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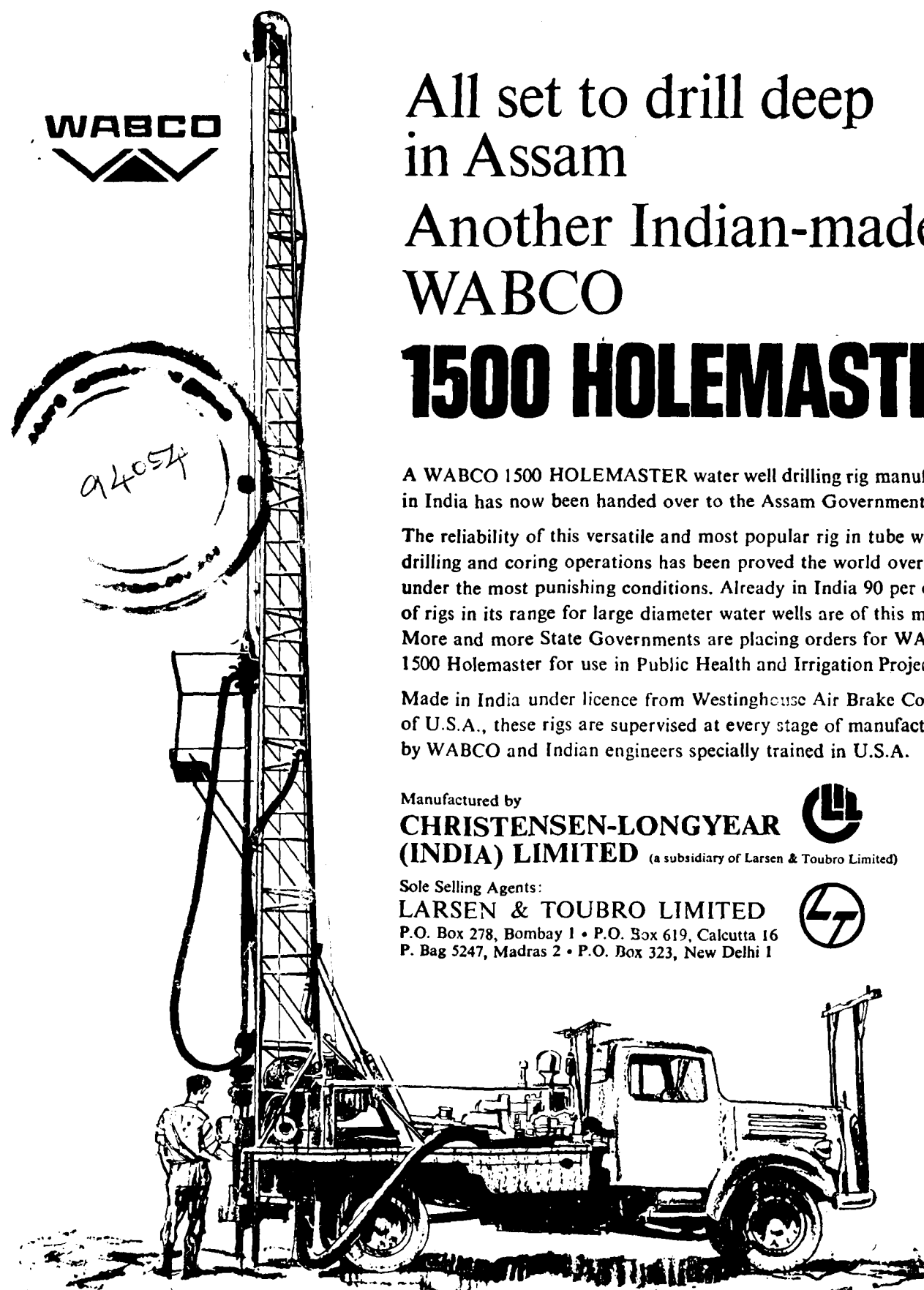
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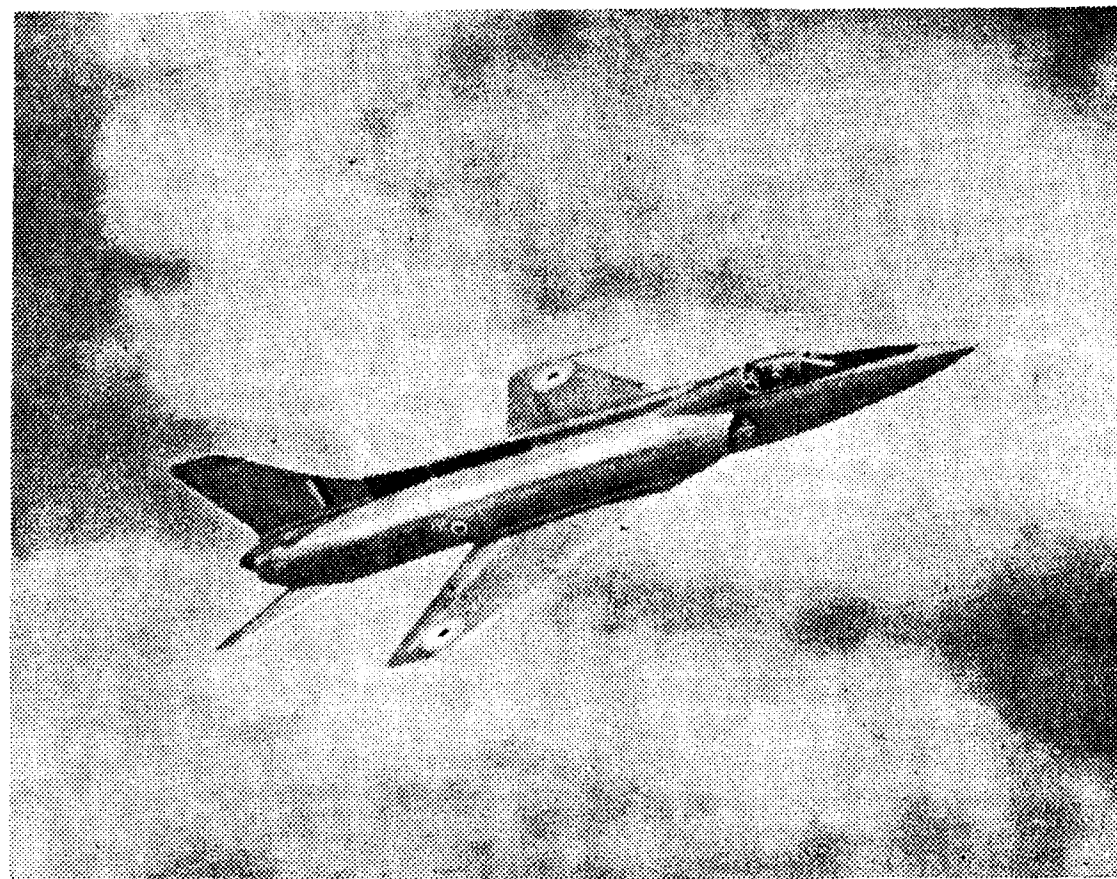


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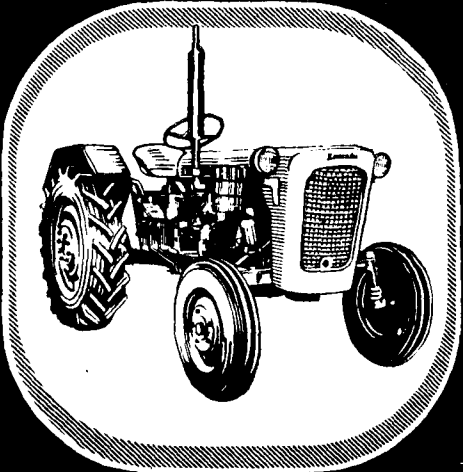


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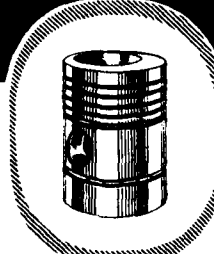
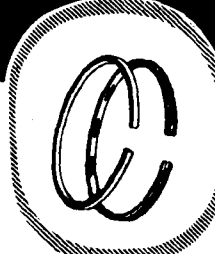
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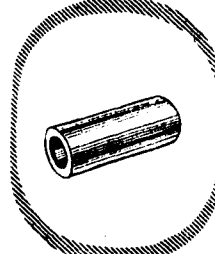
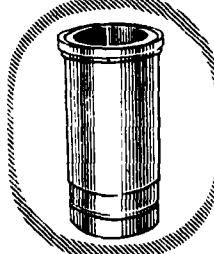
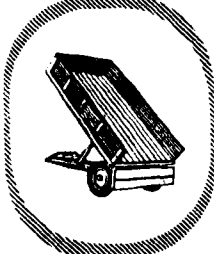
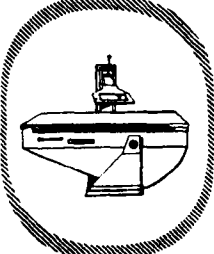
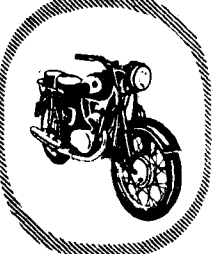
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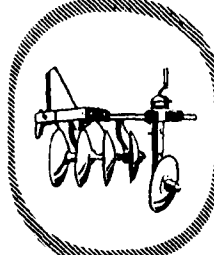
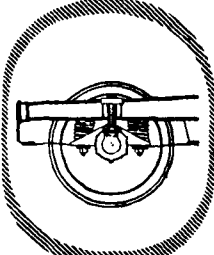
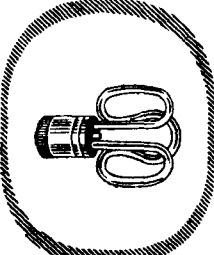
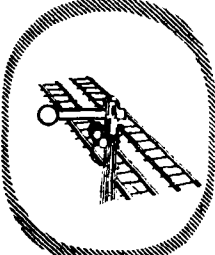


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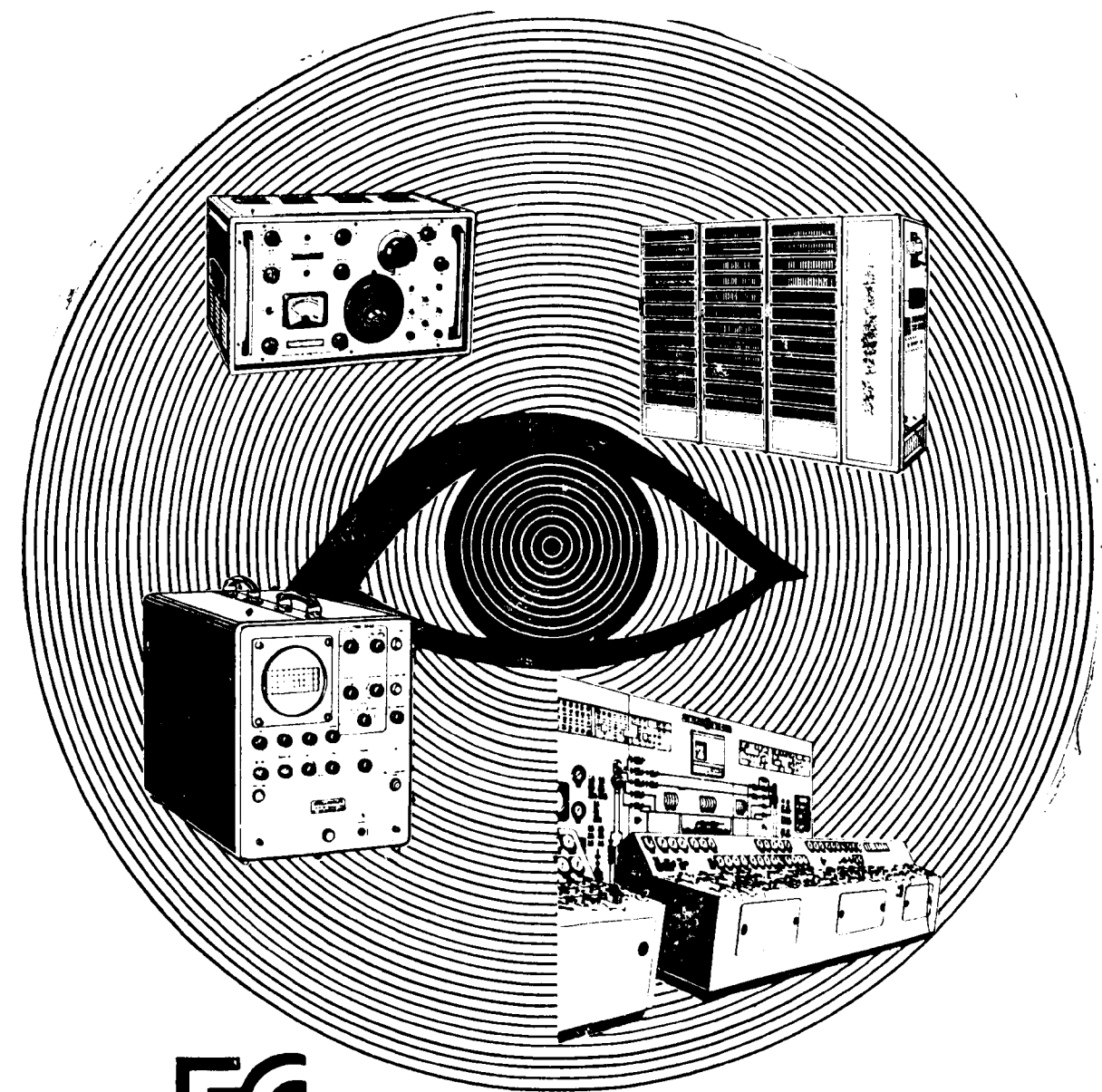
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YOJANA

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is not restricted to express-
ing the official point of
view.**

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LEST WE FORGET

.....We adhere completely and absolutely to
the principles and purposes of the United Nations
Charter and..... we shall try, to the best of our
ability, to work for the realisation of those principles
and purposes.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

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Editorial

THE FIRST 25 YEARS

THE United Nations, which was born in a period of chaos and was brought-up in a world of confusion, completes its first 25 years on October 24. This in itself is a measure of its inherent strength and a reflection of the universal desire for Peace. Unlike its predecessor, the League of Nations, the successor organisation, was born even before Peace had returned to this troubled planet. What is more important, the UN has survived many crises because it has been sustained by the faith of governments and peoples in an organisation which has not concerned itself merely with the maintenance of security, but with the welfare of the countless millions of less fortunate peoples of the world. And yet, it will be idle to deny that the UN has failed to achieve all that it set out to do on the morrow of its birth.

Man's quest for a warless world and his efforts to create conditions in which he can live in security, free from fear and want, is still a long way from fulfilment. The promised millenium continues to elude each succeeding generation, which ever imagines itself nearer the goal. The First World War, described by Allied leaders as a "War to end all Wars", was merely the prelude to yet another war, more destructive and devastating than any other in the long and chequered history of mankind. Within less than a quarter of a century of the birth of the League of Nations, the world was plunged into a second world war with all its incalculable horrors. Twice within the lifetime of almost all living men, the millions were dragooned to death and desolation, and the search for "collective security" ended in "collective suicide".

It was in the midst of this distracted and devastated world and out of the indescribable pain of many peoples in many lands that the United Nations was born. Even as the tortured soul of humanity lay bleeding in a world laid waste by nearly five years of the most brutal armed conflict, and even while the battle for survival was still raging in the field, the delegates of fortysix nations met at San Francisco "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and to lay the foundations of a new world order.

The United Nations is only 25 years old, which, viewed in the broad perspective of history, is not a very long period. It is, therefore, perhaps too early to say

how far and how well it will be able to usher in an era of lasting peace. Time alone will show whether the United Nations will succeed, where the League of Nations failed. Unfortunately, the life of the United Nations has been marked by continuing hostility and suspicion among the major powers. The spirit of unity, which successfully met the challenge of Fascist tyranny and brought the UN into being, is sadly lacking. Fear and mistrust have once again become the compelling forces of national policies, and the race for armaments is being justified on the score of regional or national security. It is an irony that the very nations which subscribed to the principle of promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples, should continue to devote a major part of their industrial and natural resources towards building up their military strength and that of their allies, rather than for helping less fortunate nations in quest of a fuller life. America's soldier-President, General Eisenhower gave expression to this tragic state of affairs in a speech in Washington in 1953, when he said :

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labour, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

This is, indeed, a gloomy picture, and there is much in the present world situation to dismay even the most determined optimist.

The world-wide scepticism about the future of the United Nations which prevails today is primarily due to the failure of the world organisation to solve the major political problems of the post-war period. This has led to a great deal of ignorance and unconcern with the healing role of the UN. It is true that the United Nations is primarily intended to serve as an instrument for maintaining peace and security, but this is not its only or even its most important function. The United Nations is equally concerned with eliminating the fundamental causes of war by creating conditions for the peaceful co-existence of all peoples within the comity of nations.

It was during the Second World War that thinking men began to realise that of all the causes of war, per-

haps the most fundamental are the economic causes. They realised that poverty like peace is indivisible. The architects of the UN were fully conscious of the fact that until the various countries in the world got on their feet and became self-supporting there could be no political or economic stability in the world and no lasting peace or prosperity for the world. This was pointedly brought to the attention of the first UN General Assembly in London (1946) by the British Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee, who declared:

"Without social justice and security there is no real foundation for peace, for it is among the socially disinherited and those who have nothing to lose that the gangster and the aggressor recruit their supporters."

It is in recognition of this truism that the United Nations lays emphasis on the constructive tasks of peace. The framers of the Charter realised that economic and social maladjustments are often the diseases of which war is the final, tragic symptom. This realisation finds expression in the Preamble to the Charter, which declares that the peoples of the United Nations are determined "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." and "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." The Charter places the responsibility for achieving these goals squarely upon the UN by proclaiming that among the purposes of the United Nations is "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character". The Charter further defines certain basic objectives for the elimination of poverty and economic inequality in all parts of the world. These are to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of economic and social progress and development", and the solution "of international economic, social, health and related problems".

The UN's Economic and Social Council emphasised the importance of this aspect of the problem of peace in a resolution adopted by it in 1951, which said, among other things, that "The maintenance of international peace and security, the creation of conditions of economic stability and the improvement of standards of living of the world's population are permanent objectives of international economic and social cooperation among the United Nations". So, here we see for the first time, international recognition of the fact that "the war will not be over until the people of the world can again feed and clothe themselves and face the future with some degree of confidence."

As a newly-independent and developing country, seeking to create a new life for its people, India is deeply interested in the economic and social programmes of the

UN. India has undoubtedly been one of the major beneficiaries of the many schemes for development sponsored, financed and assisted by the UN and its Specialised Agencies. It has also been our privilege to participate in some of the UN programmes and to help comparatively less fortunate countries. Scores of Indian specialists and experts are working in many parts of the world, helping others to achieve what we ourselves are striving for. The advancement of the under-developed part of the world is one of the greatest challenges to contemporary civilisation. It is a challenge we have accepted, and, as far as we ourselves are concerned, we are determined to achieve our goal by our own efforts and with the cooperation and help of those who recognise that our cause is just. At the same time, we are willing to play our part in the global endeavour for a happier, healthier and richer world.

Apart from the immediate advantages that India derives from its membership of the UN family, the country's adherence is to the basic principles of the world organisation and its avowed role as an instrument for promoting world peace. To the people of this country, peace is not a matter of national policy, and, therefore, of national convenience. To us, Peace is, and always has been, the very breath of life and an article of faith. Rejection of violence and abhorrence of war have always been the very essence of Indian culture. In the Indian philosophy of life, the desire for peace is not, however, a purely negative desire, and it does not signify the mere avoidance of conflict. The non-violence which India stands for is not prompted by cowardice, and it is not, therefore, a policy of flabby non-resistance. On the contrary, it is essentially a positive desire, which has found expression in India's foreign policy since this country attained Independence; and earlier, in India's struggle for independence against British rule. It is for this reason that India has always been an ardent supporter of the UN, while, at the same time, recognising its failures and weaknesses.

The publication of this Special Number of *Yojana* is an expression of our abiding national faith in the United Nations. We hope that the many contributions it contains will not only help to dispel ignorance and misunderstanding about the role and work of the UN in the first 25 years of its life, but to sustain national support for the world organisation. A world organisation is, however, not enough. In the last analysis the peace of the world rests on the men and women of every race, of every country; and it is the common man who is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of peace and security. In their capacity to understand each other lies the stability of the United Nations, in their cooperation its strength, and in their readiness to sacrifice everything for right and justice its ultimate triumph.



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I am very glad to know that *Yojana* is bringing out a Special Number to mark the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. I also note that it will be your endeavour to cover all aspects of the United Nations activities in this publication. I wish you every success with the Special Number.

I hope it will have a very wide circulation and enable your readers to understand better the manifold aspects of the work of the United Nations and its efforts to achieve the goals of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary—peace, justice and progress.

U Thant



INDIA SPEAKS TO THE WORLD IN SONG

M.S. SUBBULAKSHMI'S MEMORABLE CONCERT

AT the invitation of UN, M. S. Subbulakshmi gave a concert of Indian classical music in the Karnataka style at the UN Headquarters in New York on October 23, 1966. The occasion was the 21st anniversary of the world organisation. More than 1,500 delegates from about a 100 countries were transported on the magic carpet of her music into a world of pure aesthetic participation. They sat in rapt silence as the sound of music reverberated round the auditorium.

Subbulakshmi's concert that day included compositions of the great Karnataka music trinity, Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syama Sastri; the royal composer Swati Tirunal; the Saint singer Purandara-dasa; the epic poet of Tamil literature Ilango; and the contemporary royal composer, Jayachamaraja. Wadiyar of Mysore. A noteworthy feature of the concert, of special interest to Western listeners, was an English hymn "Under This Uniting Roof" specially composed for the occasion by Mr Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, India's elder statesman. It was set to music in western style by the well-known pianist and conductor, Mr Handel Manuel. Subbulakshmi was accompanied on the piano and sang in English for the first time in her career. As the grand finale to the concert, Subbulakshmi sang a special composition in Sanskrit, composed by Sri San-karacharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham.



Under This Uniting Roof

*May the Lord forgive our sins,
And gather all the nations
Here under this uniting roof.*

*To give up hate and fear
And learn to understand
Here under this uniting roof.*

*They took the risks of war
And dying, wished us to take
The better risks of peace
Here under this uniting roof.*

*The good in every man
Is an atom too,
Of measureless potential.
Let us learn to find it
And explode it into lasting peace
Here under this uniting roof.*

*May the Lord forgive our sins,
Inspiring us to peace on earth
Here under this uniting roof.*

UN Has Served as the Supreme Forum to Discuss Rights and Wrongs: The Choice Is Between "One World" Or None

INDIRA GANDHI

YOJANA posed four questions to the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, whose replies appear on this page. The questions put to Mrs Gandhi were:

- * Has the UN justified its existence and is it necessary for the future of the world?
- * Has India benefited from the membership of the United Nations in the sphere of development?
- * What role should the developing countries play to further the UN objective of maintaining peace and order in the world?
- * Would it be better to channel all aid through the UN and not through bilateral agreements?

THE choice before the world is to abolish war or be annihilated by it; to be "One World" or none. It is this realisation among the leaders of nations which brought the UN into being. In turn the UN has helped to spread this realisation among millions of common people in all countries. The existence of the UN has also helped several subject countries to find freedom and nationhood. Through its moral authority it has helped mankind's fight against racial inequality. It is true that the hopes placed in the UN have not borne fruit. We all expect too much too soon. We look for short cuts as a substitute for hard and patient work.

The nations which created the United Nations are not very united and have not yet learnt to contribute a share of their power to UN. That is why the UN lacks political power. You cannot expect to get from any institution what you have not given it.

Throughout history one of the major problems of man is how to deal with power—how to sublimate it and contain it in such a way that it leads to contentment and stability. The military power of some nations has grown enormously since the end of the Second World War and during these 25 years since the UN was founded. But the most powerful nations have not always been able to get their way. In our own freedom struggle, it was the faith of our entire people in the righteousness of our cause, and the manner in which Gandhiji forged our faith into a political weapon to be used by the masses, which enabled us to defy imperialism. The first step in taming power is to demonstrate its limitations. Although the United Nations has not yet been able to prevent armed conflict, it has served a purpose by being the supreme forum where rights and wrongs are discussed and the smallest nation is given an opportunity to speak out its mind.

Some of your questions relate to India and other nations benefiting materially from the United Nations in the matter of development. It would be ideal if all the legitimate needs of the developing nations could be met through international agencies, but it would be unrealistic to rule out bilateral agreements. Our own needs are so large and varied that we must seek bilateral, regional and multilateral arrangements, and assure that there is no conflict among them. I should like to stress the importance of not seeking only to receive. We must be equally ready to share our resources and experiences with others. This is what India has been doing. Although we are still a developing country, we are one of the more advanced among the developing countries in various branches of technology and knowledge.

But the world community as a whole has an important responsibility in persuading the economically powerful nations not to manipulate international commerce in such a way that the strong have a continuous advantage over the weak. A great deal of the goods and supplies which maintain high consumption levels and the industrial and commercial power of the affluent flows to them from the poorer nations—but we do not get a reasonable return. Even the UNCTAD has not been able to do much. If disparities grow rather than diminish, the whole vision of a United World will be imperilled. There is an organic connection between political tensions and economic disparity. In the coming years, the UN must give more attention to this problem. I should like to express my appreciation of the work done by the numerous Specialised Agencies of the UN in the field of scientific, educational and cultural co-operation, in public health programmes, in agricultural research, in labour welfare and children's welfare.

MY TEN YEARS AT THE UN

The UN has moved away from being a mere reflector of US policy : It has become more international in character : It is not a club for "good boys" alone : It can function more effectively if more countries are represented in it.

V. K. KRISHNA MENON

No one has made a proper study of India's contribution to the UN, because we only go by newspaper headlines. It will take many years to understand what we did in the early years. If we are not as effective now it is because we are no longer as dynamic. Time has, perhaps, passed us by. We must send capable and hardworking people there, who can tackle the great deal of work in the UN that is done in the lobbies and corridors, in the committees, commissions, and in amending and modifying other people's resolutions to reconcile difficult positions and to harmonise divergent views. Effective work at the UN calls for study of problems, resilience, humility and patience.

My personal and first-hand knowledge of the functioning of the United Nations and India's part therein is of the ten years (1952-1962) when I was there as the permanent delegate for India. India played a significant role in the work of the UN in those years. This was not a little due to the fact that we tried not to assume the role of "leadership" but sought to assist the processes of the United Nations and its functioning through its own machinery, through discussions, and also by contributing ideas in relevant fields.

India's first main contribution at that time was on the Korean question, which had become deadlocked. I think the world recognised India's role in helping to resolve the deadlock. Ultimately, it was the "Indian Plan" that brought about the repatriation of the prisoners of war through the acceptance of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, of which India was appointed Chairman. It was a very difficult exercise, but we got through it. We had the assistance of Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries, with whom our relations were at that time wholesome and dynamic. The Latin American bloc gradually turned towards us. The United States, as a result, accepted the Indian resolution and its own was dropped. Eventually we were able to convert the Americans to our point of view, so that ultimately we got it through the UN General Assembly. At significant points we effaced ourselves, as on the membership of the operational committee. Our "self-

abrogation", if it may be so-called, was publicly recognised by Mr Henry Cabot Lodge in the Assembly.

Another occasion on which India played a notable part was in the case of the campaign for the liberation of Algeria from colonial rule. We propounded the doctrine that the sovereignty of a people resided in the people, and the French conquest of Algeria did not take away the sovereignty of the Algerian people but was only the overlay of an outside authority. It went down with the delegates better than we expected. The Indian position was that the imposition of the French rule only superimposed something and, by taking over some functions, had led to the atrophy of the Algerian personality and the creation of the colonial empire. We also highlighted the position of the colonies and brought to light the role the Arab countries were playing in liberating themselves from foreign rule. The attitude of the great powers on the Algerian question, climaxed by the walkout of the French delegation, ultimately led to a situation which might have been a bad blow to the UN. India virtually assumed the role of a mediator and enabled the French to return to the Assembly. This elicited high praise from the President of the General Assembly, Mr Maza of Chile. The Algerian demand for independence attained greater support and the French ultimately came to terms with them.

LIQUIDATION OF COLONIALISM

On the issue of Tanganyikan independence we took a definite stand. We opposed the so-called "time limit" for the transfer of power which some "property owners" demanded. We became unpopular for making the suggestion that Tanganyika should become free by built-in processes and not be tied by the calendar. We were also very active on the question of granting independence to Ghana and helped on the vexed Togo problem, which was being used by the imperialist powers, and also in the liberation of other colonial areas. We were identified with the cause of the liberation of all the colonial territories, because we felt strongly that colonialism was not consistent with the UN Charter on human dignity and liberty. The position we had taken was later adopted by the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr Khrushchev, next year, and the Soviet delegation's

resolution in 1959, based on our earlier resolution, formed the basis for the liquidation of colonialism.

DISARMAMENT

India's contribution in the UN on the disarmament question has been commendable. The UN was deadlocked on this issue on more than one occasion. Though neither India nor anyone else has succeeded in bringing about disarmament, yet she certainly succeeded in preventing the UN from going to pieces on this question. Though India was not one of the major countries, we became a very important factor in assisting the UN effort. If one studies the UN debates at that time, it would be found that we prevented deadlocks on this ticklish problem. India played an important role in the 18-nation Commission which was set up to tackle the disarmament issue. Later, mainly due to the lack of dynamism on our part, and due to the changed position in West Asia, a situation emerged in regard to the non-Proliferation Treaty whereby, if we signed it, we would be in the wrong, and if did not sign it, we would still be in the wrong. My own view is that if India had displayed the same dynamism as she did in earlier years, the US-Soviet resolution, as it is formulated today, would not have come into existence. India could have used her influence, both with the United States and the Soviet Union, to produce something which we and they could have signed. This sort of thing had happened more than once in those years. The 1961 resolution on disarmament, which represents the high water-mark of agreement on the disarmament question, remains even today in suspended animation in the UN. It has not been rejected and indeed formed the basis of the Zorin-Molloy agreement, which was presented by Mr Zorin in the Assembly.

India also took up the question of the economics of disarmament, which was discussed by the Second Committee. The UN Commission on Disarmament examined this matter. The main argument against disarmament, as put forward by certain powers, was that it would create mass unemployment since a large number of people were engaged in the armaments industries. India took the position that, at least for the first ten years, there would not be any unemployment, as the machines, etc., would have to be dismantled, which would provide continued employment to armament workers. As a result of the Indian intervention, the UN appointed a high power commission, with Mr Phillip Sein as Chairman, which did considerable work.

There were other issues on which India's position was either misunderstood or was not properly appreciated. Hungary was one of these. The people have criticised us. A great many. But none had read the debates! India's position was very clear. We maintained that the UN could not intervene by entering any country against the wishes of the country concerned. Also, we were opposed to the UN taking decisions even before the Secretary-General, who had been so asked—had submitted his report on the matter, and while efforts were continuing to bring about a compromise solution.

India took a very active part in the problems of Trust Territories. During the time I was there we focussed attention on the question of nuclear bomb

tests in the Trust Territories, and opposed such tests on the ground that Trust Territories were not UN territories. We felt that by using Trust Territories as proving ground for nuclear arms testing, the Trust areas were being exterminated.

It is a wrong notion that in the UN India was against one country and in favour of the other. In fact, there was not a single occasion when India attacked the domestic policies of the United States, not even in regard to the Negro problem. We appreciated that the US itself realised that it was an evil and was trying to correct it, while the South African government practised apartheid as a matter of national policy and commended it to others. An examination of the records will show that India voted more times against the USSR than the US. We voted with the Russians mostly on matters concerning the liquidation of colonialism, on coexistence, peace, etc.

Contrary to what has been said, our relations with other delegations were good; this has been an outstanding and successful feature of our work. We were liked and respected. With African delegations particularly our relations were very close and cordial.

India made the idea of co-existence popular in the UN, and in this task we later had the help of the Yugoslav and Swedish delegations in sponsoring a resolution which was finally accepted by the Assembly. Our draft resolution on co-existence was adopted only with the modification, insisted upon by the US, that instead of calling it co-existence it was described as a resolution on "relations with neighbouring states" or something like that. We readily agreed and made the change in the draft.

The significance of India's contribution in the UN peace-keeping operations has not been fully realised. India's use of her armed forces abroad was more or less the Gandhian way, for peace and not for war. It is unique in world history. In Egypt, the Congo and Indo-China, the Indian troops that were sent, went only with the consent of the local people and to function as peace forces. When the UN Emergency Force went to Gaza, the troops carried only side arms in order to underline their role as Guardians of Peace.

BUDGET RESOURCES

Among other matters in which India was able to influence UN deliberations was on the issue of the finances of the world organisation. As an example it may be mentioned that the UN Budget for 1970 shows that as much as 29 million dollars of its income comes from fees collected at the UN. Most of it is the income from the guides services for taking visitors round the UN headquarters. India raised this issue in the Fifth Committee, which deals with Administration, and took up the position that the US Association of the United Nations, which was then given the right to run the guides services, had no right to appropriate income from this source and that it should be scrapped and the UN should run it. The Indian view was that this money should legitimately go to the United Nations. We fought for it and got it accepted, and these guides were transferred from the US Association to the United Nations itself.

Based on replies to questions posed by Yojana.

Another little known achievement of the Indian delegation is that the idea of a World Children's Day was mooted by us in the UN. But differences came up when it came to choosing a particular day for its observance and each country had its own choice.

MUCH-MALIGNED VETO

I do not agree with the view that the Veto has been the obstacle it is painted to be in the effective functioning of the UN. I am a convinced believer in the rightness of the much-maligned veto as a stabilising factor in the UN. The word 'Veto' is a newspaper phrase; it does not appear anywhere in the UN Charter. All that the Charter says is that on all questions of world security and of war and peace, there should be great power unanimity. The great powers were important and given permanent seats in the Security Council. It should be noted that the Veto was not proposed at the San Francisco Conference by the Russians, but by the Americans. It is also not correct to say that Russians alone have exercised the Veto, though, it is true, they have used it over a hundred times. On most occasions it was exercised to block the admission of six countries to the UN, and not against progress or against the interests of the underdeveloped countries.

About the role of the world public opinion in the UN, it must be understood that world opinion is not a myth, though it takes time to crystallise and become effective. It depends on what you put into it. I do not regard the UN as being limited by its institution; it is dynamic. The General Assembly represents an arena where world public opinion is expressed and recommendations made. It has no coercive powers. It itself can exercise no sanctions. Resolutions of the UN only say: "we deplore", "we recommend", "we state"; but to whom—to the world at large?

The UN is a force which attempts to lower tensions, and the world would be poorer, and much worse off, without it. It has been very useful on many occasions, as for example, in regard to West Asia. Some people like to say that it has failed! If so, it has failed in the sense that it could not prevent Israel from committing aggression, but it is now asking the parties to negotiate. At some places it has failed to be effective, but at others it is making a lasting contribution towards peace. Where it has failed or become deadlocked is where imperialism and racism had worked themselves and superimposed themselves, in fact, on the UN!

ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

Economic collaboration only under the exclusive auspices of the UN cannot be laid down. No nation will surrender its sovereign right to negotiate with anybody else. But, it is far better in many cases to have some arrangement whereby we do not cut each other's throat, where some people get more or all for some reasons and others none, and so on. Therefore, bilateral or multilateral negotiations cannot be ruled out altogether. More developed countries among the less developed ones like India should not try to grab everything. We should not come in the way of

smaller nations. The world, like the UN, consists of nation-states and effacement or hurt to dignity is not possible—if it was considered at all possible in 1919 when the League of Nations was created, or in 1945 when the UN was formed—it is certainly not possible now. The smaller the nation the more conscious it is of its personality.

This takes me to the smaller states. Some arrangement should be made to protect the interests of "Micro States", as these are called, because they cannot maintain the huge paraphernalia at the UN. I am firmly of the view that the area, population or wealth of a country cannot be the index on which to base its voting power. If population is the criterion, then China and India will walk away with everything, and if riches are the determining factor, then the US and the USSR should have everything! Therefore, the "one nation, one vote" rule is the more equitable and practicable.

The UN is not a club for the "good boys" alone. It can function more effectively if more and all countries are represented in it. Though China invaded us yet we have been the strongest advocates of China's admission to the UN because we rightly believe that the UN should reflect the world as it is now. Then there are other countries like North Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic and North Korea and others. All these countries are kept out to the loss of the UN and its strength. They should all be represented in it.

I am afraid the UN cannot make any commitment which has value, except only as a guide and a promoting force, except as something to work for. After all, moral considerations too are a moving scale. What is moral today may be immoral tomorrow. It is not practicable in the present state of the world to induce any state towards unilateral disarmament. In fact there are people in our own country who say that if China has nuclear arms, we must have them too. But one cannot expect disarmament to come by itself either.

INDIA'S VOICE

It would be wrong to say that India's voice has ceased to be effective in the UN today. Of course, it does not have the same dynamism and the same potency. This is partly because we had not been taking sufficient initiative and probably the homework we are doing is not adequate. If the non-aligned group does not have the same potency in the UN now, it is partly because the world situation has changed and only partly because of the lack of dynamism, and not any fault on our part. I hope the position will improve. The Prime Minister's recent visit to Lusaka has created positive emotional impact.

In the past India spoke for a number of other nations, but now they have come into the UN themselves, and it is no longer necessary for India to speak for them.

The entry of new nations and new peoples into the UN is a bright spot in the present-day situation. It is a mistake to think that the smaller nations cannot

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The UN has to its credit substantial and enduring achievements in the field of economic and cultural development. By pooling the resources of all Member States in its global programmes, the UN has built bridges of understanding and monuments of international cooperation.

BUILDING BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING

V.K.R.V. RAO

OUT of the devastation and horror of the Second World War the United Nations emerged as a hope for humanity. A quarter of a century has since passed and, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of this great organisation, it would be a rewarding exercise to look back in retrospect on what the United Nations has been able to achieve in all fields.

The United Nations has very important political responsibilities as the world agency to mediate between nations with a view to preventing conflict and preserving peace. But political problems cannot be isolated from socio-economic ones. The UN therefore also has equally important responsibilities in cultural, economic and social fields and deals with such problems as agriculture, decolonization, education, health, human rights, fight against racialism and particularly apartheid, and world economic development. Its achievements in the non-political sectors have been both substantial and enduring and they have facilitated the attainment of its political objectives as well.

As Minister of Education and Youth Services, I am specially concerned with the work of the UN family in education which is mainly implemented through the UNESCO, which is perhaps the most important Specialised Agency of the UN. While the UNESCO shares its mission of working for peace and security with other organisations of the United Nations system, the originality of the UNESCO's contribution to peace and security lies in its methods. It is through education, science and culture that the UNESCO has been called upon to promote international understanding and to preserve world peace. From this point of view, it has developed a number of programmes which can be grouped under three main heads.

UNESCO strives to promote intellectual and cultural co-operation in the fields of education, science, culture and communication. Activities in this field include collaboration with international non-governmental organisations working in these fields, organisation of conferences and meetings of experts, coordination of international efforts in the sciences and in humanities, standardisation of documentation procedures, clearing house services and issue of publications,

including source books for reference work, and promotion of international agreements to provide free circulation of materials and information in various fields.

The developing countries receive operational assistance for their projects in the fields of education, science and mass communication. These projects now form the core of the UNESCO's programme. Apart from earmarking part of its regular budget (funds raised directly by the UNESCO from the member countries), the Organisation functions as the Executive agency for the UN Development Programme, (Special Fund and Technical Assistance sectors) in the field of education, science, technology and mass communication.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The UNESCO programmes for promotion of peace include research on problems of peace, racial discrimination and prejudices. The UNESCO helped to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948 and has been assiduous in seeking its implementation. The UNESCO project on Education for International Understanding, which is now being implemented in most Member-States, seeks to help young children to develop a spirit of international understanding and cooperation and to assist pupils in acquiring a better knowledge of international problems through experimental activities dealing with the study of foreign countries and of human rights.

The major achievement of the United Nations in the field of educational development has resulted from its efforts to transfer skills to the developing countries and to enable them to identify and plan the development of their own resources. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which is the operative agency in this sphere, is the world's largest source of multilateral aid to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Assistance to developing countries is given in the shape of equipment, which is not locally available, services of foreign experts and fellowships for training abroad. In the field of education, science and technology, we have received aid under the UNDP Programme for strengthening

our advanced centres of research in the basic sciences in universities, re-orientation of science teaching in schools, developing institutions of engineering and technology and technological research, and for the functional programme for the eradication of illiteracy.

I would also like to make a special reference to the work of the UN for adult literacy. Envisaging illiteracy as a curse afflicting humanity, the General Assembly of the UN passed a resolution in December 1961 on international co-operation for eradication of illiteracy. Following the submission of a report by the UNESCO on this problem, the General Assembly adopted another resolution in December 1963 deciding to take up a World Campaign for Literacy as a major activity of the first Development Decade. The UNESCO, as the executant of the UN's decision, has not been able to launch any worldwide campaign for eradication of illiteracy within the first Development Decade, due to lack of resources. It is concentrating on selected projects in Member-States in situations where motivation for literacy is strongest and where opportunities exist for using education to raise the level of living and accelerate development. These programmes are based on the functional approach to literacy.

EDUCATION YEAR

The General Assembly of the United Nations has declared 1970, the first year of the second Development Decade, as the International Education Year. The decision has been welcomed by all countries of the world, partly because it promises sustained and accelerated efforts on the part of the UN family for the development of education and partly because it affords all member countries an opportunity to take stock of the situation and to intensify the national efforts to improve education. The responsibility to guide the programmes for the year at the International level has been placed upon the UNESCO; and all Member-States have been requested to prepare and implement their own national programmes for the purpose which should involve an evaluation of past achievements, an assessment of present problems and an intensification of nation-wide efforts for the expansion and improvement of their educational systems.

The UN and the UNESCO are anxious that the International Education Year should not be an isolated event, a celebration without a sequel but rather an opportunity for evaluating what we have achieved in the past and still more as a starting point for the future. It will provide an opportunity to assess the impact of education and training as factors in the process of economic and social development. Above all, it will permit an analysis of the causes of the current world crisis in education, a crisis which affects India as much as any other country, and could possibly suggest ways and means to surmount this crisis.

No one claims that the UN has been able to solve the major problems in education which face the world society at present: they are too gigantic and complex for the resources currently available to

the UN family. But it is equally true that the UN in general and the UNESCO in particular have been able to arouse the world conscience against the wide gap in educational development between the advanced and other nations and to the urgent need of reforming and strengthening the educational systems of the developing nations. They have also been instrumental in providing a fair measure of technical and financial assistance from the advanced countries to the developing ones and in helping the developing countries to make more intensive and better planned efforts at educational reconstruction. The first steps in reducing imbalances in educational development in the world system have thus been taken and one hopes that, with increasing assistance from the advanced nations, and more intensive efforts on the part of the developing nations themselves, the problem will soon become capable of an early and satisfactory solution.

The wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of men and constitute a sacred duty which all nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern.

—Declaration of the UNESCO

Peace will never come until the great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events must force that belief on the great Powers. I have an implicit faith, a faith that today burns brighter than ever, that mankind can only be saved through non-violence.

—Mahatma Gandhi

You can begin the exciting task of building a new world in the awareness that yours is a unique generation. Never before have so many young people, from all over the world across all boundaries of establishment and tradition, felt themselves so intensely linked to each other in common hopes, ideals and worries. From since the founding of the United Nations twenty-five years ago, you are the world's first truly global generation.

—U Thant in his address to World Youth Assembly, 1970

THE FIRST WOMAN PRESIDENT LOOKS BACK

The UN is a gigantic mirror in which the face of humanity is reflected. In the early days this face was clean and shining with dedicated purpose. We were proud of the image. We now see an ugly reflection—dark with passion and hate. It is not the mirror that is at fault.

THE MIRROR THAT REFLECTS A BROKEN IMAGE

VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

FOR those who have been associated with the United Nations from the time it was born, its 25th birthday is no cause for celebration. At best, we can derive some satisfaction from the fact that in spite of shortcomings and failures, it still remains an indispensable part of the machinery of international relations. We have produced nothing better. Those, who believe in the UN in spite of everything, are in the unenviable position of finding excuses for what it has not been able to achieve. However, organisations, like individuals, are always judged by their failures and so we are apt to forget that the UN has many achievements to its credit. Since these are the result of quiet and consistent work through its Specialised Agencies and therefore not considered newsworthy, the world remains in ignorance of much that is happening towards the fulfilment of the Charter's pledge. We look for drama and excitement when we think of success, completely forgetting that the UN has no magic powers and that its strength is the strength of its member-States and no more.

I think of the UN as a gigantic mirror in which the face of humanity is reflected. In the early days this face was clean and shining with a dedicated purpose. We were proud of the image. We now see an ugly reflection—dark with passion and hate. It is not the mirror that is at fault.

I write with a heavy heart because I belong to the overwhelming number who saw in the UN the dawn of a new era. I dreamt of the great contribution India would make in reshaping the new world that was being born. My mind and thoughts were dedicated to the brotherhood of man and a world in which war would have been outlawed. It was a time of idealism; it was a time of dedication to great causes; it was a time when, filled with revulsion against the agony of war, men had determined to save succeeding generations from this scourge, and ruler-nations seemed willing to give up

some of their sovereignty. I can still recall the thrill that went round the world when the words "We, the peoples of the United Nations....." were first spoken. The cold war had not begun and there were few who knew that soon human life would be placed in jeopardy by the misapplication of the fruits of human genius.

Eight years later I had the honour of being elected President of the General Assembly. Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, on behalf of the Assembly, presented me with a gavel on which the opening words of the Charter had been inscribed. I was not ashamed to let people see the tears in my eyes for the magic of those words still held me, still held the world too, to some extent. The decline, however, was beginning. The flowing words spoken at San Francisco and repeated each year for some time gave place to more guarded utterances by the tenth anniversary, and last year the prevailing word was expressed by U Thant when he warned: "The UN has ten years to become effective or disappear." Why has the UN not come up to expectations? Perhaps the mistake was in "building an international structure of peace on grandiose and shadowy hopes instead of on the realities of the possible." This is Lester Pearson's view and there is obviously some truth in it, but in 1945, it should be remembered, the highest ideals were within reach and no dream was impossible. What has happened then to create disillusion where hope and optimism existed?

HUMAN SURVIVAL

This question was among those discussed at a meeting called on a non-official level by the Secretary-General U Thant last May. It was called the Conference on Human Survival. U Thant opened the Conference with the following words: "From time to time over the past five years, various Ambassadors at the United Nations and friends of the United Nations have suggested to me the need for additional measures to strengthen the understanding of peoples conceiving the central role of the UN in meeting increasingly complex world problems. More particularly has it been stated that an attempt be made to foster a sense of participation by the peoples of the world in the activities of the UN in helping to make our planet safe and fit for man."

The Conference consisted of a number of distinguished men and women, specialists in their own fields

from all walks of life and all devoted to the furtherance of the principles and purposes of the UN Charter and in making them effective. What emerged from the Conference is relevant to the question we are all asking ourselves today. I give below a summary of our discussion and decisions.

The United Nations has represented the world's best hope for peace since 1945. But the UN has often been secondary or subordinate to the foreign policies of many of the individual member-nations. The UN has been confined in its development to the willingness of national governments to have it develop workable methods of keeping the peace. The main energies of many national governments, however, are being diverted into weapons systems and into competitive struggles in the world arena. The national interest and the human interest are now in conflict.

The future of human existence is too important to be left to the voluntary undertakings of nations. The essential role of the UN during the years ahead is to provide effective representation for mankind in those matters which are predominantly and incontestably worldwide in scope and nature.

CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

The major requirements are : first, the determination of nations to submerge their differences for the common good and commit themselves to a joint search for solutions to global problems; and, second, their determination to improve and accept the primacy and authority of the UN in this task.

The UN has frequently been used as convenient and in time of need. The inadequacies so often ascribed to the UN in meeting the global challenge are fundamentally the inadequacies of national commitment. A simple allegiance to the nation is no longer enough to meet the great challenge before mankind.

The growing violence between and within nations represents the failure of nations and national leadership to fulfil their responsibilities and live up to their protestations. Youth has rejected present leadership because we have rejected the values we proclaim. That faith can only be restored if national leaders demonstrate their primary concern with the needs of the world community.

Many of the subjects discussed and agreed upon are, of course, easier to discuss than to implement. I am fully aware that there are many complex, and inter-related causes for tension and conflict in the world—high among them being social, political and economic injustice. The arms race, for instance, originally a product of some of these causes, has become in itself a self-generating source of tension and danger. The urgency of the present demands that we recognise the dangers, shed false notions of prestige and act together for our common good. If the human race is to survive, there must be a change in outlook in all of us as individuals. The message of the Conference was, in effect, an urgent call for each man and woman individually to become a member of the human race so that jointly, as members



India has the proud distinction of giving the UN its first woman President, Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in the chair, after being elected to the highest office of the UN at the eighth regular session of the General Assembly in 1953.

of the family of man and the family of nations, we can travel the difficult path to peace and security. The failures of the UN are our failures and the best birthday gift we can offer this world organisation is our pledge to strengthen and support it and make it into the effective instrument its founders intended it to be.

Man does not live by politics alone, nor, indeed, wholly by economics. And so UNESCO came into being to represent something that was vital to human existence and progress. Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community, UNESCO tried to represent the finer and deeper sides of human life and indeed might be said to represent the conscience of the world community.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

UN HAS TO WORK IN CHANGED CONDITIONS CEMENTING FORCE IN A DIVIDED WORLD

The United Nations Charter, drafted 25 years ago, reflects the conditions prevailing at a different point of time. In the present context, it has ceased to be an effective instrument for realising the objectives of the world body, because the concepts of the Charter have fallen apart.

B.R. SEN

ADDRESSING the UN Association of the USA the other day, Secretary-General U Thant said that the UN could have done infinitely better if the Big Powers had given it greater support; there was no real unity among the nations behind the UN; while lip service was being paid to the poverty of the Third World, over 200 billion dollars were being wasted on an unproductive arms race. Striking the same note in his Message for Youth for the UN Day Observances 1970, he said that the 25th Anniversary was not an occasion for complacency; we must ask ourselves whether that which we built a generation ago was adequate for the immense tasks ahead.

It would be well if on this special occasion, instead of just repeating well-worn slogans and clichés, we paused to reflect why the world body had failed to produce the results, and what the member-countries could do about it.

The first thing to remember is that the world today is very different from what it was 25 years ago when the Charter was written. The Second World War had just ended. The USA and the USSR had fought side by side as allies; they came to the San Francisco Conference as United Nations. The British, French and Dutch Empires were still more or less intact; only 50 nations had assembled to sign the Charter. Asia found representation through China, Philippines, Afghanistan and India; Africa through Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. Today Africa has 37 members other than South Africa, Asia has 12. But more significant than these numbers is the fact that the United Nations Family as came to the Conference has now split into three: the Western countries, the Communist countries and what is now known as the Third World—the economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, West Asia, Africa, and South and Central America. This is the reality of the world we live in—the outlook, attitudes and values, in many respects different from those which inspired the framers of the UN Charter. It is against this back-

ground that we must reflect on the lessons of the last 25 years and the questions that they raise.

The basic aims of the UN, as inscribed in the Preamble to the Charter, are essentially two: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to promote social progress and better standards of life for all. The main instruments for achieving these objectives are, for the first, the Security Council and for the second, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) working in cooperation with the various Specialised Agencies.

SECURITY COUNCIL

It would probably be correct to say that where the UN has failed most has been in the working of the Security Council, on which lies the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. For our consolation we are often presented with a list of instances where, it is claimed, but for the intervention of the UN, wars might have broken out. Without minimising the contribution of the UN on those occasions, it would probably be correct to say that in many of these cases it was the activation of one or more of the Big Powers, who had felt their interests directly threatened, that had prevented the wars rather than the institutions of the UN itself. Korea and Cyprus are such examples.

The reason for the ineffectiveness of the Security Council has clearly been due to one factor: the provision of the Veto (Article 27.3) for the five permanent members. Can this state of affairs be remedied merely by addressing admonitions from time to time, as has been a regular practice so far? I do not regard myself to be a cynic, but I would say, hardly. A great philosopher once defined a nation as having "a soul, a spiritual principle, a common glory in the past, a common will in the present". Indeed this is what a nation should be. But do we not find in reality, specially in international relations, a callousness, a cynicism which

belies that definition of nationhood? Instead of repeating admonitions, should we not find some other ways to remedy the situation, such as attempting some suitable amendments of the UN Charter, not altogether reducing the Permanent Members to the level of non-permanent members, for that would be impossible to accomplish?

How this could be done is a matter for study. One approach could be what was done in the case of the Korean war, the General Assembly establishing it as a regular principle to take responsibility for initiating action when the Security Council is unable to act. Another could be, now that a certain equilibrium in armed strength has been established as between the two Big Powers, the USA and the USSR, to introduce a convention that a three-fourth majority in the Security Council should override a veto. At the same time, the absence of China, i.e. Mainland China, from the Security Council and as a Member of the UN, is a factor which should no longer be allowed to persist. One would wholeheartedly agree with the President of the present session of the General Assembly, who, in his opening address, has observed that it is impossible to build up a structure for world peace when one of the Big Powers dominating one part of the world is kept out of the UN merely because a majority of members do not like the Chinese brand of communism or do not trust her intentions. Surely, even from the narrow point of view of those countries, the effective way of exercising some degree of moral control over such a country would be to have her sit round the table and to enter into a dialogue with her.

SECRETARY-GENERAL

In this context, the procedure for the appointment of the Secretary-General, and the powers he is invested with, also need to be examined. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council (Article 97). This is, however no more than a fiction. In practice, the whole procedure depends on agreement between the USA and the USSR on a person as acceptable to both. The other Big Powers play only a marginal role. Thereafter, both the Security Council and the General Assembly act as rubber stamps. Is such a narrow base for the election of such a key office a healthy feature for the working of the most important world organisation? Why should not the choice be, in rotation, the responsibility of the three distinct groups of the UN members—the Western countries, the Communist countries and the Third World—rather than between the two Big Powers?

As for the powers and responsibilities of the Secretary-General (Articles 97 to 100), are these enough to make him effective? Is he merely to be the Chief Administrative Officer looking after the Secretariat, and, as for threats to international peace, to confine himself to bringing them to the notice of the Security Council, without any preventive initiatives on his own, even in emergencies? We recall here the experiences of the first and the second Secretaries-General, Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjöld, and the consequences of their initiatives. Have we no lesson to learn from that period

of the UN's history which we can apply to make the office of the Secretary-General more potent without, at the same time, involving the Big Powers in a mortal combat with the Secretary-General?

The application of the provisions relating to contribution of armed forces by member-nations for maintaining international peace (Articles 43 to 45), along with the constitution of the Military Staff Committee (Article 47), over the past 25 years also needs to be looked into in this context. Since the primary responsibility for international peace devolves on the Security Council, and since the Security Council can only function with the concurrence of the five permanent members, why have the permanent members not been called upon on any occasion in the past to provide adequate forces under the UN Command? The Korean operation was in reality a US operation, though under the umbrella of the UN General Assembly Resolution. I can of course see the reasons, but no attempt appears ever to have been made to test the principle that those who are given a privilege are also morally bound to shoulder a commensurate obligation when called upon to do so. We are right in front of a case where the principle may well be tried: the Arab-Israeli conflict.

ECOSOC AND ITS WORK

It is well known that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), except for the first few years when it was under the vigorous direction of Ramaswami Mudaliar, its first President, has proved rather a weak instrument in carrying out its Charter responsibilities. A few years ago this was sought to be remedied by certain measures, including expansion of its membership, to reflect better the accession of new members to the UN. Whether these measures have improved the working of this important body, I do not know. Having participated in its sessions for over thirteen years, two sessions as India's chief delegate and the rest as the FAO's Director-General, I can see two main causes for the weakness of the ECOSOC. The first is the quality of representatives of member-nations who are, specially from the developing countries, usually permanent civil servants without any specialised knowledge of subjects they have to deal with, and at the same time, being civil servants, constantly being changed to make room for new ones, thereby making it difficult to follow through any important matter to its logical conclusion covering several sessions. The second is the rather passive role assigned to the Secretary-General in this connection. It is generally accepted that whatever might be said about the working of the UN Secretariat itself, the Specialised Agencies—ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, known as the Big Four—have certainly established a record of bold initiative and valuable results. This has been achieved despite the criticism sometimes voiced that when the Sovereign is weak the Barons become strong, and the latter must somehow be disciplined.

The fact is that though the ECOSOC has an overall responsibility in respect of international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters, and under Article 63 is entrusted with the responsibility of defining the terms on which the Specialised Agencies

are to be brought into working relationship with the UN, so that it may be in a position to coordinate their activities, no clear procedures have yet been evolved for that purpose, except the setting up of the Administration for Coordination (ACC), with the Secretary-General as Chairman, and the Directors-General of the Specialised Agencies as members. The weakness of ACC has been that the Secretary-General, from the very beginning, has interpreted his position to be only one of *primus inter pares*, George Orwell's observation notwithstanding that all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others! The result has been a lack of purposeful coordination of the many complementary activities of the UN under the broad umbrella of the ECOSOC as originally contemplated by the framers of the Charter. The failure of the First Development Decade, so far as the part of the UN family is concerned, can be ascribed to this factor. There was no central direction, no coordination, no pooling of resources. We have now entered the Second Development Decade. It is to be hoped that the lessons of the First Decade are not being lost sight of and the UN machinery is being over-hauled to handle the Second Decade to better purpose.

All these questions, and I have mentioned only a few at random, acquire a special significance if we view them against the radical changes that have taken place in the world since the Charter was written 25 years ago: the crumbling up of empires and the emergence of new nations in Asia and Africa, who, along with others from the underdeveloped regions, now form more than two-thirds of the 126 members of the UN and, therefore, can block any amendment of the Charter, which is not in their view to their interest. But more than all this is the relationship between the two Super Powers locked in a nuclear race, keeping the whole world on a knife's edge.

One question of particular importance, which is being raised to rescue the UN, as it is said, from "obsolescence", is the need to introduce "weighted voting" to reflect more adequately power and responsibility in the world, so that its present position "as both an unwieldy and ineffective debating society and a propaganda platform" can in some measure be rectified. This raises a fundamental issue, too formidable to be easily dealt with. Article 2 provides for "the principle of sovereign equality of all its members"; Article 18:1 says that each member shall have one vote. Will the Third World with its two-thirds majority agree to surrender outright these basic rights? Perhaps nothing short of a third World War, though on the consequences of that war one can only speculate, could bring this about. Even admitting the charge that under the present system the UN has deteriorated into nothing more than a debating society, the only practical approach seems to be to try and build some conventions to be respected by all which will to some extent in some categories of subjects bring about similar results as weighted voting. An Inter-Governmental Committee, such as we devised for the World Food Programme, with equal representation of developed and developing countries, is an example. Another is the practice which has been developed in some of the Specialised Agencies to take decisions not by voting but by a general consensus among those who participate in a debate.

The world today is fast changing. What was not possible a few years ago may not be impossible today. But while we should not be afraid to raise questions about the revision of the Charter, we should also not lose sight of the goals that the Charter enshrines. For when all is said and done, the Charter does express the humanism and idealism that the two World Wars had brought out, which in many respects must remain true for all time to come.

WORLD BANK IN INDIA

India is the largest single client of the World Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA). By the end of June 1970, the two institutions provided 2,352.52 million US dollars to India—1,087.65 million dollars in 39 Bank loans and 1,264.87 dollars in 28 IDA credit to assist development programmes. In addition, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) made 13 investment commitments involving about 42.3 million dollars in 11 private sector industries.

The World Bank group's loans to all member countries during the period totalled 17,047 million dollars—14,274.65 million dollars in 705 Bank loans and 2,773.712 million dollars in 221 IDA credits. The

IFC's total investments amounted to 421 million dollars.

World Bank assistance to India started in 1949 with a loan for the rehabilitation and development of Indian Railways. Since then, the Bank has given financial assistance for the development of agriculture, industries, transport, power, telecommunication and technical skill.

In agriculture, loans amounting to about 174.2 million dollars were utilised for irrigation projects in Uttar Pradesh, the Salandi in Orissa, the Sone in Bihar, Purna in Maharashtra, the Shetrunji in Gujarat, and for farm mechanisation projects in Gujarat and the Punjab and for the production of seeds of high-yielding varieties in the Tarai area in Uttar Pradesh.

Industrial programmes accounted for nearly 1194 million dollars of Bank aid. This includes assistance to private industries producing iron and steel and coal, and financial help given to medium-scale industries through the Industrial Credit

and Investment Corporation of India. Special loans were provided for industrial imports to facilitate production in selected capital goods industries.

Transport development projects which received 630.3 million dollars from the Bank and the IDA, covered programmes for expansion of railways and the ports of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, building of highways and buying of three long-range passenger jets for Air India.

Electric power development projects received 254.47 million dollars. This was for the expansion of transmission facilities and for increasing generating capacity in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Eastern India. Another loan of 130 million dollars was made available for the expansion of the telecommunications network.

The World Bank also facilitated the coordination of the flow of assistance to India from different countries through the "Aid India Consortium".

The Taker Is Also A Giver

P. S. LOKANATHAN

THERE has been a growing dissatisfaction with the assistance, technical and financial, provided by developed countries, partly because the assistance was tied to particular projects, partly because of the feeling that much of it was politically motivated, and also because sometimes the quality and quantum of assistance was inadequate. But so far as the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies like FAO, ILO, IMF and World Bank are concerned, their assistance has been free from the imputation of political bias. Therefore there has been a general demand from the developing countries that assistance should come more and more not through bilateral channel but through multilateral channels, represented by the UN and its Specialised Agencies. Unfortunately the amount of assistance which the UN and the Specialised Agencies can render to the developing countries is limited, and for several years to come it may not be possible to avoid dependence on the developed countries. Even the UN assistance depends largely upon the attitudes and policies of the developed countries. In this brief review, I shall content myself with indicating the impact of one of the subordinate regional organisations of the UN, namely the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).

The ECAFE was set up in 1947 to promote regional economic cooperation among the Asian countries and to raise the level of their living standards. It is broadly true that in spite of the high hopes entertained by the Asian nations when the ECAFE was set up, its achievements, especially in its first ten years, were very much below expectations. This was due to both regional and international factors. Regionally, the Asian countries are far from homogeneous in their political, social or economic life and activities. That they are all under-developed was the only major connecting bond; everything else was dissimilar. And above all, they did not seek with determination the areas of common interest and of helpful mutual cooperation. Besides, the attitude of the UN and several European countries to the ECAFE and to other regional organisations was cold. It took several years for the UN to recog-

nise the importance and significance of regional economic cooperation.

A major cause for slow progress in regional cooperation was that the developing countries looked more and more to Western countries and in particular to those countries with whom in their pre-independence days they had political links. They preferred Western experts to those from the region, howsoever, well-qualified the latter might be. In the early years, there was justification for this preference; but when trained Asian personnel were available, the bias against them affected regional cooperation.

Another factor which hampered economic cooperation was the spirit of nationalism, which was so predominant in the countries that they were not prepared to make the slightest sacrifice to attain common goals. Even the simple proposal made at one of the ECAFE annual meetings that the Asian countries should mutually exchange information regarding their economic and social plans with a view to ensuring as much of coordination as possible, was not accepted with acclamation. There were obviously difficult economic factors. For example, many countries felt that their problem was not one of seeking integration of economies with those of other countries but rather of developing their own respective economies rapidly.

Humanity has now reached the cross-roads of human history, when both the developed and developing countries have to make a choice; to plan together for their mutual benefit, or to lead humanity to an unplanned society and a chaotic future.

—U Thant

Nevertheless, there should have been little difficulty in at least trying to identify the areas where economic cooperation and coordination could have been most beneficial to all the countries of the region. Several commodities produced in Asia are also consumed in Asia. There are other commodities which are produced within Asia and marketed abroad. Both these offered vast scope for cooperation. In the case of the former, it would have been possible for the supplying and the receiving countries to get together and make long term trade agreements to mutual benefit. Rice was a classic example. In regard to the second, commodities like coconut, tea, jute and rubber can have common and joint marketing arrangements. It is only during the last five years that arrangements are being made for common production and marketing policies. But they are still in a preliminary stage.

