. Man's impulse is to grow upward, to surpass himself, to complete himself, to know more and to love more, to create beauty. There is this spirit in man which makes him dissatisfied with the condition in which he happens to be. There is always this impulse in him to go beyond his present incomplete, degenerate condition and grow into what may be called a spiritual one. But we never said that it is only one particular religion that could help us to reach this conclusion. Whether we worship in the temple or in the mosque or kneel in the church, we all belong to the one central household of God. That has been the general principle which we adopted. At times we might have forgotten those principles but in recent times, through the influence of Ramakrishna, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Gandhi, we preach One God to all the peoples and call upon them not to go about quarrelling about the names we give to God or the descriptions which we give to the Supreme itself. That is how we developed in recent times.

Radhakrishnan

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as I knew Him

Dr. B. Gopala Reddi

Dr. Radhakrishnan had the distinction of being Chairman of Rajya Sabha for the longest period. The Presidentship of India came to him as a crown of glory after a full decade of Chairmanship.

Dr. Radhakrishnan conducted the proceedings of the House with firm dignity. His disposal of the business before the House was prompt and efficient. He never entered into any argument with members, announced his decisions which had a finality about them, and took up the next item in the list of business. There was a graceful quickness about him in conducting the proceedings of the House. I do not remember any occasion of protest or walk-out resenting his decision. As he entered the House and even before he took his seat, greeting the members with a *namaskar*, he used to call out the number of the question or the name of the member who was asking the question. He would not allow any loss of time. A lot of questions used to be answered in the House allowing relevant supplementaries.

Late Shri Bhupesh Gupta used to sit as the leader of the Opposition Group. He was an eloquent speaker and a hard-hitting critic of the Government. He was fearless and spared nobody. Even the Prime Minister had to be on guard when Bhupesh Gupta spoke or put a supplementary. But the Chairman tackled him nicely, gracefully and firmly. Shri Gupta was never irked by the Chair's ruling, and if any situation had led to frayed tempers, the episode used to end in laughter from all sides. Everybody won a point and there was no sense of vanquishment. Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru, who was one of the forceful speakers and was a senior member of the House, was given due respect by Dr. Radhakrishnan.

During Dr. Radhakrishnan's Presidentship, we had the Chinese aggression, the death of Prime Minister Nehru, The Indo-Pak conflict, the death of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent, and Shrimati Indira Gandhi's assumption of office as Prime Minister. During those critical days, Dr. Radhakrishnan's wise statesmanship was really commendable.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's surname was Sarvepalli, for his forefathers were from Sarvepalli, a village fifteen miles from Nellore town. His grand-father migrated to Tiruttani in Chittoor district. Dr. Radhakrishnan was born in that village and had his high school education in Renigunta. As Vice-President of India, he presided over the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the same school in 1956. As the Chief Minister of Andhra, I received him and accompanied him to the celebrations. In the reorganisation of States in 1956, Tiruttani was ceded to Tamil Nadu in exchange for Satyavedu according to Pataskar's formula—and there is no more border dispute between Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was Telugu speaking and knew by heart many *Bhagavatam* poems which he learnt in his high school days. He was fond of them even as President. Whenever he received a Telugu friend, he used to recite a Telugu poem to make him feel at home. He could converse in Tamil, but could not make a public speech either in Telugu or in Tamil. When Andhra was separated from Madras in 1953, Dr. Radhakrishnan was present at Kurnool along with Prime Minister Nehru, the Chief Minister of Madras, Shri Rajagopalachari, and the Chief Minister of Andhra Shri Prakasam. He tried to address a public meeting in Telugu but could not express himself freely and soon switched over to English. That was the only time he tried to speak in Telugu in public.

After he took his M.A. from the Madras Christian College, he joined the Madras Educational Service and was posted at Rajahmundry Arts College, where he stayed for about two years. There he had a chance to acquire knowledge of Sanskrit with the help of the *Mahakavi* Sripad Krishna Moorthy Sastri who had the distinction of having translated all the three Sanskrit epics, namely, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavatam* into Telugu, besides other works. That helped Dr. Radhakrishnan to understand Indian philosophy in the original Sanskrit.

In 1937, when I became a minister in the first Congress

Ministry in Madras, I found to my surprise and amusement Dr. Radhakrishnan's name in Madras Educational Service civil list as S. Radhakrishnan, "District Educational Officer on other duty", Chenglaput. By that time he had earned a name and become Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University and later went to Oxford. The upper posts were still held by officers belonging to the Indian Educational Service. Though Dr. Radhakrishnan had scaled great heights by that time, in the Madras Educational Service he was still shown as District Educational Officer *on other duty!*

Dr. Radhakrishnan was elected to the Vice-Chancellorship of Andhra University in 1931 when Dr. C.R. Reddy resigned for political reasons. He stayed on there till 1936. During that period, Dr. Radhakrishnan selected eminent persons like V.K.R.V. Rao, Hiren Mukherjee and Humayun Kabir as faculty members of the University.

Later he became Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University and was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1946 from U.P. I was also elected by the Madras Legislative Assembly. The membership of the Constituent Assembly brought Dr. Radhakrishnan, for the first time, on the Indian political scene.

After Independence, he went to Moscow as India's Ambassador. At the time when the Congress Working Committee was selecting a candidate for the Vice-Presidentship of India, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's name was also mentioned, but Nehru wanted an internationally known figure as Vice-President and the mantle fell on Dr. Radhakrishnan's shoulders. (Dr. Pattabhi was selected as Governor of Central Province which later became Madhya Pradesh.)

Sahitya Akademi was inaugurated in 1954 by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the then Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs. Pandit Nehru was the first President and Dr. Radhakrishnan was its Vice-President. After Nehru's demise in 1964, Dr. Radhakrishnan was elected as its President. I was then in the Executive Committee of the Sahitya Akademi. It was Dr. Radhakrishnan who gave the motto that Indian literature is *one*, though written in different languages.

When Dr. Radhakrishnan was elected President of India in 1962, as Minister of Information and Broadcasting, I conveyed to him the actual votes he polled. I also accompanied him as Minister-in-waiting on his first trip abroad as President in May

1963. He visited Afghanistan and Iran. On 13th May 1963, we greeted him at Kabul on the completion of one year of his Presidentship. At the airport reception at Kabul, Dr. Radhakrishnan referred to Tagore's story on Kabuliwallah in very eloquent terms.

After visiting Kandhar, we flew to Teheran where a very big reception was given to the President. It looked as though the whole city turned up to give him a rousing reception. The President addressed the Teheran University and presented a set of his books. He visited Isfahan and Shiraz, where we sat for a while at the tomb of the great Persian poet, Hafiz, as Rabindranath Tagore did once earlier. From Shiraz, the President flew back to Delhi where he was received by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet Ministers on his return from his first tour abroad.

On 13th May 1967, when he retired as President and left Delhi for Madras in a special train, there was a very large gathering at the New Delhi railway station to give an affectionate farewell to him.

Dr. Radhakrishnan who started his career as an educationist, finally occupied the highest office of President, and at the time of laying down the office of President, he had already established himself as a statesman-philosopher and was internationally known as a great thinker and a fluent extempore speaker.

The worst sinner has a future even as the greatest saint has had a past. No one is so good or so bad as he imagines.

Radhakrishnan

Homage to Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

Akbar Ali Khan

I had the privilege not only of knowing the eminent scholar and philosopher Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan for a long time, but also of studying his life closely when he was the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. I also had the privilege of being a member of the Rajya Sabha for eighteen years and was associated with him during the entire period of his Chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha. I think he was not only a scholar, a philosopher, but also a great statesman. He was full of noble ideas and was always trying to bring together people of different views in order to strengthen the human relationship between people of all religions and all political parties. He laid great emphasis on the brotherhood of human beings and endeavoured to bring about cordial relations between different sections of people in the country as well as the whole world. He was very broad minded and large hearted. Everybody who came in contact with him felt his warm feeling for humanity.

I respectfully pay my homage to the memory of Dr. Radhakrishnan who worked for the good and progress of the people of the whole world, irrespective of caste and creed.

Radhakrishnan: A Healer of the Soul

Baharul Islam

I had the privilege of taking my first oath in the Rajya Sabha when Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was in the Chair. It was in April, 1962. In the following month of May, having been elected President of India, he shifted to the Rashtrapati Bhawan. He had already earned an international reputation as a profound philosopher, a distinguished educationist, and an eloquent speaker. This, coupled with a detached personality and a resonant and commanding voice, enabled him to smoothly conduct the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha where there was no dearth of turbulent members. All sections of the House respected him because of his impartiality.

The first speech of his that I had heard was his reply to a public welcome address given in his honour when he visited Guwahati in 1948 as the Chairman of the University Commission. His speech was inspiring, precise and concise, and for seventeen minutes only. Later, I heard several of his speeches in Delhi. Words poured automatically in measured tones, and phrases and apt ideas were marshalled with consummate dexterity. Quotations and references came to his aid without any effort. Indeed, his eloquence was remarkable. He was self poised, confident, and his brilliant speeches kept his audience spellbound on every occasion.

His speeches were not mechanical. His writings and speeches always had a message to individuals, to humanity, and to the modern soulless 'civilized' world needing a word of comfort. He was a doctor of the soul and the human spirit in agony that needed solace and guidance in the confused modern world.

A piece of carbon becomes diamond, it is said, after it undergoes immense temperature and pressure in the womb of the

earth. Gold glitters more after it is burnt. A saint is so regarded because he has undergone enormous suffering and agony. Perhaps, there is no one who is an absolute saint or an absolute villain. Even a villain has some divinity in him. There is no fool from whom even the wisest man has not something to learn. "There is an unquenched spark of divine fire in the worst villain." Every human being has his or her own problems—physical, mental, moral and spiritual. Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

The truly great are not those who have more money or brains or higher social position. People richly endowed with physical health and material possessions are seen wrestling with cares and suffering. They may appear in drawing rooms with smile pinned to their faces while their hearts are broken with pain. They use their power and wealth to hide from themselves their real state and by concentrating on outer achievements, satisfy certain of their impulses. But deep down they understand that something is amiss with them. They feel it to be the particular unkindness of the universe that no one should stick to them, they should become estranged from their own children...that as they grow older, they grow more and more lonely. Soon they find that life is meaningless to them, and their eyes show wondering fear which we sometimes see in the eyes of animals, indicating a deep melancholy and ultimate sadness. We see in their eyes, in spite of their lively gestures and shrill voice, a harassed look, as if this world were not their real home, as if they had come from some far off place and could not get back. A nameless sadness weighs them down and they seem to grow indifferent to every feeling except a faint yearning to be at peace and dead.

Radhakrishnan's were the eyes that could read the hearts of such people and learn that "their frivolous excitement, their gaiety and laughter is only a mask." He found that such people were in a state of unbalance and were ill at ease; they suffered because they struggled to escape from such a state.

Radhakrishnan diagnosed and could find the cause and remedy of such illnesses. Man does not consist of a physical body alone. He is not the sum total of his torso, head, brain, limbs, intestines, nose, throat and eyes alone; he has an invisible soul

and spirit which is ignored by physicians who have failed to cure patients suffering from the illness of the soul and the spirit. Radhakrishnan was a physician for such illness.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

It is by suffering, that we understand. The condition of true human life is to suffer pain and endure loneliness...often suffering is not punishment but discipline. When the great blow falls, when we stand in our darkest hour, shocked, baffled and defeated for the moment, when the foundations slip away and the world seems to be cracking, we have to bear it all, face the storm, cling to hope and believe in love.

But love of whom? Love thy neighbour, love the needy and the poor. "In terms of spiritual currency love is greater than justice;" for the goddess of justice is blind; love is divine. True peace and happiness consists, paradoxically, in giving, not in taking; in sacrifice, in the service of the suffering humanity, not in selfish grabbing. I wonder whether anybody else is happier and more peaceful than Mother Teresa who is an embodiment of service to the suffering humanity. Could there have been anybody else who was happier and more peaceful than Mahatma Gandhi who had sacrificed everything for the sake of his country?

Radhakrishnan by his philosophic eye saw human weakness. He said:

Most of us find ourselves in absurd position when some overmastering passion reduces us to unreason. Judgement on another's folly is "hateful". We are moulded into strange shapes through ignorance and circumstances. Not all men are capable of loosening themselves from organic urges which seem to muster them, though man alone is capable of liberating himself by means of spiritual initiative from the blind primordial urges. Most of us are slaves of passions, when under their control it is impossible for us to see objects in their true lights; we believe whatever accords with our feelings.

He counsels, "it is therefore the duty of every genuine soul to insist on the good side and ignore the opposite."

Numerous spiritual 'patients' wrote to him for advice in "every conceivable perplexity". These patients included cranks,

and even faddists fond of their own remedies for ills of this world. And he with his profound knowledge of the problems of the soul and spirit catered to their needs.

It needed a Nehru, himself a profound scholar and seer, to pick up a scholar of profound learning and wisdom like Radhakrishnan from the portals of Universities for the unquiet life of politics, to guide the nation as Vice-President (and later as President) with his outstanding personality. By outward appearance, Radhakrishnan, like Swami Vivekananda, was a 'bigoted' Hindu. But again like Vivekananda, he, because of his profound knowledge of true religion, was learned in and respectful of all religions and regarded them as different paths to the same goal, namely, realisation of the Ultimate Reality from whom we come and to whom we go. "Different religions are not rivals or combaung forces, but fellow labourers in the same great task," he said.

We need more Radhakrishnans, more Gandhis, more Tolstoys to cater to the needs of the humanity suffering under the modern material soulless civilisation. "There is something fundamentally defective in the present organisation of the society. The basis of democracy is recognition of the dignity of the human being" which is lacking. Secondly, in the glamour of modern science and technology, we have lost our soul and genuine love and sympathy. "Physical efficiency and intellectual alertness are dangerous if spiritual illiteracy prevails," says Radhakrishnan.

Radhakrishnan believed in luck. While he attributed the little success he achieved to this luck, he did not shift the blame for his failure to ill-luck or circumstances. For he said: "My achievements are not entirely my own, but my mistakes are in large part due to my own folly or weakness." All great men and women were lucky in being great, but they became great not without having made great self-sacrifice of some sort or the other.

But alas! the last days of Radhakrishnan were tragic: he had lost his speech, his eye-sight, his memory. The tragic illness of the physician who had cured the illnesses of the soul of so many could not be cured by physicians of the body: unscrutable are the ways of God!

Dr. Radhakrishnan: A Philosopher-King

Dr. K.L. Shrimali

I first met Dr. Radhakrishnan at his residence in 1933 when he was a professor of the Calcutta University. The main purpose of my visit was to invite him at the anniversary of Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur. Dr. Radhakrishnan was relaxing on his bed and he received me most cordially. He assured me that some day he hoped to visit our institution at Udaipur.

My next meeting with him was in 1952 when I was elected to the first Rajya Sabha and called on him along with my friend Shri Gopala Reddy, also a member. Dr. Radhakrishnan's residence was always open to the members and others. We often visited him without any previous appointment. With his characteristic warmth and cordiality he at once made us feel at home. In the Rajya Sabha, he was highly respected by the members of all political parties. Even the late Shri Bhupesh Gupta, who was a stormy petrel of the Rajya Sabha, always honoured his rulings without demur. During the first decade of the Rajya Sabha (1952-62), I do not remember a single occasion when I witnessed ugly scenes which have now become so common in the Parliament. Dr. Radhakrishnan always inspired awe and reverence and controlled the Rajya Sabha as a professor would control his students in the classroom. Whenever a member made an irrelevant remark or raised an impertinent question, he would only say "Sit down" and the member obeyed his order without questioning. Such was the peaceful atmosphere in the Rajya Sabha when he was in the Chair.

When Prime Minister Nehru administered the oath of Office to me as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Education, he called me aside and gave me specific instructions that I should

keep Dr. Radhakrishnan informed of all important educational matters. I followed the advice of the Prime Minister even after I was appointed a Cabinet Minister. I greatly benefited by his advice. I had great respect for him, and I think he also had developed some affection for me. In 1962 when I had contested elections to the Lok Sabha, he was making anxious inquiries about the result of my election.

In 1962 I was leading a delegation to UNESCO at Paris. Dr. Radhakrishnan also expressed a desire to join the delegation. I requested him to lead the delegation, but he declined and suggested that he would come as an ordinary member of the delegation and I should be the leader of the delegation. This caused me great embarrassment. I spoke to the Prime Minister to request him to lead the delegation, but he did not change his mind and came as an ordinary member. Such was his magnanimity.

He was a profound scholar of philosophy and an eloquent speaker and occupied the highest position in the State, but in dealing with fellow citizens he was always humble. Mahatma Gandhi also had great regards for Dr. Radhakrishnan. He mentioned to me that Gandhiji wanted to have his advice about one matter when he said, "I am like Arjuna and you are like Krishna. I seek your guidance." Gandhiji referred to his experiment in *Brahmacharya* in Noakhali which had raised great controversy. Radhakrishnan told Gandhiji that there are some customs and conventions which are essential for the community and as the greatest leader of the Indian people it would not be advisable for him to discard those practices.

Radhakrishnan was a philosopher-king in the true sense of the term and it would not be easy to find another person like him.

When we think we know, we cease to learn.

Radhakrishnan

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan: Some Memorable Reminiscences

Prem Kirpal

I lived with the image of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan before the real person arrived in my life in 1946 in Oxford. The image was a source of pride and inspiration in that resurgent India that was waiting to be reborn in freedom with a new consciousness of mind and spirit projected by some towering personalities such as Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. For me Radhakrishnan had become the most outstanding philosopher and thinker of the Indian renaissance, who could carry his message in eloquent and inspiring words both in speech and writing to the scholars and students of East and West. As a student of history, I had learnt to admire his vision of universality through synthesis of cultures and the perennial assertion of man's dignity, unity and humanity. The past and the future were joined in that vision to sustain the present in the surrounding scene of war and uncertainties. Radhakrishnan's powerful words and wisdom kept hope and courage alive.

My first glimpse of the great philosopher was at a convocation of the University of Punjab at Lahore in the late twenties when he delivered a most eloquent and inspiring address to the university community. He held his audience spellbound and spoke in support of patriotism and ethics and highlighted the supremacy of the spiritual in our ancient and historic culture. At the end of the function, as the Governor of Punjab (who was also the Chancellor of the University) and the distinguished senators and academics marched out in a dignified academic procession, a young man from the large crowd of graduates and guests fired several shots at the British Governor and his aides,

killing a police officer and injuring some others. Even in the commotion that followed, Radhakrishnan maintained his calm, and his dignified behaviour was exemplary.

A decade later when I had started teaching at a college in Lahore, Radhakrishnan and Sarojini Naidu addressed a large number of students and citizens eager to hear words of philosophy and poetry from the two distinguished compatriots. That speech of Dr. Radhakrishnan stirred my thoughts and feelings. I became more conscious of humanistic goals and values of life which became my life-long pursuit as an educator and historian. I read all that Radhakrishnan had published and felt proud of my lofty tradition and pondered over the synthesis of East and West which his books projected.

A few years later while studying at Balliol College, Oxford, I had the fortune of listening to Dr. Radhakrishnan's inaugural lecture which he delivered as the first Spalding Professor of Comparative Religions. As Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Master of Balliol, the renowned philosopher A.D. Lindsay, welcomed Radhakrishnan amidst a galaxy of academics who adorned Oxford. It was from his deep study of the world religions and the different systems and traditions of philosophy that Radhakrishnan could present the aims and potentials of the new discipline of Comparative Religions, of which he was soon recognised as the chief exponent and leader. His oration and the vast sweep of learning impressed all, and soon his fame spread to other universities of the West.

During my Oxford days I met him briefly at the Annual Dinner of the Indian *Majlis* where he presided, in the company of Bertrand Russell and other guests. It was a treat to listen to the wise and witty words of the two great philosophers who were making an endeavour to build bridges of understanding between the two different cultures and traditions. The intimacy and informality of that social function revealed the simplicity and humanity of Radhakrishnan. I wished I could meet the man in person—whose greatness had been entrenched in my memory and whom I had come to value immensely.

The opportunity came soon after the end of the Second World War, but it came in an unusual manner. From Oxford I returned to Lahore to teach History and Political Science to post-

graduate students. During those days Lahore had a lively and cosmopolitan atmosphere of a university town filled with exuberant Punjabi spirit partaking of the joys of life and the solidarity of people. The joys and solidarity of the old Punjab waned and vanished in the follies of politicians and the machinations of foreign rulers, and before the sorrowful partition and the joyful Independence came, I found myself working at the India House in London. I had joined the India House in 1945 and was taking care of the education and training of Indian scholars selected for the launching of post-war development schemes. My work at the India House took me frequently to many British Universities, including Oxford where a cordial meeting with my great and favourite tutor of Balliol was always the first call of duty. Humphrey Sumner was then the warden of All Souls College where Radhakrishnan had his lodgings amongst some of the most distinguished academics of Britain and the Commonwealth. Humphrey Sumner had already spoken to Radhakrishnan about me and when I called him, I felt I had met a friend and a marvellous human being in reality—indeed a *guru*. That experience became a part of my life thereafter. My association with Radhakrishnan and Humphrey Sumner was among the most valued blessings of my life.

For about two decades from 1945, Radhakrishnan was my mentor in the true spirit of a friend, philosopher and guide. He was a *guru* who made his disciple feel like an equal in the practice of friendship and common quests. Such *gurus* are rare and the bounties they confer are boundless. I learnt much from him in my work for International Cultural Cooperation and Advancement of Education. Even more important were the virtues and values of humanism which he imparted to those who came into the orbit of his mind and he inspired in them the spirit which could dazzle and create.

Radhakrishnan was one of the makers of UNESCO and a true embodiment of the noble principles enshrined in its Constitution. He led the first delegation of united India at the inaugural Session of the organisation in Paris in 1946 and thereafter he was the Chairman of many succeeding sessions till his elevation as President of India. I was associated with him in his work at UNESCO as a delegate or advisor during all those years and learnt much from his remarkable leadership.

During November and December 1946, synchronising with the first inaugural Session of UNESCO in Paris, a number of eminent persons recognised for their scholarship and creativity were invited to deliver lectures at the Sorbonne, University of Paris. The lectures were arranged under the broad themes of education, science and culture, and Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was invited to speak on Indian Culture. Other speakers in this series of inaugural lectures were well-known figures in the world of learning, including Stephen Spender, A.J. Ayer, Jean-Paul Sartre, Andre Malraux, Louis Aragon, Louis Massignon, Jean Cassou, Soloris Skipis, Herbert Read, F. Joliot-Curie, J. Necham, Ozorio De Almeida, A.H. Compton, C.M. Bowra, William G. Carr and Julian Huxley.

