

Foreword

The first issue of the year 2001 is now with us. **'The Administrator'** has constantly strived to put forth diverse and incisive view points on various aspects of governance. With this issue we bring an indepth analysis of the issues confronting the civil service. The officers of 1951 batch of the Indian Administrative Service who had gathered in LBSNAA for a retreat provided some thought provoking comments on the state of governance today. These comments are especially relevant, coming from people who have been at the helm of affairs for the decisive decades after independence. We hope their deliberations will provide useful insights to all our readers.

The issues of the year 1999-2000 could not be brought out due to some difficulties. We sincerely regret the inconvenience caused on this score to all our readers and subscribers. We are as always grateful for your unstinting support and help. We also request you through this forum to send us your articles for publication in the **"Administrator"**. We hope to continue publication of two issues of the **"Administrator"** every year. We remain committed to maintaining the status of **"The Administrator"** as a flagship publication of the civil service.

Arti Ahuja

From the Theme Editor's Desk

It is indeed a privilege for me to write the editorial to this volume, which brings together the papers prepared for the Retreat of the 1951 batch of the IAS. The tradition of the Retreat was started in the Academy in 1997 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of our Independence. That year also saw the coming together of all the surviving members of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) who had served not only in Imperial British India, but also in independent India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Subsequently, Retreats were also held for the members of 1948, 1949, and 1950 batches in 1998, 1999 and 2000 respectively, viz. the year which marked golden jubilee of their entry to the IAS.

This year, the Academy felt that the participants of the Retreat should be invited to send their 'reflections' and 'thoughts' about the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in particular, and issues of governance in general. In addition to their own papers, some other selected papers were also included for circulation to the participating members. These included a discussion paper of Government of Andhra Pradesh on Vision 2020, 'What ails Indian Bureaucracy' by Shri D. Bandhyopadhyay, Noorjahan Bava's paper on 'Bureaucracy in Nation-Building and Development: A Fifty Year Profile', two papers by Shri Madav Godbole (Bureaucracy at Cross-Roads, Bureaucracy and Ethics) besides the Academy's discussion paper on 'Rightsizing the Government Workforce'. After the Retreat, the participants felt that these papers along with the proceedings should be brought out as a publication, and the Academy decided to publish a special issue of '**The Administrator**'. It is hoped that this volume will stimulate a debate among the readers of this journal about the future course of action that Indian bureaucracy needs to adopt.

In the paper, 'People-Centered, Growth-Oriented Governance' the Government of Andhra Pradesh have argued that the government needs to refocus its priorities and spending. It has to withdraw from sectors best operated by the private sector, while retaining its responsibility as a prudent regulator to ensure social equity and fair competition in the new circumstances.

In his article on 'Liberalization and Indian's Bureaucracy', Shri B.G. Deshmukh has argued that liberalization was going to affect the numbers and privileges of Indian bureaucracy. It was therefore, natural to expect some sort of resistance on its part. However, bureaucrats were not the only ones who resisted reforms. There were vested interests in the commercial and agricultural sectors also which were wary of any reform process.

In a provocative article, 'What Ails Indian Bureaucracy' Shri D. Bandyopadhyay, describes his experiences as an 'unrepentant bureaucrat of thirty-five years vintage'. According to him, the whole debate of generalists versus specialists was uncalled for, because in a complex (modern) system of governance there was enough space for both. He wanted pay to be delinked from 'status' and greater professional autonomy for specialists in government.

In his paper on 'Challenges to Indian Security', Shri K. Subrahmanyam laments the indifference which India's policy-makers have towards history. This came in the way of developing a correct understanding and appreciation of the adversary's strategy. According to him, in the absence of such an understanding, assessment of the present and future courses of action by the adversary became more difficult.

In another seminal article on 'External Security', he refers to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan, and also the implications of terrorism and proxy war. He draws attention to the fact that religious extremisms had their origins in the tension arising out of the inability of traditional elite to adjust itself to modern technology and new social and political ideas. In addition to this, he has also dwelt upon Pakistan's persistent attempts to create trouble for this country. A reference is also made to the increasing role of China in the international economic and strategic environment.