An inherent difficulty in economic cooperation was that the economies of most of these countries, with the exception of Japan and to some extent India, were competitive, and not complementary. Lack of foreign exchange was also a severe handicap to mutually beneficial trade and there were no payment arrangements by which the debits and credits of each country within the region could be set off. It is only now that an attempt is being made to establish something like a Payment Union.

The proposal to give mutual preferences to commodities of the region has also not found wide acceptance. This is understandable to some extent, because every country was trying to develop its own manufactures, and a preferential system was perhaps rather premature at this stage. The result of all these adverse circumstances was that, instead of the countries cooperating to find more extensive markets and getting better prices for their products, they vied with one another only to discover that they got lower prices for their products.

In spite of all these handicaps and difficulties, economic cooperation among Asian countries has been growing. There are several instances of such cooperation in recent years. The development of the Mekong River Project, in which all the riparian countries—Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand and Laos—are participating; the international highway scheme which seeks to link up all the Asian countries; the training institutions for the Asians; all these have gone a long way in fostering economic cooperation and creating better understanding among these countries. Within limits, the countries are now attempting to help each other. The old notion to divide countries into donor and receiver categories is no longer valid. Every country now can and does provide technical and financial assistance to other countries in the region, to the extent of its capacity. Japan of course is a case by itself. But even debtor countries like India are able to give assistance. India is providing capital assistance to several countries and through the setting up of joint ventures is able to provide financial assistance. Thus India is both a receiver and a giver; she gives financial and technical assistance to some Asian countries and in turn receives assistance from Japan and some Western countries.

To assess the economic impact of the UN and its Specialised Agencies on the economic development of the Asian countries, one could say that they have contributed significantly to the development of these developing countries. Without the large assistance in the form of technical personnel and capital aid and in the fields of education and health services, the developing countries could not have reached their present state of development. I am excluding the rich contribution which the World Bank has been making by way of capital aid.

Of late there is a feeling of dissatisfaction against foreign aid including UN aid. India, for example, has during the last six or seven years set before herself the goal of self-reliance. Self-reliance is a laudable goal; but there is the danger that in our anxiety to rid ourselves of dependence, we might adopt policies which

would adversely affect the rate of growth of the economy. It should clearly be recognised that there is nothing inherently wrong in securing foreign aid. In fact even the most developed countries do borrow from abroad and allow a great deal of foreign investment to come in. If there is criticism in India against continued foreign aid, it is because the aid has not been properly utilised and it has been asked for purposes for which foreign aid was not really essential. In fact, a great deal of development aid has come without strings, political or otherwise. It is true that during the Pakistani aggression, all aid was stopped; but that was an exceptional and unprecedented situation. The UN aid, however, did continue, though it rather slowed down.

Thanks largely to the UN, the assistance to the developing countries has come to be widely accepted as part of national and international policies. Surely it is possible to devise methods of aid programmes without any feeling of inferiority or superiority. If foreign aid is utilised for proper and productive purposes, its contribution to the growth of the economy cannot be underrated. It is true that the bulk of the resources for India's economic development has been provided by herself; yet the 20 to 25 per cent which came from the UN and other donor countries certainly played a strategic role and went a long way towards the more rapid economic development of India. This is so with other developing countries too.

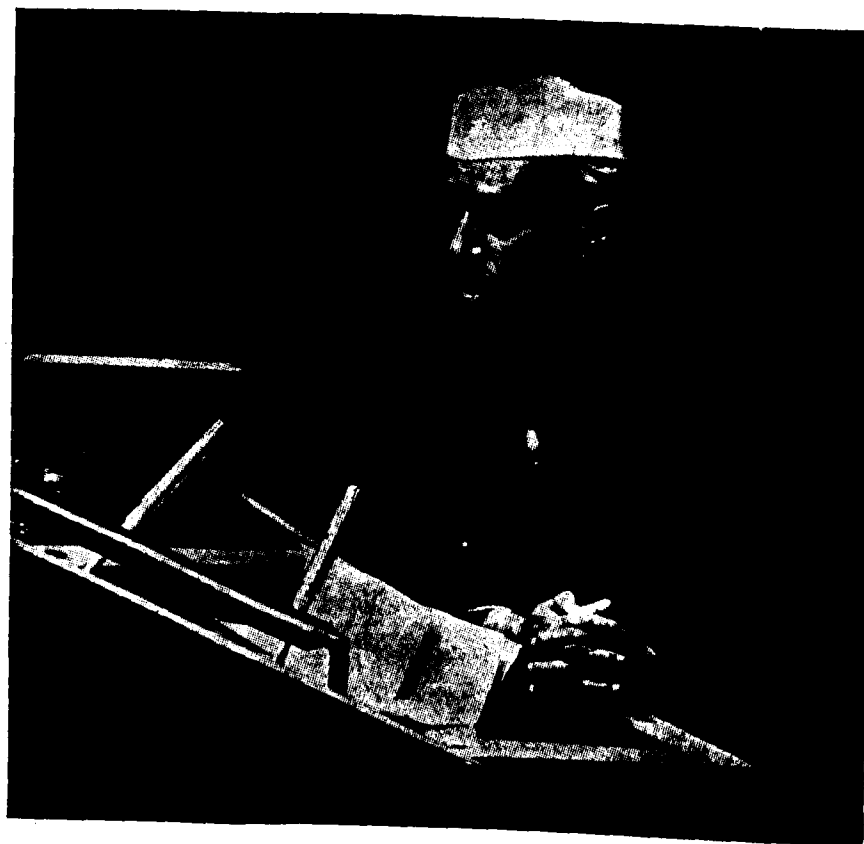
V. K. KRISHNA MENON from Page 18

make significant contributions. In the ten years I was at the United Nations, the UN moved away more and more from the position of being merely a reflector of American policy, to be more international in character.

I do not at all subscribe to the view that the UN has failed. It may be true in part or in some parts, but not as a whole. It is unscientific to believe that there are any final solutions to any problem. When you solve something, something else comes up. That only reflects movement—progress. It is always possible to have a more perfect Charter. But the words of the Charter do not really matter. It is the people, it is the time. Even the most perfect Charter would be open to defects. It is, however, dangerous to meddle with the Charter in the present state of the world. I personally do not think that the Charter requires a total overhaul or anything of that kind. The people who go to the UN as representatives of their respective countries have to contribute to its success, until someday all of us come together and learn to live together.



Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the UN General Assembly on a number of occasions. Speaking for resurgent Asia, he was heard with respect by the assembly of world leaders. It was the voice of reason and compassion, a plea for justice and fairplay, which found an answering echo in every heart. On the occasion of the silver jubilee of the UN, Yojana recalls some of Nehru's thoughts, spoken from the rostrum of the General Assembly, which continues to have relevance in the world today. Excerpts from three of his addresses to the UN General Assembly are given below :



Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the plenary session of the UN General Assembly in November 1961

UN IS THE ONLY HOPE OF FINDING A WAY FOR PEACEFUL COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS

SPECIAL SESSION, PARIS
November 3, 1948

....This Assembly took shape after two mighty wars and as a consequence of those wars. What has been the lesson of those wars? Surely the lesson of those wars has been that out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. The lesson of history, the long course of history, and more especially the lesson of the last two great wars which have devastated humanity, has been that out of hatred and violence only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence, and not the most brilliant debate will get you out of it, unless you look some other way and find some other

means. It is obvious that if you continue in this cycle and have wars which this Assembly was especially meant to avoid and prevent, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world, but non-achievement by any individual Power or group of its objective.

How, then, are we to proceed? It may be that it is difficult to get this hatred and prejudice and fear out of our minds. Nevertheless, unless we try to proceed in this way, to cast out this fear, we shall never succeed. Of that I am quite convinced

....there are large regions of the world which have suffered from....racial inequality. We also

feel that there is no part of the world where it can be tolerated in the future, except perhaps because of superior force. It is obviously sowing the seeds of conflict if racial equality is not approved, and a menace to world peace and is in conflict with the principles of the United Nations Charter.....

....It is a strange thing, when the world lacks so many things, food and other necessities in many parts of the world and people are dying from hunger that the attention of this Assembly of Nations is concentrated only on a number of political problems. There are economic problems also. I wonder if it would be possible for this Assembly to take a holiday for a while from some of the acute

political problems which face it, and allow men's minds to settle down and look at the vital and urgent economic problems, and look at places in the world where food is lacking.

I feel that today the world is so tied up in fears, apprehensions, some of them justified no doubt, but where a person feels fear, hard consequences and evil consequences follow. Fear is not a good companion. It is surprising to see that this sense of fear is pervading great countries—fear, and grave fear of war, and fear of many things....I think that it is admitted, or it will be admitted, that no aggression of any kind can be tolerated, because the idea of aggression must upset the balance and lead to conflict. Aggression of every type must be resisted....

....If we.... discuss in peace the psychology of fear, if we realise the consequences of what is happening, it is possible that this atmosphere of fear may be dissipated. Why should there be this fear of war?The United Nations are here to prevent any fear or hurt, but at the same time let us banish all thoughts of an aggressive attitude whether by word or deed.

ANNUAL SESSION, NEW YORK
October 3, 1960

....I think we can definitely say that the United Nations has amply justified its existence and repeatedly prevented the recurrent crises from developing into war. It has played a great role, and it is a little difficult now to think of this troubled world without the UN. If it had defects, they lay in the world situation itself which inevitably it mirrored. If there had been no United Nations today, our first task would be to create something of that kind. I should like, therefore, to pay my tribute to the work of the United Nations as a whole, even though I might criticise some aspects of it from time to time....

We live in a split world which is constantly coming up against the basic assumptions of the United Nations. We have to bear with

this and try to move even more forward to the conception of full cooperation between nations. That cooperation does not and must not mean any domination of one country by another, any coercion or compulsions forcing a country to line up with another country. Each country has something to give and something to take from others.

I do believe that the vast majority of the people in every country want us to labour for peace and to succeed. Whether we are big or small, we have to face big issues vital to the future of humanity. Everything else is of lesser importance than this major question. I am absolutely convinced that we shall never settle this question by war or by a mental approach which envisages war and prepares for it....

ANNUAL SESSION, NEW YORK
November 10, 1961

....The world is facing... problems .. of survival, of war and peace. The choice today before the world is a choice which has never been posed before. It is a choice of self-extinction or survival. Many people think and talk about escaping from the disaster of a nuclear war by burrowing underground and living like rats in a hole. It is surely a strange commentary on our times that we should be driven to that conclusion instead of directing all our energies and all our strength to the prevention of that catastrophe....

....I am convinced that the modern world cannot continue for long without full disarmament. It is perhaps true ultimately that, the material advance which has taken place in the world and which is magnificent has gone far ahead of the development of the human mind. A mind which lags behind, and thinks in terms of how nations functioned and wars occurred a hundred or two hundred years ago, does not fit in with the modern age. Emotionally we do not fully understand the possibility of a nuclear war. Otherwise it seems to me impossible that there should be these continuing deadlocks and impasses, for under modern conditions war must be ruled out or human civilisa-

tion has to submit to the ending of all that it has laboured for thousands of years to build....

....We live in a world of conflicts and yet the world goes on undoubtedly because of the cooperation of nations and individuals. The essential principle about the world is cooperation, and there is today a vast amount of cooperation even between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields. Little is known or said about this cooperation that is going on but a great deal is said about every point of conflicts, and therefore the world is full of the idea that we live on the verge of disaster. It would perhaps be a truer picture if the cooperating elements in the world were put forward and we were made to think that the world depended on cooperation and not on conflict....

....It has been suggested that perhaps this Assembly might resolve to call upon all countries of the world to devote a year to the furtherance of cooperative activities in political, cultural and the many other fields—not to mere speeches about peace. That perhaps will direct some of our energy and some of our thinking to this idea of cooperation which will create an atmosphere helpful for solving the problems but it will lessen this distrust and conflict which affect the world....

....The great men of the world have been those who have fought hatred and violence and not those who have encouraged it. We have arrived at the stage when even in some worth-while cause hatred and violence have to be checked. This requires a new way of thinking, a new development of humanity. Possibly we are going through that process and this very crisis will wake up the mind of man and direct it to this new way of thinking. What shall it profit the world if it conquers the material ills and then commits suicide because it has not controlled its own mind? Therefore, we have to undertake the vast task of encouraging this new thinking, this new approach of cooperation, not on a mere ideological basis but on a practical basis of sheer survival.

UNESCO LEADS THE WAY

EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH

ANNIVERSARIES provide a convenient occasion for reflection and pledges to action: reflection about what has been accomplished and what remains to be done, about mistakes which have been made and about how things could be improved in the future. Thus in 1966, when the UNESCO was 20 years old, we in the Secretariat and the governments of our member-States as well, began a reflection about how and why the UNESCO's mandate to contribute to peace has not been successfully carried out. This reflection, re-examination and re-evaluation, is still continuing and will result, I believe, in a profound reorientation, in new pledges, new structures, and new forms of action. On the occasion of our 25th anniversary and in connection with the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade in 1970, we will be taking a very close look at the UNESCO's actions to contribute to economic and social development and make decisions as to our role as educators in the whole matter of individual, national and international progress and social change.

There are many different ways of looking at educators and education, and education means different things to different people. What do I mean here by the educational task of the UNESCO? In the UNESCO, we are particularly concerned with three facets of education: education as a human right, education as the motor of social and economic development, and education as an instrument for international understanding and peace. These three themes recur constantly throughout the UNESCO's education programme like the *leitmotifs* in the score of a Wagnerian music drama. All of our educational activities are inspired by one or more of these concepts.

Ahead of all else comes the idea of education as a human right, for, man, the individual human being, is the starting point and the end of all of the UNESCO's



Twenty UNESCO experts are helping in teaching and organisational work at the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay. A laboratory assistant explains the operation of some electrical equipment to students.

work. "Everyone has the right to education," proclaims Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; but how far we are from the realisation of this bright ideal! Not even in the most advanced countries has the right to education become a reality for all categories of the population, and in many parts of the world education remains a privilege enjoyed by only a tiny minority. When I talk of education as the right of every child in every country, my mind reverts to the 70 per cent of undernourished mothers in rural Asia, Africa and Latin America whose babies are born into a world of malnutrition and whose brain, therefore, suffers such permanent damage during the five pre-school years that they cannot benefit from schooling, even if it exists.

The UNESCO, perhaps more than any other agency of the United Nations system, must rely upon public understanding of and support for its aims and objectives. I am all the more appreciative, therefore, of the initiative of *Yojana* to inform its readers about the life of the United Nations. —Malcolm S. Adiseshiah

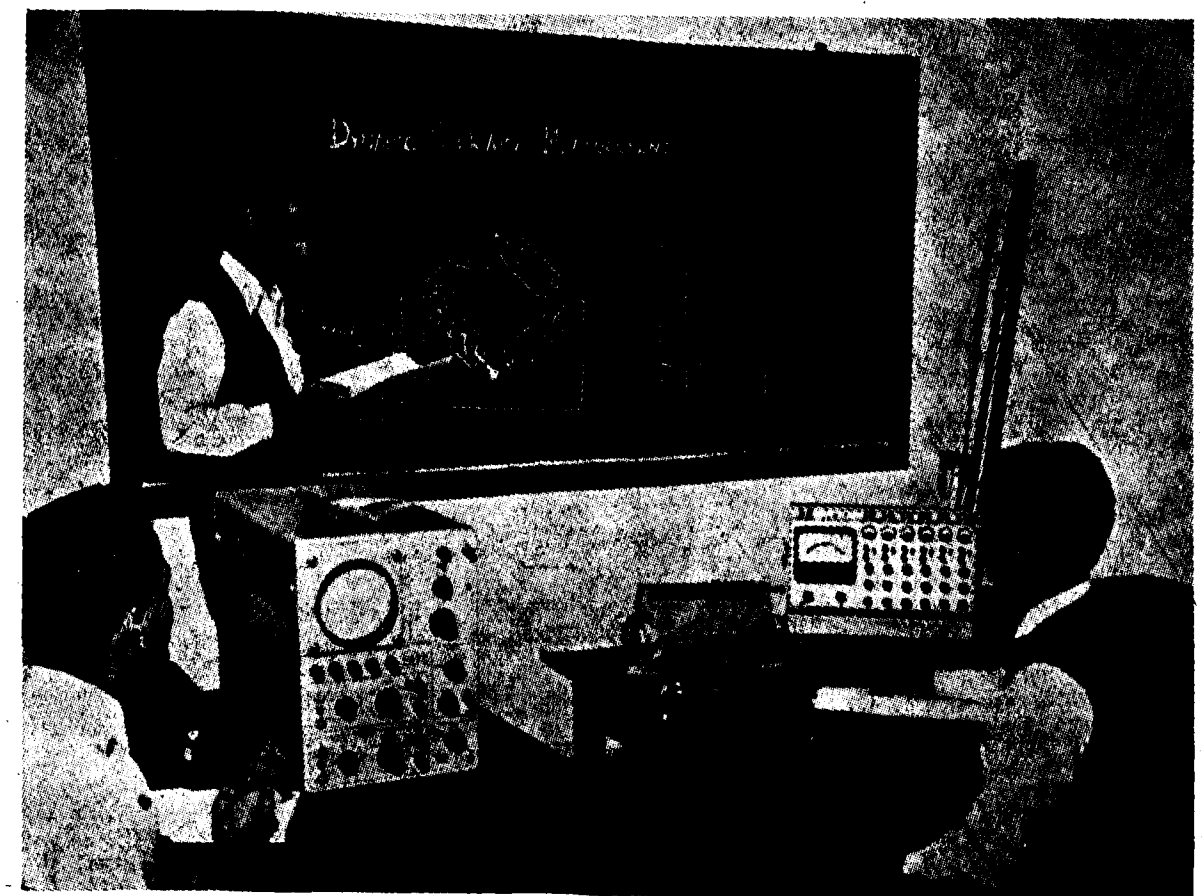
But education does not exist. It is a lack of educational resources, teachers, school buildings and books, which prevents people from enjoying their right to education. Thus, when the UNESCO helps governments expand and improve their educational systems as a result of which enrolments have trebled in the past decade and a half, when it aids in school construction as when the World Bank and bilateral sources financed half a billion dollars worth of school buildings in the last two years, or in teacher training as when the UNESCO helped the establishment of twentyfive teacher-training colleges in thirty African countries and twelve Asian and Latin American countries in the last decade where none existed, it is working for the right to education. When it assists in the establishment of adult literacy programmes with the 200 million illiterates who have been made literate in the sixties, it is helping people who have been denied the right to education from childhood.

Sometimes, however, people are denied an equal opportunity for education because of discrimination. The discrimination may be based on race, religion or sex. It may be open, as when apartheid is practised, it may be unconscious as when school fees and structures exclude the poor. To help combat this scourge of discrimination, the UNESCO adopted in 1960 a Convention against Discrimination in Education.

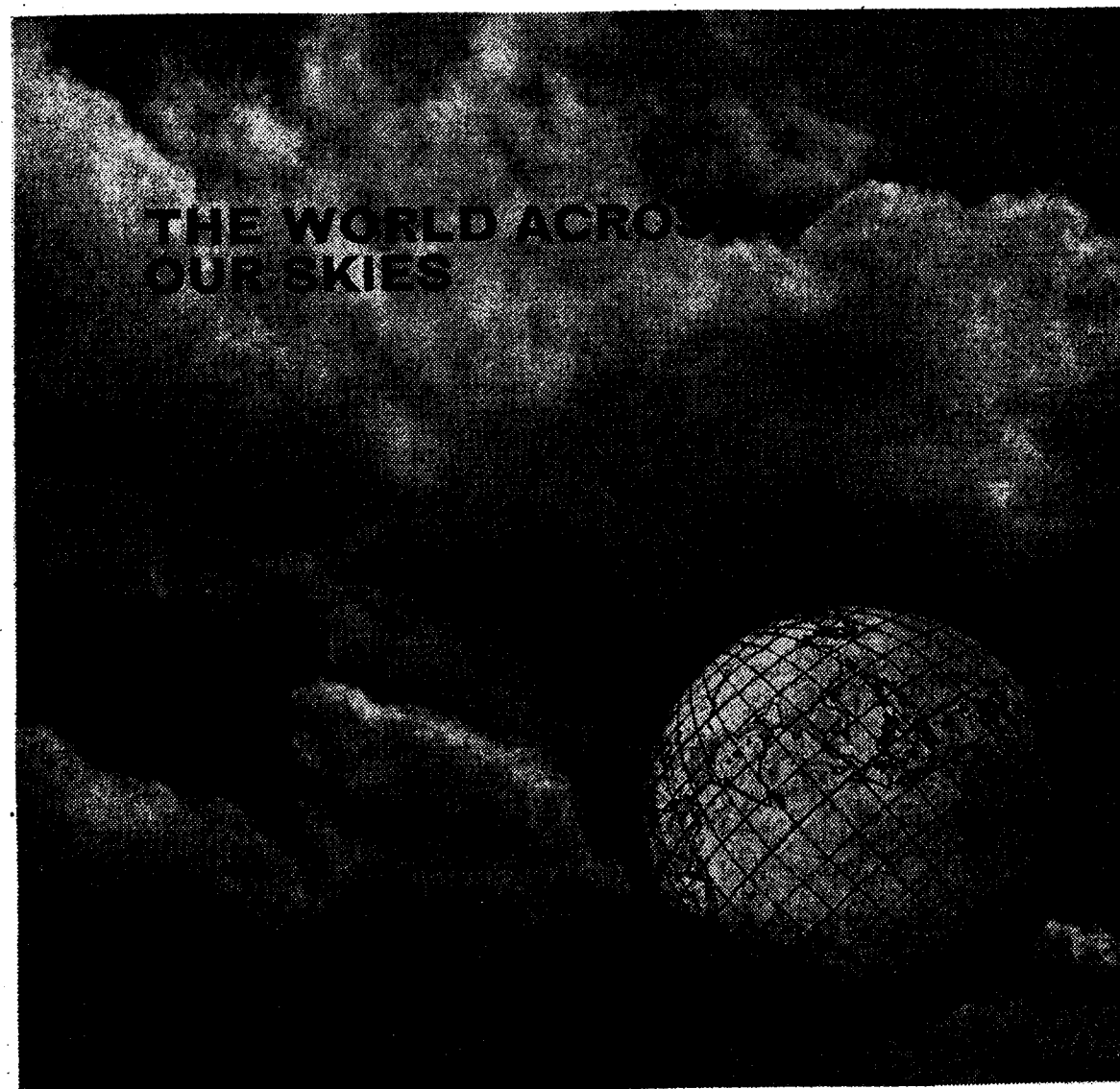
Some 54 nations have now accepted and ratified this Convention, while many others, whose federal systems of government prevent formal adherence to it, use it as a yardstick for their anti-discrimination performance in education.

The second aspect of education which concerns us at the UNESCO is education as the motor force in economic and social development. We know from history whether it be that of the United States or the Soviet Union, that of India or England, Nigeria or Argentina, that no education means no development; little education means little development: more education means more development; education and development share parental features, one is the progeny and the other offspring. The picture here is as dramatic and grim as in the case of education as the right of man.

Two-thirds of the world has an annual income of 100 US dollars per head and development means that this must be quickly raised to 200, 500, 1,000 dollars, until they are in a world which has 3,000 US dollars a year. But the task is not only urgent. It is heart-breaking. Because during the last ten years the development gap and the education gap between the rich and the poor countries have been growing wider daily. What should cause concern is not poverty as such, or lack of education, but the growing inequality which generates a fact of inequity and a sense of injustice.



The Central Mechanical Engineering and Research Institute at Durgapur is a UNDP Project, which is being implemented by UNESCO. Photograph shows an instructor and students working with an oscilloscope for strain measurements.



AND VALUABLE FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR INDIA

Very few Indian Airlines' services are international.

Yet, in the last ten years, India's domestic airline has earned **Rs. 40 crores** by flying foreign tourists on its extensive network—across Indian Skies and all in **FOREIGN EXCHANGE**.

For 1969-70, the figure is likely to be Rs. 8.50 crores, 10% more than in the previous year. Indeed, in each of the last three years, fully **ONE-FIFTH** of our annual Passenger Revenue has been from tourists and all in **FOREIGN EXCHANGE**.

 **Indian Airlines**

mcm/iac/214

And so education must grow and expand in the poor countries and must instil compassion and justice in the rich ones. How does education promote development? Firstly, education contributes directly to economic development by increasing the availability and quality of occupational skills. Productivity normally accounts for about three-quarters of national output, and education and training are the principal factors contributing to the productivity of labour.

Secondly, education does have many indirect effects on the economy through creating or developing its socio-cultural infrastructure. Education may raise the level of initiative and inventiveness of the people. It may improve patterns of consumption and may promote economic and social mobility. The educational system also serves very often as an instrument of selection, through which the society establishes its leadership, its administrators and technicians, and brings out their full potentialities. And so education contributes not only to economic development, but also to social development, cultural development and human development.

Education in the rich countries has further tasks to assure real equality of educational opportunity so that every child has a possibility of a minimum attainment of excellence and is not held back either by social conditions or by family background.

ENVIRONMENTAL DISRUPTIONS

The education of today and tomorrow, having contributed yesterday so effectively to our technological progress and our growing standards of living, must also help us to pay the price for such rapid development. I have just returned from Japan where an *Asahi Shimbun* survey describes the Japanese islands as taking on aspects of a test laboratory of environmental disruptions with pollution hazards and other adverse effects spreading not only in big cities but also in local farming communities. We are today familiar with this growing threat, the growing threat of environmental disruptions which result in mass outbreaks of chronic bronchitis and other pollution-caused diseases such as mercury poisoning, and making our rivers, lakes and seas serious health hazards. There is clearly the need for an urgent programme for conserving our environment and restoring a balance between man and nature. An educational effort aimed at achieving these ends should be the core of such a programme.

The third aspect of education to which we in the UNESCO are now giving particular attention is the use of education as a force and contributor to international understanding, cooperation and peace. In our world today, education cannot be neutral. It must take sides. It must promote friendship and peaceful change and discourage violence, both spiritual and physical. It must promote justice and instil in us a desire for working against injustice. It must not only help to produce more goods and better services every day, it must help in their better distribution. As a friend of mine remarked, two cars in every garage in North America do not necessarily mean two potatoes in every pot in Asia. It must educate us in all countries to plan our families and so control our uncontrolled population

explosions. We were two billion at the start of the sixties, we are three and a half billion today and by the end of the decade we will be six billion.

What is frightening about the growth in numbers is not the demands for food that it will make, which I am sure we will meet with our new technologies; not the enormous housing needs that it will throw up, which our architectural geniuses can help us solve; not even the problem of schooling and employment which will certainly be momentous. The real problem is moral and educational. We will have growing opportunities to break the law whether it be in corruption, in falsification and cheating or in other forms of exploitation. We will have to hate less, fight less, pilfer less, cooperate more, help more and love more. When I was born, I had to love 300 million fellow Indians. Today I have to love 650 million in the subcontinent. Positively the great population increase will call for an educational system which can fill our hearts and minds with never-ending springs of charity and love for so vast an expansion of humanity.

PATH OF PEACE

Finally, the task of education is to prepare all of us, our leaders, our governments and our people to turn away from the path of war which we have been constructing unceasingly from the thirties. It will have to demonstrate to us the folly of our mounting a mad expenditure on armaments which have now reached the staggering sum of 200 billion US dollars annually. This expenditure is not only wastefully larger than what we spend on health or education or food, it is also like sitting on a keg of dynamite with a fire burning close by. It is the task of education to bring all of us back to the path of peace, to build, in the words of the UNESCO's Charter, peace in the minds of men. Education for peace is no easy task.

Teaching children and adults the techniques of cooperation and the basis of understanding in countries at peace is difficult enough. But the demand for such education is also in the countries at war, for refugees who have lost hearth and home, for societies and people who feel threatened by internal or external violence. It is all very well to love your enemy when he is ten thousand miles away. What kind of education enables you to face a soldier with a rifle slung over his shoulder who is waiting there on your doorstep to be loved? This education programme for peace must be undertaken in schools, in clubs, in theatres, in television programmes, in all our voluntary societies, as well as in parliaments and governmental councils. Such education is no longer an activity that we experience for six, twelve or fifteen years of our lives. Education is openended. It begins when we are born and continues through our lives, because its values, its techniques, its precepts of teaching and learning and above all the store-house of knowledge and information that it builds, can and must be spread out over a whole lifetime. Education, proclaims the International Education Year, is permanent and life-long; it begins at the cradle and ends only at the burning *ghat*. It is to this life-long commitment to educating oneself that the UNESCO calls every man, woman and child today.

FLASHBACK ON KOREAN WAR

FIRST TEST OF INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

The Post-War division of Korea along the 38th Parallel was no political expedient, for 38th Parallel became a sword cutting a living entity into two, and a symbol and an offshoot of the cold war.

K. P. S. MENON

THE first international question in which independent India got involved was the Korean problem. Hardly had four months elapsed since the attainment of independence when India was nominated by the General Assembly to the UN Commission on Korea. The handling of the Korean problem throws considerable light on the advent of the cold war, the play of power politics, the plight of the smaller nations vis-a-vis the Great Powers, and the efficacy and limitations of the policy of non-alignment.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, no country in the world had had so peaceful a history as Korea which had been in existence as a sovereign State for over three thousand years with only three dynastic changes. So immune was she from external aggression and internal subversion that she came to be known as 'the Hermit Kingdom' and the 'Land of the Morning Calm'. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, Korea became a cockpit of three neighbouring powers, namely decadent China, backward Russia and resurgent Japan. Japan, having put on the garb ostensibly as the protector of Korean independence, defeated China in 1894 and Russia in 1905, and then, fortified by her alliance with Great Britain, cast off all pretence, annexed Korea and exploited her to heart's content. Towards the end of the Second World War, however, the USA, the USSR, the UK and China made a solemn declaration that Korea shall be independent.

Following Japan's defeat in the war, it was agreed that the USSR should take the surrender of Japanese troops to the north of the 38th parallel, running across Korea, and the USA to the south. At that time the division of Korea was meant to be no more than a military expedient. Yet the 38th parallel was already becoming a sword, cutting a living entity into two, a symbol and an offshoot of the cold war and a frontier between the Soviet and the American zones.

It was in these circumstances that the United Nations established, in 1947, a mission consisting of Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, Syria and the Ukraine, to take steps for the re-establishment of Korean unity and independence and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The Ukraine declined to take part in the Commission and the USSR refused to countenance it as she thought that the better course was to withdraw all foreign troops and to leave it to the Koreans themselves to work out their destiny as best as they could.

At that time I was Ambassador to China and was nominated as India's representative to the Commission and elected Chairman. A special responsibility rested on me to fulfil the objectives of the Commission. Here, I was confronted with the cold war in a stark form, for we were not even allowed to enter North Korea, the Soviet zone. The question arose whether we should recommend the establishment of a sovereign state in the only area in which we could function, namely South Korea which was in the American sphere of influence.

I was convinced that independence was Korea's birth-right and that the division of Korea was unnatural and unjust. I also had in mind certain guiding principles of foreign policy which Jawaharlal Nehru had expounded in a note he sent me on my appointment as Ambassador to China in January 1947. That note contains perhaps the first definition of a policy which eventually came to be called non-alignment. "Our general policy", Nehru said, "is to avoid entanglement in power politics and not to join any group of powers as against any other group. The two leading groups today are the Russian bloc and the Anglo-American bloc. We must be friendly to both and yet not join either. Both America and Russia are extraordinarily suspicious of each other as well as of other countries. This makes our path difficult and we may well be suspected by each of leaning towards the other. This cannot be helped."

I had no doubt in my mind that the establishment of a separate sovereign state in South Korea would be to take sides in the cold war and, what was worse, to perpetuate the division of Korea, and the Commission agreed with this view. Accompanied by Dr Victor Hoo, Secretary-General of the Commission, I flew to New York in March 1948 and submitted my report on Korea to the Interim Committee of the UN General Assembly. The Committee, which had been boycotted by the Soviet Union and its supporters, decided,

by an overwhelming majority, in favour of the establishment of a separate state in South Korea under the name 'the Republic of Korea.' Hardly had this decision been taken than North Korea proclaimed itself as a separate sovereign state, called the People's Republic of Korea.

In view of my report to the UN, I had given a warning. If the unity of Korea was not restored and if two sovereign states were to come into existence, I said, the two Governments might come into collision with unpredictable consequences, "Korea may blow up", I warned the United Nations, "and that may be the beginning of a vast cataclysm in Asia and the world". Two years later this grim prophecy came almost true.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

In June 1950 war broke out in Korea. The United Nations declared North Korea the aggressor despite the vehement opposition of the Soviet Union. India voted with the majority as, from all the information at her disposal, it looked as if it was the entry of North Korean troops into South Korea which provoked the war. "This is the moment I have been waiting for", said Loy Henderson, then American Ambassador in India, to Girja Shankar Bajpai. He took our vote in the UN to mean that at least India had aligned itself with the USA in the global contest between the two super-Powers. But this was too facile an interpretation. India refused to send any troops to Korea except a medical unit, and she strained every nerve to prevent the spread of the war and to bring it to an end.

The war assumed new and grave dimensions with China's entry into it. China had no alternative when General MacArthur, having cleared South Korea of North Korean troops, sent his army into North Korea right up to the Chinese frontier, in defiance of the instructions of the Security Council. American troops were mown down in thousands and pushed back to the 38th parallel. Then in a frenzy of despair and anger, even the use of the atom bomb was contemplated in certain quarters in America; and Prime Minister Attlee went post-haste to Washington to dissuade President Truman from taking such a disastrous step. The war went on for three years and caused 142,000 American, 7,000 Communist and 3,000 Turkish casualties. And John Foster Dulles comforted his countrymen with the grim thought that out of 10 million people in North Korea one among every three was dead.

In 1953, after three weary years of fighting, the Chinese and American troops were still glaring at each other across the 38th parallel. The negotiations for an armistice proved infructuous on account of a dispute over the repatriation of prisoners of war. A formula, devised by India, was accepted by the UN General Assembly, with the exception of the Soviet group; and Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, exclaimed in indignation: "At best you Indians are dreamers and idealists; at worst, instruments of horrible American policy".

It was at that time that I had an interview with Stalin, only a fortnight before he died. As directed by Nehru, I explained to him the purport of the formula which Vyshinsky had condemned. Stalin was completely non-committal. One would have thought that he had never heard of Korea! Evidently he was not keen on the Korean war coming to an end, for there the American, Chinese and Korean troops were merrily killing one another and not a Russian soldier was involved. However, soon after Stalin died, the Indian formula was unanimously accepted by the General Assembly and became the basis for peace in Korea. Thus throughout the Korean crisis, India's policy of non-alignment operated as a factor for achieving peace.

It might have achieved more. At a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference soon after the outbreak of the Korean war, a formula was devised under Nehru's initiative, not only for ending the war but for a settlement of the Korean question and this was accepted by the United Nations, including the USA. It was hoped that this might lead to the recognition of China, which at that time had not become as powerful and truculent as she did later, and conduce to a general settlement in East Asia. This hope was dashed by the determination of the USA to get China branded as an aggressor by the UN, ignoring the fact that it was General MacArthur's unauthorised entry into North Korea which provoked China to enter the war. The attitude of some powerful sections in the USA at that time was expressed by General Fleetwood who said, "We have to have a Korea there or elsewhere". Now America is indeed having a Korea in Indo-China. How right Benedetto Croce was when he said "All that man learns from history is that man learns nothing from history".



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UN'S DUTY TO THE PEOPLE

World Organisation Has Its Lights and Shadows

HIREN MUKERJEE

THOUGH acutely conscious of the limitations of the United Nations, India has very good reasons for welcoming the celebration of the twentyfifth anniversary of this world organisation. This is the country of the Buddha and of the Emperor Asoka who, twenty-three hundred years ago, felt the horrors of war so acutely that he renounced it altogether and called on all mankind to follow the path of peace. No other country has a greater stake in what Emmanuel Kant called "Perpetual Peace" and in every human effort for the achievement of a world without war.

India is a founder-member of the United Nations and of most of its Specialised Agencies. It will be recalled, however, that at the time of the foundation meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco (May 1945), India was still a British dependency. Our presence there, as in the earlier instance of the League of Nations set up after the Treaty of Versailles (1919), was on sufferance, as a country tied to the British tail. Some with an acuter memory might also recall that at the San Francisco meeting, the then Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov pointedly referred to India's presence in words that deeply moved India representatives present like Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: "we all understand that a time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard." That voice has since been often raised in the world forum, though we are weak in the sinews of power and suffer in consequence.

What may be called the United Nations' predecessor organisation, the League of Nations, that had functioned between the two World Wars, has gone the way of all flesh. One is entitled, however, to have much greater confidence about the future of the United Nations since World War II and its aftermath has seen a sea-change, so to speak, in the international set-up. Freedom today has come to most of the world. At the moment of writing, India is playing host to a remarkable guest, the President of Nauru, a small sparsely inhabited island in the Pacific, till lately subject to Britain but a very recent entrant, as free and sovereign State into the United Nations. Except for the regions hoggishly sought to be retained by Portuguese, 'Rhodesian' and South African racists with the frantic connivance of the neo-imperialist powers like the UK and the US, and a few other isolated pockets, the peoples of the world have achieved almost everywhere their political freedom. A further development following naturally upon the defeat of world fascism in the Second World

War, has been the advance of socialism which is to countries like India the yearned-for fulfilment of freedom and which today regulates the life of more than a third of mankind. The protracted struggle in Viet Nam is a shining exposure of the Achilles' heel of all varieties of imperialism and a declaration, as it were, that the decisive force in the world today is no longer in the hands of its erstwhile rulers. It is in this vastly changed context of things that the United Nations can be expected to have a very different history altogether from that of the ill-starred League of Nations.

In her own way, India has tried to ensure that the United Nations play a vital role in international affairs. She has resolutely opposed the ignoring or sidetracking of the UN in regard to important decisions, especially in relation to war and peace. In spite of her own unfortunate experience over the Kashmir issue which the Anglo-American clique tried brazenly to exploit against her, India has done her best in the matter of her obligations to the UN. Though barely able to afford it, she has supplied armed forces to assist operations for the maintenance of peace and security, for example, in the Congo (1960-64) and in the Middle East (1956-57). India can also recall with some gratification her modest contribution to the solution of certain international problems. Her role as the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in the Korean crisis of 1970, her leadership, in difficult conditions, of the International Control Commission in Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam right from 1954 and her work in the UN Disarmament Committee at Geneva are notable examples in this regard.

Since India under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership sponsored an Asian Conference even before she was free, and made a certain contribution towards the freedom, for example, of Indonesia, she has been known for her deep concern in securing for Afro-Asian countries, no longer in Nehru's words, "supplicants before Western chancelleries", the voice and influence that is their due on account of their number, their strategic situation in the globe and their role, past as well as potential, in the history of man. It is no wonder that at Bandung (1955), which bringing Afro-Asians together almost effaced, as it were, the shame of Hiroshima, Jawaharlal Nehru was with Chou En-Lai and Nasser, the most charismatic figure. No wonder that after Nehru's death, an Afro-Asian statesman described him beautifully as "the sculptor of

the ethics of this part of the world". In the United Nations, India's main aim has been the promotion of international endeavour for the economic development of countries newly emerged into freedom but handicapped by the hang-over of the backwardness long imposed on them by Western imperialism. In her own troubles, as over the military confrontation forced on her twice by Pakistan, India never got a fair deal from the Western powers for a proper understanding of her position she has generally had to turn to the USSR and other socialist countries but India has tried, even in very vexing circumstances, to keep a certain balance as far as her work in the UN is concerned.

Member States of the UN numbered 51 in 1945 and have increased to 126 today. Even so, the universality of the Organisation is still to be achieved. The People's Republic of China, in many ways the world's greatest State, howsoever one might view some of its vagaries, is still kept out of the Organisation. It is good that the animosity that for twelve years or so badgered India has not prevented the latter from supporting the move, repeated from year to year, to seat the People's Republic of China in the UN and its Security Council. It is also to be noted that the exclusion from the UN and its Specialised Agencies of indubitable States like the German Democratic Republic or the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam detracts from the strength and quality of the organisation. Of course, it is almost fantastic that the so-called 'Republic of China' (Taiwan) is one of the Big Five in the United Nations, possessed even of the power of Veto, though Taiwan was part of China centuries before Columbus discovered America!

Many other ironies come to mind as one surveys even cursorily the world scene today and the United Nations' place in it. The 'sixties, that is the decade just concluded, had been declared by the UN with some fanfare to be the "Decade of Development". It is not that nothing has taken place in that regard or that the UN has been entirely unhelpful towards the developing countries. The affluent States of the world, however, do not yet have a sufficiently lively sense of their responsibility to the comparatively retarded sections of humanity. There is little tangible recognition that much of the 'aid' from the loud-mouthed 'aid-giving countries is a kind of make-believe on account of the oddities of balance of payment and other mechanisms of world economic exchange. Leaving aside all that, one is faced in India with the stark reality that at the end of the UN-trumpeted "Decade of Development" this country remains largely, in terms of the life of our people, an "area of darkness". Official estimates show that 120 million up to six years of age in India suffer acutely from protein caloric malnutrition and about 14,000 children become blind every year, mostly in the eastern parts of India, on account of Vitamin 'A' deficiency.

One of the basic objectives of the United Nations Organisation is proclaimed to be "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The UN Charter embodies some unexceptionable and progressive de-

mocratic principles. If things were normal and decent, the UN could indeed be the instrument of peace and security and the prime centre of international co-operation. One could very well think of it as the principal means by which our planet could, as it were, be "fitted out for happiness". Reality, however, would give one a heavy and grievous jolt.

The twentyfifth session of the United Nations General Assembly has met against the background of the planfully contrived escalation by the United States of its long-standing aggression in Indo-China in defiance of the hopes engendered in 1954 by the Geneva Conference. The General Assembly must take stock of a situation disfigured by the continued aggression of Israel, backed again by the United States in the main as the chief *gendarme* of reaction, against the Arab States. The same picture is to be seen in Korea, and in a somewhat veiled manner, there goes on in many regions the conspiracy of Big Money interests against the freedom of the peoples. Washington and London, Bonn and Lisbon are linked with Pretoria and Cape Town and seem determined to suppress in blood the upsurge for liberation in Africa as well as elsewhere. This has happened in spite of the United Nations having adopted ten years ago a Soviet-sponsored resolution entitled 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples'. History, no doubt, has pronounced its verdict; the positions of colonialism have been undermined beyond hope, but it is still trying to use force to prolong its existence and clings to the support provided by members of the NATO military-colonialist bloc. Approximately 40 million people are still under the shameful shadow of the colonial system which the General Assembly must energetically liquidate.

In the contemporary picture, of course, there are lights as well as the shadows indicated. The isolation of Israel is daily being more manifest. The treaty between the USSR and West Germany makes for relaxation of protracted tension and presages the disappearance of mutually threatening military blocs. Indications that the People's Republic of China cannot be treated by any Power as an outcast indicates the possibility, apparently howsoever difficult, of a real, significant *detente* in world relations. The successful confabulation held at Lusaka by the non-aligned countries promises genuine dividends for peace and progress. The United Nations must move also qualitatively towards disarmament, and this present session should, as a first step, accept the 'Convention', proposed in the last meeting by socialist countries 'on Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and on their Destruction'.

India wishes with all her heart that the United Nations reaffirm determination to do everything possible for lasting peace and to implement the objectives and principles of its Charter. Let the Organisation review its twentyfive years of life and do its duty by the people.

AT THE UN COMMITTEE ON NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES **INDIA SPOKE FOR THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES**

It was the work of the Special Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories that paved the way for the emergence of 76 colonial areas into independence and thereby raising the UN's membership from 50 to 126 in less than a quarter of a century.

India championed the cause of these countries at the Committee and outside and hastened their independence.

B. SHIVA RAO

My membership of a UN Committee from 1947 to 1952 on what the Charter describes as "non-self-governing territories" (in other words, the colonial areas in the world), proved to be one of the most rewarding experiences in my life. In the early stages of the Second World War, President Roosevelt had clearly recognised in more than one declaration that colonialism lay at the root of recurring world wars; but at San Francisco in 1945, representatives of several countries who were vigorous in their expression of disapproval of the colonial system, failed to insert in the UN Charter provisions for effective supervision of the colonial administrations by the UN General Assembly.

The framers of the Charter were very circumspect in defining the relationship between the Imperial Powers ('Administering Powers' as they are described in the Charter) and the UN Secretary-General. They were to furnish information of a statistical nature on the administration of their respective colonies, specifically excluding information of a political nature, to the Secretary-General.

How were the assurances, contained in Article 73, dealing with the colonial peoples, to be implemented? They referred only to their well-being being promoted to the utmost, with due respect for their culture in the fields of political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just demands and protection against abuse, until they achieved a full measure of self-government.

An initial difficulty was that the Charter did not

contain a clear and precise definition of non-self-governing territories. Article 73 only specified that it would apply to territories whose peoples had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The Secretary-General, faced with the practical problem of drawing up a list of such territories, for the purposes specified in Article 73, finally left it to the Administering Powers themselves to furnish such a list.

The Administering Powers accordingly submitted a list of 37 territories which in their view were not self-governing and, therefore, came under the jurisdiction of the UN in accordance with Article 73. On a further scrutiny a second list of 37 such territories was supplied to the UN.

An *ad hoc* Committee was appointed in 1947 to deal with the various issues that came up in the course of the debates. The Secretary-General was to summarise the information received on the administration of these 74 territories in his annual report to the General Assembly. The Committee expressed in general terms the interest of the UN in the problems and political aspirations of the peoples who had not yet attained a full measure of self-government and who were, therefore, not directly represented in the General Assembly.

The *ad hoc* Committee, composed in equal numbers of representatives of Administering and non-Administering Powers elected by the General Assembly, was entrusted with the task of examining the summaries and analyses of the information supplied by the Administering Powers, so that a proper procedure could be laid down for the future guidance of these Powers.

The General Assembly felt at once that the information so furnished was very inadequate. Therefore, it decided that it should be supplemented by data derived from official publications in the economic, social and educational fields of the various colonies.

In those early years the Administering Powers were extremely sensitive in regard to the General-Assembly's supervisory powers over their colonies. They could not, however, object to supplementary information being gathered from the reports of the various specialised agencies of the UN like ILO, WHO, UNESCO and FAO.

Step by step, the General Assembly improved the working of the machinery thus created. It was my privilege to represent India on this Committee from 1948 to 1952. Because of the fact that there were settlers of Indian origin in practically every colony throughout the world, India felt a special responsibility towards

colonial peoples generally. Moreover, the process through which India had attained her self-government was entirely in keeping with the spirit of the basic principles of the UN Charter and her success had raised the world's admiration.

The *ad hoc* Committee was converted in 1948 into a Special Committee, but its powers were strictly limited by the terms of the Charter. It could not discuss the individual problems of any specific territory, nor could it deal with the political progress of any colonial people. It was free only to scrutinise the information sent by the Administering Powers on all problems excluding those of a political nature.

The Special Committee first framed a questionnaire for the guidance of Administering Powers in supplying the information. This was a definite step forward. Representatives of the Specialised Agencies were invited to cooperate in the analysis of the information supplied by the Administering Powers; but they could not even offer comments on the analysis of the Secretary-General which in their view would be helpful.

INDIA'S ROLE

Even with this limitation on the functioning of the Special Committee, the Administering Powers became increasingly apprehensive of the Committee being placed on a permanent footing and agreed with the utmost reluctance to the extension of its life from year to year. India played a significant role in neutralising their fears and suspicions. During the years of my membership, I followed the policy of making constructive suggestions in every field without offending the Administering Powers.

A new difficulty arose when Britain claimed that a colony which had achieved complete internal autonomy should drop out of the category of non-self-governing territories even though its defence and external relations were in the hands of the Administering Powers. Malta was cited as an example of that kind. France, on the other hand, maintained that even her overseas possessions like Pondicherry were part of the metropolitan area, because of their direct representation in the French Parliament in Paris. The work of the Committee was assailed from more than one standpoint. It was described by one critic as "a back-door amendment of the Charter." Another Administering Power regarded it as "an illegitimate offspring of the UN". Gradually, however, with greater experience in handling the vast amount of information which came to the Secretary-General in regard to the administration of the non-self-governing territories, the UN Committee exercised a certain moral influence on the Administering Powers.

Looking back to those formative years, I consider that it was no small achievement for the UN General Assembly to register an increase in the number of member-States in a quarter of a century from 50 to 126. In other words, 76 colonial areas have emerged into independence primarily as a result of the labours of the Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories. Despite all its handicaps, some of which have been mentioned above, the Committee persisted in maintain-



In March 1951, it was India's turn to preside over the Security Council. Photograph shows Mr Benegal Narsing Rao calling the Council to order after taking over as President.

ing a steady pressure on the Administering Powers to accelerate the progress of these territories towards self-government. One instance will suffice to indicate how rapid has the progress been. In 1950, as the Chairman of the Committee, I had before me a representation on behalf of the people of the Belgian Congo. The document pleaded for more schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, so that at least in thirty years the people of the region could hope to reach self-government. The Belgian delegate, who had served in the Congo as Governor-General for sixteen years, argued with some heat: "Thirty years! I know the people well and love them. But they will not be ready for self-government for the next 300 years."

END OF COLONIAL ERA

There is no doubt that the constructive part that India played in infusing vitality into the Committee and in offering guidelines for the progress of the non-self-governing territories towards freedom were mainly responsible for the remarkable success achieved in these 25 years. It is often the fashion to refer to the existence of colonialism and imperialism which still disfigure several parts of the globe. What one overlooks is the solid fact that 76 colonies have become independent during the 25 years of the existence of the United Nations. At no time in recorded history has there been such phenomenal progress, through a process of negotiation and mutual adjustment of relations between an Administering Power and a colony. There are, of course, other dangers to be overcome. Economic imperialism may insidiously be substituted for political exploitation. Nevertheless, the world must be thankful to the UN for bringing the colonial era virtually to an end in the political field.

Even outside this sphere, India may claim credit for having hastened the independence of Indonesia and the three former Italian colonies in North Africa.

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IN THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

THE UN IS AN ANGRIER PLACE, MORE BOISTEROUS, LESS TRIM, LESS REVERENTIAL OF BIGNESS

In the United Nations, as it has now emerged, no nation can be more equal than the others, despite the cultural backlog of the veto, which, one suspects, cannot be there for long—it is bound to be overtaken by events.

ASHOK MITRA

It certainly looks incongruous in the beginning. Here we are, nearly 550 million of us, with just one vote in the United Nations. Singapore has a population of barely two million; but she too has one vote, the same as ours. So goes for Jamaica, for Trinidad and Tobago, for Somalia. Some amongst us find it exasperating, why must we be treated on par with this or that puny little country, whose population will fall short of what each of at least a dozen of our cities holds? Occasionally this UN principle of one-political-entity-one-vote does indeed affect us somewhat severely, for example, in the matter of disbursement of international assistance. Even a teeny-weeny country can walk away with a fair quantum of assistance: despite the small size of its population, since it is a separate, distinct nation, there is a minimum below which nobody would contemplate to scale down the flow of resources to it. For us, quite contrary considerations usually come to be applied: the donors find it difficult to raise their contributions above what can only be called a critical maximum. If you give more to India—which is, after all, only one country—you are left with so much less for the umpteen other nations, each of which has the same voting strength in the UN as India has. One therefore tends to follow the principle of equi-marginal return. In the process, what India receives does not look at all good in per capita terms. Naturally, some of us start chafing. Some of us even give explicit vent to our feeling about the inherent inequity of the United Nations system.

Complaints often turn bitter. Why must we sit there, listen politely while happeny-tuppeny worth of nations pontificate interminably on their solutions to the world's problems, why should we put up with UN officials who, in the course of their global junkets, stop by and solemnly let us know how our rate of economic growth has fallen way behind that achieved in Neo-Colonia, which nation, incidentally, consists of exactly 493,256 individuals! Many amongst us feel like making a devastating retort, such as that, even within our

country, we can locate as many hundreds of regional pockets, each inhabited by more people than Neo-Colonia has, and each of which has, during the past decade, registered, a rate of growth much more impressive than Neo-Colonia's.

I can multiply such examples of our irritation with the philosophy and *modus operandi* of the United Nations. And yet, I for one, would scarcely go along with the slogan: Stop the UN: We Want To Get Off.

For, despite everything, despite the frustrations and annoyances, it is a great liberal education to be just one amongst many, and a near-anonymous one at that. It is little use mincing words: humility is not exactly the commonest Indian attribute. In the early days of the United Nations, when Afro-Asian resurgence was still a-coming we were in the habit of throwing our weight about. We bragged too much about our civilisation in ancient times, as if that was adequate compensation for our current lack of any. Even when we railed against colonialism, we spoke more in the vein of a lawyer, who has established a monopoly over a line of business, than as a passion-bred comrade of the subjugated people. And there was a puerile snobbery in our attitude; the seat of the UN was in an English-speaking country, the environment was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon, and the incidental advantages which the specificity of our colonial past bestowed on us we used to flaunt with great pride.

There has been a vast transformation of the scene since then. We of course have had our own internal troubles during the 1960's. But much more overwhelmingly significant has been the revolution in the United Nations itself. It is a different UN from what it was in those staid Lake Success years. Colonial shackles have been thrown off in scores of countries in Asia, Africa and the Caribbeans in the course of the last twenty years. As these new nations have kept joining the United Nations, the organisation has gone

through a mutation. The Anglo-Saxon bias has evaporated. The assertiveness of the poorer members has assumed a new tonality. It is an angrier place, more boisterous, less trim, less reverential of bigness, whatever way you define bigness.

Even granted the United Nations has lost much of its credibility in recent years, this process of democratisation can do—and I shall assert, has done—immense good to all of us. The loss of credibility is in part a consequence of the attitude of the so-called big powers, who suddenly find that the organisation has ceased to respond to their particular signals. But those who would want to by-pass the UN have limited options. Bilateral arrangements are helpful to pull you out of only particular jams. Over the longer run, however, the cost of such detours goes up at an inordinate rate. After an interregnum, therefore, the tribe of the disenchanted and the inconvenienced will perhaps feel like returning to the mainstream of the UN.

And to be a part of it will, from now on, be a different kind of experience. It is lack of humility which ruins big nations. You turn haughty, intemperate, impossible in manners; you presume that the rest of the world will revolve round you. By your demeanour, you compel assorted parties to combine and counsel together so that you would be contained and humbled.

NEED FOR HUMILITY

It is better to start out with humility than be humbled. This is a lesson which was necessary for us to learn, and which would not normally have been imported in the absence of the UN. The sovereignty and the dignity of individual nations, however small, have to be respected, just as much as the dignity of individuals, whatever their economic status, has to be respected and jealously protected in a framework of democracy. The concept of equality is thus indivisible; in the United Nations, as it has now emerged, no nation can be more equal than others; despite the cultural backlog of the veto, which, one suspects, cannot be there for long—it is bound to be overtaken by events.

In this new milieu which is today's United Nations, it is inevitable that India must act and react on a relatively low key, no longer as a somewhat flamboyant leader of the underdeveloped world, but as one who will be led and guided by the passions and sentiments of the majority of the developing nations. There is nothing inglorious in this reversal of roles. We should, on the contrary, take pride in the fact that so many underdeveloped countries have now grown so stridently vocal. We have lost our profession, but we should welcome the company. Even the losses in material terms we should bear with fortitude.

Once we get ourselves adjusted to the role, there is little reason for our not acquitting ourselves well. After all, the Committee of 77, which we helped to set up, has several substantial achievements to its credit in the context of the UNCTAD's functioning. The model of quiet interchanges developed there can be easily extended to other spheres of international activities. For a number of years during the 1960's there was a tendency on our part to lean towards some of the specialised

international agencies in which advanced industrial nations have a bigger say. This was and is a folly, and which does not deserve to be repeated. Whatever the short-term advantages stemming from such opportunist escapades, let us have no illusion; the future does not belong to the already affluent nations but to the underdeveloped fraternity in Latin America, Africa and Asia. This will be so not only because of the sheer collective weight in terms of population and natural resources of the fraternity, but because of an inevitable historical process. Just as nations grow and develop, they also decay: whatever philosophy of history one might hold, the fact remains that the dominance of certain countries, which started out on the road to economic progress towards, let us say, the middle of the 18th century, is coming to an end. If we are going to make sure that we remain on the side of peace and progress, we must therefore choose well, and know where the future of the United Nations lies. We want to be a part of that future; we will be able to serve the cause if we continue remembering that no part of the United Nations, however affluent, can become greater than the whole.

If racial inequality is practised, if it is a menace to world peace and if it violates the principles of the United Nations Charter, to tolerate it is obviously to sow the seeds of conflict.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

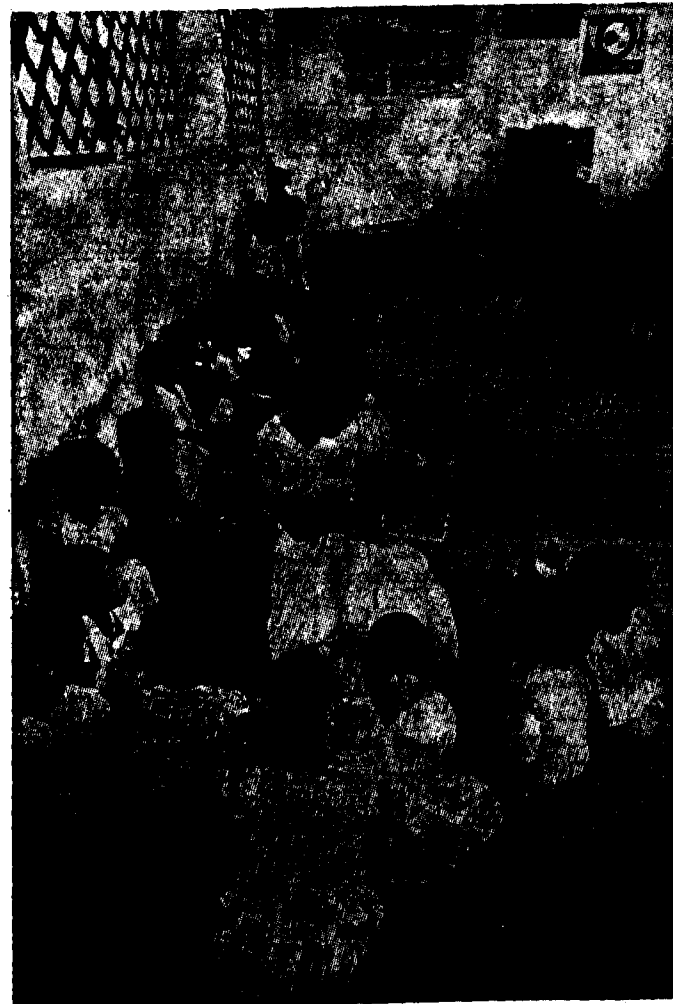
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THE UNICEF WAY FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD

GORDON CARTER



There are thousands of *bahwadis* throughout India to provide basic amenities to children. UNICEF assists this programme, which dots India's villages. In this one in a Tamil Nadu village, children are learning to identify fruits and vegetables and to understand their nutritional value.

UNICEF is a little younger than the United Nations proper: 1970 is our 24th anniversary. We have been active in India since 1949, which was about the time the UN first turned its attention to the problem of economic and social development. India, as a matter of fact, was one of the first countries in which UNICEF shifted from emergency aid to the build-up of permanent services for children.

Twenty-one years of partnership with the Government of India has involved a contribution to the development of services for children in India in the order of fifty-five crore rupees, an investment which, of course, has been matched in the same areas many times over by the Government.

Rather than presenting a detailed facts-and-figures report, however, I should like to use this occasion to discuss some aspects of UNICEF's work which single it out somewhat from the other external aid agencies, and which are not very widely known.

All the UN agencies and many bilateral ones go about their business in what must seem to outside observers a peculiarly complicated manner, threading a maze of "requests", "projects", "codes" and the like to get their work done. So time and staff-consuming is this task that solving the maze sometimes tends to become an end in itself. Satisfaction is often derived from the fact that a request has been properly formulated, a project satisfactorily defined and its administration suitably codified to ensure that implementation in accordance with the plan is correctly recorded.

The UNICEF has to live with these administrative exigencies just as other agencies do. We do, however, try hard to keep our thoughts and our sights focussed on the persons whom all of this bureaucratic activity is designed to help. We remind ourselves time and again that what matters most are the results, that is, the tangible improvements in the way mothers and children live.

This obliges us to exercise the maximum of imagination and initiative that the circumstances under which we work permit, and to keep in mind that UNICEF's operations are to be judged by the practical use to which our aid is put and by the response of rural and urban families to the programme we support. Henry Labouisse, our Executive Director, stressed this approach in his report to the 1970 meeting of the UNICEF Executive Board. The UNICEF, he said, should orient its action towards people—women, pre-schoolers, school-age children (in and out of school alike), teen-agers—rather than toward projects as such.

We do not claim a monopoly in this respect, but we believe that we may be nearer to a people-oriented approach than is usually the case amongst aid agencies.

UNICEF, to most people, means imported supplies and equipment. In 1949, when we commenced work in India, our aid consisted exclusively of imported goods. Today, however, an increasing proportion of our programme allocations for India are being spent within the country itself.

First, there is the expenditure of substantial amounts of money in the form of cash grants for stipends, travel and honoraria in connection with training programme. These cash grants are for the training of key personnel in the fields of health, nutrition, welfare and education; and the key personnel range from village *dais* and *gram sevikas* to post-graduate students in social paediatrics, food technology and science education. The UNICEF



Children in a Kerala village, tending their school-garden. These gardens have been set up under the UNICEF assisted Applied Nutrition Programme.

is contributing to fifty different forms of training involving a total of Rs 57.5 lakh for the current year.

Second, there is "local procurement", which means the purchase in India of a part of the supplies and equipment we are pledged to provide to the UNICEF-assisted programmes. Local equipment is generally easier to maintain, and by encouraging local manufacture of key items we can hasten the day when programmes become self-sustaining. Part of this local procurement is financed out of our non-convertible rupee holdings, which are generated by the Government's contribution to the UNICEF (currently sixty lakh rupees) and the proceeds from the sale of the UNICEF greeting cards in India (about three and a half lakh rupees).

When locally-manufactured supplies and equipment are, for our purposes, demonstrably preferable to imported ones, and when their price is competitive, local procurement may also be effected with hard currencies. This is a more demanding exercise. Competitiveness must be established in terms of the world market where UNICEF benefits from substantial rebates. Furthermore, UNICEF's convertible currency resources are limited, and the management of the organization's global resources must take many factors into account. Only about a dozen of the 120 currencies donated to UNICEF are readily convertible, and most of the countries donating convertible currency expect UNICEF to spend a substantial proportion of their contributions on supplies and equipment

of their own manufacture, even if they do not formally spell this out as a requirement.

Despite the constraints just mentioned, local procurement is on the increase as more suitable items needed to implement UNICEF-aided programme in India become locally available. Local procurement during the last twelve months has involved us in the purchase of over fifty different types of items including pumpsets for irrigation, vegetable seeds and fertilisers for kitchen, school and community gardens, incubators, brooder and feed mills for poultry development, bicycles for gram sevikas and social welfare workers, steel almirahs, carpenters' tables and fitters' workbenches for pre-vocational training, ice making plants and cooling towers for fisheries, typewriters, reference books, journals, films and filmstrips for training institutions, pipes for water supply, printing of visual aids, charts and literature for applied nutrition and health education, and procurement in hard currency has included five-ton lorries for drilling rigs, glassware for science education and more pumpsets for applied nutrition.

The UNICEF assistance was originally voted on a year-to-year basis. It was seen as direct project support to specific sectoral areas of development, particularly health and nutrition. We developed our contacts with the Planning Commission when the Third Plan was being formulated. But it was only in 1967 and 1968 that UNICEF cultivated its relations with the Planning Commission more intensively, and deliberately tried to

tie in the forward planning of UNICEF's programme contributions to the specific provision of the Fourth Plan to be.