Dr. Radhakrishnan delivered a memorable lecture, highlighting the main features of Indian Culture and their relevance to the post-war world of high hopes and new ideals. At the outset he stressed the importance and value of Indian Culture in the world of the future:

The world has become a physical unity in our time, but not a psychological unity. World unity can only be founded on a sense of world community, and this sense can only develop from interchange of the treasures of mind and imagination between the peoples, and a true understanding of the value of their different cultural and artistic traditions. This is one of the chief functions of UNESCO, and that is why I believe that my subject has a relevance for UNESCO. East and West have come together; never more can they part. This physical proximity is preparing for a spiritual approximation, a kind of world renaissance. The fundamental ideas of Indian Culture will have a great formulative influence on the world of the future.

He traced the uninterrupted continuity of Indian Culture through a long span of time. The central point of his discourse was the emphasis on spiritual freedom in the historic civilisation and culture of India and its potentials for the future.

He said that each stage of life has its own place and value, but there is always a striving for the goal of spiritual freedom:

The attainment of the highest goal cannot be sudden and immediate for all individuals. We must lead up to it by

stages. We must proceed step by step accustoming our eyes to higher and higher forms, as Plato would say. Buddhism prescribed a high spiritual ideal and a difficult ethical standard imperative on all. Hinduism felt that only very few were capable of this exacting demand. There are all grades of men between the saints and the sinners. Since all human beings are regarded as manifestations of the Divine, they are all evolving souls, all are capable of salvation. Only we have to devise methods appropriate to their natures. Rule and ceremony, rite and injunction, pageant and symbol are devised to prepare the variety of human souls for an approach to the realisation of the highest goal. By the doctrine of *adhikara*, the social scheme took note of the varying natural capacities of men and provided for them means by which one, high or low, wise or ignorant, man or woman can grow towards one's destiny, in the way suitable to one's nature and stage of development. There is, throughout, an insistence on the spiritual motive so that we are made conscious of the universal truth ever in our natural life. Indian thinkers strive hard to keep the high aim before the minds of men and impress its imprint on every circumstance and action of life. The individual is reminded throughout his life of his spiritual existence, of something beyond his natural life, beyond his individual ego, beyond the movement in time. This has produced in all those who have come under the influence of the Indian heritage a spiritual sensitivity, a readiness to make the spiritual effort, which are the distinguishing marks of the Indian temperament. A constant stress of religious thinkers and messengers of the spirit, who represent a new advance in human consciousness, a new relation between man and the mystery of the universe, a new order of being have kept the people of the country nearer to the inner realities. They have put their stamp on the character of the Indian people and moulded its forms. The meditation of the Vedic seer tranced in communion with the Eternal, the calm and compassion of a Buddha victorious over suffering, the rapture of the saint made one by love in the pure heart with the transcendent and universal love, with his will raised above egoistic desire

and passion into the superpersonality of the Divine will, these are the things on which India has set the highest value. They have been the supreme aim and endeavour of her highest spirits. The mortality and subjection to evil and suffering are not our proper condition. We can grow out of bodily life and mortality into the joy of immortal life and spiritual being. The supreme truth of all existence is a Being beyond mental and material forms, a spirit universal and original, of which all life and nature are manifestations. The truth of this central being is perceived not as a philosophical speculation, but as a spiritual reality to be sought by all according to their capacity. God is not a logical concept but a spiritual Being whom we can reach not only by having right ideas about him, but also by having a right attitude to him which may be one of contemplative abstraction or disinterested service or loving surrender. We must wake up to the splendours of spirit, rise towards the consciousness of the universal and live in a state of grace. *Moksa* is release from the course of time, from *samsara*, where every truth is determined by our past actions. When we rise to *moksa* from *samsara*, we advance from time to eternity.

Radhakrishnan concluded his address by a forceful exposition of the need of religion and insufficiency of secular and scientific humanism:

We are not so sure today as we were a few decades ago that such secular and strictly scientific humanism accompanied by religious illiteracy is adequate. The civilisation built on practical reasons, scientific power, industrial efficiency and national patriotism has disclosed its insufficiency in the aggressive ugliness of modern life, its perpetual unrest, its economic chaos, its lack of inner freedom and its oppressive mechanical burden. Man, the spiritual being, when he becomes only a social and political being soon slips into man, the mechanical being. He is turned into a toolmaker, a forger of new gadgets, and his civilisation becomes secular, joyless, insane. The State has taken the place of God, the State which concentrates on power, which has no sense of moral values, which stifles the free spirit of man, allows him no freedom,

exploits the lowest passions of men and punishes their higher and universal aspirations. The State which is built on technical development has brought about a deterioration in the mental and moral standards of men, an inhibition of imagination, a blunting of sensitiveness, a terrible hypocrisy that regards the flying bomb on England as an outrage, as it certainly was, but the atom bomb on Japan as a thing which good men may adopt without any qualm of conscience. The way in which we clothe our savagery in the dress of decency is a sign of the inner degradation, the lie in the soul. When we conscript young men and put them into uniform, it is clear that the machine has enslaved human life and dispensed the natural community of mankind.

The suffering of man is due to the ignorance of the nature of things and to the desires which deceive him; wisdom is what satisfies the soul. To acquire wisdom we must develop purity of vision. We must be without pride, hatred and hypocrisy, be tolerant even with the intolerant, gentle even with the violent. If the present tragic condition of the world is due to a positivist attitude to life, to an aversion to metaphysics, to a flight from God, the regeneration of the world can come only from an idealist view of life and a return to religion. As Indian religion is not entangled in unscientific dogmas or doubtful history, one need not fear for its future.

For the future he expressed his hope and faith in the relevance and vitality of the Indian Culture:

The traditional Indian Culture which has grown from the original plan of Vedic philosophy represents an ideal in which the modern world may find valuable lessons. Its value is to be judged by its essential spirit, by its accomplishment, by its power of renovation and adaptation to new phases of material life and permanent needs of humanity, not by the poverty, confusion and disorganisation of a period of temporary decline. History should help us to fix our attention on abiding values and rescue us from getting lost in the temporary and transient. The primacy of the spiritual, the supremacy of the ethical, the holiness of human life with its pure and tender

aspirations, are the principles which have given to Indian culture its strength and staying power.

Radhakrishnan's lecture on Indian culture at the Sorbonne impressed the galaxy of world's great thinkers and cultural leaders who were involved in the founding of UNESCO after the War. To the western peoples it was a revelation of the Indian spirit and way of life which seemed to point the way to a new order of life and thought for all nations and cultures of the world.

The opening speech of Radhakrishnan in the general policy debate was a landmark of UNESCO deliberations and highlight of the general tone and atmosphere of the Conference Session. His speeches at UNESCO touched upon basic issues of education, science, culture and communication and dealt with some fundamental problems of international cooperation and the state of affairs of the world. The speeches were delivered without any notes, but always reflected careful organization of thought and lucid exposition of problems. No government directives were ever issued beyond occasional suggestions from the Union Ministry of Education. He spoke more for the solidarity of nations and the universality of UNESCO's responsibilities than for the needs and wishes of his own country. For several days that followed his opening speech, delegates discussed his ideas which were clearly influenced by India's cultural heritage and were a lucid exposition of India's contemporary problems which she shared with other developing countries. His real role and achievement was to lift the tone and content of debate to the highest levels of thought and action. He saw clearly the true mission of UNESCO and expressed it freely and fearlessly. Seldom was the cause of international cultural cooperation better served.

As leader of the Indian delegation, Radhakrishnan dominated the Sessions of the General Conference. The Indian delegation was small in size but comprised eminent specialists who made their mark on the development of UNESCO. Thanks to the leadership of Radhakrishnan, India became a major cultural power from the very inception of UNESCO and made notable contributions to its work and ideals.

At one Session of the General Conference in the fifties, Radhakrishnan was unanimously elected President. Under a compulsion when he was to leave Paris in the middle of the Session, he proposed that the leader of the delegation of Pakistan

should take the Chair in his absence. This gesture of friendship to a neighbouring country was appreciated by all and characterized his generosity and breadth of vision.

In all Sessions of the General Conference that he attended, Radhakrishnan was the centre of attraction among delegates, journalists and the general public. His charm, simplicity, courtesy and understanding won many hearts. The following words of the beautiful Mexican journalist Ms. Gossi S. de Suarez recorded at the Second General Conference at Mexico in 1947 convey the high appreciation of the media for Radhakrishnan and the Indian delegation:

The delegation of India figured most prominently. The Hindu delegates made frequent and sensible expositions and obtained several triumphs, notably the inclusion of Hindustani as an official UNESCO language. This caused a tremendous stir amongst the Latin American delegates ... The impression left in Mexico by the Delegates of India was most pleasant... Sir Radhakrishnan, of great height according to Mexican standards, with his grey hair framing a noble and ascetic face, a person with a hardy personality, and with it all of simple and gracious manners. When I interviewed Mrs. Asaf Ali, he was there. Occasionally he interrupted our conversation always with an amiable and gracious remark, very much to the point. Never for a moment did I think of him as a noble man who should be addressed as 'Sir'. I spoke to a man of such prominence as though I were speaking to a friend, which I believe we really were, for five short minutes.

The spontaneous feeling of friendship which Gossi sensed from her first brief meeting with Radhakrishnan was experienced by all who met him at international gatherings of the UNESCO. The secret of this feeling was the deep humanity of the philosopher who offered goodwill and friendliness to all he came across and who needed his solace and guidance. He had the gift of entering the inmost being of those caught by suffering and confusion of thought, and often he brought to them peace and light through his compassionate love and assurance of friendship.

Another aspect of Radhakrishnan's work with the UNESCO was his participation in the functioning of the Executive Board, of which he was elected Chairman in the early formative years of the

World Organization. His outstanding success as a popular, effective and constructive Chairman of the Executive Board was reflected later in his Chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha. From my work in London, I accompanied him to the Board's Sessions in Paris to assist and often to officiate in his absence when he had to return to India for important work concerning the Banaras Hindu University, of which he was the Vice-Chancellor in addition to his duties as a Professor of Comparative Religions at Oxford.

The chairmanship of committees and conferences requires that one possess an art of dealing with diverse shades of opinion for obtaining a consensus of decisions and conclusions in an atmosphere of harmony and friendliness. It has its problems, difficulties and limitations at the national level which are heightened further in the assemblies and councils of international organizations like the UNESCO where men and women of different nations and cultures deliberate to discharge their mandate of supervising the work of the permanent Secretariat and of preparing proposals and programmes for the approval of the General Assembly. Often, the task is onerous and complex, communication is not easy, and the sublimation of narrow national viewpoints to the lofty plane of the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind calls for highly creative leadership. It was fortunate for the UNESCO to have a leader like Radhakrishnan who wielded sufficient intellectual and moral authority to steer its affairs in such a way as to obtain consensus and agreement in a spirit of compromise and understanding.

In the working of the UNESCO, the Chairman of the Executive Board had important responsibilities which were not easy to discharge. The organization had to evolve its ways of functioning, its own rules and conventions in the light of experience. To this pioneering work of creating a new system, Radhakrishnan made notable contributions. The task of organizing the work of the Board's Sessions, including its agenda, time-table, formation of committees and panels, required considerable planning. Preparation of reports and records of discussion needed specialized services for multilingual discussions. Fortunately, the Chairman was assisted by efficient secretaries, interpreters and translators, familiar with its concerns and responsibilities. He enjoyed the respect, loyalty and affection of the Secretariat staff whom he treated as friends and colleagues.

More important than the organization of work was the conduct of debate and discussion in which the Chairman's guidance and style of functioning were vital to the creation of that atmosphere of understanding and cordiality without which the Board could not work efficiently and in harmony. To this task Radhakrishnan brought constant alertness, unfailing courtesy, scrupulous fairness, complete impartiality, and remarkable lucidity of thought which impressed all and brought about consensus. The Chairman of the Board, as indeed of all similar bodies and institutions, is the custodian of the integrity, moral authority and reputation of the organization over which he presides. Radhakrishnan fulfilled this task by the independence and soundness of his judgement, his respect and appreciation of all, especially his regard for law, the views of the minorities and for precedent and traditions which developed a novel experience into a healthy and stable system and, above all, by the humanism and charm of his values and personality. A certain spirit of bonhomie, mutual confidence, trust and friendship was shared by all, thanks to the Chairman's highly humanistic functioning. Under his Chairmanship, the members of the Board found their meetings pleasant because these promoted creative interaction of minds characteristic of a great university community of scholars rather than formal deliberations of politicians representing Governments and carrying out bureaucratic instructions. Radhakrishnan left a permanent mark on the character of UNESCO's Executive Board.

Apart from the role that Radhakrishnan played in the making of UNESCO through its most important organs of the General Conference and the Executive Board, he was instrumental in promoting some important programmes of international cultural cooperation. Among the many initiatives which he took, three stand out especially in the fields of Culture and Education. Firstly, he worked for the broadening of the concept and scope of the Humanities which had been confined to western learning to the neglect of the knowledge and wisdom of the East. The range of studies in the fields of Philosophy, History and Literature were broadened and new materials were prepared both for the specialists and the general public. The contributions of seers, sages and scholars of India and China were specially stressed in broadening the horizons of Philosophy; the Scientific and

Cultural History of Mankind sponsored by UNESCO gave a more balanced picture of the growth of civilization; and the translation and dissemination of eastern classics and works of art were intended to redress the balance of knowledge and information in favour of the eastern and African countries which had suffered from the egocentricity of western nations.

Secondly, increasing stress was laid on knowledge and synthesis of cultures and international cultural exchange, culminating in the Major Project of UNESCO for the mutual appreciation of the cultural values of East and West adopted at the 9th Session of the General Conference in New Delhi in 1956. The Major Project helped in constructing new bridges of knowledge and understanding in the minds of men, so essential to a *world order* struggling to be born.

Thirdly, Radhakrishnan had an abiding interest in the teaching of moral and spiritual values at all levels of education. He considered this to be essential to the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind and to the making of a new man for a new civilization. An objective study of world religions was vital for projecting and practising human values and for the meeting of the historic cultures and civilizations with a view to evolving a new and appropriate world order for the spaceship Earth, which technology and information had already brought into being.

Radhakrishnan's influence on educational thought and practice at home was considerable. More time and space are needed to dwell on this aspect. Suffice it to say that he laboured for the renewal of education for a free and resurgent India, especially the development of the University from its colonial past to the opportunities and responsibilities of freedom. Progress was slow and the obstacles were many, and often needless. This disheartened him as little implementation followed the excellent report of his University Education Commission, as indeed was the fate of other committees and commissions that were set up. But he was not the man to give up in despair. All through his active life he encouraged worthwhile initiatives to improve upon the past and to build new institutions. For example, the establishment of the India International Centre with a generous donation from the Rockefeller Foundation was entirely his creation. The Institute of Advanced Studies at Simla was his idea and his gift. If these two institutions and others promoted by him did not fulfil his

vision, it was not his fault. The path of progress and perfection is hard and difficult everywhere; in our own country between the idea and the reality there is always a deep shadow of inhibitions and confusions which persists. Let us hope, not for ever!

The remembrances outlined above do not exhaust my memorable reminiscences of one who was a luminous thinker and philosopher, a warm-hearted humanist and, above all, a great teacher of humanity in his own country and in the cultures of other lands. To keep his memory alive brings solace to the mind and hope to the heart of man, both of which he served so nobly!

The function of the universities is not merely to send out technically skilled and professionally competent men, but it is their duty to produce in them the quality of compassion, the quality which enables the individuals to treat one another in a truly democratic spirit. Our religions have proclaimed from the very beginning, that each human individual is to be regarded as a spark of the Divine. Tat tvam asi, that artthou, is the teaching of the Upanishads.

Radhakrishnan

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan: His Internationalism and Universalism

Malcolm S. Adiseshiah

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was a multifaceted personality, a richly diversified man. Here, I shall briefly deal with one facet of that many-sided personality—his internationalism (universalism).

It was in his address at the Royal Society in London on the subject of Eastern Religions and Western Thought (which later came out as a publication by him) that we see glimpses of Dr. Radhakrishnan's universalism. He referred to the popular western stereotype of the eastern religions being other-worldly, unlike western philosophy and thought which was said to have emphasised the reality of this world. This other-worldliness was held to be the basis of the poverty of India, because its people and their Hindu philosophy directed all their attention to the next world, neglecting the demands and the opportunities of this world. England, on the other hand, had a pragmatic religion and philosophy which enabled its people to concentrate on using every opportunity to be well off and grow wealthy. India produced the *Bhagavad Gita*. Britain produced the *Wealth of Nations*. Against this, Radhakrishnan held, in a series of remarkable paradigms, which held his English audience spellbound, that this was a false dichotomy. Eastern religions like Hinduism and Buddhism affirmed the reality of this world where one's accomplishments laid the basis for his or her fulfilment, as much as the Christian religion and the philosophy of Hegel and Kant did for England and her material development.

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was invited to accept the Spalding Professorship in Oxford University, which he held for several years. In this position he was able to show, both in his teaching

and research, that the universal values in religion were the only guide to life. All religions, whether of the East or of the West, started and ended with a recognition of the Ultimate Reality, which manifested itself in every man, woman and child. Hinduism was as much concerned with individual's well-being, progress and redemption as Christianity was. The reality of the world does not lie in its divisions into narrow nationalisms or linguistic or religious groupings. The reality is the unity of mankind founded on the common values of love, sacrifice, sharing and friendship, emanating from that Ultimate Truth which guides all and directs everything. This message of universalism—the main message he gave during his Spalding Professorship—was in stark contrast to the world which had just emerged from the most devastating war in which several millions of men, women and children were killed and maimed for life. (It was the first time in the world when war was fought not only between armies but also among the civilian population.) To that world, which was once again dividing itself into two camps, and on which a new term *the cold war* was coined, Radhakrishnan's message of universalism was—war between men is war, war is neither hot nor cold, it is war, and it is always and everywhere contrary to the nature and destiny of mankind. He called men to return to their destiny which is universality.

It was when Radhakrishnan realised that his international outlook and universalistic philosophy came up against the brute facts of war and conflict, called by many misleading names—the brush wars, the police actions, cold war—that he turned to the call of non-violence and peace, which was also an integral part of his message. He spent three years in Moscow as India's Ambassador to Soviet Russia, and saw for himself the physical liquidation of political opponents as well as the people called *kulaks*, which the then Secretary-General of the Communist party and the Head of the Soviet Government, Josef Stalin, was ruthlessly organising and undertaking. As he was leaving Moscow at the end of his ambassadorship, in accordance with tradition he called on Stalin, and delivered him his last message as Ambassador. After setting forth the inevitability of peace and the essentiality of non-violence in the relations between men as also between nations, he had the wisdom and courage to call Stalin's attention to the implicit threat to him contained in the use of violence, and acts of killings and

murder, which was the obverse of his message of peace, with the words: "Mr. President, I want to remind you that he who lives by the sword will die by the sword". Stalin just smiled, but a decade and a half later, there was the action of Khrushchev and the Congress of the Party which vindicated Radhakrishnan.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was India's first and distinguished representative to UNESCO at Paris. It had been founded on the basis of "the intellectual and moral solidarity" of mankind. This was Radhakrishnan's home ground. UNESCO's aim was "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture". The opening sentence of its charter declared that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". To this building of peace in the minds of men, Radhakrishnan spent several years of his life, serving as India's representative on the Executive Board, later as the Chairman, and still later as the President of the General Conference of UNESCO. He was single minded in his commitment to the promotion of peace, friendship and understanding between people and nations. This expressed itself in some small incidents and some others which were not so small. In the 1947 General Conference of UNESCO, one of the members of the Indian delegation, Dr. A. Lakshmanswamy Mudaliar, in the course of his speech, criticised the expenditure on some action by the secretariat, and used the 'Shakespearean' phrase that he suspected that "something was rotten in the state of Denmark". Immediately, the Head of the Danish delegation rose in great excitement and asked for the floor, and said with vehemence that he protested against the slur cast on his country by the Indian delegation and proceeded to assure the Conference that there was nothing rotten in the State of Denmark, which was a peaceful country with happy people! Radhakrishnan explained to the Conference the popular saying which had been used by one of the members of his delegation, similar to the saying "carrying coals to Newcastle", and emphasised the general consensus that the peace and happiness reigning in Denmark should also pervade all countries of the world. On another occasion, at the General Conference in 1950 in Florence, Radhakrishnan, the Head of the Indian delegation, made a strong and moving appeal to the General Conference for the admission of the People's Republic of China into UNESCO.

After he made his memorable speech, the United States delegation sent one of its delegates, Myrna Loy, to warn Radhakrishnan that he was, through his speech, pleading for "Red China's" admission into UNESCO, destroying democracy in the world. (It is an unbelievable irony that India which was the only country that consistently fought for the recognition of the rights of China and the Chinese people in the United Nations for over a decade—a plea which was equally consistently opposed by the United States which had lobbied all other countries including Pakistan to join it in opposing China's rights—should be on opposite side of China in the international arena today.) Radhakrishnan's reply to Myrna Loy and the United States delegation was simple and straightforward. If UNESCO exists to promote peace and security, if it is to build the defences of peace in the minds of men, how can it accomplish its task by excluding the largest country in the world, by ignoring the minds of her 582 million men, women and children?

Radhakrishnan's internationalism or universalism was grounded in a deep sense of humanity and profound scholarship which grew from his wisdom. He came from the neighbouring district of mine in the old Madras state. He went to college (up to the then F.A.—intermediate class) at Voorhees College, Vellore. He kept reminding me that he was a student of my father. Whether in London or in Paris, in Rashtrapati Bhawan or in his house Girija on Edward Elliot's Road at Madras, whenever he met me, the first question that he would ask me was about my father and his well-being.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's wisdom and scholarship enabled him to run the big UNESCO General Conference and Executive Board with just a pencil in his hand. He never had to use the gavel or stand up to enforce compliance. When he spoke, it was the Universal Being speaking, and everyone remained obedient and silent—even the most boisterous and recalcitrant ones.

Radhakrishnan's final farewell message as President of UNESCO's General Conference in 1954 was set forth in his blessed call "*Shanti, Shanti, Shanti*", with which he closed the Conference.

Dr. Radhakrishnan: Philosopher-President

Tara Ali Baig

When he was President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan paid a State visit to Iran. My husband Rashid Ali Baig was India's Ambassador then and when we went to the airport for the formal ceremonies of welcome by the Shah, we had to board the plane and come down with the President and his entourage as a part of the ceremonials. The President in his tall south Indian turban, long *achkan* and *dboti* was standing so near the door impatiently that we nearly collided with him. "When are they going to start?" he complained, something like a child waiting for his birthday party to begin. When the cavalcade finally made the descent to the tarmac, he little anticipated the fierce, continual wind that blows down Meherabad airport for which a *dboti* is hardly designed for military formality.