Shri K.V. Sheshadri, in his paper on 'Ethics in Service-Self' reflects on his experience in the Service and how political interference had affected the integrity and morale of the members of the IAS. He gives several examples from the Emergency period, when the bureaucracy became absolutely spineless and subservient to the political masters. In his reflections about the Service, he mentioned about his experience in the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Food Corporation of India, Maharashtra State Electricity Board, Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation and the State Road Transport. He also describes his experience as the Chief Controller of the Exports and Imports.

The Academy's position paper on 'Rightsizing the Government Workforce' looks at issues like organization restructuring, impact of technology, abolition of vacant post, freeze on recruitment, across-the-board-cut, and voluntary retirement.

In his paper 'Bureaucracy at Cross-Roads', Shri Madhav Godbole suggests that the afflictions of our bureaucracy could be partially resolved by adopting the following measures, viz. statutory Civil Service Boards, security of tenure, ombudsman for redressal of grievances, and transparency and Right to Information.

In his second paper on 'Bureaucracy and Ethics', he argues in favour of charter for civil servants. This charter should ask every civil servant to pledge himself/herself to uphold the rule of law; promote an open and transparent administration; provide clean administration: promote accountability for actions; observe complete political neutrality; give free, frank, objective and unbiased advice; uphold preserve and strengthen the interests of the weaker sections of society; uphold, strengthen human rights; adhere to and encourage secularism; not to accept or give any money or other allurements as illegal gratification, uphold the integrity not only of self but also of the system as a whole; scrupulously observe standards of rectitude and undertake not to approach any politician, industrialist or anyone outside the normal hierarchy for obtaining any postings, transfers and personal benefits of any kind; and strive to be a role model for others.

In his paper 'Bureaucracy in Nation-Building and Development : A Fifty Year Profile' Noorjahan Bava attempts an analytical assessment of India's developmental performance since Independence, drawing a comparison of the scenario prevailing then and now on the basis of relevant bench-mark data reflecting on the quality of life. She then makes a brief comparison between India and some Asian nations which are presently on a faster track of development to deduce her conclusions. Before winding up the discussion, she also attempts a brief evaluation of our bureaucracy as a catalyst of change and nation-building.

Shri P. S. Appu in his paper 'Reining in the PMO' argues that the concentration of all executive power in the PMO had made a mockery of the cabinet system. Another fall-out of the appropriation of powers by the PMO was the decline in the power and authority of the Cabinet Secretariat, which did not augur well for the civil service.

The last paper in this collection is Shri S.S. Gill's article 'The Favourite Whipping Boy'. According to him, even though the bureaucracy had become the

favourite whipping boy, (especially of the media) the fact was that most of the ills ascribed to it could actually be traced to the depravity of the political class. Moreover, while the media highlighted all the negative aspects of bureaucracy, positive interventions and success stories-like the successful conduct of the Kumbh Mela were never brought to public focus.

The last section in this volume is a record of the proceedings of the deliberations at the Retreat. The points raised in the discussions help in placing the articles/papers in the context of the role and relevance of the IAS in contemporary India.

Sanjeev Chopra

Co-ordinator

Retreat for the 1951 Batch and Guest Editor

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People-Centered, Growth-Oriented Governance*

In this paper, the Government of Andhra Pradesh have drawn up a vision for 2020 by which time the government would have withdrawn from sectors best operated by the private sector, while retaining their responsibility as a prudent regular to ensure social equity and fair competition in the new circumstances. The government would also refocus public spending towards achieving developmental goals; and undertake focused communication to address concerns arising from the dramatic changes involved.

The Andhra Pradesh Government will have a critical role to play in implementing the growth agenda. But this will involve doing fewer things better, rather than doing more. In line with global trends, the Government will become more sharply focused, acting mainly as an enabler and facilitator of growth. Freed from the onerous task of intervening in several sectors of the economy, it will turn its attention to those sectors that critically need its assistance.