Thus, we were able, in May 1969, to obtain our Executive Board's approval for a five-year commitment to various aspects of India's health and family planning services to the amount of nine crore rupees. In April 1970, the Board approved a four-year commitment of about four and a half crore rupees to a new and dramatic village water supply programme, based on the use of high-speed drilling rigs in hard-rock areas. The commitment matches the remaining years of the Fourth Plan. Along with funds voted earlier on a provisional basis, it ensures allocations totalling Rs 5.7 crore for this programme until 1974. It is hoped that next year all of UNICEF's work in the nutrition and pre-school child care fields will also be adjusted to the remaining years of the Fourth Plan. The same is true for the continuation and expansion of the major school science education programme which was recently initiated.

A LIMITATION

There are, however, many worthy ventures quite directly aimed at meeting the needs of mothers and children, which UNICEF is not in a position to support. We are often criticized for not helping projects developed by voluntary agencies or schemes, which might be useful in a particular district or state but which cannot be fitted into an all-India plan. Our own staff often experience a real sense of frustration on this score. The work of all the UN agencies is similarly circumscribed, and the UNICEF is no exception.

Like its parent, the United Nations, the UNICEF is an inter-governmental body. It works with governments, and the programmes for mothers and children it supports must be carried out, or sponsored, by governments. UNICEF simply does not have the constitutional latitude of some bilateral and most voluntary agencies to choose for itself the particular actions it will support. It is legally bound to work through governmental channels and hierarchies (in the case of India: Centre, state, district, block and panchayat, in that order).

But the UNICEF's role is surely not a passive one! Through its field staff, the organization is constantly exploring new opportunities for effective action, and our staff is continually on the move. One approach, once a promising local scheme or idea is discovered, is to see how it can be fitted into the broader context of a more conventional type of government programme. Sometimes this can be done; sometimes it cannot.

The young farmers and youth clubs which are doing such good work in Mysore are a good example. In terms of our objectives, all these clubs fully merit direct support. However, we can assist only those clubs which are located in blocks where the Community Development Department's applied nutrition programme is being implemented, since the latter is a government venture which the UNICEF has been supporting for some years.

In another state there is a successful well-drilling programme conducted by a voluntary agency. If the

UNICEF could provide supplemental equipment, this programme could be considerably expanded. The snag here is that the well-drilling programme, in which UNICEF is participating, is being executed by a department of the state government which has chosen different districts for operations.

There are innumerable examples of this kind of thing. They tax the conscience of our staff members, who must reconcile themselves to them up to a point, because the UNICEF's status as an inter-governmental organization and our basic working agreement with the Government set the frame for what we may do. One given agency cannot, after all, be all things to all men.

Inevitably in this article for *Yojana* I have found myself obliged to discuss administrative and programming matters, for that is how we work. But I do not wish to end before coming back to people—specific groups of children, in this case, for whom we hope to do more.

A particular effort is now being made by the UNICEF, in cooperation with many groups in India, to highlight the proper care of the so-called "pre-school" aged child—from weaning until the age of five or six. Considerable evidence has accumulated that the food and care youngsters receive during these years largely determine many of the mental and physical traits with which they live the rest of their lives. Technical journals and the press alike are making increasing reference to these findings.

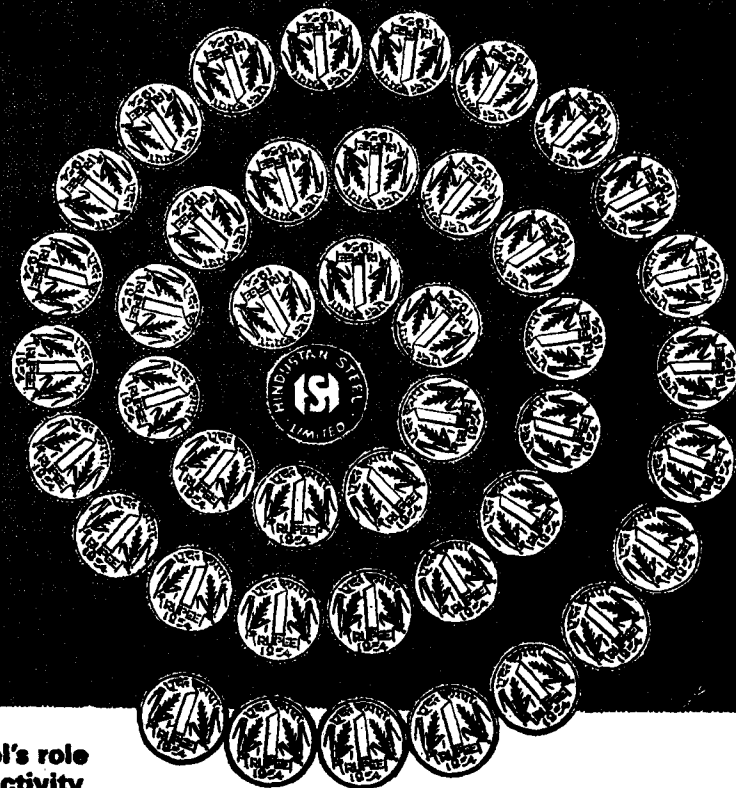
The pre-school group has always been difficult to reach. It is not organized conveniently. Pre-schoolers are older than the usual clientele of the Maternity and Child Health centre and they are, of course, younger than the children who are reached through the primary school. This is all the more reason for UNICEF to see that its endeavours in health, nutrition and welfare are meaningful in terms of these little children, and that they produce multiplier effects in catering to the demands which they rightly make on society—which is to say on all of us.

In the same spirit, we are now turning our attention to teen-agers (adolescent is the term preferred by some) who have either dropped out of school at an early age or who have never been to school at all. There are crores of such youngsters in India. Some fend for themselves quite satisfactorily, but large numbers drift from one form of temporary activity or employment to another, contributing little to a proper life for themselves or to the development of their country. Unfortunately this is a group even harder to bring meaningful assistance to than pre-school kiddies. The UNICEF's efforts on behalf of this group are still in the fact-finding stage. We hope to discover some solutions to their problems and to cooperate with the Government in formulating useful action programmes for these youngsters during the period of the Fifth Plan.

In the third group are the children of India's cities, whose many needs have hardly been reached at all by the programmes we have assisted in the urban milieu. In cooperation with the Department of Social Welfare and the Indian Institute of Public Administration's Centre for Municipal Administration, the UNICEF is now helping launch integrated programmes for children in a number of big towns. These programmes

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ECONOMIC MULTIPLIER



Highlights of Hindustan Steel's role as a multiplier of economic activity in the development of India.

INDUSTRIES

Hindustan Steel has so far supplied over 20 million tonnes of steel and 7.7 million tonnes of pig iron to Indian industry. This has initiated the growth of several engineering and other industries which use iron and steel. The equipment and machinery produced by these engineering industries have made the growth of various other industries possible. With this rapid industrial development, a steady and increased supply of raw materials also became essential. To meet this demand, still other industries sprang up—industries engaged in mining, transportation, production of industrial raw materials, etc. Together, these have added to the nation's wealth and contributed several million rupees to the exchequer in the form of taxes and duties.

AGRICULTURE

Hindustan Steel not only provides the steel for building dams, power houses, tube wells, silos and farm equipment, but has also supplied so far 1.5 million tonnes of nitrogenous fertilizers to help improve agricultural yields. Many of Hindustan Steel's chemical by-products are also important ingredients in the manufacture of pesticides and insecticides commonly used for crop protection.

THE EXCHEQUER

Hindustan Steel's cumulative contribution till

March, 1970 to Central and State revenues exceeds Rs. 762.5 crores—over Rs. 250 crores as excise duty, over Rs. 75 crores as customs duty, over Rs. 30 crores as sales tax, over Rs. 185 crores as outward railway freight, over Rs. 180 crores as interest on loan capital and Rs. 32.5 crores as return of loan capital.

SAVING AND EARNING FOREIGN EXCHANGE

To date Hindustan Steel has sold Rs. 1000 crores worth of iron and steel and chemical by-products, all of which the nation would have otherwise had to import by spending foreign exchange. Such massive savings apart, Hindustan Steel has over the years earned over Rs. 140 crores in foreign exchange from its exports of iron and steel and by-products.

EMPLOYMENT

Hindustan Steel employs over 120,000 people. For every man employed by Hindustan Steel several times as many find employment in the industries which serve steel-making or use steel. The increase in steel production has led to the expansion of the nation's employment potential.

NEW SKILLS AND PROCESSES

Hindustan Steel has introduced many new steel

products and steel-making processes. With the establishment and expansion of Hindustan Steel the nation has gained new experience, developed new skills and competent consultancy services. A cadre of over 4,000 engineers and technicians essential for the future growth of the steel industry in India has been trained and developed by Hindustan Steel.

Steel, we thus see, is crucial to economic development. It was this appreciation of steel's role as the mother industry that prompted our planners to lay deep emphasis on expanding India's steel-making capabilities. Starting with three new million-tonne steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, Hindustan Steel's present annual production rate is 4.25 million tonnes, constituting over 60% of India's total annual steel-making potential. Further expansion is already under way. The bulk of the country's requirements of highly specialized alloy and tool steels too are being met by Hindustan Steel's Alloy Steels Plant at Durgapur.



HINDUSTAN STEEL
Regd. Office: Ranchi
Plants: Rourkela · Bhilai · Durgapur
Alloy Steels Plant: Durgapur
Central Sales Organization: 2 Fakhri Place, Calcutta 1
Central Engineering & Design Bureau: Ranchi

UNITED NATIONS NEEDS A NEW LOOK

ROMESH THAPAR

THE silver jubilee of an international organisation is not to be scoffed at. The survival of the UN has been our survival. The "hopes of mankind" were institutionalised in this rather fragile container, and the dividing line between war and peace during these years was thin, very thin. That we are still alive to talk about a twenty-five-year-old UN is a satisfying fact. But if we are to survive another 25 years, we will have to stir new thinking on the UN and its several agencies—and beyond the problems of peace.

We have spawned a jungle of international authorities. This was inevitable. Our world was messy and demanded treatment at almost every point of activity. Some of the mess was cleared. Elsewhere, we made things more messy. Even as the UN moved boldly to tackle the problems of international tension thrust upon it, and its Specialised Agencies focussed their attack in certain areas of backwardness, adequate attention was not paid to the structures of organisation and administration most suited for international action. The tendency prevailed to pack the organisation with the usual unemployed undercover agents, surplus colonial bureaucrats and the specialists of yesterday—all seeking a comfortable and secure haven. Member-nations, when not confronting each other, inclined to argue on the employment "quotas", not on the new skills needed and the damaging effect of the proliferation of an ill-equipped international civil service. Over these twenty-five years there have grown up in the UN and its Agencies the most elaborate and expensive (wasteful tool) machines we have known. The machines are now selfdefeating mechanisms.

It is, therefore, becoming increasingly difficult in the present climate of cynicism to enthuse governments or policy-makers to give the UN and its Agencies some priority and direction. The current tendency is to treat them as exalted platforms where certain ritualistic exercises are conducted and the necessary polite noises made to convey an image of equality, sanity, intelligence and enlightenment. This exercise is conducted with increasing formalism, because in the UN and its Agencies precision in commitment and follow-up is not sought; words and phrases are carefully chosen to paper-over the realities, to achieve meaningless consensuses.

This "UN style", now the subject of wide and hostile comment among many perceptive observers, is a child of our international posturings. Double-talking and double-thinking, even double-behaving, the nations of the world require a style which provides a veneer of civilisation for their narrow, sectarian actions. That this is so is in itself a very positive fact. It underlines that among the peoples of the world there is a genuine interest in a just world order and that the politicians who perform in the UN and its Agencies are only too aware of public scrutiny. But the public's interest can dissolve—and its faith, too—if the present state of drift is allowed to continue.

A major responsibility inevitably falls on the Asian and African nations who, together with the countries of Latin America, constitute a decisive and overwhelming majority in the UN and its Agencies. Indeed, it has often been argued that the devaluation of these international organisations, and their dedication to *status quo-ism* was a deliberate act, because the developed world did not relish the idea of being tutored or pushed by the developing world. The developing world, torn by rivalries and subverted in many sensitive areas by the hidden and sometimes critical presence of the old colonial order, was able every now and then to rally on specific issues of common and urgent concern. However, this ability has also begun to sap, as new antagonisms are nurtured in the developing nations by the developed nations—a process that is likely to intensify as the super-powers (the USA and the USSR) come to working arrangements and "collaborations" in various parts of the world. The brutal conflicts in East and West Asia are a constant reminder of our terrible failures.

WIDENING CHASMS

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the future of the UN and its Agencies should be of paramount concern to two-thirds of mankind now inhabiting the so-called developing countries. It is here that new wars can be ignited and explosive situations created. What is more, facing the simultaneous and sudden impact of the industrial and technological revolutions—two revolutions in one—and more than conscious of the threat of being reduced to permanent backwardness on this planet, the developing world has to continue skilfully to use the instruments of the UN and its Agencies to reduce the gulfs between the advanced and backward regions. If we are to proceed to the obliteration of these gulfs, sharper and more powerful instruments will have to be fashioned. In other words, if these international organisations are the centres for achieving harmony among the nations, we will in fact have to question the value system which underpins the thought, activity and output of the UN and its Agencies.

Consumer-oriented growth models based on the chase for more and more of what one does not really need, the corrupt values being propagated by the mass media of the developed world, the meaningless role reserved for the human species in societies increasingly impacted by science and technology, the sharpening contradictions between the material and philosophical facets of our present-day civilisation, the forbidding

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In the tradition of great hotels



India and Unesco : Two-Way Flow of Assistance

PREM KIRPAL

THE United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) occupies a rather special place in the UN system, both in regard to the nature of its functions and the manner of its working. As a Specialised Agency of the UN, and in accordance with its agreement with the UN in 1946, UNESCO participates in the coordinating activities of the Economic and Social Council, and functions as the main organ of international cooperation in the fields of education, science, culture and information. Subject to the supreme authority of its General Conference representing all Member-States and the controlling and supervising role of its 34-member Executive Board, UNESCO enjoys independence and autonomy within the coordinated system of the UN. Its originality lies in the vastness of its field of activities, and the basic and intangible nature of the things of the mind and spirit with which it deals. With an essentially moral and ethical role which it has to play because of the very nature of its functions, UNESCO has a special position in the UN.

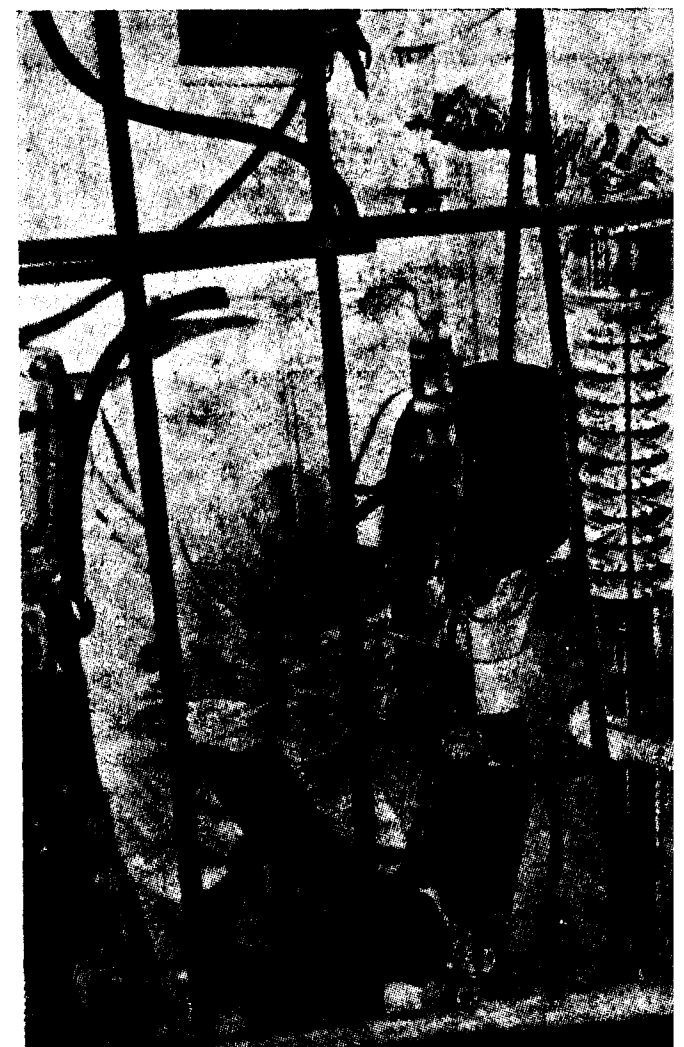
The constitution of UNESCO is different from the strictly inter-governmental character of all the other organs of the UN because of the provision of National Commissions, composed of non-governmental elements, to assist governments in advancing UNESCO's objectives and in implementing its programmes. Often, the effectiveness of a country's participation in UNESCO programmes of international cooperation is determined by the health, autonomy and scope of its National Commission, which enlists the interest and assistance of such influential groups as teachers, students, scientists, artists, journalists and specialists operating the media of information. If a National Commission reflects adequately the creative forces in the fields of education, science, culture and communication, it is able to mobilise and draw upon the enthusiasm of the general public. This gives it the resources and possibilities of vigorous, independent action, which can help it to contribute to the work of UNESCO in a way that is not open to the other UN bodies.

Both by the nature of its responsibilities and its functioning through the multiplicity of governmental and non-governmental organs, UNESCO is singularly fitted to contribute to the furtherance of the three themes selected by the UN General Assembly for the celebration of the organisation's twentyfifth anniversary: PEACE, JUSTICE and PROGRESS. It is the essence of UNESCO's mission and its overriding responsibility

to help create in this world of tensions and fears, of greed and selfishness, a new climate of ethics and morality, of idealism and harmony. The massive and concrete tasks of bringing peace, justice and progress to all mankind can only be performed successfully and speedily in a mighty adventure of joint endeavour and a fresh outburst of the spirit and energy of man. This will help man to rediscover himself in his identity with others, express himself in love and service to his fellow-beings, and transcend his own nature by partaking of the universal and thereby directing his own evolution, especially in the moral and spiritual realms.

The preamble to the constitution of UNESCO, which Jawaharlal Nehru quoted frequently, states: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." It adds words which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad often expressed in his own poetic way: "Ignorance of each

The Indian Institute of Petroleum in Dehra Dun is a project assisted by UNESCO. This is a view of the Institute's extraction and distillation laboratory.



other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have too often broken into war." The preamble further declares, what another great founder of UNESCO, the philosopher-statesman, Dr Radhakrishnan, has expounded and elaborated so eloquently: "A peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

Considering the unique character and objectives of UNESCO, it is not surprising that among all organs of UN, it has had a special appeal for the mind of the new India, nurtured in the ideals of its own freedom movement, shaped by the nature of the struggle as planned and led by Mahatma Gandhi. Ideas and urges contributing to the objectives of democracy, equality, synthesis of cultures, supremacy of moral and spiritual values, the pursuit of scientific objectivity and reason, as well as the old traditional values of love and compassion, which characterised India's freedom movement, are also the basis of UNESCO's mission and have moulded its goals and programmes of building peace, promoting development, and enriching the quality of life by imparting a new meaning and substance to the eternal values of truth, beauty and justice. The faith of the leaders of our nationalist movement in the spread and quality of education, the application of science and technology to development, the elevating role of cultural values in refining the nature of man and the use of cultural activities and media of communication for increasing mutual understanding and trust among diverse peoples and cultures, are also the mandate of UNESCO. It was, therefore, natural that in the formative years of the organisation, India should have played an active and conspicuous role in its development and also derived inspiration and valuable assistance from the community of nations.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

In the things of the mind and the spirit, there is no limit to what people can share with each other and what is given freely is, in return, received even more abundantly, enriching both the donors and the recipients. India has given as abundantly to UNESCO as it has received from it in the fields of education, science and culture, and both the giving and the receiving have strengthened international cooperation for all.

UNESCO and the United Nations are what the world community of nations makes of these bodies, and it is in the action and commitment of its constituent units that the ultimate strength of the Organisation resides. India's record in the making of UNESCO is impressive.

From 1946, India has sent to UNESCO's sixteen General Conferences held in Paris and other parts of the world large and distinguished delegations that have played a significant role in evolving and formulating its rapidly expanding programmes and policies. We supported strongly the reconstruction of Europe's educational systems and its cultural life, devastated by

the Second World War. Our efforts were repeatedly directed to the liquidation of colonialism and for the freedom of dependent territories. In this, the example and character of the Indian freedom movement did not fail to inspire others. Special stress was laid on education for international understanding, and India herself developed the most massive programme of associated schools under UNESCO's experimental programme.

In 1960, after more than a decade of proliferating activities, it was the joint initiative of the Indian and the United Kingdom delegations which led to a measure of concentration of UNESCO's effort by according overriding priority to education. Earlier, in 1956, at the 9th Session of the General Conference in New Delhi, the only time that it has met in Asia because of the leading role played by India, especially by Dr. Radhakrishnan and the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, that the UNESCO project for the mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values was launched. Indian historians collaborated in the preparation of the Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. The concepts of basic and social education evolved in India influenced the development of UNESCO's programmes of Fundamental Education and Functional Literacy. The Arid Zones Research Project was also proposed by India and adopted by the General Conference. The late Dr Homi Bhabha presided over many distinguished gatherings of scientists and brought India near the centre of the growing network of scientific cooperation. The programme for the application of science and technology to development found powerful support from Indian delegations. Indian specialists were prominent in the development of educational planning in the world, especially in Asia.

FAITH IN COOPERATION

Two examples of India's faith in international cooperation and in the nature of her open, democratic society deserve to be mentioned. Soon after Independence, India requested UNESCO to provide specialists to study internal tensions in Indian society, a step which has had no precedent in any other part of the world. A distinguished group of social scientists studied the problems with great objectivity, contributing to the development of methodology as well as the discovery of new data on social tensions. In 1964, India's Education Minister, Mr M. C. Chagla, appointed an Education Commission, composed of Indians and foreign specialists provided by UNESCO, to examine all aspects and levels of Indian education. The report of the Commission has played an important role in improving the quality of education in many developing countries. Such examples of India's action for strengthening international cooperation, promoting peace and advancing social and economic development through meaningful initiatives and programmes in the fields of UNESCO work can be multiplied.

The measure of India's interest in UNESCO is evident from the fact that two former Presidents of India, Dr S. Radhakrishnan and Dr Zakir Husain, and the present Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, have been members of UNESCO's Executive Board. UNESCO is the only organ of the UN in which India

has retained a permanent place on the Governing Body, and has virtually assumed the role of one of the five Cultural Powers. At the last two elections to the Executive Board, the Indian candidate polled top votes and India has always been represented at the Supreme Steering Committee of the General Conference. UNESCO has drawn upon the services of Indian specialists in all fields. And, though a country with one of the lowest literacy rates, India is the third largest supplier of experts rendering technical assistance to developing countries in the fields of UNESCO's work. At present 14 Indians are working at UNESCO headquarters and fifty-six experts are in the field, which is far in excess of the quota allotted to India on the basis of the accepted UN formula.

UNESCO ASSISTANCE

Over the years, India has received considerable technical and material assistance from UNESCO. The total amount of assistance provided to India under the UNDP and the Participation Programmes from 1961 to 1970, amounted to 21,606,000 dollars, all in foreign exchange and in rare skills and materials not available locally. Numerous projects have been launched, and many of these have achieved outstanding results. India has received assistance from UNESCO mainly in the fields of science and technology. The Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay, developed with UNESCO assistance, is one of the best institutions of its kind in Asia. UNESCO has assisted centres of advanced studies at the Universities and in reorganising science teaching in secondary schools. Among other projects mention may be made of the Power Engineering Research Institute, Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute at Durgapur, Central Scientific Instruments Organisation, Refining and Petrochemical Division of the Indian Institute of Petroleum at Dehra Dun, Teacher Training for Engineering Colleges at Warangal, National Institute of Foundry and Forge Technology at Ranchi, six Regional Colleges of Engineering, Post-graduate Agricultural Education and Research, Television Production and Studio Technical Operation Training Centre at Poona, and Post-graduate education of engineers. Among other educational and cultural activities, UNESCO has initiated action in the renovation of temples of South India, assisted a Seminar on 'Open University' and the International Conference on Tamil Studies, supplied equipment for the National Centre of Performing Arts, promoted cultural studies undertaken by the India International Centre and helped various programmes of book development. The Delhi Public Library was established as a joint UNESCO-India project. Indian classics have been translated and works of art reproduced and published in the UNESCO series. Recordings of Indian music have been popularised by the International Music Council. The Asian Theatre Institute, the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration and the South Asia Science Cooperation Office were established and operated with UNESCO's assistance. What is more important behind each project is not so much the financial resources as cooperative action and rare skills that have been of the greatest value.

It was due to a special relationship developed between India and UNESCO that the Organisation took the unusual step of participating in some of our national functions and honouring some great Indian personalities. UNESCO participated in the Tagore Centenary Celebrations and helped in promoting international celebrations of the Gandhi Centenary, including the organisation of an International Round Table. UNESCO organised, in cooperation with the Indian National Commission, an International Symposium on the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in the modern world. No other member-State of UNESCO has received such attention and assistance from the organisation. It also reflects the high esteem in which the UNESCO National Commission of India is held by other member-States and by the Secretariat. At the General Conference in 1966, which was the 20th Anniversary of UNESCO, India initiated a historic debate on the role of National Commissions and took a leading part in formulating the proclamation of Principles of International Cultural Cooperation.

India continues to be an active and prominent member of UNESCO and derives increasing benefit from this association. She has given to UNESCO her loyalty and commitment and she has received valuable aid for her own development. Ultimately, it is what we give that is more important than what is received. I hope that in the years to come, we shall further elevate the role and action of UNESCO in the family of the United Nations and thereby strengthen the forces of peace, cooperation and development to realise the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

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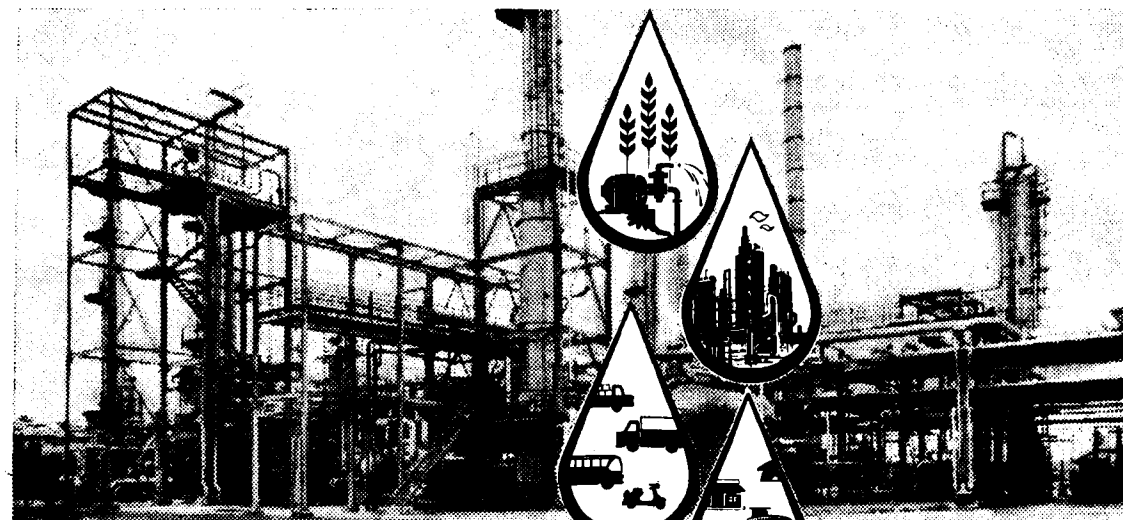
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CLEARING THE DEBRIS OF THE KOREAN WAR

INDIA'S FIRST MISSION OF PEACE

B. N. CHAKRAVARTY

War broke out in Korea on June 25, 1950, and lasted just a little over three years. One of its worst legacies was the determination of the future status of 23,000 men taken prisoner by both sides. As Chairman of the of the six-nation Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, this formidable task fell upon India. The responsibility had to be discharged under the most difficult and discouraging conditions, and under the weight of suspicion and fear entertained by both sides.

AFTER the Korean armistice, the UN Command had been urging that no prisoner of war should be denied the right to seek political asylum, which was one of the recognised human rights. The other Command representing the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, however, insisted that all captured prisoners must be returned to their home countries in accordance with the Geneva Convention. This controversy went on for some time until by an agreement, reached on June 8, 1953, a Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission was set up, with Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland as members. India was to serve as Chairman and, as the executive agent of the Commission, was required to provide custodial force of some 6,000 men to take charge of the prisoners of war.

The terms of reference of the Commission provided that "within 90 days after the NNRC takes...custody, the nations to which the prisoners belong shall have freedom and facilities...to explain to all the prisoners of war their rights, particularly of their full freedom to return home...At the expiration of 90 days after transfer of custody...access of representatives to the captured personnel...shall terminate and the question of disposition...shall be submitted to the Political Conference...which shall endeavour to settle this question within 30 days, during which period the NNRC shall...retain custody". It was, further laid down that "within 120 days" the NNRC "shall declare the release from the prisoners of war status to civilian status" of any prisoners who had not elected repatriation and for whom no other disposition had been made by the political conference. The termination of custody of the prisoners by the NNRC at the end of 120 days was thus mandatory.

From the very beginning, the Indian delegation on the Commission and the Custodial Force of India (CFI) had to face many difficulties. President Syngman Rhee had dubbed all Indians as Communists and had, on this ground, refused to permit any Indian to land on South Korean soil. Lieutenant General K.S. Thimayya, Chairman of the NNRC, and myself, Alternate

Chairman, together with the rest of our delegation, were flown in a military plane from Tokyo to Seoul airport. From there, we were whisked away in helicopters to the demilitarised zone in Panmunjon. The ship carrying the custodial force, under the command of Major General S.S.P. Thorat, anchored off Inchon and had to be airlifted by helicopters into the demilitarised zone. This was perhaps the largest helicopter lift of its kind undertaken in East Asia. It is to the credit of the US Air Force that this task, involving more than a thousand sorties, was performed with almost machine-like precision. The Indian delegation was also subjected to threats and intimidation by the Republic of Korea, whose acting Foreign Minister threatened to send the Korean armed forces "to drive the irresponsible Indian troops out of Korea". For some time, the guns of the UN Command were reportedly turned towards the South to prevent any untoward incidents.

The delivery of the custody of the prisoners of war, numbering about 23,000 men, to the CFI was completed by September 24. The Czechoslovak and Polish members of the Commission urged that the organisations existing in the Prisoners of War Camps should be broken up and the "agents" and "ring leaders" segregated. The Swiss and the Swedish members opposed this proposal, but suggested that the CFI should punish anyone found guilty of acts of violence and intimidation... There was, however, no way of identifying the secret agents. All efforts to segregate them were, therefore, given up, as this would not have been commensurate either with the results achieved or with the risks involved.

Due to delay in the construction of suitable booths, explanations could not start until October 15, 1953. On that day, 500 Chinese prisoners of war were persuaded to go to the explanation booths, but only after a show of force by the CFI, ten prisoners asked for repatriation. This was extremely disappointing to the KPA/CPV Command. Thinking that the North Koreans might be more amenable to explanations from them, the Command asked for the production of Korean prisoners of war. The Korean prisoners, however, refused

to come out of their camp to listen to explanations. The CFI had the authority to use light arms only either in self-defence or in the event of an attempted mass breakout. The Commander of the CFI, therefore, sought a clear directive from the NNRC whether he should use force to bring prisoners to the explanation booth. The Czechoslovak and the Polish members were of the opinion that directives were already clear and that the NNRC could not be expected to discuss steps of a purely military character. They made it clear that the CFI itself must accept its military responsibilities. The Swiss and Swedish members felt that the CFI was entitled to ask for a directive on what was essentially a major political issue. They were not, however, prepared to take a decision which might result in heavy casualties among the prisoners of war. The Indian Chairman felt that the NNRC, as the principals, must be prepared to support its executive agent, the CFI and all members must share the responsibility for the consequences flowing from the use of force. As there was no agreement in the Commission, the CFI suspended operations and decided to give up the attempt to bring the prisoners out by use of force.

The question, whether force could be used or not for compelling prisoners to attend explanations, could not be resolved even after long discussions. At one stage, the Swiss member stated that his Government might have to reconsider its participation in the work of the NNRC, if the Commission decided to use force for this purpose. In these circumstances, the only option left to the Commission was to accomplish its task by persuasion. The KPA/CPV Command was requested to conduct explanations to Chinese prisoners until the Korean prisoners could be persuaded to listen to explanations.



An Indian soldier in Korea with two Korean litter-bearers outside the Indian Field Ambulance tent.



The Indian Field Ambulance Unit, which arrived in Korea early in 1951 on a mission of mercy, became a familiar sight in the war-torn country. This photograph, taken somewhere in South Korea, shows the Unit in training.

nations. The request was not only turned down, but a counter demand was made that the Korean prisoners should be produced first. In the circumstances, no explanations could be held for a fortnight. At last, 459 Korean prisoners were produced for receiving explanations on October 31, of whom only 21 asked for repatriation. This was another disappointment to the KPA/CPV Command which had expected a better response from the Korean prisoners.

The delay in the construction of an extra compound to segregate those who had already been interviewed, from the rest of those who could not receive the explanations, also led to suspension of work for some days. Encouraged by the fact that recourse to force had been ruled out, the so-called "representatives" of the prisoners of war, however, refused to come out for receiving explanations, unless they were assured that there would be no segregation.

By the time the 90 days of custody of prisoners of war with the NNRC expired, the KPA/CPV Command had utilised only 10 days for conducting explanations. The Command was certainly responsible for not conducting explanations among Chinese prisoners who, at any rate, were willing to be interviewed. At the same time, there was no doubt that the prisoners were under the influence of a small but ruthless group of so-called "leaders" or "representatives", who had terrorised the prisoners into the belief that any request for repatriation would be followed by serious consequences. The KPA/CPV Command, therefore, felt that, until the existing organisations could be broken up, there would be no point in carrying out the explanations.

The poor results of explanations were apparent from the fact that out of 3,224 Chinese and North Korean

prisoners who received explanations from the representatives of the KPA/CPV Command, only 137 had asked for repatriation. Out of 255 South Korean prisoners who received explanations from the UN Command, none had asked for repatriation. This would seem to bear out the contention of the UN Command that the prisoners of war had already made up their mind and that, explanation or no explanation, the vast majority of them were determined to stick to their choice. On the other hand, there were also reasons to believe that the prisoners were not left entirely free to decide for themselves. Two hundred Chinese and North Korean prisoners had asked for repatriation even without receiving any explanations, but it was significant that not one of them had dared to do so openly in their camps. They had to do so surreptitiously at considerable risk to themselves. Some prisoners were actually beaten up and had to be rescued by guards with great difficulty, and as many as seven murders were committed inside the camps. Because of strong resistance from prisoners, the CFI had to mount a major operation for investigation of each of these crimes.

TRANSFER OF CUSTODY

Since explanations could not be conducted for more than ten days, the KPA/CPV Command wanted the period of 90 days to be extended. The UN Command, however, would not agree as, in its view, the KPA/CPV Command had deliberately wasted time. In the absence of an agreement between the two parties, the NNRC had no authority to go beyond its terms of reference, and explanations had to come to an end on December 12, when the 90-day deadline expired.

No political conference, as contemplated in the terms of reference of the NNRC, could be agreed to by the



The Chairman of the NNRC in Korea, General K.S. Thimayya, briefing leaders and representatives of POW Enclosures, before handing over the non-repatriate prisoners of the South Camp to the UN Command.

AMBASSADOR WHO WAS A 'DOPE'

US Ambassador Arthur Dean who carried on fruitless negotiations on behalf of the UN Command, overheard a conversation between two American soldiers the morning after his arrival in Panmunjon. Referring to him, one of the soldiers asked his comrade: "Who is this bloke?" The other replied, "He is Ambassador Dean, come here for preliminary discussions with the Commies." The first soldier commented, "Can't be an Ambassador. No real Ambassador would take on this job. He must be a dope."

two Commands. In the circumstances, the NNRC recognised that it had no legal authority to continue to keep the prisoners of war under its custody beyond the specified 120 days. It was, therefore, decided to restore custody of the prisoners to the respective Commands. The CFI transferred the custody of prisoners to the UN Command by January 21, 1954. During this transfer, 72 Chinese and 32 North Korean prisoners sought the protection of the CFI. The KPA/CPV Command, however, refused to take back their prisoners. On its suggestion, the Indian Red Cross Society was asked by the NNRC to hand over the prisoners to the sister Red Cross Societies of China and Korea. This handing over was completed a week later. So ended the work of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

India had to perform a very difficult and delicate task, which was not made easier by the frequent protests of the KPA/CPV Command, and some counter-protests by the UN Command. The Czechoslovak and the Polish members of the NNRC often held views diametrically opposite to those of the Swiss and Swedish representatives. It needed a great deal of tact and diplomacy on the part of the Indian delegation to prevent deadlocks in the Commission. The Custodial Force of India covered itself with glory by performing its duties quietly and unobtrusively, even under the most exasperating circumstances. In a personal message to Jawaharlal Nehru, General Eisenhower said, "No military unit in recent years has undertaken a more delicate and demanding a peace-time mission than that faced by the Indian forces in Korea. The vast majority of prisoners placed in their charge had, from months of imprisonment and uncertainty, become highly nervous and volatile. The confidence inspired by the exemplary tact, fairness and firmness shown by the Indian Officers and men led by their two able commanders...did much to alleviate the fears and doubts of the prisoners. The performance of these officers and their troops was fully in keeping with the high reputation of the Indian Army. They deserve the highest commendation." No tribute could have been more welcome to the Indian army, coming as it did from this great soldier-statesman.

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TOWARDS REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC IMBALANCES

The prevalent world trade pattern and practices have consistently hampered the rate of economic growth of the developing countries. A necessary corrective to this maladjustment is being sought to be provided by the UNCTAD.

UNCTAD'S GLOBAL STRATEGY

MANMOHAN SINGH

THE establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964 as a permanent agency of the United Nations marked the culmination of a long series of discussions in the United Nations which had their origin in the growing conviction that the realisation of the economic objectives of the UN Charter, namely, the abolition of the division of the world into areas of poverty and plenty, demanded a bold new programme of international economic cooperation, laying special emphasis on trade and aid policies towards developing countries.

Economic development is a multi-dimensional process involving far-reaching changes in a country's social and economic structure, institutions and attitudes. The primary responsibility for the economic development of the developing countries rests with these countries themselves. Liberal trade and aid policies pursued by developed countries are no substitute for massive self-help efforts by the developing countries themselves. At the same time, an unfavourable external environment, especially the sluggishness and instability of export earnings, can seriously reduce the effectiveness of the development efforts of the developing countries. For example, since most developing countries lack a well-developed capital goods industry of their own, an increase in domestic savings can generally be transformed into productive investment only if the conditions of foreign trade can ensure an increase in total export earnings, which can then be used to import additional capital goods and intermediate products. However, the export sector of a large number of developing countries lacks the dynamism demanded by the requirements of accelerated growth. In a number of cases, the faulty policies of developing countries themselves have contributed to the sluggishness of export earnings. Also, there are important factors beyond the control of developing countries and emanating from developed countries which severely limit export opportunities for developing countries. Very often, instability of export earnings is super-imposed on an underlying sluggish trend. Such an external environment tends to create a chronic gap between developing countries' need for raising imports and their capacity to pay for them

through increased exports. This gives rise to recurrent balance of payments crises which frequently result in reduction of investment programme and also accentuate the under-utilisation of available productive capacity.

It is a major objective of the UNCTAD to reverse these trends and through co-operative international action to ensure that "in an age when scientific progress has put unprecedented abundance in man's reach, it is essential that the flow of world trade should help to eliminate the wide economic disparities between nations". The UNCTAD also recognises the role of external aid from developed to developing countries in reducing the economic disparities between the two groups. Accordingly, considerable emphasis is laid on increasing the flow of external assistance and to soften the terms of such assistance as a valuable supplement to developing countries' domestic efforts for resource mobilisation. Furthermore, as one indication of its emphasis on self-help measures, the UNCTAD attaches great importance to measures designed to promote trade and economic cooperation among developing countries.

Primary products account for nearly 85 per cent of the developing countries' total exports. As such, the export behaviour of these products is a major determinant of their import capacity. Many developed countries impose a variety of restrictions on the import of a number of primary products from developing countries. The UNCTAD seeks to persuade them to remove these restrictions. Unfortunately, not much progress has been made in this direction during the last six years.

Another major problem for exporters of primary products is that of frequent fluctuations in the prices of these products in international markets. To deal with this problem, the UNCTAD seeks to promote international commodity agreements to secure just and remunerative prices for exporters of primary products. Unfortunately, the negotiation of viable commodity agreements has never been an easy task and at present only a few commodities like tin, sugar, coffee, olive oil and wheat are covered by commodity agreements.

USE OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS

The UNCTAD has also focussed considerable attention on the problems created by the competition between synthetics and primary raw materials. We in India are well familiar with the adverse effects of synthetics on our exports of jute manufactures, mica, coir and lac. Although enough is known about the problems that the growing use of synthetics creates for exporters of primary products, no viable international solution is in sight. It appears that there is need for some fresh thinking in the UNCTAD to deal with the complicated commodity problem. A massive international research effort to find new uses for primary products should form an integral part of the new strategy for dealing with this problem.

Recognising the many practical difficulties in stabilising prices of primary products in international markets,

the UNCTAD has laid considerable emphasis on setting up viable financial mechanisms at international level to provide assistance to developing countries facing export shortfalls. Long discussions in the United Nations in 1963 finally succeeded in persuading the hitherto unwilling International Monetary Fund (IMF) to set up a special compensatory financing facility for providing additional short-term assistance to developing countries. In response to a recommendation made by the first session of the UNCTAD in 1964, the IMF reviewed and considerably liberalised the facility in 1966. India has been a major beneficiary of this scheme.

Another scheme, called "supplementary financial measures", seeking to provide long-term assistance to countries experiencing unexpected export shortfalls (which are likely to disrupt the implementation of sound development plans) has been discussed extensively in the UNCTAD for the last four years. In September 1969, the Trade and Development Board of the UNCTAD invited the management of the World Bank to work out and to implement a scheme of supplementary financing on the basis of certain guidelines agreed to by the Board. The response of the Bank's management to this invitation is still not known. However, if developing countries, who are members of the World Bank, pursue this matter energetically with the Bank's management, a worthwhile scheme for supplementary financing may yet become a living reality.

The primary commodities are much less prominent in India's exports than is the case with many other developing countries. Accordingly, there is a tendency in this country to somewhat downgrade the importance of finding appropriate international solutions to the commodity problem. There has been a feeling among a number of developing countries represented in the UNCTAD that India was not very enthusiastic in its support for measures designed to deal with this problem. I believe that India has a major stake in international measures in this area. For example, we have a strong national interest in negotiating effective international agreement for tea, pepper and perhaps also iron ore. Also, India has been the largest user of the IMF's compensatory financing facility. Even otherwise, as an act of solidarity with other developing countries, India must lend its active support to measures designed to stabilise the prices of primary products and to reduce the adverse effects of such instability on the economy of developing countries.

It is now recognised that the export problem of developing countries cannot be solved if the present concentration on primary products is not reduced in the long run. Developing countries need to diversify their export structure, to include more of the manufactured goods in which they may have a long-term comparative advantage. However, exports of manufactures from developing countries face many barriers. First of all, the tariff structure of developed countries is such that while the raw materials bear low rates of import duty, the duty generally increases with the increase in the degree of processing, thus militating against the export of processed goods from developing countries. Unfortunately, the techniques of tariff negotiations in the GATT, the international agency

having responsibility in this area, with their emphasis on the principle of reciprocity, (that is, the countries seeking tariff reductions must offer equivalent tariff concessions), have ensured that the post-war liberalisation of world trade has been confined largely to products of export interest to developed countries. It was on this background that the first session of the UNCTAD recommended that developed countries should not insist on reciprocity in tariff negotiations with developing countries. This principle was put into practice in the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations which was completed in 1967. Although the results did not fully satisfy developing countries, there is no doubt that the Kennedy Round brought about a significant reduction in import duties on many products of export interest to developing countries. Of course, in many cases tariffs are supplemented by quantitative import restrictions. The UNCTAD has over the years identified these restrictions. But unfortunately, not much progress has been made to reduce them so that the practical effects of tariff reductions may not turn out to be very significant.

Another major barrier to increased exports of manufactures is that of high cost of production in developing countries, often arising out of an inadequate scale of output (and hence failure to fully utilise the economies of large scale) and also because of the lack of enough experience in marketing these products. It is hoped that since one learns by doing, over a period of time these disabilities would tend to disappear. In the meanwhile, there is need for some special mechanism to encourage the export of manufactures from developing countries. To this end, all developed countries agreed in principle in 1968 to institute a generalised non-discriminatory system of tariff preference in favour of developing countries. Negotiations are now under way to give practical shape to this commitment. As and when this scheme comes into being, developing countries, like India, whose hopes of an export breakthrough rest largely on the performance of manufactured goods, will stand to gain very substantially.

At the second session of the UNCTAD, the developed market economy countries undertook to earmark one per cent of their gross national product for aid to developing countries. The aid target, as it now stands, has many defects: it includes elements like private foreign investment, which contain very little of aid element; also, no date has been fixed for its implementation. Recent trends in the volume of aid are not very encouraging, but this is largely because of the stagnation of aid flows from the USA. In appraising the current situation, one must not overlook the energetic efforts being made by a large number of other developed countries to fulfil the requirements of the target by about 1975. Many of these countries are planning to increase significantly their official aid flows which generally carry concessional terms.

Right from the beginning, the UNCTAD has emphasised the need for softening the terms of aid so as to alleviate the debt service problems of developing countries. In India, external debt servicing now absorbs

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UN NEEDS NEW ORIENTATION FOR SURVIVAL

The United Nations is a gift of the Second World War, just as the League of Nations was the gift of the First World War. Both these organisations grew out of the revulsion created in the mind of civilised humanity against barbaric violence, bloodshed and carnage that resulted from these two world conflagrations. In a way this revulsion for war and the creation of a machinery for peace-keeping can be compared to *Smashan Vairagya* (the feeling of renunciation that is born in one's mind when one sees the flames exhuming the body of a near and dear one on the funeral pyre). But, just as the *Smashan Vairagya* is momentary so is the revulsion for war. This explains how and why the early enthusiasm for the League of Nations was eroded in the course of twenty years leading to its ignominious end with the outbreak of the Second World War.

INDIA CAN PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE

BALRAJ MADHOK

INDIA is a peace-loving country, and her desire for peace and coexistence is born out of her ancient culture and philosophy, coming down from the days of the *Rigveda* which says:

स एको सत्, विप्राः बहुनाम वदन्ति
"God is one, the wise call him by many names"

वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्
"The whole world is one family"

आत्मन् सर्वभूतेषु
"Treat others as you would like to be treated by others"

These are some of the cardinal principles which have been shaping the life of individuals and the people in India since ages past. That is why India has never tried to dominate over her neighbours by force of arms, even when it was in a position to do so, and could produce an emperor like Ashok who renounced war in the hour of victory. That again is the reason why all persecuted people and religions like the Zoroastrians, the Jews and the Syrian-Christians found refuge in India and are still coexisting here in peace and freedom.

No wonder, therefore, that India has been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the UN, from its very inception. It has always tried to make it an effective instrument of peace in a world torn by conflict, and has been actively participating and contributing to the peace-keeping efforts and operations undertaken by the UN. The role of India and the Indian contingents in the UN operations in Korea, Indo-China, Cyprus and West Asia is well-known. India has never defaulted in the payments of its share for the maintenance of the UN and has always lent its support to all schemes and proposals to make the UN more effective in doing the job for which it has been created.

But with all this, India has little reason to be satisfied with the role the UN has actually played during the last 25 years, particularly where India is concerned. The role of the UN on the Kashmir issue

is a case in point. The whole world is aware of the circumstances leading to Kashmir's accession to India, following the invasion of the State from Pakistan, and India's role in saving the State from the invaders. Legally, the accession of Kashmir to India was complete, final and irrevocable. Any offer of holding a plebiscite or referendum, even if made by Prime Minister Nehru at the time was, as a former Chief Justice of India, Mr Mehar Chand Mahajan, has pointed out, *ultra vires* of the Instrument of Accession, of the India Independence Act and the Indian Constitution. The offer was, therefore, invalid. Having accepted the accession of the State, India was not only duty-bound to defend Kashmir and throw out the aggressors, but she was in a position to do so. But, only out of its regard for the UN, India decided to refer the matter to the world organisation in the hope that it would help in settling the matter and would bring the withdrawal of the Pakistani aggressors without further bloodshed.

But the way in which the UN tried to equate the aggressor with the aggressed and sidetrack the real issue, forced even Prime Minister Nehru to say that the "UN is lost in power-politics". This simple sentence uttered as back as February 1950, by Mr Nehru sums up the doubts and fear that the UN may also go the way of the League of Nations.

Later developments, like the failure of the UN to secure even the minimum human rights to the people of Tibet and the Hindu and other non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan, about ten millions of whom have been liquidated, forcibly converted, or squeezed out during the last twenty years. The UN has not been able to end minority white rule in Rhodesia, and to enforce sanctions against South Africa. Its helplessness in West Asia and Eastern Europe have made further inroads on the peoples' confidence in the role and effectiveness of the UN. The feeling has been growing that the UN is dominated by the "Big Powers", particularly the US and the USSR, which use and manipulate it to serve their own ends. It acts only when and where these two powers want it to act.

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With the rise of Communist China, which is not even a member of the UN, as another super-power and with its new technique of expansion through subversion of lawful government and wars by proxy waged by so-called revolutionary armies that are armed and financed by it, and the failure of the UN to provide any relief to the countries which are thus being harassed and subverted, the feeling has grown that the UN cannot be depended upon by smaller and developing countries in times of difficulty. This has led to greater attention being paid to regional pacts and groupings, independent of the UN. If this trend continues unchecked, the UN may be reduced in the days to come to a glorified apex without a base. This may prove to be the beginning of its end. If this is to be avoided, and the UN is to survive as an effective peace-keeping and conflict-resolving agency, constant efforts must be made to review its working in the light of the experience of the last twentyfive years. This will call for action in two directions.

STEPS FOR SURVIVAL

In the first place, the Charter of the UN should be revised to end the monopolistic stranglehold of the five permanent members of the Security Council, particularly, the US and the USSR. To achieve this, the right of veto vested in the five permanent members should be abolished. Also, the status of permanent members should be given to countries like India, Japan, Australia and Brazil. Such a broad-based Security Council alone, can have a greater understanding of the problems, urges and conflicts of the large number of developing nations of Asia, Africa and South America, and give the UN a really global character. Secondly, the UN must accept the need for and the feasibility of regional groupings and encourage the creation of such groupings as part of a programme of decentralisation of the UN itself, instead of allowing regional groupings to grow, thereby reducing the UN to nonentity, and a helpless or disinterested spectator. The distinctive character and complexity of the problems and conflicts of the countries of Africa, West Asia, South-East Asia and South America should be tacitly accepted and recognised by the UN. This will enable it to influence the regional groupings of these areas and adjust them within the framework of the UN.

INDIA'S ROLE

India, with its abiding faith in peace, coexistence and the peaceful solution of international conflicts, can do a lot to give such a reorientation to the structure and working of the UN, provided it is itself clear about the issues and has the strength to influence others. As things are, India is neither a factor for peace nor for war in the world of today. Apart from economic and military weakness, its policies on West Asia, South East Asia and elsewhere, have rendered her suspect in the eyes of many democratic countries. The USSR and Arab countries have started taking India for granted, as a result of which she cannot influence either of them. This situation can be changed and must change. A strong and self-reliant India can be the greatest bulwark for peace and an effective prop for the UN.

It is not enough to express good wishes and pay tribute to the UN on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee. It is essential that the countries, which genuinely feel about the need for such an organisation and want it to be effective, should be prepared to work sincerely and actively for the attainment of the aims and objectives for which the UN was created. As things are, it is the medium and smaller countries, and not the super-powers, which need the UN most. So long as these countries continue to depend too much on these super-powers, they cannot hope to play an independent and effective role in the UN. India being the biggest of such countries, therefore, has a special responsibility in the matter. It must play an independent role, uninhibited by ideological considerations and the politics of the super-powers. India has to give a healthy lead to the smaller countries, which want to steer clear of the conflict of interests of the big powers, so that they are able to develop in peace. This demands that India should be strong and self-reliant, economically and militarily, so that these countries can turn to India for advice and guidance. If India reorientates her policies to achieve objectives she will be indirectly helping in the preservation and strengthening of the UN.

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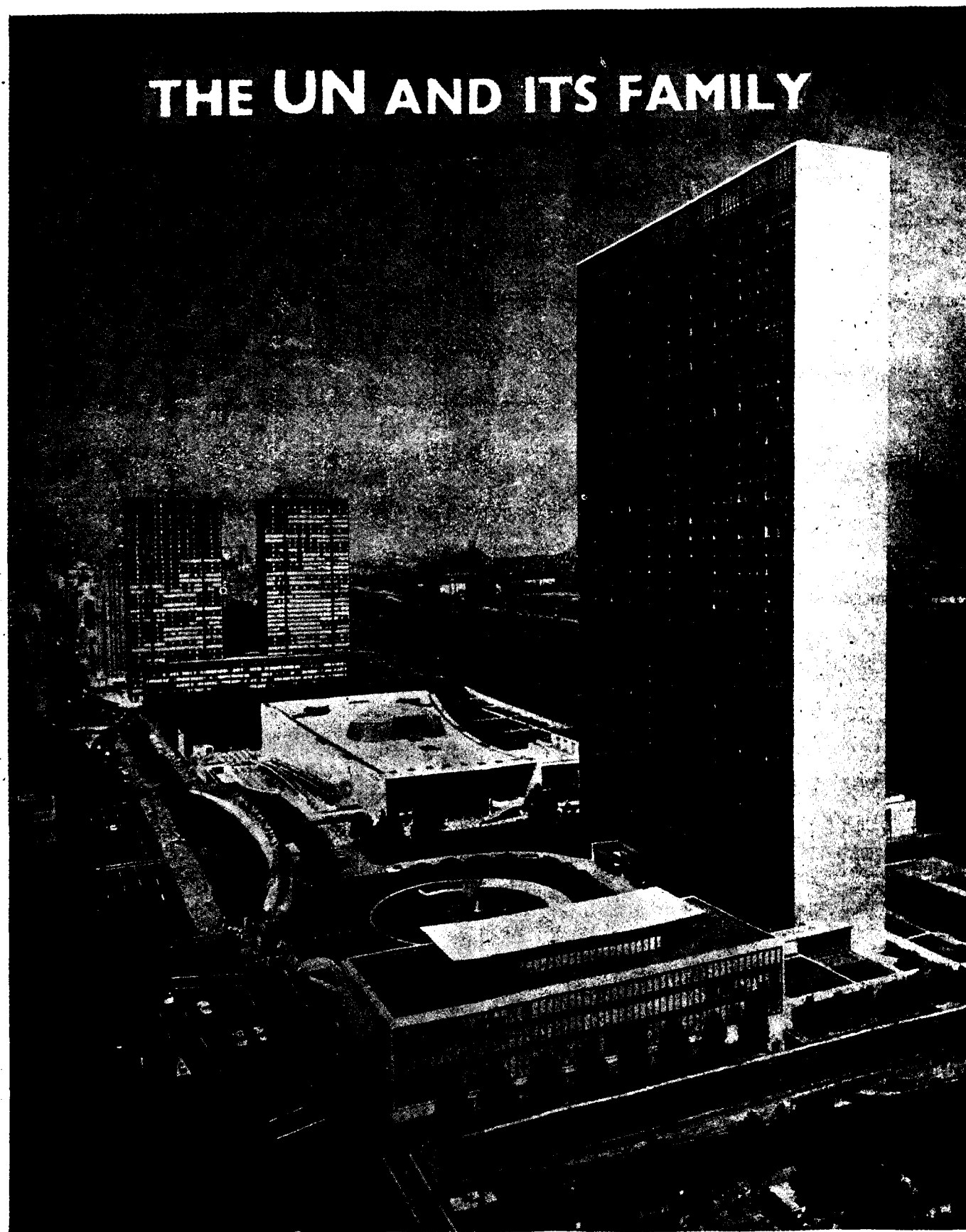
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THE UN AND ITS FAMILY



The massive UN Headquarters building and the UN complex in New York City, the symbolic heart of the "One World".

25 YEARS IN QUEST OF PEACE, JUSTICE AND PROSPERITY

JASBIR BATRA

ON September 1, 1939, the armed forces of Nazi Germany invaded Poland—the spark which set off the Second World War. With this the League of Nations, created under the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War (1919), ceased to exist, even though it was officially dissolved only in April 1946. The Second World War, much greater in magnitude and ferocity than the First, once again highlighted the imperative need to create another world organisation to replace the League of Nations, to save the world from the holocaust of War. It is out of this feeling that the UN was born.

The term 'United Nations' was devised by US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and was first used in the historic 'Atlantic Charter' signed jointly by him and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, in 1941. On January 1, 1942, the representatives of 26 allied nations made a pledge to continue fighting together to defeat the Axis Powers and signified their acceptance of the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter. On October 30, 1943, the leaders of the Big Four Powers (USSR, UK, US and China) at their meeting in Moscow agreed to set up an international organisation for the maintenance of world peace. Exactly a year later, the first concrete step was taken towards the creation of a successor organisation to the defunct League of Nations. This was at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington (US) where the first blue-print of the UN was prepared. In February 1945, the Big Four Powers, at their meeting at Yalta (USSR) discussed and approved the blue-print.

The UN story really begins with the San Francisco Conference, which opened on April 25, 1945, and lasted two months. It was at this Conference that the UN Charter was given its final shape, approved and signed

by representatives of 50 nations on June 26, 1945. However, the UN officially came into being on October 24, 1945, after the governments of the Big Four Powers and a majority of the signatories had ratified the Charter. It may be mentioned that Poland was not represented at San Francisco, but signed the Charter later to become a founder-member of the UN. Today, the UN has 126 members.

The ideals and aims of the UN, are set out in the Preamble to its Charter, which says:

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

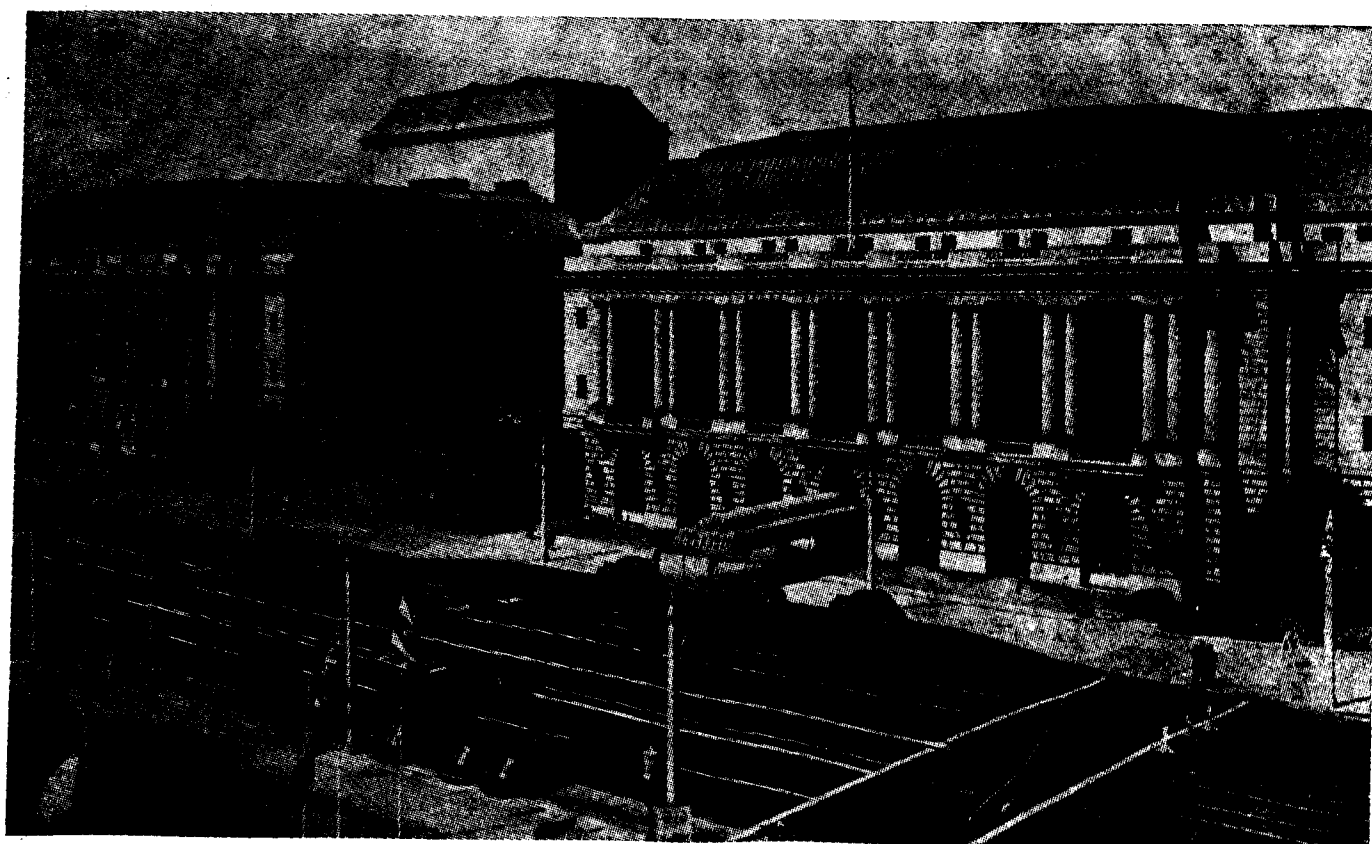
HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

The purposes of the United Nations are:

TO MAINTAIN international peace and security;

TO DEVELOP friendly relations among nations;

TO CO-OPERATE internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedom; and TO BE A



The imposing Opera House in San Francisco, where the UN Charter was approved and signed by delegates of 50 nations to give birth to the UN.

CENTRE for harmonising the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

The United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles: It is based on the sovereign equality of all its members who are required to fulfil in good faith their Charter obligations. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering peace, security and justice, and to refrain from the threat or use of force against other States. They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and not to assist States against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action. The United Nations shall ensure that States which are not members act in accordance with these principles in so far as is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Nothing in the Charter authorises the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the United Nations is open to all peace-loving nations which accept the obligations of the United Nations Charter and, in the judgment of the Organisation, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. Members can be admitted by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. Members may be suspended or expelled

by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. They may be suspended if the Security Council is taking enforcement action against them or expelled if they persistently violate the principles of the Charter. The Security Council can restore the rights of a suspended Member State.

The official languages of the United Nations are Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. For all organs of the United Nations, the working languages are English and French.

The main organs of the UN and their functions and powers are given below.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The chief deliberative organ of the UN, the General Assembly is composed of all Member-States. Each Member has not more than five representatives in the Assembly, but only one vote. The principal non-members of the World Body are: (1) People's Republic of China, (2) German Democratic Republic, (3) Federal Republic of Germany, (4) Democratic Republic of Korea, (5) Republic of Korea, (6) Democratic Republic of Vietnam, (7) Republic of Vietnam, and (8) Switzerland (by choice).

The Assembly meets once a year in regular session commencing on the third Tuesday in September. Special sessions can be convened at the request of the Security Council, of a majority of members of the United Nations or of one member if the majority of members

concur. An emergency special session may be called within twenty-four hours of a request by the Security Council on the vote of any nine members of the Council or by a majority of the United Nations members or by one member if the majority of members concur.

The Assembly occupies a central position in the Organisation. All the other organs of the UN including the Security Council submit annual and special reports to it, for consideration. It considers and approves the budget of the whole organisation and apportions the expenses among Member-States.

It has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the Charter, excepting a dispute or situation which is under the jurisdiction of the Security Council. However, here also it can make recommendations if the Security Council so requests. The Assembly has also the right to discuss the powers and functions of all the other organs of the UN. It initiates studies and makes recommendations to Member-States and to other organs for promoting international cooperation in the political, economic and social fields.

On ordinary matters the Assembly reaches its decision by a simple majority of those present and voting, and on important matters by a two-thirds majority.