That evening in the glittering banquet in his honour, his speech was such a contrast to the political utterances of other Heads of State that Queen Farah remarked afterwards, "I could have listened to him for hours. He explains complex ideas so clearly. His personality is so gentle and compelling, for once I could understand so much I never understood about Indian philosophy". A minister remarked, "It was like listening to one of our ancient prophets". At all events, so entranced were the Shah and the Queen that evening, in the end Dr. Radhakrishnan who, like all thinking men, had little time for empty trappings of state or idle conversation, eventually dismissed the Shah and the Shah Bano at their own banquet with fatherly affection and suggested that it was time for bed!

Clarity of mind combined with simple manners was the hallmark of his tenure as Vice-President of India and later as

President. In the biting cold of Moscow where he was once India's Envoy, he not only spent a large part of his time in bed from which he conducted work as well as received people, but most of all he stayed warm. In the Rashtrapati Bhawan, I was once conducted to his bedroom by a smart, uniformed ADC during the winter cold. His well-moulded turban lay on a table nearby, and books and papers surrounded him on all sides. It was, in effect, exactly the same as working from a *gadi* as do Rajasthani stockbrokers or salesmen of cloths all over India. Only in this case it was dealing with the affairs of State. However, this was no different to the kings of ancient India who ruled on their jewelled takhts instead of a regal bed, a relic of the Raj. He greeted me that day with his usual upturned hand, a charming gesture, and told me to be seated. Immediately quoting a Sanskrit verse, he proceeded to translate it for me with much amusement. Always the teacher, he would force you to respond, query your interpretation and then elaborate a profound idea.

"Man is a many-levelled being," he would say when talking about the future of democracy in India. This is essentially our problem. Unlike China with its former classes versus masses, or the United States where immigrants from all over the world were moulded into one pattern of citizenship, India's levels conferred on us by the caste system and philosophical recognition of varying results of the evolutionary process, make democratic levelling complicated indeed. Dr. Radhakrishnan understood this profoundly.

During his years as Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan was forced into a role very alien to his natural lifestyle. The Prime Minister always attended National Day celebrations of countries accredited to India. When this became an impossible task, the Vice-President was deputed to fulfil this role. On more than one occasion, he could be seen linking his little finger to that of someone standing next to him, swinging the arms up and down and reciting Sanskrit *slokas*. Needless to say, soon more persons would gather around him. The hapless person whose arm was swinging back and forth tried to cover his or her embarrassment with a sickly smile. In most cases no one understood the Sanskrit. But there was great delight in his unexpected performance.

Once at a cultural show of a visiting Rumanian troupe, we

were sitting behind him with our two younger children. Dr. Radhakrishnan turned around to us in the interval, patted my son's leg and asked him, "What school do you go to?" Khalid said proudly, "Doon School, Sir". "Ah," said the Philosopher-President with a chuckle, "That's the school with the motto, 'if you don't do well, join Burmah Shell!'"

Padmaja Naidu who was then Governor of Bengal, was staying at Rashtrapati Bhawan, just after we returned from Iran. She was not well and asked us to come and see her. She was anxious that I should write her mother's biography which was published later as "Sarojini Naidu" in the *Builders of India* Series. Just then Dr. Radhakrishnan dropped in. He had no ADC in tow, but having a moment to spare, thought he would find out personally if his guest was feeling better. Talking about Sarojini he started telling stories of her wit and some of the impossible incidents in her life which she had the gift of turning into hilarious episodes. Both she and Padmaja had the wonderful capacity to laugh and make light of life, and their throaty chuckles often topped off a tale like froth on beer. I begged Dr. Radhakrishnan to send me Sarojini's letters which he said were in some box in Madras. Alas, they were never sent because perhaps they were never found.

Though an acclaimed academician himself, his philosopher side perhaps lent itself to the ancient belief of concentrating on the mind rather than on the physical manifestations of the mind. A writer of many remarkable books on Indian Philosophy, nevertheless, his personality exemplified India's unique ability to create living thought which is often more valued than written thought. A *guru* in effect, Dr. Radhakrishnan was a teacher of the ancient school, personifying wisdom, learning and the oral tradition which influence countless persons in India.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan: A Multifaceted Personality

M.P. Bhargava

India has produced great saints, philosophers, intellectuals, teachers, scientists, politicians, religious gurus and others from time to time. But rarely has there been a person of the calibre of Dr. Radhakrishnan who was a teacher, philosopher, diplomat, interpreter of eastern and western philosophy, Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Vice-President and President of India, all in one in various stages of his life. He was an intellectual *par excellence*. To try to write something about him is like creating light by lighting a small lamp when the mighty sun is fully shining. September 5, 1888 must have been a golden day for India when Radhakrishnan was born. He had his early education at Tiruttani, secondary education at Tirupatti and Vellore, and college education at Voorhees College, Madras. As a young college student when he was undecided about which subjects he should choose among five possible options, a cousin of his, who had just completed his studies, gave him his text books on philosophy. This, according to him, determined his life's vocation. Till then he had not made up his mind to devote his life to the pursuit of philosophy and religion. At one place he has written thus:

I am persuaded that there is more in this life than meets the eyes. Life is not merely a chain of physical causes and effects. Chance seems to form the surface of reality but deep down other forces are at work. If the universe is a living one, it is spiritually alive, nothing in it is merely accidental.

He began his life as an Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Madras, and was there from 1911 to 1916. A teacher's reputation, besides teaching, depends on what he can

write. At the age of 20 in 1908, his first work *The Ethics of Vedanta and its Metaphysical Presuppositions* was published. It was followed by *The Essentials of Philosophy* in 1911 published by the Oxford University Press, London. He met Gandhiji for the first time in 1915 and was impressed by him. He wrote articles supporting the national movement. During 1917-18, he was Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Madras. He met Shri Rabindranath Tagore in 1918 and the same year his work *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* was published. He was Professor of Philosophy, Mysore University from 1918-21. He was the Chairman of the Executive Council, Indian Philosophical Congress from 1925-37, Upton Lecturer at Manchester College, Oxford in 1926, and General President, Third Session, Indian Philosophical Congress, Bombay in 1927. In 1928, he met Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the annual session of the Congress in Calcutta. Meetings with Gandhiji, Gurudev Tagore and Panditji had their own effect on his thinking and gave him fresh ideas of thought, which were amply reflected in his subsequent writings and speeches. He adorned the office of Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University from 1931 to 1936. In the meantime, *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy*, *Indian Philosophy (Vol. I)*, *The Principal Upanishads*, *The Hindu View of Life*, *Indian Philosophy (Vol. II)*, *The Religion We Need*, *The Vedanta according to Sankara and Ramanuja*, *Kalki or the Future of Civilisation*, *An Idealist View of Life*, *East and West in Religion* were published in quick succession in 1920, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1933. It goes to the credit of Dr. Radhakrishnan that he became an interpreter of religions of the East to the West and succeeded in putting Indian Philosophy in its proper place vis-à-vis the world. At one place writing about Hinduism he wrote:

Hinduism is more a league of religions than a single religion with a definite creed. In its hospitable mansion there is room for all types of souls from the highest to the lowest, and, as one grows in virtue, love and insight, one can pass from apartment to apartment and never feel that the atmosphere is stuffy or hot.

His name became widely known by 1935 and in 1936 he was offered the chair of Spalding Professor of Comparative Religions at Oxford University. It was a unique honour, as it was the first time

that an Asian had been appointed to an Oxford chair and so he was deeply conscious of his responsibilities of that high office. Sir Asutosh Mukherji was a very good judge of men as he was responsible for bringing two renowned intellectuals, namely, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Shri C.V. Raman, to the Calcutta University. Dr. Radhakrishnan was appointed George V Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University. He had long association with the Calcutta University and held that post till 1939. In 1938 he delivered the Lewis Fry Memorial Lecture at Bristol and was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1939. In the same year he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University and continued to hold that post till 1948. In 1940, he was requested to represent Oxford University at Shantiniketan for conferring honorary degree on Gurudev. The Oxford University, thus, honoured itself by asking one great son of India to honour another great son of India.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, all this while, lectured in various places in England and America since the age of 30 in 1918. To honour this great teacher, his birthday, 5th September, is being celebrated as the Teachers' Day every year.

The Indian Government began to utilise the services of Dr. Radhakrishnan in 1945 when he was appointed leader of the Indian delegation to the UNESCO. He continued to lead the delegation till 1954. He was member of the Constituent Assembly from 1947 to 1948. He was appointed Chairman, University Commission in 1948-49, and became Chairman, Executive Board of UNESCO in 1948. In 1949 he became Hon. Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. There was a race among universities for conferring honorary degrees on this great son of India and honour after honour was coming his way. All these years he had been going around the world as 'Academic Ambassador' of India delivering lectures.

The then Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, appointed Dr. Radhakrishnan as Ambassador of India in the U.S.S.R. in 1949. He continued to hold that post till he was called upon to contest the office of the First Vice-President (who is also the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha) in 1952. As Ambassador to the Soviet Union and as Chairman of the UNESCO Executive Board, he became a living example, showing that a life of contemplation need not necessarily be divorced from a life of action. In 1949,

cold war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R was at its height; its champions on both sides followed the principle—he that is not with me is against me. India, determined to be non-aligned, could not be wholly with either side and was, therefore, suspected by each side to be against it. Panditji knew the importance of developing Indo-Soviet friendship, however discouraging the circumstances appeared to be. He had, therefore, appointed Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit as Independent India's first Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. In spite of her eminence, she was not able to make much headway in Indo-Soviet friendship. The selection of her successor was therefore of vital importance to Panditji in the wider interest of the country. He asked Dr. Radhakrishnan to take up the highly responsible and important job although he was not a professional diplomat. Evidently, Stalin was pleased with the appointment of a man of international reputation as India's Ambassador to his country. Perhaps he was also prompted by curiosity and wanted to see what an Indian intellectual was like. He listened to Radhakrishnan during his term of office, and there are instances when he even acted according to his advice by sending shipload of wheat at the request of the Indian Ambassador and ordered the Tass Correspondent to be out of India within 24 hours of the Indian Ambassador's complaint against him. It would be in the fitness of things to say that Radhakrishnan laid the foundation of growing Indo-Soviet cordial relations. Stalin received him again on the eve of his departure from Moscow in 1952, a clear mark of his admiration for the retiring Indian diplomat. Radhakrishnan was an exceptional man. The secret of his success as a diplomat lay in his personality. Often it is what a diplomat is rather than what he does that really counts. Genius has been defined as the courage to be truly one's own self. Radhakrishnan was never afraid to be himself. He lacked the technique of a career diplomat, but he had two virtues, without which all other qualities were of no importance, namely, sincerity and detachment. It was not easy to remain detached in those days of Stalin when the cold war was raging. Yet it was the Indian Ambassador's mission, for he was the representative of his country, which had enabled him to remain detached in the cold war. Naturally, he understood the West better; even when he was Ambassador in Moscow, he held the post of Professor of Comparative Religions at Oxford. His profound knowledge of western as well as eastern philosophy is

reflected in his numerous books. In his book *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, he sought to bring about a synthesis between the East and the West.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was a speaker *par excellence*. He could go on speaking without a sheet of paper or note for any length of time and would keep his audience spellbound. The great liberal, Shri C.Y. Chintamani, Editor of the daily *Leader*, wrote about him:

Let me at once tell you that I have at last come across an Indian who can beat renowned speaker Shri Srinivas Shastri in his use of the English language. As for his ideas I would unhesitatingly describe Radhakrishnan as an Academic Extremist.

Addressing the alumni of Banaras Hindu University, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn over towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race.

Dr. Radhakrishnan showed his supreme concern for a new social order in his address at the Asian Relations Conference in 1946:

Let me tell you that there is no such thing as a spirit working in a vacuum and it is impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual life or development where our bodily health is so weak and when society is so unhealthy. Unless you build up a great social world, where all ordinary men and women irrespective of their status and economic position are given the fundamental rights which are open to all human beings, it will be impossible for us to have any kind of spiritual development.

Dr. Radhakrishnan was largely responsible in bringing India and the Soviet Union nearer. He had not completed either his term or mission there when he was called upon to take up in 1952 the more important work of Vice-Presidency of India. As Vice-President, he was the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the Upper House of the Indian Parliament. At that time Panditji said:

Dr. Radhakrishnan will make an ideal Vice-President; indeed we have in him a future President.

Panditji's prophecy was soon proved right when Dr. Radhakrishnan began to preside over the deliberations of the Rajya Sabha. The dignity, ease and authority with which he chaired the House were a revelation to those who were not familiar with his ways and manners when, as Vice-Chancellor, he used to draw the applause of the members of the Senate. Radhakrishnan gave respect and dignity to the Rajya Sabha, and it was because of him that it vied with the other House in commanding great attention. It would not be out of place if I quote here the veteran journalist, Shri K. Rama Rao, who was my colleague in the A.I.C.C. and who became a member of the Rajya Sabha for some time:

The life and soul of Rajya Sabha was its Chairman. As one looked on him, one felt one was looking on a true servant of Saraswati... It was an honour to sit in a House over which the great Sarvepalli presided, a man of international reputation and a speaker of rare eminence. His sense of humour is remarkable, and he would keep the House rollicking with laughter during question hour. In fact, we seemed to be a lot of forward children before his gracious dignity and mellow wisdom.

No greater tribute could come to him as Chairman when Shri Govind Ballabh Pant told him in his unconventional manner:

Rajya Sabha is a toy in your hands.

From 1952 to 1962, he was the Vice-President of India. He became Hon. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. During 1952-54, he was President, General Conference, UNESCO. In 1954 the Government of India conferred on him the highest honour of the country *Bharat Ratna*. He also received the *German Order Pour Le Merite*, and was made Hon. Member, Rumania Academy of Sciences. 1956 was the year of his goodwill missions to Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, East and Central Africa, Singapore, Indonesia, Japan and China. The U.S.S.R made him Hon. Professor, Moscow University, and he was made Vice-President, International, P.E.N. Panditji gave eloquent public expression when he said:

Wherever Dr. Radhakrishnan went, his words brought comfort to the people, and his own wisdom brought people nearer to each other.

In 1957 he undertook goodwill missions to Indo-China, China and Mongolia, and was awarded the title of "Master of Wisdom" by Mongolia. He was again President, General Conference, UNESCO in 1958 and inaugurated the UNESCO headquarters at Paris. He received the *Goethe Plaque* from Germany in 1950 and went on goodwill mission to Scandinavian countries in 1960. In 1961 he received the German Booksellers' Peace Prize and in 1962 he was elected Hon. Fellow of the British Academy, besides being elected the President of India. In 1963 he paid State visits to Afghanistan, Iran, U.S.A. and U.K. He also went on a State visit to Nepal. In 1964 he became President, Sahitya Academy, and went on State visits to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Ethiopia. He was also elected Member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade. He retired from the Presidentship of India in 1967 and chose to go to Madras to spend the rest of his life peacefully in reading and writing.

I was sworn in as Member of the Rajya Sabha on 16th December 1956. Although I had heard and read a lot about Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, I had the honour of meeting him and shaking hands with him on that day. His scholarly look, and graceful conducting of the Rajya Sabha proceedings left an everlasting impression on my mind. As Permanent Secretary of the All India Congress for about a decade, I had the honour of coming in touch with very big names in the Congress and the country but in Dr. Radhakrishnan I found a charm which would attract anyone towards him. On the very day I became a member, I decided to meet him in the Chairman's chamber to place my services at his disposal for whatever worth they were. He asked me to keep my eyes and ears open and to assist him in keeping the dignity of the House. He also asked me to try to be friendly to other members of the House. As time passed the more I saw him the more I admired him. He also began to take interest in me. He had found that Arjun Arora, myself, Chandra Sekhar and Mohan Dharia were among the vocal members on the Congress benches and one day in 1965, as President, he humorously described four of us as A, B, C, D, of Rajya Sabha members. He began to give me small jobs of

coordinating with the members of the opposition as I had some experience in dealing with different types of persons in the A.I.C.C. As time passed, my ties with him became stronger and stronger, and in 1960 I was nominated by him to the panel of Vice-Chairmen of the Rajya Sabha, which gave me an opportunity of meeting him every day in his chamber for about two years of his Chairmanship. In 1962 he was chosen as the Presidential candidate and I was appointed by him to be one of his polling agents for Parliamentary votes.

India became a Democratic Republic on 26th January 1950. The credit of establishing good democratic norms goes to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the First Vice-President *cum* Chairman, Rajya Sabha, and Shri G.V. Mavlanker, the First Speaker of the Lok Sabha. While Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the duly elected President of India set the tone of functioning and established correct precedents for healthy relations between him and the Prime Minister of India for the smooth running of the country's administration, it was left to Dr. Radhakrishnan, Shri Mavlanker and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to set good precedents to uphold the dignity of the Parliament and proper democratic functioning of the Indian Republic. For the grace and dignity with which Dr. Radhakrishnan conducted the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha it looked as if he was the class teacher and the Rajya Sabha was his class. He could easily control the opposition without any tension or bitterness. He was a strict disciplinarian and was very conscious of the valuable time of the House. He would brook no nonsense in the debates or the question hour and exactly knew how many supplementaries to allow on each question. He was always helpful to the members, who had full faith in him and knew that their rights were safe in his hands and thus gave due respect to him. He would sometimes tell a member, "Mr. so and so that is enough, now resume your seat", and the member would obey him at once without any murmur.

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha have arrangements at their residences to listen to the proceedings of the Houses. Dr. Radhakrishnan kept very close watch on the proceedings of the House when in his absence somebody else was presiding in his place. One day it so happened that no member of the treasury benches was present when the House reassembled at 2.30 p.m. after lunch break. The House was discussing some Financial Bill, and presiding as Vice Chairman, I

had to adjourn the House for 15 minutes. The Deputy Finance Minister met me in the lobby and apologised for not being present in the House. I told him that he would have to explain to the House for his lapse. On resumption after 15 minutes I pulled up the minister, who immediately rose to offer his explanation. Before any member could comment on his explanation, I called the next speaker in the debate and so the matter ended. Next day the Chairman complimented me for pulling the minister and maintaining the dignity of the House. So great was Dr. Radhakrishnan's interest in the proper running of the Rajya Sabha.

The secret of the Chairman's success was not so much mastery of the rules of procedure as the deep respect and affection with which all sections of the House regarded him. His contribution to the effective functioning of the Rajya Sabha was, in fact, much more than procedural. Every member of the House felt confident that his rights would be protected by the Chairman against interference even by the official whips. With his keen sense of justice, he attempted, to the lengths permissible under the rules, to shield officials from unfair comments and criticisms on the floor of the House.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's five-year term as President of India was very eventful. In his term he had to deal with three Prime Ministers. The First Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, passed away on 27th May, 1964. He was succeeded by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri in June 1964. Unfortunately, Shastriji could remain Prime Minister only for a short period of 17 months. He died at Tashkent in January 1966 and was succeeded by Shrimati Indira Gandhi in February 1966. The first year of his office in 1962 was the year of the Chinese aggression and 1965 saw the second Pakistani aggression. The conflict with Pakistan caused the President deep anguish. His support for the Government was whole hearted in strengthening our defences during the conflict with our neighbour while it lasted; but this did not prevent him from cautioning the country against a retaliatory attitude towards Pakistan. He spoke thus:

We have been adopting for centuries the retaliatory attitude of life—wickedness for the wicked. But Gandhiji displaced this attitude with love even for the enemy. Are we doing it? We call Gandhi the Father of the Nation. But what have we acquired from him?

In another speech he told his audience:

We should never depart from our path of truth. If necessary we will sacrifice even the country for the sake of truth; but we will never sacrifice truth for the sake of our country.

The President was well known for his humanitarian approach about every problem. It is known to very few people the great role played and advice given by the President to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri on the eve of his departure to Tashkent. Both were great believers in teachings of the *Gita*. He advised Shastriji that his meeting with Pakistan President Ayub Khan should be one of bringing people together and not breaking away from them. In one of the speeches, the President said:

Shastriji goes to Tashkent with an open mind and with no prejudices. Any fanaticism, any prejudice is opposed to the scientific spirit. A scientific spirit is a habit of mind in which one must not have a rigid hypothesis.

Shastriji carried out his wishes and in the process gave up his life. However, it is not to be assumed that the President was for peace at any cost with an aggressor nation as would be evident at the time of Chinese aggression speech of his in November 1962, when he said:

We do not want to appease China... We have to tell them that what they are doing is wrong. The way in which many nations, whether democratic or communist, have responded to our calls shows that they have recognised that there is a fundamental distinction between right and wrong, that we are the victims of aggression and so we should be supported and that the aggressors must be condemned.

Following the Chinese aggression, President Radhakrishnan visited both London and Washington. According to newspaper reports the world over, the President left a deep impression on President Kennedy of U.S.A. and the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom. The conservative *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

No living head of State in the world approaches his intellectual distinction. In his writings he has been the

outstanding interpreter to the West of the thoughts of the East concerning the ultimate mystery of man. That such a man should have been elevated by a great people to the first place in its polity, rather than one immersed in the controversies of politics, is remarkable evidence that India sees society of which the President is the supreme representative, as something greater than... the State. That is a belief we hold also in England, and it is a link with India that we have come to the position by very different roads, our hereditary Monarchy and their elective Presidency proclaim the same ideal of a national representation far above the dust of that party battle. Yet in neither case do we depend upon an hieratic image out of touch with simple human interests.

In Washington, a noted commentator observed:

Time and again Radhakrishnan would return to the same theme, that India is a model of democracy for Asia, and stands in stark contrast to mainland China's commitment to political dictatorship. This theme was stressed during two days of intensive discussions here with President Kennedy and the Secretary of State, Rusk.

On his return to New Delhi, the President told newspaper correspondents in summing up the results of his visit:

In spite of their domestic troubles both in America and England my programme was carried out—not modified. We tried to do our best to tell them about our general policies of individual freedom, social justice and welfare, non-involvement in military blocs and also about our Prime Minister's leadership in consolidating the country and modernising it. On the International situation, our policy is to work for peace, bring about a ban on nuclear tests and work for disarmament without losing patience or hope. The essential conditions of peace are that colonialism must be ended as soon as possible, racial discrimination stopped, and emerging nations which are sunk in economic miseries should be assisted to grow and make themselves self-sufficient. Let other people deal with economic aid and military aid. That is not my concern.

Mine was merely to create a climate of goodwill and friendliness and I tried to do what I could in that direction.