By 2020, the Andhra Pradesh Government will be an enabler of market-based development by providing a growth-conducive, deregulated policy environment. Its role will be to facilitate economic activity in sectors best operated by the private sector, and provide services in others. Decentralised decision-making will be the norm, with local bodies encouraged and empowered to participate in administration. Andhra Pradesh will have a reliable and efficient government earning the respect of all residents of the State. It will remain transparent, effective and responsive to the people, primarily by maintaining close contact with them and involving them in governance. (Exhibit 1).

To achieve this vision, the Government will focus on the following initiatives:

- Refocus its priorities and spending that is, concentrate its attention and resources on those sectors of the economy that need its intervention and let market forces govern the rest. For these sectors, the Government will act as a facilitator and catalyst of growth. At the same time, it will remain sensitive to the need for social equity and well being.
- Decentralize governance and ensure that the people have a decisive say in local administration.

* Source : Andhra Pradesh : Vision 2020

- Introduce 'Electronic Government', i.e. use IT-based services to improve procedures and improve the citizen-Government interface.
- Become a SMART (Simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive, Transparent) Government by improving transparency and accountability and ensuring effective and responsive services.
- Enhance its capabilities and encourage an ethos of public service to strengthen policy making and performance.
- Take a leadership role in regulatory and other reform.

Refocus Priorities and spending

Today, the State Government plays a pervasive role in the economy. It runs a number of public enterprises, including transport, and operates key sectors like mining. In addition to playing an extensive role in agriculture, the Government dominates the social sector, particularly health and education. Furthermore, as a regulator, the Government's role is both broad, spanning most economic and welfare activity, and deep, including the micro-management of several sectors of the economy, and price control and policy making for the private sector.

Exhibit 1

SHIFT IN THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

From	To
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A major operator in many sectors of the economy ● A regulator and controller of most economic decisions in many sectors (e.g., pricing policies) ● Direct top-down administration and centralized decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prudent facilitator of private sector activity in sectors best operated by the private sector, and provider of services in others ● An enabler of market-based development through conducive, deregulated policy environment ● Enabling, empowering and ensuring participation from local administration and de-centralizing decision-making

As a result, its resources and managers are so over-stretched that they cannot do justice to any area, let alone those that need attention and resources the most: basic education, primary healthcare, poverty alleviation and rural infrastructure.

In fact, social spending has been steadily decreasing. Today, the State spends 2.5 per cent of its GSDP on education and 1.2 per cent on health, compared to 3.2 per cent and 1.7 per cent respectively in 1980-81. Resources for creating trunk and rural infrastructure have also shrunk. These areas now receive only 2.2 per cent of GSDP compared to 3.2 per cent in other Indian states.

Furthermore, mushrooming establishment costs are now absorbing over 35 per cent of the State's revenue resources. A large part of this spending is caused by excessive redundancy in employment: some departments employ 50 per cent more staff than they need. In addition, the Government spends as much as Rs. 650 Crore as loans and investments in 39 public enterprises mainly to subsidize their losses.

To achieve Vision 2020 for Andhra Pradesh, the Government will therefore need to refocus its priorities and spending. To do this, the Government will need to withdraw from sectors best operated by the private sector, while retaining its responsibility as a prudent regulator to ensure social equity and fair competition in the new circumstances; refocus public spending towards achieving developmental goals; and undertake focused communication to address all concerns arising from the dramatic changes involved.

Withdraw from sectors best operated by private players: Reflecting the emerging environment worldwide, the Government will rationalize its investments in public enterprises and restrict itself to areas in which its intervention is needed. Other areas are best served by market forces and the Government will allow private investment in these. However, the Government will continue to be sensitive to any hardship caused by privatization and address such issues through the safety net or similar programmes. In addition, the Government will reinvest the savings it will achieve from withdrawing from public enterprise and other areas in the development of backward areas and disadvantaged groups.

The Govt. will ensure that everyone has access to services and that competition between players remains healthy and productive.

In areas the Government needs to continue managing, it will ensure that its agencies and public sector undertakings work more efficiently.