Besides the above, the Assembly elects the elected members of the other Organs of the United Nations, and, upon the recommendation of the Security Council, admits new members to the UN and appoints the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly deals with its work through seven Main Committees on which all members have the right to be represented. They are:

- First Committee (Political and Security, including the Regulation of Armaments)
- Second Committee (Economic and Financial)
- Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural)
- Fourth Committee (Trusteeship, including the Non-Self-Governing Territories)
- Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)
- Sixth Committee (Legal)
- Special Political Committee (shares the work of the First Committee)

SECURITY COUNCIL

It is the Organ on which the Member States have conferred the primary responsibility for maintaining peace. The 15-member Security Council consists of five permanent members, namely, China (Taiwan), France, USSR, UK and the USA; and ten non-permanent members, elected by the General Assembly for a two-year term.

The Council has the right to investigate any international dispute and to recommend ways and means of peaceful settlement. In the event of a threat or breach of international peace, the Security Council can make use of its "enforcement measures", like severance of communications and of economic and diplomatic relations, and, if necessary, action by air, land and sea forces. The Council takes a decision on any matter, other than a question of procedure, by an affirmative vote of nine members, including the concurring votes of the five permanent members.



India has provided a large number of experts to work on UN projects in various parts of the world. The Thonburi Technical Institute in Bangkok is one of them. Dr N. S. Rajan, Chief Technical Adviser of the Institute (in white shirt) discusses a point with one of the students in the welding and sheet-metal class.



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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Composed of 27 members, nine of which are elected every year by the General Assembly for a three-year term, the Economic and Social Council seeks to promote economic and social development in the world, by directing and coordinating the work of the UN and its related agencies. In its work, the Council is aided by a number of functional Commissions and Standing Committees, which provide expert advice. In addition the Council has four regional economic commissions for Europe, Asia and the Far East, Latin America and Africa, which report to the Council. The Council also consults a number of approved non-Governmental Organisations working within the range of its activities.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is composed of Member-Countries administering trust territories, permanent members of the Security Council, which are not administering trust territories and enough other members (elected by General Assembly for a three-year term) to make an equal division between administering and non-administering members. The function of this Council is to assist the General Assembly in the supervision and administration of trust territories, placed under the International Trusteeship system for progressive development towards Self-Government or independence.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Located at The Hague in Netherlands, the International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges, elected by the Security Council and the General Assembly, each voting separately, for a term of nine years. The Court functions in accordance with its statute which is an integral part of the UN Charter. Its judges are chosen on the basis of their qualifications and not of their nationality. The Court is open to all members.

SECRETARIAT

The administrative functions of the United Nations are performed by the Secretariat. It is composed of a Secretary-General, appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council, and "such staff as the Organisation may require". U Thant of Burma is the present Secretary-General of the UN. The Secretary-General may bring to the notice of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, threatens international peace and security.

WORK OF THE UN

Since its inception the attention of the UN has been engaged in the achievement of a disarmed and secure world. For this purpose it has designated the 1970's as the "Disarmament Decade". Relatively new fields of concern to the UN are the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and Outer Space.

One of the main purposes of the UN is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion. The first international defini-



Dr A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference, addressing the plenary session.

tion of the rights of man, 'the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' was proclaimed by the General Assembly in December 1948. Since then a Declaration of the Rights of the Child has been adopted and attention is being given to improving the status of women, preventing discrimination of minorities, abolition of slavery and forced labour, prevention of the misuse of narcotic drugs and ensuring freedom of information.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Under the Charter, the UN has the duty to promote, among other things, "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development". To achieve this end the UN General Assembly designated the 1960's and now the 1970's as "Development Decades." The primary aim of the first decade was the attainment, by 1970, of a five per cent annual rate of economic growth in the developing countries. To help reach that goal, the economically advanced countries were asked to provide each year aid and capital amounting to one per cent of their national income.

The economic assistance programme of the United Nations started with the establishment in 1950, of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) for the developing countries. However, it soon became apparent that provision of men and machines was not enough to tackle the specific problems of the developing countries. What was required was systematic

development planning in these countries. For this purpose a Special Fund (SUNFED) was created in 1959 to help in the development of these countries by undertaking basic research and survey work.

Development Programme (UNDP)

In 1966, the EPTA and SUNFED programmes were merged to form the United Nations Development Programme. This was intended to broaden the scope and quicken the tempo of assistance to developing countries. The world's largest source of multi-lateral aid to low-income countries, the UNDP carries out surveys and feasibility studies in the countries which seek its help to determine their economic potential and to plan its most productive use. It also helps in establishing and strengthening educational and training institutes and in building up applied research centres for the development and application of new-techniques.

At present more than 8,000 international experts provided by UNDP are assisting over 130 countries to build sound economies and to raise the living standard of their peoples, through its pre-investment and technical assistance projects. UNDP-assisted projects cover a wide range of activities—agriculture, mining and manufacturing, health and education, and community development. These projects cost from a few thousand dollars to several million dollars each, and take from a few weeks to several years to complete. The recipient countries, on an average, contribute half of the project cost. The total cost of the approved projects, till now, is over 2,000 million dollars. UNDP is financed by voluntary contributions from both the developed and developing countries.

Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Established in 1964 as a permanent organ of the General Assembly, with its headquarters at Geneva, UNCTAD aims to promote international trade between countries at different stages of development, and with different economic and social systems. At its second session, held in February-March 1968 in New Delhi, the Conference discussed the possibility of giving preferential treatment to industrial exports of the developing countries, and other ways of improving the terms of aid to these countries.

Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)

An autonomous body within the United Nations, UNIDO seeks to promote and accelerate industrial development in the developing countries. Established in 1966, with headquarters in Vienna, UNIDO carries out promotional and operational activities supported by relevant studies and research. Among UNIDO's operational activities is the Special Industrial Services (SIS) programme. Financed from voluntary contributions, SIS provides, at short notice, aid to countries to promote new industrial projects.

Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)

With its headquarters at New York, the UN Institute for Training and Research started operations in 1965. Its object is to train personnel, especially from developing countries. It also conducts research

on such problems as the brain drain to affluent countries and the transfer of technology to developing countries. By the beginning of 1969, UNITAR had trained about 350 officers from over 40 countries.

World Food Programme (WFP)

Sponsored jointly by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organisation in 1963, the World Food Programme seeks to stimulate economic and social development through aid in the form of food. For example in low-income countries food may be used as a partial substitute for cash wages to workers engaged in development projects. In addition, the programme helps to meet emergency food needs created by floods, drought, earthquakes and other natural calamities. Till 1968, the WFP had provided food aid for 308 economic and social development projects in 74 countries. For 1969-70, it has set a target of 200 million dollars in voluntary contribution of food, cash and services.

AID FOR SPECIAL GROUPS

UN has, from time to time, set up organisations to assist such groups as need a special kind of aid. Originally intended to meet emergency needs, these organisations have since continued to function on a permanent basis. These organisations are:

Children's Fund (UNICEF)

The United Nations Children's Fund was established by the General Assembly in 1946, to help the developing countries to improve the condition of their children and youth, the majority of whom were undernourished and prone to disease. An autonomous body, UNICEF helps the countries, at the request of their Governments, to plan programmes for children. It also aids in the training of national staff to plan and operate these programmes. However, a major part of its aid takes the form of providing equipment and supplies for basic health services, including maternal and child health care, nutrition, welfare, education, vocational training and other projects benefitting children and youth. UNICEF is currently aiding 477 projects in 120 countries. It was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 in recognition of its work.

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

This organisation provides international protection and emergency food and shelter to refugees and assists to rehabilitate them. UNHCR works in collaboration with Governments and other UN agencies. On an average the UNHCR helps 7,500 refugees annually. It was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1954.

Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)

Established in 1949, UNRWA provides food, shelter, health, educational and vocational services to Arabs displaced from Palestine, which has since become part of Israel. Supported wholly by voluntary contributions, UNRWA issues annually food rations to nearly 900,000 persons and shelters 500,000 persons in camps. The organisation provides educational facilities to 250,000 children.

SPECIALISED AGENCIES

Allied with the United Nations in working out the myriad problems of an increasingly complex and inter-dependent world are a group of specialised agencies making up what is known as the United Nations Family of Organisations. Like the United Nations itself, each of these agencies has its own membership, budget and machinery; unlike the United Nations, each works in a specific field of international cooperation—labour,

health, telecommunications, meteorology and the like. There are 14 such agencies, many of them set up since the United Nations came into being but some of them predating the World Organisation by several decades. They cooperate in many ways, notably as partners in the United Nations Development Programme, where they carry out assistance projects financed by UNDP.



International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Established in 1957, with headquarters in Vienna, the Agency promotes the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, by assisting research, arranging the supply of materials, establishing safety standards and applying safeguards against the diversion of materials to military use. It also supplies technical assistance to developing countries and promotes exchange of technical information.



International Labour Organisation (ILO)

Set up in 1919, by the Treaty of Versailles, ILO is one of the oldest among the Specialised Agencies to have survived the Second World War. It brings together representatives of Government, labour and management for united action to improve working conditions to increase labour productivity and to seek economic and social stability. The membership of ILO, which has its headquarters in Geneva, has increased from 45 in 1919 to 121 countries in 1970. The major part of its programme is now geared to the needs of developing countries.



Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO)

Established in 1945, with headquarters in Rome, FAO helps member countries to increase production in farms, forests and fisheries; to improve distribution and marketing of agricultural produce, and to raise the

nutrition levels and standards of living. In carrying out these purposes, FAO promotes the development of the basic soil and water resources of countries and encourages the establishment of a stable international market for agricultural commodities. In 1960 FAO launched a 'Freedom From Hunger' campaign, and in 1963, jointly with UN, a World Food Programme. Under the latter it provides food for economic development and relief.

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)



It seeks to promote peace and international understanding through international collaboration in education for all. Established in 1946, with headquarters in Paris, UNESCO seeks to broaden the base of education in the world, bring the benefits of science and research to all countries, and encourages cultural exchange. Its projects include literacy campaigns and training of teachers, scientists, technicians and engineers, fostering of the mutual appreciation of different cultures and provision of technical assistance in developing mass communication media. This year UNESCO is observing 'International Education Year', in a special effort to remove mass illiteracy and ignorance from the world.

World Health Organisation (WHO)



Established in 1948, with its headquarters in Geneva, WHO is the agency for international cooperation in improving the physical and mental health of all peoples. It helps Governments to carry out public health programmes, coordinates efforts to prevent the spread of epidemics, trains health workers at all levels, sets standards for drugs and vaccines and encourages international research in medicine and surgery.



International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

The Bank was established in 1945 to assist in the reconstruction and development of its member countries by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes, promoting private foreign investment, and encouraging the balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in the balance of payments.

The Bank also furthers the economic development of its members by giving them loans and by furnishing technical assistance services. Since its inception the IBRD has made loans totalling more than 11,000 million dollars for projects connected with the development of power, transport, industry, agriculture and natural resources. Its headquarters are located in Washington, D.C.

The World Bank has two affiliates. One of these is the International Finance Corporation (IFC), set up in 1956, with its headquarters in Washington, D.C. The IFC promotes economic development through investments in the private sector of the less developed areas, without any Government guarantee of repayments. It also assists the development of local capital markets and seeks to stimulate the international flow of private capital. A separate legal entity with its own funds, the IFC had made commitments amounting to 278 million dollars in 159 investments in 39 countries up to the end of 1968.

The second subsidiary of the World Bank is the International Development Association (IDA). Established in 1960, the IDA extends long-term credits to underdeveloped countries. Its headquarters are also in Washington, D.C.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

IMF was established in 1945, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., to promote international monetary co-operation, exchange stability and the expansion of international trade; to assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments; and to eliminate foreign exchange restrictions which hamper world trade. In carrying out these tasks, IMF sells foreign exchange to member countries to help them meet temporary foreign payments difficulties. The total drawings on the Fund at the end of 1968 were 7,298 million dollars, as against its total resources of 21,000 million dollars in gold and currencies.



International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO)

Established in 1947, with headquarters in Montreal (Canada) ICAO promotes the safety of international

civil aviation, specifies the location of air-navigation services, simplifies customs, immigration and public health procedures at international airports, and arranges joint financing of air navigation facilities and services. Through technical assistance, ICAO helps developing countries to build up air transport services and train personnel to man them.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)



The Union was established in 1875, with headquarters at Berne (Switzerland). It organises and improves postal services. At least 3,000 million pieces of mail are delivered every year all over the world through the reciprocal exchange of correspondence.

International Tele-communications Union (ITU)



The ITU promotes international co-operation in radio, television, telegraph, telephone and space communication. The oldest of the Specialised Agencies going back to a predecessor organisation established in 1865, its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.

World Meteorological Organisation (WMO)



The WMO came into being in 1950, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It seeks to promote international cooperation in the study and forecasting of weather through the establishment of a worldwide network of meteorological stations and the rapid exchange of weather data. A new global weather system, 'World Weather Watch', is being progressively put into operation since 1968.

Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation (IMCO)



IMCO works to increase safety at sea and fosters action to prevent pollution of the sea. It also helps increase shipping facilities for the expansion of trade without discrimination, and seeks to end unfair restrictive practices by shipping concerns. The IMCO was set up in 1958, with headquarters in London.

IDEALIST INDIA FACES REALITIES

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

B. K. NEHRU

INDIA was a member of the United Nations, as she was of the League of Nations, even before she became a sovereign state. While at Geneva our membership meant only one more voice and one more vote for the United Kingdom, our delegation to the United Nations was almost from the very beginning fully representative of Indian interests. By the time the Second Assembly met in 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru was already Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council and we were for all the practical purposes independent.

Like all newly independent countries—and perhaps even more than most—we were idealists and had illusions regarding the real world. Having virtually no practical experience of international affairs, we assumed in our innocence and our idealism that all the signatories to the UN Charter meant every word of what that document contained and that consequently the jealousies, the conflicts and the clashes of interest of sovereign states would be put at rest and peacefully resolved by this great world organisation devoted to the cause of justice and peace. It was this misconception of the real nature of the external world that caused us to go to the United Nations with our complaint of aggression against Pakistan relating to Kashmir. And it came to us with considerable shock that what we thought to be a clear case of violation of international law, did not seem to be so to the great world body upon whose sense of justice, fairplay and desire and ability to enforce the law, we had so greatly counted.

We discovered over the years that it was not that easy to maintain peace or establish justice or enforce the law even within the nation-state; and that, with the best will in the world, the performance of the same task on an international scale was beset with even greater difficulties. Even more than in the case of national authority, ideas of justice and of morality differed; and national interests were even more relentlessly, ruthlessly and powerfully pursued on the international scale than regional and sectional interests were pursued on the national scene. The UN decisions had necessarily, therefore, to reflect the realities of political power; they could not but by the resultant of the various forces generated by the national interests of its members. Just as decisions of a national government are political rather than juridical, the decisions of the United Nations must necessarily be so. Added to this is the fact that unlike national governments, the United Nations is no sovereign power and has no authority of any kind to enforce such decisions as it

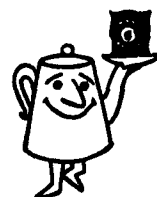
may make; it is dependent on the willingness of countries to submit to its jurisdiction and of other countries to provide the sanctions, economic or military, to enforce its will.

It was the gradual understanding of these realities that has caused our own attitude to the United Nations to mature. We no longer regard it as a world government dispensing from a remote distance abstract justice in accordance with the dictates of international law. Wisely, we did not go to the United Nations to get Portugal out of Goa, nor when we were attacked by China; and, unlike 1948, we did not even ask for a meeting of the Security Council when Pakistan invaded Kashmir in strength in 1965. We began to handle our Kashmir case very differently. Instead of making lengthy speeches—our representatives made a speech lasting nine hours in 1957—which produced no results except banner headlines in our own press, in 1965 our representative, in speech that lasted no more than a couple of minutes, told the Security Council that India was no longer prepared to be a party to an inquisition into her domestic affairs. The Indian walkout on that occasion achieved what all our marathon speeches and erudite explanations of international law had failed to achieve, namely the virtual closing of the Kashmir case as far as the UN is concerned.

India's contribution to the United Nations has been considerable and continuous. Our very first achievement was to stress human equality by piloting an anti-apartheid resolution against South Africa. In the United Nations' early years, we took the lead in pressing in the Trusteeship Council, in the General Assembly and elsewhere for the rapid end of all colonialism. By doing so, we certainly helped to hasten the virtual end of that very tragic episode in human history. We should, however, not over-estimate the part, we played in this process. The colonial powers—with one exception whom nobody has been able to convert—were weakened as they have been by two World wars, had themselves come to the conclusion that the colonial game was not worth the candle and that the balance of advantage lay in getting rid of one's colonies. "World Opinion", which was our anti-colonial instrument, was not there, and is not even now, a particularly strong force for altering the policies of powerful nations.

Our vigorous opposition to colonialism earned us the gratitude of not only the newly liberated countries of Africa and Asia but also of those countries which had never technically lost their freedom but had been indirectly subordinated to colonial bondage. Virtually the first colonial nation to regain its independence, we also enjoyed considerable prestige as pioneers of freedom. Added to this feeling of gratitude and this prestige, was the effort of the towering personality of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom the world, and not only the Afro-Asian part of it, recognised as a leader of humanity

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rather than merely of a section of it. In the earlier days, consequently, India emerged as the natural leader of the Afro-Asian group. We did not however, long keep this leadership, for, apart from the fact that the individual interests of the various countries of this large group differed, our own handling of them sometimes left much to be desired. There were charges of arrogance, bad manners, discourtesy and lack of consideration on the part of some of our eminent representatives and they were not always unjustified.

This temporary leadership of the countries of Asia and Africa, whose one common condition is poverty, re-emerged on a somewhat wider scale in the economic field prior to the Delhi session of UNCTAD, resulting in the formation of the Group of 77. India's contribution to the cause of the underdeveloped countries has been very considerable. India has fought valiantly for their interests and has met with considerable success in devising ways and means to increase their economic resources. But economic realities are very much less spectacular than the political myths which are based on them. The Indian leadership of the poor nations, which has been uniformly able, mature, understanding and without any desire to monopolise the limelight, has been in a low key. It has consequently never been resented and continues to survive.

Another contribution that India has made to the United Nations in the realm of economic development, has been through the provision of technical, scientific and administrative expertise in a very large number of fields, to countries in the process of development as also to the headquarters of the United Nations. This activity is not based on any excess of virtue on our part. The reason, why among underdeveloped countries, we furnish by far the largest number of experts or administrative personnel to the United Nations, is that our economic development has fallen far behind our educational development which is the exact contrary of what has happened in most underdeveloped countries. We have consequently well-qualified experts in a large number of fields, whom we are unable to employ at home and who are, therefore, glad to export themselves abroad. Salaries in the United Nations being several times those in India, are very attractive to us. And as they are, by and large, less than are available to first class people in the developed countries, we are well placed in competition.

One of our major contributions to the United Nations has been in aid of its peace-keeping machinery. Our military contingents in the Gaza strip and the Congo earned a great name for themselves and brought great credit to our country. So did our representatives in Cyprus and in Korea. As a non-aligned country, our intervention was in much demand for purposes such as these in the days when the power equation in the world was still bipolar—witness our Chairmanship of the Control Commissions in Indo-China. In the changed circumstances of the super-power relationship and our clear-cut views favouring one side or the other in the trouble spots of the world today, it is doubtful, if

we would now be called upon to perform so freely and so frequently the kind of impartial function, which came so naturally to us in earlier years.

Our whole position in the international world and consequently at the United Nations, is no longer what it used to be. Our economic or military strength was never such as to justify the deference with which our views were heard. The respect due to the principled morality and soaring idealism of Jawaharlal Nehru was transferred to his country. Even during his lifetime, however, his - and therefore the country's - position was eroded for a variety of reasons including actions taken in his name without his authority. Two of these last haunt our representatives in the United Nations even today—our casting the solitary non-communist vote in support of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and our support in 1961 for the "troika" principle for the office of Secretary-General, which would have completely destroyed the effectiveness of the United Nations. But the more fundamental reason for the diminution in India's prestige is that the world respects strength and not goodness. The strength of a nation is a direct function of its wealth. We have had the distinction in the last decade of having almost the slowest growth rate of the economy in the whole and entire world—capitalistic or communistic, developed or underdeveloped. One of the consequences is internal disorder; another is the loss of international significance.

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ILO AND INDIA

For The Well-Being Of The Workers Of The World

F. G. SEIB

THE International Labour Organisation, being twice as old as the United Nations Organisation, became its first Specialised Agency in 1946. The respective agreement, which was approved by the Assembly in December 1946, was the first instrument of this nature and has served to a large extent as the model for subsequent agreements.

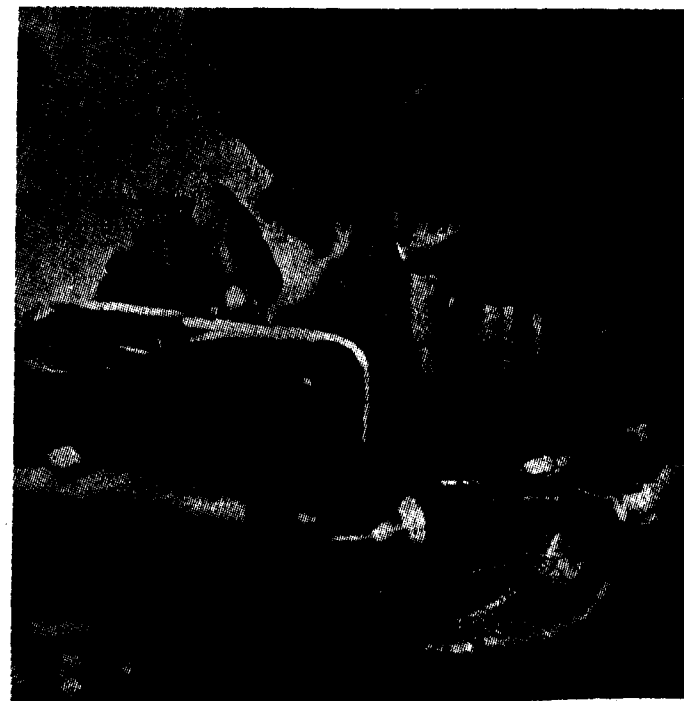
The ILO was created in 1919 by the Paris Peace Conference almost exactly a century after proposals for international action to regulate conditions of labour were first submitted to an International Conference by the Welsh-Scottish industrialist, Robert Owen, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Constitution of the ILO defines the aims of the Organisation and formulates its structure. The basic structure is simple. The members of the ILO are sovereign States; they meet at least once a year at a Conference, to which each member is entitled to send a tripartite delegation consisting of four delegates, two representing the government, the other two representing respectively the employees and workers of the country. A Governing Body has general responsibility for coordinating the activities of the Organisation into an overall programme which can be adjusted readily to take account of changing needs and priorities. Thirdly, there is an International Labour Office, with a permanent international staff, headed by a Director-General.

Simple as this structure is, it includes several innovations which were startling in 1919, and which remain unique today. In particular, the ILO provides for the representatives of management and labour a status equal to that of representatives of Governments.

This means that not only do representatives of employers and workers as well as representatives of Governments take part in its work, but employers and workers representatives speak and vote independently. Unique in this respect among international organisations,

the ILO owes its vigour and vitality to the balanced cooperation of Governments, employers and labour in developing its policies and programmes.

India has been with the ILO since the very inception of the Organisation in 1919 and the aims and objects of the Organisation, the standards set by it, its technical cooperation programmes and, above all, its tripartite method of considering labour problems have influenced developments in this country. As was once pointed out by the former Director-General of the ILO, Mr David A. Morse, "the great and revered spiritual leader of the Indian nation, Mahatma Gandhi, believed that social justice, even unto the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force." There is a striking similarity between the aims stated in the Indian Constitution and those of the International Labour Organisation in their insistence on social justice, liberty and equality.



A trainee at the Central Training Institute in Calcutta working on a valve grinder in the motor mechanics department.

While traditionally the setting of International Labour Standards in the form of Conventions and Recommendations is considered the fundamental form of achieving the aims of the Organisation, the number of ILO Conventions as ratified by India—30, is not an adequate measure of ILO's influence on labour law and practice in India. Many more of the basic principles of ILO Standards have found acceptance here. The desire to derive the maximum benefit from these Standards is evident in the measures taken to review the position periodically and particularly by the fact that a Tripartite Committee on Conventions has been set up in India. The Indian Government, on the occasion of the ILO's 50th Anniversary, published a comprehensive review of the position in relation to International Labour Standards.



The Regional Labour Institute in Calcutta is one of the three set up in the country to function as research education and training centres in human aspects of industrialisation. ILO has collaborated in this project, which has been launched with the support of the UN Special Fund. A training course is being planned in the Calcutta Centre.

The validity of this approach has been fully borne out by the experience of the past quarter-century. It is not only the formal acceptance of standards which matters, important though ratifications may be, but the role which Conventions and Recommendations can play in drawing up a coherent strategy for development. In recent months, competent UN bodies have increasingly emphasised the importance of social objectives in policies for development and the role which the ILO and its standards must play in such efforts has thus come ever more clearly into focus.

TRIPARTITE CONSULTATION

But by far the most abiding influence of the ILO is reflected in the tripartite consultative machinery set up in India to consider problems in the labour field. The Indian Labour Conference and the Standing Labour Committee which deal with labour matters at the national level are both modelled on the ILO. Similarly, there are tripartite industrial committees covering numerous industries functioning on the same lines as the Industrial and Analogous Committees of the ILO.

The voice of India in the ILO is a powerful one. It has to an important extent been instrumental in the growing shift of emphasis in the work of the Organisation from standard setting to technical cooperation. The first Regional meeting in Asia, the Preparatory Asian Regional Conference, was held in Delhi in 1947 and the

growing regionalisation and decentralisation of the ILO activities, particularly with regard to Asia have been persistently advocated by India.

The role of the ILO in Asia came in for a review at the Second Conference of Asian Labour Ministers, which met in New Delhi in January 1969. In a Declaration adopted by the Conference, the Asian Labour ministers pledged their full support to the ILO on the occasion of its 50th Anniversary. They have also expressed the hope that the work of the ILO will be reoriented so as to be of more direct benefit to the developing countries of the Asian region. The Conference gave its special endorsement to the idea of an Asian Manpower Plan as defined by the Regional Conference in Tokyo in 1968 and urged the countries of the region to give it their full backing.

The Asian Manpower Plan is one of the components of the World Employment Programme launched in 1969. It is designed to make employment, in accordance with the Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation adopted in 1964, one of the principal objectives of national policy and of international development policy. It seeks first and foremost to encourage and assist the countries of the region to take action to ensure that employment expands sufficiently fast to keep up with the rapid increase in the active population and also to bring about a gradual reduction in present levels of unemployment and under-employment. Similarly, it sets out to encourage the industrialised countries to adopt active manpower policies in order to maintain full employment, one of the aims being to create conditions favourable to the liberalisation of trade by easing the structural changes caused by higher imports from the less developed countries. Lastly, the programme hopes to bring

An ILO expert (lower right centre) at work with instructor-trainees in carpentry trades in the Central Training Institute in Calcutta.



about changes in the patterns and practices of international trade and in technical and financial cooperation programmes in order to assist the developing countries to achieve their employment objectives.

Thus the Asian Manpower Plan forms part of a broader effort to make employment one of the chief objectives of world strategy during the Second Development Decade. It implies the collaboration of the other international or regional organisations as well as the multilateral and bilateral aid agencies in order to achieve a common, coordinated approach through which technical or financial assistance programmes can make their proper contribution to the achievement of employment objectives.

But at the same time, the Plan cannot succeed unless the countries of the region pursue policies designed to promote productive employment and unless they take energetic action in such widely varying fields as community development, the promotion of industry and services, education and training policy, tax, monetary and commercial policy and wages and incomes policy, which will help to expand productive employment while at the same time making more efficient use of the available labour and improving standards of skill. It is clear that employment and manpower questions will continue to remain major pre-occupations of Asian countries for many years to come.

URBAN INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

In the past ILO programmes in Asia have concentrated very heavily on what could be described as the urban industrial sector of the national economy. Inadequate attention seems to have been paid to the needs of other sectors, especially the rural agricultural sector, the construction sector and the service sector. It is reasonable to assume that ILO participation in each of these sectors will grow in the years to come, but for some of them the ILO may need to prepare itself more systematically than it has done in the past.

In the organised industrial sector, ILO attention in both vocational training and management has been developed very much to "basic" fields—general building and light engineering trades and consumer industries. While in certain countries which are still in their initial stages of industrialisation these fields will continue to provide scope for ILO work, in several other countries, new industrial developments are likely in such fields as chemicals, including petro-chemicals and plastics, heavy engineering and machine tools, etc.

In the rural sector, the consequences of the new seed varieties not only upon the level of employment but also on problems of vocational training and management need careful and urgent attention by the ILO. The use of agricultural machines (small two-wheel and four-wheel tractors, threshers, dryers, sprayers, improved agricultural implements for use with animal power, water pumps and tube wells) is likely to expand dramatically in the near future and in many countries indigenous manufacturing will be introduced or expanded. Consequently the scope for vocational training and management improvement is vast, but workable inter-agency collaboration is needed. And rural institutions will require full attention, if lasting results are to be ensured.

Both the industrial and rural sectors need strong support from the service sector and big investments will continue to be made in national development plans in this field. Expansion of road and inland water transport facilities and of ports and shipping should open new possibilities for ILO action. The generation, transmission and use of electric power is another growing field of interest. The importance of maintenance and repair and the retrieval of ports is receiving increasing attention and offers scope for ILO action. Banking, commerce, cooperatives, and tourism are other growing sectors where new ILO projects in training and management should be possible.

Another new initiative to which attention should be drawn is the ILO programme concerning population problems and family planning within the framework of the UN programme in this field. This is bound to expand. The same is true of ILO activities relating to youth problems.

LABOUR POLICY

There is evidence of the growing concern among Asian countries of the importance of social and labour policy as an integral element of national development strategy. It is accordingly expected that the ILO programme concerning the development of social institutions will receive a good deal of impetus. Some pointers in this direction are available. Needs in fields such as workers' education, labour-management relations, strengthening of labour administrative services, and labour welfare, health and safety are growing. New problems of wages policy and social security are emerging. The improvement of the working and living conditions of rural workers is assuming greater urgency as the search for the best institutional channels to reach them. In many of these fields, the ILO is likely to be called upon to play its part both by research and promotional action and by technical cooperation projects.

The planning and implementation of the ILO programme is a joint endeavour of the participating countries and various elements of the International Labour Office at both headquarters and in the field. Under the policy of decentralisation which has so persistently and successfully been advocated by India, an increasing measure of responsibility for the management of field operations is being assumed by ILO offices in Asia.

The process of decentralisation, which began in Asia with the establishment of the Regional Office in Bangkok early in 1966 is continued. The Branch Office in New Delhi, one of the oldest of ILO Field Offices, was transformed into an Area Office in April 1970, covering India, Ceylon, Nepal and the Maldives Islands. It has also responsibility for relations with the regional offices of other UN Agencies located in New Delhi.

In spite of many handicaps and inadequate resources the recent years have been a period of expansion and consolidation for the ILO in many fields. Progressive decentralisation has proved worthwhile and the reorganisation has made steady progress in its operational activities. Despite tremendous difficulties positive

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MIDDLE POWERS CAN HELP REALISE HOPES OF MANKIND

RAJESHWAR DAYAL

INDIA, a founding member of the United Nations and the most populous, with a distinctive personality and policy, has been one of the pillars of the Organisation. Pandit Nehru was quick to realise that in the post-World War II order, the United Nations offered a great opportunity to the weak and emergent nations to take their place among the rich and strong on a basis of equality to correct past evils and to fashion a new world in the spirit of the Charter. In her foreign policy, therefore, India placed the greatest importance on building up the world organisation and helping to the fullest in advancing its objectives. There was not a single aspect of international activity in which India did not play a significant, and often a decisive, role. And she contributed many eminent personalities to the service of the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies, such as Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit as President of the UN General Assembly, Dr S. Radhakrishnan as President of the General Conference of UNESCO and Chairman of its Executive Board, Sir B.N. Rao as judge of the International Court of Justice and Mr B.R. Sen as Director-General of FAO. India has for years been represented on most of the important organs of the United Nations such as the Economic and Social and Trusteeship Councils, the Human Rights Commission, and twice on the Security Council, although by her size and general importance she should rightly be a permanent member of the last-mentioned body when its membership is increased. In all the important peace-keeping missions undertaken by the Organisation, it was Pandit Nehru's firm policy to spring to the aid of the Secretary-General promptly and in a generous measure.

During the Cold War period, when the principal threat to international peace came from acute differences between the Super-Powers, India, as the leader of the middle group of powers, struggled hard, through the intermediary of the UN, to prevent a head-on collision. Even in purely local conflicts, the two Super-Powers ranged themselves on opposing sides, stoking

the fires of discord and engaging themselves vicariously in the struggle. Frequently, the UN had to interpose itself between the protagonists, insulating threatening situations from exploding. And in its efforts, it relied heavily for support, politically and in personnel, on the non-aligned States. Hammarskjöld often told me that whatever others might say, he could not conceive of a crisis situation in which he would not call upon countries like India and Sweden for help. For the non-aligned—and neutral—countries are closest in their policies to the spirit of the Charter and to its general objectives. A UN solution to a dispute has to be fair and impartial, without swerving to Left or Right, and it cannot be politically loaded. That is why UN field operations have frequently been opposed or criticised by one side or the other in the Cold War, and sometimes by both for opposite reasons. But that is precisely a measure of their objectivity and impartiality and efficacy.

I have twice found myself at the head of a United Nations peace-keeping mission; in the civil war situation in the Lebanon in 1958, and in the Congo in 1960-61 as Hammarskjöld's Personal Representative. So acutely did Pandit Nehru feel the importance of India's full participation in these operations, that he agreed twice to interrupt my work as India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, to make my service available to the Secretary-General. The operation in the Lebanon was one of the neatest and most effective ever undertaken by the United Nations. The Congo operation was by far the biggest, the most intricate and perilous. But it too was outstandingly successful, and is today regarded as not only epic in character but as an example of the multifaceted ways in which the United Nations can help to resolve internal conflicts and reduce bloodshed, besides preventing outside intervention in the affairs of a weak and young State. But in the process, the UN itself had to weather many a storm and it barely survived the ordeal. That, however, was not the fault of the Organisation but of various States which wished to use the Congo as a crucible to promote their own ideas and interests, regardless of the cause of the Congolese people or of world peace. When many countries had abandoned the Congo to its fate and the UN itself was deeply divided, India's help in filling the breach was of critical importance in bringing the monumental effort to a successful conclusion.

FUTURE OF UN

Now what of the future? The configuration of world politics has changed radically and is in a process of further change. The old landmarks are fast disappearing, the familiar dangers giving place to new and yet unfathomed ones. But new perspectives are also appearing. The United Nations as a living organism must adjust and adapt itself to these changes. And so must all its Member-States, especially the weaker ones, for whom strength lies only in unity, lacking as they do both economic and military power. What is the nature of these changes which calls for a reappraisal of their policies on the part of the Member-States, and particularly in relation to the United Nations?

The most salient fact is that the forum of the UN is no longer used for Cold War polemics, since relations between the Super-Powers have not only thawed but are indeed warming up. That would be all to the good so far as world peace is concerned. But in this, where do the small and medium powers stand, and where the United Nations? In the Cold War period, the UN's effectiveness was hampered by the attempt of the Great Powers to use it as an instrument to promote their global and factional ends. Is there a danger of their by-passing the Organisation altogether and settling the fate of the international community between themselves? Nowhere has this been more evident than during the recent crisis in Jordan which was discussed and debated everywhere except at the UN. That did not enhance the prestige or influence of the Security Council. But the Super-Powers had decided to keep the matter out of that body. And the Jarring mission is in suspension, awaiting a signal from those Powers. At the disarmament talks in Geneva, it is the common experience of delegations that issues are settled outside the conference room by the Super-Powers, the Committee itself becoming an accessory after the fact. On the question of nuclear non-proliferation, the equal pressures of the two Powers on non-signatories are a matter of common knowledge.

INDIA CAN LEAD

The world welcomes with a sigh of relief the determination of the Super-Powers—which have the capacity to destroy mankind and all its works—to avoid a direct confrontation. But that is very different to a hegemony being established between them, with the smaller Powers in a state of passivity and impotence. Since the smaller Powers have been unable to build up effective regional bodies for mutual cooperation, their best hope lies in using the instrumentality of the UN to make themselves heard and heeded. It is only at the UN that they can participate fully and equally in building up a just and equitable world order. They cannot afford to abdicate their responsibility for their own future to the mighty of the earth, and it is for them to strengthen the prestige and authority of the UN. But they are still obsessed with the old myths and legends of the 1950's and betray a strange imperviousness to the vast political as well as scientific and technological advances being made in the modern world.

India should, in keeping with her historical contribution to the international system, lead the way to an assertion by the overwhelming majority of the Member-States of the UN of their deep interest in the settlement of world problems and their full participation in the process of change and development. The UN and its affiliates provide ample opportunities to the discerning and the determined to build up a genuine world order in which the welfare of each is the responsibility of all. U Thant has spoken of the need to set up a Committee of the Future, a kind of international brains trust, which would take up the common problems that face mankind. If international security is the concern and responsibility of all, so also is human betterment and improvement in the quality of life. Problems relating to the environment, outer space, the utilisation of resources of the

ATTENTION READERS

We regret that for unavoidable reasons we are unable to include Mr C.V. Narasimhan's article in this issue. The article, specially written for *Yojana*, will be published in our next issue.

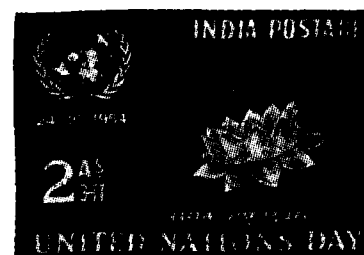
—Chief Editor

ocean bed, the population explosion, food for the millions, cannot be solved except with the full participation of all nations. At the end of this century the world's population will be almost six billion, which gives an indication of the magnitude of the tasks facing mankind.

The United Nations disappointed the aspirations of the nations of the world because it was used during the Cold War period as an instrument of discord, it should not fail during the present quarter of a century through neglect and indifference. If the middle group of Powers have the will and the skill, they can yet make of the United Nations the best answer to the hopes of mankind.

*For the world which seems
To lie before us, like a land of dreams
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor
light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for
pain,
And we are here, as on a darkling
plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle
and flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night.*

—Matthew Arnold



Gap Between The Technical Advance And Benefits Of Mass Media

CHANCHAL SARKAR

IN the 25 years the United Nations has seen in this world there have been vast changes in the international scene. It would be altogether hypocritical to say that all the changes have been for the good. In fact the dream that moved people in San Francisco in 1945 has been overtaken by harsh reality. War is not yet outlawed, poverty is not yet banished and colonialism is not yet an extinct species. The UN itself limps along with a financial crisis that grows worse every year. The powerful and independent presence that Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld tried to project has faded. Yet, tarnished and shop-soiled though it is, the UN still represents the best hope for mankind.

In the field of mass media the UN finds the world not very much better than when it started work. There are still 700 million illiterates, mainly in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. More than 45 per cent of the children of the world have no facilities for education, and considerably more than a hundred of the UN's members have not the minimum infrastructure of mass media facilities that would enable them to be considered on the way to being modern.

But, together with this truth of continuing darkness and ignorance, coexists another truth—the technological breakthrough in the field of communication has been more significant than in the entire history of mankind. And so the problem is how do we marry these two concurrent truths? The UNESCO is the agency of the UN which has been principally concerned with the mass media and it has laboured manfully. Whether it has succeeded we shall see later. Its priorities have been right. The spread of books, training in journalism and the other mass media, the use of mass media in education and in economic development, the implications of space communication, the free flow of information throughout the world, the founding of a body to get the Asian news agencies to work coopera-

tively like the OANA (Organisation of Asian News Agencies), all these are good, necessary and correct steps.

The UNESCO has concentrated its efforts in the three underdeveloped continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There have been a mass of studies, many seminars, numerous expert missions, large amounts of technical aid. India, for instance, has received help in setting up and running the Indian Institute of Mass Communication; the UNDP is to aid the Film and TV Training Centre at Poona; an expert mission has been studying the educational implications of television in the light of the fact that TV will spread to other Indian cities than Delhi in the coming five years. The preliminary report has been very thorough. These are only three examples, there have been scores of others dealing with cultural exchange, fellowships, research programmes, centres for sociological study and so on.

Unfortunately much of the efforts of UNESCO has fallen on barren ground. Some of the reasons are obvious. The world is just not prepared, the basic foundation of education and of economic strength in some countries is too flimsy to permit any building on it. But there are other reasons. By definition the UN has to be a bland organisation always mindful of the sovereignty of nations even when such sovereignty includes the freedom to deny people the basic human right of education and awareness and thus put people and countries out of alignment with the world. We have today many inward-looking countries which, year by year, are digging their head ostrich-like into the sands of isolation. The UN or its agencies do nothing to dissuade them. They have chosen a passive role.

The UNESCO can act only through governments and when governments are rock-ribbed in their bureaucratic delay and when their machinery is so vast and proliferating (as the Government of India's is), then it is to be expected that UNESCO, in that country, will not have a dynamic image but a bureaucratic one. Unfortunately this is true in India.

TECHNICAL HELP

The effect of the input of technical help and of expertise is always proportional to the foundation which already exists. Since the foundation is often poor in the underdeveloped countries, the results there have also been poor. In fact, almost all the most interesting results in the media, the new experiments, the use of new methods in education, have come from developed countries. Only in the developed countries do we get a glimpse of what mass media can do, its dangers as well as its enormous possibilities.

In the case of India the problems are somewhat unusual. We took over the objectives the British formulated, our mental equipment was very much affected by the British system. This was a system which was, in essence, elitist. It paid more heed to the well-educated, and concentrated for results on a few centres of awareness. Sheer physical factors have overwhelmed the calculations and premises of such a system,

but a new populist system which takes heed of problems involving vast masses has not evolved. That is why we really have not any policy for mass media; and if that is our predicament then what can the UN do? The UNESCO is a much-maligned body. Like other UN bodies, it has its own share of Parkinsonism. But if there is a practical policy and if UNESCO's help is sought in implementing it, then there would, I am sure, have been little ground for complaint.

From the foregoing we can draw some conclusions about the role of the United Nations in world mass media in the years until its next major jubilee twenty-five years hence. The pace of political adjustment to scientific and technological changes will continue to be slow and this will hinder the direct service that the UN can render. Nevertheless the breakthrough in mass media, particularly through satellite-communication, is such that even the backward and inward-looking nations cannot ignore it. Here the preparatory work that UNESCO is sponsoring will be of great significance.

SOCIAL IMPACT

More and more the UN must concern itself with the social impact of the mass media. It is important to pioneer development in the mass media, it is fine to draw up tentative plans for development, produce

studies like *World Communication* which show just how backward many countries are in the mass media, but the concern must also be on the quality of transmissions, their impact and the protection of vulnerable sections from the harmful effects of mass media. This is where some of the greatest effort of the UN will have to be directed.

Technologically, the International Telecommunications Union must go on trying to remove the barriers to the free flow of information. Training in the use of mass media will be more than ever important. But the real challenge will be in the quality of educational material and the assessment of changes that the mass media will bring about in the lives of citizens who live in the world of tomorrow. And for that the UN and its Agencies, I feel, must take upon themselves a more thrustful role to lead as well as to persuade.

International law should not encourage any attempt to compel or coerce a country to do something against its will, or to fall in line with something that will bring conflicts.

Jawaharlal Nehru

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION OF INDIA

[Incorporated in July, 1948 under the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1948 (XV of 1948)]

An all-India Financial Organisation in the Service of Industry

Head Office : Burmah-Shell House (Annexe-II), Connaught Circus, NEW DELHI-1.

Branches : Bombay, Calcutta & Madras.

HIGHLIGHTS OF OPERATIONS

(as on March, 31, 1970)

	(Rs in crores)
Paid-up Capital :	8.35
Reserves :	10.94
Financial assistance—(a) Sanctioned :	331.99
(b) Disbursed :	294.79
(c) Outstanding :	192.23
Assistance extended to Industrial Co-operatives :	66.71
Number of Industrial Co-operatives financed :	90
Number of Industrial Projects financed :	503

FORMS OF ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE

Only public limited companies and registered co-operative societies may apply. Public Sector Projects, organised as public limited companies, can also avail of assistance within the framework of Government policies. The Corporation's assistance—medium and long-term credits—could be in one or more of the following forms :

- * Grant of loans in rupee and foreign currencies.
- * Underwriting of equity, preference, or debenture issues.
- * Direct subscription to equity, preference shares and debentures.
- * Guaranteeing deferred payments for plant & machinery imported or purchased within the country.
- * Guaranteeing foreign currency loans raised from foreign banks or financial institutions.

The Corporation welcomes enquiries from eligible applicants for financial assistance for setting up of new industrial projects or for expansion, diversification or modernization of existing projects. They may contact the Head Office or any of the Branches of the Corporation.

BALDEV PASRICHA
General Manager

C. D. KHANNA
Chairman

SUPER POWERS HAVE HAMPERED UN UTILITY

S. N. DWIVEDY

Has the United Nations been able to achieve the purpose for which it was established? Has it any further role to play? Do the financial difficulties that this great international organisation is facing and in which some major powers seem to be defaulters indicate that the very existence of the UN is no longer considered necessary? These are some of the questions raised when any review of the activities of the UN is made.

In spite of the international tensions, the conflict between the super powers and the multiplication of rivalries among smaller states, the UN has not only managed to be alive, though not kicking, but has also been discharging certain useful functions. It is in the nature of things that it should reflect all the tensions and conflicts, one of its primary purposes being the resolution of such tensions and conflicts; nor can it succeed in accomplishing what the major powers, whom the UN Charter has given the power of veto, would set their faces against. The Charter was based on the assumption that the five big powers, the allies in the Second World War, would cooperate with each other in maintaining world peace and order. The constitution of the UN was adopted much before the atomic age. The world has now entered an era of interplanetary travel. The inefficiency in performance or operational difficulty being encountered by the UN, is on account of these new factors. It would be a mistake not to bear in mind these inherent limitations. Within these limitations, serious as these are, the UN has been able to provide a forum where various international disputes can be discussed, and, if possible, resolved.

The UN played an important part in the liberation of dependent countries of the Third World, as it is generally called, and all lovers of freedom can look with pride at the radically changed map of the continents of Asia, Africa and South America. Though haltingly, yet assuredly, the General Assembly has assumed the role of the conscience of mankind. This is not to deny the existence of colonialism in countries like Angola and Mozambique, or the gradual extension of the nefarious influence of the racist regime from South Africa to South West Africa. The complete inaction of the UN in such cases as the occupation of Tibet by China, or the marching of the Soviet troops into Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia, or the blatant interference by the USA in the affairs of other countries including Vietnam and Guatemala, was an equally grave fault. These cases have proved that the utility of the UN has been restricted. Here each is for his own, we cannot expect strict objectivity in the discussions and in the voting.

One may also refer here to the failure of the UN in taking effective steps to end the racial discrimination and undemocratic rule in South Africa and Rhodesia, where human dignity is violated and no cannons of justice and fairplay are respected. Even when the UN adopts resolutions for sanctions, its several members act contrary to those resolutions, and it has no power to enforce the sanctions or punish the recalcitrants.

In fact, wherever one or the other super power feels that its vital interests are at stake, the UN finds its authority seriously handicapped; and it can do nothing more than indulging in pious platitudes. Thus, in all those acts of violation of the Charter where the USA or the USSR have been involved even indirectly, the UN has been utterly ineffective.

Even in those cases where the disputants are minor powers, the UN has been able to play a useful role only when super powers have allowed it. In fact, the pattern has been that the disputes are discussed in the various forums of the UN, but the settlement takes place outside it, under the auspices of one of the super powers. The gruesome quarrel and the unspeakable tragedies in the civil war in Nigeria could end only when the major powers decided that it should end. In the Indo-Pakistan conflict, it was the USSR that was the mediator, and not the UN.

It has been suggested that the UN should have the power to enforce its decisions, and should be provided with the means of doing so. However, no international organisation can ignore power realities; and what is wrong is not the strengthening of the authority of the UN but a more equalitarian distribution of power in the world. The sizes of population, geographical area, industrial-economic potential, and above all, the armed strength, are so vastly disproportionate among countries that fairplay in international relations can hardly be expected, whatever the institutional mechanism.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The question arises as to what the UN can do for improving this situation. It is obvious that no radical measures could be adopted within the framework of the Charter, in the context of the existing realities. However, by a concerted effort, several agencies of the UN can be made more effective in accelerating the economic development, reducing disparities and restoring the balance of trade in favour of the developing nations; in helping the developing nations to promote social welfare and social transformation; and in reducing the big gap between the armed and almost unarmed nations. For this purpose, a vigorous effort must be launched within the UN by all those nations who have such a perspective.

Further, the UN has, as one of its main functions, the promotion of economic development of less developed countries, which now constitute an overwhelming majority. No one can forget the very useful role the UN played in the Congo and such other conflicts.

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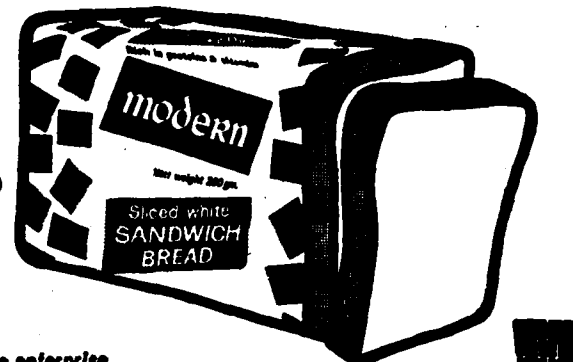
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INTEGRATING THE WORLD BY AIR

G. C. ARYA

ON DECEMBER 7, 1944, the International Conference on Civil Aviation concluded at Chicago. The Conference had succeeded in drawing up a permanent Convention on International Civil Aviation. The Convention formed the basis for setting up the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), which later became a Specialised Agency of the United Nations. India played a significant role in drawing up the Chicago Convention. Several Articles of the Convention were proposed by the Indian delegation.

The ICAO came into existence officially on April 4, 1947, as a result of the ratification of the Chicago Convention by 26 States. It operates through the following agencies: (i) The Assembly of all contracting States which meets once in three years; (ii) The Council consisting of 27 representatives of Member-States elected by the Assembly. It is the permanent governing body of ICAO responsible to the Assembly; (iii) Subsidiary bodies, including an Air Navigation Commission and its technical divisions, an air transport committee and a legal committee.

India has been represented on the Council of ICAO ever since its inception and has been repeatedly re-elected.

The aims and objectives of ICAO are to develop principles and techniques of international air navigation and to foster planning and development of international air transport, so as to: (a) ensure safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world; (b) encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes; (c) encourage the development of airways, airports and air navigation facilities; (d) meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport; (e) prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competitions; and (f) ensure that the rights of contracting States are fully respected and that every contracting State has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines.

The Council, the Air Navigation Commission, the Air Transport Committee, the Committee on Joint Support of Air Navigation Services and the Finance Committee provide the continuing direction of the work of ICAO. One of the major functions of the Council is to adopt international standards and recommend practices and to incorporate these as Annexes to the Convention on International Civil Aviation. The Council may act as an arbiter between Member-States

on matters concerning aviation and implementation of the Convention; it may investigate any situation which presents avoidable obstacles to the development of international air navigation and, in general, it may take whatever steps necessary to maintain safety and regularity of operation of international air transport.

Since its inception, the Air Navigation Commission has been working on the agreement by the Contracting States on the necessary level of standardisation for the operation of safe and efficient air services. Such standardisation is intended to ensure that there will be a high level of safety and that error and accident will not occur because of lack of basic skills or unfamiliarity with procedures or equipment or medical unfitness; it has been achieved through the creation (and adoption by the Council as Annexes to the Convention) of specifications known as International Standards and Recommended Practices. At present there are fifteen sets of international standards and recommended practices. Fourteen of these are within the field of activity of the Commission.

In dealing with international civil aviation, there are several subjects which ICAO considers on a regional as well as world-wide basis. The ICAO has set up eight geographical regions, both for catering to different types of flying operations and facilitating detailed planning of necessary facilities and services to support these operations. For example, long-range ocean flying predominates in the North Atlantic region, while many of the operations in the African-Indian Ocean region consist of short or medium range overland flights frequently crossing national borders.

Regional meetings are held to examine the requirements of air navigation and to specify facilities and services and supplementary procedures that are found necessary. Detailed regional plans are then drawn up. The plans include the enumeration of facilities to be established and operated, or services to be rendered at points defined by the regional meetings and approved by the Council. The regional plan is so designed that, when implemented by the States concerned, it will lead to an integrated civil air navigation system for the entire region.

According to the Convention, every State is also individually responsible for providing the recommended facilities and services within its own territory. As financial and technical resources vary widely between States, there may be an uneven implementation of parts of the regional plans. A major effort is, therefore, made by ICAO to secure implementation of the plans and to help each government provide the necessary facilities and services within its territory.

India has been participating in the ICAO's divisional and relevant regional meetings. She has succeeded in implementing the international standards and recommended practices and the relevant regional and supplementary procedures formulated by ICAO, as far as practicable.

Another important aspect of ICAO's work has been

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A baby being weighed at a health centre somewhere in India

STRIVING FOR COMPLETE WELL-BEING OF PEOPLES

WHO FOR WORLD'S HEALTH

V. T. H. GUNARATNE

THE World Health Organisation was founded as a result of a proposal made at the United Nations Conference on International Organisation at San Francisco in 1945 at which the United Nations Charter was being drafted. It was agreed that a general conference should be convened for the purpose of creating, within the framework of the United Nations, an international agency to deal with matters of health. As a result, in 1946, the Economic and Social Council established a Technical Preparatory Committee of 16 experts, which met in March 1946, and subsequently in June the same year an international conference was convened in New York at which 64 States were represented (13 by

observers). This Conference produced the constitution of the World Health Organisation which was signed by 61 States. One of them was India.

India deposited her ratification of the Constitution with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in January 1948 and, on the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Regional Office for South-East Asia was established in New Delhi at the end of that year. It was the first of the WHO Regional Offices to be established. WHO assistance to the Member-Governments in the region was then begun, and during the period covered by the latest Annual Report of the Regional Director (August 1969-August 1970) this office assisted eight countries of the region, namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Maldives, Mongolia, Nepal and Thailand, in 240 projects. Because

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of its size and population, India plays a prominent role in the work of WHO in this region.

At the time WHO activities were started, in India, as in the other countries of the region, there was a shortage of doctors, and little medical care was available for most of the rural populations, which were living in unsatisfactory conditions. Malaria was a major cause of mortality, and other communicable diseases such as smallpox, tuberculosis, cholera, leprosy, trachoma and, in some areas, filariasis were serious problems. Mortality of children under five years of age accounted for nearly half of the total deaths.

It is not possible to measure precisely the improvements in health that have taken place in India since 1948, though no one would doubt that they have been significant. The number of deaths from cholera, smallpox and malaria has considerably decreased. Plague has disappeared. There has been a remarkable reduction in the incidence of other communicable diseases. The number of hospitals, dispensaries and hospital beds has more than doubled, as has the number of doctors. There are now 95 medical colleges in India and over 30 nurse teaching institutions. Death rates have undoubtedly fallen; the average expectation of life, which

was 32 years for the period 1941-1950, had already risen to 42 for the period 1951-1960 and now stands at over 50 years.

In India's Malaria Eradication Programme, as a result of the assessment carried out in 1970, areas with a total population of 2.7 million were recommended as suitable for entry into the consolidation phase of the programme and areas with a population of 3.3 million moved into the maintenance phase. The latest figures show that there are 136 million people (26 per cent) in the attack phase, 93 million (18 per cent) under consolidation and 298 million (56 per cent) under maintenance.

The National Tuberculosis Programme, with the establishment of the National Tuberculosis Institute in Bangalore with assistance from WHO and UNICEF, has now expanded to cover 183 districts. Also, this Programme receives WHO/UNICEF assistance in the production of thermostable BCG vaccine. The BCG Vaccine Laboratory, Guindy, Madras, is now producing five million doses of freeze-dried vaccine a year. It is estimated that the country's annual need is approximately 25 million doses.

Four laboratories producing freeze-dried smallpox vaccine have been established in India with assistance



WHO has sponsored many projects in India for the prevention and cure of disease. The emphasis is on health education, especially in the rural areas. The photograph was taken at a village school where children are being educated with the help of pictures.

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from WHO and UNICEF, and WHO continues to support the National Smallpox Eradication Programme.

Many other programmes against the major communicable diseases have been carried out over the years. In 1970, assistance has been given for strengthening the newly established faculty in veterinary public health at the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta. The faculty offers a course for Master's Degree in Veterinary Public Health. WHO has also supported the establishment and improvement of health intelligence units at the State level and has regularly helped in the training of statisticians. The National Institute of Communicable Diseases (formerly the Malaria Institute of India) has been receiving WHO assistance for many years in the form of staff, consultants and fellowships. Health laboratories are being strengthened and the training of laboratory technicians is being upgraded.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

In health planning, WHO has always stressed the links between developments in the field of health and the overall socio-economic progress of countries, and has assisted member-States in introducing national health planning schemes.

While prevention and control of communicable diseases still remain priority programmes, the building up of the basic health services is also of utmost importance. WHO has aided the Governments in strengthening national health services at all levels, with emphasis on training for health staff. In this connection, special mention may be made of its collaboration with the National Institute of Health Administration and Education (NIHAE) of India.

Under medical education, a priority programme, WHO has, over the years, adopted a number of approaches in order to try to ascertain the most effective methods of strengthening and orientating the teaching in medical schools to be more in keeping with the needs of the country. One of the recent experiments has been the assignment of a multi-disciplinary team from a single foreign university to a selected medical college in India to make an intensive review of the teaching programme. Seminars and workshops in specialised fields of medical education have been organised, some of them in collaboration with the Indian Academy of Medical Sciences, in order to strengthen medical teaching. In the last five years (1965 to 1969), 256 fellowships were awarded to Indian candidates, 248 of which were for studies outside the South-East Asia region. Reciprocally, India has provided facilities to WHO fellows from other countries of South-East Asia as well as from other regions for undergoing training in Indian institutions.

As regards nursing, considerable assistance has been given for the extension of basic nursing education and for the development of sound nursing administration in teaching hospitals as well as for the promotion of in-service training and coordination of nursing services.

WHO is guiding the establishment of State Health Education Bureaux, which are being developed along

the lines laid down by the Government of India. Three post-graduate health education training centres with rural and urban field practice areas are being established and developed.

Nutrition is another important field in which WHO has been active in India, not only in its collaboration (with the Government, FAO and UNICEF) in the Applied Nutrition Programme but also in the important training courses now being carried on at the National Institute of Nutrition at Hyderabad—a course in which WHO fellows from other countries of the region have been regular participants.

COMPLETE WELL-BEING

Recently WHO's attention has increasingly been drawn to the growing deterioration of the human environment by pollution. Although countries in the South-East Asia region may consider other health problems more urgent to be dealt with at the present time, the situation regarding pollution is already demanding attention, particularly in the larger cities. The ecological balance between man and his environment is essential in order to ensure the well-being of man—the "whole man". To quote from the Preamble to the WHO Constitution: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".

The promotion of the improvement of environmental sanitation is included among the main functions of WHO. The major emphasis in this field has been upon assistance to the provision of community water supplies, as it is considered that the provision of safe water supplies in countries of the region will make a significant contribution to a lasting improvement in the health of the communities. In this regard, it must be stressed that at present probably one out of every four hospital beds are occupied by patients suffering from diseases caused by insanitation.

FERTILITY POTENTIAL

The attempts to improve the health situation in the countries of our region continue to place a great burden on the governments, a responsibility which WHO is only too willing to share. The world's population, which increases by 1.25 million every week, will have more than doubled between 1960 and the end of this century, and an analysis of demographic figures shows that the populations of developing nations are increasing much more rapidly than those of developed countries. Moreover, in the developing countries 40 per cent of the present population is under 15 years of age, as compared with 25 to 30 per cent in North America and Europe.

Less developed nations, because of their large young populations, have a special problem. In addition to the difficulty of coping with faster-growing populations and a more limited capacity to care for the larger numbers, they face a built-in "fertility potential". To quote from a statement by the Director-General of WHO, "WHO's responsibilities in regard to human reproduction and family planning are concerned, above all, with promoting family well-being."

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INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

WATCHMAN OF WORLD PEACE AND ORDER

NAGENDRA SINGH

Two basic pillars are necessary for the establishment of public order: the existence of a proper law and the machinery for enforcing it, including the sanction behind the law. In the inter-State sphere, order can be maintained if there is in existence a well-defined and well-codified international law and an effective agency to enforce it. Thus a world rule of law has to be established, since that alone can ensure peace and maintenance of public order on a lasting basis. The world association of federalists has, therefore, been advocating the strengthening of the UN by giving it the prerogatives of a sovereign State. Such a step would be in the right direction because the UN, based broadly on an egalitarian principle, provides a place for the smallest and the biggest of States whose combined strength should really be the strength of the Organisation. Concrete steps have yet to be taken to give strength to the UN to make it an effective world body.

Apart from strengthening the UN, it is equally necessary to strengthen the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and, if an amendment of the Statute is not feasible now, efforts should be made to develop its advisory jurisdiction by invoking it as frequently as possible. This is because it helps in the formulation of world public opinion which is today a potent factor to be reckoned with in inter-State relations.

It is well-known that the International Court, as constituted today, has, apart from special clauses in the treaties and the so-called "optional clause", purely a voluntary jurisdiction and, if a sovereign State is not a party to the Statute, it is certainly not under an obligation to submit to the Court's jurisdiction. On this voluntary basis the Court has indeed a very minor and inadequate function to perform. Moreover, individuals as such have no access to the Court. Only a sovereign State can make use of the International Law and that, too, in very limited circumstances, such as when the parties to a dispute either agree on an *ad hoc* basis when the dispute arises or have already agreed by a treaty prior to the dispute. Nevertheless, the function of the Court, which is to give advisory opinions to international organisations, though it does not lead to any binding decisions, is of great value in building up public opinion. During the transitional stage, public opinion can back up the advisory opinion of the Court and create a powerful sanction to arouse a sense of responsibility in favour of the advisory opinion

so that it would more often than not, be respected. Thus the role of the International Court, based on its existing Statute, could visualise a constant use being made of advisory function, as the Security Council cannot give a verdict to crystallise world opinion which can easily be achieved through the agency of the advisory opinion of the Court.

Thus a two-pronged drive made by the UN General Assembly on the one side and the International Court on the other, with the former feeding the latter with requests for advisory opinions, would appear to furnish the right answer to the full utilisation of the existing powers and functions of the International Court in the context of world order and peace.

ADVISORY JURISDICTION

The machinery provided for invoking the advisory jurisdiction of the Court is indeed simple. In accordance with Article 96 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly and the Security Council are authorised to request the Court to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. According to Oppenheim, "The Advisory Opinion of the Court has been designed primarily to assist the Security Council and the Assembly in the discharge of their duties of conciliating and reporting upon disputes submitted to them by affording them an authoritative legal opinion." The procedure prescribed for obtaining the advisory opinion is much simpler and easier to work than the procedure prescribed for obtaining a regular judgement of the Court.

As Oppenheim has said, "Strictly speaking, there are no contesting parties when the Court is exercising its advisory jurisdiction". The Court has, therefore, merely to give notice of the request for an advisory opinion to all states entitled to appear before the Court and international organisations which can furnish information on the question. However, if any particular State refuses to appear, there is no bar as such prohibiting the Court from giving an advisory opinion. The giving of notice enables the Court to get the evidence of all concerned, including those who are parties to the dispute and those who are not.

The question of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Court, which a sovereign State always wishes to avoid, would not be as difficult as it is in the exercise of other kinds of jurisdiction of the Court. The difficulty in summoning the parties, which in the international sphere is exceedingly difficult, is thus obviated when an advisory opinion is sought. This is clearly brought out in the Advisory Opinion concerning the Interpretation of Peace Treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, wherein the Court refused to recognise the validity of the objection that the States concerned had not participated in the proceedings. It did so on

refuses to abide by the decision of the Court, there is no machinery other than that of the UN, however weak and ineffective, to enforce the judgement. The Court would thus rely on public opinion to play its role as much in the context of enforcing its regular judgement as in the case of advisory opinions.