It would require pages after pages to reproduce his wise words spoken or written from time to time. They will remain a part of Indian heritage for all times to come. All credit to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for realising the worth, capacity and utility of Dr. Radhakrishnan in independent India and for giving due recognition to an intellectual giant of international fame. It speaks a lot about the farsightedness of Panditji that he utilised the services of such a great man, first as India's Ambassador to the U.S.S.R, then as Vice-President *cum* Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, and finally as President of India. It can be safely said without any fear of contradiction that it goes entirely to the credit of Dr. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that India got its deserving place in the international map of world. The two wise men had a perfect equation between them and did yeoman's service for their country from 1946 to 1964 when both worked together in the interests of their beloved motherland. It was good fortune of the country to have Dr. Radhakrishnan at the helm of country's affairs during the rapidly changing conditions in India during 1962 to 1967. This period witnessed the Chinese aggression, the Pakistan conflict, the passing away of Panditji after 17 years of glorious rule, the succession of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister who proved his worth both as a war-time and as a peace-time Prime Minister in a short period of 17 months and, finally, the succession of Shrimati Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister in 1966. One shudders to think what would have happened if Dr. Radhakrishnan was not there as the President of India to steer clear the country's boat to safety during those troubled years.

I salute Dr. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his birth centenary and offer my respectful homage to one from whom I received all kindness and affection. His name will remain immortal for all time to come through his gracious writings.

Bharat Ratna Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Somusingh Patil

I feel immensely honoured and gratified that I have been asked to contribute an article on the life and personality of this royal sage with particular emphasis on his role as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. It is a rather difficult task to bring out his life story fully and in a befitting manner, commensurate with his great erudition, maturity and rich experience.

During my tenure as a member of the Rajya Sabha and particularly working for some years as a zonal whip intermittently from 1957 to 1964, I got ample opportunities to observe and study Dr. Radhakrishnan closely. As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the style of functioning of this great philosopher-statesman was unique in many ways. On several occasions, I used to meet him in his chamber at the Parliament House in order to submit to him the list of prominent speakers who wished to participate in important debates on Government Bills, Resolutions, and Short Duration Discussions. He was very cordial and sweet to me and gave his consent to a few names of his choice. He was most impartial and large hearted in the selection of names without bias or partisanship. He appeared to have studied thoroughly the background of several distinguished Parliamentarians from the "Who's Who" of Rajya Sabha members.

He had always maintained and respected the dignity, decorum, and noble traditions of the House and had not allowed them to be violated or sacrificed at the altar of anger, high-pitched emotions, and vigorous arguments used in support of or against a particular subject. He had always tried to uphold the dignity of the highest democratic forum—the Parliament—a living and vibrant entity. In the midst of uncontrolled and highly emotional debates, he tried to bring calm and peace by his wonderful calm and patience. He brought to the House a fund of practical common

sense, sagacity, wisdom and knowledge by sheer dint of his masterly and inimitable way of handling difficult situations. By tact, skill, intellectual humour and appropriate side-remarks, he helped to pacify and cool the hot atmosphere in the House. He was very keen to protect and safeguard the rights and privileges of the members and maintained the honour of the august House.

During his memorable period as Chairman, there were many eminent and distinguished parliamentarians in the Rajya Sabha: to name a few, Bhupesh Gupta, Shrimati Seeta Parmanand, K.K. Shah, G.S. Pathak, Khandubhai Desai, Prithviraj Kapoor, and Giani Zail Singh, the former President of India. Bhupesh Gupta, an ace orator, on several occasions embarrassed the Government by his wonderful wit, brilliance, rich experience, deep knowledge, powerful oratory, indomitable courage, quick presence of mind, and irrepressible aggressiveness. Intellectual giants like G.S. Pathak and K.K. Shah contributed immensely on constitutional points, by their skilful style, persuasive warmth, and frankness. They brought sobriety and sagacity in the debates, but all the same, Dr. Radhakrishnan used to add flavour to the debates and contributed by covering important points left out by others with his appropriate and suggestive side-remarks. When the debates were unnecessarily long, irrelevant, tedious and tendentious, he used to add mirth, gaiety and humour by his ready wit and wonderful skill of controlling the House.

Dr. Radhakrishnan had left a distinct mark and imprint of his powerful personality, particularly during question hour and the zero hour. Those who put questions were very particular about being present during question hour as they feared that the Chairman disliked those who put questions and remained absent. His skill was at its highest in handling difficult and embarrassing questions put to Government. He used to bring both the warring sides on the path of peace by urging them to adopt an attitude of mutual give and take, and would not allow the opposition to condemn the Government outright for the latter's acts of commission and omission and tried to avoid bitterness and mutual recrimination.

He had thorough knowledge of the rules and procedure of the House, and his rulings were correct, just and invariably satisfactory. He did not allow rambling and irrelevant debates. The standard of debates during his time was not allowed to

deteriorate. The high level of debate was scrupulously maintained by his timely intervention. Members were heard with respect and rapt attention. There were less fire works and more light in the House.

He had full control of the august House of the elders and brought liveliness to debates. His approach was forthright even to the Government. He never minced words in exposing Government's failure in crucial debates, and had put them to their own defence, particularly on vital debates, like food and agriculture, law and order situation, rising prices, increasing corruption and inefficiency in administration. He felt that education and agriculture held the main key for the awakening of the people and for the country's development and progress. He brought home to the Government the importance of people's active participation in planned developmental activities. He was very particular as regards the quick implementation of assurances given by the Government in a fixed time-frame even though there was no Committee on Assurances in the Rajya Sabha during his Chairmanship. He had clearly brought to the notice of the Government that the non-implementation of promises and assurances on their part alone created a lot of dissatisfaction among the people. He used to warn the Government to be more careful, particular and vigilant to minimise the wide gap between promise and performance.

The late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while speaking on two occasions (in his banquet speeches made on 3rd March 1955 and on 10th September 1959) in honour of Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister of England, and the Mongolian Prime Minister, respectively, had paid rich tributes to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan by calling him "as our most distinguished ambassador, our Vice-President...representing in himself that great past of ours, the present and future." Again, Panditji, quoting approvingly Dr. Radhakrishnan in his speech, said: "The Vice-President in his own inimitable way said that we should have the capacity to forget what ought to be forgotten and remember what ought to be remembered".

Dr. Radhakrishnan had an abiding faith in democracy. He used to say democracy without self-discipline is as dangerous as dictatorship. He once said:

It is not a question of identical opportunities for all men to

rise to the highest station in social life, for men differ in their powers, but a question of giving equal opportunities for all, so that they may bring their respective gifts to fruition. Each one should have the opportunity of achieving his human fullness, the fruits of wisdom and virtue, according to his effort and condition. It makes little difference whether we dig the earth or do business or govern a state or meditate in a cell. The *varna* rules recognized that different men contribute to the general good in different ways, by supplying directly urgent wants of which all are conscious and bringing in their lives and work, truth and beauty. Society is a functional organization and all functions which are essential for the health of society are to be regarded as socially equal. Individuals of varying capacities are bound together in a living organic social system. Democracy is not an attempt at uniformity which is impossible, but at an integrated variety. All men are not equal in their capacities but all men are equally necessary for society and their contributions from their different stations are of equal value.

In his masterly "Introductory Essay on Geeta", while commenting on the four-fold system (*Chaturvarna*), Dr. Radhakrishnan has analysed the democratic system in all its important aspects. He was a man of settled intelligence and had universality of outlook born of wisdom and freedom from selfish desire. He hated none, not even the humblest and the lowest. He had abundance of tenderness, sympathy, impartiality, depth of vision, foresight and maturity. He was in favour of justice to all. He represented our old political sages and fully answered the description of a man of great learning, i.e. *Pandit*, whose qualities are described in Chapter IV, verse 19 of the *Geeta*: "He whose undertakings are all free from the will and whose actions are burnt up by the fire of wisdom."

Dr. Radhakrishnan was a philosopher, a multidimensional personality, an eminent educationist of world fame, a distinguished Ambassador, and a father-figure of Indian heritage and culture. I vividly remember his wisdom-filled words on the aim of education. He said, "Initiation into the life of spirit is the aim of education," He had the insight of a sage and the spirit of a pioneer. He was a real *Karma Yogi*. Many a time, man's greatness is

not adequately realised when he is nearer to us, but his greatness is felt after his death. Dr. Radhakrishnan, however, was an exception. His greatness was admitted by all during his life as well as after his death.

He was a real symbol of true Indian culture. His untiring energy, absolute resolve, perseverance, selfless service, devotion, poise, patience, foresight, and large-heartedness are rare to be found in these hectic days. He was an embodiment of truth, intelligence, and joy. He was a great humanist.

Whenever I had an occasion to participate in the debates in the House, he used to humorously remark: "Now Mr. Patil would speak only on agriculture and agriculture alone and on nothing else" and this was true in a large measure, since agriculture was our priority—and remains the core programme in 1988 and in the proposed Eighth National Five Year Plan. Dr. Radhakrishnan had created a real *Shastra* by his great work in education, philosophy, ambassadorship, Chairmanship of Rajya Sabha, Vice-Presidency and Presidentship of India. It is said that the real *Shastras* are the life stories of the best men. Dr. Radhakrishnan falls in that category of great men. He was of the view that religious ethics must control social life.

From 1962-64 when I was still in the Rajya Sabha, I had some occasions to meet him in person while he was President. He had then shown the same affection towards me, as he used to while he was the Chairman of Rajya Sabha. He was not in favour of capital punishment and wanted it to be abolished as he considered it a primitive and cruel form of punishment. While he was the President, in 1963-64, I got one sentence of capital punishment commuted to a sentence of life imprisonment in case of a young husband of a young girl coming from a high caste Rajput family, who had a female child. There being no system of remarriage prevailing in the Rajput community, death sentence to her husband would have brought widowhood to the young lady.

During his Presidentship, the war with China had started and we had suffered a humiliating defeat at their hands. There was a great uproar in the country and in the Parliament. During the hectic days of Krishna Menon's failure in that war and Kamraj Plan, I used to meet Dr. Radhakrishnan as he was keenly interested in the national politics as the Head of the State. He wanted to know the real inside story of all the above important developments from

some of the whips enjoying his confidence from the Congress Party and from the members of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament. I was one of them and used to convey to him the correct information of the proceedings in the Parliament and in the Congress Party on these crucial issues.

In the end, I found in Dr. Radhakrishnan almost all the 26 endowments of divine nature mentioned in verses 1-3 of Chapter XVI of the *Geeta*, viz. fearlessness, purity of mind, full knowledge of *Yoga* (disciplined activities), good and firm resolve, social service, control of senses, benevolence, great erudition—learning of *Shastras*—, uprightness, non-violence, peace, non-anger, sacrifice, modesty, truthfulness, intellectual honesty, unattachment, compassion, poise, gentlemanliness, patience, limitations, awe, courage, humility and absence of hate.

Dr. Radhakrishnan will be long remembered throughout the world for his great learning and for his efforts to bring peace and understanding in the world. His multifaceted personality as a great thinker, philosopher-statesman, great writer, world-famous educationist and as a revered father-figure in world statesmanship will be remembered by all.

I wish that people will take proper guidance from the life and work of this great man and pursue the path laid down by him as a great thinker, philosopher, and as a true representative of the great Indian culture and vedic philosophy.

Knowledge is not something to be packed away in some corner of our brain, but what enters into our being, colours our emotion, haunts our soul, and is as close to us as life itself. It is the over-mastering power which through the intellect moulds the whole personality, trains the emotions and disciplines the will.

Radhakrishnan

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan: Genial and Humane

Lakshmi N. Menon

Dr. Radhakrishnan was no stranger to me when he became the Vice-President of India and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha in 1952. I had first met him in Calcutta in 1929 or 1930. He was then Professor of Philosophy in Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the liberal Vice-Chancellor of that University, was not tainted by the narrow provincialism that most people have and which is today ruining academic standards and the broad vision and ideals of excellence that one associates with a good university. Dr. C.V. Raman, Dr. K.S. Krishnan and Dr. Radhakrishnan were his wise finds for the university. At that time I was teaching at the Gokhale Memorial Girls School and was staying with Mrs. P.K. Ray, a great woman and a friend of Gopal Krishna Gokhale. She was also the founder of the school. I have a vague recollection that Dr. Radhakrishnan's eldest daughter studied in that school and I had taught her. During week-ends I used to visit the house of S. Gourie, my student friend from Madras. Gourie and her parents lived in the house next to Dr. Radhakrishnan's residence. We used to wander into his house and see him deeply absorbed in his scholastic pursuits. Gopal, his only son, was a youngster among so many of us, all women!

I am not a student of philosophy, but like many young persons, tried to learn Indian philosophy by reading Dewssen and Max Muller, perhaps without much understanding. That was in the early twenties. By the end of the decade, for those who wanted to know something of Indian philosophy, there was Dr. Radhakrishnan's *Hindu View of Life* published a few years ago. It was followed by many others, including two ponderous volumes, on the history of Indian philosophy, clarifying the difficult-to-

understand aspects of our philosophy to ignorant and cynical western seekers of knowledge.

To me as well as to many others, Dr. Radhakrishnan was always an eminent philosopher, a scholar of repute who used to go to England every year to deliver the Spalding lectures at Oxford—a rare distinction and recognition in those days. Although Plato might say that in an ideal and just State philosophers are the only persons fit to rule, laymen seldom associate diplomacy with professorial dignity. So when he was appointed India's ambassador to Stalin's Soviet Union, many eyebrows were raised. But those who knew the professor also knew his broad humanism and bonhomie, and his gentle persuasiveness. They knew that he had the capacity and that his natural geniality would transform the hardest of hearts. Such indeed was his humanism which I was to discover in the years to come. It was in the Rajya Sabha, where I was to meet him as Chairman, wielding authority in a Council of elders for 10 years, that one could see his qualities of head and heart. During the entire period of his Chairmanship, I was a member of the Rajya Sabha and later when he relinquished that position on becoming the President of India, I had the good fortune to go with him as minister-in-waiting during his tour to U.S.S.R., U.K., Ireland and U.S.A. and of watching him from close quarters.

A kindly and smiling face with a white turban hiding his greying hair, when Dr. Radhakrishnan walked into the House, it was like a favourite professor walking into an expectant class. We would respectfully and cheerfully rise from our seats, happy to see him. If it were a classroom we would have greeted him with a "good morning" or *namaste*. The question hour passed amicably, sometimes amusing replies and a certain hilariousness enlivening the morning. Supplementaries did not produce even minor storms of dissatisfaction. Zero hour, so called, did not usually lead to quoting of rules or walk-outs in protest. We knew that there would not be any injustice or partiality. His warnings and admonitions, if any, were taken in the spirit in which they were given. At this distance of time I cannot recall any unseemly incident which could bring down the dignity of the House of elders. Dr. Radhakrishnan was no pettifogging lawyer or frustrated political adventurer suddenly coming to high office. He was already famous as a philosopher and writer, successfully

interpreting the difficult-to-understand Hindu view of life to the unbelieving cynical western public. His eloquence and gentle persuasiveness had evoked the admiration and respect of all who had heard him or seen his writings. He treated all alike as human beings in the true *Vedanta* spirit. Stalin might have struck fear and terror in some; to Dr. Radhakrishnan he was just another human being, perhaps a creature of inexorable circumstances. Unlike his predecessor on the job, he could and would meet him, share his anxieties, give him advice and warning if and when necessary, and true enough, the response was spontaneous. When he took leave of Stalin, I was told that the man of steel was on the verge of tears. Dr. Radhakrishnan knew that love returns love and enriches human relationship.

Many people with problems, sometimes trivial or fantastic, sought his help and he gave his support, willingly and cheerfully. Once he told us how Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, who was then Chief Minister of U.P., invited him to address the students. Those were troubled days and there was no knowing when there would be an eruption of violence. Well, Dr. Radhakrishnan did not share any of the anxiety that the Chief Minister might have had. The students listened to him with remarkable courtesy and attention. The Chief Minister was astonished and asked Dr. Radhakrishnan how he managed to create such an atmosphere of peaceful attention. Said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "It is very simple I love them, you don't". It was this humaneness that marked him apart from others. It was both amusing and amazing to watch him enforcing discipline in the House. If, for instance, Bhupesh Gupta, the irrepressible opposition leader and a most lovable member, jumped up with an impossible demand, the Chairman would just say "Bhupesh, sit down" in the commanding tone of a professor, and Bhupesh would sit down like an obedient student, docilely. His impartiality was total. Once it happened that the Prime Minister wanted to tell me something. He sauntered to my seat as though we were at some informal social function. With unusual firmness the Chairman said, "Mr. Prime Minister, what are you doing?" Panditji, the great man that he was, apologised and walked back to his seat. I sometimes think that Plato was wise when he said that in a just and ideal state philosophers are the only persons fit to rule. All that Plato meant was perhaps that the wise

alone are able to realise the futility of exercising power, except for the welfare of the ruled, i.e. the people.

Dr. Radhakrishnan knew his flock very well indeed; he knew all the members of the Rajya Sabha, their background, economic circumstances, educational attainments, their failings and capacities, and like the good teacher he was, he could tackle them accordingly. He had no prejudice against anybody. When he was in the chair we had no difficulty in 'catching chairman's eye'; it was so different from his deputy whose likes and dislikes were too obvious to be ignored. The Chairman did not usually come to the House for the afternoon sessions unless there was something important like an intervention or speech by the Prime Minister or some calling attention notice on something so very controversial that it required his healing presence to avert a likely conflagration.

The Hindu Code Bill was postponed for years because of the opposition to it by the orthodox sections and individuals, from the President down to the last reactionary. It was not made an election issue in 1952 for fear that it might affect the first election. But once the Congress was safely installed in power, it was thought that this urgent reform should not be delayed any longer as it really affected millions of women subjected to injustice for thousands of years. It was imperative that the Bill should be introduced before the close of the session. The afternoon session of the last day of the session was the time fixed for its introduction. The enemies of the Bill were dead set on preventing its introduction, and the strategy they employed was to ask for the Bill to be referred, to elicit public opinion. This was the method by which they expected not only to delay the legislation but to 'kill' the Bill. We, the women members, were very much concerned as we did not expect a fair deal with so much 'pull' available to the orthodox sections. The only salvation was to apprise the Chairman of the situation and implore him to be present at the time of the introduction of the Bill. Dr. Radhakrishnan readily agreed to accept our proposal if his presence was needed. I began my speech on the Bill. True to our expectation, the Deputy Chairman did not share any particular interest for me or the Bill. Knowing the attitude of the orthodox sections of the House, we had requested Bhupesh Gupta, the leader of the Opposition and a most lovable colleague and friend, to second the introduction which he did with characteristic eloquence and tact. Thus the Bill

was formally introduced and passed in the following session of the Rajya Sabha. The women members of the House could never adequately express their gratitude to the Chairman and Bhupesh Gupta whose continued support had enabled the enactment without further hurdles.

Like all good and just men who believe in social justice, Dr. Radhakrishnan believed in the equality of the sexes and knew that women belonged to the oppressed sections of society. He was most accessible and listened to our woes sympathetically and endeavoured to help us. If we wished, we could meet him in the Chamber, both before and after the sitting and during the session if he was in the Chamber. It was always a privilege to meet him socially and otherwise. He would invariably recite some Sanskrit *sloka* full of ancient wisdom, or narrate some incident or story which you could know only from him, and you always came away from him wiser for the few moments spent in his company.

In the House my seat was opposite the Chairman's, and he could see my face, its changing moods, for I am told that I have a tell-tale face. Once he sent for me from the Chamber and wanted to know why I was looking so worried. I was then the President of the All India Women's Conference. I told him that we wanted to put up a memorial for Sarojini Naidu and for that we wanted to purchase from the Government the property at 6, Bhagwandass Road, and we had to find a little over Rs 500,000 to acquire it. He said, "Go and see the Prime Minister and ask him to give it free to you for the memorial." Without wasting a moment I barged into the P.M.'s room in the Parliament House and conveyed to him the Chairman's suggestion. He looked at me surprised and said, "We paid hard cash for it and I do not think you can get it free". He paused for a moment and then said with a smile, "Go and meet Sardar Swaran Singh"—the then Minister for Housing. Well, I did just that and the rest of the long story of acquisition is not relevant here. What I wish to point out is Dr. Radhakrishnan's concern for the members of the House and his willingness to advise and help them in the solution of their problems.

Dr. Radhakrishnan had a remarkable memory. When he came to deliver the convocation address at the Lucknow University, we were given copies of his address. When he started speaking extempore, we did not bother to look at the address; yet, out of curiosity we opened the pages; imagine our surprise, and

admiration for the professor who could repeat the whole address without even once looking at the printed copy. I noticed it again when I used to accompany him on his foreign tours. Some lazy correspondent entranced by his address, having forgotten to take notes, would meet him later with a request that he might kindly give the gist of his speech, and Dr. Radhakrishnan would repeat the speech word by word.

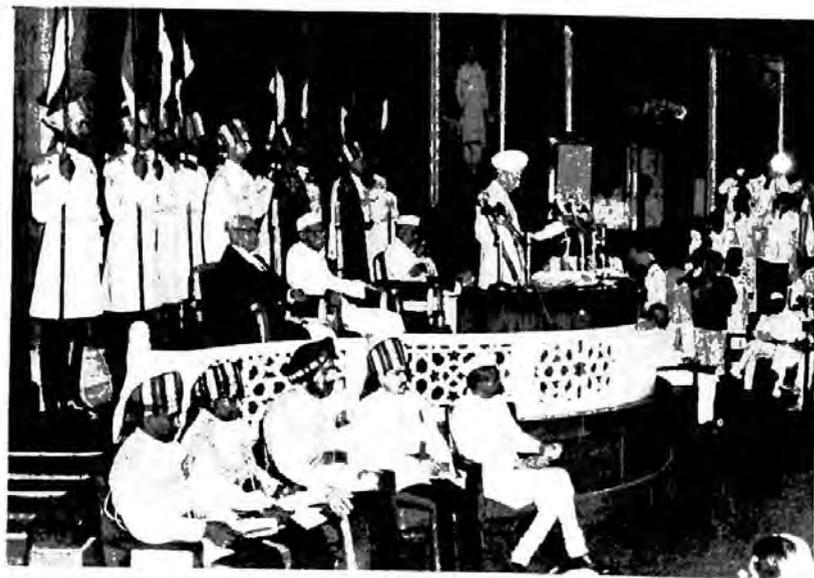
Dr. Radhakrishnan was held in great respect by every one. Although he drew the applause of the audience, I do not think that he cared for it. His natural geniality and humanism evoked trust and confidence in him. Thus, Stalin would melt into tears when he went to bid him good-bye, for the dictator found in the professor-diplomat a sympathetic, honest and fearless human being who could understand him. Dr. De Valera in Dublin would wait to receive him at the porch when he returned late after a banquet. Queen Elizabeth would look surprised when he, on noticing the absence of Princess Anne at dinner, would tell the Queen "I know you punished her". Mrs. Kennedy would seek his help and confide her anxiety about the expected baby and say "please pray for me". This natural geniality and genuine concern for others made him a unique personality. There are many brilliant minds in the world, and there are good persons too. But it is very seldom that we meet intellectual brilliance and goodness combined in the same person.