Some developmental goals, such as the provision of infrastructure, vocational and higher education or of specialized healthcare can also be better achieved by the private sector. The Government would enable and support private sector efforts to do so. In addition, state-owned institutions continuing to provide such services, such as government colleges and hospitals, would be exposed to 'managed' competition (e.g. for Government funding). They would also be required to achieve greater financial self-sufficiency.

Since private investment will increasingly drive economic development, the Government will need to establish conducive policy environment by removing or modifying regulatory restrictions and price distortions. It will also need to make approval processes (e.g. environment clearances) faster and easier.

- Ensure social equity and fair competition: In this new milieu, the Government will need to ensure that everyone has access to services and that competition between players remains healthy and productive. Therefore, regulation will be designed to protect the public interest; maintain equity; and ensure sustainable economic growth and use of environmental resources. For instance, infrastructure regulation will be designed to protect the public from monopoly pricing; regulation on quality standards and accreditation procedures will be provided to protect consumers; and environmental regulation will be based on rigorous but pragmatic policy.
- Refocus spending : Having freed itself from responsibilities it need not undertake, the Government would then focus its attention and resources on the effective provision of services such as basic health and education. The primary focus would be on making public spending in these areas effective. This would be achieved by:
 1. Reducing administrative and other non-developmental expenditure such as support to public sector undertakings from the current 40 per cent of the budget to 20-25 per cent by 2010.
 2. Raising spending in areas such as basic education, primary healthcare, food security, and rural development from the current 17 per cent to 30-35 per cent of the budget. Keeping in mind its commitment to weaker sections of the population, the Government will maintain a harmonious balance between social welfare and development.
 3. Increasing investment in infrastructure from 6 per cent of the budget today to 15-20 per cent.
- Undertake focused communication: All these are dramatic changes and will therefore be carefully communicated so that the people understand that the changes are in their interest. In addition, the Government will develop a time-bound programme for change and ensure that it unfolds at an appropriate pace, without undue impact on any specific group.

Decentralize Governance And Involve The People

Decentralization is an essential part of the programme to make Government institutions more efficient and responsive. The State is therefore determined to strengthen its administration through responsible management by Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and community organizations. To this end, it will enable local management by devolving administrative and economic powers and responsibilities. To successfully implement this framework, change in administrative systems will be carefully managed.

- Introduce administrative decentralization: Local empowerment is already emphasized in the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. Accordingly, the State will devolve the administration of Government services listed in the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the appropriate Panchayati Raj Institutions. It will also provide Gram Panchayats control over 'local' service, such as sanitation and primary schools, and mandals and Zilla Parishads control over 'shared' services, such as secondary schools and colleges.

The people can play a major role in managing education, health and infrastructure services.

Directly involving people in the management of the services they use is another important initiative required. The people can play a major role in managing education, health and infrastructure services through community organizations such as School Committees, or Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas. The Government will provide such groups any help they may need in planning and operating devolved services. This could take several forms: installing key systems (e.g., accounting); inducting qualified personnel (e.g., professional managers in municipalities); and providing training (e.g., for planning, in specific sectors).

At the same time as it hands over responsibility, the State Government will continue to play an active role in decentralized services by providing resources and technical and policy support. A good way to involve people in the management of local services is to provide them with the means to turn their views into action. In the US and many European countries, local referendums are held to decide specific local issues such as the creation of public goods like roads. Andhra Pradesh will use a similar mechanism to give the people a larger say in the management of public services, in addition to various other means available to enlist people's participation.

- Carefully manage change : All bold reform meets with resistance, particularly from parties with an interest in maintaining the status quo. Already, there has been strong resistance to even limited efforts by the Government to decentralize health and education. To succeed, therefore, the Government will need to ensure that its decentralization programme addresses the concerns of multiple constituencies like the Central Government, State bureaucracy, Government employees, local bodies, and public representatives. Furthermore, it must carefully design key systems (e.g., for inter-government transfers/relations) and properly sequence steps towards decentralization (e.g., matching capability with responsibility). Experience (for instance, in Latin America) demonstrates that decentralization takes time, as much as 10-15 years, but it crucial for improving the responsiveness of Government.

