going round, asking their followers not to vote for Congress-P S P candidates. Coupled with the disruptive influence of the League is the presence of a well-organised Communist party ready to capitalise on its opponent’s weaknesses. As there are no State elections the fight will be for the 18 Lok Sabha seats; election fervour is subdued, which should help the Communists as a drop in the poll is more likely to affect non-Communists than Communists.

As for North Bombay, it is the most interesting of all elections. It represents a clash between the High Command and the local Congress.

If any agency defeats Krishna Menon, it will be his own organisation; and the result will in no way signify, as foreign papers try to make out, an acceptance or rejection of Government’s present policies. The brilliantly gifted Defence Minister sticks in people's throats, and not even the temporary popularity of his action in Goa can help relieve his election headache. The Prime Minister has not improved matters by the violence of his language which was more the reaction of a man in a rage, than of the hero of his people.

And so to the future: the Congress will win a great victory, but it is likely to be the last. The Prime Minister cannot continue to hold the party firmly together as he is no longer young. When he goes, a scramble for power will certainly start. The most interesting aspect of the present elections is therefore the speculation as to what his next Cabinet will look like. With T T Krishnamachari and Krishna Menon, the Left should gain in strength. Meanwhile, at the State level, the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Madras seem to be in an impregnable position, and may well pose a challenge to a person of lesser status than the Prime Minister.

### National Integration

#### Pragmatist

Those political parties which waxed eloquent on national integration only a few months ago, slid back while selecting their candidates for the forthcoming General Election to the same communal, caste and linguistic considerations against which they had ranted so bitterly. This tendency to disregard so readily the principles professed so solemnly is likely; to be even more pronounced in the future when the national leadership is in weaker hands and the struggle for political power more intense. It would be a serious mistake to base our policies on the false expectation that when the struggle for power comes, politicians in this country, as anywhere else, will not sacrifice their professed principles for their more immediate gains.

The image of Indian unity cannot be built upon that image which has not faded—it remains unsullied and its brightness undimmed—but what has been sought to be built upon that image has been showing too many cracks and blotches. The divisive forces which afflict the body politic are all well known and ‘none of them is quite new. But a number of things conspired together to make national integration the foremost problem to trouble the nation in 1961. Millions of words have been spoken and written on this subject. Efforts were made to bring together artists and literary men, men of learning and men in authority to ponder over this one problem—culminating in a conference at the highest national level. Yet national integration remains to-day his distant goal as it was a year ago. This may appear to be somewhat disconcerting, but it need not be. For, it is certainly a positive step forward to know for sure that national integration cannot be achieved through invocation or pious resolutions or that it cannot be achieved in a day.

The image of Indian unity cannot be built merely of eye-catching laces and frills: it must also have the supporting ‘stays’ of harder material. It would need painstaking effort over a long, long time, not only on emotional educational and political planes, but also call for carefully planned administrative and economic measures. On the first three, which usually hit the headlines much has been said in recent months ranging from the need for community singing of the national anthem and promotion of inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages to re-writing of textbooks, multi-lingual education and codes of political conduct. There is no need, therefore, to dilate on them further.

These are so to say the frills; what about the ‘stays’, the basic framework of administration and economic organisation? If it means anything at all, national integration means the creation of a mental climate in which everyone will place national interest well above communal, caste, linguistic or local interests. This is only possible when the main sectional and local interests feel that they will get a square deal and have no fear of domination by other sectional or local interests. That such a mental climate prevails when the majority is tolerant and minorities have shed their fear and inferiority complex. This is partly a matter of education and partly of political maturity, and fairplay on the part of the leading political parties in the country, all matters of slow growth. But it will be foolish to expect that all political groups will be necessarily guided by national interests alone or that there will be any lack of unscrupulous politicians or misguided zealots to take advantage of sectional or local differences to serve some narrow or short sighted objective of their own. The essence of policy, therefore, should be to recognise this hard fact and try to build up national integration not so much on the assumption that no one will play fool but on the assumption that there will be some who will
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Waste fuel
Particular attention has to be given to industries that wish to use waste material as fuel. For instance, the sugar industry absorbs vast quantities of waste material in the form of bagasse for fuel; again in the pulp and paper industry it is now the practice to combine the processes of chemical recovery and steam raising by burning the 'black liquor' from the digestors in a special type of boiler unit. Of course, these industries cannot keep their steam-raising plant functioning entirely on waste materials. So, in their designing and planning, the technicians and design engineers must allow for varying fuels to be used and at the same time achieve optimum performance.

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deliberately do so. This is where appropriate administrative and economic measures assume importance, both for curbing anti-national elements and for creating necessary conditions under which emotional, educational and political measures designed to promote national integration can function most effectively.

Unfortunately, however, in all the discussions about national integration that took place last year, administrative and economic measures have been strangely neglected. It is high time, therefore, that in this year of the General Election, which is bringing to surface so many local and sectional pressure groups, due attention is paid to some of these basic, although somewhat unspectacular, devices.