Dr. Radhakrishnan usually received us in his bedroom where you would find him with lots of books, journals, letters and what not. I believe he would see for himself every letter addressed to him, and not wait for some Under Secretary to open them, as is generally done. To me he was always a professor, scholar, intellectual, humanist, yet full of concern for the welfare of his fellow beings. Well might one say with Shakespeare:

He only in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them,
His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man"!



President-elect Dr. S. Radhakrishnan driving in State with Dr. Rajendra Prasad from Parliament House to Rashtrapati Bhawan on May 13, 1962.



As President-elect, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan addresses the members of Parliament on May 13, 1962.



Arriving by the ceremonial coach at the Parliament House to address both the Houses of Parliament on February 17, 1965.



Along with the Speaker of Lok Sabha, Dr. Radhakrishnan escorting President Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Central Hall of Parliament to inaugurate the Budget Session on February 14, 1961.



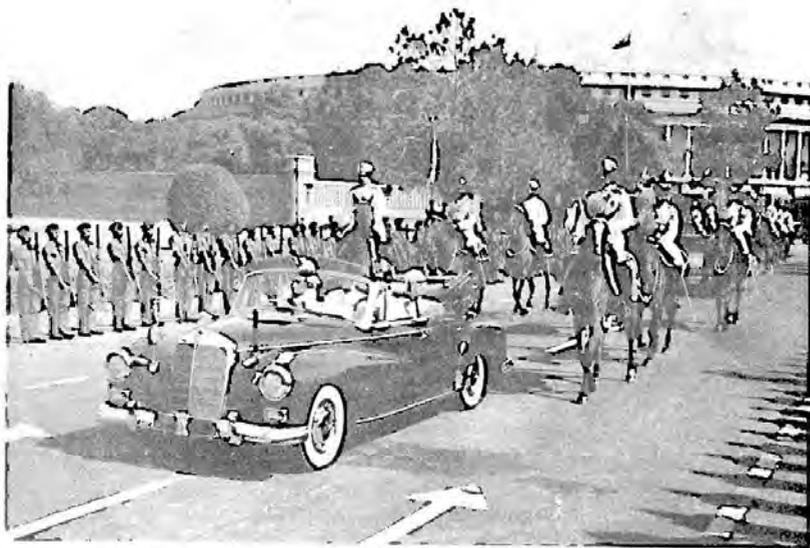
Greeting the President-elect Dr. Zakir Hussain on May 10, 1967.



Escorting President-elect Dr. Zakir Hussain at the Central Hall of Parliament House. Also seen in the picture are Justice K.N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of India, Shri V.V. Giri, Vice-President Elect, Shri Sanjiva Reddy, the Speaker of Lok Sabha.



'At Home' with the members of Rajya Sabha on his retirement as Chairman of Rajya Sabha.



Driving back with his successor, Dr. Zakir Hussain to Rashtrapati Bhawan after the latter's swearing-in-ceremony on May 13, 1967.

PART II

Dr. Radhakrishnan on the Emergence of a New India

On August 14, 1947, at the stroke of the mid-night hour, the members of the Constituent Assembly of India met in the Central Hall of Parliament and heralded the Independence of the country in a solemn function held there. The Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru moved a Resolution welcoming the newly found freedom and requested all members of the Constituent Assembly present on the occasion to take a pledge dedicating themselves to the service of the country and the people of India. On this occasion, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who was then a member of the Constituent Assembly made a speech noted at once for its clarity of ideas and profundity of thought. Referring to the glorious past of our great country, he asserted that the future of the country would equally be bright:

We take pride in the antiquity of this land for it is a land which has seen nearly four or five milleniums of history. It has passed through many vicissitudes and at the moment it stands still responding to the thrill of the same great ideal. Civilisation is a thing of the spirit, it is not something external, solid and mechanical. It is the dream in the people's hearts. It is the inward aspiration of the people's souls. It is the imaginative interpretation of the human life and the perception of the mystery of human existence. That is what civilisation actually stands for. We should bear in mind these great ideals which have been transmitted to us across the ages. In this great time of our history we should bear ourselves humbly before God, brace ourselves to this supreme task which is confronting us and conduct ourselves in a manner that is worthy of the

ageless spirit of India. If we do so, I have no doubt that, the future of this land will be as great as its once glorious past.

The entire speech is now reproduced with the hope that the readers would find it stimulating.

Text of Dr. Radhakrishnan's Speech

Mr. President, Sir, it is not necessary for me to speak at any great length on this Resolution so impressively moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Mr. Khaliqzaman. History and legend will grow round this day. It marks a milestone in the march of our democracy. A significant date it is in the drama of the Indian people who are trying to rebuild and transform themselves. Through a long night of waiting, a night full of fateful portents and silent prayers for the dawn of freedom, of haunting spectres of hunger and death, our sentinels kept watch, the lights were burning bright till at last the dawn is breaking and we greet it with the utmost enthusiasm. When we are passing from a state of serfdom, a state of slavery and subjection to one of freedom and liberation, it is an occasion for rejoicing. That it is being effected in such an orderly and dignified way is a matter for gratification.

Mr. Attlee spoke with visible pride in the House of Commons when he said that this is the first great instance of a strong Imperialist power transferring its authority to a subject people whom it ruled with force and firmness for nearly two centuries. For a parallel he cited the British withdrawal from South Africa; but it is nothing comparable in scale and circumstances to the British withdrawal from this country. When we see what the Dutch are doing in Indonesia, when we see how the French are clinging to their possessions, we cannot but admire the political sagacity and courage of the British people.

We, on our side, have also added a chapter to the history of the world. Look at the way in which subject peoples in history won their freedom. Let us also consider the methods by which power was acquired. How did men like Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini get into power? Look at the methods of blood and steel, of terrorism and assassination, of bloodshed and anarchy by which these so-called great men of the world came into the possession of power. Here in this land under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age we have opposed patience to

fury, quietness of spirit to bureaucratic tyranny and are acquiring power through peaceful and civilised methods. What is the result? The transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred at all. The very fact that we are appointing Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India, shows the spirit of understanding and friendliness in which this whole transition is being effected.

You, Mr. President, referred to the sadness in our hearts, to the sorrow which also clouds our rejoicings. May I say that we are in an essential sense responsible for it also though not entirely. From 1600, Englishmen have come to this country—priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, diplomats and statesmen, missionaries and idealists. They bought and sold, marched and fought, plotted and profited, helped and healed. The greatest among them wished to modernise the country, to raise its intellectual and moral standards, its political status. They wished to regenerate the whole people. But the small among them worked with sinister objective. They tried to increase the disunion in the country, made the country poorer, weaker and more disunited. They also have had their chance now. The freedom we are attaining is the fulfilment of this dual tendency among British administrators. While India is attaining freedom, she is attaining it in a manner which does not produce joy in the hearts of people or a radiant smile on their faces. Some of those who were charged with the responsibility for the administration of this country, tried to accentuate communal consciousness and bring about the present result which is a logical outcome of the policies adopted by the lesser minds of Britain. But I would never blame them. Were we not victims, ready victims, so to say, of the separatist tendencies foisted on us? Should we not now correct our national faults of character, our domestic despotism, our intolerance which has assumed the different forms of obscurantism of narrow-mindedness, of superstitious bigotry? Others were able to play on our weakness because we had them. I would like, therefore, to take this opportunity to call for self-examination, for a searching of hearts. We have gained but we have not gained in the manner we wished to gain and if we have not done so, the responsibility is our own. And when this pledge says that we have to serve our country, we can best serve our country by removing these fundamental defects which have

prevented us from gaining the objective of a free and united India. Now that India is divided, it is our duty not to indulge in words of anger. They lead us nowhere. We must avoid passion. Passion and wisdom never go together. The body politic may be divided but the body historic lives on. Political divisions, physical partitions, are external but the psychological divisions are deeper. The cultural cleavages are the more dangerous. We should not allow them to grow. What we should do is to preserve those cultural ties, those spiritual bonds which knit our peoples together into one organic whole. Patient consideration, slow process of education, adjustment to one another's needs, the discovery of points of view which are common to both the dominions in the matter of Communications, Defence, Foreign Affairs, these are the things which should be allowed to grow in the daily business of life and administration. It is by developing such attitudes that we can once again draw near and gain the lost unity of this country. That is the only way to it.

Our opportunities are great but let me warn you that when power outstrips ability, we will fall on evil days. We should develop competence and ability which would help us to utilise the opportunities which are now open to us. From tomorrow morning—from midnight today—we cannot throw the blame on the Britisher. We have to assume the responsibility ourselves for what we do. A free India will be judged by the way in which it will serve the interests of the common man in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and the social services. Unless we destroy corruption in high places, root out every trace of nepotism, love of power, profiteering and blackmarketing which have spoiled the good name of this great country in recent times, we will not be able to raise the standards of efficiency in administration as well as in the production and distribution of the necessary goods of life.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the great contribution which this country will make to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind. The *Chakra*, the Asokan wheel, which is there in the flag embodies for us a great idea. Asoka, the greatest of our emperors,—look at the words of H.G. Wells regarding him “Highnesses, Magnificences, Excellencies, Serenities, Majesties—among them all, he shines alone, a star—Asoka the greatest of all monarchs.” He cut into rock his message

for the healing of discords. If there are differences, the way in which you can solve them is by promoting concord. Concord is the only way by which we can get rid of differences. There is no other method which is open to us.

Samavaya eva Sadhub

We are lucky in having for our leader one who is a world citizen, who is essentially a humanist, who possesses a buoyant optimism and robust good sense in spite of the perversity of things and the hostility of human affairs. We see the way in which his Department interfered actively and in a timely manner in the Indonesian dispute. It shows that if India gains freedom, that freedom will be used not merely for the well-being of India but for *Vishva Kalyana*, i.e., world peace, the welfare of mankind.

Our pledge tells us that this ancient land shall attain her rightful and honoured place. We take pride in the antiquity of this land for it is a land which has seen nearly four or five milleniums of history. It has passed through many vicissitudes and at the moment it stands, still responding to the thrill of the same great ideal. Civilisation is a thing of the spirit, it is not something external, solid and mechanical. It is the dream in the people's hearts. It is the inward aspiration of the people's souls. It is the imaginative interpretation of the human life and the perception of the mystery of human life and the perception of the mystery of human existence. That is what civilisation actually stands for. We should bear in mind these great ideals which have been transmitted to us across the ages. In this great time of our history we should bear ourselves humbly before God, brace ourselves to this supreme task which is confronting us and conduct ourselves in a manner that is worthy of the ageless spirit of India. If we do so, I have no doubt that, the future of this land will be as great as its once glorious past.

Sarvabbutdisāhamātmānam

Sarvabbūtāni cātmani

Sampasyam ātmayāj ivai

Sāārūjyam adbigachāti

Swarajya is the development of that kind of tolerant attitude which sees in brother man the face Divine. Intolerance has been the greatest enemy of our progress. Tolerance of one another's views, thoughts and beliefs is the only remedy that we can

possibly adopt. Therefore, I support with very great pleasure this Resolution which asks us as the representatives of the people of India to conduct ourselves in all humility in the service of our country and the word 'Humility' here means that we are by ourselves very insignificant. Our efforts by themselves cannot carry us to a long distance. We should make ourselves dependent on that other than ourselves which makes for righteousness. The note of humility means the unimportance of the individual and the supreme importance of the unfolding purpose which we are called upon to serve. So in a mood of humility, in a spirit of dedication let us take this pledge as soon as the clock strikes 12.

In the present dangerous divided state of the world we may perhaps find in religions an overriding bond that would bring the nations together. Thanks to scientific developments, distances have diminished and communications have improved. The greatest event of this diminished world is the discovery of the arts, literatures and religions of the East. If we are to evolve into a universal society, we must break down the barriers separating the East and the West and build bridges of understanding. The times are propitious. We need the will and the effort.

Radhakrishnan

PART III

Important Rulings Given by Dr. Radhakrishnan in the Rajya Sabha

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan had undoubtedly a multi-dimensional personality. The rulings he gave and the observations he made in the Rajya Sabha as its first Chairman give a clear glimpse of that personality. An attempt has been made here to give some of his rulings and observations.

In reply to the tributes and felicitations paid to Dr. Radhakrishnan on his farewell from the Rajya Sabha consequent on his election as the President of India, he observed:

I should like to say that if my Chairmanship of this House has been successful, it is due to the goodwill and affection which all these members have shown to me. My ignorance of parliamentary processes and procedures is condoned; my faults are forgiven and my errors are overlooked; I do not pretend that I conform to the strict rules and procedures of parliamentary business. I have not done that and if you still are tolerant with me, it shows your generosity of mind and your tolerance of spirit.

These observations should not be taken at their face value, but as a reflection of the humility of a profound and an eminent scholar. An analysis of the rulings and directions which he gave in the House does not bear out his "ignorance of parliamentary processes and procedures". On the contrary, his rulings and observations speak a great deal of his quick grasp of the provisions of the Constitution and of the Rules of Procedure and of his masterly capacity to deal effectively with matters raised in the House. Normally, he was not fond of giving long rulings. He used to listen to a member raising a matter as also those opposing it with

Note: Prepared by the Rajya Sabha Secretariat.

patience and at the end give his verdict conclusively, leaving little scope for any grouse from the Members or acrimony in the House. Dr. Radhakrishnan was the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha during its formative years and therefore his rulings and directions have gone a long way in establishing sound traditions and setting healthy precedents in the House. In fact, some of the rulings which he gave years back are still relevant today and are quoted in the House as authoritative decisions on parliamentary procedures.

In the following pages a few of Dr. Radhakrishnan's important rulings culled out from the debates of the Rajya Sabha have been given; the context in each case has been mentioned.

Scope of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and amendments thereto.

When the Address to both the Houses of Parliament by the President in 1952 came up for discussion in the House, points were raised as to the scope of discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and of the amendments thereto.

The Chairman, Dr. Radhakrishnan, was of the view that the amendments to the Motion of Thanks should relate to the topics mentioned in the Address. In support of this he quoted Article 87(2) of the Constitution which says that "Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters that are referred to in such Address" and also rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the House which says that "The Chairman, in consultation with the leader of the Council, shall allot time for discussion of the matters referred to in the President's Address..."

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar observed that the purpose of the debate on the Address was to let the opposition tell the Government what were the subjects which the Government ought to have included in the Address and therefore any subject which was not included in the Address of the President, for that very reason, became an urgent matter for Members of the Opposition who might feel that Government had given priority to matters which the Government thought important but which in the opinion of the Opposition were less important than other matters not included in the Address. He was of the view that an amendment should not be

ruled out on the ground that it covered a subject which had not been referred to in the Address. The purpose of the debate on the President's Address was to give an opportunity to the Opposition to discuss and place before Government any particular subject which was the subject-matter of an amendment as a matter of urgency which must be given priority over subjects referred to by the President in his Address. This view was strongly supported by Dr. H.N. Kunzru, Shri P. Sundarayya and Shri B.C. Ghose. It was argued that it might be very easy for the Government not to refer in the Address to any of the important points and thus make the whole debate on the Address a futile discussion.

Shri N. Gopalaswami (Leader of the House), Shri Alladi Krishnaswami and Shri B.G. Kher were of the view that the House could not deviate from the express provision in the Constitution and that while the Chair might give the fullest latitude and opportunity for the Opposition to debate what might be even very remotely connected with the points referred to in the Address, it would not be right to allow the debate to range over matters not referred to in the Address as that would result in Members discussing every conceivable topic under the guise of an amendment to the Motion of Thanks on the Address.

Shri P.V. Narayana referred to rule 14 laying down, "The Council shall be at liberty to discuss the matters referred to in such Address on a motion of Thanks moved by a Member and seconded by another Member" and observed that, since it did not refer to amendments, matters not referred to in the President's Address could be discussed in the form of amendments.

The Chair finally observed:

I think I must end these discussions now. The last speaker referred to the amendments being independent of the main motion. The amendments must always be relevant to the main motion and so amendments cannot be treated as independent motions. That is my ruling on this matter... I find that there is a rule—rule 15—which authorises the Chairman to allow only such amendments as he may consider appropriate. In the British House of Commons, if the practice is somewhat different, let us note that there is no such thing as a written provision there as we have in our Constitution. I have to abide by the interpretation I have given, but I do not wish to take any narrow legalistic

view of the matter. I want to give as liberal an interpretation as possible. But you do not expect me to ignore the specific provisions of the Constitution. In these speeches on the main motion and the amendments which will be moved, there may be a general discussion on almost all the topics in which the Members of this House are interested.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated May 19, 1952, cols. 94-96.

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When the House of the People recommends to the Council to join in a Joint Committee of the Houses and when the motion for concurrence in that recommendation is taken up in the Council—

- (i) **Whether the House of the People can “dictate” to the Council the number of Members to be appointed by the Council to the Joint Committee;**
- (ii) **whether there should be a full discussion on the Bill; and**
- (iii) **whether acceptance of the Motion would debar the Council later on from questioning the principles of the Bill.**

Shri B.C. Ghose said that the procedure to be followed in the establishment of Joint Committees should be first settled and that it should not be left to the House of the People to dictate to the Council the number of Members to be appointed by the Council to the Joint Committee, also that in the motion of concurrence before the Council the authority which the Council was conferring on the Joint Committee should also be specifically stated.

Shri P. Sundarayya said that before the Council agreed to serve on the Joint Committee, there should be a thorough discussion on the various provisions of the Bill.

Shri H.N. Kunzru said that the acceptance by the Council of the motion of concurrence should not debar the Council later on from questioning the principles of the Bill.

The Chairman ruled—

... pending a complete formulation of the principles which should govern the formation of these Select Committees, I pressed on the Government that, as far as possible, such Joint Committees should be set up forthwith without prejudice to the question of the framing of the rules of procedure in that regard. It is in accordance with this suggestion that this particular Joint Committee is sought to be established. The procedure adopted on this occasion does not bind us... whether the identical powers are to be given, whether the quorum should be one-third, whether the numbers should be equal or... they should be proportionate to the strength of the different Houses, these are details which yet require to be considered.

The other question has been raised whether it would be necessary for us to discuss the principles of the Bill before we concur in this particular motion. So far as that is concerned, we will have ample opportunities when the House of the People refers the Bill back to us to enter into complete detail, to consider whether an Act like this is necessary at all and whether particular details require to be modified or not—all these questions we will have at a later stage when the House of the People refers the matter to us. It will be most unfair to have a preview of the whole show at this stage... Therefore, I hope that a full discussion of the Bill is not necessary at this stage. I have seen, by reference to the Parliamentary practices of other countries, that when a motion for concurrence comes up, a few general remarks are made but the remarks are few and the remarks are general.

When this motion is carried in this House, the House is undoubtedly committed to the principles. But Members who serve on the Select Committee may, if they so desire, make their own reservations, open or otherwise... Any majority decision taken in this House is a decision of the House, and in that sense of the term it is binding. But several Members in the other House have openly declared that the fact that they are serving on that Committee does not mean that they are committed to the principles of the Bill. So, the persons here who wish to serve on the Committee may make those reservations themselves.

When the Bill comes to us from the House of the People, we will be at liberty to discuss the principles, the implications, the details, the clauses and so on.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated July 24, 1952, cols. 1859-81.

Certificate of the Speaker that a particular Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of Article 110 of the Constitution is conclusive and final.

On the 29th April, 1953, on a point of order, Shri P.S. Rajagopal Naidu, submitted that the Indian Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1952, which had been certified by the Speaker as a Money Bill under article 110(4) of the Constitution, was not a Money Bill inasmuch as it contained, besides provisions dealing with the imposition, abolition, remission, alteration or regulation of any tax, provisions dealing with procedure, administration, etc. which could not be said to be incidental to the imposition, abolition, remission, alteration or regulation of any tax and requested the Chair to refer it back to the Speaker under article 110(3) of the Constitution. This stand was supported by Shri C.G.K. Reddy, Shri K.S. Hegde, Shri H.N. Kunzru, Shri B.C. Ghosh and many other Members. The Leader of the House (Shri C.C. Biswas) suggested that it could be that the Speaker's attention might not have been specifically drawn to the points raised in the Council when the Bill after being passed by the House of People was presented to him for his certificate. He suggested that the Secretary of the Council might ascertain the actual position from the Secretary of the other House.

On the 30th April, 1953 the Chairman ruled out the point of order and observed—

Certain enquiries were made yesterday of the Secretary of the House of the People with regard to the discussions which took place here, and the following reply is received: "I write to say that the question of whether the Indian Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill as passed by the House of the People was a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India was raised by the Speaker

himself and he took a decision which was later embodied in the certificate entered in the Bill."

The matter has been pending since yesterday. There was a good deal of discussion about it. Article 110(1) states what a Money Bill is. 110(2) states what a Money Bill is not. 110(3) says that, if a doubt arises, the decision taken by the Speaker of the House shall be final. In this particular matter, we are generally governed by the procedure in the British Parliament. There, it is put down in section 3 of the Parliament Act that a Money Bill, when it is sent up to the House of Lords, must be endorsed with the Speaker's certificate that it is a Money Bill. Such a certificate is conclusive for all purposes and is not to be questioned in any court of Law. That is how the procedure is there, which governs us.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated April 29 and April 30, 1953, cols. 4402-26 and 4455-56.

The Leader of the Council in that capacity or in his capacity as Minister cannot be asked to be present in the other House to answer charges in connection with his observations or remarks in the Council.

On the 1st May, 1953, Shri B.C. Ghose referred to the discussions in the Lok Sabha about the observations of the Leader of the Council on the 29th April, 1953 on the point of order raised by Shri P.S. Rajagopal Naidu about the Indian Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1952 being a Money Bill or not. He referred to the observation of an Hon'ble Member of the other House that the points made by the Leader of the Council cast a reflection on the Speaker which was so upheld by the Deputy Speaker and to the demand made in the other House that the Leader of the Council be directed to be present in the other House presumably to answer charges relating to the statements made by him during the discussions on the Bill in the Council. He observed that the remarks made by the Leader of the Council did not cast, nor were they intended to cast, any reflection on the Speaker. All that the Leader was concerned to do at that time was to offer an interpretation and explain the implications of clauses (3) and (4)

of article 110 of the Constitution, and said that the demand made for the Leader of the House to be present in the other House to answer charges was an extraordinary and astounding procedure amounting to a clear case of breach of privilege of the Council.

The Leader of the Council (Shri C.C. Biswas) said that he never cast nor ever intended to cast any reflection or slur on the Speaker and, as for his being present in the other House, the Deputy Speaker had made a request to him to do so and that he owed it to him as a matter of courtesy, if not as a matter of constitutional obligation, to do so.