Introduce Electronic Government

IT will be used to automate services the Government provides and to radically improve their efficiency and quality.

Today, access to the Government is generally slow, cumbersome, uncoordinated and confusing. Procedures are mystifying and obscure, giving the bureaucracy immense discretion and, therefore, power. As a result, most transactions with the Government are time-consuming and frustrating.

The Andhra Pradesh Government is committed to correcting this situation by introducing the 'Electronic Government', a process of administrative reform integrated with the use of Information Technology. Through this initiative, IT will be used to automate services the Government provides and to radically improve their efficiency and quality.

The Internet, Web and group-ware technologies will be used to create electronic networks at all points of contact between the people and the Government. Citizens will be able to obtain and submit electronically all forms for any service or clearance from the Government. Their information needs will be met through a system of 'one-stop, non-stop' electronic networks. Thus, an individual will be able to apply for a ration card from any conveniently located, networked computer at any time of the day or night. He or she would then be able to find out the status of the application by accessing the Civil Supplies server, which the department will maintain and regularly update. Similarly, a potential investor will be able to obtain all forms required for clearances for setting up an industry from the Industries Department server. He or she will be able to provide the information required electronically and follow up on the status of the application by logging on from any conveniently located, networked computer.

All billing and tax information will be made available to citizens with electronic access. Other services provided will include reservations for public services, such as seats on Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation buses, or accommodation at the Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanams.

IT-based services will also boost education and health services. Hospitals and educational institutions will be provided with Internet connections in phases. Providing Internet connections to libraries will be duly emphasized, given the role of libraries in a knowledge society.

To ensure that IT-based services are available to all Andhra Pradesh's people, the Government proposes to provide free network access through electronic kiosks at convenient locations. These kiosks will facilitate one-stop 'shopping' for information and services. Depending on the service or information required, charges could be applied at differential rates.

Become A 'Smart' Government

The Government of Andhra Pradesh is committed to becoming a simple, moral, accountable, responsive and transparent government.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh is committed to becoming a simple, moral, accountable, responsive and transparent government. To achieve this objective, the Government will have to act decisively on several fronts. One of its primary tasks will be ensuring efficient and responsive services. Another will be making it easy for the people to gain essential information from the Government. A third task will be to ensure that they have recourse to mechanisms that punish wrongdoing. The Electronic Government initiative will go a long way towards improving transparency and ensuring efficient services. In addition, the Government will provide other mechanisms to ensure transparency, responsiveness and accountability.

Ensuring Efficient and Responsive Services

Countries like Canada have effectively used 'Citizen Charters' to improve the quality and effectiveness of public services (Exhibit 2). The Government will need to draft a clear citizen charter for routine services citizens need on a regular basis like the provision of industrial approvals, birth certificates, or driving licences. Citizens' rights, departmental responsibilities, and the quality and timeframe for providing the service will need to be clearly specified. Government employees will need to be trained to provide quality service. In addition, robust mechanisms for monitoring quality (e.g., through citizen surveys or social audits) and redressing grievances will need to be created.

In addition, the Government will need to enact a law for citizens' 'right to information' on all government activities except sensitive areas. This law would cover all areas for which an individual or a corporate has to directly approach the Government or is indirectly affected by it, e.g., resource allocation and infrastructure development plans in a village; public policy on backward class reservation; or privatization of infrastructure. State residents would have the right to seek information from the Government within prescribed time limits, with a provision for legal appeal in case of failure to provide the information sought. This will ensure that the public can demand information about the Government's plans and policies by law and demand performance against those plans and policies.

Providing mechanisms to ensure integrity in public life and redress grievances

In addition to gaining the information they need, people would feel more empowered if they believed their grievances would be heard and acted upon. The Government will thus need to undertake a number of measures, first, to ensure integrity in public service and, second, to protect the State's people against wrongdoing. The public would be encouraged to report cases of corruption by being rewarded for doing so, just as they are currently rewarded for bringing to light cases of income tax evasion. To ensure their effectiveness, the activities of anti-corruption bodies would be publicized: details of cases, persons investigated, and action taken would be made available. Hong Kong has taken a similar approach through its Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) with effective results.