The past records of the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) furnish enough proof of the fact that advisory opinions are both useful and fruitful. For example, 26 opinions were given by the (PCIJ) and as many as 12 by the ICJ till July 20, 1962. By and large, all of them have been respected. Even where the disputed point or pending matter has not been resolved by advisory opinion, the opinion has had its own utility.

Out of the 26 advisory opinions by the PCIJ, six were rendered in questions relating to organisation and jurisdiction of the ILO and in each case the organisation uniformly accepted the opinions and the lead given helped to resolve the constitutional point at issue to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Other international bodies also solicited advisory opinion in four cases. The Greco-Turkish Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations asked for opinions on two occasions. The third case was referred by the France-Bulgarian Emigration Commission and the fourth by the European Commission on the Danube. All these organisations were immensely helped in so far as the Court's opinion facilitated their smooth functioning.

The Council of the League of Nations asked for the PCIJ's opinion in 16 cases. Of these, no action was called for in respect of two. In seven cases, the Council accepted the Court's advisory opinion and took action on its basis. In the case of the Polish-Czechoslovakian frontiers, the Council adopted the Court's opinion on the Jaworzina Boundary and the recommendation made on the basis of this opinion led ultimately to the fixing of the frontiers. In the case of access to the German Minority Schools in Upper Silesia, the Council accepted the opinion and the Polish Government complied with the Court's opinion. In the four cases relating to Minority Treaties which were pending with the Council, the opinions of the Court were accepted and subsequent action taken. Justice Hudson has said that "the Court greatly facilitated the work of the Council of the League of Nations" by its advisory opinions.

After its inception, the International Court of Justice had given not less than 12 advisory opinions up to July 20, 1962. It has not so far refused any request for its opinion. It is true that the Court is not meant to resolve political disputes, which is the function of the Security Council, but it can help to untie the legal issues, therein lies the utility of the Court.

The advisory opinions of the ICJ have been given the same respect as the opinions of the PCIJ in the past. For example, the two advisory opinions given by the ICJ on the question of admission of States to membership of the UN had great utility in putting to an end a controversy which may have jeopardised the

future expansion of the Organisation. The opinion of the Court of the Genocide Convention was based on the "Rules of law relating to the effect to be given to the intention of the parties to multilateral International Conventions." Thus the opinion of the Court was unfortunately restricted in its outlook and the UN, therefore, rightly asked the International Law Commission to study the question in all its aspects so that a proper procedure could be evolved in regard to the complicated problem of reservations to multilateral conventions. Lastly, the opinion given by the ICJ on the reference made by the IMCO on the constitution of the Maritime Safety Committee was most useful in not only enabling the organisation to rectify its omission but also in clearing up many knotty problems connected with the Law of the Flat and registration of ships.

On the whole, however, it has to be admitted that the procedure relating to the seeking of advisory opinion should be precise, well-defined and regulated. The first and foremost need is to encourage organisations to seek the advisory opinion of the Court. In this connection the provision made by the Bogota Conference in the Charter (Article I) of the Organisation of American States, which was signed on April 30, 1948, should serve as a model.

As for the voting procedure, though it appears to be clear in so far as it goes, doubts have been expressed by jurists and States and as such perhaps there is a necessity for getting clarification and confirmation on various points. For example, in the case of the Security Council there is no authoritative determination of the nature of the vote on a request to obtain an advisory opinion. This problem was studied by the Interim Committee of the General Assembly in 1948. It recommended that the request for an advisory opinion should be treated as a procedural question to which the Veto should not apply. Again the General Assembly in its resolution 267 (III) on the question of voting in the Security Council did not categorise seeking an advisory opinion as a procedural matter. It is, therefore, argued that the position remains somewhat vague and needs clarification. The Court is the best guide in this regard and on a proper occasion in any future case, the Court could, perhaps, make observations clarifying the procedural regulations. There is no doubt if the Court gives the lead in this regard, both the Security Council and the General Assembly would follow it. As a decision on procedural and voting matters from these two organs of the UN may be difficult, the Court should develop the law on the subject in order to facilitate the obtaining of advisory opinions by international organisations.

Invoking the advisory jurisdiction of the Court is feasible for the following reasons : (a) Every dispute has some legal aspect providing thereby a *locus standi* for invoking the jurisdiction of the Court; (b) Major disputes are generally brought before the UN in some form or the other, whether in the forum provided by the Security Council or the General Assembly ; (c) Considerations *de lege ferenda* should weigh with the Court in stretching a point, if necessary, to extend its jurisdiction to cover borderline cases where the inter-

national organisation decides to seek the advisory opinion ; (d) It is for the General Assembly to initiate this practice and with new members admitted in recent years in a large number, many of whom would be disinterested and hence impartial, it should not be difficult to make a beginning.

The international organisations are destined to become not only the source of international law but also the agency for its enforcement visualising an expanded jurisdiction of the World Court and a more powerful UN to enforce its decisions. The main objective of international organisation could be broadly stated as the creation and maintenance of world peace and public order. To achieve that end, humanity looks up to them to prepare the necessary group leading up to that goal, and to establish the machinery that would bring the cherished objective.

The international organisations have, therefore, to create circumstances which would foster willingness of the sovereign State to submit itself to the international rule of law by developing the emotional element of international citizenry. Secondly, they should foster the existence of a precise, easily ascertainable, codified text of international law which by common consent is accepted by the world family of nations. This is being very ably pursued by the International Law Commission under the UN. Thirdly, they should spread the

knowledge of international law to the common man irrespective of national boundaries so as to build a powerful world public opinion.

Some international organisations may have to be freshly built or existing ones improved to establish world public order. The birth of over 75 sovereign States during the last two decades, which is unparalleled in human history, has altered the old concept of balance of power based on the role of the Great Powers. The end of colonialism and the emergence of these new States has given a special importance not only to the UN but generally to all international organisations. The UN has been democratised since the smallest and the largest States are governed equally by the egalitarian principle of one State one vote at least in the General Assembly, which is fast becoming the seat of power. Most of the new States are small and the international organisations have to solve their problems and safeguard their interests, This points to the need for re-orienting the international organisations. In this context, the suggestion made by the former President Radhakrishnan of India in his message on the UN Day 1966, provides an answer. He had said, "The United Nations... should be allowed to grow into a federal organisation. There are difficulties in the way, but there is no other alternative to the devastation and horror of the modern war. We must try to strengthen the judicial, executive and police functions of the United Nations."

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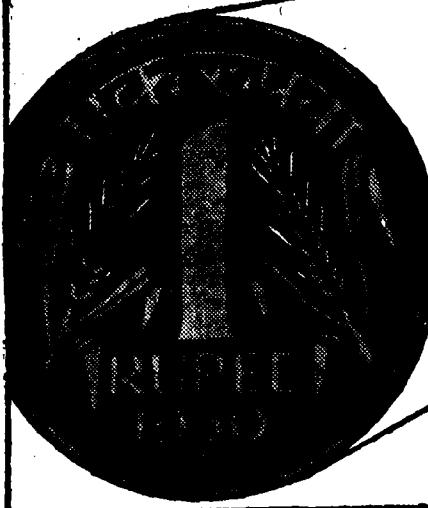
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INFORMING PEOPLE ABOUT THE UN

The UN is a people's organisation and not merely a conclave of nations. To a very great extent, its strength and ultimate success depend on the proper understanding of the ideals and activities of the UN. The UN's information agency has not only to dispel ignorance, but also to remove misunderstanding and prejudices.

PURNENDU BASU

THERE is a universal acceptance of the premise that the people of the world must be informed about the United Nations. This, in turn, is based on three assumptions. First, the UN (in which term are included all its specialised agencies which are really not *its*, each being a separate independent entity) is assuming an increasingly larger and important role in all aspects of the people's lives. Secondly, it is not possible for any organisation to carry out this vast task without the widest popular support. And lastly, the people will only give this support if they know and understand the ideals and activities of the UN.

No one will question the first of these assumptions, at least the fact that UN participation is there and expanding. A mere listing of the specialised agencies is enough to show how wide that participation is. Food, Agriculture, Health, Education, Science, Culture, Labour, Communications, Trade, Industry, Loan and Investment—almost every human activity is covered. And the UN itself stands as an umpire in the world's political arena.

Doubts may be expressed—and they have been expressed—about the need, the wisdom and the value of such UN participation which some call "interference". In India itself there exists in many responsible quarters a feeling of regret that Mr Nehru should have taken the Kashmir question to the Security Council. And I have been an eyewitness to the virulent reaction of Mr Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party to the neutralisation of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. It all depends on from which capital you are looking at things.

Such reactions lead to the other two assumptions. It is obvious that with popular support UN actions would have a smoother sailing. Also, no right thinking person is likely to object to the aims and ideals of the UN as stated in the Preamble to its Charter. But the decisions of the UN and its organs and the way in which they are or are not carried out are open to much disapproval. An accurate and deep knowledge will no doubt obviate a mass of uninformed criticism with which we are all too familiar. But I think it would be rather naive to think that such knowledge would automatically result in universal approval of all UN decisions and actions.

Be that as it may, the desirability of a good understanding of the UN, in fact of all agencies for international cooperation, is to my mind axiomatic. I for one believe that knowledge is superior to not knowing,

despite the poet who recommended occasional ignorance. I am gratified to see that I am not alone in holding this belief. A series of resolutions adopted by the UN bodies have also emphasized the need for informing and educating the masses about the international organisations.

But these resolutions only state the desideratum as expressed by responsible representatives of the governments of the Member-States. To what extent have they been translated into action in the last twenty-five years? From my own experience in parts of the world as diverse as India, Burma, Ceylon, the USA, countries in Latin America, West Africa and West Asia, I can say that the answer to this question is only a qualified 'yes'. One need not consider seriously in this context press and other comments which are intended deliberately to mislead. A few examples will demonstrate their fatuousness: "no more than a platform for Communist propaganda"; "an American-dominated mechanism for deceiving the world's people"; "degenerated from a useless debating society to a mutual vilification society"; and others in this vein. But it is true that ignorance about the UN is widespread, for the evidence of which one would hardly have to engage in deep research.

The question then is, how can the people be effectively informed about the UN, and how is this being done? The task is stupendous not only because of the large number of people involved but also, perhaps more, because of the variety they present in their cultural backgrounds, levels of literacy, language, familiarity or otherwise with modern concepts of behaviour, economic resources and so on. The resolutions referred to above have almost without exception pinpointed that the primary responsibility for this educational work is that of the member-governments themselves. This has been held to be one of the obligations solemnly accepted by a government under the Charter of the organisation on admission to its membership. This is a very correct attitude for reasons I shall give a little later.

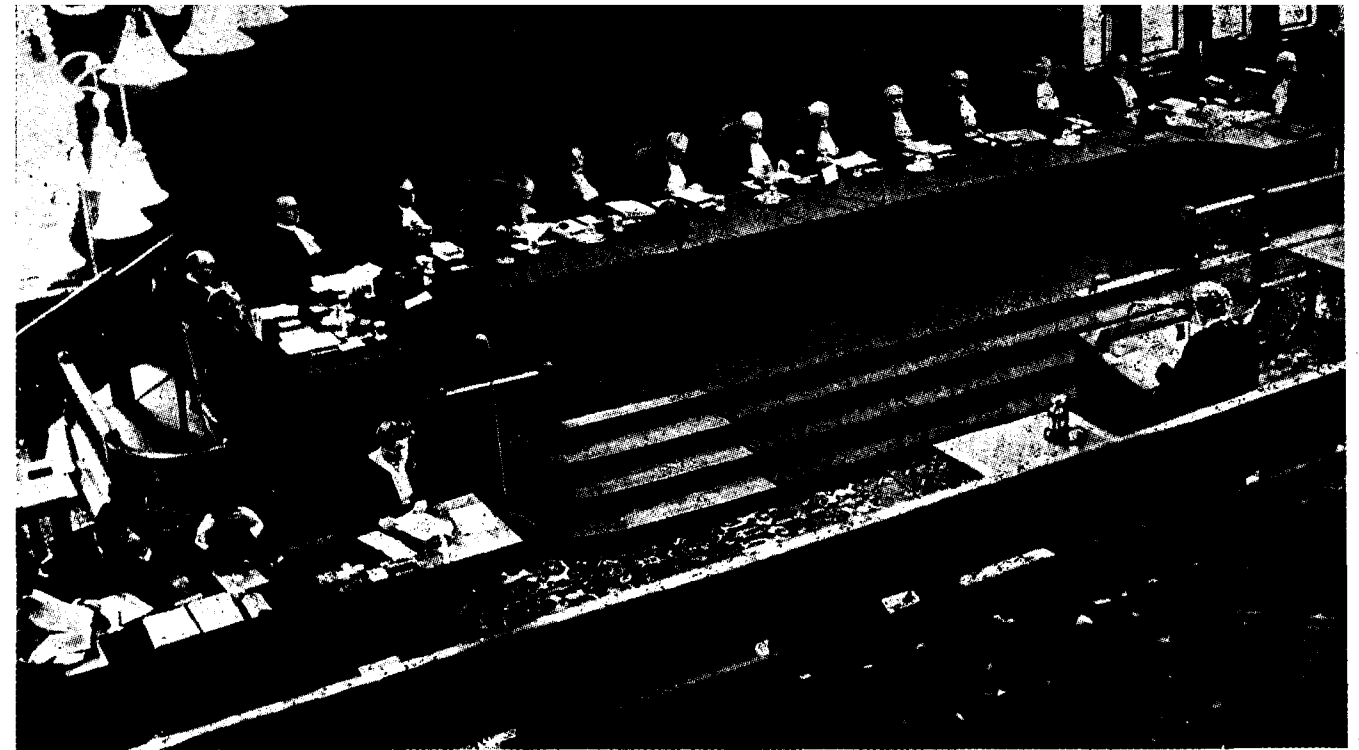
While placing the primary responsibility on the governments, it has at the same time been recognised that governments alone may not be able to reach all sections of the people. Therefore, from its earliest days the UN has looked upon various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and such autonomous bodies as universities to contribute substantially to this work supplementing the governments' efforts. In order to encourage and assist the NGOs the Economic and Social Council of the UN offers them special recognition and facilities on fulfilling certain conditions. Similar services are expected of all information media in countries where they are free; where controlled by the government they are regarded as part of the governmental effort.

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- * National Textile Corporation proposes to modernise these mills at an early date.
- * As per the recommendation of the Planning Commission the Government have allocated Rs. 17.5 crores for modernisation of these mills.
- * National Textile Corporation has set up a Technical Cell in the organisation and makes technical advice available to mills in the private sector also.
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The International Court of Justice in session at The Hague.

the ground that the opinion was asked on a purely procedural matter and was advisory in character. Moreover, the Court observed, "It follows that no State, whether a member of the United Nations or not, can prevent the giving of an advisory opinion which the United Nations considers to be desirable in order to obtain enlightenment as to the course of action it should take. The Court's opinion is given not to the States, but to the organ which is entitled to request it; the reply of the Court, itself an 'organ of the United Nations', represents its participation in the activities of the Organisation and, in principle, should not be refused."

Thus, as far as members of the UN are concerned, it would appear that consent of individual members concerned in a dispute would not be necessary because, by their ratification of the UN Charter, they may be said to have acquiesced in the procedure laid down therein for advisory opinions. Moreover, the advisory opinion is sought by the Security Council or the UN General Assembly and it is for these two agencies to decide, in the absence of any specific provision to the contrary either in the UN Charter or in the Statute of the Court, whether other conditions have been fulfilled for such a reference being made to the Court.

Again, the reference to be made by the UN for seeking the advisory opinion of the Court does not require unanimity, as was necessary in the case of the League of Nations. According to Oppenheim, an advisory opinion represents one of those "important questions" for which, according to Article 18 (2) of the UN Charter, a two-third majority is necessary. However, it appears that in practice an advisory opinion can be sought on the basis of a simple majority. This is so because Article 18(2), which prescribes a two-thirds majority for "important questions", does not specifically mention the seeking of advisory opinion as an "important question". There is nothing in the Charter itself

which would make a two-thirds majority mandatory when a request is being made to the Court. However, it is possible for the Assembly to regard a reference seeking advisory opinion as an "important question" and if it takes such a decision in any case, a two-thirds majority would become necessary. Whatever may be the practice or the decision in regard to the procedural vote required in any particular case, there is no rule of unanimity and it should not be difficult to obtain a two-thirds majority in the UN Assembly merely for seeking an advisory opinion.

It would thus appear that the method of seeking advisory opinion of the Court is not only practicable, but the jurisdiction of the Court is also an effective one in as much as there are no fetters placed on the competence of the Court to give an advisory opinion, except that the reference should relate to a legal point which is generally present in every dispute.

Apart from helping to crystallise world opinion and giving a lead, there is the advantage, as was pointed out by the Court in the Eastern Carelia case, that "answering the question (put to them) would be substantially equivalent to deciding the dispute between the parties." Oppenheim has also observed that "the line as regards actual effect (although not necessarily of legal obligation) between a judgement and an advisory opinion is thin". Thus, through the agency of an advisory opinion, one almost gets the advantage of a judgement without having to undergo the difficulties which beset the obtaining of a judgement from the International Court.

It is true that the advisory opinion is not binding; but in the context of the international legal system which prevails today, there is no machinery other than that of the Security Council to enforce even a binding judgement of the Court. If, for example, State A, after submitting itself to the jurisdiction of the Court,

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Contrary to a belief encountered in many, informing people about itself is not one of the substantive functions of the UN. There is an Office of Public Information (OPI) in the UN Secretariat, but its function is to provide ancillary services to the member-governments in carrying out one of their basic obligations. The OPI (originally Department of Public Information) had been set up with this specific purpose since it was realised that many of the member-governments might not be equipped to undertake this task without assistance. It is not without reason that the OPI is not a full-fledged department in the Secretariat headed by an Under-Secretary-General but a service office under an Assistant Secretary-General.

Under its mandate two of OPI's three Divisions turn out reading and audio-visual material telling the UN story generally. These are intended for use as basic material by member-governments, NGOs, educational institutions, individuals, in fact by anyone interested in informing people about the UN. The third Division is the OPI which is responsible for setting up and equipping UN Information Centres of which there are now more than fifty spread out all over the world. These Centres work under professional international staff to give on-the-spot help to governments and other local bodies in this educational work. In addition, the OPI assists member-States by establishing 'depository libraries' in their countries, that is, it nominates suitable libraries which receive free of charge official documents and other publications of the UN on condition that they are made freely available to the public for consultation.

This rather bald statement of the OPI's work gives little indication of the actual difficulties it faces. Consider, for instance, the colossal size of the task and its complexities. Then take a look at the limitations under which the OPI operates. The UN story is a combination of ideals and reality, the two not always in harmony with each other. It is a story with as many facets as there are fields of human activity. I have already referred to the variety of the audience for which the OPI has to cater. A product of these three factors would yield an astronomical number of requirements in terms of selection of subject matter, approach and presentation, languages to be used, knowledge of images which would be understood and accepted, the moods to be humoured, the corns to be avoided from being trodden, and a myriad other things. This is a challenge which could baffle a body consisting of the pick of the world's ablest publicists with an unlimited budget and unlimited time at its disposal. It would be a dream for any organisation; it is much more so for the OPI for the following reasons.

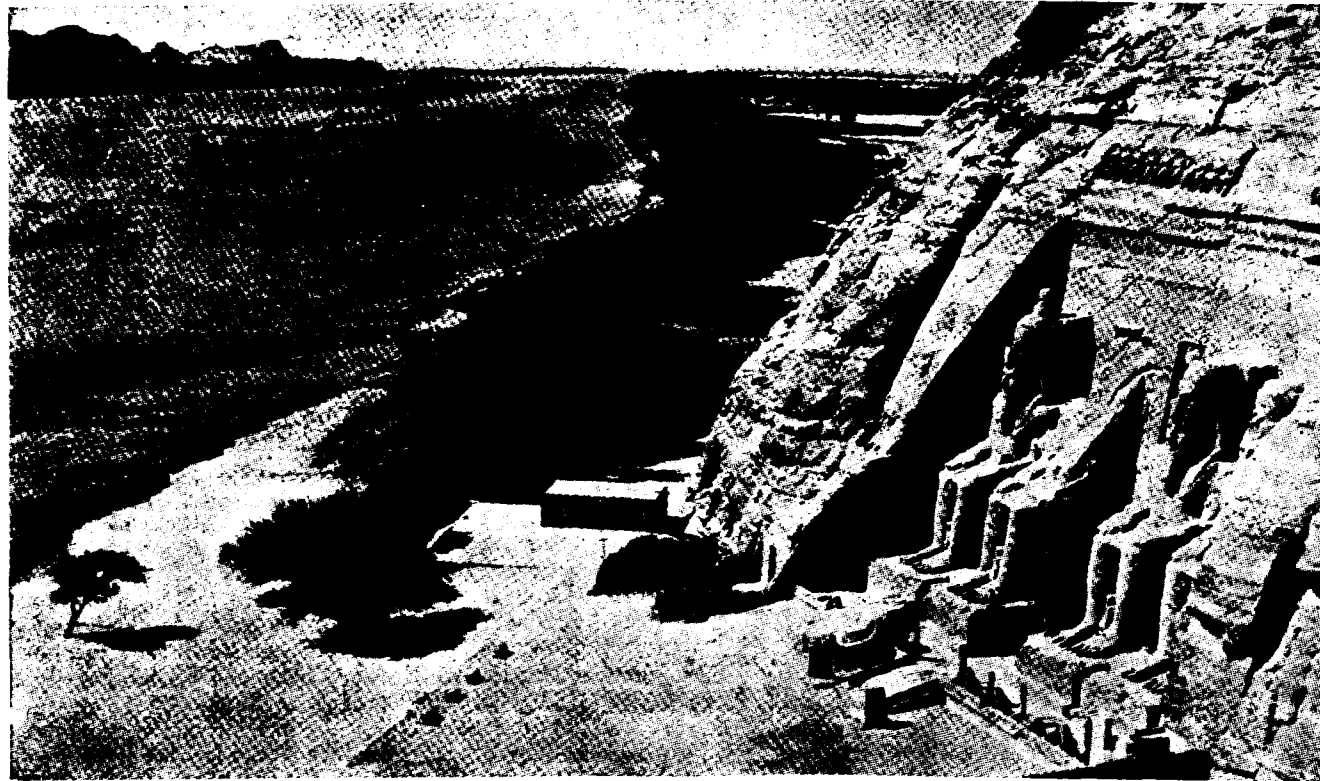
Think of the meagreness of the OPI budget, its staff cramped by the need for a strict adherence to neutrality and objectivity (which in practice often degenerates into avoiding the unpleasant), emasculated by the fear of not one but 126 masters. These are conditions hardly conducive to the production of information material which is exhaustive, scintillating and capable of universal appreciation. OPI production frequently display in their conception a recognisable Euro-American line of thinking with its peculiar combination of arrogance and naivete, and a limited appreciation of the biases of

people with other backgrounds. They are the work of people fagged out by having to meet constant deadlines operating on a shoestring budget and, therefore, often seeking the easiest way out.

The above would seem to be a harsh criticism of the OPI. It would be so if one were to disregard the near impossible conditions in which it has to work, which I have mentioned before. Further, perhaps the most important thing to remember, but frequently overlooked, is that the OPI is only a service agency; the substantive work of informing people about the UN belongs to the member-States themselves. It is they who are required to plan the information programme, each to meet its special requirements, and on that basis determine the type of material which the OPI should co-operate with them to produce, at the same time providing the OPI with the means to produce them. The member-States alone could possibly do it. But by and large they can hardly claim to have carried out their part. I have already mentioned the inadequacy of the budget of the OPI which the member-governments persistently vote down. Then, the active interest displayed by the governments (with some exceptions) in the work of making the UN known in their states varies from nil to a modicum. Sometimes one meets with actual hostility. I can cite one instance in which the Dean of a University (government-controlled) refused to have even the name of the UN mentioned within the hearing of the students on the ground that the UN had failed to obliterate a certain State from the map of the world. I dare say it was not his personal opinion for he had received the highest liberal education in his own country and abroad and is a recognised scholar of history. It was the stand taken by his government which I found in other governmental agencies in that country. In such circumstances you can hardly expect non-governmental organisations in the country to show interest. None did.

This is perhaps an extreme case, but hostility in varying degrees, at best apathy, has been felt by anyone who is engaged in the work of informing people about the UN, both in governmental and non-governmental quarters. There are some who are subtle and find other ways to skirt round their avowed obligation. There are more ways of killing an idea than the use of the big stick. Paradoxical as it may seem, the OPI sometimes suffers as much from over-enthusiasm on the part of some as from hostility or apathy from others. This is primarily felt in the UN Information Centres serving countries where the government and the people are genuinely interested, even anxious, that knowledge about the UN should spread in the country. But they expect that the work should be done entirely by the Information Centre. Obviously the Centre and its staff are not equipped to do this. The result is that while some Centre staff kill themselves trying to do the impossible, others discover ways of doing nothing at all. It means frustration on both sides.

The tale has been recalled by H.L. Mencken in another context of a tree so tall that it took two men to see the top of it. The task of informing people of the UN is so brobdingnagian that in order to be performed properly it will need the fullest and honest effort of all the member-States of the UN assisted by at least ten OPIs in the UN Secretariat.



A section of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel in the UAR, carved out of solid rock overlooking the Nile. This ancient monument has now been saved from destruction by a massive international rescue operation organised and master-minded by UNESCO.

PRESERVING MAN'S HERITAGE

UNESCO'S ROLE

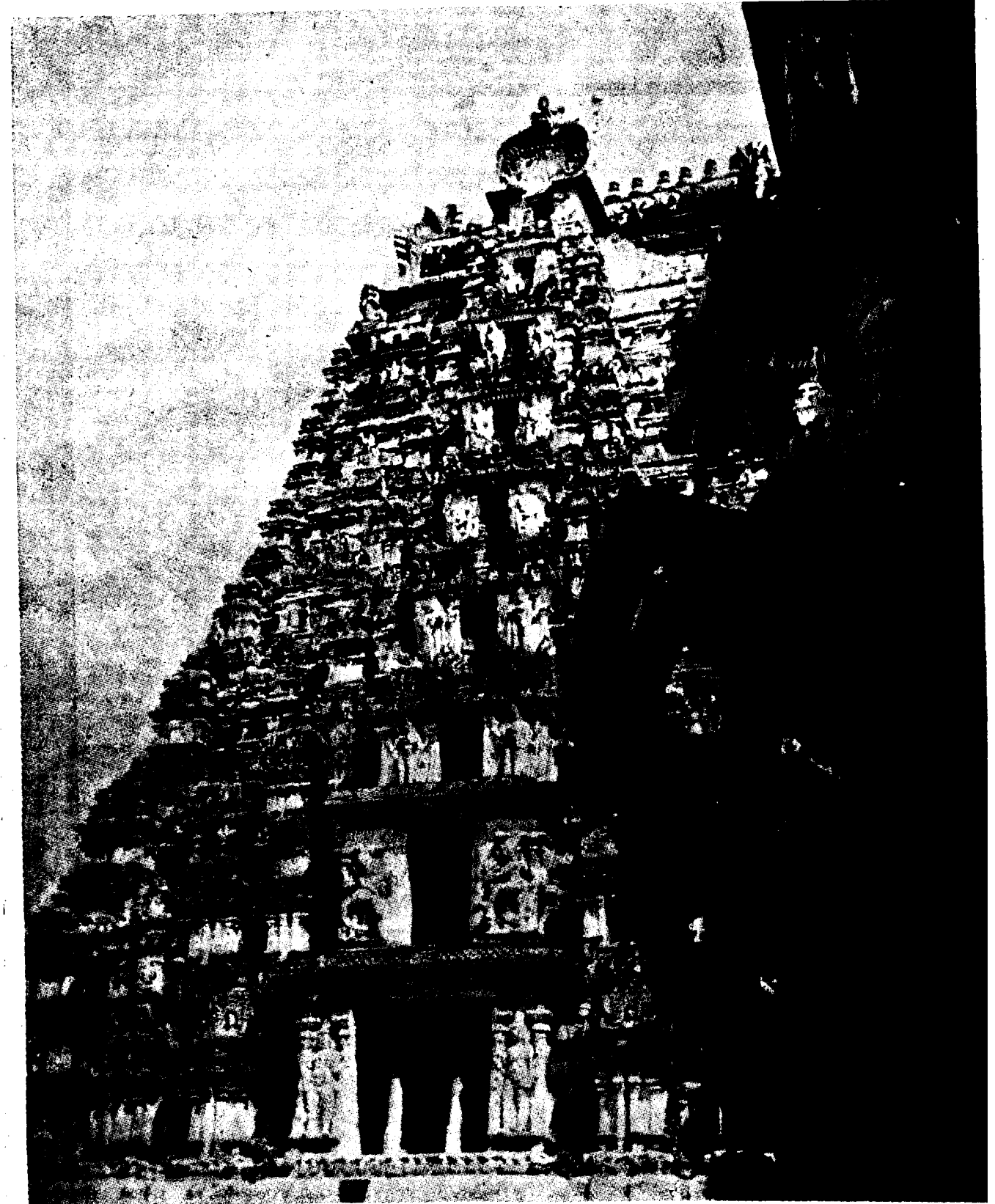
KRISHNA CHAITANYA

WHEN I reached Bamiyan in the Hindu Kush Mountains of Afghanistan in the late hours of a full-moon night, the first impact created the vivid hallucination that the landscape of Ajanta had been transplanted by some miracle in the heart of a Central Asian highland. For the caves here are also excavated in a crescentic cliff face opposite a valley which, however, is more open and level than at Ajanta. Like the Waghora at Ajanta, the Bamiyan stream flows through the valley at the foot of the cliff here.

Lying midway on the Peshawar-Balkh route which formed the axle of the Indian and Scythian halves of Kanishka's great empire, Bamiyan saw much traffic of merchants and missionaries in the first centuries of the Christian era. Balkh was a great trade centre, being at the crossroad of the route west to the Roman empire, the route north-east to China and the caravan routes

Believing that a people's heritage anywhere is a source of inspiration and pride for the entire mankind, UNESCO has stretched its protective wings across the whole world, helping to protect, preserve and salvage Man's finest utterances in sculpture art or architecture. Preserving the glory of Man's yester years for the enjoyment and inspiration of succeeding generations is a joyous obligation the UNESCO has assumed and is pursuing on behalf of and with the participation of all nations of the world.

south-east to India. The traders found Bamiyan a convenient place for a halt before and after the weary climb over the Hindu Kush. The "several dozen monasteries and the several thousand monks", whom Hiuen-Tsang found when he visited the place in 632 and was received in wonderment by the monks Aryasena and Aryadasa, owed much to the patronage of rich donors. Houei Tch'Aq, the Korean traveller who came to India by sea and returned by land in 727 A.D., found that both the Hinayana and Mahayana were practised in Bamiyan. Neither under the Sassanids who came to power in the third century nor under the Arabs who came to the valley in the eighth century did Buddhist fortunes suffer. But in 1222 A.D., Mutugen, the grandson of Genghis, was killed in the siege of Shahr-i-Ghol-



The Sri Ranganathaswami temple in Tamil Nadu has suffered damage and decay over the centuries. In 1966, a UNESCO Mission surveyed the temple to assess damage and made suggestions for the preservation of this unique architectural monument. Photograph shows one of the temple's gate-towers which needs restoration.



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ghola, the Arab citadel of Bamiyan, and the terrible Khan wreaked appalling vengeance by killing everything, including animals, and leaving the place as a Mao-baligh or accursed city.

Standing in the niches cut into the vertical cliffs are two colossal statues of Buddha, one 52 metres and the other 36 metres in height, carved from the rock. The heads of the statues are veritable platforms on which many people can stand and get a fine view of the Bamiyan valley. The roof and walls of the niches are covered with paintings in which the Buddha sitting in the Dharma-Chakra posture appeals repeatedly.

The centuries have taken tragic toll of these ancient cultural centres, lost in the desolation of the Hindu Kush ranges. In 1963, a UNESCO mission of preservation experts visited the site and made several recommendations. In 1968, following the acceptance by Afghanistan of an offer by India, Indian experts visited Bamiyan and prepared a scheme for preservation. Since then Indian archaeologists and preservation experts have done considerable work at the site, rock-bolting the fractured side walls, grouting the cracks and cleaning and preserving the paintings.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

All the essentials of an international cooperation in cultural preservation, which has grown from strength to strength during the last two decades, are implicit in the instance just cited. The ebb and flow of history bring many peoples, of different races, customs, manners and religion, to the same site over the centuries. A rich cultural silt thus builds up and it is no longer the monopoly of the people who contributed to it or of those who have inherited it today within their national frontiers. It is a legacy left to all mankind by the race of man. Today the conviction has gained ground that the loss of this heritage anywhere is a loss for all humanity.

Article 1.2(c) of the Constitution of UNESCO empowers it to "maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions." To implement these objectives, the UNESCO has launched a continuing three-plane operation for the protection of monuments: by procuring the adoption of international conventions for protecting the cultural heritage; by developing and applying the new techniques of preservation and restoration; by helping member states to execute programmes for the restoration of monuments and sites.

The first venture of rehabilitation was organised after the earthquake of 1956, which destroyed the historical site of Cuzco in Peru. The UNESCO experts participated in the execution of the scheme for reconstructing the town. By 1967-68, the latest year for which final figures are available, this programme had grown to enormous proportions. The Organisation afforded technical assistance to 29 countries and the aid totalled 561,000 dollars.

The most spectacular of these ventures has been the campaign to save the monuments in Nubia. The high dam of Aswan, the first stone of which was laid by President Nasser in January 1960, involved the creation of an artificial lake 3,000 sq. kilometres in area. It meant that the whole of Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia would be submerged. But this very same area is one of the richest in the world in monuments of antiquity. Therefore, an international campaign was launched to save the monuments of Nubia and fifty-one states contributed to this campaign. By February 1969, the contributions totalled over 24 million dollars. Twenty-four countries sent archaeological missions to participate in the venture.

Out of the twenty-two temples or monuments threatened by submergence, the campaign saved eighteen completely, and the remaining four to a great extent.

Incredible till actually achieved was the plan for saving the two temples hollowed out of the cliff at Abu Simbel. They were built by Rameses II during the thirteenth century B.C. The Great Temple is 33 metres high, 38 metres wide and 63 metres in depth. Backing on to the facade, four colossi, each 20 metres high, bear the features of the Pharaoh. The Small Temple, dedicated by Rameses II to his wife Nefertiti, is embellished by six statues, each 10 metres high. The daring plan finally adopted was to cut the two temples into blocks and to reconstruct them on an adjacent site. Over 150,000 cubic metres of rock were excavated without the use of explosives. The number of blocks cut was 1,035 and each weighed between 20 and 30 tonnes. The completion of the work was celebrated in September 1968.

Transported to a different site, the two temples and the colossal statues which adorn their facades now stand out of reach of the waters, completely reconstructed without any visible trace of the cutting remaining. The next task is to rescue in a similar way the beautiful temple of Philae. The project is estimated to cost over 12 million dollars and will be completed only by 1974.

EUROPE'S GLORY

Being a continent with ample resources, European countries have received UNESCO'S technical assistance in this field only in exceptional cases. But the UNESCO played a great role in salvage and restoration operations in the historic flood of November 1966 in Florence when the river Arno in spate drowned the city in water and mud from two to eight metres deep and destroyed or seriously damaged more than a thousand works of art. The UNESCO is also participating with the Italian authorities in safeguarding the artistic and historical monuments of Venice. The city has been described as "a museum set up on the waters." But it is water that is spelling danger to the city, because most of the buildings have their foundations in water and the moisture rises in the walls by capillary action. A UNESCO mission is also collaborating with the Greek Government in measures to safeguard the Parthenon, Periclean Greece's great legacy to mankind.

In Latin America, the highlights of the UNESCO'S work in this field have been the restoration of the seventh

century Maya temple of Bonampak in Mexico and of the giant monolithic images of Easter Island some of which rise to the height of a six-storey house and weigh as much as eighty tonnes. In Asia the UNESCO missions have prepared projects for the preservation of the mural paintings, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, in the pagodas of Pagan in Burma; the protection of the Angkor-Wat temple in Cambodia built during the twelfth or thirteenth century and symbolising Mount Meru, abode of the gods; and the preservation of the rock-hewn Buddhist temple of Sokkulum in the Republic of Korea.

WORK IN INDIA

This review of a great international and humanistic enterprise began with a mention of Bamiyan and can curve back to Ajanta which Bamiyan resembles so much. About a decade ago a serious threat to Ajanta came to notice. The cracking of the rock faces, water seepage and crystallisation of salts were threatening to ruin the frescoes. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India moved swiftly to prevent further corrosion. The Indian specialists also succeeded in cleaning up the frescoes hidden under thick layers of dust and soot. In 1965 a UNESCO mission visited Ajanta and prepared a detailed report giving recommendations for water-proofing the surfaces and revealing the hidden paintings by using modern methods.

During 1969 and 1970 the UNESCO has given aid worth 12,000 dollars in the form of equipment and service of experts for rehabilitating the temples at Srirangam near Madras. Around the temple of Srirangam, one of the most extensive and probably the most representative of the Vijayanagar style of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, there grew up an entire town. There are seven concentric enclosures and twentyone Gopuras or gate towers. Much damage has been caused everywhere by humidity and changes in temperature. The sculptures also have deteriorated. Restoration work is at present going on with the help of UNESCO experts. In 1971 and 1972, UNESCO will give aid of the same magnitude for the rehabilitation of the Rameswaram temple.

GORDEN CARTER from Page 45

will be negotiated with the municipal authorities concerned. In this "integrated urban programme" we hope to get away from the routine sectoral approach that has too often characterized the work of urban agencies in the past.

The programme's aim is as much to influence the minds of the authorities concerned with city planning and urban administration as to provide immediate or extensive physical amenities for the child population. The long-term significance of the project will, however, lie in the degree to which it induces metropolitan officials to face up to the fact that half the teeming population of India's cities consists of children and that their needs must be recognised as paramount.

ROMESH THAPAR from Page 47

political and economic challenge of ever-increasing standards of living, and the chasms, ever widening, between affluence and poverty, development and backwardness, education and illiteracy, health and sickness, joy and despair, commitment and drop-out, will provide the tangled and complex backdrop to international developments for the next twenty-five years. These years may spell disaster if we do not shake the UN and its Agencies from their slumber. We can no longer turn a blind eye on the leading problems of our age. We must attack our condition at its roots irrespective of the power and influence of vested interests, national and international. And we must understand that there is more to this business of survival than catchy slogans about pollution, poverty, population and peace.

TRANSFORMATION

Whether we like it or not, in this sick world, the UN and its Agencies provide some base at least from which to proceed. Nations and people who still dream of a future more satisfying than our past and present must gather together to renovate and renew the UN and its Agencies. The task will break the backs of the toughest of men, but it must be undertaken. We cannot entrust this work to the time-servers, the faded politicians, the job-grabbers, intelligence agents and the like. Men dedicated to the building of a worthwhile life must be mobilised and given the responsibility and autonomy to carry out the reform. They must think not of their nation but of this planet, for science and technology have lifted us to planetary vistas even though our minds are stuck in the trivialities of nations.

I would like to suggest on this anniversary that the land of Gandhi and Nehru, in collaboration with others, make it its mission to transform the UN and its Agencies into powerful instruments which will clear the way to a profoundly different concept of world order, based on relevant and viable values. This will require rigorous probes at various levels to get at the truth of our crisis and to design new prototypes and models of growth, tasks which the UN and its Agencies must be compelled to undertake in the decade opening before us. Yes, we have a long way to go, but let us at least begin the journey.



A REPORT ON THE LUSAKA MEET

IN THE MIDST OF POWER BLOCS NON-ALIGNMENT PROMOTES UN OBJECTIVES

T. N. KAUL

THERE has been considerable speculation about the role and validity of non-alignment in the present-day world when the two Super Powers are coming closer and the two military alliances led by them getting looser. It has been said that, with the abatement of the Cold War and the development of the world from a bi-polar into a multi-polar world, the *raison d'être* for non-alignment has disappeared.

The fact that over 70 sovereign and independent countries, more than half the total membership of the United Nations, subscribe to non-alignment today and over 60 of them attended the Lusaka Summit is rather significant. The unanimous adoption of the Lusaka Declaration by all the Heads of States or Governments and other leaders of non-aligned countries and the contents of this declaration clearly demonstrate the continuing need for and the significance of non-alignment.

The Declaration states that the policy of non-alignment was a result of the determination of these countries to safeguard their national independence and the legitimate rights of their peoples. At its root lie the aspirations of nations for freedom, independence, development and equality and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation. Non-alignment rejects polarisation and paves the way for relaxation of international tensions. The measures laid down in the Declaration reflect the action programme for the 25th anniversary session of the United Nations.

The Third Summit at Lusaka clearly demonstrated the maturity of the policy of non-alignment in a manner more realistic than ever before. There was a desire to reach consensus on all matters and, where it was not possible, to debate it extensively, but never to impose a decision in the absence of a consensus.

There was a consensus that Cambodia as a State has a place among non-aligned countries but there was no consensus as to who should occupy her seat which, therefore, was kept vacant. Similarly, although there were many speakers in favour of giving full membership to the People's Revolutionary Government of South

Vietnam, there were some who opposed it and eventually a consensus emerged that the PRG should be invited as an observer. Again, on the problem of Cyprus there was considerable argument as to whether there should be any resolution on the subject at all. Thanks to the able and skilful handling of this matter by President Kenneth Kaunda at the concluding session, a consensus resolution with only three or four reservations was adopted. Similarly, the resolution on West Asia represented a consensus with certain provisions regarding sanctions against Israel slightly modified to satisfy some members who had some reservations. The resolution on Indo-China represented a realistic and objective compromise between the various points of view without violating the fundamental principles on which it was based.

It is difficult for those who were not present at the conference to appreciate and understand how this consensus was achieved. Mainly it was due to the desire of all members to see the conference succeed. Also significant was the fact that the rigid regional, racial or religious affiliations which were in evidence between the various groups, or even among them previously, were cut across by larger considerations at Lusaka. Thus, on South-East Asia, the Foreign Minister of Nigeria made a concrete proposal which resulted in a consensus regarding "the presence of foreign armed forces and in particular of the USA" as a cause of the war in Vietnam. On West Asia, India and Tanzania took the initiative and the finishing touch was given by President Kaunda himself whose personal interest also resolved the matters connected with the Conference's attitude on Cyprus. The difficult question of the representation of the PRG was resolved thanks to the firm and statesmanlike handling of the conference by the Foreign Minister of India.

The Conference attached considerable importance to issues of economic development and cooperation, which formed the main theme running through the speeches of various Heads of States or Governments and was emphasised in a separate and comprehensive declaration.

The question of decolonisation, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in Southern Africa received a serious consideration. No difficulty was experienced in reaching a consensus on the final resolutions because of the realisation that more positive action was needed to resolve these problems. The resolutions went beyond those previously passed and expressed positive moral, financial, material and political support to the liberation movements in the region.

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On the question of supply of arms to South Africa, no discordant voice was heard as it was commonly felt that any military accretion to the racist regime of South Africa presented a threat not only to her neighbours but also to the whole continent and to the Indian Ocean area which was declared to be a Zone of Peace. The conference recommended that its President should approach the countries concerned to dissuade them from supplying arms to South Africa.

Consensus on the statements on the United Nations, Disarmament and the Sea Bed was evolved without any appreciable difficulty. It is now expected that non-aligned countries will take joint action during the present UN session on the several issues enumerated in the Statement on the UN.

The Conference welcomed the *detente* and the lessening of tensions between the Super Powers and between East and West Europe. However, it noted that this had not led to disappearance of local wars between the small and medium powers or to the democratisation of international relations. It urged that positive steps towards disarmament must be taken by the Super Powers and significantly called for the participation of all other countries in the decisions on such matters which affect them vitally.

For achieving universality of membership of the United Nations, the Conference advocated the rightful representation in the UN for the People's Republic of China and called for the admission of all other countries which are not yet members of the world organisation, including the divided countries.

It placed great emphasis on the need to evolve programmes of action which should be jointly pursued inside and outside the United Nations. As the Lusaka Declaration says, "What is needed is not a re-definition of non-alignment but rededication to its principles".

The Conference also stressed the need for continuous consultations among the non-aligned countries through a flexible machinery without involving financial commitment. This responsibility has been entrusted to the presiding country, Zambia. It was also agreed to have periodic consultations at Foreign Ministers' or senior officials' level.

The Declaration also pointed out that the *detente* between the Super Powers had not yet resulted in the dissolution of the military alliances formed in the great power context, nor had it removed the threats to international peace and security, particularly of the small and medium powers, or even the threat of localised wars. Foreign military bases and troops on the soil of other countries in the great power context still constituted a threat to peace. What was needed was according to the Conference, the strengthening of the political, social, economic and military potential of each country and not a policy of dependence on others.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The Lusaka conference has thus strengthened support for the national liberation movement of people who are still under colonial or racial domination. It

has supported the cause of countries which are suffering from foreign interference or foreign aggression as in Indo-China or West Asia. It has increased the avenues of economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves and strengthened their bargaining position *vis-a-vis* developed countries. It has welded non-aligned nations into a more homogeneous group which can exercise a growing influence in the United Nations, its Specialised Agencies and other international forums.

So far as India is concerned, her image as a leading non-aligned country acting independently of power blocs and great power conflicts and as a staunch votary of non-alignment, has re-emerged after a period of apparent hesitation. India did not fail to act as a catalytic agent in the solution of difficult problems that the conference was faced with. This she was able to do in a spirit of equal partnership and cooperation with the other non-aligned countries and not by assuming the role of leadership. India as one of the more developed among the developing countries can contribute positively towards greater economic and technical cooperation among the non-aligned countries with benefit to herself and to others.

It is important that the resolutions passed at Lusaka should be followed up with concrete action. It is true that the implementation of decisions taken at an international conference depends on the will of each sovereign country. No decisions can be forced on any one. Yet, increasing moral, economic and political pressures from within and without will persuade all countries, big and small, to heed the voice of the non-aligned countries. The philosophy of non-alignment does not seek to create a third world, but rather one world based on respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or threat of force to settle international disputes, the equality of all sovereign nations and peoples, respect for the dignity of the human personality and the right of all peoples to be free and enjoy the fruits of freedom. Until this is achieved, non-alignment has a role to play.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI ON THE UN

"I cannot offer conventional compliments or praise because there has been no significant achievement. Neither can I offer criticism because the UN is facing a great and difficult task bravely though not successfully. We have to wait probably for a diamond jubilee for significant achievement, if the UN can survive upto that age."

—As spoken to Yojana's
Madras Correspondent.

"THE MOST IMPOSSIBLE JOB ON EARTH"

ON the banks of New York's East River stands a glass-and-marble colossus, dwarfing the neighbourhood and rising into the sky symbolising Man's hopes and aspirations. This is the heart of the United Nations Organisation—the focal point for all mankind. From the 38th floor of this rectangular "Glass Tower", one commands a panoramic view of the splendour of Manhattan Island, of the bustling Metropolis below, contrasting the calm and serenity of the Turtle Bay. But, for the individual who works on this floor in solitary eminence, the ken of his vision extends far beyond the skyline of New York or the pinnacle of the Statute of Liberty. He periscopes the entire globe—half dark, half lit, half developed, half undeveloped, half prosperous and half miserable. This individual, more than any one else

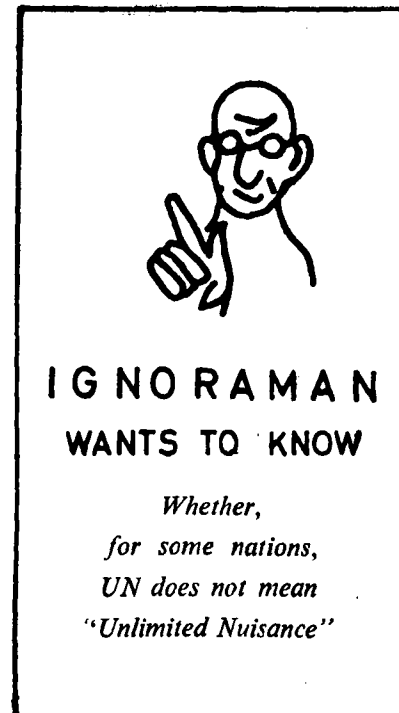


Trygve Lie

in the world, has a sense of belonging to the whole of mankind. Without the temporal authority of a Kaiser or the legions of a Caesar, he commands respect and attention in more lands and with more people than any monarch or emperor could have imagined. This solitary individual is the Secretary-General of the world body who is popularly if irreverently known as "Mr UN."

With all the eminence surrounding him, the Secretary-General of the United Nations is a lonely, often desperate, person, frustrated by the frequent breakdown of procedures and negotiations and initiatives and endeavours. Be it Trygve Lie of Norway, Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden or U Thant of Burma, the Secretary-General represents the best and last hope of the UN and the nations of the world. And yet each one of them has lived with crises and deadlocks more as a regimen than as a catastrophe. It is ironic that though a Secretary-General is appointed only with the consensus among the five permanent members of the Security Council, the Super-Power ego has always been a thorn in the flesh for all three of them. Trygve Lie was guillotined, Dag Hammarskjöld was crucified and U Thant was pilloried. The first was boycotted, the second was challenged, and the third was humiliated. Yet, inspired by the Charter and armed only with the moral authority emanating from their dedication to its ideals, these courageous men fought big power megalomania, and strengthened this unique institution of the Chief Executive of the UN.

It is said of Franklin Delano Roosevelt that whenever he faced a difficult decision he would sit before a portrait of Abraham Lincoln and ponder what the great leader would have done in his place. For these three tormented men, there was no such source of inspiration, guidance or counsel. At best, they could turn to the UN Charter itself to know their strength and find their path. They could look in-



ward, into their conscience to see the light in the midst of darkening gloom. Through trial and error and a great deal of personal initiative and achievement, these three men have created an unprecedented institution—an international civil service, drawn from the member nations and yet not belonging to them.

TRYGVE LIE

Trygve Lie was a trade union lawyer and a Social Democrat. He was his country's Foreign Minister in 1946, when the Security Council, meeting in London, chose him as the first Secretary-General of the United Nations. As the first incumbent of this high and unique post, whatever he did became a precedent. And, he did a lot in establishing procedural precedents, in defining, by his personal initiative and diplomacy, the fullest scope of the role of the Secretary-General. He created a 3,200-strong Secretariat, which, according to the Charter, is one of the six major organs of the world body. He had to do the first chores of house-keeping and house-building. His greatest legacy is the UN Headquarters in New York, which is not only the permanent home of the world organisation but a symbol of Man's

greatest endeavour towards achieving a world order. But, how tragic, no sooner had the UN shifted to its permanent home in 1952, than Trygve Lie had to bow out. He had been boycotted, derecognised and, in a sense, paralysed. But he saved the UN and the institution of Secretary-Generalship by setting in motion a series of actions that repelled aggression in Korea and brought peace to the Land of Morning Calm. After seven and a half years of his stewardship of the UN, Trygve Lie made way for another Scandinavian, Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden, on April 7, 1953.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

It took the General Assembly of the UN one complete session to be able to pronounce Dag Hammarskjöld's name correctly. And, it took even longer for the world to realise the manysided genius of this brilliant Swede. An economist, an intellectual, a poet, an aesthete, a diplomat, and above all, a rare administrator, Dag Hammarskjöld electrified the UN with his presence and with his sharp intellect. He subjected the Secretariat to a rigorous routine of a 16-hour day in times of crises. Unlike Trygve Lie, who came from the "Land of the Midnight Sun" and had no difficulty in unburdening himself, Dag Hammarskjöld, the Swede, suffered the greatest torment. His diary, *Markings*, is a requiem to this torment, to the loneliness his position imposed upon him. No man could question either his intellect or his integrity and yet he was challenged and threatened with liquidation. The cry for "Troika", "Double Troika", etc; was raised to forever bury the concept of the Secretary-General as the supreme executive of the UN. The Congo crisis threatened the institution of the Secretary-Generalship more than the peace of the world. Like Lie, Hammarskjöld refused to be bullied. The man who always relished death as an ideal, met a tragic end on September 17, 1961, in a mysterious aircrash near Ndola in Central Africa.

U THANT

The UN was again orphaned. The eyes now turned away from Europe, in as much as the centre of



Dag Hammarskjöld

the world's tension had shifted over to Asia. Thus, the mantle was cast upon a bespectacled, teacher-turned-journalist - turned - diplomat from Burma, and he became the world's unanimous choice for this high post whose first incumbent described it as "the most impossible job on the earth." And, since November 3, 1961, U Thant of Burma has been doing the most impossible job under the most improbable conditions. None of his predecessors had a day of rest. So U Thant, too, could expect no better than to tread a bed of thorns. Problems deluged him as they did his predecessors—West Irian, Cuba, Disarmament, Cyprus, the Indo-Pakistan conflict and Czechoslovakia. Above all, there were two other crises which nearly threatened the UN's very existence. These were the unprecedented financial crisis which almost pushed the UN into bankruptcy, and the continued strife in Vietnam. The first he could tide over, the second, wherein he took a personal initiative, led to an unhappy impasse and the most uncomplimentary tribute ever earned by a Secretary-General. Said the former US President, Mr Johnson of his peace initiative: "With a

certain insolent candour U Thant has become an apologist and a propagandist for Communist aggression in South East Asia." With philosophic indifference to this arrogant taunt, U Thant quietly endured the unpleasant homage to his services in the cause of peace.

So, when the lights are switched off at 9 P.M. on the 38th floor of the "Glass Tower", and as U Thant, the third Secretary-General of the UN, glides down to the ground floor, another turbulent day in the life of the world body comes to a close. The brief spell of night is succeeded by yet another of labour when the Secretary-General is back in his office with all the cares and corns of "the most impossible job on earth."

You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

You cannot help the wage-earner by crippling the wage-payer. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. You cannot escape trouble by spending more than you earn.

You cannot build character and courage by taking away Man's independence.

You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Tripura will have enrolment of cent percent its children of the age group of 6 to 11 in school by the end of the Fourth Plan. And, with the systematic expansion of medical facilities even in the remotest rural areas; construction of highways; major district roads and village roads for communication; digging up of tube-wells for water supply; setting up of colonies for wandering tribals; introduction of improved agricultural methods; expanding of cottage industries and setting up of a number of small scale and medium industries; increasing the number of co-operative societies; setting up of Animal Husbandry units in the remotest rural and inaccessible areas. Tripura has been endeavouring to keep step with the rest of India in its onward march to planned prosperity.

Issued by the Govt. of Tripura

FAO FOR MORE AND BETTER FOOD

TREMENDOUS DEMAND AND RAPID GROWTH

CEDRIC DAY

THE past 25 years in the life of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations are summed up in two catchwords: tremendous demand and rapid growth.

The demand for FAO's guiding action was created in the aftermath of World War II by the ravages which the giant conflict had left on the faces of many countries in the Old World. In 1943 a conference of the war-time allies on food and agriculture, held at Hot Springs, Virginia, USA, established the first Interim Commission whose task it was to draft a constitution for a permanent organisation which would deal with post-war and peacetime problems of food supply and restoration of world agriculture to normalcy. In fulfilment of this mandate, delegates of 42 allied governments met in Quebec in 1945 and founded FAO, the first of the UN Specialised Agencies. Its office was first in Washington. In 1951, FAO, with membership of 68 countries, moved to its permanent headquarters in Rome.

At the beginning, the function of FAO was chiefly to collect, analyse and disseminate information about the international situation of agriculture, including nutrition, forestry and fisheries. But the first Director-General, Lord Boyd Orr, envisaged a growing and more active role for the young agency. Many of his proposals were far ahead of his time. One of them, the establishment of a "world food bank" was carried out in 1963, when an Indian, Mr B. R. Sen, was at the helm of FAO. Boyd Orr's vision provided the new agency with the inspiration which animates it even now.

From the 42 founder states which attended the Quebec Conference, the membership has now grown to 121 (two of which are Associate Members). The small initial group of collaborators has expanded to nearly 6,000 professional officers and a vast general services staff. FAO's first budget amounted to about two million dollars, whereas its 1970-71 budget tops 70 million dollars. This sum includes the costs of several international seminars, workshops and permanent international committees set up by FAO to deal with such matters as fisheries, forestry, commodity trade, on a world-wide scale. It further covers the production of some 15,000 publications each year, which help the world's agricultural scientists to keep abreast with progress in their fields.

Soon after FAO's coming into being, two dangers appeared on the international horizon, which have pursued the poorer parts of the world ever since: the galloping increase in population for which their social and economic systems are not prepared; and the all too slow increase in food production and employment creation. In response to this twin challenge, FAO gradually expanded its activities into the field of active development aid and soon became by far the most important dispenser of multilateral assistance in all its present forms among the UN Specialised Agencies.

FAO's tremendous growth and its activity in response to the huge demands made on the international community by the state of post-war world agriculture and food production is continuing unabated for more than two decades. As early as 1946, FAO's first World Food Survey had sounded the first warnings about the seriousness of the supply situation. It soon became evident that production tended to be inadequate and a gap widened between the expanding population and the lagging food supply to feed the latter. It was obvious that the United Nations and particularly FAO would have to play an active role if the many interlocking problems were to be properly tackled in the developing countries. The creation of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in 1950 and of the UN Special Fund in 1959 were destined to channel this aid effort. FAO has been a major participant in the use of funds provided through these two programmes; in fact, out of a combined total of nearly 1,500



Fishermen repairing a prawn net at the Port of Ijora in Lagos (Nigeria), under the guidance of an FAO expert, Mr D. Thomas of India (second from left).

million dollars (up to 1968) and 925 projects, FAO accounted for more than 930 million dollars and 363 projects.

Today, in addition to its regular budget, FAO uses large UN funds earmarked for development, to carry out technical assistance on behalf of the UN in the Third World. In 1969, it spent 12 million dollars on technical assistance and about 50 million on UN Special Fund projects. Moreover, FAO receives funds in connection with bilateral aid programmes and inter-Agency operations of the UN, such as the FAO/World Bank Programme or the Freedom From Hunger Campaign (FFHC). Thus, some 20 million dollars have been given to FAO for field projects by the people of Member-countries since FFHC started in 1960.

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

Any review of FAO's past activities would be incomplete without special mention of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign, launched by the then Director-General, Mr B. R. Sen. The Campaign seeks to alert the masses of the world to the dangers inherent

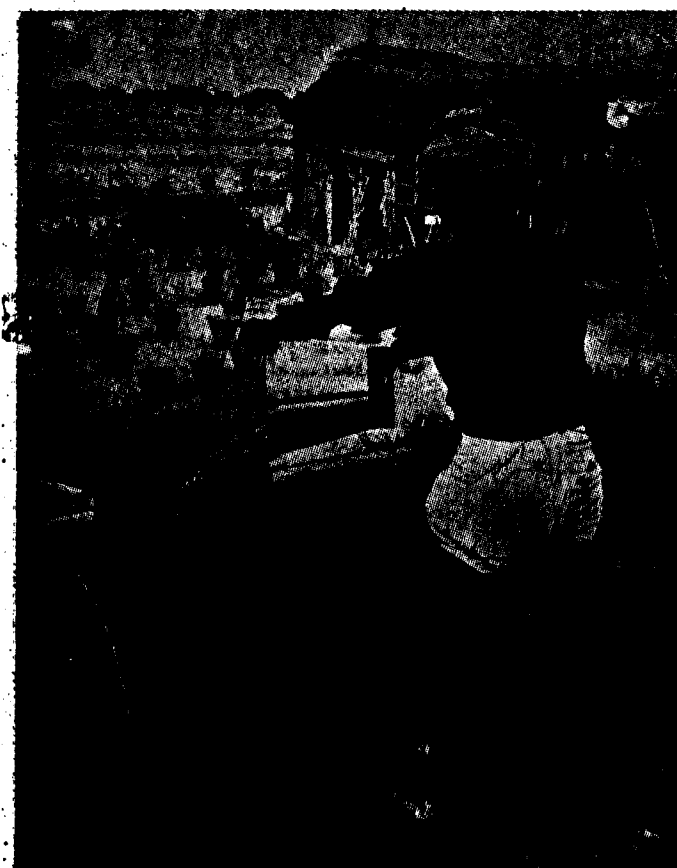
in the international food situation. On FAO's appeal, the vast majority of the member countries have set up national FFHC Committees to cooperate with FAO in preparing and executing constructive proposals for action to counter the dangers of the food and population crises.

Two other programmes link FAO with the World Bank and the big industrial enterprises of the developed countries. The FAO/World Bank Programme identifies investment opportunities in agriculture and related fields for subsequent action by the World Bank. Ten years ago, the annual investment of the latter in this field was about 32 million dollars. Now it averages 146 million dollars and substantial increases are expected over the next few years.

The FAO/Industry Cooperative Programme seeks to attract private capital for investment in the developing countries. More than 60 big international companies have joined this venture. A specialised sector of these activities is covered by the FFHC Fertiliser Programme, involving the chemical fertiliser industry under FAO's aegis in the struggle for higher yields in the developing world.



The Food Research and Development Unit at the University of Accra is an FAO project, which is playing an important role in the development of the food industries in Ghana. Food analysts working in the Unit's laboratory are assisted by an Indian expert, Mr A. R. Sundararajan.



The State of Rajasthan is one of the driest and most arid parts of India, where the shortage of water impedes the growth of vegetation. Water, which is being loaded in a water-cart, has to be carried to feed irrigating lines of recently planted trees.

Another important outgrowth of FAO's activities is the World Food Programme (WFP), set up in 1963 under the joint auspices of the UN and FAO. Its first Executive Director was Mr A. H. Boerma, FAO's present Director-General. Its underlying idea was to utilise, on a multi-national basis, a growing amount of the surplus food stuffs available in North America and Western Europe both for the relief of emergencies and, more important, for direct economic development. Additional contributions, over and above the voluntary donations made by Member-Governments, cover the costs of transportation, distribution and administration.

As the programme developed, it became clear that food aid could be effectively used as a form of capital in its own right that is, as an additional source of investment, particularly as payment for human labour employed in a vast range of development projects, such as dam and road construction, afforestation, water conservation, nutritional support to teacher and students and in refugee settlement. In this connection, it has always been a tenet of FAO that the key to the food problem lies basically in expanding the domestic production of the developing nations rather than in importing food from wealthier countries. The WFP is essentially a means of using measured food imports as a lever to

raise the productivity of the recipient countries, rather than a device for supplanting domestic supplies.

As for the future, one prospect is generally accepted as certain: The food problem will retain its acuity for a long time to come. In spite of the successful increases in food production, the growing number of mouths to be fed will catch up with and wipe out any gains in supplies unless an effective check on the growth in population can be introduced.

Apart from the problem of producing more and finally enough food in quantitative terms, there is a dire need to improve its quality, especially to increase the consumption of protein among the vast masses of the Third World. As an aid toward planning for the future, FAO completed an Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development which attempts to forecast the main trends in food and raw material demand by 1975 and 1985. It suggests ways in which the issues can be resolved by national and international action in five major Areas of Concentration, namely: (1) Development of new high-yielding varieties of food grains, (2) Reduction of wastage after harvesting, (3) An all-out attack on protein deficiencies, (4) Making fuller use of rural manpower, the main resource of many developing nations, and (5) Promotion of foreign exchange earnings and savings.

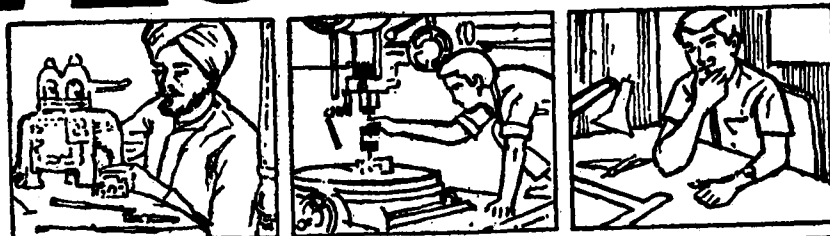
While FAO's past record more than justifies a hopeful outlook to the future, there is need for realism and comprehension *vis-a-vis* the complexity of our situation and the long-term nature of the problems facing mankind in its attempts to create a world where every human being will be adequately fed and nourished. The struggle will be a long one and to ensure success, FAO needs the cooperation of all men of goodwill.