We should begin by clearly recognising that at the State and district levels both the politicians and locally recruited civil servants have either strong local vested interests or are subject to powerful local pressures and are, therefore, often prone to neglect national interests or the interests of rival groups, when these clash with the interests of the group to which they belong. It is not easy to be objective where the interests of one's kith and kin are deeply concerned. It will, therefore, be only prudent to interpose in between State politicians and State civil services a strong administrative layer which will be of an all-India character, and, being reasonably free from local attachments, in a position to keep all-India interests always in view.

It was from this very standpoint that Sardar Patel and later the States Reorganisation Commission recommended the formation of All-India Services and the recruitment in each State of a fairly substantial proportion of civil servants from outside the State. The State Governments have so far stood in the way of the implementation of these sound recommendations although they have usually paid lip service to them.

These recommendations should not only be implemented but extended. At least 50 per cent of the senior civil servants, judges, police and intelligence officers in each State should be officers recruited from other States, and wherever suitable men can be found, the Chief Justice, the Chief Secretary or the Home Secretary, the Education Secretary or the Director of Public Instruction and the Inspector General of Police in each State should be from other States, so that they do not have any strong local attachment. For this purpose, whenever necessary, exchange of officers' between States could be arranged.

To extend the same principle to the highest level of administration, the present practice of appointing Governors from outside the State should not only be continued, the capacity of the Governors to act as a restraining influence should be strengthened. Whenever any question comes up which relates to serious friction between communal, caste or linguistic groups in a State, the Chief Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Inspector General of Police should be authorised to report directly to the Governor and they should be able to count on his support.

This, in the last analysis, calls for a convention that in the event of a threat of violent clash between communal, caste or linguistic groups in a State in which the majority of the Cabinet may be partisan, the Governor should also have the right to attend Cabinet meetings and if necessary, even to take over the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the threatened area. This will go a long way towards restoring confidence in the neutrality of the administration. True, under the present Constitution also there is provision for President's rule under extraordinary circumstances. But this is a last resort, recourse to which is always resisted by the Ministry in power for the simple reason that suspension means loss of face. If the Governor's intervention on such occasions is made a general rule, the question of loss of face of a particular Ministry will not arise.

The interposition of an All-India Service between the State politicians and State civil service should not be confined to the executive services alone. All-India Services may be extended to education, agriculture, forestry and engineering. It was during the period of Dyarchy in the British days that the Ministers, jealous of their limited powers, provincialised these services. Those conditions have now gone and there is no reason why in the interest of national integration these All-India Service should not be constituted again. The process of improvisation, however, should not stop here. It will also be desirable to send selected young officers from the States to the Centre for short tenure appointments in order that they may acquire a sound all-India background.

The reasons for these administrative changes should be obvious. It is important for any country seeking political stability and a good administration that not only justice should be done but that it must also be apparent to all sections of the people that the appropriate conditions have been created which will ensure that justice is done. In a country as heterogeneous as India it is absolutely essential.

These recommendations will not naturally be very popular either with the State Ministers or the local officers. Many State Ministers will, for obvious reasons, like to have trusted officers belonging to their own community, caste or area as the instruments of their policy. Similarly, many officers will also like to serve in their own States. It is precisely for this reason that in spite of the efforts made by the Union Home Ministry since the time of Sardar Patel, it has not been possible so far to make much progress in implementing these measures. The time for action is now and firm action can be taken only by a man of the stature of the Prime Minister. Later on it may not be possible for any other leader, not having his stature and influence, to bring about administrative changes of this kind which though essential, will not be popular with the local politicians and officials. The most opportune time for introducing these changes would be immediately after the elections. Once the various pressure groups are formed by legislators selected on consideration of local influence based largely on communal caste or linguistic interests and the appointment of Ministers and posting of senior officers have been made on the basis of ad hoc personal or local consi-
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In fact, it may be useful to take the process a step further and make an attempt to attach one or two people who have first-hand knowledge of administrative problems of the Central Government to the Cabinet of each State. Officers of the Central Government usually get good opportunities, for developing an all-India outlook, which are not easily available to people elsewhere. If a few such officers of sufficient promise and maturity are encouraged to sacrifice their service careers and appointed as Ministers in State Governments they would not only exercise a very healthy influence on State politics but also help keep the all-India interests constantly in view before the Governments and the public of the States. Elections to Upper Houses should provide an opportunity for recruiting to State Cabinets people of this type who may be reluctant to give up secure positions and face the risk of election. Since some of the best talents in the country go into the public services, it may be worthwhile to attract some of them to a political career in this manner. The political leadership of the country, which will have to face very difficult problems over the "next few decades, would be considerably strengthened by a policy of seeking a few recruits from this source.