Exhibit 2
Citizen's Charter For a UK Electricity Utility
EXAMPLE

Service	Guaranteed standard performance level	Penalty payment (£)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supplier's fuse failures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within 4 hours of any notification during working hours 	10
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restoring electricity supplies after faults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24 hours 	20 (domestic customers) 50 (non-domestic customers)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Estimated charges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within 10 working days for simple jobs or 20 working days for most others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notice of supply interruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 days 	10 (domestic customers) 20 (non-domestic customers)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voltage complaints 		10
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meter problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit or reply within 10 working days 	10
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charges and payment queries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit or reply within 10 working days 	10
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A substantive reply within 10 days • All appointments to visitors on a day must be kept 	10

Source: Report on Customer Services, 1992-93

Enforcing legislation and maintaining law and order

The State will continue to take a proactive role in social and economic legislation with a view to protecting the interests of the impoverished and deprived and reversing historical distortions that have hindered social progress. It will continue its policy of affirmative action for disadvantaged groups and enforce the law to reduce crimes and maintain peace and order. These efforts will be tirelessly pursued until the war against poverty, hunger and social disability is won.

Strengthen Policy Making and Improve Performance

A capable, performance oriented administration is the foundation for improved

governance. The tasks before the Government are therefore to strengthen policy making and introduce mechanisms to create and sustain a performance orientation in its bureaucracy.

Strengthening policy making and execution

To facilitate policy execution and enforce rules of conduct, the Government will need to create empowered bodies and independent regulatory authorities. In addition, to facilitate policy making, it will need to introduce accurate information gathering systems.

The Government will create information systems to track results, and support fact-based and rigorous policy making. Information seeking would focus on results. The State will use Information Technology services to collect, store and retrieve information about key areas, enhance the ability of its Planning and Statistics departments to monitor and provide analytical support, and create systems to ensure the use of information, for instance, by requiring a feasibility analysis for each programme.

Introducing a stronger performance orientation

To make its administration capable and performance oriented, the Government will build the capabilities of its officials. Recognizing this as a high priority to achieve the vision, the Government has already created a special institution for human resource development. In addition, it will institute reward and appraisal systems that create and reinforce a performance orientation.

- A special HRD institution: The State Government has initiated a training initiative on an unprecedented scale to train its personnel. from the Chief Minister down to the lowest level of staff, by setting up the Dr. M. Channa Reddy Human Resources Development Institute of Andhra Pradesh (HRDIAP) as a premier, national level institute. The objective of this institute will be to create a team of motivated and dynamic administrators at all levels.

Human Resource Development will take place at four broad levels: policy, administrative, executive and support staff. The Institute will evolve appropriate training strategies and design comprehensive training modules for each of these levels. It will also continuously assess training needs and design training methodologies to build the capabilities of State Government officials.

To this end, the HRDIAP is developing a comprehensive database on every government employee in the State, to catalogue his or her personal profile, job description, training status and requirements, etc. Apart from providing key information to help decide professional development needs, this database will prove to be a key resource in several other endeavours. The HRDIAP will also establish a world class Resource Centre, equipped with Internet and electronic facilities, such as the Online Resource and Database Management Systems, etc., to stimulate research in various fields of academics, management, and information technology.

The HRDIAP will develop special relationships with some of the world's foremost centres of learning and knowledge in order to expose Government employees to state-of-the-art thinking and research.

In conjunction with the HRDIAP, the State Government will undertake other path-breaking initiatives. These include an Institute for Electronic Government to showcase leading technologies and best practices in the field of information technology within government; a Centre for Excellence in Information & Communication Technologies; and a Centre for Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) which will enable Government officials to create the SMART Government described earlier.