We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind. Our age has been called the Space Age, but I would call it the age of the people. Revolutionaries, liberators and political leaders have always talked of the people, but for the first time now, "we the people" does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly conscious of his individuality, each one of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands.

— Indira Gandhi

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WEED-KILLING TO PRESERVING ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS

UNESCO : Path-finder FOR PEACE

S. P. AIYAR

MUTUAL suspicion, conflict, tension and war have been part of human history but it is the special feature of the twentieth century that there is now a widespread belief in the unifying possibilities of Education and Science. Set up in 1946 as an agency of the United Nations, the UNESCO is dedicated to the creation of a new world in which the growth of communications and international understanding will bring together people living in different cultures under different systems of government. It rests on the belief that education and science can strengthen the material well-being of societies and open up new frontiers of cooperation among nations.

Fundamental to the philosophy of the UNESCO is the idea that no lasting peace is possible merely through formal political and economic arrangements. What the world needs is an easy flow of communications between peoples, leading to "mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives", the unrestricted exchange of ideas and, above all, the widening of the opportunities for education. Thus will the roots of conflict be removed from the minds of men, making possible the preservation of those values which enhance the dignity of man and give meaning to what we call civilisation.

The work of the UNESCO must be viewed against the backdrop of the many paradoxes which characterise the mid-twentieth century. While some countries have attained standards of living undreamt of in earlier periods of history, two-thirds of the world's population still lives under conditions of penury. Great and spectacular have been the achievements of modern medicine, yet there are countries where the doctor-patient ratio is 1 for every 150,000 of the population. Over some parts of the globe half the children die before they are four years old. "The demand for education is universal and irresistible", as Rene Maheu, Director-General of the UNESCO, has said; but at least 40 per cent of the world's population can neither read nor write. There are great disparities among nations in scientific research. As Stevan Dedijer points out, from the point of view of scientific knowledge, most parts of the world constitute a "virtual research desert." Some 25 countries with a quarter of the world's population contain 80 to 90 per cent of the existing manpower for research. In book production, of the 408,000 titles published through-

out the world, 60 per cent were produced in just ten countries. While there are at least seven copies of a book per person in the advanced countries, in the under-developed world there exists, in some cases, no more than a fraction of a book. In the whole of Africa less than ten countries publish books of any kind. (UNESCO, *Twenty Years of Service to Peace*).

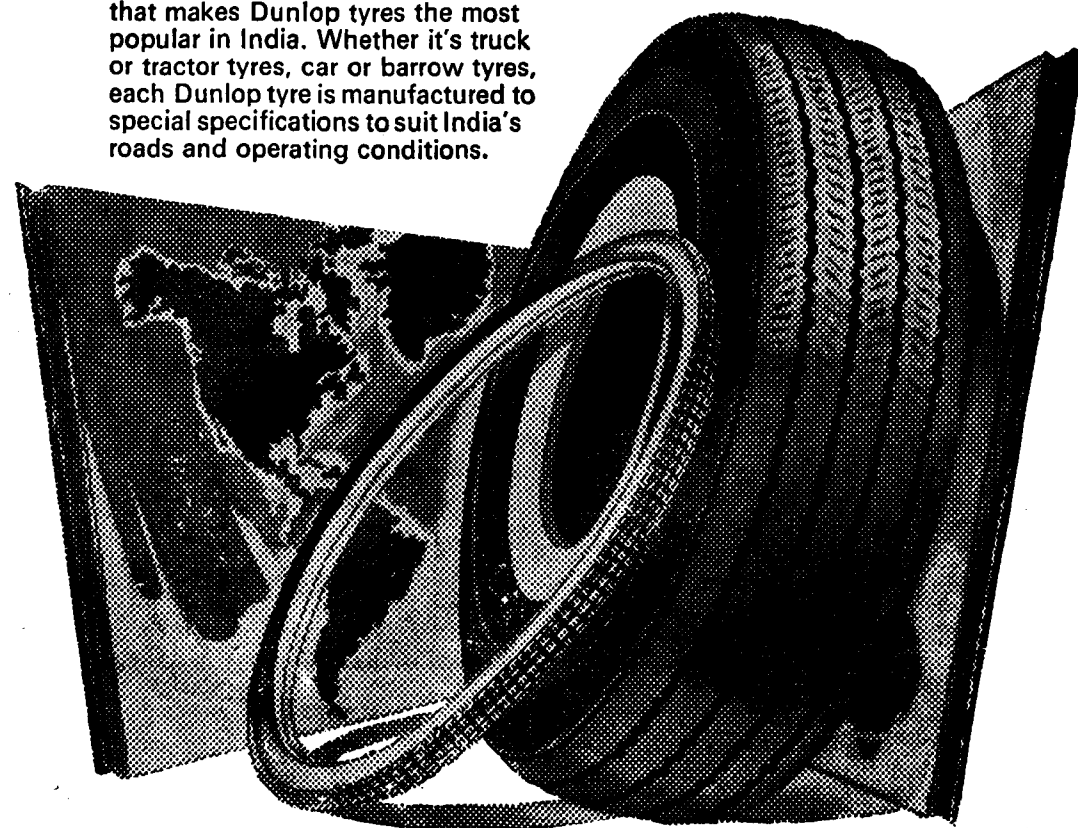
The idea of celebrating the 'International Development Year' is today symbolic of the UNESCO's concern with the problems of education in under-developed regions. By now over a hundred countries have received assistance; some 5,000 expert missions have been sent out and over 4,000 fellowships provided under the Technical Assistance Programme. During its earlier years, the UNESCO directed its efforts towards the rebuilding of the countries of Europe ravaged by war; schools and libraries were built. For about a decade the UNESCO has aided educational programme in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has provided personnel assistance and helped teacher training programmes. How crucial the problem of personnel is can be inferred from the survey carried out by the International Bureau of Education which showed that of the 83 countries studied, there was acute shortage in at least 75; while 51 countries were compelled to employ under-qualified staff.

But the UNESCO has not viewed its role in any narrow terms. Projects have been set up for evolving new methods in the teaching of mathematics and the sciences. It has aided research in the effectiveness of various media in classroom instruction. One of the studies has shown, for instance, that children learn as effectively from the use of textbooks and other conventional aids as from the more sophisticated visual media now available. Since the textbooks cannot be dislodged from the educational system, their contents go a long way in shaping perceptions of the young and their attitudes to other societies.

History, as Paul Valery has said, is one of the most dangerous concoctions which the chemistry of the human mind has produced. Historical myths and mental stereotypes of other nations and cultures often get enshrined in history books. This is an aspect of the problem of integration and there is some awareness of it in India. The UNESCO has been concerned with it from the very beginning. But since every nation is free to decide on the contents of its educational programmes, there were obvious limitations to what the UNESCO could do. However, it held a seminar in Brussels in

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1951 for examining the question of the improvement of history text-books. Although the effect of this project cannot be accurately determined, it certainly facilitated the process of collaboration between historians and history teachers in different countries. The UNESCO has further sponsored the six-volume *History of Mankind: Scientific and Cultural Development*. Similarly, it has sought to promote new approaches in the teaching of other subjects, particularly the sciences. "Knowledge is Power", said Bacon; but he was thinking of individuals and statesmen. The UNESCO has added a new dimension to the Baconian aphorism.

WORLD'S HERITAGE

In the UNESCO's philosophy and strategy of world transformation, science plays a key role in the conquest of poverty which provides the soil for the tension in world politics. But science and technology are not enough, for we also need to develop the aesthetic and humanistic aspects of civilisation. To serve this purpose, the UNESCO has encouraged the arts and literatures of several nations. It has arranged for the translation of some of the world's great scriptures and made available cheap reprints of the masterpieces in painting. The UNESCO *Art Pocket Books* have been popular; over a million copies of these sixteen books have been sold in nine languages. Besides, the UNESCO has organised travelling exhibitions of art, ancient as well as modern.

The UNESCO's contribution to the preservation of historical monuments needs special mention, particularly those of the Nubian portion of the Nile Valley. As a result of the building of the Aswan Dam project for the irrigation of roughly 2,000 square miles of desert land, some of the renowned monuments of Egypt were in danger of being inundated. In 1959, Sudan and the UAR sought the UNESCO's assistance in saving these monuments without having to give up the vital project. Within six years, says a UNESCO report, archaeological expeditions and financial assistance from several countries made possible the dismantling of the principal monuments, including some twentythree temples, and removing them to places of safety.

INFORMATION

Through its bibliographical and other aids, the UNESCO has functioned as an important clearing house for the exchange of valuable information. There are 4,000 publications produced by the UNESCO directly or indirectly. One of the most remarkable among them is the colourful monthly *Courier* which reaches about a million and a half readers in eight languages. *The International Social Science Journal*, *Museum* and the *UNESCO Bulletin for Libraries* are some other journals. Its *Index Translationum* provides an annual compendium of translations published throughout the world.

How the UNESCO's work has helped to solve practical problems may be illustrated by a few examples. The streams of Indonesia which were clogged by a

rapidly multiplying species of the hyacinth had made navigation difficult and were obstructing the movement of fish. The UNESCO's Field Science Office identified an effective exterminator, but it created a new problem of disposing of the decaying weeds. The answer was finally provided by an experiment in West Bengal in which it was discovered that the weeds could serve as excellent fertiliser for depleted soil. In another instance, an unknown disease affected the eyes of workmen in a large automobile plant in France and the output was seriously hampered. The matter was referred to the Pasteur Institute whose scientists found a solution to the problem by reading an article published by the UNESCO. The article said that in 1943 scientists in California had discovered a remedy. It was this information which came to the rescue of the French automobile industry.

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

It is impossible in a brief article of this nature to do more than suggest a few aspects of the UNESCO's silent revolution. In 1957, Walter H. O. Laves and Charles A. Thompson undertook to tell the remarkable story of the UNESCO for the first ten years, and the result was a book of 450 pages. After another decade and a half, a much larger volume would now be required. What has been done so far, significant as it is, only suggests the long road that needs to be traversed. The UNESCO's work marks the beginning of an adventure in the creation of a world civilisation—an unfinished revolution.

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SCIENCE HAS NEGLECTED HUMAN RIGHTS

B.R. SESHACHAR

RECENT developments in science and technology have been so spectacular and their application so pervasive that it would appear almost impossible for modern man not to be affected by them. There is no more chance of running away from science than there is of running away from living. With its enormous influence on man's life, it is to be expected that science would have its impact on human rights too. The extent of this impact is a measure of the development of science and technology. While in less advanced countries science has not yet entered the lives of people to the same extent as it has in developed countries, there is hardly any doubt that to a great or less extent, in a scientific age, the lives of all men are affected by the discoveries of science. And human rights are subject to erosion by them.

In India scientific and industrial development is not yet such as to affect human rights and individual liberty adversely. We have not yet stepped into the hectic age of electronics, remote control and closed circuit television, which have made eavesdropping a fine art. Computers have come, but it will be some time before they are used for collection and storage of information on the private lives of individual citizens. This technological backwardness of India could rather be used to our advantage in retrieving man from the desperate situation in which he finds himself in advanced countries.

MISUSE OF SCIENCE

When we talk of human rights and individual freedom, we should recognise that these vary considerably from age to age and from one nation to another. What was "individual freedom" in the 16th or 17th century is probably not so today; and what are "human rights" in our country may not be so in some other country. However, it is essential, I believe, to draw up a charter of human freedom of general applicability to all men of all lands and see that discoveries of science and technology do not erode them.

It has become fashionable to deride science and lay the blame at its doors for the devices and discoveries which are alleged to have caused much suffering and distress. This is an old complaint. That the scientist is engaged in creating new knowledge is true; it is also true that he indicates ways in which the new discoveries

are applied. But it is not true that he determines the directions or purposes for which these are to be used—these are not his domain. These are the responsibility of society and the State. And since in almost every country scientific research gets support from Government either directly or indirectly, it is clear that Government feels that it has a claim on the results of scientific research. However, many scientists feel concerned about the nature of their work and its possible applications to the detriment of man. Several instances can be cited where the scientists have recently protested against the misuse of science. Some of them have even abandoned scientific research altogether. It implies that while science and scientific effort should go on, the discoveries of science should be administered with perception and caution.

In practically every field of science and in every endeavour for progress, it would appear, to some extent, individual liberty and freedom are in jeopardy. Instances are many, but the spectacular progress in fields like electronics, chemical and biological weaponry, ultrasonics, jet propulsion, and family planning has cut across individual liberty and become problems of society as a whole.

DEINDIVIDUALISATION

As a biologist, I would like to illustrate how individual freedom and individual rights can become greatly confused in the national and international context. Let me take an example of special relevance to India. The size of one's family would appear to lie, at first sight, largely in the realm of individual liberty. But when a certain limit is reached or overstepped, it ceases to be an individual concern. It becomes a national problem, or even an international one. If a child dies of starvation consequent on the inability of the parent to provide food, the matter assumes serious proportions. Questions are asked in Parliament and, if the picture is overdrawn, it might figure in an international forum of discussion.

Another well-known example is of the pollution of environment. Though we in this country have not directed our attention to it as much as some others have done, we cannot deny that the problem has been growing. The large quantities of toxic gases which our industrial plants are spewing out into the air; the poisonous effluents which are being let out into our rivers and into the sea; the enormous amount of human wastes that are not utilised or conserved but are dispersed; the poor state of our automobiles especially in our urban areas; the increasingly frequent fish mortality in our waters,—all these must make us think of the measures to assure all inhabitants of this land of their natural right—access to fresh air and water. Then there are the peculiar problems of intensive urbanisation, and consequent density of human populations in the cities. We do not know enough about the biology or sociology of man under conditions of physical and mental stress or his reaction to pressures of numbers. But we do have frightening evidences from animals, of unpredictable behaviour in abnormally crowded conditions. By and large, the problems of man are problems of human behaviour, his relation with his environment,

and an important part of this environment consists of his fellowmen.

The recent trends of deindividualising man are clearly and unmistakably a cause for alarm. This de-individualisation is an essential characteristic of modern industrial society which reduces man to just an animal, perhaps a slightly superior and more useful animal, but nevertheless an animal. To reduce man to yet another animal species is to take away from him his cardinal features—his humanness and all the characteristics that elevate him above the level of animal.

STUDY OF MAN

A study of man therefore is now more urgent and important than ever before. We must undertake this study immediately. It is a pity that social studies occupy such an obscure place in our universities and we could name only a few where any serious attempts are made in this direction. This is not peculiar to India. An awareness of this lacuna has been felt in the United States where a Council on Environmental Quality has been set up and which, in its first annual report, states: "We do not know...how people react to changes in their environment. The challenge to social sciences is to develop entirely new gauges to measure environmental stress. What do crowding, urban noise and automation do to man?"

And what of the frighteningly real and close prospect of manipulation of genetical material which, in the hands

of irresponsible and unscrupulous persons, could turn into a calamity? What of certain neurosurgical techniques which can turn docile animals into raging beasts, and *vice versa*? What of drugs and chemicals which, even in small doses, could bring instantaneous death or lasting suffering to millions of people? Most of us are acquainted with Orwell's *1984* but none of us felt, at the time the book appeared, that his prophecies would be advanced so substantially in time.

For a scientist, to speak of spiritual development is hazardous; his scientific competence is called into question. Yet, even in countries more advanced than ours, many eminent scientists are seeking refuge outside science for their mental peace. The limitations of science have been recognised for a long time and we in this country, where modern science is essentially a gift from the West and technology is a recent development, could well profit by the wisdom of our ancient sages. Science is not everything and there are many aspects of human personality which cannot be satisfied with an appeal to a scientific approach. For, in the words of a renowned scientist: "Science is a study of what the world is, Ethics is what it should be."

UNESCO is intimately concerned with the dignity of man and the vital importance of freedom.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Promoting Human Welfare Through Economic Cooperation

K. RANGACHARI

INDIA's deep faith in the United Nations and its basic ideals and objectives was embodied in Article 51 of the Indian Constitution framed four years after the signing of the UN Charter. During the last twenty years the spirit of this constitutional directive principle has governed Independent India's foreign policy over the entire range of political and economic relations with the rest of the world. New precedents in international cooperation and understanding have been established which hold great promise for the future. There may be reason for disenchantment with the UN if we look merely at the effectiveness of its peace-keeping role or its capacity to protect the rights of small nations and uphold human rights; Vietnam, West Asia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, let alone Rhodesia and South Africa, are areas of conspicuous failure as much for the UN as for Great Power diplomacy. The unity among member-states was not often as apparent as the title of the world body indicates; Low's famous cartoon with the legend "Untied Nations" has often seemed more appropriate to its stormy proceedings and backstage manoeuvres. But the UN can still claim better success than its ill-fated predecessor, the League of Nations.

It is in the non-political sphere of promoting cooperation in solving the social, educational, and economic problems of a world in which mankind has conquered distance and overcome some at least of the barriers, which had kept peoples separate, that the UN has made the greatest contribution towards eliminating areas of conflict. The League of Nations had earlier attempted to achieve a considerable degree of international functionalism; the International Labour Office is one of the important survivals of that era. The framers of the UN Charter had visions of promoting welfare on a wider international scale when they provided for the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and invested it with a coordinating role in relation to all other international organisations and Specialised Agencies concerned with economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields. The preamble to the Charter expresses the determination "to promote social progress and better standards of life and the economic and social advancement of all peoples"; Article 55 sets out

a wide range of responsibilities in promoting higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress, as part of the objective of creating conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful relations.

India has shown more than the normal zest in helping the UN to discharge its obligations in all these fields, because these were much closer to her own aspirations at home since the beginnings of the freedom movement. Also there were fewer embarrassments for Indian diplomacy in these fields. The ambivalence and the ambiguities involved in maintaining postures of non-alignment between the power blocs were absent since the Soviet Union kept aloof from the more important agencies like the IMF, World Bank, GATT, FAO and ICAO; for years it did not take part in the ILO, WHO and UNESCO. Controversies were rare in the other Specialised Agencies (except when some irrelevant question of credentials cropped up to upset the proceedings). In most of the bodies concerned with technical questions India was ably represented by officials or specialists who adopted a constructive and practical approach to problems of cooperation or coordination and earned the goodwill and appreciation of fellow delegates from other countries. India has both learnt and taught the lesson that a sincere effort to study problems involving more than one nation at the technical level can reduce the areas of disagreement. The outstanding example of this was the Indus Waters Treaty with the World Bank and Pakistan (though the latter country had always insisted that no common problem could be tackled or solved without a settlement of the Kashmir question).

In part, India's approach to cooperation within the UN was in keeping with the desire and policy of her leaders to maintain as many links as possible with the rest of the world. India's continued membership of the Commonwealth in spite of some severe disagreements on issues like Suez, Goa and immigration policy, her continued association with the non-aligned powers and the Afro-Asian bloc in spite of disappointments since the Chinese aggression, and close interest in the Colombo Plan in spite of the development of many other parallel agencies, are all examples of India's desire to participate in or merely observe, the proceedings of any gathering of nations to consider matters of common or global interest. The only exceptions have been the military alliances from which this country has always kept aloof.

Thus India was taking an active part in the Geneva Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), negotiating reciprocal preference on the basis of the most-favoured-nation clause with the industrial countries as early as 1948, when most other developing countries were not even members. The claims of these less developed countries for tariff concessions or better terms of trade for exports of primary products were repeatedly emphasised by India during this phase, until the Hablerler Report in 1958 powerfully focussed attention on this problem and a new section, Part IV, was written into GATT's rules in 1966 to give formal recognition to the importance of stability in the export earnings of primary producers. (By this time, however, UNCTAD had come into being to carry forward that achievement.)

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davp 70/329

Also in 1947 when the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) was set up along with two other such regional bodies for Europe and Latin America, an Indian, Dr P. S. Lokanathan, who was chosen as its head, helped in shaping its role in its formative period. Meanwhile, India had begun to take an active part in the Colombo Plan since 1950 and contributed to the formulation of planning and development policies in the region on the basis of its own domestic experience. Other countries of the region have now taken over the leadership of these bodies and provided the economic experts who are focussing attention on the new regional problems that have come up with the rapid and far-reaching political and economic changes in South-East Asia. The establishment of the Asian Development Bank is the logical culmination of this long process; while taking a close and friendly interest in the problems of the region, India is trying to ensure that its own size is not allowed to dominate the work of the UN agencies in the field.

IMF AND WORLD BANK

Almost for a decade after their establishment, the Bretton Woods twins, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, had concentrated their attention on the problems of European reconstruction and currency stability and convertibility. India's large sterling balances at that time made it unnecessary to seek foreign aid on any significant scale (except for the food shipments required during the Bihar famine of 1951). By the time planning had commenced as a serious exercise to merit international attention, an expert mission from the Fund under Mr Edward Bernstein visited India in 1953 and prepared one of the most constructive and perceptive reports on the kind of monetary and fiscal policies suited to the conditions under which development financing had then to be undertaken.

India took the first World Bank Loan for the railways and thereafter there began an era of fruitful relationship with this institution which has grown not only in the amounts of the aid received but also in terms of interchange of ideas on the policies of both the Bank and the Indian Government on economic development. There were indeed periods when it seemed they would drift far apart, but both understood and practised the art of compromise and agreeing to disagree. The New Delhi session of the Fund-Bank in 1958 decided on an increase in the members' quotas. India's problems of debt servicing highlighted the need for loans on soft terms, especially for building up the infrastructure, and eventually contributed to the creation of the Bank's affiliate, the International Development Association, which has since given the bulk of its assistance to India.

For its part the Indian Government has scrupulously honoured all international financial obligations and has not defaulted on any payments falling due, private or public. When the suggestion came from the international agencies that a revision of rupee exchange parity may be appropriate in the interests of exports, balance of payments and more aid, it was accepted in 1966 though it was a highly controversial issue in domestic politics. While there may be disagreements on policies,

or in the approaches to problems between the Indian government and international experts, India has an excellent record of using foreign loans effectively for the purposes for which they were given. Today, of the total assistance provided by the World Bank and its affiliates, nearly four-fifths has been utilised. India's problems were placed on a special basis by the World Bank, necessitating an innovation—the establishment of the Aid-India Consortium—which was later extended to Pakistan also, for coordinating aid given by the industrial countries.

At an earlier stage in the evolution of international cooperation in the context of national sovereignty, all these ways of showing a close interest by outside agencies as part of aid-giving procedures might have been looked upon with distrust, as attempts to attach "strings", or intrusions upon the domestic jurisdiction. Some unkind critics did indeed say so during the rupee devaluation controversy in 1966. But India had gradually become a textbook example of what the former President of the World Bank, Mr Eugene Black, called the "diplomacy of aid", by which various choices open to a recipient country were merely illuminated by the lending institutions, so that they could freely take the decisions on the basis of their national interest as articulated through their political processes. That the freedom was invariably exercised in the direction of acceptance of good advice implied that at least in the economic sphere, domestic jurisdiction was not as insuperable an obstacle to international cooperation as it was in political matters, in which resistance to outside good offices in solving complex issues was strong, particularly when former colonial powers evinced a keen interest in specific types of solutions.

MUTUAL BENEFIT

Other agencies of the UN have also conferred substantial benefits on India by helping to solve many of the emerging problems and have, in turn, benefited by the example set by India in offering cooperation which encouraged others to do likewise. In adopting modern ways of solving the massive problems of health and curing sickness, WHO has contributed much. Eradication of certain diseases like malaria, tuberculosis and small pox are now within the range of practical possibilities; other diseases can be controlled and their incidence reduced with the preventive and curative methods which science and international agencies are continuously placing at the disposal of Governments. The FAO (which for a long time had an Indian at the head) is acting in concert with scientific and philanthropic foundations to facilitate the success of the "green revolution" to benefit India as much as other developing countries. Such instances of cooperation with the instruments of the UN's welfare and service agencies have become a matter of routine; they have made the lack of cooperation an exception, which is most conspicuous only in the political field. They encourage the hope that the practice of working together on specific common problems will become a habit till it can be slowly extended to the more controversial political matters, when old rivalries will be forgotten and the generation which caused them yields place to the next.

It is neither possible nor proper for India to claim exclusive credit for the many achievements of the developing nations in the UN in getting their viewpoints understood by the more powerful nations. Her main objective was to act in concert with the countries emerging from colonial rule and articulate their aspirations and grievances, pointing out discriminatory or unfair practices which widened the gap between the rich and the poor. In this task, India has derived much support not only from other developing countries sharing a similar concern but also from enlightened opinion in the advanced countries. Initiatives and suggestions for untied aid, soft loans, better terms of trade for primary producers, expansion of exports of manufactures from the developing countries, acceptance of a target of one per cent of GNP for the flow of aid from industrial nations, all came from the advanced countries themselves, and while the gap between promise and performance is still large, the direction is not in doubt.

The culmination of this process was seen in the UN-sponsored development decade in the Sixties (which has now been extended into the second decade of the Seventies).

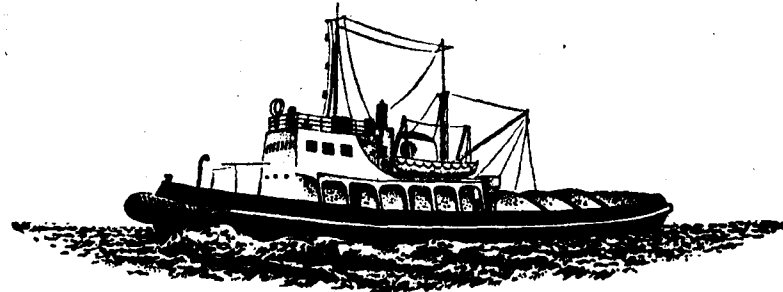
UNCTAD

India has taken an active part in the activities of UNCTAD and played host to its second session in New Delhi; but much of the credit for whatever success this body has achieved should go to the steadfast pursuit of its objectives by Dr Raul Prebisch. No one reading the Charter in 1945 would have predicted that the United

Nations would adapt itself so easily to the fast changing and challenging situations of the next 25 years. Undoubtedly there has been a reckless proliferation of special agencies for all sorts of purposes, which defeated the ECOSOC's basic role of co-ordination (as the recent Jackson report has pointed out). The costs of the UN's services have been so enormous that the UN was obligated to rich countries to an extent which has seemed undesirable. But when all this is said, it must be admitted that the UN has justified its claim to unity in spite of the explosive situations and conflicting political interests of its members, mainly because of its continuous attempts to harmonise their economic interests.

To win the war does not mean the insurance of lasting peace and security for the people in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to make impossible the occurrence of a new aggression and a new war, if not forever then at least for a long period of time.

— Josef Stalin



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FEEDING THE WORLD'S HUNGRY

FAO CAMPAIGN SPELLS HOPE

CHARLES H. WEITZ

THE Freedom From Hunger Campaign (FFHC) was launched in 1960 by Dr B. R. Sen, who was at that time Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). It has involved individuals, from the statesman to the ordinary man in the street, and shown him how he personally can play a useful part in a worldwide movement of solidarity for development to meet the problems of population increase and to stamp out hunger.

In its first year, FFHC published, with FAO help, a news magazine which promoted the Campaign on an international level. The first publication paved the way for publishing not only a liaison bulletin 'Ideas and Action' with current news on national activities, but also a series of basic studies aimed at giving the general reader a greater knowledge of the problems involved in the fight against hunger.

The FFHC went into action the following year and started its first important project, a fertiliser programme, which has been supported by governments and private industries. The world fertiliser industry has provided fertiliser for the developing countries and the farmers have learnt how to use it to increase their agricultural production.

By 1962 governments had begun establishing national committees to spread ideas and action into many countries. These committees, working at a national level, helped to bring home to the public the imminent danger of a severe world shortage of food unless adequate steps were taken to improve agricultural production, especially in the Third World.

The first FFH week held in 1963 was supported by 140 states and territories, who brought out simultaneously postage stamps on a common theme—freedom from hunger.

Links were strengthened with UNESCO in 1963 by setting up the UNESCO/FFH gift coupon project, 'Food for all Mankind'. In the next seven years this project brought in donations totalling 100,000 dollars from individuals and groups for worldwide projects for school gardens, home care, home improvement, nutrition education and literacy among rural people. At present 30 such projects are being carried out in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In India school, home and community gardens growing legumes were set up when the gift-coupon scheme provided the seeds, healthy plants and simple tools.

The first World Food Congress was held in Washington in 1963; 1,300 people from over 100 nations participated in it. The Congress declared that hunger could be vanquished only through a worldwide strategy aimed at harnessing 'all human and natural resources to ensure a faster rate of economic and social growth'. Subsequently FAO started work on its Indicative World Plan to assess the available food resources of the world and to find out how these, if developed, could yield enough for all to eat. Its forecasts published in 1969 were not promising. It stated unequivocally that world population was increasing faster than agricultural production.

The first FFH conference followed in Rome. It was attended by representatives of the national FFH committees, international organisations and non-governmental organisations. It led to the consolidation of national committees and the beginning of education work in some countries.

By the end of 1964, FAO/FFH field projects, numbering 53, were in operation or completed. FAO itself had directly operated 164 FFH projects in 29 countries at a cost of nearly 23 million dollars.

During the early sixties, the young people had borne the brunt of fund-raising in developed countries. Many of them were wholeheartedly committed to ameliorating the conditions of the world. FAO made tentative efforts to cater for them with action programmes for rural youth, promotion of FFHC education curricula and the provision of opportunities for service by volunteers and associate experts. But it became increasingly clear that young development enthusiasts were not content merely to work on projects in the planning of which they had no part. So the Young World Appeal was launched in 1965 with a stirring manifesto to enlist youth's support for FFHC and to formulate an action programme with the cooperation of youth leaders and groups. This gathered momentum the following year and a number of youth committees began coordinating national action.

FIVE YEAR PLAN

After reviewing the first five years of action, it was felt that FFHC should establish certain broad priorities of action. A five-year programme was drawn up highlighting four areas for concentration—structure, education and information, action projects for development and involvement of youth.

With the structure or organisation issue, every possible encouragement was given to setting up national committees with organisers from as wide a sphere of society as possible. Partnership between committees in developed and developing countries was arranged to help those less experienced in organisational matters. The committees in the developing countries were encouraged to become the focus of the coordination of the work of voluntary and other agencies with the government development projects. This has paid enormous dividends. There are now 95 national committees carrying on this work at a local level.

In the second area, education and information, an effort was made to increase public understanding of the reasons behind under-development. In the developing countries, the effort was to improve agricultural and nutrition education.

Gradually the emphasis given to information programmes changed from mere facts about food to analyses of the complex factors involved in increasing food production. The need for social and economic development, changes in institutional structure and more equitable trade terms became points for discussion. The national committees began to use radio and television to disseminate ideas. They were backed up by information from FAO and FFHC.

Some committees in developing countries are already implementing education programmes relating to an overall national plan and national priorities. Nutrition education tends to take pride of place in such programme and campaign activities as in the Ivory Coast, Madagascar and Zambia.

During the five years of this programme, there has been a perceptible shift by voluntary aid agencies towards a long-term approach to development priorities and less emphasis on emergency and relief action. Donors too are supporting education by financing long-term projects with a good training element in them and a potential generative capacity.

ACTION PROJECT

In the field of action projects for development, attention was focussed on increasing the number of projects but at the same time linking small projects with the long-term ones and with national development plans. FFHC provides funds for areas where there was no other source of finance.

In the developed countries the action has mainly been in raising funds and mobilising resources for development. The Canadian 'Miles for Millions' programme in 1967 involved 100,000 marchers and raised well over a million dollars. The 1969 spring walks attracted 350,000 persons and raised four million dollars. In India people from 16 nations and four Indian States participated in a walk for 24 kilometres from New Delhi, collecting Rs 7,000 for building new houses for slum dwellers in Nangloi, a nearby town.

Year by year greater importance is placed on participation in and commitment to development. Fund-raising days or weeks are often the climax to year-long activities for extending public awareness of socio-economic development.

In the developing regions, campaign action is above all geared to mobilising people for development. The work of the Shramadana movement in Ceylon and the Malagasy Equipes Feminines d'Education Nutritionnelle are examples of this approach.

In the second half of the decade, FAO directly operated 184 action projects in 44 countries. The field projects have been assessed. The study showed that the measure of success varied from region to region. The highest success rate was in India, where 75 per cent of the projects were considered successful. One

of the outstanding ones was the Kaira milk cooperative project based on a small cooperative which had 44 village societies in 1955. Today it has 600 societies and about 150,000 members who all sell their milk to the cooperative dairies. The cooperative factories manufacture milk products and market them under the brand name of *Amul* which has become a household word. The study also revealed that the FAO/FFHC projects and government-initiated projects run less risk of failure than those initiated privately, and the chances of FAO/FFHC projects succeeding were higher than those of government projects. The comprehensive projects or the ones fully integrated into broader development programmes also had a higher success rate.

YOUTH PROGRAMME

The fourth part of the programmes was the involvement of youth. It set out to inform and educate people about the food crisis, investigate the factors underlying the crisis and create an understanding for the need for agricultural, social and economic development. It included a practical youth-to-youth approach and a political or civil involvement plan to encourage seminars and studies on development issues. Seminars were held in 1966 in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Near East to identify the major problems of rural youth and to find ways of combating the difficulties. At two subsequent seminars in Europe and North America, the young people showed that they were willing to help and wanted to tackle the problem on a comprehensive scale. After more discussion at the World Conference of the Young World Food and Development project, an action programme was agreed upon and later endorsed by the FAO Conference.

By last year FAO/FFHC had 400 field projects in operation or completed. A total of 25 million dollars had been contributed to FFHC from participating countries. The Australian FFHC had, for instance, supported two training centres for farmers in India, one in Punjab and the other in Andhra Pradesh. In both cases young farmers with modern techniques and financial backing cultivated waste land and produced record rice crops.

It was time once again to review FFHC. This was done at the FAO Conference in November 1969. It was decided that the Campaign should continue its activities in the Second Development Decade—concentrating on mobilising human resources, a war on waste and filling the protein gap.

This year there have been two conferences which have involved FFHC. The Indian National Food Congress, held in May, reviewed the national problems closely. Its findings have been published in a report that is packed with practical recommendations of institutional and technical changes which will help the Indian farmer keep pace with his country's food needs. It also endorsed the work of the Indian FFHC and recommended the organisation of an information bureau to serve non-governmental organisations engaged in peoples' participation in the field of production. The Second World Food Congress held at the Hague gave more publicity to FFHC and more attention to the problems that preoccupy it.

STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENT

B. RAMAMURTI

AN important declaration in the Charter of the United Nations is its determination to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom of the peoples. The implementation of this declaration mainly concerns the Economic and Social Council, one of the principal organs of the UN and responsible for its economic and social activities, which involve, among others, studies, reports and recommendations on international economic, social and related matters. As there are various Specialised Agencies concerned with different subjects like FAO, UNESCO, ILO and WHO, and various Regional Economic Commissions like the ECAFE and ECA, the Council coordinates its activities with those of the above agencies within the UN family.

For these factual studies and their analysis, comprehensive, accurate and timely statistics relating to the member countries of the UN are necessary prerequisites. In regard to statistical matters the Council is guided by the Statistical Commission, one of the functional commissions set up by the UN. The Statistical Office of the UN serves as the secretariat for the Statistical Commission. The Specialised Agencies have their own statistics divisions. The Statistical Commission coordinates all their statistical activities.

One of the main functions of the UN Statistical Office is the collection, analysis and publication of statistics showing the main economic and social characteristics of the world as a whole and by its national components. It brings out a number of annual publications, including Statistical Year Book, Demographic Year Book, Year Book of International Trade, and Year Book of National Accounts. It also publishes a Monthly Bulletin of Statistics and a Quarterly Bulletin entitled "Economic Indicators", besides *ad hoc* publications from time to time. Similarly the Specialised Agencies and the Regional Commissions bring out regular publications relating to their fields on an annual and more frequent basis. These publications form the source materials for global and regional studies, not only by the UN family but also by other agencies, member governments, and research organisations all over the world.

It is obvious that to be meaningful, the statistics of the different countries assembled by the statistical offices should be internationally comparable. For this purpose they have to follow standard concepts, definitions and classifications. Thus another important function of the Commission is the development and promotion of international standards. This is a continuing technical task and considerable progress has been achieved by the UN and the Specialised Agen-

cies during the last twentyfive years, resulting in better international comparability of national data.

The Commission has given special attention to statistical development in the developing countries, most of whom have during this period attained independence and are engaged in raising the standard of living of their peoples through planned development. But the absence of reliable statistics has imposed constraints on their efficient national planning.

The implementation of statistical development programmes in developing countries suffers from paucity of qualified personnel and other resources. The UN fills this gap by providing expertise, assistance, fellowships, training, seminars and pilot projects. At present more than one hundred UN statistical experts are advising and assisting individual countries or regions.

The acute shortage of trained staff at various levels being a serious setback, the Commission, at its eleventh session in 1960, stressed the need for expanded training programmes. Rightly, training programmes for the intermediate and primary personnel were given priority. Regional training centres were established in Calcutta, Beirut, Rabat, Accra, Dar-es-Salam and at other places. These had to be supplemented by training at sub-regional and national levels. For this purpose, the ECAFE organised a regional training course for those responsible for organising training within the country.

Statistical methods have advanced considerably in recent decades. Hence training for the high level professional statisticians was provided in the universities and advanced institutions within the country or outside and was supported by UN fellowships. Further with every UN expert assisting a country is attached a national counterpart who gets on-the-job training so as to be able to carry on the work when the expert leaves. With assistance from UN Special Fund, an Asian Statistical Institute was set up in Tokyo last year, followed by the establishment of an Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics in Uganda, to cater respectively to the needs of the ECAFE region and the English-speaking countries of Africa.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Notable among the achievements of the UN in the field of statistical development are the 1960 World Programmes of Population and Housing and Agricultural Censuses conducted by FAO. Preparation of the necessary manuals and handbook was started in 1955. The programmes were discussed at various regional conferences for making modifications according to the needs and conditions in the respective developing countries. Besides loaning UN expertise on request, regional training centres were organised and regional census advisers appointed to assist in developing and implementing the national programmes. More than one hundred countries conducted population censuses around the year 1960, providing valuable demographic data for national planning. Agricultural censuses conducted in over 90 countries provided comprehensive bench-mark data for agricultural planning.

With the experience gained in promoting these censuses, the Statistical Commission recommended

the 1963 World Programme of Industrial Statistics for collection of data for industrial development simultaneously emphasising agricultural development in achieving the desired growth rate of the economy. Nearly 100 countries participated in this programme and were able to provide data, which have been utilised in the UN Publication Series, *The Growth of World Industry*. With the experience gained through the 1960 World Programme, similar programmes for censuses of population and of agriculture are being implemented this year. Proposals are also on hand for a World Programme of Industrial Statistics in 1973.

In view of the growing demand for international trade data by national and international agencies, an International Trade Statistics Centre has been set up at the UN Headquarters, which compiles and operates a bank of computerised data on world trade.

Besides publishing the Year Book of National Accounts, the UN Statistical Office, under the guidance of the Commission, has been developing a Unified System of National Accounts and its necessary adaptations and simplifications to suit the planning needs of developing countries.

The UN Statistical Office, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission, also prepared a monograph *Statistical Series for the Use of Less Developed Countries*. Later a regional seminar of the ECAFE considered necessary adaptations to the monograph to suit the needs of the region and incorporated them in the publication, *Basic Statistics for Formulating and Implementing Plans for Economic and Social Development in Countries of Asia and the Far East*. Another seminar on statistics for planning was organised in Moscow in 1969.

The Economic and Social Council has arranged for the necessary coordination of its economic activities, like the preparation of world surveys, projections and planning techniques with the statistical activities. Statisticians are enabled to participate in the conferences of planners and the planners to participate in the conferences of statisticians. There is a proposal to hold joint sessions of planners and statisticians.

Thus, amidst the turbulent goings on in the UN on political issues, sustained work is being carried out on developing a sound statistical system, which is essential for the formulation of sound economic policy and national planning. Internationally comparable statistics are needed as much by the member-countries as by the international organisations. In fact the UN has been giving first priority to the national needs in promoting such statistics. The various publications and documents of the UN Agencies and discussions at the conferences, seminars and working groups arranged by them provide a wealth of material for such comparative studies.

While considerable progress has been achieved in the development of statistics in the developing countries much still remains to be done towards the improvement of the quality of the basic statistics, the filling up of essential gaps and the development of an integrated system geared to the expanding needs of national planning. These countries form a wide spectrum in regard to stages of development, and the

less developed among them require more attention and assistance.

As observed by the Statistical Commission at its recent sessions, more attention is to be paid to activities designed to assist a faster development of national statistics needed for the planning of economic and social development. There will be a greater demand for country experts and regional advisers. The training facilities need to be further strengthened specially for a larger number of primary and intermediate personnel needed for conducting countrywide censuses, sample surveys and processing the data collected therefrom.

India has been participating in the various International Statistical meetings of the UN and the Specialised Agencies under the leadership of Prof P. C. Mahalanobis. A number of Indian statisticians have been serving in the statistical offices of the UN family and in different countries and regions. The Indian experience in statistical development has been enriching the pool of knowledge available to these organisations. In turn, India has been making every effort to derive maximum benefit from the statistical activities of the UN family and to adopt international recommendations to the maximum extent possible.

G. C. ARYA

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to study and make recommendations on such questions relating to public international air law as may be referred to it by the Assembly or the Council. It also studies problems of private law affecting international civil aviation. The Comité Internationale Technique d'Experts Juridiques Aériens, which had been responsible for the development of a code of private air law since 1926, has been replaced by the Legal Committee of ICAO. During the past 23 years, the Legal Committee has prepared drafts of six international conventions. Since 1962, India was often elected Vice-Chairman or Chairman of the various meetings of ICAO on legal matters.

The ICAO also participates in the United Nations Development Programme, so far as air transport is concerned. Most developing countries suffer from lack of good surface transportation network and inadequacy of communications with other countries. It is here that aviation has often its greatest utility. The function of air transport in economic and social development has given civil aviation an important place in the development plans of several countries and has thereby created an extensive need for technical assistance. This is provided by the ICAO.

The ICAO technical assistance covers: (i) ground services and facilities, (ii) flight safety services including airworthiness, licensing and flight operations, (iii) the economics of air transport, (iv) the organisation and administration of civil aviation, and (v) air law and regulations. The assistance is given primarily in three ways—provision of international experts, fellowships for training abroad, and supply of training equipment. Since the development programmes began nearly twenty-four years ago, the ICAO technical experts have gone out to some eighty countries to help them develop civil aviation.

UN FORCES IN THE CONGO

A PEACE MISSION

More Arduous Than War

Implicit faith and steadfast loyalty has all along marked India's close and meaningful links with the United Nations. In the interest of global amity, Indian Servicemen have often left their homes for distant lands to serve under the United Nations flag, even in uneasy situations and for long spells. They went to Korea in 1944, and later to Gaza, Lebanon, Indo-China and the Congo (Leopoldville, now Kinshasa). On each of these "Front Peace-Lines" Indian Servicemen performed peace duties more arduous than in war.

The author, who led the Indian Public Relations team to serve the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC for short) in 1962-63, nostalgically narrates the story of India's Mission in war-torn Congo.

SITU MULICK

HOURS after the hoisting of its own star-spangled blue flag for the first time on June 30, 1960, the new Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) became "a pitiable nightmare of confusion and violence". This giant of a country and the richest scion of the African super-giant seemed to the rest of the world to have suddenly run amok.

Perhaps the vast latent mineral and other sources of the Congo's total wealth are still to be fully assessed. But about the riches of its single province, Katanga, it is said, the Union Miniers, a foreign-owned mining combine, made test-drillings over the province to find pockets where mineral deposits were so few that they could build towns. And this bountiful riches of Katanga was, ironically, to be the root cause of most of the post-independence problems in the Congo a decade ago.

Within a week after attaining independence the Congo's request for admission to the United Nations was accepted by the General Assembly. That turned out to be the solitary stroke of good luck for the Congo in the long and unbroken series of misfortunes.

There was serious trouble everywhere, with everyone, in everything. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba did not even have a chance to make mistakes, let alone



Photo: SITU MULICK

Men of the 2/5th Gorkha Rifles, the crack Indian regiment which formed part of the UN Force in the Congo (1962-63), keeps fit by using an antless anthill for obstacle climbing.

do the right. The Congo seemed almost finished before it had even begun.

The former "mother country" rushed back its troops before they could have taken their boots off on returning to their home-barracks. Only four months ago, at the pre-independence round-table conference in Brussels, Tshombe had opted, of his own free will, for unity, for "One Congo". Now he proclaimed Katanga's secession. A part of the diamond-rich Kasai province followed suit. And the secessionist forces began sucking in scores of white mercenaries and adventurers.

President Eisenhower, whom the Congolese Central Government had first requested for help, advised that it should approach the United Nations rather than any one country. This advice was accepted and a week later a UN mission in the Congo, the nucleus of the future ONUC, was set up. General Von Horn of Sweden was appointed its supreme commander and Brigadier Inderjit Rikhye was made military adviser to the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. Dr Ralph Bunche was rushed to the Congo, and Ghana, Morocco, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Mali, Ireland and Sweden provided the initial combat troops of the mission. The presence of the UN peace keeping force had the quietening effect all over the Congo, except in Katanga. Ralph Bunche reported that the Katangese authorities resisted and gave evidence that they would oppose the UN forces with force. Dag Hammarskjöld had himself to visit Katanga with a token UN force a few days later, and Tshombe personally received the Secretary-General with due ceremony. The Congo's unity, for a while, did not seem elusive after all. But only for a while. As the Secretary-General proudly spoke of the UN embarking on "its biggest single effort under UN colours, organised and directed by UN itself", the rubber-man Tshombe had again bounced up.

There were urgent appeals for experienced administrators, doctors, staff officers, flyers, and technical hands. India's response was immediate. Over 300 medical officers and men, with a full complement of specialists and nursing sisters, left for the Congo. For the next three years, these Indian medicos were to run a large and modern hospital in Leopoldville and smaller ones at Luluaburg and Albertville. Contingents of military police and army postal-men, air despatch personnel and signalmen followed. A flight of air and ground crew of the Indian Air Force left soon after to man UN-packet transport aircraft. It was followed by a whole unit of the Army Service Corps, which was destined to set up one of the most efficient supply organisations for the next three years, to feed and equip over 17,000 UN civil and military personnel with their food and other habits as varied as the ONUC's own heterogeneous composition.

Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal, whom the UN Secretary-General appointed his personal representative in the Congo, took up his delicate assignment on September 5. His very first report to the Secretary-General, submitted within two weeks of his arrival, was a masterpiece of penetrating assessment of the prevailing embroilment, as the future was to unfold. In his farewell message, before he returned to his diplomatic assignment as India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, he summed up the ONUC's role as "to give life and substance to the Congo's freedom and to strengthen its sovereignty and independence". And because of the ONUC, he said, "the danger of the internationalisation of any conflict there has been avoided and the outbreak of civil war degenerating into tribal strife has been prevented".

The world first learnt of the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba and others in Katanga on February 10, 1961. Friends of the Congo lamented and the world voiced strong protests. Prime Minister Nehru called it "an international crime of the first magnitude".



Mr Rajeshwar Dayal, the UN Secretary-General's Personal Representative in the Congo, being briefed by his predecessor, Nobel Laureate Ralph Bunche at the UN Headquarters in New York.

Foreign mercenaries kept pouring in Katanga, finding it a profitable hunting ground. The Katangese gendarmerie quickened their expansion and modernisation programmes to an alarming tempo. And there was a change only for the worse in Tshombe's strangely unpatriotic attitude. African leaders dubbed Tshombe as "that black-skinned Belgian", and called the UN policy in the Congo, subsequent to Lumumba's assassination, as "weak-kneed"; some of them even withdrew their armed contingents. And for the ONUC to be effective at all, an immediate reinforcement of combat troops thus became imperative.

RAJA'S BRIGADE

While placing a Brigade of Indian combat troops at the disposal of the ONUC, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told Parliament on March 6, 1961: "In doing so, however, we informed the Secretary-General that we did not want our forces to come into conflict with the forces of any other country of the UN, apart from Congolese and Belgians and other mercenaries engaged in the Congo. And further, that our Brigade should function as a unit by itself and not attached to other units. We laid stress on the very early withdrawals of the Belgians who are serving in the Congo, as this appears to be the crux of the problem there. We made it clear that our troops must not be used in any manner against popular movements in the Congo". It was a grave decision dealing with the gravest of the world's many problems then. In moments of world crisis, with Jawaharlal Nehru, the UN's interests claimed priority over India's. Ambassador Galbraith, in his recently published journal, endorses this view.

Within the next few days a full brigade, under the leadership of Brigadier K. A. S. Raja, reached the

Congo. The arrival of the brigade comprising three magnificent battalions, cavalry, mortars, engineers and other supporting arms, "lent a business-like touch of efficiency and order", as an ONUC official remarked.

The ONUC's mediation had made it possible for Parliamentarians from all over the country to meet in July at Lovanium University, near Leo, under ONUC's protection. The Jats of the Indian Brigade made a magnificent job of an extremely difficult assignment, planning and executing it as "Operation Sunflower". Katanga, which had stayed out, now opened its doors wider than before to foreign adventurers, and the hopes of national unity again grew dimmer.

A fresh mandate for the ONUC "to use force, if necessary, in the removal of mercenaries", made it possible to launch "Operation Rum-Punch". Within a few days nearly 300 white mercenaries were rounded up. And just when the Operation was beginning to look up, the misguided Tshombe again misled the

ONUC to believe his false assurances of "personally seeing to the liquidation of foreign mercenaries". The Operation had, thus, to be withheld for a while.

The bitter fighting, which broke out in September and in which the Indian troops as well as the Irish, Swedish and the Ethiopian troops were to be fully committed, left little doubt, if there had been any before, that the Katangese had for months been engaged in war-like preparations. The Katangese now had Fouga aircraft too. They interdicted the UN supply lines by strafing and dropping 50 and 100-lb bombs. To make their sins look virtues to the outside world, the Katangese highly competent propaganda machinery worked overtime and truly wilyly.

It was to stop this bloody flare-up that Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld flew to Katanga to persuade unscrutable Tshombe to remember his numerous unkept promises and make amends before it was too late. But that was not to be. The aircraft, carrying

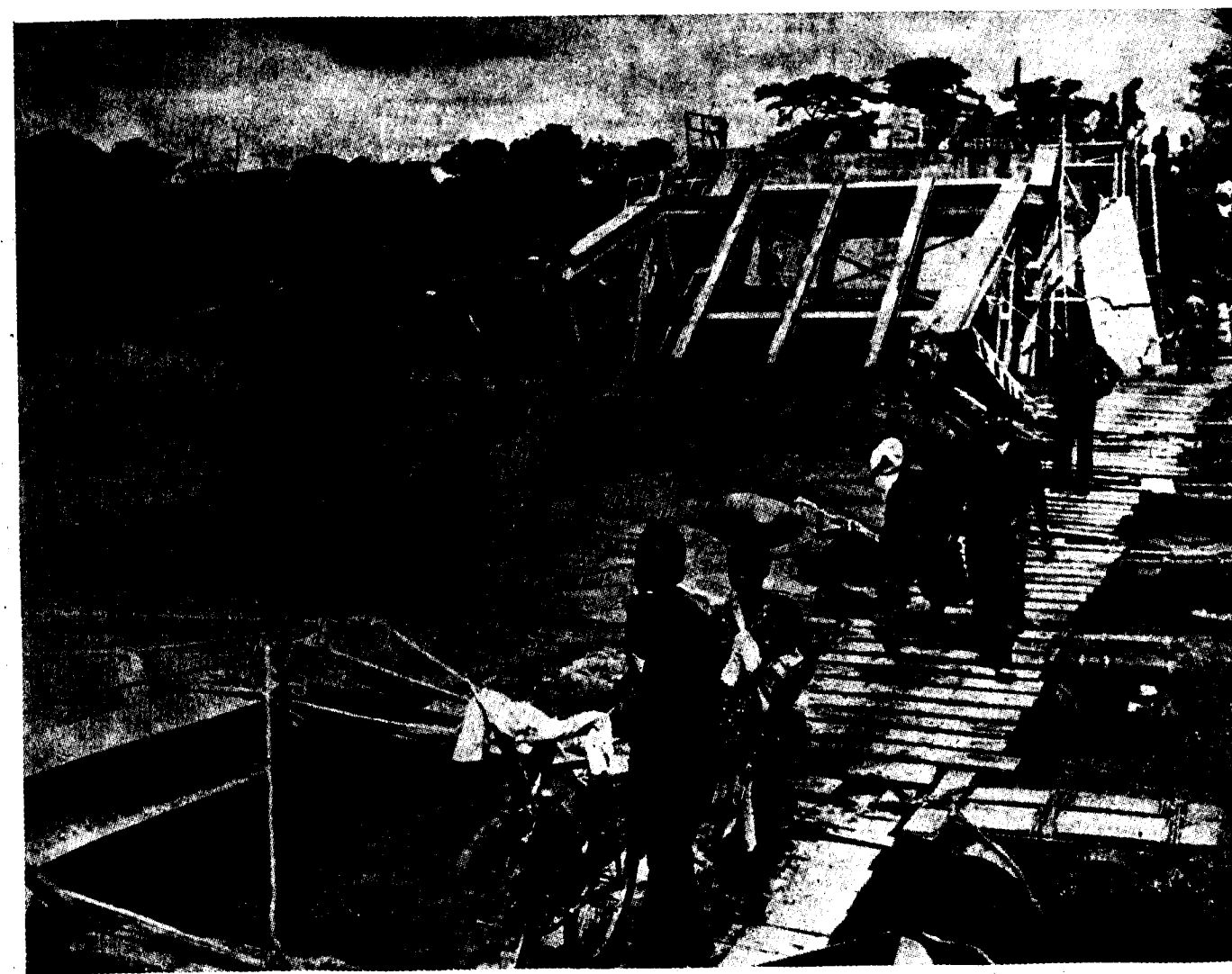


Photo : Situ Mullick

Indian Army engineers worked round the clock to repair and maintain communications—roads, bridges and telephones—destroyed in the fighting. Photograph shows an improvised bridge across the Lufira river put up by Indian Army engineers a few hours after the steel bridge was blown up.

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Dag Hammarskjold and 15 others, crashed at Ndola on September 17, killing all of them. The world's first civil servant made the supreme sacrifice for the Congo to live.

A ceasefire was declared the next day. This proved another breather to the Katangese gendarmerie and the white mercenaries, to remuster, rearm and further strengthen themselves to add to ONUC's anxieties manifold.

At ONUC's urgent request, India sent well in time, six Canberra interdictors under the command of Wing Commander Soares. With the Swedish and Ethiopian fighters, these Canberras could give air support and play a decisive role in the second bloody round in the Katanga operations.

In early December the gendarmeries began to put up road-blocks and bunkered positions along the six-kilometre long vital supply route between the Elizabethville town and the airport, and started firing at UN (Indian) vehicles. The ONUC protests resulted only in more road-blocks, more intense firing and further reinforcements. The Katangese were unmistakably itching to restart the trouble, and their main objective seemed to be the airport to isolate the ONUC from the rest of the world.

PITCHED BATTLE

A detachment of UN Indian troops (Gorkhas), all that was available at the time, began clearing the main gendarmerie bunkered position which had posed a serious threat to the airport. The detachment suddenly came under heavy fire. A Katangese Saracen armoured car was knocked down in the initial attack. In the middle of the pitched battle that ensued, the gallant detachment Commander, Captain G. S. Salaria, himself led an assault to neutralise the main gendarmerie road-block, and finally succeeded in capturing it. The enemy fled. But a stray sniper's bullet hit the young officer and he died. Although getting dark by now, the position was held throughout the night by the battalion's Havildar with a handful of men, until reinforcement could reach the brave little band.

Mortaring and machine-gunning all along the road to Jadotville was started by the gendarmerie the next morning. And, until December 18, 1961, when another cease-fire was declared, a gruesome series of battles raged, not in the Katangan capital alone, but in Monono and other parts of the southern province. The Indian Canberras had by now knocked off whatever Katangese air strength there was, and they kept giving air cover to the UN troops to the last, destroying Katangese supply dumps and troop concentrations. Again, the UN troops—Dogras and Gorkhas, Ethiopians, Irish, and Swedes—all fought as a well-knit, homogeneous team. These also brought the ONUC's 1961 operations to an end. By now the rubber-man Tshombe had bounced back to the ground again, only for a while, to gain time—which he did get.

This writer was privileged to serve in the next UN Indian brigade which replaced Brigadier Raja's. This

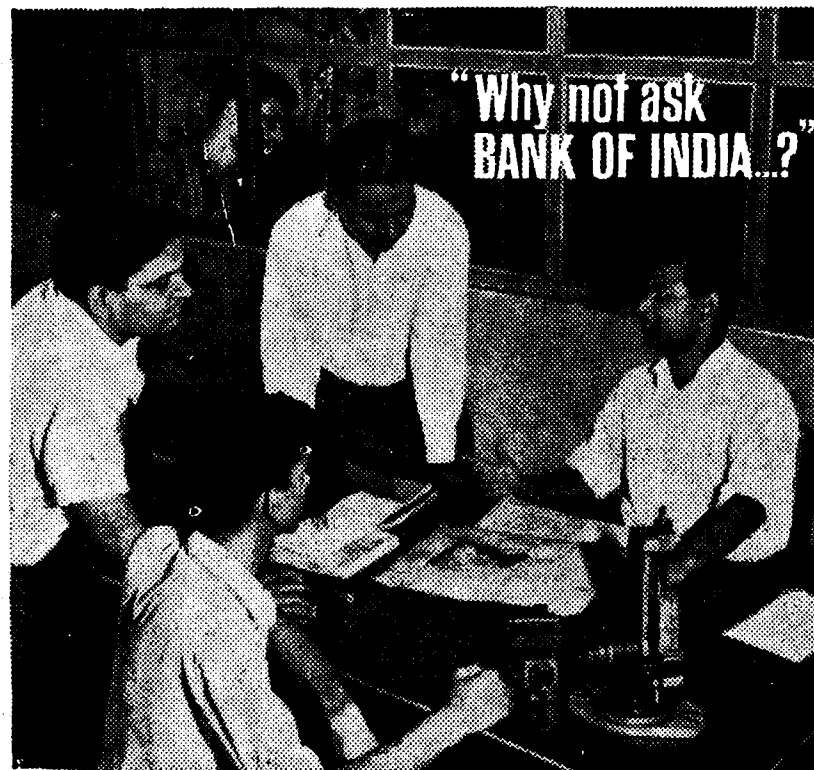
new brigade was in command of Brigadier (now Lieutenant-General) R. S. Norohna. The author was thus fortunate to witness at first-hand the wholesome conversion of the rabidly anti-UN and anti-Indian forces within and outside Katanga during 1962-63. Major General Dewan Premchand (who now commands the UN Force in Nicosia) was appointed the General-Officer-Commanding of the Katanga Command.

In 1962 Elizabethville was a sealed city, cordoned off by two parallel sets of road-blocks. The inner line was the UN's, to guard against the infiltration of white mercenaries and smuggling of arms and ammunition into the city. The outer ring was the Katangan "Maginot Line", intended, ironically, to enclose the UN personnel within the city boundaries.

The Gorkhas of the Indian brigade guarded the Elizabethville airfield, which had remained as vital to the ONUC's very survival as it continued to be a lingering eyesore to, and the priority target for, the gendarmerie and their mercenary leaders. Ensuring its security meant keeping a round-the-clock vigil and patrolling in heavily mined bushland, infested with trigger-happy gendarmerie. The Madras battalion controlled main approaches from the gendarmerie's training establishments, guarding the golf-links and adjoining residential areas. This task, too, involved a constant vigil and great strain on their restraint, for the pin-pricks from the indisciplined gendarmerie next door were as numerous as provocative. The Rajasthan Rifles were in "reserve". Paradoxically, it was this "reserve" battalion that bore the first brunt.

The Congo independence day was celebrated at Leopoldville on June 30, 1962, with President Kasavubu taking the salute at an impressive parade. Secessionist Tshombe chose July 11 to celebrate a separate Katangese independence day at Elizabethville. The UN authorities were assured that only two companies of his gendarmerie would parade. Instead, two full battalions marched past to show his mounting military might. On July 17, he stage-managed a demonstration against the UN-Indian troops which were guarding a road-block at the notorious avenue Tombeur, the falling road. It was a buffoonish act though creditably original. A mob of some ten thousand Katangese women and children, too unwieldy to be even funny, suddenly appeared, shouting abuses and dancing lewdly. The proverbial Indian Army discipline saved the day. The Jats and the Rajputs refused to oblige. A whole lot of correspondents and photographers had been kept waiting by Tshombe; he had hoped that the UN forces would be sufficiently provoked to resort to force, and the world press would have live pictures and TV shots with which to besmirch the UN's name abroad. Standing fast and unruffled, the Jawan succeeded in dispersing the crowd by first tackling with brooms and branches only a small section of Tshombe's new weapon. The rest of them followed the first fleeing, bleating flock.

It also fell to Rajputana Rifles' lot to escort Baluba refugees' trains from Elizabethville to the Kamina Base. They were eventually to safe-transport over 30 thousand Balubas. It was on one of these refugee trains that



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YOJANA October 18, 1970 Page 130

this writer had his first chance (and he has ever since hoped that was the last) of living through a head-on collision with another train. Having mysteriously survived and stepped out unscathed, he was able to see for himself how effectively the ONUC's communications worked. Within minutes the relief helicopters were on their way to locate the stricken train, stranded in the middle of the Katangese fearsome forest. The human consignment was, of course, delivered safely late that evening after the two engines could be disengaged and one train taken to the destination on a loopline.

The Indian troops began to settle down to their training routine. The Jawans had now some brief spells of leisure to celebrate with gay abundance the Independence Day on August 15, Onam in September, Guru Nanak's Birthday and Dussehra in October. But their Diwali, for which they had been preparing for days, was as dark in the Congo as in India that year. The news of Sino-Indian war from home was a damper.

Tshombe chose the 1962-Christmas Eve to spell his own doom. On that day his gendarmerie opened fire on an unarmed UN helicopter which was hit and force-landed near Avenue Shiniam, an area controlled by his crack paratroopers. This writer and a French interpreter Major D'souza, were permitted to accompany Brigadier Noronha when he walked, unprotected and unarmed, down to gendarmerie positions to intervene personally.

"The cleanest, quickest and most peaceful operation" was how a senior UN official later described this brave act of the Brigadier in retrieving the UN helicopter and the personnel. Three days later, the balloon went up again; this time decisively.

The gendarmerie had begun firing at the UN positions all along the Elizabethville's perimeter. Arguing and pleading with Tshombe were of no avail. Then on December 28, at the residence of Mr E. W. Mathu, the UN representative in Katanga, took place a meeting. Willy Tshombe had tried hard to hoodwink the assembly. This time he failed. The firm and dignified East-African UN civil official finally gave an hour's ultimatum to the self-appointed Katangese President either to order the gendarmeries to immediately stop firing, or the UN troops would do that for him. He let the ultimatum expire. General Dewan Premchand and Brigadier Noronha, who were present, were then asked to go ahead. And at 4 P.M., the first round was fired from the UN guns. "Operation Grand Slam" had begun.

The events moved fast. The months of war-like preparations by the mercenary-led gendarmerie and the politico-military manoeuvres of Tshombe, encouraged and assisted by his foreign collaborators, began at last to be tackled by a sterner UN hand. Before the sunset, the Madras battalion had taken the gendarmerie base of Karavia near Elizabethville. On December 29, the Gorkhas cleared Kasapa, eight kilometres east of Karavia. The ever-lurking threat to the vulnerable airfield was thus neutralised.

The next day, the Rajputana Rifles captured the Katangese radio transmitters. Meanwhile—the Irish cleared the Kipushi town, 33 kilometres south-west of

THE GREEN-CLAD AND THE GIRL

A little fair-haired girl had found a unique toy on Kolwezi airfield on January 22. This was a live handgrenade. Her little finger was on its hook; she was swinging it to and fro, and she was all play and laughter and fun. At a safe distance, a horrified crowd stood aghast. Suddenly breaking through a tall, green-clad figure darted to reach the child, and her newly-found toy—the grenade—was gently snatched by the Indian Jawan (Private) who vanished through the crowd, now relaxed and relieved. The girl's mother, in a near hysterical outburst, dashed to grab her daughter, kissing and hugging her between her sobs and laughter.