Economic measures are at least as important as, if not more than, administrative and other measures so far as national stability and unity are concerned. In France there have been very frequent changes of Government over the last 15 years, and political factions have been also very many. Yet the French economy has not only remained stable but also prospered steadily, thanks to the stabilising and integrating influence of the French Civil Service on the one hand and the French planning procedure on the other. The latter consists primarily in involving as many different interests as possible in the process of economic policy making, with the result that even when Governments and Ministers change, the basic economic policies continue to be implemented undisturbed because all the people who really count in economic matters, e.g., farmers, industrialists, labourers, civil servants, etc., are committed to these policies.

Economic planning, if undertaken as a national enterprise in which people concerned at different levels are given an opportunity to participate, can be a great force for national integration. On the other hand, if it is undertaken in an undemocratic manner by a small group of people without paying attention to the views of the various interests concerned, it may become a force for national disintegration.

The direction in which the planning procedure is developing in this country is no doubt broadly the right one, but the process of involving the people in the planning exercise requires to be extended much farther. The planning exercise often involves choices which may not be popular with all sections of the people. However, so long as the public is generally convinced that the choices are in the national interest even though they may be against the immediate interest of the groups or sections to which they may individually belong, it will help national integration, in spite of its being unpopular with certain sections. Here again it is important that justice is not merely done, but must also appear to be done. It will be, therefore, a useful procedure if, when certain adjudications have to be made as between one State and another or one area and another, such members of the planning authority as are directly connected with the one or the other should leave the final decision to the judgment of their colleagues who are not so connected.

The question of regional distribution of industries and other development programmes may often give rise to considerable controversy and ill will. There is no doubt that if decisions in these matters are taken mainly on economic considerations, the rate of economic growth will be maximised. Regional rivalries may be reduced to a considerable extent if the distribution of industries and other productive programmes are based not merely on the judgment of a superior authority but on some process of competition within certain limited areas, as is the practice in Yugoslavia. In that country, there are separate funds for general development of the country and for development of backward areas and these are divided sector-wise primarily from the economic and social angle. Thereafter, various firms or communes in a particular area are asked to bid for these projects, and the firm or the commune which can offer the best terms usually gets the project provided it satisfies certain technical criteria which are clearly laid down by the planning authorities. This practice has gone a long way in reducing complaints of regional or sectional favouritism in recent years in Yugoslavia and has also created a climate under which each region, each commune and each enterprise is induced to maximise its own efforts and savings and thus contribute not only to its own wellbeing but also to the prosperity of the nation as a whole.

If in the interest of rapid economic development a certain amount of unbalanced economic growth becomes unavoidable and different areas have to specialise in different industries in pursuance of the principle of comparative advantage it is important that there should be maximum possible mobility of labour—especially skilled labour. In fact, in the interest of national integration, it will be desirable to go even farther. There should be a deliberate policy of providing technical training to people of areas where some of these industries cannot be developed and to employ them in industries in other areas.

If this is done, these industries will become really national concerns rather than regional concern and the sense of deprivation which a backward area may get because some industries are being located in other areas, may be countered by the fact that the people of the areas concerned have been given adequate opportunity for employment.

Another useful step which would help national integration would be to require business corporations to recruit their staff through a prescribed procedure for selection, e.g., advertising and Notification through employment exchanges and objective tests and interviews undertaken by a selection committee—so that considerations of caste, community
and language may be reduced to the minimum.

Through accident of history, the private sector enterprises in the country are still largely controlled by members of three or four castes or communities. The result has been that the rest of the nation is getting as estranged from these castes and communities as some of the nations of Central Europe had got estranged in the past from the Jews with terrible consequences for the latter. It is to the interest of these business castes and communities in India, who are in a privileged position today by virtue of their early start to avoid the mistakes committed by the Jews in Central Europe, and follow instead the example of the Jews in England or the United States who have gone out of their way to recruit business partners and employees from other sections of the population with the result that the entrepreneurial class does not remain confined to only one small group but has wider roots in the country as a whole.

The matter is so important and it is a source of so much social conflict that it cannot be left to voluntary response alone. In the interest of national integration. Government should also take measures which will force various business partnerships and corporations not only to throw open their employment to all groups and communities but also broaden their directorships and partnerships. The development of a country-wide investment trust which will enable a large number of people of small means to hold shares of various business corporations, limiting the number of directorships that an individual can hold, requiring these corporations to recruit their personnel through open and fair competition and persuading the various established business corporations to help the people of the area where they are operating to set up ancillary industries will go a long way in reducing complaints of discrimination and unfair practice against these business classes and promote national integration.

It is only if administrative and economic measures of the type mentioned above are taken in a resolute manner that the requisite climate will be created in which emotional, educational and political measures, which were suggested at the last National Integration Conference, will get a chance to be really effective. Otherwise, any amount of exhortation or political negotiations will not be able to produce the desired results.