The Chairman refused to give his consent to the Motion of Privilege and observed—

There seems to be some misapprehension in regard to what happened in the Council on the 29th instant. Some Members expressed a doubt whether the Bill in question was a Money Bill according to the requirements of article 110(1). A few felt that doubts could be raised even after the certificate was issued by the Speaker. At this stage the Leader of the Council referred to these doubts and suggested that it would reassure the House if it was told categorically that the Speaker has applied his mind to this question and issued the certificate after a full and fair consideration of all aspects of the matter. When that statement, which reiterated the obvious, came to us yesterday from the House of the People, the matter was concluded. It was nobody's intention, least of all of the Leader of the Council, to cast aspersions on the integrity and impartiality of the Speaker. It is our anxiety in this Council to do our best to uphold the dignity of the Speaker and the privileges of the other House as we expect the other House to protect our interests and privileges.

Shri H.N. Kunzru, Shri B.C. Ghose, Shri J.R. Kapoor, Shri K.S. Hegde and Prof. G. Ranga argued, however, that the fact that the Leader of the Council was only requested to be present in the other House did not conceal the fact that he had been asked to go there to answer a charge against him whether it was formally made against him at a sitting of the House or not and that while they were all for settling such matters in a friendly way, in those

circumstances the appearance of the Leader of the Council in that House would certainly be derogatory to the Council.

The Chairman observed—

What I feel is that you are behaving with such excitement and enthusiasm. You take it from me that it is not my business or intention in the least to do anything which is likely to impair the dignity of this House or the privileges of any of the Members. Mr. Mathur for instance asks a question here. We can ask the Minister to be present here at 5.30 when we are taking up that question. The Deputy Speaker did come to me. He was in my room this morning and when I spoke to him, I explained to him what the position was. He said that it was all a misapprehension which would be cleared up. But let us not do anything which is likely to accentuate feelings and make us feel that we are working at cross purposes. That is not our intention. This has never been my intention. When I say that I read the proceedings and I am satisfied that no slur was ever intended to be cast by any Member, least of all, by the Leader of the Council, then that is final and that is conclusive so far as we are concerned and I have no doubt that the other House will give sufficient consideration to the views that I have expressed.

The Leader of the House (Shri C.C. Biswas) wanted a special direction from the Council as to what he should do. At the instance of Shri C.G.K. Reddy a resolution in the following terms was unanimously adopted in the Council and the Chairman was requested to communicate it to the Deputy Speaker.

That this Council is of the opinion that the Leader of the Council be directed not to present himself in any capacity whatsoever in the House of the People when the matter sought to be raised by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava with reference to the speech of the Leader of the Council regarding the certificate of the Speaker endorsed on the Indian Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1952, is under discussion in that House.

The summoning by the President of the Council to meet on a particular day can be cancelled and the Council can be asked to meet on a fresh date.

The Council was originally summoned by the President to meet on 17th August 1953 but a new notice was issued asking the Council to meet on the 24th instead of on the 17th of August. When the House assembled on August 24, 1953, several Members raised objection to the Council being summoned on this day after cancelling the summons to meet on the 17th of August—presumably on the plea that there was not enough business for the Council. It was then pointed out that when the Council last adjourned, the Hindu Marriage Bill and the Special Marriage Bill were actually pending before the House and those Bills on the anvil could have been easily taken up in addition to the new Bills on the anvil. Members pleaded that the Government should treat the House more seriously. Shri M.P.N. Sinha also submitted that under the Constitution, while there were provisions for proroguing the Council, there was no provision saying that the President, once having summoned the Council, could cancel the summons and ask the Council to meet on another date.

The Leader of the Council (Shri C.C. Biswas), expressed the view that an authority who could summon the Council also had the power to cancel the notice and summon a meeting on another date. The summoning of the Council had been postponed only to suit the convenience of its Members. It would always be the Government's endeavour to treat the Council with all the due respect and consideration.

The Chairman observed—

I think we have had a full discussion of this subject. There is no doubt that there is a widespread impression among the Members of this House that the House should be treated with greater consideration, and this impression prevails in all sides of the House, I know. But we have the assurance that the Leader of the House has given that it is their endeavour to treat this House with all due respect and consideration. I have no doubt that these words will be backed by deeds in days to come and that this impression will be removed from the minds of the Members.

There is another thing also—and that is this question of postponement, etc. I cannot help saying that more careful planning of Parliamentary business could have avoided some of these delays, adjournments, etc.; but I have no doubt that the best is being done in the circumstances explained by Mr. Biswas and we will not have occasion to be called on one date and be asked to come on another date. As for the points of order raised, whether the President has the right to summon the meeting for one date and postpone it to another, when lawyers differ on that, I cannot off-hand give a judgment here; Mr. Biswas says that he has not examined the constitutional and legal sides. Mr. Nausher Ali says the President has no right to summon the meeting for one date and get it postponed to another. In the circumstances, you do not expect me to say whether he was right or wrong. But the presumption is that the President would have taken the best legal advice available before he altered the date of the meeting from the 17th to the 24th. That is the presumption. The President's action should be deemed to be regular.

The other point raised was whether it was right—my friend Mr. Rath says it—that we adjourned in the middle of the discussion on the Marriage Bill and it does not appear here in the order of business. After all, we are at liberty to arrange the order of business and we can put it to suit the convenience of the Members. There is nothing irregular about it and the assurance has been given that it is the idea of the Government to go forward with the Marriage Bill, that they do not want to be dilatory or to be obstructive as some Members seem to imagine.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated August 24, 1953, cols. 72-94.

Procedure to be followed when a complaint of breach of privilege is made in one House of Parliament against a Member of the other House.

On 11th May 1954 Shri P.S. Rajagopal Naidu referred to a speech made by Shri N.C. Chatterjee, a Member of the House of the

People, at Hyderabad on the previous day, as President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, wherein he was reported to have said "The Upper House which was supposed to be a body of elders, seemed to be behaving irresponsibly like a pack of urchins ..." while making a reference to the passing by the Council of States of the Special Marriage Bill. Shri Naidu contended that it was a reflection on the Council and was a violation of the rights and privileges of the Council. The Chairman agreed to look into the matter.

On 14th May 1954, the question was again raised by Shri P. Sundarayya. He referred to the proceedings of the House of the People on 13th May 1954, relating to Shri N.C. Chatterjee's case, where an objection had been taken to the letter written by the Secretary of the Rajya Sabha to Shri N.C. Chatterjee who asked for correct information about the statement attributed to him, and said that what the Council of States had done was exactly identical to what the House of the People had done in relation to a case against himself (Shri P. Sundarayya) in connection with an alleged breach of privilege by him against the House of the People.

Shri B.C. Ghose stated that what the Council had done, in the absence of a definite procedure laid down in the matter, was in accordance with the convention and procedure of the British House of Commons.

Shri Rajagopal Naidu requested the Chairman to refer the matter to the Privileges Committee since for more than three days no reply had been received from Shri N.C. Chatterjee.

The Chairman said that the procedure followed by the House was perfectly in consonance with the practice in the British Parliament and that he had not received any letter in that connection from the Speaker.

On 15th May 1954, the Chairman announced that he had received a letter from the Speaker enclosing a statement by Shri N.C. Chatterjee which, on the Chairman's order, the Secretary read out to the Council. The Chairman referred to the suggestion made by the Speaker in his covering letter that the Privileges Committees of both the Houses should evolve an agreed common procedure in such matters and said—

I want the House to be cooperative and friendly to this suggestion. I, therefore, request the Privileges Committee

of the Council to evolve in consultation with the Privileges Committee of the Lok Sabha, an agreed procedure by mutual consent to be followed in matters when any complaint regarding breach of privilege is made against a member of either House of Parliament. I am anxious that this Committee should come to a decision by agreement and consent at a very early date.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated May 11, 1954, cols. 5999-6000

Rajya Sabha Debates dated May 14, 1954, cols. 6424-32

Rajya Sabha Debates dated May 15, 1954, cols. 6539-42

Note: The Privileges Committees of the two Houses after three joint sittings on 15th, 18th and 21st May 1954, recommended that the following procedure should be followed in a case where a Member or officer or servant of one House is alleged to have committed a breach of privilege or contempt of the other House:

- (i) When a question of breach of privilege is raised in any House in which a Member, officer or servant of the other House is involved, the Presiding Officer shall refer the case to the Presiding Officer of the other House, unless he hears from the Member who raises the question or perusing any document, where the complaint is based on a document, he is satisfied that no breach of privilege has been committed or the matter is too trivial to be taken notice of, in which case he may disallow the motion for breach of privilege.
- (ii) Upon the case being so referred, the Presiding Officer of the other House shall deal with the matter in the same way as if it were a case of breach of privilege of that House or of a member thereof.
- (iii) The Presiding Officer shall thereafter communicate to the Presiding Officer of the House where the question of privilege was originally raised a report about the enquiry, if any, and the action taken on the reference.

The Committees also expressed their intention that if the offending Member, officer or servant tendered an apology to the Presiding Officer of the House in which the question of privilege was raised or the Presiding Officer of the other House to which the reference was made, no further action in the matter might be taken after such apology was tendered.

Members must maintain the good name and dignity of the House.

In ordering the expunction of some portion in the proceedings of

the Council on the 27th September, 1955 the Chairman observed—

Another thing that I wish to say is this. We want to maintain the good name and dignity of this House. Every one of us is interested in that as much as I am. I do not want it to be said that sometimes these discussions suggest that we are not behaving like serious, responsible Members of the Parliament but rather like irresponsible professional agitators. That impression even all Members of this House, to whatever side they may belong, should avoid. We must be careful and preserve our good name and our dignity, that is what I am anxious about.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated September 28, 1955, col. 5037.

Members desirous of raising questions of privilege in the House can do so only after seeing the Chairman and getting his approval.

Shri N.D.M. Prasadarao, rising on a question of privilege, said that Deputy Minister for Food and Agriculture, while giving replies to supplementary questions on starred question no. 332 on the previous day, gave the House a totally false answer with regard to the food production in Andhra.

The Chairman said—

If you are raising a question of privilege, first of all, you must inform me that you are going to raise a question of privilege and not come here and all of a sudden spring a surprise. If you give me a notice, I will send it to the Minister and find out what his answer is. Also as far as possible it is better to avoid words like "falsehood". There is another word "incorrect" in the English language.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated March 14, 1956, col. 2607.

The Chair will exercise its discretion to allow an amendment to a Bill to be moved at shorter notice, only in exceptional cases.

On 18th November 1957 during the clause by clause considera-

tion of the Indian Nursing Council (Amendment) Bill (1957), Dr. R.B. Gour submitted that certain amendments to clause 4, of which he had given notice before 10.30 a.m. on that day, had not been circulated to Members. The Vice-Chairman said that since the amendments were tabled only at 12.15 p.m. they could not be circulated to Members. Shri Algu Rai Shastri objected to the amendments being taken up as they had not been circulated in time.

On 19th November 1957, the Chairman observed—

I should like to mention that according to our rules, notice of an amendment to a Bill should be given one day before the date on which the Bill is to be considered. Where such notice has not been given, it is open to any Member in the House to object to the moving of such amendment and the objection shall prevail unless the Chairman allows the amendment to be moved. The right to object to the moving of an amendment at shorter notice has been given specifically for the purpose of enabling the Members to consider the amendment clearly, diligently and dispassionately. Obviously, it will not be possible to expect that in every case of an amendment received at short notice, there will be time for the Secretary to circulate it before the question comes up for consideration by the House. A discretion has been vested in the Chair to allow an amendment to be moved at shorter notice in spite of an objection, but this discretion is intended to be exercised only in exceptional cases, such as an amendment to remove a lacuna or which is of a technical or drafting nature. Where copies of a Bill have been circulated in advance, there should be no difficulty for Members to table amendments in time. Ordinarily, therefore, the Chair will not exercise its right of allowing an amendment received at short notice to be moved even if one member objects to its moving. What we are doing in this particular case ought not to be taken as a precedent.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated November 18 and 19, 1957, cols. 164-69 and 245-46.

Amendments seeking to amend the parent Act when a Bill merely seeks to continue the life of the Act are out of order.

When the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property (Amendment) Bill, 1958 seeking to extend the life of the parent Act for another six years was under consideration, Shri Kishen Chand submitted that the Bill should not be treated as an Expiring Laws Continuance Bill but as merely an Amendment Bill, so that the House would be enabled to consider all the sections of the parent Act. He was supported by Shri Amolak Chand. Shri Anil K. Chanda, Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, who was piloting the Bill, submitted that in the House of the People also, there had been a ruling by the Speaker that in regard to Bills which sought to continue expiring laws, any amendment to the substantive provisions of the parent Act would be out of order.

The Chairman observed—

We have done a similar thing with regard to the Preventive Detention Act, and the Chair ruled then that the Bill seeks to continue the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, and comes within the category of what is known as an expiring laws continuance Bill. It is a well established practice in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom that where a Bill is brought to continue an expiring law, it would not be competent to move any amendments seeking to amend the provisions of the Act proposed to be continued. It is laid down in May's Parliamentary Practice, 15th Edition, pages 532-533 that the amendments which may be moved to an expiring laws continuance Bill are subject to the following limitations:-

“(1) An amendment is outside the scope of the Bill if it seeks to amend the provisions of the Act proposed to be continued or to make permanent such Act or to include in the Bill a statute which has already ceased to have effect, and

(2) An amendment may be moved to the operative clause of the Bill to alter the date to which the Act is to be continued.”

Rajya Sabha Debates dated February 18, 1958, cols. 780-84.

Members cannot raise any matter for discussion without the previous consent of the Chairman.

Immediately after the Question Hour, Dr. R.B. Gour submitted that the Government owed an explanation to the Council about the failure of the Government of India in seeing that their own policy of a national and all-parties approach to the food problem was implemented in Uttar Pradesh.

The Chairman said—

I want to tell the Hon'ble Member that there are certain rules with regard to raising matters for discussion here. Whether it is a Short Notice question or whether it is a motion for papers or whether it is a privilege motion, they must first obtain the consent of the Chairman before they raise it on the floor of the House.... I do hope that Members will kindly observe the rules which are laid down in our Rules of Procedure and not spring surprises on the House by getting up.... As a matter of fact, I was greatly distressed yesterday by the conduct of an Hon'ble Member and the way in which he conducted himself. These are things which affect the dignity of the whole House and the Party itself.

Dr. R.B. Gour submitted that with regard to the point sought to be raised the previous day, the Chair had been informed.

The Chairman said—

It is not a question of informing but of getting the consent. That is different from merely giving information. The Chairman has to satisfy himself before he gives his consent... Mere information to the Chair does not constitute the consent of the Chair.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated September 9, 1958, cols. 2459-60.

Scope of amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address and of the discussion on the motion and amendments thereto.

During the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's

Address, Shri Anand Chand submitted that his amendment No. 15 had been disallowed and wanted to know the grounds on which it was disallowed.

The Chairman observed—

There has been a ruling on the question given some years ago and that is being followed systematically. So far as I remember, what I said was that matters which are not directly discussed in the President's Speech are not to be given in the form of amendments etc. but in the speeches which you make you may refer to them. That is the ruling which, I think, I gave in 1952 and that has been followed systematically year after year. But of course, there is a way by which you try to circumvent and say, "It is regretted that there has been no mention about this, that and the other."

Shri V.K. Dhage submitted that in spite of the Chair's ruling in 1952, in the year 1956 an amendment had been allowed to be moved with regard to the bilingual State of Bombay even though no mention of it had been made in the President's Address at that time, and that indeed the amendment was voted upon and there was even division on that.

The Chairman observed that even though there was no specific reference to the Bombay State in the President's Address, the question of reorganisation of States was mentioned by the President in his Address and that if there had been no such reference to the reorganisation of States, he would then have disallowed that particular amendment.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru asked whether the rights of the Members of the Council under the Constitution were less than those of the Members of the House of Commons in the U.K., where motions regretting the omission of certain subjects in the King's Address had always been accepted by the Speaker.

The Chairman thereupon said—

Sometimes more and sometimes less as provided in our Constitution.

Shri V.K. Dhage submitted that while the President's Address revealed the policy of the Government, it was left to the Opposition to initiate discussion with regard to what was not the

policy of the Government and thus the initiative rested with the Opposition.

The Chairman said—

This is what I said in the year 1952 at the very first meeting:

"Now, I find, the next subject in the agenda is the discussion of this motion. I would like to invite the attention of this House to the constitutional provisions on the matter. Article 87(2) of the Constitution of India says that provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of either House for the allotment of time for discussion of matters that are referred to in such Address. It is emphasized there that the matters referred to in the Address shall be the topics for discussion. The same is reiterated in rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business which also says 'for the discussion of the matters referred to in the President's Address'. Rule 14 says that the Council shall be at liberty to discuss such matters referred to in such Address on a Motion of Thanks... It is repeated again in rule 19 that the Chairman may allot time... It is my anxiety that there should be a free, frank, and full discussion of all the topics raised in the President's Address. I know from the list of amendments that have been given to me that strong views are held on different questions. And it is my desire that full freedom should be given for the expression of these views on both sides. If such a thing is to happen, then we have to concentrate our discussion, and not allow it to fritter over a large number of amendments. That is a request which I have to make to you. Will it be possible for the groups to come to an understanding as to what the amendments are, which they would select for discussion? Or, if it is not possible, then I have to take up amendment after amendment and say which of them can be brought under the constitutional provision, even by a great stretch of imagination, even subjects remotely connected with the topics mentioned by the President... I just want to draw your attention to certain fundamental things... That is to say whatever has a bearing on what the President has said, either directly or indirectly, may be moved as an amendment. But whatever has absolutely no bearing on any topic in the President's

Address cannot be moved as an amendment, though you are free to refer to these things in the speeches which you make. That is what I said at the very first meeting in 1952 when we took up the President's Address for debate, and we have followed it all these seven or eight years. I am not referring to what May's Parliamentary Practice may have said. Why should we always be bound down by the practice followed elsewhere? We are an independent House and we follow our own Constitution and Rules of Procedure."

Rajya Sabha Debates dated February 12, 1959, cols. 442-46.

Though the internal situation in any foreign country cannot be discussed in the Council on an independent motion, the impact of that situation on India can be discussed.

Before the Council took up for consideration Dr. H.N. Kunzru's motion regarding the situation arising out of 'recent' events in Tibet, Shri H.D. Rajah, rising on a point of order, submitted that the motion was not in consonance with the Constitution and Tibet being a part of China, if that kind of precedent was established by the Council, then any country, say Soviet Russia, would have a right to discuss in their Parliament the affairs in Kerala and so many other matters connected with this country, apart from its infringing the spirit of Panch Sheel.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta submitted that, while he could have understood the subject discussed in the course of a foreign affairs debate, a separate motion to discuss the situation arising out of the 'recent' events in Tibet would be improper unless the Council confined itself to the important subject of India-China relations.

Shri Rajendra Partap Sinha submitted that what was sought to be discussed was not the internal affairs of Tibet but the situation which had arisen out of the events that had taken place in Tibet.

The Chairman observed—

Under rule 148 of the Rules of Procedure of the Rajya Sabha, discussion may be raised on any matter of general public interest. We are discussing only the situation arising

out of the recent events in Tibet or, in other words, the impact of that situation on India. Therefore, it is admissible. I only hope that Members will exercise considerable restraint, control and patience and not run off with their emotions.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated May 4, 1959, cols. 1628-32.

The Report of the Governor of a State on the basis on which the President issues a Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution need not be placed on the Table of the Council.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta, rising on a point of order, submitted that the Government was under a constitutional obligation to place before the House the report of the Governor of the State of Kerala and any other information which the President had, on the basis of which the President had issued a Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala. Even though the Constitution did not provide for the placing of the report of the Governor on the Table of the House, in view of the fact that the Council was called upon to apply its mind to the Proclamation, consider it on merits, go into the whole question and come to its own judgement, the right to demand the placing of the report of the Governor on the Table was an implied right under the Constitution. He further argued that as under the preventive Detention Act the grounds on which a person was detained was given to the detenu, the Council was entitled to know the exact grounds on which the Assembly of the State was dissolved and an elected Ministry dismissed.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the Minister of Home Affairs, submitted that he had done exactly what the Constitution required him to do, namely, placing a copy of the Proclamation on the Table of the House. If the intention of the Constitution-makers had been that even the report of the Governor should be placed on the Table of the House, there could have been an express provision to that effect, in the absence of which it was clear that the authors of the Constitution did not contemplate that the Report of the Governor and any other information on which the

President's Proclamation was based should be laid on the Table of the House. He argued that in view of the nature of the document, the necessity of public servants discharging their duty in a free and impartial manner without being in any way prevented from expressing their views fully and sincerely when they have to write every word under the apprehension that the thing would be made public in Parliament, it had always been provided in all democratic constitutions that such documents need not be placed on the Table of the House.

The Chairman said—

I am saying that the Home Minister has said that there is no constitutional obligation for him to place the documents on which the Proclamation is based on the Table of the House. The article in the Constitution only says every Proclamation under it shall be laid before each House of Parliament. That is there. The second thing is that it must be provided with information as much as possible which will enable the Members of the House to form a proper judgement on this Proclamation. When that resolution comes up for discussion, I have no doubt... that the Home Minister or whoever is moving it, will give you adequate information relevant to this particular topic.

Thirdly, if you talk about the supremacy of Parliament, Parliament undoubtedly is supreme. But it is bound by the rules it itself makes. And we have made several rules here which say that documents of a secret nature whose publication will not be consistent with the public interest... need not be placed. I cannot compel a Minister to place a document on the Table of the House when he feels that its publication is not consistent with public interest. Your point is that you must have sufficient materials to go by. That will be supplied... I don't think there is anything in the point of order.

Rajya Sabha Debates dated August 10, 1959, cols. 83-96.

PART IV

Wit and Humour of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan¹

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was the Vice-President of India and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha from May 1952 to May 1962. (Under the Indian Constitution, the Vice-President is the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.) If one goes through the proceedings of the House during this period, one is greatly impressed by his ability in conducting the proceedings, particularly his ability in tackling the more vocal members with amazing tact, skill, and gentleness. While he was generous in giving everybody time to put his point of view in the House, he was equally firm to ensure that no member crossed the limits of decorum and propriety. Whenever any difficult situation arose, he would handle it smoothly without offending anybody. His unflinching sense of humour and understanding evoked a sense of loyalty and dignified behaviour from all members.

Generally, Dr. Radhakrishnan used to preside during the Question Hour which is undoubtedly the most interesting time in the House. It was a privilege to observe Dr. Radhakrishnan controlling the proceedings of the House at this difficult hour with unflinching tact, patience and persuasiveness. In the words of a biographer of Dr. Radhakrishnan:

His manner of presiding over the debates of the Rajya Sabha became legendary for its efficiency and humour. At eleven a.m. he would walk from his room to his seat in the Council Chambers and call the session to order. He was present for the difficult Question Hour and at times interrupted obstinate questioners to encourage them to get on with their questions and faltering ministers to complete their answers.