—Extract from a French Correspondent's despatch of January 29, 1963

Elizabethville; they were supported by the Indian engineers and cavalry.

The Indian troops' advance to Jadotville was rapid, inspite of the mercenaries hastily blowing up all the bridges and culverts. The Indian engineers performed miracles; they provided new bridges and hastily improvised diversions for the fast moving column. Heavy and incessant rains and slush and mud, on that fateful New Year Day of 1963, failed to daunt the Indian troops.

On January 3, the Indian troops entered Jadotville and were welcomed alike by the Congolese and Europeans. Brigadier Noronha won the city's heart for the ONUC when he proclaimed: "I have the honour of commanding the UN Indian troops who are internationally known as highly disciplined, well-trained, fearless and, above all, gentlemen soldiers. You may, therefore, have my personal assurance that no harm will come to anyone of you at their hands. You can trust them fully and count upon their friendship, help and courtesy".

The Indian troops were asked to go slow after securing Jadotville. Meanwhile the Ethiopians, with Indian cavalry, kept moving southwards and secured the Katangese-Rhodesian border town of Sakania by January 12.

On January 21, Brigadier Noronha, with his troops, entered Kolwezi, and was received personally by a vastly less arrogant Tshombe. The 341-kilometre-long march had ended and the last bastion of the secessionist forces had been vanquished. The UN personnel were now free to move anywhere they liked in the whole of the hostile Katanga.



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UNDP IN INDIA

Development Through International Participation

JOHN McDIARMID

UNDER its present title, the United Nations Development Programme is barely five years old, but its origins go back some twenty years to the early days of the United Nations itself. The role of economic assistance in the development of a peaceful world was recognised by those who drew up the United Nations' Charter. The Organisation is urged "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social development of all people." UNDP is now the focal point within the Organisation striving towards this goal, and as such is the recipient of a substantial share of the resources; committed to the United Nations and its family of specialised agencies. The theory which underlies UNDP's activities is that most countries do not lack resources: rather they lack full knowledge of their physical resources, and need to develop through education and training their human resources. UNDP's work is pre-investment and technical assistance—the identification of investment opportunities and the building up of skills in the developing countries of the world.

Even among those claiming some acquaintance with United Nations affairs, confusion often arises as to the relationship between UNDP and other UN organisations providing technical assistance. The role of UNDP is somewhat akin to that of a banker. Almost all the world's nations meet annually to pledge money to UNDP: \$235 million for 1970. Rich and poor alike contribute on a voluntary basis. This sum is then available to provide grant assistance to any government that requests it. To date, over 140 countries and territories have benefited. UNDP has the ultimate responsibility for the approval of projects, the allocation of funds and is accountable for the expenditure of these funds. The execution of projects—the provision of the necessary material inputs—is the work of the specialised agencies.

UNDP's largest aggregate commitment to any single country is to India. Since the United Nations began its technical assistance activities shortly after its formation, India has received some \$ 85 million from UNDP, most of it during the 1960's—the First Development Decade. Of course, by the side of India's multi-crore Development Plans this is a minute amount and nobody would claim that UNDP has made more than a marginal contribution

to India's development. Hopefully it has been a marginal but significant contribution.

UNDP, like India, has limited resources at its disposal. The main objective, therefore, has been to make a little go a long way—to reap the maximum benefit from whatever resources could be found. Given this policy, projects with strong multiplier effects are obvious candidates. One of the first sizeable UNDP projects in India was of this type—assistance to the Industrial Instructor Training Institute, Calcutta. During the next three years, four similar Institutes were established with UNDP assistance in Kanpur, Madras, Hyderabad and Ludhiana. These Central Instructor Training Institutes, CTIs as they are now known, train instructors who in turn pass on their skills to would-be fitters, turners, mechanics, electricians, and a host of other industrial trainees in the Industrial Training Institutes. UNDP's inputs amounted to about \$4 million, less than half of the Government's rupee expenditure on these training centres; this 1:2 ratio of respective inputs is typical of UNDP-financed projects in India. UNDP is the junior partner in these ventures.

PRE-INVESTMENT PROJECTS

Not all UNDP-assisted projects manifest such obvious multiplier effects. However, most contain an element of training which, if successful, usually results in knowledge being further shared. Training may be in widely different disciplines and at very different levels of sophistication. The international agencies which execute UNDP's projects cover most facets of economic and social activity. The Survey of India has recently set up a Training and Map Production Centre near Hyderabad. The total cost of this impressive facility is about Rs 3 crores, of which UNDP has contributed the foreign exchange costs of roughly Rs one crore. Here the latest techniques in surveying and mapping including photogrammetry, scribing and geodesy are being introduced to Survey personnel. These new techniques offer substantial savings of money and especially of time as well as greater accuracy. There is a great and urgent demand for accurate surveys and maps on which to base the numerous development projects planned for the next decade. The time and possible errors saved by this project should repay the cost many times over.

UNDP supported a training project of a more rudimentary but no less important nature. For five years, Australian experts worked with their Indian counterparts to improve the sheep and wool industry of Rajasthan. By 1968 when UNDP assistance terminated, the yield of wool had increased, shearing practices had improved beyond recognition and the farmer had more

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money for his wool, partly because of better quality and quantity but also because of the replacement of the middleman-broker by graded wool auctions. Incidentally, this project had an unexpected multiplier effect—it led to a request from the Government for similar assistance to eight other States.

Another project in Rajasthan which demonstrates well the pre-investment concept of the UNDP's philosophy is a groundwater survey of several arid and semi-arid tracts. For many areas, groundwater is the only possible source of water for domestic and irrigation use. But obviously the extraction must be related to the quantity of water which can be taken without depleting reserves and allowing saline incursion. The purpose of the project is to assess how much water there is beneath the surface and its rate of recharge so that the installation of new wells may be rationally planned. The identification and assessment of resources is a vital first step before the commitment of major investment funds: this is pre-investment.

Funds invested in practical research can bring about manifold dividends to the extent that cheaper processes can be found, indigenous materials substituted for imported ones and waste products put to use—another sphere in which relatively little money can be made to yield disproportionately large returns. Several Indian research institutes have received assistance from UNDP. The subjects covered range from sewage treatment at the Central Public Health Engineering Research Institute, Nagpur, through scientific instrumentation at the CSIO, Chandigarh, to satellite communication at the Centre for Research and Training on the Use of Satellite Communications, Ahmedabad.

COUNTRY PROGRAMMING

The projects briefly mentioned above are intended to give an idea of the diversity of UNDP's work in India. They all represent large-scale UNDP commitments of which there have been fifty-four—ranging from \$500,000 to \$2,000,000 each. But UNDP's "assistance package"—consisting of expertise and equipment not obtainable in India and fellowships for Indians to gain experience abroad—is available for smaller projects too; for example an adviser on postal machines, a fellowship to study specific dam construction problems, an adviser and equipment for the winter sports resort being set up in Gulmarg which hopefully will bring in foreign exchange from overseas tourists. Each year some 300 specialists or consultants—of some 35 different nationalities—serve under UN auspices in India.

The variety of projects assisted by UNDP may give the impression of random selection, of a haphazard approach. In fact, all requests originate from the Government and fit in with Government development plans and priorities. However, a clearer focus and a closer *inter se* integration of UNDP assistance may be feasible and desirable. Beginning from 1971, an attempt will be made to achieve this by identifying certain activities for which the government believes UNDP assistance to be particularly useful, and planning such assistance over a period of years in a more concentrated way than in the past. This is the so-called country programming approach recommended by Sir Robert Jackson in his

recent searching and frank report on the working of United Nations development system.

The Jackson Report, or the Capacity Study as it is also known, took a critical look at the UNDP's ability to respond to the needs of the developing countries during the 1970's—the Second Development Decade. India is among the most developed of the developing nations and may be considered a pointer towards the path which other countries are likely to follow and to their changing requirements of assistance. For example, India has many experts of its own—more Indian experts are serving abroad under UNDP than there are foreign experts serving in India—and a trend may be discerned away from longer-term experts towards short-term consultants and towards a higher percentage of equipment.

While the form and quantum of UNDP assistance may, indeed should, change in tune with the dynamics of development, its objective remains the same: to draw on the skills and knowledge of all countries and to make them available as and where needed. This article is about the work of UNDP in India and some examples have been given of this concept being put into practice. But India is not only the major recipient of UNDP funds, it is also among the major contributors of men and money. India has crossed many development hurdles which other countries now face and can pass on the lessons of experience, thereby helping others to help themselves and this is what UNDP is about.

F. G. SEIB from Page 76

results have been registered since the proposal to launch an Asian Manpower Plan was voiced in 1966. In India, as in other Asian countries, an awareness of the importance of employment problems and of the need for special action to overcome them has undoubtedly grown. New approaches with a view to accelerating the growth of employment opportunities are being tested. Undoubtedly much remains to be done. At the international level a re-appraisal of technical cooperation policies with a view to enhancing the contribution to employment is under way. The ILO for its part has taken important steps both to make fuller and more effective use, for this purpose, of its traditional tools, in particular its technical cooperation and research programme, and to develop new instruments—the Asian regional team and the pioneer projects—to promote, both in the countries of Asia and within the international community of organisations, the comprehensive and concerted approach required for employment planning. A promising beginning has been made, unrelenting efforts are needed, however, so that the impact of these measures may be fully felt in India and the other countries of the region.

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WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANISATION

HELPING THE FARMER TO PLENTY AND THE MARINER TO SAFETY

SARADINDU BASU

A beginning in international cooperation in meteorology was made in 1878 when the Directors of a number of national meteorological services, which had been established by then (the Indian Service started in 1875), formed an association, called the International Meteorological Organisation (IMO) for standardising observational and other practices and for developing international collaboration in scientific meteorology. The IMO which did excellent work until 1951 was replaced by the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO). The WMO is an inter-governmental organisation and one of the Special Agencies of the United Nations.

During its closing years, the IMO had developed several Regional Commissions, including one for Asia, apart from continuing its activities through the medium of its several Technical Commissions. The organisational set-up of WMO is on the lines developed by IMO; but, in keeping with the general advancement of the member-countries, WMO today is a much vaster organisation than was the IMO. The WMO has six Regional Associations (including one for Asia) and eight Technical Commissions encompassing the entire range of activities for developing scientific meteorology. Besides, there are a large number of working groups and panels of experts. The WMO also established in 1963 an Advisory Committee of twelve outstanding scientists to advise on the principal research problems in atmospheric sciences.

As a founder-member of the IMO since 1878, India played a leading role in all its activities. With the establishment of WMO, India's activities in the furtherance of international collaboration in meteorology increased and have gained great importance. The Director-General of Observatories of India was elected the first President of the Regional Association for Asia and held that office for two terms. The writer had the honour of holding this presidency during 1955-59. Also, from the time of the formation of WMO, the Directors-General of Observatories have been members of its Executive Committee, except for a short break.

The WMO's activities are reflected in the disciplines assigned to its Technical Commissions. There are

separate Commissions on Aeronautical Meteorology, Climatology, Synoptic Meteorology, Hydrology, Marine Meteorology, Agricultural Meteorology, Instruments and Methods of Observation and Atmospheric Sciences.

The membership of WMO has enabled the Indian Meteorological Department to derive considerable benefit under the various technical assistance schemes, sponsored either by WMO directly or administered by it. One of these benefits has been the assistance from the United Nations Special Fund for the Institute of Tropical Meteorology at Poona and for the International Meteorological Centre at Bombay.

The important role that India plays in the activities of WMO is strikingly brought out by the fact that more than 30 officers of the Indian service are members of the various bodies of WMO. India has undertaken the responsibility for setting up and operating two major international meteorological telecommunication centres. One of them is the Sub-Regional Broadcast Centre for dissemination of weather broadcasts to countries in the Asian Region and the neighbourhood, and the other is the Northern Hemisphere Exchange Centre as part of the network of five world stations (New Delhi, Moscow, Tokyo, Offenbach and New York) set up under a WMO scheme for global exchange of meteorological data within the northern hemisphere. Both these centres are located in New Delhi.

India has also undertaken special responsibilities in regard to certain other items of work relating to international collaboration. The India Meteorological Service is responsible for the collection and compilation of marine meteorological data and for its publication in respect of the Indian Ocean north of Latitude 15 degrees South. The standard barometer at the Meteorological Office at Calcutta has been specified as the Reference Standard Barometer for the WMO Region II (Asia) since 1955. The Radiation Observatory at Poona has been designated as the primary working standard radiation-observatory for Region II for intercomparison of radiation instruments of all countries in the region (since October 1962, Tokyo has also been assigned this function in addition to Poona). Another significant contribution by India is in providing facilities for training to a number of scientists from the West Asia and South-East Asian countries in meteorology and allied sciences at the departmental training school at Poona. India has deputed some technical personnel for service either at WMO or ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organisation) Technical Assistance scheme, or directly at the request of the governments of some countries.

The most recent scheme that has been launched by WMO is a project called "World Weather Watch". A world weather watch system had already been developed gradually through international cooperation over the last hundred years. But, it has been felt that it should be further extended by utilising the new scientific tools that have recently become available.

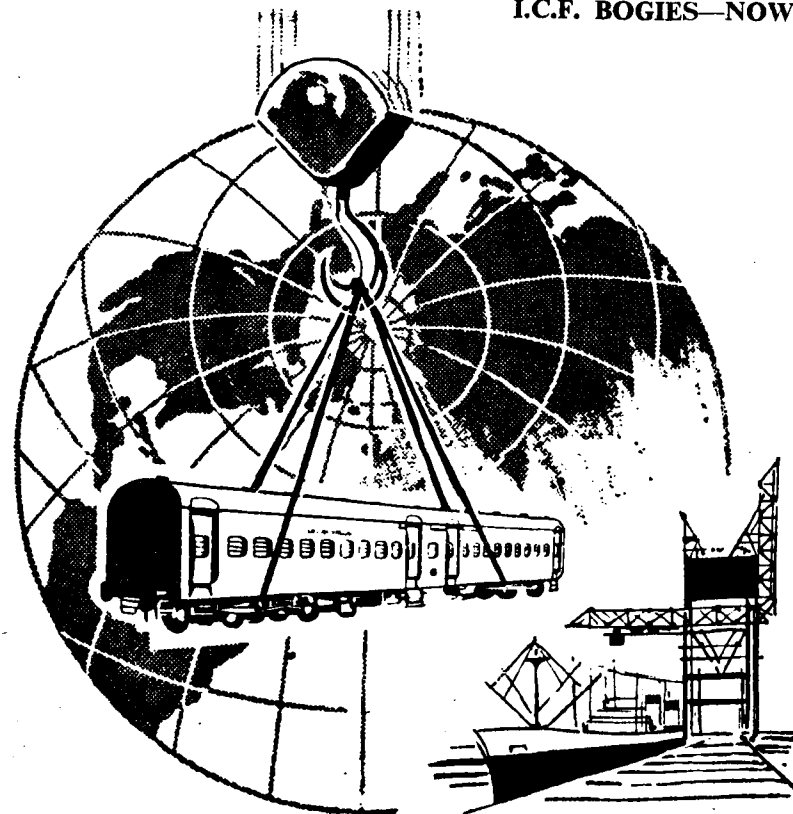
There is hardly a country which does not have a national meteorological service. They all serve their respective countries, and they all contribute to and derive benefit from the world weather watch system. In any period of 24 hours about 100,000 observations of weather conditions on the surface of the earth and about 11,000 observations of the upper atmosphere are recorded. These observations are made by some 8,000 land stations distributed among all countries of the world, 3,000 transport reconnaissance aircraft and 4,000 merchant ships. The observations, made day and night at fixed hours according to standard plans, are collected by a network of national, regional and continental centres and retransmitted as collective messages to all countries. A meteorological telecommunication system covering the whole world has, therefore, been developed to ensure prompt collection and dissemination of these basic weather data.

The World Weather Watch (WWW) programme is now well on its way to implementation. This programme and its associated Global Atmospheric Research Programme (GARP) are designed to make the process of watching the weather much more intense than ever before. Areas like deserts, seas, inaccessible mountain regions and the polar zones, which hitherto went unrepresented on weather maps, are to be filled up progressively by utilising observational facilities provided by the most modern technical devi-

ces. The remarkable new aid for this purpose is, of course, the weather satellite. A large number of automatic weather stations, ocean buoys, weather radars and rocket stations will also be pressed into service on a much larger scale than before. With the latest high-speed electronic computers, the basic observational material from all parts of the world will be processed within a few hours only, and prognostic weather maps up to 72 hours ahead produced and exchanged. Thus WWW plans may be viewed in three aspects—the Global Observational System, the Global Tele-communication System and the World Weather Watch Centres at the international, regional and national levels. India has been able to keep pace with the utilisation of all these modern techniques, and is set to play a very prominent part in the WWW programme.

Now, to end this account on a personal note—the writer had opportunities of attending several international conferences and meetings of the various bodies of IMO and, later, WMO from 1936 to 1959, held both in India and abroad. At these gatherings of persons from all parts of the world, it is exhilarating to be able to forge uniform meteorological procedures and practices for meeting the meteorological challenges of today. The meteorologists cannot, therefore, fail to realise that internationalism is wholly native to their mental make-up and is like the very air they breathe.

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Impressions of Indian Delegates to World Youth Assembly

YOUTH SEEKS FULFILMENT IN THE ONE WORLD

ILA PARASNIS

WE are a unique generation born in this fast changing world experiencing and reacting to altogether different sets of stimuli than did our elders.

The major problem before the youth of the world today is that of identity. Man has always asked himself: who am I? What is the purpose of my existence? But, the search for answers is all the more desperate for us now, because we do not have any sense of belonging, in the sense we regard the traditional definition of groups as superficial. Our reference group is the world. We do not have any sense of security because nobody can have it in this age of nuclear weapons. No wonder we are dissatisfied when we have to live with outdated code of values and philosophies, and have to worry even about our existence.

The United Nations World Youth Assembly, held in New York from July 9 to 18, was the first attempt ever made to bring the youth of the world together. For the first time the UN and the world listened to the voice of youth—their ideas and opinions.

The WYA sought to assess the current situation in the world to define what the young people want in the seventies, and to propose a strategy aimed at creating new attitudes and finding new patterns for joint youth action during the decade. Though youth was not given a chance earlier to get actively involved in the UN's work, I think we have always been interested in the UN and believed in the objectives of its Charter. To me, the UN is indispensable, not because it strives for international peace, but because the ideology on which it is based is quite appropriate and rational in the present times. We have reached a stage of development where the idea of human solidarity should transcend the idea of national sovereignty and international interest should be placed above national interest. It is time that we learn to live peacefully on this planet as one human race, as 'one world'.

The Youth and the UN have much in common, as far as their ultimate goals are concerned; and the

Twentyfive years after the birth of the UN, a new generation, unaware of the havoc of the Second World War but, all the same, the victim of its follow-up crises, has emerged and is crying for recognition in the affairs of men. This post-UN generation wants to be heard in the counsels of the world. A highlight of the UN's Silver Jubilee celebrations was the World Youth Assembly held in New York in July last. Six hundred youth delegates from 126 nations assembled at the UN Headquarters and deliberated the dilemma of man from their perspective. In arranging this unprecedented get-together of world youth, U Thant wanted the UN "to involve these idealistic peoples usefully and widely in the worldwide development efforts." The Assembly discussed the problems which the generations born in 1945 will be called upon to face. Yojana invited the Indian youths who attended the Assembly to share their experiences and views with our readers. Here are their introspections on the subject.

WYA is, therefore, a significant step in promoting mutual understanding.

The WYA formed four commissions: on World Peace, Development, Man and Environment, and Education. Reports were prepared after considering the major problems facing the world. It is not claimed that the discussions were always free from political pressures, but most of the time there was a free and frank exchange of ideas. The achievement of WYA was that it made us feel that we are now actively involved in and committed to the UN's objectives and work. It is also our responsibility now to see that the UN succeeds in promoting world cooperation.

The WYA has made us realise that we, the young people from different countries, races, religions and cultures, can communicate with and understand each other. It was thrilling to realise that our problems, struggles and achievements are basically the same; that we are striving for common goals. I still remember how happy I was to make friends with delegates from all the continents, and I returned home with the conviction that the idea of a world community is not impossible. The WYA must be followed by many such gatherings to bring the youth of the world together. Also, the

Never before have so many young people from all over the world, across all boundaries of establishment and tradition, felt themselves so intensely linked to each other in common hopes, ideals and worries.—U Thant

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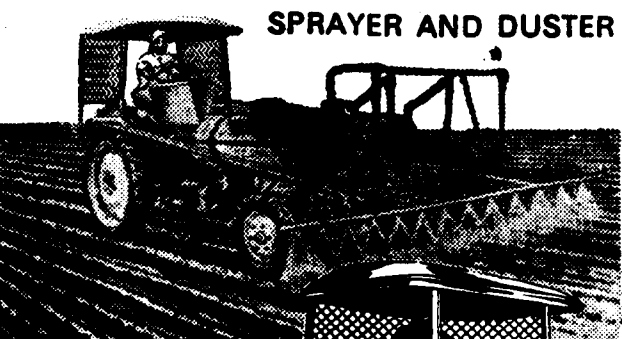
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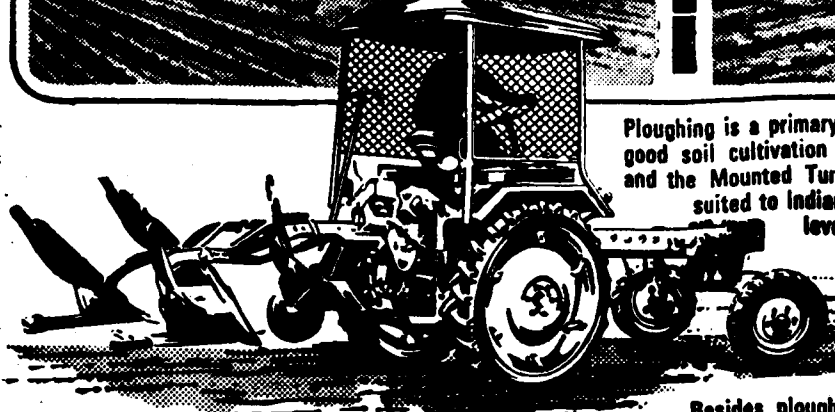


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youth must be allowed to participate in deciding and carrying out the programme of the UN in various spheres. The proposed Youth Corps and the UN Volunteer Corps should become a reality. An international university, as suggested by U Thant, will surely lead to better understanding between the youth of the world.

Attending the WYA was a rare experience. Secretary-General U Thant observed, "The UN would never be the same after this World Youth Assembly." I felt we, too, would also not be the same ●

D. R. MOHAN RAJ

THE United Nations is an organisation with a future and this future can be shaped by our will and concerted action. When one talks of the future, the youth are naturally involved, for no future order can be envisaged without the participation of the youth. This is borne out amply in the Declaration, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 7, 1965, on the promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples. The Declaration says: "In the conflagrations which have afflicted mankind it has been the young people who have had to suffer most and who have had the greatest number of victims...Peace, freedom and justice are among the chief guarantees that their desire for happiness will be fulfilled." Recognising 'the important part being played by young people in every field of human endeavour' the Declaration states: "...In this age of great scientific, technological and cultural achievements, the energies, enthusiasm and creative abilities of the young should be devoted to the material and spiritual advancement of all peoples." After adopting such an impassioned declaration, the UN General Assembly contented itself with a tame call to governments, non-governmental organisations and Youth movements to "recognise the principles set forth" in the Declaration and to "ensure their observance by means of appropriate measures." Why do I consider this a tame plea?

I believe that youth everywhere have to create for themselves meaningful opportunities of participation in the actual governance of their nations, or, at least, to assume the tasks of maintaining peace and hastening planned development.

Imbued with idealism, Youth everywhere are sensitive to human suffering and cannot put up with social inequality and injustice. Government's rural uplift schemes, like housing and sanitation, sometimes don't achieve their target even though the material resources are available. On the other hand, organised youth action, when it periodically sets in, succeeds in achieving results inspite of difficulties, including financial. The Youth's commitment is thus complete and total.

Hence the objectives of the United Nations would be nearer the realisation if the youth are involved actively in the administration of its member-nations. I would therefore expect the UN to go beyond its 1965 Declaration, and call for increased youth participation in the actual governance of the nations. It should be

possible to utilise the energies of younger people without reducing competence.

However, the 1970 World Youth Assembly, convened by the UN in New York was not entirely a lost cause. It effectively exemplified a positive approach to the problems of the mankind. Perhaps the UN intended it as such, for the actual working of the Assembly, involving tasks like fixing up agenda and agreeing on procedure, was left entirely to the youth delegates. Our success in this effort was only partial. Three of the four commissions, namely those on Development, Education and Environment, seemed to have done good work through constructive deliberations and positive proposals. But the fourth and perhaps the most important one on World Peace ran into a lot of controversy. Such was the confusion that the Indian delegate on this Commission, 129th on a long list of speakers, did not so much as get a chance to speak in the weeklong deliberations. Surely we could have done better. This commission, by its effective functioning, could have significantly strengthened the demand for the involvement of youth in the governmental processes.

In conclusion, I would appeal to youth everywhere to share the world-view of the UN, since modern conditions have rendered narrower thinking obsolete and infructuous. I would also appeal to them to see in the United Nations the one tangible hope for the future of mankind, and merge themselves meaningfully in the building of a positive world order. Should they choose to do so, Tomorrow could be different from Today ●

PROCHIE N. AKOLAWALA

ALTHOUGH convened by the UN, the sponsors discreetly avoided to call it a UN World Youth Assembly, since the aim was to bring together the youth of the world and not just of the member-States of the UN. The Assembly was held in extremely pleasant surroundings, with all possible technical facilities. With the excellent translation system, all barriers of language and communication were swept aside. However, it cannot be described as an unmitigated success nor was it a total failure. Though the Press played up the chaos to a sensational level.

I was on the Education Commission and also represented India on the Steering Committee. Working on the Education Commission was most rewarding for there was a tremendous amount of give-and-take and everybody gained by listening to the other fellow's point of view. It was also free from the undercurrent of political tension which was such an insidious part of the World Youth Assembly. Apart from the nature of its work, I think, it was also due to the procedure we adopted in our Commission, which allowed informal exchange of ideas. It was profitable to hear about the educational problems of other countries, which turned out to be universal in their nature. I discovered that developed countries also had problems like bad teachers, wrong approach to education, lack of any real intellectual stimulation through education, non-availability of text books, problems of media of instruc-

tion, maintenance of cultural identity and of course the question of the brain drain.

Though many of the recommendations of the Assembly were necessarily idealistic, the Commission provided a forum to speak on a subject which touched us all very closely. On the whole, this was, I think, the one Commission which came closest to achieving the World Youth Assembly's ideals of Peace, Progress and Cooperation, and in which the greatest (and least publicised) amount of constructive intellectual exchange took place.

Work on the Steering Committee was quite another story. In spite of its name, it had difficulty enough in steering its own affairs, let alone the affairs of the Assembly. The election to the Committee was on a geographical basis, whereby delegates found it extremely difficult to forget that it was either their country or their ideology that they were representing. Consequently there was tension in all meetings and the voting had a political bias. It was a trifle disillusioning to find that even 18 young people, supposedly a cross-section of the world's youth, could not overcome the differences created by a generation which they professed to condemn.

In trying to please everybody, the final draft message adopted by the Steering Committee, pleased nobody. The result was pandemonium in the final Plenary Session redeemed only by a single flash of realism when the Assembly by a majority vote condemned the aggression in Czechoslovakia. In that chaos this was the one positive indication that the Youth did have a mind of its own.

What then are the general conclusions one can draw from this World Youth Assembly?

Firstly, that the general trend among youth in the world today is distinctly leftist and anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist.

Secondly, the Youth today is no less and no more capable than the elders of forgetting national differences. Youth for Youth's sake is a tin drum which has been beaten once too often, and the blazing of new trails in international relations is a burden which it may not be capable of carrying.

Lastly, I gained an insight into the actual difficulties the UN faces. If so many young people, with ostensibly no political axe to grind, could not conduct a successful consensus, how can the UN achieve unanimity when the parties consist of professional diplomats paid to put forward their Government's policies. In the light of this discovery, the achievements of the UN in the field of international relations, nominal though these appear, seem monumental.

NAJMUS SAQIB

YOUTH constitutes an identifiable opinion group, often holding unique views on major issues before the United Nations. While various UN programmes intended to benefit young people (education, labour, health, etc.) are steadily increasing, the United Nations and its Member-Governments are beginning to realise the gross inadequacy of their efforts in the face of the

rapidly expanding youth population, particularly in the developing countries, with its seemingly endless needs for education, training, employment and the like. The World Youth Assembly was convened by the UN to assess how youth could advise and support UN in the interest of peace and progress. Undoubtedly, more young people are now taking interest in the UN than before and the World Youth Assembly indicated a fast-developing relationship between youth and the UN.

The four commissions of the Assembly covered a wide variety of topics. I was on the Commission on Security and World Peace. The Commission called for a redefinition of the concept of peace in creative, positive and dynamic terms and declared that any concept that precludes justice, freedom and liberation of peoples, is void and barren. The Commission was of the view that colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* constituted threats to world peace. It also had the opportunity of hearing delegates representing the national liberation movements of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Palestine, Puerto Rico, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This followed the declaration expressing support for the Palestinian liberation struggle and demanding immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. It was interesting to note that the American intervention in East Asia and the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia were equally condemned. The regimes of Greece, Spain and Portugal were branded as 'fascist' and 'militarist' and the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan were severely criticised for supplying arms and providing other aids to the racist regime of South Africa. While holding the US, responsible for the chaotic conditions in Latin America, it was emphasised that an effective system of collective security in Europe could be reached only on the basis of the recognition of the existing state borders, including those between East and West Germany. The representatives of Saigon, Seoul and Taiwan were refused the right to speak. Though Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam had been invited, their delegates, presumably due to short notice, could not attend the Assembly.

The Assembly resolved to refuse to serve in armies of colonisation and aggression. It was also resolved to mobilise youth in urging their governments to stop arms supplies to Portuguese and South African colonial regimes, to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, to press for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the American troops from South East Asia, to condemn the despotic regimes of Latin America and to demand the withdrawal of US military missions from Latin America.

Some of the other recommendations of the Assembly called for the admission of People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the German Democratic Republic; imposition of sanctions on any Member-State which fails to accord POW status to freedom fighters in accordance with the Geneva Convention; restructuring of the Committee on Decolonisation; elimination of all military bases from foreign territories and the restoration of Panama Canal to its rightful owners.

UNITING THE WORLD BY POST

INDIA AN IMPORTANT PARTNER IN THE UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

L. K. NARAYANSWAMY

THE foundation of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), nearly a century ago, was one of the earliest endeavours by Man to achieve the ideal of "One World". The concept of the whole world forming a single postal territory, providing for the reciprocal exchange of mails with guaranteed freedom of transit through all countries, transcends the objectives of the UN founded seventy-one years later.

The Universal Postal Union is one of the oldest among the international organisations, preceded only by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) founded 11 years earlier. Actually, the move for forming an International Postal Organisation was initiated as early as 1862 by Montgomery Blair, the then Postmaster-General of the US. He convened a conference in Paris and could secure no more than an appreciation of the need for such a body. Later, Henry Von Stephen, the Postmaster-General of the then North German Federation, convened another Congress in 1874, and succeeded in setting up a General Postal Union comprising twenty-two countries, all but two of them in Europe. India became a full-fledged member of the Union two years later in January 1876. She was the first Asian Member of the Union and the only member country without full sovereign status.

The General Postal Union was given its present name at the Congress in Paris in 1887. In 1947, two years after the birth of the United Nations, the UPU became a Specialised Agency of the UN.

With an initial membership of 22, the UPU now has 143 members, which is larger than the membership of the UN itself. At present the only countries outside the UPU are North Korea, North Viet Nam, People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Germany. However, they too conform broadly to the principles of the UPU and exchange mail through neighbouring member-countries of the Union. Every member-nation of the UN is automatically entitled to join the UPU, while those outside the UN can join it if two-thirds of the UN members support their admission. Bhutan was admitted under this provision. The UPU's continental composition is as follows: Europe 34, the Americas 28, Africa 44, Asia 33 and Australia and Oceania 4.

The governing principle of the Union is freedom of transit for mails throughout the entire territory of the Union. Each member-country is bound to provide the same facilities for the mails received from other countries

as exist in its domestic system. To obviate the maintenance of elaborate accounts, it was assumed that each country sends out as much mails as it receives and on the principle of reciprocal compensation no charges are levied on the mails received from abroad and handled in the domestic service. This principle, which reigned supreme for nearly a century, will be modified in respect of second class mails from next year, following a decision taken at the last Congress held in Tokyo in 1969. Many developing countries felt that the exchange of mail, particularly in regard to second class mail, was so one-sided that they received much more mail than they sent out, and had to spend correspondingly more, for which they desired to be compensated.

The UPU Convention also lays down the fundamental principles and conditions for exchange of mail, the limits within which postage rates can be fixed, the basis for settlement of accounts, etc. The Convention, which concerns itself primarily with the exchange of letter mail, apart from laying down general conditions, is binding on all member-countries. In addition, there are optional agreements relating to other classes like parcels and insured articles which a country may or may not accede to.

PERMANENT CONSTITUTION

The supreme authority of the UPU is the Congress which meets every five years and reviews all the Acts relating to the various services. Previously, the constitution of the Congress also used to be brought under review; but, at the Vienna Congress of 1964, a permanent Constitution was adopted for the Union. Each Congress elects an Executive Council and a Consultative Council of Postal Studies to carry on the work of the UPU till the next Congress is convened. The Congress has a permanent Secretariat, called the International Bureau, which is located in Berne in Switzerland.

Among all the international organisations, the UPU is perhaps the most economical. The expenses are distributed on a pro-rata basis among the member-countries which are graded for this purpose in seven classes according to their size, postal development, etc. Countries in the first class, of which India is one, are rated at 25 units, while countries in the last class pay only for one unit. Unfortunately, the principles for apportionment of the expenses of Union bodies is not uniform for the UN and its Specialised Agencies. India's annual contribution towards the expenses of the UPU is around Rs. 340,000.

Originally, the UPU was more like a regulatory body, but in recent years it has taken over additional

responsibilities for technical studies and assistance to developing countries. This aspect is assuming greater importance. Apart from three roving experts attached to the International Bureau in Berne, there is a Special Fund of the UPU for giving technical assistance, fellowships and scholarships. The UNDP's technical assistance for postal purposes is also administered through the UPU.

Particularly after Independence India has played a very prominent role in the UPU, consistent with its status as one of the more advanced postal administrations in Asia. The official language of the Union is French but since the Brussels Congress in 1952, other languages are allowed to be used.

In recognition of her role in the international postal sphere, India was elected to the Executive Council of the UPU when it was originally constituted, and has continued to be in that body excepting for the obligatory break after two successive terms. In fact, at the last Congress in Tokyo, India was elected both to the Executive Council and the Consultative Council of Postal Studies. India's election with large majorities was an expression of esteem and confidence and in recognition of the country's record in postal administration. India was also nominated as the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Ottawa Congress in 1957, and elected unanimously as one of the Vice-Presidents at the Vienna Congress in 1964.

At the last Congress in 1969, India was elected Chairman of the Parcel Post Committee and also of the

important Letter-Post Committee of the Executive Council.

Acknowledging her responsibilities to the other countries in the region, India has extended training facilities to personnel from Nepal, Bhutan, Ceylon, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, and Papua. Six fellowships have been instituted at the Saharanpur Postal Training Centre for officer-trainees from abroad.

A number of Indian experts are helping postal administrations in the UAR, Nepal and Bhutan while an Indian officer is working at the UN Regional Training School at Bangkok. India has also been offering equipment to neighbouring countries. With the increasing importance attached to technical assistance, India expects to play a more useful role.

By virtue of her geographical situation on the main route from Asia to Europe and beyond, India is obliged to play a key role in the carriage of international mail, especially by air. Also, because of her great expanse, she already has an elaborate system of air transmission of mail within the country. Indeed, India was the first country in the world to carry mail by air, as early as in 1911. She is also one of the few countries in the world to have an all-up air mail service under which all first class mail is carried by air as a matter of course and without any air surcharge. Naturally, therefore, India has been taking considerable interest in air mail regulations in the UPU.

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Reaching the Millions Broadcasting in Promoting UN Ideals

A. K. SEN

ALMOST from the very beginning it was realised both by the world organisation and the member-countries that the United Nations would not achieve the purpose for which it had been created unless the peoples of the world were fully informed of its aims and activities. The very first UN Technical Advisory Committee on Information recommended that a Department of Public Information should be established under an Assistant Secretary-General and that the activities of that department "should be so organised and directed as to promote to the greatest possible extent an informed understanding of the work and purposes of the United Nations among the peoples of the world."

Thus, there has never been any doubt about the importance of informational support for the activities of the United Nations. The primary responsibility in this field as well as the main burden of informing the peoples of the world about the aims and objectives of the UN rests with the various Governments and their respective media of information—official and non-official.

By the end of the Second World War the radio had come to be accepted as the quickest means of disseminating information; it was admittedly a medium capable of infinite reach and considerable intimacy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the UN Technical Advisory Committee made special mention of the role of broadcasting in the information activity that had to be undertaken. The Committee recommended that "the Department should actively assist and encourage the use of radio broadcasting for the dissemination of information about the United Nations". It is surprising, however, that though by then television had made considerable progress in countries like the United States, no specific mention was made of it or of its utilisation for furthering the ideals of the UN. Today, it is well-known, that in most advanced countries and even in some of the developing countries the primary functions of broadcasting are shifting from radio to television.

Keeping the people informed of the UN activities is only one part of the total task. The words of the UNESCO preamble have become world famous: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." This is true of all the ideals, aims and objectives of the United Nations. Not only "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," but also "to reaffirm

faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom"—for all this and much else, the foundations have to be laid in the minds of men. Therefore, the role of information media, including broadcasting, is partly to conduit news and information about the UN to the people, but mainly to convert the people to the United Nations way of thinking.

Most broadcasting organisations of the world enthusiastically accepted this responsibility and tried to play their role in furthering the ideals of the UN; but the effectiveness of the part played by individual organisations was directly related to the nature of the organisational set-up of broadcasting in the concerned country, the state and extent of its development, and consequently, the facilities available; and, lastly, the socio-economic and political situation prevailing among the people in the area. It is not surprising, therefore, that the resultant impact varied vastly from country to country. So also did the quantum of effort and its relationship to impact.

In countries like India the task of promoting the ideals of the UN among the people, is intimately tied up with the larger problems of using communication media to accelerate social change and to inculcate among the people a frame of mind and a way of thinking conducive to progress and development. Thus, the role that All India Radio has played and continues to play to promote the ideals of the UN should be viewed in the overall context of its work in the general field of national development.

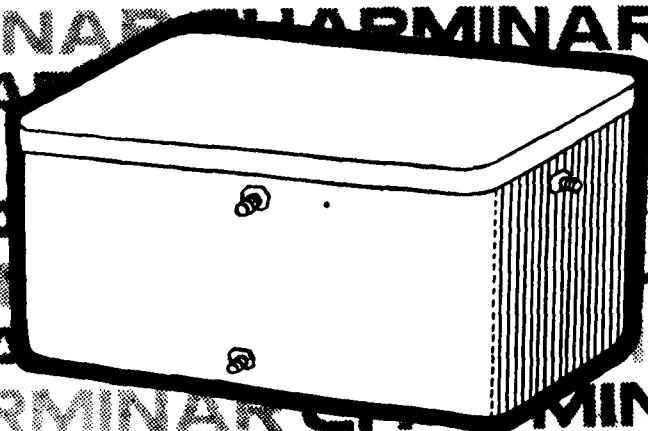
ALL INDIA RADIO

All India Radio approached the task of fostering the ideals of the UN and the problems of developmental information with alert seriousness and achieved a good measure of success at the conceptual levels of definition and planning. There was, however, no room for complacency, nor is there now. Achievement was far short of effort and effort itself was short of potential capacity. There was the general insufficiency of transmission facilities to cover the entire country and to the optimum extent necessary. At the listening end there was a chronic inadequacy of a sufficient number of radio sets.

But to wait idly for ideal conditions for the propagation of ideals to prevail is itself a wrong attitude to assume; and such an attitude of futility should not be assumed by any broadcasting organisation. Even in developing countries broadcasting organisations have not failed to contribute their very best with the available resources and facilities to foster the ideals of the UN. I feel that in India, at any rate, the UN image has been sharply focussed on its ideals and its endeavours in the service of mankind at the developmental and humanitarian levels. It is in the more advanced countries that the world organisation is projected on the public mind more as a political machinery set up for attempting to maintain the semblance of a balance of power both among the big powers, and between the big powers and smaller nations. As far as India is concerned "the informed understanding of the work and purposes of the

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United Nations" that prevails among the public today is undoubtedly due to the information and interpretative activities undertaken by the mass media, including broadcasting.

PRAGMATIC APPROACH

Speaking specifically of AIR, one fact requires special mention. The Organisation's approach to UN publicity has necessarily been pragmatic. Both the quantum and nature of programmes planned have kept changing over the years, taking into consideration not only the news value and the overall importance of specific UN activities but also the degree of awareness already achieved and the amount of interest prevailing at the time. To give one example, in the beginning it was found advisable to broadcast regular weekly reviews of the General Assembly proceedings whenever it was in session by an Indian correspondent attending the sessions in New York. At that time an awareness had yet to be built up and the very fact that AIR broadcast these reviews regularly and attached sufficient importance to the reviews to arrange for an Indian special correspondent to broadcast them live from New York, was of significance and served a useful purpose in increasing awareness among the public. Later, it was considered sufficient to relay reviews put out by the United Nations' own Radio Division. By then awareness in India of the world organisation had increased sufficiently and under those conditions it was the reviews and their contents that were important. Still later, by when the Indian public was well aware of the work and aims of the UN, and also, by when the deliberations of the world organisation had become less and less general and more and more pin-pointed to local problems and technical matters, it was no longer necessary to broadcast routine reviews week after week.

HINDI PROGRAMMES

When the UN Radio set up a unit to prepare special programmes in Hindi for supply to AIR, we were able to depute a senior member of our staff to work with it. Here also, when it was realised that a stage had been reached when it would be more effective to obtain material from the UN Radio and produce our own programmes for distribution among the various stations of AIR, arrangements were finalised with the UN Department of Information for such a procedure to be adopted. For many years now we have been receiving on a regular basis material from the United Nations and producing a series of programmes entitled *Naya Chaupal* for broadcast from the various stations of AIR in the Hindi region. Thirty such programmes are prepared every year and broadcast from 15 stations of AIR. In addition, a special series of programmes recorded by the UN Radio with a view to place the activities of the UN in perspective are obtained and circulated to various stations of AIR which are able to include them in their broadcast schedule. Lastly, on special occasions like the World Health Day and the Human Rights Day, AIR not only broadcasts documentary features and other special programmes received from the UN Radio but also plans and produces suitable programmes locally for broadcast on these occasions.

The UN Day broadcast by the President has now become a regular feature every year. Similarly, on the eve of the United Nations Day, a message from the Secretary-General is also broadcast by AIR. Such broadcasts should be judged not only by the material content of the broadcasts themselves, which invariably is of the highest order, but also by the sense of importance impressed on the public mind by the very fact that the President of India considers the occasion important enough for him to broadcast to the nation.

Another important way in which All India Radio attempts to keep the work of the United Nations continuously in the forefront of the public mind is to include as often as possible UN items in the national newsreels. Radio newsreels because of their easily assimilable form and their dramatic presentation command a very wide audience in all countries. This is true of India also. As such inclusion of items in newsreel programmes automatically ensures not only a large audience but also a significant impact. UN dignitaries and others associated with UN work from Danny Kaye to Sandy Coggan, from the Secretary-General ranking officials of the UN Specialised Agencies, whoever visits India, an interview with him has become a must for Radio newsreel.

ASIAN RADIO PROJECT

There is one aspect of radio programming to which I must refer with a sense of regret. The impact of programmes prepared by AIR staff based on personal visits to various countries where UN specialised agencies are actively involved in development programmes and using material collected on the spot would be by far the best way of projecting the UN and fostering the ideals for which the world organisation stands. Unfortunately, however, it has not been possible for AIR to undertake such expensive assignments for lack of adequate funds. However, in 1960 the UN Department of Information organised an Asian Radio Project under which producers from various Asian countries were taken on an extended tour of these countries to collect material for a series of documentaries on the developmental situation in Asia and the contribution being made by the UN specialised agencies to help the countries in the region. The team included a representative from AIR. On his return he produced a series of documentary features which were broadcast by various stations of AIR. These programmes attempted a first person assessment of Asian development problems and, to that extent, were more personal and consequently resulted in greater and deeper impact.

One last point. In using mass media for accelerating change and fostering ideals one factor has to be constantly borne in mind. The fundamental nature of the people we are addressing, their mental make-up and social ethos, should be carefully studied. Knowledge of these and a respect for the quality of life of the people, should inspire radio and TV programming in each country; and, I hope, that whether it be in fulfilling our role in promoting the ideals of the United Nations or grappling with indigenous problems of developmental communication, AIR will never be found wanting either in a dedicated spirit of professionalism or honest, hard work to achieve the targets aimed at.

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ECAFE BUILDS ASIAN ECONOMY

REGIONAL COOPERATION FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT

A. N. PRABHU

THE Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) covers geographically an area stretching from Iran and Afghanistan in the west, right across the mass of the Asian continent below the Himalayan range, and in the south includes Ceylon and the southern archipelagoes of Indonesia and the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and western Samoa. In this region live 1,700 million people recently released from the colonial grip and anxious to raise their standard of living. The fight against colonialism has gradually given way to cooperation among the countries in trade and technical assistance.

Established on May 28, 1947, by the Economic and Social Council under the Charter of the United Nations, the ECAFE has done yeoman's service in promoting regional understanding and has initiated and participated in measures to facilitate concerted action. It has closely associated itself with the economic development of the countries of the region. It has rendered technical assistance ranging from setting up a steel plant in Burma to making surveys for the Asian Highway and disseminating data about typhoons.

The ECAFE has 28 members (including two associate members, Brunei and Hong Kong), of whom 23 are in the region and five outside it. It respects the sovereignty of every country and cannot undertake any action in respect of a member country without the consent of its Government. Within this framework, it has made available its advisory services to the governments whenever required. It provides facilities for holding seminars, organising training centres and arranging group visits of Asian experts to other countries. It has set up panels of regional advisers for technical development, electricity, administration, community development, demography, industrial development and public administration.

During the First Development Decade, the ECAFE countries made an effort at a higher growth rate. Few of these countries, however, managed to achieve income growth rates of ten per cent a year. Apart from the brief periods when new taxes were introduced, few governments in the region have achieved revenue growth rates (both taxes and non-tax) faster than that of the gross national product (GNP). Against this bleak picture, the Governments' capital expenditure has been rising every year, and in many countries it is 30 per cent or more than the current expenditure. A large part of the expenditure has to be financed either by borrowing at home or abroad or by foreign aid. A number of countries depend heavily on foreign aid and, particularly in recent years, on foreign borrowings.

Regional economic cooperation is a new development in the Asian countries. Most of the developing countries are deficient in resources, especially foreign exchange. An ideal way to overcome their difficulties would be for these countries to cooperate in promoting trade exchange. The UNCTAD held in New Delhi recognised that economic cooperation and trade expansion among the developing countries would make an important contribution to the development process.

Economic Ministers of Asian States noted the problems and possibilities of regional cooperation as early as 1961, but a significant move in this direction was made only at the Third Ministerial conference on Asian Economic Cooperation in December 1966. The conference constituted itself into a Council of Ministers for Asian economic cooperation. It instructed the ECAFE Secretariat to set up a Task Force to elaborate an integrated programme of action, embracing liberalisation of trade exchanges, stimulation of national production, development of commercial infrastructure and organisation of a payments mechanism to promote the expansion of *inter se* trade flow. The programme would seek the cooperation of the Asian Development Bank for the provision of financial inputs for production and other developmental projects of value to the region as a whole. The Conference reached agreement, the first among the Asian countries, for the setting up of an Asian Coconut Community to safeguard and promote the interests of the important product of the region.

A series of meetings under the auspices of ECAFE have been held since 1969 to discuss the proposals relating to trade and monetary cooperation. A high-level ECAFE mission, headed by professor Robert Triffin, an outstanding economist, visited New Delhi for talks with the Government of India to find out their reaction to proposals for some type of a payments union among ECAFE countries.

As a first step, it has been proposed to step up intra-regional trade by meeting, to the maximum extent possible, regional import requirements with exportable surpluses of these countries on mutually advantageous terms and on a multilaterally balanced basis. Suggestions have also been made for clearing arrangements and payments with a view to: 1) fostering monetary cooperation in the region; 2) bringing about saving in the cost of transactions connected with intra-regional trade; and 3) facilitating the eventual establishment of a payments' union. The payments union is proposed to provide transitional credit to finance imbalances which are inherent in a scheme of multilaterally balanced expansion of trade.

It remains to be seen how far the Asian countries will sacrifice self-interest for a wider benefit of the nations of the region. For instance, each country would have to be prepared to relax to some extent tariff restrictions in order to enable a country's goods to enter another's area.

MANMOHAN SINGH *from Page 58*

nearly 30 per cent of our annual exports and we have therefore a vital interest in international measures designed to deal with the growing indebtedness of a large number of developing countries. The efforts of the UNCTAD succeeded in 1969 in persuading the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (in which all other countries with developed market economies are represented) to press for a further softening of the terms of aid in the form of increasing the proportion of grants, reducing interest rates and lengthening the maturities and grace periods applicable to loans. More energetic measures are still called for, including systematic efforts to re-schedule existing debts and also including practical steps to untie aid, for tied aid considerably reduces the effectiveness of aid.

During the six years of its existence, the UNCTAD has provided the major elements of a global strategy designed to reduce economic inequalities among nations. Last year, a distinguished international commission, headed by Mr Lester Pearson of Canada, put forward a large number of suggestions for consideration of the world community in order to accelerate the pace of economic development in poor countries. It is a matter of some satisfaction for the UNCTAD that almost all the major recommendations of the Pearson Commission can be found in one or the other UNCTAD document. However, there is no doubt that the UNCTAD has not made much progress in giving concrete practical shape to its laudable objectives. But this is much more a reflection on the state of the world we live in than an indication of the inadequacies of the UNCTAD. Clearly the world community at the present moment lacks the political will to translate the UNCTAD's ideals into practice. But there is no ground for despair. The growing concern of the younger people all over the world with the problems of world poverty offers scope for reasoned optimism. Meanwhile, the UNCTAD must go on with its work of educating the world public opinion. As and when the world community wakes up to its responsibilities, it will find in the UNCTAD documents a constructive and viable plan of international action.

S. N. DWIVEDY *from Page 81*

Although resources are strictly limited, the little advantage that is available to less developed countries would be completely lost without the UN agency. It will be ideal if there is an agreement that all financial or developmental aid from one country to another is channelised through the UN. Such an arrangement will be a guarantee for peace. Even the danger of a division of the world into nuclear and non-nuclear nations, which has in recent years caused concern, could then be prevented.

Programmes like family planning, health, education, relief and rehabilitation, and actions to end human indignities and obsolete social customs must be undertaken. These problems need urgent international atten-

tion, and if they can be tackled through UN, a new opening for international concord and understanding might emerge and the effectiveness of UN might be felt all over.

Whatever be the conflicts and differences among nations and howsoever unwilling may some countries be to discharge their responsibilities including making regular contributions, there is hardly any country which will advocate the scrapping of the organisation.

V.T.H. GUNARATNE *from Page 86*

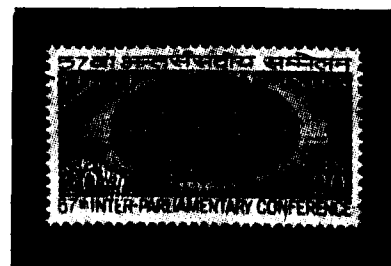
As mothers and children constitute the most vulnerable population group, their welfare requires increased efforts on the part of the health authorities. Timely planning will help to provide for the strengthening of the ranks of various categories of health personnel, for installation of adequate facilities such as health centres, hospitals, medical schools and other training institutions and for additional supplies and equipment for use in the health centres which will cater to the needs of this important section of the population.

These then are some of the main subjects of cooperation between the Government of India and WHO. Some other fields of joint endeavour concern the quality control of drugs, cancer research, occupational health and rehabilitation, mental health, dental health and radiation.

With the traditional cooperation from the Indian Government, the WHO Regional Office for South-East Asia continues to cooperate and coordinate efforts in striving for the objective expressed in the Constitution of WHO, which is the "attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health".

B. SHIVA RAO *from Page 40*

It was on Nehru's initiative that a Conference of UN Member-States interested in South-East Asia met in New Delhi in 1950 to consider measures for giving concrete shape to Indonesia's aspiration for freedom. Similarly, in regard to the three Italian colonies in North Africa, progress would have been impossible because of the failure of the big Powers to reach an agreement, if Benegal Narsing Rau had not, on behalf of India, produced a formula which in substance satisfied the claims of the peoples concerned and overcame the difficulties which the great Powers had encountered in tackling the problem.



IMF AND WORLD BANK

The Bretton Woods Twins Lend Money To The Needy

C. S. SWAMINATHAN

It was another instance of the indomitable spirit of man. Right at the time when the forces of fury let loose by the Second World War were annihilating farms and factories, destroying the economic fabric within and between nations, a group of thinkers was carefully and patiently giving new shape to ideas which were almost utopian. They were animated by the belief that the chronic monetary instability and currency disorders that afflicted the world between the First and the Second World Wars could be avoided in the post-war era by international cooperation on a previously untried scale. Their deliberations starting in 1941 culminated in July 1944 in the Bretton Woods Conference, in which 44 countries participated. There the twin institutions, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, were born.

The twins have completed twentyfive years of useful existence. They have had their share of problems and it redounds to the credit of the founders and those who have administered them since, that the institutions have proved useful instruments to tackle the ever-growing and fast-changing problems.

The International Monetary Fund was itself an innovation. Its objectives are the expansion and balanced growth of world trade, the maintenance of orderly exchange arrangements among members and the promotion of exchange stability. In aiming at these objectives, the Fund performs two major functions. First, it acts as a guardian of the code of conduct that has been accepted by member countries. In other words, it performs regulatory functions in respect of exchange rates and exchange restrictions. Secondly, it performs financial functions by providing drawing facilities to members for enabling them to get over short-term balance of payments problems without resorting to measures that will be detrimental to internal and international financial stability and world trade.

The effectiveness of the operations of the Fund is founded on the discipline that its members accept. By and large the code of international good behaviour has been well observed. The discipline that Fund membership imposes extends to the exchange rate of currencies, exchange or payment restrictions and policies affecting these.

The exchange regime set up by the Fund Articles is known as the par value system. The initial par

value of each currency is established by agreement between the Fund and the member concerned. Any changes in the initial par values have to be proposed by the member and approved by the Fund. Each member is obligated to maintain the exchange rate of its currency vis-a-vis the currency of each other member country within a range of one per cent of parity. A member cannot propose a change in the par value of its currency except to correct a 'fundamental disequilibrium.'

Despite deviations, the system has been found generally successful. However, certain problems in its operation have also come up, such as the delay in making adjustments in the parity rate until domestic problems warrant. Such delay tends to encourage speculation, leads to undesirable restrictions on international payments and results in distortions in the domestic economy. In view of these weaknesses, attention has been recently directed to possible improvements in the mechanism. Recently the Board of Directors of the Fund examined various proposals that had been made in this regard, such as freely floating exchange rates, substantial widening of the existing margins to 3 to 5 per cent, and automatic parity changes at fixed intervals on the basis of selected economic indicators. The Executive Directors have concluded that the Bretton Woods system is fundamentally sound, though its functioning may be subjected to continuing review.

PAPER GOLD

A major source of concern in recent years has been the slow growth of international liquidity compared to the growth of international trade. World reserves, which were 57 per cent of the value of imports in 1958, had dwindled to 36 per cent by 1967. This portended a contraction of economic activity and introduction of defensive policies contrary to the objectives of the Fund. Once again there was a demand on human ingenuity for devising an instrument to tackle a serious problem. The result was the epoch-making creation, towards the close of 1969, of the Special Drawing Rights, called 'paper gold', a new facility for increasing international liquidity. The first allocation of 3.5 billion dollars of SDRs was made in 1970, the first of the three years of the first basic period. In the second and third years, there will be allocations of 3 billion dollars each. The total allocation is divided among participants in proportion to their quotas in the Fund. Members treat the allocations as their reserve assets and can use them unconditionally. They also agree, if so designated for the purpose, to take SDRs from other participants in exchange for convertible currencies. The scheme, revolutionary in concept, has had a good start.

Of the 126 members of the UN, 116 countries are members of the IMF. The share contribution of each member country is called its quota and it is determined by a formula which takes into account the national in-

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come, reserves and external trade of the country. Quotas are reviewed at five yearly intervals, the latest review having taken place a few months ago. India, a founder member of the IMF, has currently a quota of 750 million dollars, making it the fifth largest quota-holder, the first four being USA, UK, West Germany and France. As soon as the revised quota takes effect, India will have a quota of 940 million dollars and will take the seventh position, the fifth and the sixth being taken by Japan and Italy.

As one of the original members, the largest quota holder among developing countries, and one among the large quota holders, India has played an important role in the IMF. When industrialised countries started discussing amongst themselves the question of world liquidity, India strongly advocated the need to have the consideration of the SDRs brought within the forum of the IMF, instead of being kept as a close preserve of the industrialised countries. More recently, she has pleaded for a link between SDRs and development assistance. She has also pointed out that the structure of decision-making authority in the Fund should take into account the aspirations of the large number of developing countries.

India has used the Fund facilities as occasion demanded. Her draws from the IMF stood at the highest in April 1966, at the level of 475 million dollars. This has been steadily reduced and currently the outstanding is 135 million dollars, which she expects to repay within the next six months. The SDR allocation to India in 1970 was 126 million dollars, of which she has used about 46 million so far. In view of the improvement in her reserves position, India has also been recently designated as a country which will make available to others convertible currencies to the extent of 14 million dollars in exchange for SDRs.

THE WORLD BANK

The other institution born at Bretton Woods, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is popularly called the World Bank. While its original concern was post-war reconstruction of war-shattered Europe, within two years of the commencement of its operations, the Bank turned its efforts to development lending. The Bank has regarded itself, since then, more as a development agency. Lending for productive projects that help economic growth in its less developed member countries is the Bank's principal job to day.

Normally the Bank makes medium or long-term loans, the length of the loan and the grace period depending on the characteristics of the particular project and the balance of payments situation of the borrowing country. Part of the Bank's funds come from the capital subscription of members, presently numbering 114, whose shares are related to their national income and position in world trade. Additional funds to meet the increasing needs of development lending are obtained by borrowing in the capital market of the world and from the repayment of earlier loans. The cost of its borrowing has gradually been rising. To cover its own cost of

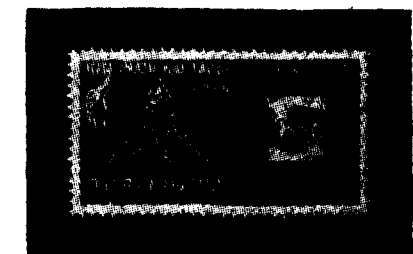
borrowing, the Bank levies on its loans an interest rate which bears a relation to what it pays.

In the late fifties, it was recognised that many developing countries with lower per capita incomes would be unable to borrow the large sums needed for their development at conventional terms. Several of them were approaching the limit of their capacity to service debts. With a view to providing soft terms of assistance to these developing countries, the International Development Association (IDA), called 'the soft loan window' of the Bank, was set up in September 1960.

The IDA operates with the same staff and follows the same standards of appraisal as the Bank. It provides credits repayable over 50 years with a 10-year grace period, with no interest charges but only a service charge of threefourths per cent. Besides the initial subscriptions, the IDA has been depending on contributions called 'replenishments' provided by industrially advanced countries. Two replenishments have been obtained so far, each for a three-year period, the amounts being 750 million and 1200 million dollars, respectively. Recently, agreements have been reached about a third replenishment for three years commencing 1971, in a total amount of nearly 2400 million dollars.

As in the case of the IMF, India is a founder member in the 'World Bank too, and has subscribed 800 million dollars in a total subscribed stock of a little over 23,000 million dollars. India has also availed herself of the World Bank assistance since 1949. She is the biggest customer of the Bank, with 39 loans amounting to 1088 million dollars, of which she has repaid 418 million. From IDA, too, India has received substantial assistance, 28 credits totalling 1265 million dollars. The World Bank and IDA loans have assisted India's planned development in agriculture, irrigation, power, highways, ports, railways and industry.

As one among the largest shareholders and as the largest among the clients, India's position in the Bank group is important. Moreover, the experience of two decades of development effort and her present stage in the process of development have been of interest to the World Bank in its own role as a development agency. The Bank's experience in India whether in the field of organising aid consortium or handling aid or debt questions, has relevance at one stage or other to development problems arising in other developing countries. Besides, India has itself been in the forefront in voicing the interests of developing countries in general, whether in respect of the quantum of development assistance to all developing countries or the improvement of quality of aid.



THE CAUSES INDIA HAS CHAMPIONED

Peaceful Coexistence

Disarmament

International Cooperation

A. APPADORAI

EVER since 1947 when India became independent, she has taken an active part in the work of the United Nations. Testifying to the useful and effective part that she has played, Lord Birdwood, a member of the United Kingdom delegation to the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly, stated that India was "an effective and balancing influence in world affairs so far as the United Nations Organisation is concerned." India has been active because she believes in the purposes and principles of the UN. As Jawaharlal Nehru once remarked "in spite of its faults...the United Nations serves an essential purpose and if we did not have it today, undoubtedly countries will have to come together to build up something like it again." In a message broadcast by the UN Radio network in May 1950, he said that there was no doubt that the mere fact of the United Nations existence "has saved us from many dangers and conflicts. Also there is no doubt that in the world of today it is the only hope of finding a way for peaceful cooperation among nations."

A study of the speeches of the members of the Indian delegation to the General Assembly and the resolutions introduced by them reveals that India has taken greater interest in some of the UN activities than in others. Broadly, India has been more concerned about peaceful settlement of international disputes, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the strengthening of the foundations of peace. The last objective requires international assistance in the progress of dependent peoples to self-government, the elimination of racial discrimination, economic development of underdeveloped countries and fight against malnutrition, disease and illiteracy. It may be useful to mention briefly about India's participation in each of these four fields.

India has been of the view that the collective security functions of the UN as envisaged in chapter VII of its Charter should not be emphasized because of the cold war which developed soon after the Charter was signed. For the assumption, under which that chapter was included in the Charter and agreed to by member-States when they signed it, no longer holds good. The assumption was that there would be a continuing unanimity on fundamental world issues among the five permanent members of the Security Council, who were given the veto power. The cold war has made it difficult for the permanent members to implement Article 43 of the Charter, the agreement by which armed forces were to be

made available to the Security Council for the maintenance of security were never made because the members of the Military Staff Committee, i.e., the five Permanent Powers constituted under Article 47 of the Charter, could not agree on the strength of the forces to be contributed by the nations for an international force. In the circumstances, it was idle to talk of effective enforcement of the provisions of the Charter. Therefore, when an attempt was made by the General Assembly in November 1950, through the Uniting for Peace Resolution, to emphasize the collective security functions of the UN, India abstained on the resolution.

Under the Resolution, it may be recalled, the General Assembly assumed power to act "if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the Permanent Members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression." India felt that passing of such a Resolution was politically unwise because, under the Resolution, the UN could undertake enforcement action even if there was no unanimity among the Big Five; it could also take enforcement action even against one of them. It is difficult under the Charter to think of a military action sponsored by the UN against a permanent member of the Security Council, since each of them can invoke the veto in the Security Council.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

India has tried to get accepted by several States the principles of *Panch Sheel*. One of the principles is peaceful coexistence. In December 1957, India along with Sweden and Yugoslavia sponsored a resolution in the General Assembly on coexistence, with a sub-heading "Peaceful and neighbourly relations among States". Its operative section called upon "all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and cooperative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means as enjoined in the Charter and as set forth in this Resolution." The Resolution was unanimously passed.

