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United Nations Package Deal

TO-DAY, ten years after the end of the war, the Charter remains unfulfilled. Informed world opinion will not write the United Nations off as a failure. But it is aware of its imperfections. Some of its defects arise from its domination by the major powers, and specially by America. This domination by the big powers is a sequel to its incomplete structure. It is not representative of all the nations. At present, the political committee of the General Assembly is discussing the question of “widest possible membership” of the United Nations. During the debate, the sponsoring nations have introduced an amendment to the original resolution to the effect that the motion under consideration has reference only to the eighteen nations specifically included in what has come to be known as, the “package deal”. This amendment is aimed at excluding from membership, for the present, those nations which are still divided.

America is reconciled to the proposed admission of the eighteen nations. But it will be of interest to note that Cuba, a Latin American country, has put forward a further amendment to the resolution aimed at admitting South Korea and South Vietnam as members. More significant is Kuomintang’s opposition to including Outer Mongolia as a member. Though the permanent Kuomintang delegate has not issued any direct threat of veto, Taipeh’s attitude is adamant. So is Moscow’s. Russia has let it be known that she will oppose the “package deal” if Outer Mongolia is not admitted as a member. While the present deadlock is due to Russia’s support of Outer Mongolia and the American-backed Kuomintang’s opposition to the Russia stand, the problem of the “package deal” has a tortuous history which is revealing.

America is reconciled to the “package deal” only because she has been outmanoeuvred. To begin from the beginning, differences arose between America on the one hand, and Britain and Russia on the other, on the question of membership of the Security Council. Since the “gentleman’s agreement” of 1946, an Eastern European power has always been a member of the Security Council. This time, Britain supported the candidacy of Yugoslavia, while Russia originally backed the claim of Poland. In opposition to Britain’s and Russia’s nominees, America supported the claim of the Philippines on the ostensible argument that non-Commonwealth Asian nations were not adequately represented on the Council. Russia promptly dropped her candidate, Poland, to lend support to Britain’s nominee. As the issue turned out, to be a straight fight between America and Britain, it became clear that a split could not be avoided unless a compromise formula could be evolved.

At the instance and initiative of Canada, and with the support of Russia and Britain, a proposal was framed. This “package deal”, relating to admission of eighteen members, was the compromise device proposed by Canada. With eighteen new members, the strength of the Security Council would be increased from eleven to thirteen. It will, therefore, be possible for America to have its nominee, the Philippines, besides another Asian member, into the Security Council. As Russia is willing to support Britain’s nominee, Yugoslavia can be the Eastern European member on the Council. That is why, to avoid loss of face. America has agreed
Nagarjuna Sagar Project

In the interests of world peace, as well as of the United Nations, wider representation on the United Nations is desirable. With the acceptance of the "package deal", two consequences are likely to follow. It will, certainly, rid the General Assembly of its dominance by America and the Latin American bloc. It will also help to lessen the weight and influence of the Big Powers in the General Assembly. All small powers, including Asian-African nations, will welcome both these eventualities, Algiers is a visible demonstration of the growing influence of the Asian-African group of nations in the General Assembly. As this influence grows, the Western Powers will experience obstacles in exploiting the United Nations to further their purposes. Recent experience shows that the Western Powers can no longer rely on their majority in the General Assembly. To bypass the Russian veto in the Security Council, the General Assembly has, for sometime past, been used as the policy-making organ of the United Nations. With the proposed changes in the composition of the Assembly, and with the growing status of the Asian-African group, there may be a tendency to revive the importance of the Security Council. This raises the problem of amending the Charter. But that is a different, though highly complex, problem altogether.

Y B T another step in the adventure of building a New India will be taken when the Prime Minister lays the foundation stone of the Nagarjuna Sagar Project in Andhra. For the South, which has long felt neglected in the matter of economic development, this is a significant event, as the Nagarjuna Sagar Dam will rank among the biggest in the country. The ultimate irrigation benefits of this Project are expected to cover over 31 lakh acres in the States of Andhra and Hyderabad but even on the completion of the first phase in about seven years, the major part of the additional irrigational facilities should be available as over 23 lakh acres distributed in Andhra and Hyderabad States will be irrigated by then.

The project has immense possibilities: the additional yield of foodgrains alone resulting from it has been estimated at 1.3 million tons.

to support the "package deal". But America's attitude to this problem and the motive behind the compromise device of the "package deal" reflect the continuing conflict between Russia and America, which Taipeh's subsequent action has only served to emphasise.

Circumstances may have forced America to accept the "package deal". But some of the arguments advanced by the Kuomintang delegate against the admission of Outer Mongolia indicate that the problem of admission of the eighteen new members is being complicated by the consequences of the "cold war". Suspicions are not unnatural that America is fighting the "cold war" in the United Nations by proxy, through Taipeh, as she has come to realise, on second thoughts, the consequences of the admission of eighteen new members to the United Nations. For the eighteen nations, only five are Communist, and the rest are non-Communist powers. So the "package deal" will not materially improve the bargaining strength of Russia in the United Nations. But it will serve to eliminate the dominance of the Latin American group, led by America. There are other implications of the proposal to admit eighteen new members. Kuomintang China is now a permanent member of the Security Council. With the proposed admission of eighteen new members to the General Assembly, its composition will so change as to enhance India's prospects of admission in the Council as a permanent member.

These implications must be borne in mind in examining the arguments put forward by Taipeh's delegate against the admission of Outer Mongolia. Taipeh's delegate is clever in his reference to the Hague Court's ruling against the principle of "automatic universality" of membership of the United Nations. It is possible that the amendment proposed by the sponsoring members to their original resolution is aimed at bypassing this legal objection. But it is clear that America endorses the argument that admission of Communist nations is contrary to political and moral principles of the Charter. Taipeh's delegate has also opposed the "package deal" on the ground of human rights. Here, it is not necessary to discuss whether Communist countries, Outer Mongolia or any other Communist Eastern European country, violate the principle of human rights. Of the proposed eighteen new members, two, Spain and Portugal, are Fascist countries. If South Africa, with its policy of racial discrimination, can remain a member of the United Nations, there can be no sense in denying admission to any Communist country on the argument of human rights.