¹Narratives of the instances of Dr. Radhakrishnan's wit and humour that follow have been prepared by the Rajya Sabha Secretariat.

Often, Dr. Radhakrishnan would defuse tension during the Question Hour with his great sense of humour and ready wit. In the following pages, we give the readers some glimpses of his wit and repartee. These instances have been culled from the debates of the Rajya Sabha during the period when Dr. Radhakrishnan was its Chairman.

CYCLISTS vis-a-vis MEMBERS

During supplementaries to a question on cycle accidents in Delhi, Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti asked:

To what extent do the cyclists obey the police?

Without giving any chance to the Minister¹ to reply the question, the Chairman commented in a lighter vein:

As much as the Members obey the Chairman's orders.

MAKERS OF HISTORY vs. WRITERS OF HISTORY

While replying to a question pertaining to the progress that has been made in the work of writing the History of Freedom Movement, on 23rd September, 1958, Shri Humayun Kabir² was confronted with a supplementary from Shri Bhupesh Gupta as to "whether the Hon. Minister thinks that since this is the history of the Indian Freedom Movement it would be useful and beneficial to the writer and others concerned directly to elicit opinions of those who have knowledge of the Freedom Struggle in different ways?" Commenting upon the supplementary asked by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, the Chairman observed:

Makers of history are not always good writers of history.

FOOL OR PHYSICIAN

In replying to supplementaries arising from a question relating to the Report of the Homoeopathy Enquiry Committee and the action taken by the Government on it, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur³

¹Shri Raj Bahadur, Minister of Transport and Communications.

²Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

³Minister of Health.

informed the House that if registration was made compulsory for everybody practising Homoeopathy immediately, some people who had been practising for some years would be thrown out of employment. To this the Chairman commented:

Rajkumariji every man is a fool or a physician at forty.

SOLDIER IN THE GARB OF A MEMBER

A question relating to the protection given by Pakistan to the Jagmal Singh gang of dacoits operating on Rajasthan-Pakistan border was asked in the House by Shri Jaswant Singh. Since the question was sensitive and involved our relations with Pakistan, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru advised the Member in the following words:

The hon. Member should get used to diplomatic language, and when the answer is in diplomatic language, he should understand what it means. We do not use in matters concerning diplomacy, language which is sometimes more precise.

But Shri Jaswant Singh, who had his own difficulties in referring to his past profession, said:

It is difficult for me to be as politic and diplomatic as the Prime Minister; otherwise everybody will be a Jawaharlal Nehru in India. I can only put my feelings as a soldier in straightforward language.

But it was the Chairman who reminded him:

You are a Parliament Member and not a soldier here.

VIGILANCE vs. CLEVERNESS

On a question regarding removal of railway lines near Ondal Railway Station, the Deputy Minister¹, while referring to the thefts taking place in railways, said: "Thefts take place in spite of the Railway Protection Force." This led the Chairman to remark:

You are vigilant; they are clever.

¹Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, Deputy Minister of Railways.

WHY NOT MORE LOANS?

When a question relating to Loans from the World Bank was being answered, the following interesting exchanges took place involving a member, the Minister¹, and the Chairman:

SHRI M. VALIULLA: Are there any instances where we had asked for a loan from the World Bank and the latter had said that they were not able to give?

MINISTER: No, Sir.

SHRI M. VALIULLA: In that case, when we want so much money for our industrial improvements and all that, may I know the reasons why the Government have not been asking for more loans?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Not to get a refusal.

A GOOD BEGINNING

The first two questions asked on 22nd February, 1955, were concerning marriages under the Special Marriage Act which had already been passed by Parliament. After both the questions had been answered by Shri H.V. Pataskar,² the Chairman expressed his happiness in the following words:

I am very glad that the Question Hour has begun with marriages.

NOT ALL HEADACHES ARE AVOIDABLE

While speaking on the Union Duties of Excise (Distribution) Bill, 1953, Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha observed as follows:

Sir, the Finance Commission's report has come very handy in the hands of our Finance Minister. He is now using it as a shield against all demands and criticism from the States. It appears that the Government have accepted the recommendations in toto in order to avoid all headaches.

Hearing this the Chairman remarked:

Not all headaches. You cannot avoid all headaches.

¹Shri M.C. Shah, Deputy Minister of Finance.

²Minister in the Ministry of Law.

INTELLECTUAL ACROBATICS

On a question relating to concessional rail tickets to table tennis players, Shri V. Prasad Rao asked a supplementary as to why chess was not accepted as one of the indoor games entitled for giving concessional tickets. The Minister¹ answered him that "normally concessions are given for games which entail plenty of physical activities". Commenting on the answer of the Minister, the Chairman quipped:

What he says is that Parliament gives you enough scope for intellectual acrobatics. Why should you go there?

CO-EXISTENCE WITHOUT CO-OPERATION

During the discussion on Ceilings on Salary (in the Private Sector) Bill², 1960, when Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel, an opposition member, was expressing his reservation over the Bill, the following interesting exchange, in which the Chairman also participated, took place in the House:

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: How does he speak on behalf of the Congress Party?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am putting the facts as reported in the papers. Why don't you deny that? Why don't the people who met at Ooty deny that? Why don't you say whether the Party has formally approved the ceiling or not?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He knows the trick of the trade.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is co-existence, no co-operation on that bench.

ON ASKING QUESTIONS

Here is a typical example of Dr. Radhakrishnan's strong sense of wit and humour as also his ability to study the mind of Members:

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: May I know...

¹Shri Raj Bahadur, Minister of Transport and Communications.

²This was a private Member's Bill introduced by Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to know whether you followed the answer.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: No, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then what is the good of questioning?

INFECTION OF INTERRUPTION

Shri Bhupesh Gupta raised a point of order regarding the laying of the Presidential Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution. While he was making his point of order, some members began to interrupt him. When Dr. R.P. Dube rose to interrupt him, Shri Gupta requested the Chairman to control Dr. Dube so that he could continue with his point of order. This led the Chairman to remark:

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, your infection is spreading and affecting everybody.

RELEVANT FOR THE FIRST TIME

When supplementaries to a question relating to lease of a forest in NEFA to a British concern were being replied to by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Bhupesh Gupta rose to ask a supplementary in the following words:

Let me ask a relevant questions. Is the Prime Minister aware...

But before Shri Gupta could complete, the Chairman commented:

For the first time he is going to ask a relevant question.

IGNORANT AS BEFORE

Shri Satish Chandra¹ was answering a question relating to Indo-U.S. Trade. Shri Bhupesh Gupta sought to know from the Minister as to whether the scheme of export and import prices was working to disadvantage or advantage, and to make his point clearer, he gave an example in terms of 'X' and 'Y' quantum. But all

¹Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry.

that still could not make the question clear to the Minister. He, therefore, told the Chairman:

Sir, I remain as ignorant as before.

Whereupon, the Chairman commented in a lighter vein:

You do not wish to be educated by him.

SADACHAR

Shri Shah Nawaz Khan¹ was answering a question relating to running of special trains for teaching *Sadachar*. Smt. Yashoda Reddy, a member from the South, however, could not follow the answer since she did not know the meaning of "Sadachar". When she asked the Chair as to what the word meant, pat came the witty reply from the Chairman:

Exactly the kind of conduct which you are expected to adopt in Parliament.

A GOOD YOGIC EXERCISE

A question concerning bringing of silver and silver coins from Tibet was immediately preceded by another question on setting up of a Yoga Institute near Jammu. In his own style, Shri Bhupesh Gupta was asking pointed supplementaries. Not satisfied with the answer furnished by the Minister², Shri Gupta continued to ask the same question again which, naturally, did not evoke any response from the Minister. Noticing this, the Chairman gave Shri Gupta his wise counsel, which was, undoubtedly, influenced by the answer given to the preceding question on Yoga Institute:

It will be a good yogic exercise if he stops talking for half an hour.

BIOLOGICAL TESTS FOR BHUPESH GUPTA

A member wanted to know from the Agriculture Minister about the setting up of the proposed Biological Control Station. When

¹Deputy Minister of Railways.

²Shri B.R. Bhagat, Deputy Minister of Finance.

Shri P.S. Deshmukh¹ was informing the House about the biological tests that the proposed Station would conduct, Shri Bhupesh Gupta enquired jokingly from the Minister if warmongers and their friends would come under the test. This made the Chairman remark:

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his friends, are they brought under this test?

RESPECTABLE LADIES

In reply to a question regarding non-checking of tickets by Travelling Ticket Examiners on the Northern Railway, Shri Shah Nawaz Khan², on the 10th December, 1958, informed the House that checking of tickets by Travelling Ticket Examiners is being regularly done all over the Northern Railway. In this connection, Dr. (Shrimati) Seeta Parmanand stated that during her travels she hardly ever found ticket checking in women's compartments, or near about there. The Hon'ble Chairman thereupon said:

Because he finds you all respectable, he does not come near you.

WISE RULING NEED NOT BE RECONSIDERED

Once the Chairman made an announcement regarding allotment of time for consideration of the Finance Bill. Not satisfied with the time that the Chairman had allotted for discussion, Shri Bhupesh Gupta requested that he might reconsider his wise ruling in the matter. But the Chairman remarked:

If it is wise, it need not be reconsidered.

NEW TALENT IN PARLIAMENT

When Dr. K.L. Shrimali³ was answering a question on tennis players' participation in international tournaments, the following interesting exchange took place in the House:

SHRI M.P. BHARGAVA: May I know whether the

¹Minister of Agriculture.

²Deputy Minister of Railways.

³Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

Government of India or the All India Tennis Association, whoever is concerned is making any efforts to find new talent in tennis?

DR. K.L. SHRIMALI: These efforts are continuously being made.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is a continuing process. Perpetually we are trying to find out new talent in Parliament and elsewhere.

CONTROL OF SMUGGLING

Dr. Radhakrishnan was always so alert in the House that Ministers could never make inappropriate statements. Once Shri B.R. Bhagat¹, while answering supplementaries on high prices of gold and silver, stated:

We have taken a number of measures to stop smuggling of gold, particularly...

The Chairman was prompt enough to remark:

Not stop; control. Not altogether stop; you can't do it.

SOMEWHERE IN-BETWEEN

On the question of arrival of displaced persons in Calcutta, Shri J.K. Bhonsle² had replied that *a few* of the displaced persons who were sent to Bihar and Orissa had returned, but the questioner, Shri B. Gupta, who was of the view that not a few but *a large number* of displaced persons returned, wanted to know the number of such persons. But before the issue could become contentious, the Chairman tactfully handled the situation by remarking:

He says "a large number" and you say "a few people". Between "a few" and "a large number" it is somewhere.

BUILDINGS AND FOUNDATION STONES

While a question regarding the taking over of the management of

¹Deputy Minister of Finance.

²Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation.

the Safdarjung Hospital was being answered, Shri H.C. Mathur wanted to know whether the foundation stone for establishing the All India Medical Institute was laid within the premises of the Irwin (now Jaya Prakash Narayan) Hospital. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur¹ informed the House that although the foundation stone was laid down in the neighbourhood of Irwin Hospital, now it has been decided to move the All India Medical Institute to the Safdarjung area. At this stage the Chairman quipped:

Buildings are not always built on the sites where foundation stones are laid.

COMMON DISEASE

During Question Hour Shri S.K. Patil² informed the House that on 9th June 1958, the postal services in Lucknow were partially dislocated on account of some 700 employees working in the Lucknow General Post Office reporting sick *en masse* as a protest against the order of the Postmaster-General shifting a section of his office from the main building to another building. Shri V.K. Dhage wanted to know as to what was the common disease that the 700 people suffered from? And immediately came the reply from the Chairman:

General depression.

WHO ARE SMUGGLERS?

On a question regarding smuggling of gold from India to Pakistan by Pakistanis, Shri B.R. Bhagat³ denied that Pakistanis were involved in the smuggling of gold from India to Pakistan. Putting a supplementary, Shri Sonusing Dhansing Patil asked: "which are the agencies or agents who smuggle gold into India?" Instead of the Minister answering the question the Chairman replied to the Member thus:

If you know them they will not be smuggling.

¹Minister of Health.

²Minister of Transport and Communications.

³Deputy Minister of Finance.

UNBALANCED WE ARE

Sardar S.S. Majithia¹ in reply to a question relating to mental ailments among Service personnel stated that there is no reason to believe that the incidence of mental diseases is higher in the Armed Forces than in the civilian population. Shri K.C. George queried if that statement is correct should he understand that one in every five among the civilians is a lunatic. Looking at the whole question of mental disorder philosophically, the Chairman remarked:

We are all unbalanced some way or other.

GOD IN THE HOUSE

Once speaking on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, Shri Ashok Sen² referring to the Indian Economy said:

... we shall possibly start, without being unduly optimistic but at the same time having faith in ourselves and in our ability, God willing, with a self-generating economy.

The use of the words "God willing" by the Minister was objected to by Shri Bhupesh Gupta who said:

We have a secular State and he is saying "God willing".

Quite aware of the political faith of Shri Gupta,³ the Chairman had the final say when he said:

Even Mr. Khrushchev used the word "God" in the United Nations Assembly. It does not matter.

SETTING UP CONVENTION BY BREAKING THE CONVENTION

On 22nd March, 1954, during the course of discussion on the Hindu Succession Bill, 1954, the following point of order was raised:

SHRI P.S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Before we start the discussion,

¹Deputy Minister of Defence.

²Minister of Law.

³Shri Bhupesh Gupta belonged to the Communist Party.

in view of the importance of the Bill, may I request the Chairman to permit even such of the Members as are on the Joint Select Committee to speak on this Bill. The convention against it has been broken on the Constitution Amendment Bill.

The point raised was disallowed by the Hon'ble Chairman by observing:

If we begin breaking the convention, the breaking will be the convention.

CHAIRMAN'S MINISTRY

When a question on the setting up of a Petroleum Council was being answered by Shri Humayun Kabir¹, Shri M.P. Bhargava put his supplementary in the following words:

May I know, Sir, whether this matter comes under the jurisdiction of your Ministry or under the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel?

Confusing, as the supplementary was, the Chairman wanted a clarification from Shri Bhargava when he asked:

When you say "your Ministry", do you mean my Ministry because you are addressing the Chair?

Shri Bhargava thereupon clarified that he meant the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

INTELLECTUALS NOT CONFINED TO ANY ONE PARTY

The need for the Planning Commission having an exhibition in the Nanal Nagar Pandal at Hyderabad during the All India Congress Committee Session was questioned by Shri V.K. Dhage in the form of a supplementary. The reason for having such an exhibition according to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru² was that it was a magnificent opportunity of reaching intellectual persons in India. The Chairman immediately retorted:

I do not think the intellectuals are limited to any one party.

¹Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

²Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs.

REVOLUTION BY COERCION

A question was asked in the House by Dr. A.N. Bose regarding police enquiries of persons before their recruitment to public service which was being replied by Shri B.N. Datar¹. When the Minister did not fully answer his supplementary, Shri Gupta told the Chair that the Minister had not answered his question. This made the Chairman remark:

The hon. Minister had said that revolution by consent is permitted but revolution by coercion is not permitted.

WOMEN IN CHARGE OF HEALTH

On a question regarding absorption of officers of the Women's Medical Service by the State Government, Dr. (Shrimati) Seeta Parmanand asked her supplementaries, but the answers given by the Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did not fully satisfy her. Watching this the Chairman remarked:

We have two women² in charge of Health and yet you complain.

OF SANITY AND INSANITY

When the House was having a discussion on the resolution regarding abolition of capital punishment, Shri Gobind Ballabh Pant³ intervened in the debate as follows:

If a person is proved to be insane, he is not sentenced to hanging. He is kept under observation and he is often released or given asylum in the proper place.

On hearing Shri Pant, the Chairman explained the concept of sanity in the following interesting manner:

Sanity is abnormal. Insanity has several degrees and we are all victims of it.

¹Minister of State for Home Affairs.

²The other woman in charge of Health at that time was Deputy Minister of Health, Shrimati M. Chandrasekhar.

³Minister of Home Affairs.

PART V

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan: *Chairman Par Excellence*

Centuries back, the famous Greek Philosopher, Plato proclaimed:

Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes imbibe a spirit of philosophy, cities will never have rest from their evils—no, nor the human race, as I believe—and when political greatness and wisdom meet in one person then only will this our State behold the light of day.

This pronouncement of Plato became a reality in our country in 1952 when Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was elected as the Vice-President of India and a decade thereafter as the President of India. But even before becoming Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan had displayed exceptional abilities in diverse fields as educationist, philosopher and diplomat and, in each of these roles, he made substantial contribution.

When he had taken charge of the office of the Vice-President and came to preside over the Rajya Sabha in his capacity as Chairman, fulsome tributes were paid to him by the entire House. While welcoming him to this august House, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru observed:

Sir, I should like to say a few words, not of congratulation to you on occupying this high office, but rather of congratulation to the House that we have the privilege of having you here to guide the deliberations of this House as well as, if I may say so, to help us in a multitude of ways in another high capacity.

Referring to the fact that Dr. Radhakrishnan represented an amalgam of the old and the new, a blend of traditional and modern values, Shri Nehru said:

We face new situations and new problems, and the world itself rapidly changes, it is not an easy matter to keep pace

with those changing events either in our own country or in the world. At such a moment, one requires many things. One requires some roots in our ancient wisdom and experience of a race to thousands of years; one requires at least as much a certain capacity to understand this changing world, to understand its new problems, to adapt ourselves to them: in other words, to interpret the fundamentals of wisdom in a new environment and for the new demands of the situation. I doubt if one can easily think of any other individual who combines those two great qualities in himself more than you do, Sir, because ... [you bring to this great task an intimate knowledge of the wisdom of our race or the accumulated experience of our race—call it what you will. You bring also an intimate knowledge of the modern world and its movements and its problems.]

After the Prime Minister had finished, eulogies and encomiums were bestowed on him from the various sections of the House. Shri P. Sundarayya welcomed him in the following words:

We have been following your multifarious activities in the interests of the country, first as an educationist and philosopher, and later as the Ambassador of India in the Soviet Union, our great neighbour. We are glad that you represented our people and our great country and explained to the whole world that we, Indian people, are for maintaining world peace. You have rendered a great service, and we feel pleasure and pride that you are presiding over this House.

While welcoming him, Shri C.G.K. Reddy observed:

I hope that you will maintain the dignity of this House and control the deliberations in such a way that every section of opinion and every section of the Members present here would be able to express themselves, so that this House would set standards of dignity and decorum, probably a little higher than those of the Lower House.

Shri B.C. Ghosh expressed similar sentiments:

It is extremely fortunate that we have you here as our

presiding officer, for, I am certain that we shall have justice with an even hand and that we shall carry on the deliberations of this House under conditions which would move justice and equity to every section of this House.

Shri H.D. Rajah said that the entire nation looked upon Dr. Radhakrishnan not as a party man but as a custodian of the rights and interests of the people in the country. He said:

As a great philosopher who is truly Indian, whose outlook is Indian and who will conduct and guide us in the true Indian spirit, so that the people who speak multifarious languages, who are of multifarious subraces, who are in every aspect Indian to the core and whose culture and civilisation are deep-rooted for centuries in this country, and as an honourable and great citizen of our country, we look to you to guide the deliberations of this House in the true Indian style and tradition.

Shri H.N. Kunzru, an Independent Member of the House, repeated the sentiments expressed by Shri Nehru and observed:

We are glad that a person of your eminence and of your ripe wisdom has been chosen to guide us in the work that we shall be called upon to do. As the Prime Minister has said, you combine in yourself the best that the East and the West have to offer. We could not have made a better choice. I am, therefore, very glad that, although you will not have many opportunities of utilising your grasp of fundamental principles and your knowledge of the modern world for the good of the nation, a person of your exceptional qualifications will guide us in the initial stages. I congratulate you also, Sir, on your modesty in having agreed to act as the Chairman of this Council.

Paying tributes to Dr. Radhakrishnan, Shri D.P. Ghosh remarked:

We are on the threshold of a great era. But India stands at the present moment, despite the traditions of her hoary culture and civilization, in a state most perilous and dangerous. In fact she is in danger of being swept off her feet by the impact of alien cries and crazes. In the midst of this slippery slope on which India stands today, the

presence of a man like yourself, standing like a rock of Indian cultural traditions, is a great solace and inspiration to us all.

Replying to the felicitations, Dr. Radhakrishnan thanked the House for the very generous and kind words used by the Prime Minister and other leaders and for the cordial way in which the House had received him. He assured that as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, he would discharge the duties of his office with impartiality:

I belong to no party, and that means I belong to every party in this House. It shall be my endeavour to uphold the traditions, the highest traditions, of parliamentary democracy and act towards every party with fairness and impartiality, with ill-will to none and good-will to all.

Dr. Radhakrishnan also referred to the need for the protection of the interests of minorities, which, he said, was of paramount importance in a parliamentary democracy. He observed:

A democracy is likely to degenerate into a tyranny if it does not allow the opposition groups to criticise fairly, freely and frankly the policies of the Government. But at the same time minorities have also their responsibilities. While they have every right to criticise, their right of criticism should not degenerate into wilful hampering and obstruction of the work of Parliament. All groups, therefore, have their rights, and have their responsibilities. And if we recognise them and act in their spirit I have no doubt we will be able to build up great traditions for this Council of States, which will be helpful to all sections of the Council.

He also dwelt at length on the justification and the need for the Second Chamber in India and said:

There is a general impression that this House cannot make or unmake governments and therefore it is a superfluous body. But there are functions which a revising chamber can fulfil fruitfully. Parliament is not only a legislative but a deliberative body. So far as its deliberative functions are concerned it will be open to us to make very valuable

contributions, and it will depend on our work whether we justify or do not justify this two-Chamber system which is now an integral part of our Constitution. So it is a test to which we are submitted. We are for the first time starting, under the new parliamentary system, with a Second Chamber in the Centre, and we should try to do everything in our power to justify to the public of this country that a Second Chamber is essential to prevent hasty legislation. We should discuss with dispassion and detachment proposals put before us.

If the welcome to Dr. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his election as Vice-President of India was warm and his assumption of the office received joyous approbation in the Rajya Sabha, his farewell from this august office, on his election as the President of India, was characterised by mixed feelings of sorrow and happiness.

As Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru most appositely said:

We are on the one hand, a little sad at your leaving us here, because you have made this House with yourself as the Chairman rather a unique place and have converted it into a large family, sometimes apparently quarrelling but really a family under your guidance. On the other hand, Sir, we are of course glad that you are going to the highest office that this country has to offer, and we are quite sure that by being there you will exercise your charm to convert this huge nation also into a large family... I am sure that every Member of this House feels a little sad and also feels glad that you are going to take charge of the most responsible office in India.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta in his address referred to Dr. Radhakrishnan's role as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and his contribution to the development of practice and procedures in the House:

We have been associated with you in this House for the last ten eventful years. You have long been known as a man of deep scholarship and learning. But in these ten years by your role as the Vice-President, and more particularly as the Chairman of this House, you have unfolded another

side of your character. You have shown that you are a wise statesman with deep human sympathies. In this role of yours what has attracted us and the people most is your broad vision and your fundamentally non-partisan outlook. In the present context of our political life it is not easy for anyone to be a dignitary of the State and yet maintain such an attitude.

You have been, Sir, a guide and teacher in our House. You will agree that we have always treated you as something more than a mere Presiding Officer. This we have done not only because of your outstanding qualities as a man of profound learning, we have done so because we have generally found in you a Presiding Officer who knows how to combine his leadership, and guidance with high intelligence, good humour, tolerance and, above all, with the awareness that the democratic opposition has a significant creative role to play in the fashioning of our parliamentary institutions. In the course of ten years you have, Sir, helped to build up certain traditions and ways peculiarly our own and which are not mere copy-book repetitions of either the May's Parliamentary Practice or what is said in the rigid lifeless rules and procedures. We hope these traditions will continue to live and will be further enriched.

The entire section of the House was unanimous in admitting that Dr. Radhakrishnan had conducted the affairs of the Rajya Sabha with rare distinction, serenity, wisdom, and with a non-partisan outlook.

Shri Ganga Saran Sinha hoped that Dr. Radhakrishnan, who combined in himself the traditional and modern values of society, would prove to be the fittest and most eminent person for the office of the President of India.

श्रीमन्, भारतीय परम्परा और आधुनिकता दोनों का संगम आपका जीवन, आपका चरित्र और आपका व्यक्तित्व रहा है। आज हमारे देश को इसी चीज की आवश्यकता है कि वह प्राचीनता और नवीनता का संगम हो और मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि आपके राष्ट्रपति-काल में देश को वह स्थान प्राप्त होगा, हम जहां तक बढ़े हैं, उससे और आगे बढ़ेंगे, और हमारा देश एकता के सूत्र में और ज्यादा बंधेगा और जो आशाएं और आकांक्षाएं देश की हैं वे पूरी होंगी।”

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee referred to the rich parliamentary

traditions established during the Chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan and said:

इस सदन में आपने जो परम्पराएं स्थापित की हैं, उनका हम आगे पालन कर सकें, इसकी परमात्मा हमको शक्ति दे, आपके जाने के साथ जो एक आलोक इस सदन में से जाता हुआ दिखाई देता है, उसे हम बनाए रख सकें।

Shri. A.D. Mani observed that the name of Dr. Radhakrishnan would go down in the history of the parliamentary democracy in India as one of the greatest presiding officers in the world:

It was said of Speaker Lenton, Speaker of the House of Commons in the days of Charles I, that he gave a tone to British parliamentary institutions and I may say here—and all of us in this House would agree—that you have given also a tone to parliamentary institutions in Delhi. This House has witnessed many memorable spectacles and one of them has been very recent when at your request the leaders of the Opposition withdrew their amendments that they had submitted to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I think it is without any parallel in the history of the world where on account of the personal influence of the Chair the members of the Opposition have withdrawn [their amendments] which have been tabled on behalf of their parties.

Replying to these tributes, Dr. Radhakrishnan observed that he was greatly moved by the kind sentiments expressed in the House. He said that it was not easy for him to sever his connection with the House with which he had been in close and intimate association for ten years. He was only obeying the call of duty and moving his activities to another sphere. Explaining his secret of the success as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, he observed:

I should like to say that if my Chairmanship of this House has been successful it is due to the goodwill and affection which all these Members have shown to me. My ignorance of parliamentary processes and procedures is condoned; my faults are forgiven and my errors are overlooked. I do not pretend that I conformed to the strict rules and procedures of parliamentary business. I have not done that and if you still are tolerant with me, it shows your generosity of mind and your tolerance of spirit.

Dr. Radhakrishnan also paid handsome tributes to the Prime Minister and the various leaders of the House in the following words:

This country has been fortunate in having an illustrious Prime Minister to guide its destiny in these fateful years, a man of rare courage, vision and imagination, sensitive to the currents in this country and elsewhere, who has induced in many people love and loyalty which will make millions pass through fire with him and for him. He has developed such a personality. I enjoyed his affection and friendship all these ten years. I was able to do something with regard to the enhancement of the prestige of this House also because I had his consistent support all these years in these matters.

We have been lucky in the Leaders of our House. When I took charge, it was Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar; he was succeeded by Mr. Biswas, then by Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant and then by Hafiz Sahib whom I see here, all able men, competent men, working for the single purpose of enhancing the well-being of this country. The Members who served on Committees as Chairmen and as Members, Leaders of this side and that side have always been cooperative.

Even the turbulent leader of the Communist Bloc, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, did not escape his notice:

Even when we found Mr. Bhupesh Gupta co-operative with an effort, he was ultimately co-operative. So, we have to appreciate his loyalty to the Chair and to the House which made this House work so smoothly.

Nor did he forget the contribution of the Secretary of the House and the staff under him for whom also he had a word of praise:

I should take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our Secretary who has been with us from the very beginning. His vast experience, his good judgment, his sense of fairmindedness, his capacity to be just to all people, these things have helped me considerably. He was assisted by a competent and loyal staff. We never had any bickerings,

any complaints, even from Class IV members. We worked together as one family as the Prime Minister was good enough to express and I am sure that this same spirit will continue in years to come.

Referring to the in-coming Chairman¹, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

I am happy that the new Chairman is a distinguished educationist and experienced administrator known for his wisdom, for his dignity and bearing, patience and tolerance. I hope this House will give him the same co-operation which it has extended to me and I am sure that his term of office will be a successful one.

Dr. Radhakrishnan concluded with the remarks that he would cherish the ten-year period as Chairman of the Rajya Sabha "as one of the most precious possessions in my life."

Thus came to an end the ten-years tenure of the Chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan—a majestic and impressive personality who was *taller* than many of his contemporaries, both in the etymological and in the figurative sense of the term.

Humanism seems to be religion secularised. The self-sufficiency of the natural man, the belief that the only values that matter are human values is the central faith of the humanists.

Radhakrishnan

¹Dr. Zakir Husain

PART VI

Personal Reflections of a Philosopher

Life and Writings

No man's story of his own life can fail to be of interest to others, if it is written in sincerity. Even if the stage be small and the role of the participant a minor one, the interactions of chance and circumstance with human desires and ideals that shape the destinies of any individual are of some interest to his fellows. But of all writing, autobiographical writing is the most delicate. We do not wish to confess our deeds and misdeeds in public. We are inclined to show to the world more of our success than of our setbacks, more of our gains than of our losses. Robert Browning tells us that the meanest of mankind has two sides of his life, one to face the world with and the other to show the woman he loves. We have two sides, one in ordinary life and the other when we write about ourselves for the public. We want to live an imaginary life in other people's ideas of us. We then direct our efforts to seeming what we are not. Besides, any sensitive man who takes life seriously is somewhat inaccessible to the public. If he happens to be a writer, he does not generally reveal himself except through his writings, where he recreates his personal experiences by clothing them with general significance. Through his writings, which constitute his main life-work, he tries to communicate the vital ideas which have shaped his life. My writings are no more than fragments of a confession.

In the present account it is not my intention to speak of my personal life, my parents and ancestry, my marriage and family, my likes and dislikes, my struggles and disappointments. No particular good fortune has lifted me above the sphere in which

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our common humanity struggles along, and I have had my own share of the burdens and anxieties of life. Although these are of immense importance to me, discretion forbids me to speak of them. Besides, they are of no particular interest to the philosophical public, who may wish to know my ideas and the processes of thought which led up to them.

Choice of Philosophy

There are some who make up their mind early what they are going to be and plan carefully from their early years to reach their goal. They find out what they wish to do and try to do it with all their might. I cannot say that I came to the study of philosophy as one dedicated from childhood to the service of the altar. I am not a philosopher because I could not help being one. "Life," says Dilthey, "is a mysterious fabric, woven of chance, fate and character." That philosophy became the subject of my special study, was it a part of my destiny, was it the result of my character or was it mere chance?

When I was a young student of seventeen in the Madras Christian College, and was vacillating about the choice of a subject from out of the five options of mathematics, physics, biology, philosophy and history, a cousin of mine, who took his degree that year, passed on his text books in philosophy to me, G.F. Stout's *Manual of Psychology*; J. Welton's *Logic* (two volumes) and J.S. Mackenzie's *Manual of Ethics*; and that decided my future interest. To all appearance this is a mere accident. But when I look at the series of accidents that have shaped my life, I am persuaded that there is more in this life than meets the eye. Life is not a mere chain of physical causes and effects. Chance seems to form the surface of reality, but deep down other forces are at work. If the universe is a living one, if it is spiritually alive, nothing in it is merely accidental. "The moving finger writes and having writ moves on."

When, however, the study of philosophy became my life's work, I entered a domain which sustained me both intellectually and spiritually all these years. My conception of a philosopher was in some ways similar to that of Marx, who proclaimed in his famous *Theses on Feuerbach* that philosophy had hitherto been concerned with *interpreting* life, but that the time had come for it to *change* life. Philosophy is committed to a creative task.

Although in one sense philosophy is a lonely pilgrimage of the spirit, in another sense it is a function of life.

Contemporary History and India's Role

I spent the first eight years of my life (1888-1896) in a small town in South India, Tiruttani, which is even today a great centre of religious pilgrimage. My parents were religious in the traditional sense of the term. I studied in Christian Missionary institutions for twelve years: Lutheran Mission High School, Tirupati (1896-1900), Voorhees' College, Vellore (1900-1904) and the Madras Christian College (1904-1908). Thus I grew up in an atmosphere where the unseen was a living reality. My approach to the problems of philosophy from the angle of religion as distinct from that of science or of history was determined by my early training. I was not able to confine philosophy to logic and epistemology.

There are tasks and responsibilities open to an Indian student of philosophic thought, living in this profoundly meaningful period of history. The prominent feature of our time is not so much the wars and dictatorships which have disfigured it, but the impact of different cultures on one another, their interaction, and the emergence of a new civilisation based on the truths of spirit and the unity of mankind. The tragedies and catastrophes which occupy so much of the foreground of our consciousness are symbolic of the breakdown of the separatist tendencies and the movement towards the integration of national societies in a world whole. In the confusion of the contemporary scene, this fallible, long-suffering and apparently helpless generation should not overlook the great movement towards integration in which it is participating.

Through her connection with Great Britain, India is once again brought into relationship with the Western world. The interpenetration of the two great currents of human effort at such a crisis in the history of the human race is not without meaning for the future. With its profound sense of spiritual reality brooding over the world of our ordinary experience, with its lofty insights and immortal aspirations, Indian thought may perhaps wean us moderns from a too exclusive occupation with secular life or with the temporary formulations in which logical thought has too often sought to imprison spiritual aspiration. We do not seem to be mentally or spiritually prepared for the increasing intimacy

into which remote peoples are drawn by the force of physical and economic circumstances. The world which has found itself as a single body is feeling for its soul. May we not prepare for the truth of the world's yet unborn soul by a free interchange of ideas and the development of a philosophy which will combine the best of European humanism and Asiatic religion, a philosophy profounder and more living than either, endowed with greater spiritual and ethical force, which will conquer the hearts of men and compel peoples to acknowledge its sway? Such a view of the function of philosophy in modern life is born out of a necessity of thought and an Indian student may perhaps make a little contribution to the development of a world perspective in philosophy.

Tradition and Experiment

The danger of all human occupation is present also in philosophy, the danger of accepting standard solutions and performing mechanically, through sheer laziness and inertia, the established modes of thinking. If we reach ready-made doctrines and see in any system of thought perfection and completeness, we miss the true spirit of inquiry. There cannot be an authentic philosophical situation unless there is uneasiness about prevalent opinions. If we lose the capacity to doubt we cannot get into the mood of philosophic thought. Whitehead's observation that "life is an offensive against the repetitive mechanism of the universe" is true of the philosophic life also.

If we take any philosopher as a *guru*, if we treat his work as gospel, if we make of his teaching a religion complete with dogma and exegesis, we may become members of the congregation of the faithful, but will not possess the openness of mind essential for a critical understanding of the master's views. The true teachers help us to think for ourselves in the new situations which arise. We would be unworthy disciples if we do not question and criticise them. They try to widen our knowledge and help us to see clearly. The true teacher is like *Kṛṣṇa* in the *Bhagavadgītā*, who advises Arjuna to think for himself and do as he chooses, *yathā icchasi tathā kuru*.

There is, however, a longing in the human mind for eternal truths embodied in fixed formulas which we need not discuss, modify or correct. We do crave for a constant rule of life, a sure

guide to heaven. Devotion to a master who lays down the law gives us rest, confidence and security. To minds wearied and worried by doubt, authoritarian religions give a sense of release and purpose. We cannot, however, expect rational criticism from those who have too much reverence for authority.

Again, tradition in human life takes the place of instinct in animals. It makes a man think, feel and desire in forms that have prevailed in the human environment for centuries and about whose validity he feels no misgivings whatsoever. We are all born to our traditions. In regard to them there is a certain degree of inevitability. We are as little free in choosing our cultural ancestors as we are in choosing our physical ancestors. Insofar as a person lives according to tradition and obeys it instinctively, he leads a life of faith, of a believer. The need for philosophy arises when faith in tradition is shaken.

In the matter of tradition the Americans are in a fortunate position because they have no ancestors and no classical soil. Goethe, in a little poem, *Amerika, du hast es besser*, writes: "your fate is happier than that of our old continent. You have no ruined chateaux... you are not troubled by vain memories and useless quarrels." India, however, has had a long tradition and I grew up in it. I started therefore with a prejudice in its favour.

The Undermining of Tradition

My teachers in Christian missionary institutions cured me of this faith and restored for me the primordial situation in which all philosophy is born. They were teachers of philosophy, commentators, interpreters, apologists for the Christian way of thought and life, but were not, in the strict sense of the term, seekers of truth. By their criticism of Indian thought they disturbed my faith and shook the traditional props on which I leaned.

While the undogmatic apprehensions and the discipline of mind which Hinduism provides as the essential means for the discovery of truth are established in a rigorously logical manner, while the great insights, fundamental motives and patterns of thought of Hindu religion have meaning for us even today, it has taken on in its long history many arbitrary and fanciful theories and is full of shackles which constrict the free life of the spirit. Besides, we live in a time when we have become the inheritors of the world's thought. We have accumulated much historical

knowledge about religions and philosophies. We find that innumerable people before us have raised these questions about the nature of the universe, the principle of being and have given answers which they treated as final and absolute. The very multiplicity of these absolutisms makes it difficult for us to assume, if we are honest, that our absolutism is the true one and all others false. Faced by these conflicting and competing absolutisms, we become either traditionalists or sceptics. A critical study of the Hindu religion was thus forced on me.

I started my professional life as a teacher of philosophy in the Madras Presidency College in April 1909, where I worked for the next seven years. During that period I studied the classics of Hinduism, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the commentaries on the *Brahma Sūtra* by the chief *ācāryas*, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka and others, the Dialogues of the Buddha as well as the scholastic works of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Among the Western thinkers the writings of Plato, Plotinus and Kant and those of Bradley and Bergson influenced me a great deal. My relations with my great Indian contemporaries, Tagore and Gandhi, were most friendly for nearly thirty years, and I realise the tremendous significance they had for me.

Although I admire the great masters of thought, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western, I cannot say that I am a follower of any, accepting his teaching in its entirety. I do not suggest that I refused to learn from others or that I was not influenced by them. While I was greatly stimulated by the minds of all those whom I have studied, my thought does not comply with any fixed traditional pattern. For my thinking had another source and proceeded from my own experience, which is not quite the same as what is acquired by mere study and reading. It is born of spiritual experience rather than deduced from logically ascertained premises. Philosophy is produced more by our encounter with reality than by the historical study of such encounters. In my writings I have tried to communicate my insight into the meaning of life. I am not sure, however, that I have succeeded in conveying my inmost ideas. I tried to show that my general position provides a vivid interpretation of the world, which seems to me to be consistent with itself, to accord with the facts as we know them, and to foster the life of spirit.

Continuity with the Past

Human minds do not throw up sudden stray thoughts without precedents or ancestors. History is continuity and advance. There is no such thing as utterly spontaneous generation. Philosophic experiments of the past have entered into the living mind of the present. Tradition links generations one with another and all progress is animated by ideas which it seems to supersede. The debt we owe to our spiritual ancestors is to study them. Traditional continuity is not mechanical reproduction; it is creative transformation, an increasing approximation to the ideal of truth. Life goes on not by repudiating the past but by accepting it and weaving it into the future in which the past undergoes a rebirth. The main thing is to remember and create anew. Confucius said: "He who by re-animating the Old can gain knowledge of the New is fit to be a teacher."

Indian people have concentrated for centuries on the problems of divine reality, human life and destiny. Philosophic wisdom has been the drive and inspiration of their culture. We today think with our past and from the level to which the past has taken us.

Influence of Indian Culture

Indian wisdom has also contributed effectively to the cultural developments of the regions of South East Asia, which till yesterday were called Further India. The characteristic features of Indian culture can still be discerned from "Ayuthia and Angkor to Borobudur and Bali." India's historic influence spread through the arts of peace and not the weapons of war, through moral leadership and not political domination. Her influence could be discerned in the development of European thought from the time of Orphic mysteries. Today Indian wisdom is essential not only for the revival of the Indian nation but also for the re-education of the human race.

Difficulties of Historical Interpretation

When that noble and generous thinker, Professor J.H. Muirhead, invited me in 1917 to write an account of Indian Philosophy for his Library of Philosophy, I accepted his call, though not without considerable doubt.

To outline the history of Indian philosophic thought, which

has had a long span of development of over three thousand years, on a cautious estimate, is indeed a prodigious task and I was aware that it was beyond the capacity of any single person. It might be done by a band of scholars in a co-operative undertaking, spread over a number of years, with the assistance of many research workers. The result of such an undertaking will be, not a book but an encyclopaedia, careful and comprehensive. Again, no scholar, however learned, can know everything on so vast a field. There will be gaps and mistakes. Besides, history is not only seeing but also thinking. Thinking is always constructive, if not creative. Historical writing is a creative activity. It is different from historical research. By the latter we acquire a knowledge of the facts in their proper succession, the raw material. It is the task of historical writing to understand these facts and give us a feel of the past, communicate to us the vibration of life. This requires knowledge as well as sensibility. The writer may at times allow his personal bias to determine his presentation. His sense of proportion and relevance may not be shared by others. His work at best will be a personal interpretation and not an impersonal survey.

There is also the danger that we are inclined to interpret ancient systems in a manner acceptable to modern minds. Such efforts sometimes overstep the mark and make ancient thinkers look very much contemporaries of ours. Often a sense of hero-worship exalts the classical thinkers above the level of history. Instead of trying to understand them, as they are, as human beings, however great in mind and spirit they may be, we give to them imaginary perfections and treat their writings as sacred texts which contain solutions for our present problems.

My Limited Aim

I was aware of the dangers and difficulties involved in an adequate historical interpretation of Indian thought as well as of my own limitations, philosophical and linguistic. I, therefore, assumed a modest task, to produce an introduction to a vast, varied, and complex process of development, a book which will arouse the interest of the readers in the insights and inspirations of the Indian genius. I tried to unroll a great panorama in which every element has some charm or interest. I tried not to overstate any case or indulge in personal dislike for its own sake.

History of philosophy should not be reduced to a mere statement of doctrines in chronological order. These doctrines are propositions, sentences with a meaning. Meanings are not absolute. They have no sense apart from when and by whom and for whom they were meant. The formulators of philosophical systems are not abstract thinkers or anonymous beings without birth-date or dwelling place. The date of a thinker and the place of the origin and growth of his thought are not external labels tacked on to systems, merely for placing them in their proper chronological order. Like all thought, philosophical thought belongs to the context of life. Its exponents belong to their age with its living beliefs and traditions, its scientific notions and myths. If we are to gain insight from the study of past writers, we must remove them from us, emphasise their distance in time and realise how different in many ways they are from us. To understand their thought we must learn to feel and understand their world even as they felt and understood it, never approaching them with condescension or contempt. Only in that way can we understand their living effective communication with us.

Need for Humility

There have been historians of Indian philosophy in our country who looked upon India's philosophic thought as a continuity in which it progressed rationally from one conception to another, where systems succeeded each other in intelligible order until it culminated in their own thought. All that was past was a progress towards their own present thinking. Madhva's *Sarvadarsanasamgraha* is a well-known instance of the treatment of the history of thought as a continuous progress to *Advaita Vedānta*. In the West, Hegel related the past history of thought as a collection of errors over and against which stood out his own idealism as truth. Intellectual unselfishness or humility is the mother of all writing, even though that writing may relate to the history of philosophy.

Though we cannot say that systems succeed each other in an ordered progression, there is no arbitrariness. Changes of life have brought about changes in thought and *vice versa*. The past philosophical development in East and in West has an integral reality. It is not a bewildering maze of clashing opinions, utterly irrational. We can discern an order in the dynamic interplay of ideas.

In all philosophical interpretation, the right method is to interpret thinkers at their best, in the light of what they say in the moments of their clearest insight. There is no reason why philosophical writers should not be judged as other creative artists are, at least in the main, on the basis of their finest inspirations.

Ancient Indians do not belong to a different species from ourselves. An actual study of their views shows that they ask questions and find answers analogous in their diversity to some of the more important currents in modern thought. The systems of Nāgārjuna and Saṃkara, for example, are marvels of precision and penetration, comparable to the very best of Western thought.

Comparative Method

In re-thinking the systems of the past, I sometimes employ terms with which the Western readers are familiar. I am aware of the limitations of the comparative method which can either be a bane or a blessing. We cannot overlook the different emphases, not only between East and West, but in the different systems of the East as well as in those of the West. These differences, when valid, are complementary, not contradictory. In many detailed investigations there is agreement between the thinkers of the East and the West.

The comparative method is relevant in the present context, when the stage is set, if not for the development of a world philosophy, at least for that of a world outlook. The different parts of the world cannot any more develop separately and in independence of each other. Even as our political problem is to bring East and West together in a common brotherhood which transcends racial differences, so in the world of philosophy we have to bring about a cross-fertilisation of ideas. If systems of philosophy are themselves determined by historical circumstances, there is no reason why the methods adopted in historical interpretation should not take into account the needs and conditions of the age. Each interpreter appeals to his own generation. He is wise to let the generation that succeeds him choose its own exponents. It will do so whether he likes it or not. His work is fulfilled if he keeps the thought alive in his generation, helps to some extent his successors, and attempts to answer, so far as he can, the desire of his age.