It is interesting that the preambular paragraphs of the Resolution recalled the substance of the *Panch Sheel* principles. During the debate on the resolution in the Political Committee, some representatives said that declarations of the kind proposed were redundant since the Charter formulated these ideas better. Others warned against the danger that the ideas of coexistence might bring people into a false sense of security. Others, however, thought that it would be useful to have a periodic reaffirmation of the Charter principles, with which the representative of India concurred.

It is now common knowledge that India has warmly supported disarmament proposals in the General Assembly and has introduced resolutions or amendments to resolutions introduced by other states in order to achieve the aim of general and complete disarmament. Speaking on a joint draft resolution sponsored by all Member-

States, India's representative said on November 2, 1959, that the objective of the discussions on disarmament should be a world without war. The Resolution, among other things, called upon Governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament. This draft resolution had been preceded by a Declaration of the Soviet Union on general and complete disarmament and a Declaration of the United Kingdom on comprehensive disarmament. Intervening in the debate, Mr Krishna Menon, Chairman of the Indian Delegation, supported very warmly the USSR proposal for general and complete disarmament; he also reiterated the views of the Government of India that any solution of the disarmament problem would require negotiations and ultimate agreement between the United States and the USSR.

India agreed with the large majority of members that disarmament must be accompanied by effective controls. On the question often raised in disarmament discussions whether controls should come first or disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru had said "obviously they have to come simultaneously."

The government of one people by the government of another, the practice of racial discrimination, the gross underdevelopment of many nations in their economy and the widespread existence of malnutrition, disease and illiteracy, according to India's view, corrode the foundations of peace.

The desire to assist dependent peoples for self-government is revealed in the support which India gave to the

achievement of independence of Indonesia (July 30, 1947), the former Italian colonies of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland (1949-52), Morocco (1951-56) and Tunisia (1952-56), and so on. In drafting or supporting resolutions on these matters, India worked in close co-operation with the Asian-African group, of which she is an active member. India has also worked actively on the committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories..

Year after year since 1946, India has raised in the General Assembly the question of treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa, particularly emphasising that racial segregation is a violation of fundamental human rights. The racial conflict resulting from the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa was also brought to the Assembly's attention in 1952 by thirteen Asian and African States, including India.

India and a number of other developing countries advocated the establishment of a United Nations Capital Development Fund as an autonomous organisation within the UN and this was finally approved by the Assembly on December 13, 1966. According to the resolution thus adopted there shall be a close and continuous working relationship between the Capital Development Fund and the regional Economic Commissions and the United Nations Development Programme.

India has also made efforts especially in the Economic and Social Council and the various UN agencies such as the FAO, WHO and UNESCO to promote international co-operation to fight against malnutrition, disease and illiteracy.

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Stage Set For Global Satellite Communication

K.M. BALCHANDANI

THE establishment of inter-continental telecommunication networks and their harmonious and orderly operations are ensured by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), which has been set up under the aegis of the United Nations to provide and maintain international cooperation for the improvement and rational uses of telecommunication of all kinds. The ITU, through its three permanent organs—the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT) and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)—has ensured orderly functioning of the national and international telecommunication networks all over the world.

Even before the advent of communication by satellite in space, the ITU had been concerned with equitable allocation of frequencies among all the countries, ensuring equal opportunities to the underdeveloped and developing countries to have adequate channels of telecommunication. Without the ITU, the more powerful and advanced countries would have monopolised the available frequency spectrum to the detriment of other countries.

In the first three Five Year Plans, India has achieved considerable progress in the expansion and diversification of her external telecommunication services. Before 1947, these services were in the hands of a private company. After Independence, the assets of the company were nationalised and the Overseas Communications Service (OCS) was formed as a Department of the Government of India.

There was only one direct radio telephone circuit and four direct wireless telephone circuits for external telecommunications, besides two obsolescent submarine telegraph cables in 1947. The service was clearly Empire-oriented in the sense that the bulk of the country's traffic was routed through London. The emergence of India as a leader of non-aligned countries called for a new approach to external telecommunication. Consequently, a variety of direct services were progressively established with countries which were friendly and had significant economic and commercial ties with India. Thus at the end of the Third Five Year Plan in 1966, India had 30 direct radio-telephone services, 28

direct wireless-telegraph services, four direct telex services and seven direct radio-photo services. Through these, telephone service was available to more than 120 foreign points and telegraph service to almost all points in the world.

This diversification and expansion was made possible by the role ITU plays in the equitable allocation of frequencies among countries. Besides, the ITU, through its two committees, lays down conventions and recommendations for the orderly and harmonious operation of telecommunication services all over the world. It also prescribes performance standards for equipment used on telecommunication networks. Countries like India benefit immensely by these coordinating activities of the ITU.

In fact, through her participation in the meetings of the various organs of the ITU, India was able to claim and obtain frequency allocations for her new circuits. Jamming is the main enemy of radio communications. Here again, the ITU helped in clearing away the jamming stations that affected India's frequencies.

Expansion of telecommunications needs considerable effort in research and development to prepare system plans and equipment specifications, as the technical standards of performance must be compatible with equipment in the other country. As India had hardly any time to organise such development before her first phase of expansion, the ITU's help was most valuable. The system standards laid down by the ITU enable a country to order an equipment by only specifying the relevant standards. Similarly the country with whom the communication is to be established has only to confirm that its equipment adheres to the desired standards. For developing countries, this facility has proved of immense benefit.

SPACE SATELLITES

The ITU lost no time in coming to grips with the new development in space communications. A series of studies in space communication were made, primarily because international problems of space communications had to be tackled from the very beginning. It had also to ensure coordination between the users of space communications and the terrestrial microwave communications.

Though of recent origin, international satellite communication has made rapid strides. Its impact on the common man, wherever the services have been made available, has been tremendous. For example, it has made possible international TV relays. When man first stepped on the moon, nearly 700 million people of different nations could watch this unique event.

India's first earth-station near Poona is expected to be commissioned in a few months. It will work with the communications satellite over the Indian Ocean region and form part of the global satellite communications system. With the ushering in of space age, much of the existing inadequacies in the country's external

telecommunication services, particularly telephone service, will disappear to a large extent. It would be possible to provide adequate number of telephone channels, telex channels, leased telegraph channels and other facilities including even data transmission, to several destinations in Europe, America, Japan, Australia and elsewhere. The international telephone and telex services will start with semi-automatic operations, soon to be followed up by fully automatic operations. The earth station will also benefit the Indian viewers when the Bombay TV Station is ready and facilities are provided for TV relays within the country.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan of the OCS will not only see the working of India's first satellite earth station but also prepare for the establishment of the second earth station in the northern region of the country. By 1975 India would require some 150 telephone channels and 250 telex channels to meet the internal demand for international telecommunication services. It is in this context that the second earth station assumes significance. It will siphon off the northern region demands from the first earth station in the southern region and assist judicious balancing of the traffic load.

The existing manually-operated services will yield place to semi-automatic operations. This will be necessary because the time consuming manually-operated service will not be able to cope with the public demand. A fully automatic system, popularly known as "International Subscriber Dialling" (ISD) will follow soon after in telex, while it may take a few more years in the case of the telephone service.

Here again the ITU has played a notable part in evolving techniques and coordinating the efforts of member-countries in laying down recommendations for the smooth working of such automatic systems. The CCITT has adopted a world numbering and routing plan to achieve efficiency and optimisation of available facilities of telephone in different parts of the world. For example, India has been classified as one of the major transit exchanges called 'CTI', which will function as a clearing house for international calls in the Indian Ocean region. India, among other countries, has also been allotted code numbers to facilitate automatic establishment of ISD telephone and telex calls from other countries.

In conclusion, it may be said that India looks forward with enthusiasm to the opportunity and challenges of the next decade in the field of telecommunications. She has already drawn out a plan to meet her requirements during the decade. The progress of a nation has now come to be identified with the sophistication of its communication facilities. With the commissioning of its first earth station, India can surely be ranked among the countries well advanced in communications.

*It is not by pacific sentiment but
by world-wide economic organisation
that civilised mankind is to be saved
from collective suicide.*

—Bertrand Russel

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SPREADING THE MESSAGE TO THE MASSES

S. D. PANDEY

THE first twentyfive years in the UN history have witnessed a number of achievements in quest of peace. Yet another striking feature has been that while armed conflicts have been contained, the opposing parties to a dispute have nevertheless expressed their pent-up feelings and emotions on the floor of the Security Council or the General Assembly instead of plunging into armed conflict. This apart, the fact remains that the UN today is more a body composed of representatives of National Governments rather than their people. This is evident from the fact that in many instances the stand taken up by the representatives of the Governments have been at variance with public opinion in their respective countries. This happened at the time of the Suez crisis.

This hiatus between public opinion and the official stand may be because national delegations do not consist of representatives of the voluntary movement for the promotion of UN ideals in the respective countries. India, however, has been an exception, because a representative of the Indian Federation of United Nations Associations (IFUNA) has, on some occasions, been a member of the Indian Delegation. At least two former presidents of the IFUNA, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mr. J. N. Sahani were at the same time members of the Indian Delegation.

The status so far accorded to the voluntary movement for UN by the Indian government holds promise, especially since the efforts of the IFUNA have not been so much in the field of influencing government policy as in the field of educating the people about the aims, objectives and achievements of the UN and its Specialised Agencies.

The activities of the IFUNA, which is affiliated to the World Federation of UN Associations (WFUNA), Geneva, are mainly educational. It endeavours to make UN and the concept of international understanding a part and parcel of the educational system and of the informed public opinion.

The IFUNA has been recognised the world over and has been privileged to host the 19th Preliminary Assembly of the World Federation and the Regional Seminar on Teaching about the United Nations. India was represented on the Executive of the WFUNA and in many regional and international conferences.

The IFUNA, with its meagre resources, mainly from membership subscriptions and donations, has set up nine State branches. Every year it organises an educational programme in schools and colleges and undertakes activities for the involvement of the public.

The highlight of these activities has been the study courses of ten days' duration in 1968 and 1969 for various groups like business executives, housewives, teachers, students and leaders of public opinion. The IFUNA has also initiated certificate and diploma correspondence courses on UN and international understanding of three and six months' duration respectively. These have been recognised by the WFUNA and the response to these from students and teachers has been very encouraging.

Another method adopted by IFUNA to popularise the United Nations is the formation of UN Study Groups. These groups enable their members to meet officials of the Diplomatic Corps to discuss international affairs and on occasions to learn of the social, cultural and economic achievements of their respective countries. The IFUNA also brings out publications and organises fetes and fairs which combine entertainment with education. About half a million people are expected to participate in the current programme organised by the IFUNA and its State branches.

The IFUNA now intends to reach the UN gospel to children. It will organise students' groups, conduct courses in the school setting and sponsor visits to neighbouring countries. The Education Committee of the IFUNA has organised essay competitions, debates, symposia and seminars in schools and the latest innovation has been an art competition. The activities undertaken by the IFUNA have got top grading in the assessments made by the WFUNA.

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Books

Spotlight On Delhi Today

Delhi, Capital City by Asok Mitra.
Published by Thomson Press (India),
New Delhi. 129 pages. Rs. 18.

Krishna Chaitanya

THERE are many books—perhaps a shade too many—on Delhi's past. This probably is the only book on present day Delhi—the social and sociological changes in the urban complex since Independence. The backdrop is very much there—the history which merges in its distant horizon with the legendary *Pandavas* and is full of alarms and excursions. It is not extended into a vast panorama, however, but distilled into a mood in the introductory chapter. But the mood prolongs insensibly; it seeps even into the sections giving hard-boiled economic data, like the waters of Venice rising by capillary action into the stones of Venice. And with the same ambivalent effect too. The moist stains may at times make beautiful patterns, but a sense of decay lingers; likewise, a melancholy mood music lingers—the autumnal violin of Verlaine not quite drowned by the turbulent goings on of a city that was hustled by history into transforming itself from arcadia to megalopolis.

But the tribute to that transformation and the sturdy self-reliance of those who achieved it—mostly the uprooted men from Punjab—is unstinted. The vast range of construction activities is noted, the city's economic growth analysed in detail. There is subtle perception of the ambivalence that is at the heart of the life in Delhi. The identification of citizen with city is much less strong than in the case of other metropolitan centres of India. Migrants from other regions of India have houses here, but not homes. But perhaps the change here will be

accelerated during the next decade. The number of people from other parts of India who are settling down in Delhi is increasing. Similarly, if an art-loving native of Calcutta can criticise Delhi for its low volume of original creative effort, he still will have to concede that all art traditions, traditional or modern, continuously seek the appreciation of the capital's citizenry.

Mood music sheds its melancholy and becomes Mozartian when the author dwells on the beautification of the city in recent years. And the writer notes that rural Delhi still interpenetrates the urban matrix. There can be no finer montage, distilling in essence the spirit of this city, than the vivid picture of peasant women, in a whirl of skirts, dashing across a road jammed with CD cars and bullock carts, vehicles that link the centuries.

Fresh Approach to Export Promotion

India: Export Marketing—a Study,
Industrial Development Services, New
Delhi.

B. N. Nair

OUR export marketing organisation and strategies have to outgrow the constraints of domestic administrative development and attain higher levels of expertise and sophistication than what could be supplied by secretariat officers. Vertical mobility within the hierarchies of export organisations or the controlling Ministry of Foreign Trade, by themselves, will not help any longer. New inputs of men and ideas into the system will ensure a satisfactory output in terms of export performance, provided the feedback system is maintained in proper gear. It is, perhaps, the realisation of the presence of this conundrum that has prompted the authorities to invite the Export Promotion Division of the US Agency for International Development, New Delhi, to prepare this study on the working of the 80 recognised Export

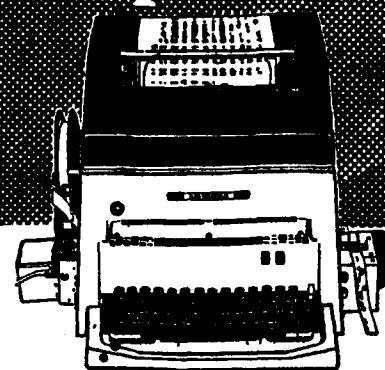
Houses. They are meant to be groomed for the export offensive during the Fourth Plan.

The chief merit of obtaining an outside agency's assessment on a national effort lies in introducing an element of freshness in approach to a problem of continuous importance. Secondly, there is the prospect of deriving the benefit of wise counsel based on the experience of advanced countries. To wit, the present study has reviewed the development and functioning of Export Houses in eight countries, namely, Japan, the United Kingdom, Holland, Sweden, the U.S.A., Singapore, Korea and Taiwan and X-rayed their relative importance and decline by adducing the reasons thereof. According to the study, political changes, introduction of export risk insurance, increasing restrictions on foreign trade by many countries and the resumption of direct exports by manufacturers are the four main reasons for the decline of international trading companies.

Notwithstanding these developments, the Study appropriately pinpoints the relevance of encouraging Indian Export Houses by clearly defining the scope of their activities and getting them increasingly involved in product specialisation, a guaranteed supply line, provision of ready finance to the manufacturers, the expansion of overseas contacts and sales organisation and performing the unavoidable function of underwriting risks. The export marketing experience of India has been rapidly surveyed in the above background and perspective, and several useful suggestions have been made with remarkable candour, fairness and restraint.

Notable recommendations of the study by the USAID cover the following : the starting of an Export-Import Bank, the details of which have to be worked out by the Government; the creation of a Marketing Board under a Marketing Commissioner; the redesignation of the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports as the Chief Promoter of Exports; the need for drawing up an annual plan for market research projects; the creation of an export information centre; the establishment of export bureaux in different parts of the country; the

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establishment of area committees and the activation of export promotion offices in the States. Some of these are not apparently original suggestions. The suggestion for the creation of a Marketing Commissioner with unwieldy responsibilities smacks more of the traditions of Indian administrative creativity and preferences for fabulous Moghuls rather than of the spruceness and efficiency of modern export marketing executives.

An important feature of the study is that it recognises the predominant role played by the Government in building the institutional infrastructure for export promotion in generous terms. The State Trading Corporation has deservedly been given commendations for its efficient performance. The organisational aspects of the Market Development Fund Committee, Export Promotion Councils and the office of the CCI & E have come in for restrained criticism with several useful suggestions for improvement. A major deficiency of the study, however, is in the field of exports of agro-based industrial products and their special requirements of export marketing and internal organisation. Almost the entire study is taken up with the marketing requirements of industrial products with agricultural and marine products only figuring in the review of the existing marketing channels of these export products. How long will this imbalance in approach last, one might ask.

The present study drives home the point that fulfilment of the Fourth Plan export target is largely dependant on the concerted efforts of 21,000 Indian exporters (of whom 11,279 are members of the EPC's) and 80 or more Government recognised Export Houses. The study does not venture to examine the improvement of export channels in terms of the industrial logistics of export management and marketing within the country or of export prices in relation to incentives, and has skirted these vital issues scrupulously. Nor does it speak of resource mobilisation for export production in the planning context and draw any inferences on the macro-economic projections. With an exemplary economy of words, and a clear sense of pragmatism, the study has focussed, within the limita-

tions of its terms of reference, the magnitude of the problem. If some of its recommendations are found to be denuded of the quality of originality or pragmatism, they are, at best, only a reflex of the prodigious energies already deployed by the persons at the helm in the Ministry of Foreign Trade during the last decade.

A Great Liberal

Builders of Modern India—V. S. Srinivasa Sastri by T.N. Jagadisan. Publications Division, New Delhi-1. 231 pages. Rs. 3.25.

M. K. Dharma Raja

SRINIVASA Sastri was not only a savant of the Servants of India Society on whom fell the mantle of G. K. Gokhale. An eminent educationist, a silver-tongued orator and a man of letters *par excellence*, he was a bridge-builder between the British authorities and non-cooperating Congressmen. His biography, the seventeenth in the series by the Publications Division, has come none too soon to remind the present generation of the efficacy of the healing touch perfected by a humanist who espoused the cause of freedom but dreaded anarchy. Prof. T. N. Jagadisan, who has had the distinction of editing works written by Sastri himself and of knowing the subject most closely for a considerable period of time, has proved an apt choice as the author of this biography.

The book is a masterly delineation of the multi-splendoured personality of Srinivasa Sastri regarded as an embodiment of the high moral values of India who, by his noble bearing and ascetic temper, fulfilled his destiny of continuing Gokhale's mission. In the process, we are taken back to a period when the Indian Liberals played the part of reconcilers, with Sastri as their doyen; an extremist among moderates, a moderate among extremists and a Liberal non-cooperator. Sastri's opinion is worth its weight in gold, said the Mahatma, and it was to him that Gandhi turned constantly for advice when in doubt. Sastri in turn said, "Magnanimity, thy name is Gandhi". Pages tracing

the silken bond between the two make the most fascinating reading.

Admirers of Srinivasa Sastri will find here ample illustrations of his title to fame as a savant with the silver-tongue. The book is replete with references to his performances at the highest forums, including the League of Nations where he was hailed as the greatest orator in the English language.

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HUMAN ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

Let My Country Awake—The Human Role in Development : Thoughts on the Next Ten Years by Malcolm S. Adiseshiah. Unesco, Paris, 1970. Pages 344 plus bibliography and index. 7 U.S. dollars or £2, 2s.

In his foreword to Dr Adiseshiah's book U Thant calls the philosophy of development set out in it "a bright beacon which should help to guide Unesco successfully into the United Nations' Second Development Decade." Convinced as the author is of the supreme value of Unesco's contribution to development, he nevertheless nails his own colours to the mast and produces an intensely personal book, each of its four sections demonstrating the balance of three forces on his thinking: India, economics and Unesco.

His chapter on the contribution of education to measurable economic growth moves to the heart of his argument. Going to school must no longer be put on all fours with going to a restaurant—the range of the educational menu being decided by what the diner can "afford"—but should be viewed as Strumilin saw it in the Soviet Union when he showed that primary education could bring a 79 per cent increase in an individual's output and wages, secondary education an increase of 235 per cent and higher education an increase of 320 per cent.

Pervading the factors of capital, land and labour, says Dr Adiseshiah, are input items like education, training, productivity and technical progress, accounting for between 60 and 80 per cent of the increase in total production which cannot be explained by the input factor increases of capital and labour. To back this reasoning he produces tables comparing levels of education with increases in gross domestic product in widely separated countries and regions, demonstrating that there is more than coincidence linking education and economic development.

"The first and most basic weapon" in the battle between education and underdevelopment is, he says, educational planning, and he examines briefly the problems it tackles and the solutions it produces. He recognises the need to struggle for

efficiency and rejects the widely-held view that quantitative expansion is always obtained at the cost of qualitative excellence: this does not follow, he argues, as long as wastage is actively combated through curriculum reform and modernisation of educational technology.

He also urges the necessity for developing countries to produce and use their own scientists and not merely to import the fruits of foreign science. Even fundamental research is no luxury for a developing country, he points out, citing studies which show that a 1 per cent increase in national expenditure on research and development can produce a 3 per cent increase in rate of growth.

In a chapter with the challenging title "Creating Resources", he writes of the continuous innovation which must supplement the necessary cataloguing of resources if new natural resources are in fact to be created, pointing out that organised research must take the place of the traditional—and now out-dated—entrepreneur. But the book is not a plea only for better organisation and planning; his next chapter comes down firmly on "investment in man" as the heart of economic growth. In future, he writes, "All growth will depend essentially on the human factor—inventiveness, teaching, information, social participation, human welfare and cultural creation", so that educational systems are not subordinated to the gods of production.

The reform of education, to make it a continuing process which is the centre of the new society, is to him crucial. Frankly admitting the disappointments of the first UN Development Decade—"an expression of faith, not a programme of action"—he reviews the short-falls in agriculture, industry and population control. The developing countries' efforts at savings and investment have sometimes produced inflationary spirals because, he writes, "Investments seem to be taking place

with the wrong kind of restraints on consumption."

Looking towards the next Development Decade he proposes a strategy for education, science, culture and communication which escapes from the vicious circle started by viewing development too narrowly as economic growth and losing sight of man as the centre of it. While warning against targets which merely freeze the future, he tabulates the regional targets approved by ministers' conferences and adds fourteen indicators of progress in the development of human resources under study by Unesco. He also proposes a further set of targets which suggest the desirable level of an appropriately expanding system based on innovations, a measurable indicator of a literate work force, an attainment level of internal productivity and the minimum levels of science implantation and application.

Reviewing the challenge to Unesco in the next decade, he necessarily concentrates on Unesco's operational function, since assistance to Member-States takes the largest part of the Organisation's financial resources and some three-quarters of the time and energy of the General Conference and Secretariat. But he also emphasises the intellectual and ethical functions of Unesco. His own guidelines for educational assistance reflect his belief that apart from providing specific skills which may be needed, education creates the socio-cultural framework in which development can take place.

His faith in Unesco's work in producing leavening, unifying and even ennobling movements in men's minds is the key to the final chapter which he entitles "The art of the impossible." But with Dr Adiseshiah it is not a case of "*Credo quia impossibile est*". The experience of 23 years in international work for development and cooperation among nations which informs his pages also provides the basis for his optimism.

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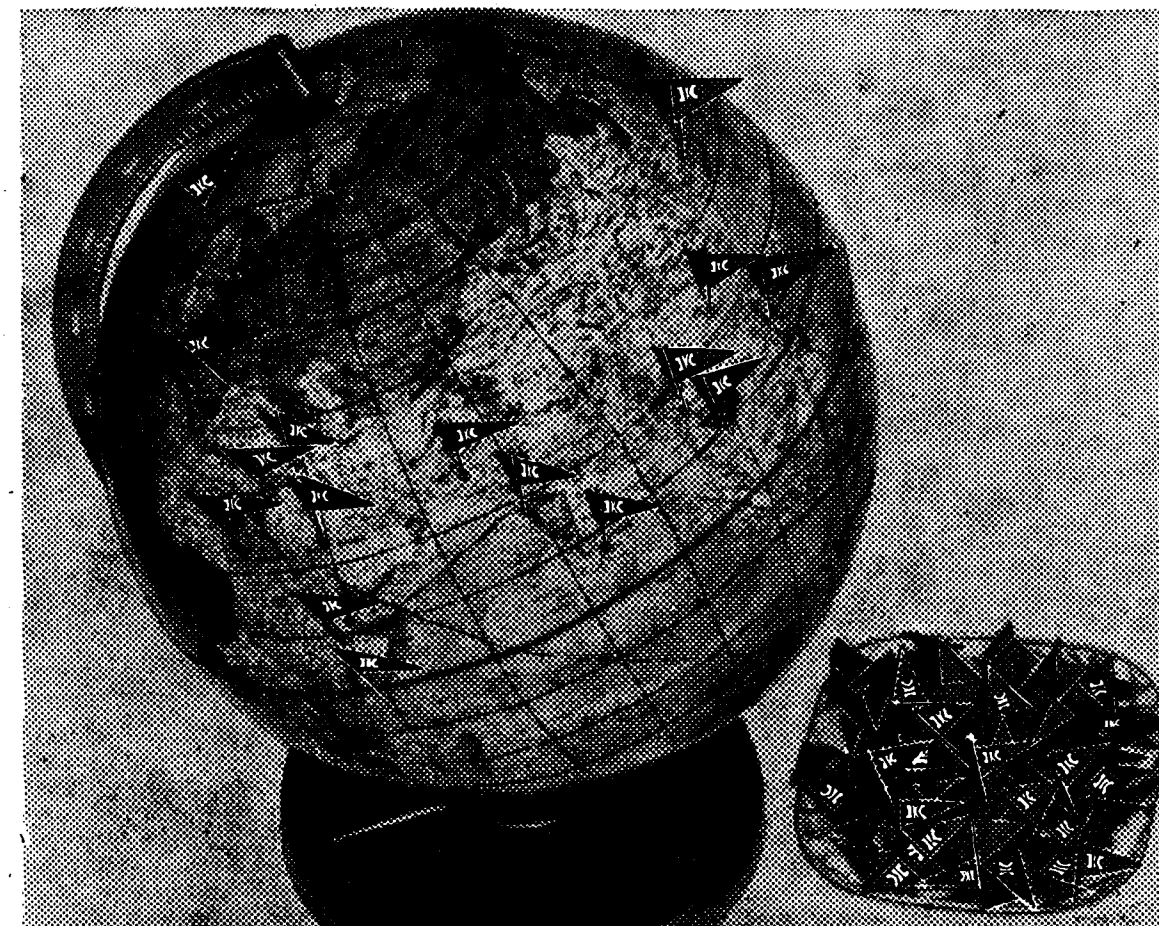
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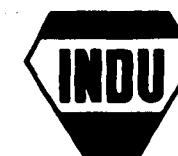
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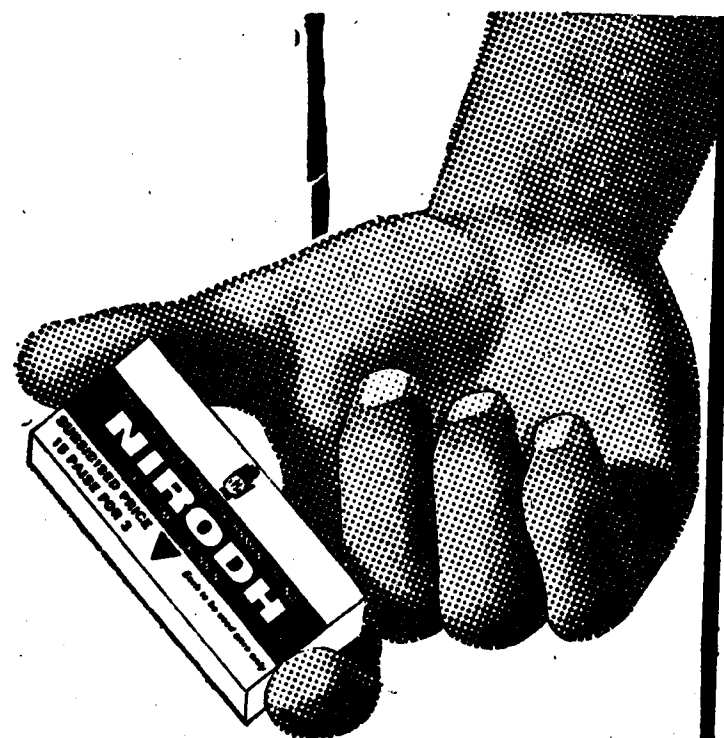
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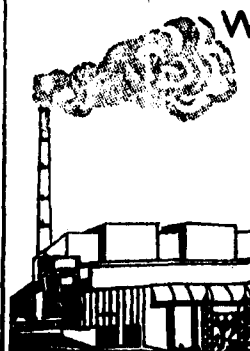
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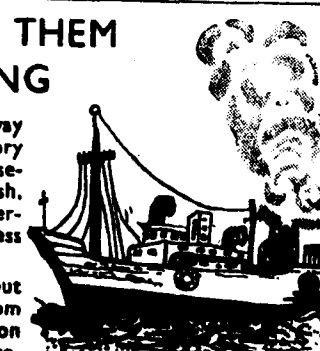
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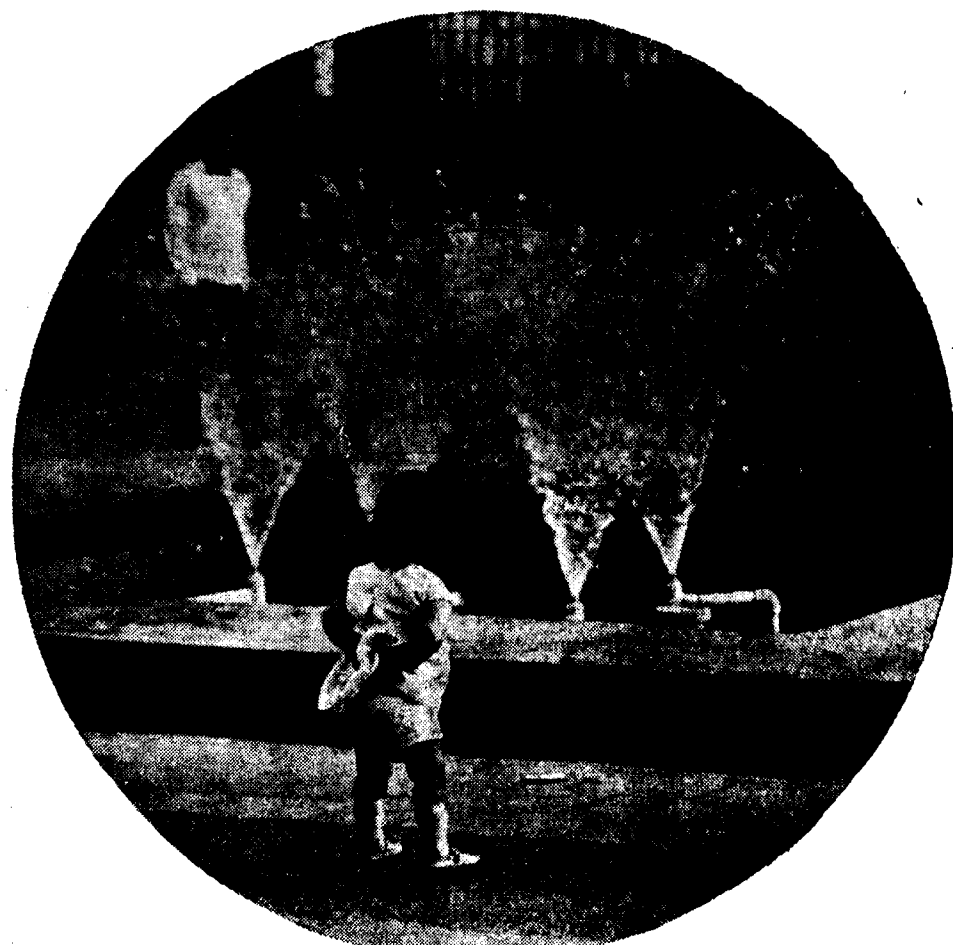
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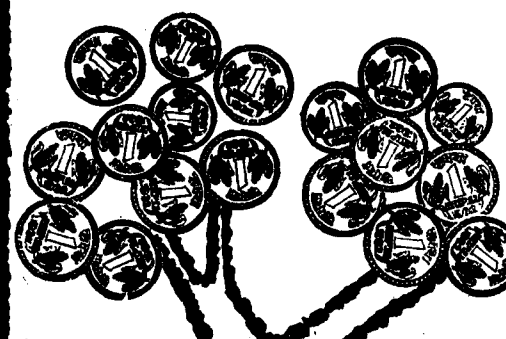
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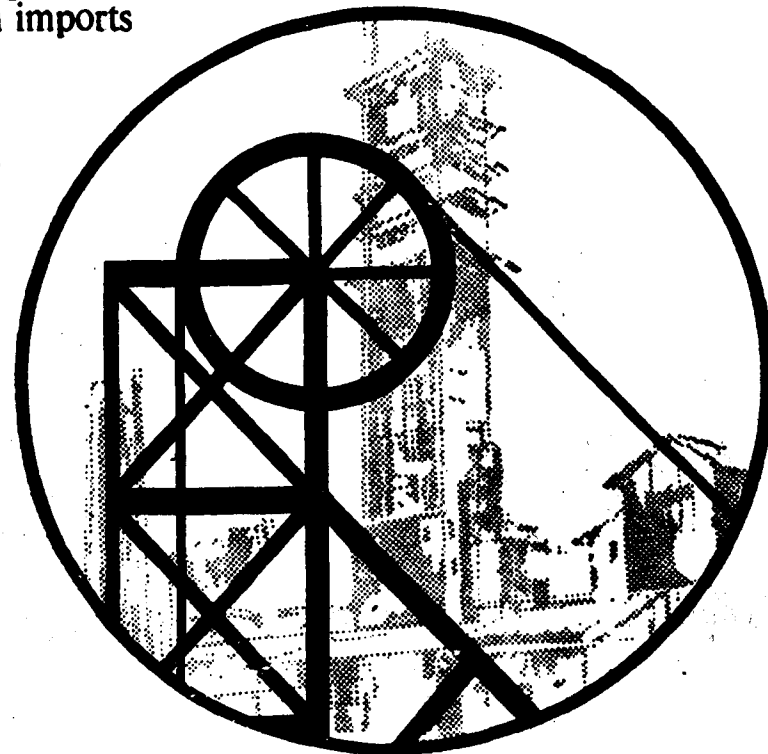
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INDIAN CIGARETTE INDUSTRY

Now—the Full Facts Vs. Misleading Propaganda

INTRODUCTION

I welcome you to this press conference and thank you for having taken the trouble to come. There has recently been a great deal of attention drawn to the cigarette industry in India largely as a result of unsavoury propaganda by Golden Tobacco Co. As the Chairman of one of the leading Companies in the cigarette industry in India, I felt that the time had come when the Press and the public and the Authorities would welcome facts about the Industry rather than continue to be fed with one-sided propaganda.

A. INDUSTRY REPRESENTATION

1. There are today ten companies in the cigarette industry and all these ten companies are members of The Cigarette Manufacturers' Association formed in 1967, including Golden Tobacco Co.
2. The Indian Cigarette Manufacturers' Association is supposed to have been formed just prior to August 3, 1970. To the best of my knowledge, the I.C.M.A. has as its promoter, prime mover and almost exclusive member Golden Tobacco Co. and is also financed by Golden Tobacco Co., and is obviously being used as a platform for propaganda, if its recent activities—indeed its sole activities since its inception—are any evidence of its object and purpose.

B. GOLDEN TOBACCO CO. CAMPAIGN— THEIR OWN PERFORMANCE—UNDERLYING REASONS FOR THE PROPAGANDA

1. SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPAGANDA

Golden Tobacco Co's campaign of vilification is commercially unethical and much of it is illegal, defamatory and damaging. It is founded on distortion and suppression of material facts, false promises, and fallacious conclusions. In the words of some of the eminent jurists in the country, this campaign is clearly calculated to lower the reputation and tarnish the public image of India Tobacco Co.

2. GOLDEN TOBACCO CO. —PERFORMANCE

It is the thesis of Golden Tobacco Co. that they cannot progress and prosper because of certain large manufacturers and those who have overseas shareholders. Here is the irrebuttable evidence by which the Press, the public and the Authorities can assess for themselves the true state of affairs.

- a. Shri Chatrabhuj Narsee, the ex-Managing Director has himself stated that Golden Tobacco Co. was started in a humble way with a very small capital.

- b. Sales/production performance of Golden Tobacco Co. between 1948 and 1968 in the context of the entire Industry (Government statistics) is as follows :—

GOLDEN'S SALES—%INCREASE %INCREASE
PRODUCTION— GOLDEN INDUSTRY
MILLIONS
CIGARETTES

1948	1968/69		
70	8040	11500%	225%

- c. Golden Tobacco Co's sales/production increase over last ten years compared with that of the Industry as a whole is as follows :

GOLDEN— 10 YEARS %INCREASE	INDUSTRY 10 YEARS %INCREASE	GOLDEN AVG ANNUAL% INCREASE	INDUSTRY AVG ANNUAL% INCREASE
526.4%	113.1%	52.6%	11.3%

- d. Golden themselves advertise PANAMA as follows :

- (a) Available from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir.
- (b) As the largest selling cigarette in its class.

- e. Golden Tobacco Co's financial performance is as follows (year ending 30th June) :—

	(In Crores of Rupees)			
	1967	1968	1969	Comments
Issued Capital (Ordinary)	.60	.60	1.80	Bonus Rs. 120
Capital Employed	7.49	7.59	9.05	
Gross Profit	1.93	2.50	3.07	
Financial% Ratios				
%Gross Profit to turnover	7.85	7.77	8.11	Highest in the industry.
%Gross Profit to Issued Ordinary Capital	321.00	417.00	171.00	—do—

%Gross Profit to Total Equity	79.42	86.50	83.92	—do—
%Gross Profit to Capital Employed	28.57	35.84	36.02	—do—

- f. Golden Tobacco have already in their own words implemented two substantial expansions and have only recently been sanctioned yet another substantial expansion amounting to over 50% of their present fully utilised installed capacity.

3. GOLDEN TOBACCO CO'S PROSPERITY —SHARE HOLDERS

I and, with me, India Tobacco Companies wish Golden Tobacco Co. continued and increased affluence. Indeed, India Tobacco Companies would at all times be willing to co-operate with and to assist them should such assistance be required in consonance with commercial ethics and equity. We wish all of Golden Tobacco Co's 13/14 shareholders, of which 13 belong to one family, perennial prosperity.

4. SUMMARY OF PERFORMANCE

The above facts, which beyond doubt or dispute, conclusively and categorically prove that no manufacturer with or without overseas shareholders has in any way impaired or impeded the progress and prosperity of Golden Tobacco Co.

5. GOLDEN TOBACCO CO'S ROLE IN THE CIGARETTE INDUSTRY

It has been the claim of Golden Tobacco Co. that they champion the cause of the "indigenous sector" of the cigarette industry. I place the following relevant facts before the Press and the public and the Authorities:

- (a) Golden Tobacco Co. have played no

part in letting the Indian public share their substantial prosperity.

- (b) Golden Tobacco Co. have played no creative part in the development of exports.
- (c) Golden Tobacco Co. have played no creative part in the development of import substitution.
- (d) Golden Tobacco Co. have played no part in positively and significantly assisting the tobacco farmers.
- (e) Golden Tobacco Co. have played no part in encouraging collective bargaining and the Trade Union movement.

6. ANALYSIS OF UNDERLYING REASONS FOR GOLDEN TOBACCO CO'S PROPAGANDA

I would request the Press and the public and the Authorities to carefully consider the following:

- (a) That having grown at a phenomenal rate, far exceeding that of the Industry, a company could monopolise the Industry by restricting competition.
- (b) That undue and unfair advantage could be taken by a company of a vacuum that would artificially be created if other organised manufacturers are prohibited or restricted in their production in keeping with the natural growth of the Industry.
- (c) That no company could be allowed to overlook that public participation is a factor requisite to the growth of a company which has entered into the area of big business.
- (d) That no company could be permitted to ignore the basic commercial principles that ultimately in the consumer goods industry, a manufacturer's success must be based on serving the consumer and giving him the very best value for money.

C. THE PROPAGANDA—ITS VALIDITY

It is reasonable to presume and apprehend that an unsavoury propaganda would cause following wrong impressions, will enable the Press and the public and the Authorities to make their own impartial assessments of its fallacies, falsities or otherwise of the propaganda.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM No. 1

IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

Because of overseas shareholders there is only drainage of

FOREIGN EXCHANGE FALSE
FACTS

1. India Tobacco Companies started exports as far back as 1933. Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Co Ltd. was created in 1908 and reorganised in 1928.

2. Between 1958 and 31-3-1970, India Tobacco Companies which include its sister concern, Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Co. Ltd. earned NET FOREIGN EXCHANGE of Rs 66.14 CRORES, after deducting dividend/profit remittances from foreign exchange earnings.

3. As India Tobacco Companies have developed NET FOREIGN EXCHANGE earnings (i.e. export earnings less dividend remittances) have also continued to increase as follows:

IN CRORES OF RUPEES
1959 1969

NET FOREIGN
EXCHANGE EARNED Rs. 4.70 Rs. 9.56

4. India Tobacco Companies pay no royalty, know-how or collaboration fees of any kind to anybody.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM NO. 2

IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

That a foreign or other Monopoly exists in India in the cigarette industry.

FALSE

FACTS

1. India Tobacco Companies do not constitute monopolies in Law or in fact.
2. None of the three companies having overseas shareholders have any shareholding in each other.
3. India Tobacco Companies have no shareholding in Vazir Sultan nor Vazir Sultan in India Tobacco Companies.
4. There is no inter-connection between India Tobacco Companies and Vazir Sultan. There are no common directors or common management between India Tobacco Companies and Vazir Sultan. There are no common arrangements between these companies, besides normal commercial arrangements. These have been confirmed by eminent jurists. These are also not peculiar to these companies only.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM NO. 3

IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

That International brands are sold by India Tobacco Companies FALSE

FACTS

1. No International brands sell in India other than those that are smuggled in, like some other imported consumer goods.
2. All the brands sold by India Tobacco Companies are owned by them and have been (wherever legally possible) duly registered in their name under the Trade Mark Law. Most of these have also been in use by India Tobacco Companies since several decades, on their own rights.
3. India Tobacco Companies pay no ROYALTY, commission or any consideration in or outside India for the use of its brands/trade marks.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM NO. 4

IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

That in the last four decades, 200 indige-

nous cigarette companies have been wiped out, mostly before Independence and six of them after Independence and six others are limping along.

FALSE

FACTS

1. Until the enactment of the Industries, (Development and Regulation) Act 1951, there was no registration of companies in the industry. The figures are manifestly fictional and meant to confuse the real issues. The entire sale of the industry prior to the Second World War was only around 500 million cigarettes per month and even if 50 million cigarettes per month are taken as the smallest economic unit the cigarette industry then could not possibly have accommodated any more than 10 or so manufacturers.
2. India Tobacco Companies have never merged or amalgamated with or bought over a single indigenous undertaking in 60 years of operations, far less have they been responsible for wiping out any such undertaking.
3. There were only eight indigenous companies seriously competing in the cigarette industry, prior to Independence, and all eight were still in existence after Independence and were registered under the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act 1951.
4. One further Indian company came into business around 1967-68 and is flourishing.
5. There are today seven indigenous companies operating in the cigarette industry.
6. A strictly regional company which is a proprietary concern has approximately 28% of the market in City in which it operates. The turnover of this company in one city area alone for the last three years has been as follows:

1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
54 lakhs	72 lakhs	90 lakhs

ADVERTISEMENT

7. Another company has an issued capital of only Rs. 20 lakhs and for the year ending 31st August, 1968 its turnover was Rs. 1.18 crores.
8. Another company dealing in speciality goods and selling from its own shops has been doing extremely well and has reasons to be satisfied with its performance.
9. Yet another company was doing very well until the middle of 1967 when unfortunately labour troubles resulted in a lock-out for approximately 3/4 months. However, its shares are quoted on the market at 1.5 times par value which would not be possible without a satisfactory performance.
10. The only company which is unfortunately not doing so well is unable to sell its main brand against the direct competition of Golden Tobacco Co's cigarettes.
11. Another company suffered a setback primarily due to termination of manufacturing arrangements by Golden Tobacco Co. with it.
12. Last but not least, Golden Tobacco Co. themselves amassed gross profits to the tune of Rs. 1.93 crores, Rs. 2.50 crores and Rs. 3.07 crores for the years ending 30th June, 1967, 1968 and 1969, respectively.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM No. 5IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

There is a great deal of idle capacity in the wholly indigenous sector of the industry.

FALSE

FACTS

1. Golden Tobacco Co. have been working three shifts since 1959 and have been fully utilising their installed capacity. They have already implemented two and have been granted a further substantial expansion.
2. Another company with basically regional operations manufactures approximately

40 million cigarettes per month, which is about as much as it is capable of selling in and around one city.

3. Another company making speciality cigarettes is manufacturing to the full extent of available consumer demand.
4. Another company is not only manufacturing to its full capacity on a three shift basis but is likely to be taking advantage also of the 25% allowed to it without Government sanction.
5. Another company began utilising its full capacity by 1963/64. Towards the end of 1964 it obtained a very substantial expansion of 118% of its registered capacity and continued to expand utilising its increased capacity. However, as already indicated, a prolonged lock-out in 1967 impeded its progress. Upon request, India Tobacco is assisting it on its road to revival.
6. Another company has the capability of manufacturing approximately 8.4 million cigarettes per month. However, its brand is unable to face the direct competition of Golden Tobacco Co's brand.
7. Another company with which Golden Tobacco Co. terminated their manufacturing arrangements is capable of producing about 40/50 million cigarettes per month and is currently manufacturing approximately 20/25 million cigarettes per month. Upon request, India Tobacco is extending it the necessary help to enable it to revive.

PROPAGANDA
ITEM NO. 6IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

That foreign capital controls 80% of the cigarette market

FALSE

FACTS

There are three Companies having overseas shareholders. India Tobacco has during the last financial year increased Indian participation to 25.18% has made a commitment to increase it

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further to 40% and this process will continue. Another company has 35% Indian participation already and has made a proposal to the Government whereby the company will become a completely Indian Company with Indian participation increasing to 51%. The third company has also made a commitment to increase the Indian participation to 40%. The position may thus be summarised as follows:

	Present	Committed Proposed
%Share of Indian Capital in industry	42%	60%
%Production generated by Indian capital	47%	58%
%Capacity commanded by Indian capital	47%	60%
%Share of market turnover commanded by Indian capital	52%	62%

PROPAGANDA
ITEM No. 7IS THE PROPAGANDA
TRUE OR FALSE

That because of certain companies other companies cannot prosper

FALSE

FACTS

1. Golden Tobacco Co. representing the larger sector have had the following performance for the year ending 30th June:

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	1967	1968	1969
Total ownership capital	3.43	3.89	4.67
Gross profit	1.93	2.50	3.07

2. Taking another company which can be construed as being in the middle sector the position for the year ending 30th June is as follows:

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	1967	1968
Equity (Issue + reserves)	1.31	1.44
Gross Profit	0.80	0.87

3. Taking yet another company which could be considered to be in the smallest sector of the industry the turnover for the last three years and selling cigarettes in only one city area is as follows:

	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70
	54 lakhs	72 lakhs	90 lakhs

D. CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIA TOBACCO COMPANIES

I would like to tell you something about India Tobacco Co of which I, as an Indian, feel very proud to be the Chairman.

I would like to explain that the India Tobacco Companies consist of India Tobacco, the Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Company, Calcutta Cold Storages and the Delhi and Orient Tobacco Co. and the All India Tobacco Co. Generally, these companies have single integrated business operation.

1. EXPORTS-IMPORTS—FOREIGN EXCHANGE

- a. India Tobacco Companies started exporting as far back as 1933. As already indicated between 1959 and 31-3-1970, the India Tobacco Companies earned Rs. 66.14 crores NET FOREIGN EXCHANGE after deducting the cost of imports and overseas shareholders' dividends. Against this between 1961 and 1969, Golden Tobacco Co. were responsible for a NET LOSS in FOREIGN EXCHANGE to the country of approximately Rs. 1.14 crores.
- b. Between 1959 and 31-3-1970, India Tobacco Companies' exports amounted to Rs. 79.13 crores and between 1968 and 31-3-1970 to Rs. 31.04 crores with a current average of Rs. 10 crores per year. Between 1959 and 1969 Golden Tobacco Co's exports amounted to an average of only 7 lakhs against their average imports of Rs. 21 lakhs per year between 1961 and 1969.

ADVERTISEMENT

- c. As India Tobacco Companies' business has developed, the export earnings have also increased as clearly shown by the following :

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	1959	1969
INDIA TOBACCO COMPANIES' EXPORTS	Rs.4.81	Rs.10.97

The exports achieved by India Tobacco Companies have the active support and assistance of its overseas shareholders.

- d. The position on average annual imports between 1960-61 and 1969-70 is as follows :

ITC GOLDEN

Average annual production of cigarettes in millions of owned brands	22.91	5.345
Average annual imports in lakhs of rupees	Rs. 13 lakhs	Rs. 21 lakhs

2. INDIAN CAPITAL—INDIAN EQUITY SHAREHOLDERS

(IN CRORES)

	ITC	GTC
Original investment (including premium)	6.00	0.05
Capital issued out of Profits/Issue	—	1.75

TOTAL. Rs. 6.00 Rs. 1.80

Total Indian Equity Capital	Rs. 9.11	Rs. 3.67
Number of Indian Shareholders	21430	13/14

- (i) India Tobacco Companies distributed on the latest position Rs. 40 lakhs to the Indian public. As opposed to this Golden Tobacco Co. distributed Rs. 28.9 lakhs on the latest position to their 13/14 shareholders who (but

for one) belong to the same family. India tobacco has a larger Indian public capital commitment than any other company in the cigarette industry.

- (ii) Golden Tobacco Co's 13/14 shareholders have Rs. 4.67 crores equity/ownership.

3. MANAGEMENT

India Tobacco is entirely professionally managed. None of the Directors have any proprietary interests.

4. GIVING VALUE TO CONSUMERS—SERVING ALL KINDS OF PURCHASING POWER

- (a) Here are some pertinent figures:

	1967	1968	1969
I.T.C. % Gross Profit to Turnover	5.50	5.59	5.40
GTC % Gross Profit to Turnover	7.85	7.77	8.11

- (b) It is relevant that 48.5% of India Tobacco Companies' sales are in the lowest priced category, whereas only 13.7% of Golden Tobacco Co.'s sales are in this. Therefore, India Tobacco Companies provide better value and service to consumers.

5. IMPORT SUBSTITUTION

- (i) Here is a comparative picture of production and imports of all kinds including materials, spare parts, machinery etc., in lakhs of rupees:

	Current production (In millions)	Average imports-1961-69	Imports per million cigarettes
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INDIA TOBACCO 28.800 13 lakhs Rs. 45.1

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Although in 1951, India Tobacco Companies had to import Rs. 92.7 lakhs worth of material; their total materials import bill today is only Rs. 3 lakhs on usings of Rs. 12/13 crores per annum, in spite of the using having increased several times.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL SCALE ANCILLARY INDUSTRIES

Apart from the many, many suppliers, of the main machinery and materials INDIA TOBACCO COMPANIES have assisted in the development of small scale industries numbering 43 in different States in India.

7. RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

The Research done by India Tobacco Companies started way back in 1928 particularly for the development of leaf tobacco. Research establishment at Calcutta was started in 1952 and a new one was built at Rajahmundry for leaf tobacco research in 1961.

The Research establishment has a total strength of 50 most of whom are science graduates. The number of highly qualified scientists including an expert agronomist of international standing is 7. Fixed Assets investment has been made of the order of around Rs. 25 lakhs in Research Laboratories alone and recurring annual expenditure on Research and Development is of the order of Rs. 30 lakhs or more per annum.

Research Export: A beginning has been made in exporting Research and Technology built up over many years thus providing another avenue to earn foreign exchange albeit in a small way.

Research Activities : These activities are highly sophisticated on a very wide front covering Research in leaf tobacco, consumer research, product development research, material development research and Import substitution research, etc.

GOLDEN TOBACCO CO. 8.000 21 lakhs Rs 262.5

- (ii) India Tobacco, uses Rs. 12/13 crores worth of materials (including tobacco) currently and the total import of materials amounts to only Rs. 3 lakhs per annum. It is encouraging the indigenous manufacture of even the small quantity of items not yet available in the country.

(iii) MACHINERY

India Tobacco Companies can claim that both Primary (tobacco processing) and Secondary (Making/Packing) machinery as well as spare parts are available in the country today entirely due to its encouragement and effort. India Tobacco Companies have helped with finance, expertise, technical know-how, technical drawing/blueprints of its own patents, engineering advice in and outside the plant, technical literature, workshop machinery, tools, jigs, fixtures, raw materials; skilled workmen, civil engineering and draughtsmen, etc. Apart from machinery some 20,000 items of spare parts are manufactured in India today and the benefit of all this is available to every member of the industry.

(iv) MATERIALS

India Tobacco Companies' assistance has included technical know-how and expertise, research and development facilities guaranteed offtake, establishing quality control, finance and in a host of other ways which could all be testified to by their numerous suppliers. The result: All originally imported materials, board for making packets has been locally available since 1945; cigarette paper since 1951; aluminium foil since 1954, transparent film for wrapping packets since 1957; corrugated cardboard boxes for transportation since 1962; filter tips since 1963.

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8. EMPLOYMENT—EMPLOYEES

India Tobacco Companies have 12,000 permanent workmen and as tobacco is a seasonal crop another 23,000 work during the season. They believe that their most valuable assets are their employees. Continuous facilities are provided for their training. For example, a Technical Training Centre at Bangalore, training programmes in all units and the Training School at Hunsur in Mysore.

As a result, one-third of the Management are those promoted from unionised cadres, a fact which India Tobacco Companies are proud of. Further, India Tobacco Companies firmly believe in Collective Bargaining as a means to achieve healthy industrial relations as opposed to paternalism. They actively encouraged the growth of Trade Unions and were one of the first companies in India to start Long Term Agreements with their Unions.

Golden Tobacco Co. employ approximately 1,350 permanent workers on a production of around 8,000 million cigarettes per annum compared with 12,000 employed by India Tobacco Companies on a production of around 28,000 million cigarettes of its own brands. Therefore, it will be seen that Golden maintains much lower employment ratio per million cigarettes compared with India Tobacco Companies. Golden Tobacco Co. have a basic minimum wage scale for General Workers starting around Rs. 30 per month with a maximum basic wage for skilled workmen of around Rs. 107; a clerk starts at a basic wage of Rs. 70 per month. Golden Tobacco have no Unions.

9. FOREIGN EXCHANGE—COLLABORATION—KNOW-HOW—ROYALTIES—TRADE MARKS—BRANDS

India Tobacco Companies have no foreign collaboration arrangements nor do they have any technical know-how and/or goodwill agreements. NO MONEY either in rupees or foreign exchange is

therefore spent by India Tobacco Companies for these purposes. NO ROYALTY payments whatever are made by India Tobacco Companies for the use of its Trade Marks or Brands, which are all owned by the India Tobacco Companies in India. Every single brand is manufactured in India and Government rightly does not permit import of cigarettes for domestic use.

10. AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

In 1920, India Tobacco Companies introduced the Virginia Flue Cured variety tobacco in India, started its cultivation and then developed its growing by independent farmers for domestic use and export purposes. Therefore, India Tobacco Companies can justifiably claim that as a result of their pioneering, development and extension work, India is today not only selfsufficient in tobacco for domestic use, but also exports large quantities of it—a permanent and perpetual contribution to the self reliance of the country's economy. They continued to do work which includes:

- Development of new areas and their expansion.
- Assistance in providing inputs such as fertilizer on loan, providing subsidised pure seed (currently around 8,000 kgs per annum—1 kg adequate for 40 hectares), supplies of coal, supply of pesticides procuring barn materials, interest free loans and crop insurance. In all this work India Tobacco Companies utilise something like Rs. 40 lakhs per annum.
- Field service to farmers through out the season through trained people. There are 106 members of the Management exclusively employed in the leaf operations,
- Research services including seed production, plant breeding/selection, disease control, developing new

strains, introduction of new varieties fertilizers, pest control, agronomic practices, soil and water analysis etc. In addition, a very comprehensive Advisory Service to farmers is also provided. The contribution made by India Tobacco Companies to the agricultural economy is well known in Government circles, and has been commended to others.

INTERNATIONAL AWARDS/PUBLIC ACCLAIM

I am proud of the fact that India Tobacco Companies were responsible for establishing the international quality of Indian Cigarettes. In the years 1968 and 1970, their manufacture, INDIA KINGS cigarettes received Gold Medals and in the year 1970 SIMLA and WINDSOR cigarettes were both awarded Silver Medals and LEX cigarettes a Bronze Medal in different categories—in the Monde Selection in Brussels.

I am also proud that, in India, India Tobacco Companies efforts have also been rewarded, as they richly deserve. India Tobacco Companies received the Certificate of Merit from the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Government of India for outstanding export performance. They have been further awarded the First Prize for their Report and Accounts by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, New Delhi, this year.

PROFITS—SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

At the Annual General Meeting held on 8th August this year, I made the following comment:

"I must, therefore, in the first instance, disabuse you of any idea that the profit motive is the only central inspiration of your Board of Directors. We are concerned with profits (in the short and the long term) as the true measure of our performance—that we have maintained the organisation in sound financial condition and have obtained for the share-

holder a proper return on their investment representing a fair reward for the contribution made. But we are also concerned with the well-being of the organisation in its totality as Industry is an organ of society/specifically charged with the responsibility of organised economic advance through making resources productive."

It has been disclosed in an answer to a question in the Parliament on Golden Tobacco Co. by the Hon'ble Minister for Company Affairs that Golden Tobacco Co's paid-up capital for the year 1957/58, for which the earliest balance sheet is available, was Rs. 10 lakhs, whereas the value of this company's assets as per its balance sheet dated 30-6-1968 was Rs. 12.04 crores.

CONCLUSION

It must be noted that Golden Tobacco Co.'s increased intensity of vilification campaign coincides significantly with the publication of the Report of the Dutt Licensing Enquiry Committee, passing of the Monopolies Legislation, and clarification of the Government's policy regarding foreign investments in India. I did express my earnest hope—and I repeat in all humility—that in facing up to the new diverse challenges, India Tobacco Companies will play their due role and discharge their social responsibilities with vision and dignity in keeping with their philosophy of commitment to India's welfare and to her all-round development. India Tobacco Companies unequivocally stand by the Government's economic and industrial policies. It is, however, essential to ensure that there is no exploitation of the climate that there is no usurpation of the responsibilities which rightfully reside in the Government, that there is no sacrifice of the economic progress and development of our country, for the sake of commercial adventurism and ambition.

Extracts from the Statement by Shri A.N. Haksar, Chairman, India Tobacco Company Limited, at a Press Conference in New Delhi on 31st August, 1970.

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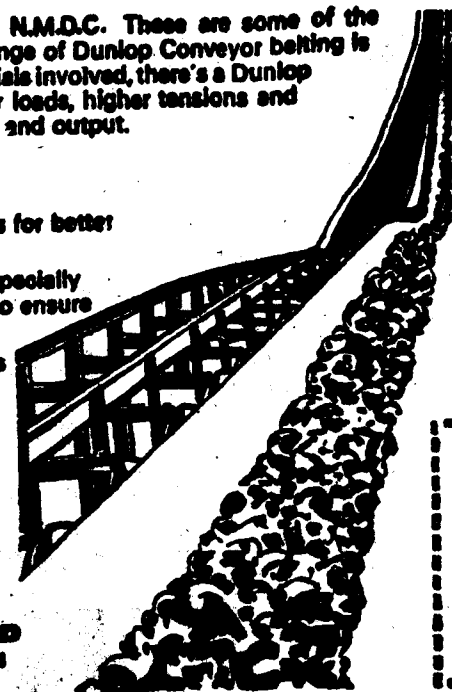
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THE FAMILY OF NATIONS

Afghanistan	19 November 1946	Gambia	21 September 1965	Nigeria	7 October 1960
Albania	14 December 1955	Ghana	8 March 1957	*Norway	27 November 1945
Algeria	8 October 1962	*Greece	25 October 1945	Pakistan	30 September 1947
*Argentina	24 October 1945	*Guatemala	21 November 1945	*Panama	13 November 1945
*Australia	1 November 1945	Guinea	12 December 1958	*Paraguay	24 October 1945
Austria	14 December 1955	Guyana	20 September 1966	*Peru	31 October 1945
Barbados	9 December 1966	*Haiti	24 October 1945	*Philippines	24 October 1945
*Belgium	27 December 1945	*Honduras	17 December 1945	*Poland	24 October 1945
*Bolivia	14 November 1945	Hungary	14 December 1955	Portugal	14 December 1955
Botswana	17 October 1966	Iceland	19 November 1946	Romania	14 December 1955
*Brazil	24 October 1945	*India	30 October 1945	Rwanda	18 September 1962
Bulgaria	14 December 1955	Indonesia	28 September 1950	*Saudi Arabia	24 October 1945
Burma	19 April 1948	*Iran	24 October 1945	Senegal	28 September 1960
Burundi	18 September 1962	*Iraq	21 December 1945	Sierra Leone	27 September 1961
*Byelorussian SSR	24 October 1945	Ireland	14 December 1955	Singapore	21 September 1965
Cambodia	14 December 1955	Israel	11 May 1949	Somalia	20 September 1960
Cameroon	20 September 1960	Italy	14 December 1955	*South Africa	7 November 1945
*Canada	9 November 1945	Ivory Coast	20 September 1960	Southern Yemen	14 December 1967
Central African Republic	20 September 1960	Jamaica	18 September 1962	Spain	14 December 1955
Ceylon	14 December 1955	Japan	18 December 1956	Sudan	12 November 1956
Chad	20 September 1960	Jordan	14 December 1955	Swaziland	24 September 1968
*Chile	24 October 1945	Kenya	16 December 1963	Sweden	19 November 1946
**China	24 October 1945	Kuwait	14 May 1963	*Syria	24 October 1945
*Colombia	5 November 1945	Laos	14 December 1955	Thailand	16 December 1946
Congo		*Lebanon	24 October 1945	Togo	20 September 1960
(Brazzaville)	20 September 1960	Lesotho	17 October 1966	Trinidad and Tobago	18 September 1962
Congo (Democratic Republic of)	20 September 1960	*Liberia	2 November 1945	Tunisia	12 November 1956
*Costa Rica	2 November 1945	Libya	14 December 1955	*Turkey	24 October 1945
*Cuba	24 October 1945	*Luxembourg	24 October 1945	Uganda	25 October 1962
Cyprus	20 September 1960	Madagascar	20 September 1960	*Ukrainian SSR	24 October 1945
*Czechoslovakia	24 October 1945	Malawi	1 December 1964	*USSR	24 October 1945
Dahomey	20 September 1960	Malaysia	17 September 1957	*United Arab Republic	24 October 1945
*Denmark	24 October 1945	Maldive Islands	21 September 1965	*United Kingdom	24 October 1945
*Dominican Republic	24 October 1945	Mali	28 September 1960	United Republic of Tanzania	14 December 1961
*Ecuador	21 December 1945	Malta	1 December 1964	*United States	24 October 1945
*El Salvador	24 October 1945	Mauritania	27 October 1961	Upper Volta	20 September 1960
Equatorial Guinea	12 November 1968	Mauritius	24 April 1968	*Uruguay	18 December 1945
*Ethiopia	13 November 1945	*Mexico	7 November 1945	*Venezuela	15 November 1945
Finland	14 December 1955	Mongolia	27 October 1961	Yemen	30 September 1947
*France	24 October 1945	Morocco	12 November 1956	*Yugoslavia	24 October 1945
Gabon	20 September 1960	Nepal	14 December 1955	Zambia	1 December 1964
		*Netherlands	10 December 1945		
		*New Zealand	24 October 1945		
		*Nicaragua	24 October 1945		
		Niger	20 September 1960		

*Original Member State **China (Formosa).

The date shown against each country is the date of admission to the UN.



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