- Better reward and appraisal systems: Effective reward and appraisal systems are the best way to introduce a performance orientation. Critical elements of such a system would include up-front statement of objective performance criteria; a focus on outcomes; and definition of results expected. These elements would be formalized into explicit documents (e.g., as in New Zealand's annual 'performance agreements' between department heads and ministers). Appraisal systems would track actual performance. For example, an initial report would be discussed with the official being appraised and then syndicated with a number of people connected to his work. Good performers would be identified and adequately rewarded through both monetary ('fast track promotions'; bonuses) and non-monetary (public recognition) incentives. To enable better performance, giving officials stable tenures, that is, allowing them to remain in a position for at least 305 years, will also be considered. Appropriate department-specific transfer and counseling policies will have to be developed in a participatory and transparent manner.

The Government will also focus on such mechanisms as counseling to decide key bureaucratic placements. Already implemented successfully in the education sector, the counseling mechanisms seeks the individual's choice of placement and combines this with his or her performance to reach a final decision on placement. This ensures that people are rewarded with positions in line with their performance and calibre.

Take A Leadership Role In Regulatory And Other Reform'

As stated earlier, the development of the growth engines will require major reform in regulation and procedure. For much of this reform, the State Government will need the cooperation of the Centre, either because the reform sought falls in areas completely controlled by the Central Government or in areas jointly controlled by the Centre and State Governments. For instance, the Centre controls telecommunications, banking, and insurance, while the Centre and State jointly control highways. In addition, the Centre also decides most regulation on industry, such as the reservation of some industries for the small-scale sector. Thus, only the Centre can grant a relaxation in regulation, such as de-reserving apparel and leather products.

Furthermore, some of the initiatives to achieve the vision for individual sectors will require changes in the funding or design of programmes that are sponsored by the Centre.

For example, the Centre decides the funding and design of public employment schemes like the Jawahar Rojgar Yojana and the Employment Assurance Scheme. The State Government would need to have the freedom to at least change the design of such programmes.

The Andhra Pradesh Government will, therefore, take the lead in bringing about reforms needed in many sectors in India by highlighting the need for action and serving as a role model for other states. Since much of this reform could be fairly radical, it will need to find different and innovative ways to do this. One way would be to bring issues to the Central Government's notice and then press for action as has been done for amendments to the Pesticides Act. A second way would be to proactively work with the Centre on drafting national policy on key issues, as has been done in the IT sector. A third way would be to request that Andhra Pradesh be made a test bed for such reform as has been done with the Electronic Government initiative. Obviously, Andhra Pradesh will not want to divorce itself from the rest of India in pursuing its route to progress. But, given the trend towards increasing federalism, Andhra Pradesh should seize opportunities to influence the Centre and lead other states in such reform, becoming, in the process, the benchmark state on all indices of development.

Liberalization And India's Bureaucracy

.....B.G. Deshmukh

In this paper Shri B.G. Deshmukh argues that liberalization in the economic field has to be accompanied by a more decentralized political structure. He also argues for a change in the labour laws and for greater emphasis on growth and development of infrastructure. He says that while bureaucrats are often charged with holding up the process of liberalization, the fact was that many industrialists were vehemently opposed to any competition from domestic or foreign sources. He also wanted a complete review of the audit system which made the bureaucracy stick to 'routine' and 'precedent'.

When we talk of liberalization all we think of is the field of economics. This is but natural, as we have been forced to think and practice liberalization because of our economic difficulties. Yet liberalization only in this field cannot survive or even succeed by itself unless it is also extended to a greater or lesser degree to all other sectors of government. For example, liberalization in the economic field has to be accompanied by a more decentralized political structure especially in a quasi-federal setup like ours. Take then the labour laws. They are so archaic that they are just not suited to modern economy. We have not been able to change even the name "Industrial Disputes Act" to "Industrial relations Act". The inadequacy of the labor laws becomes very glaring in the working of the free trade Zones. Even China has different labor laws for FTZs. The Department of Telecommunications clings stubbornly to its monopoly. It refuses to appreciate that there cannot be any worthwhile economic development in the modern world unless there is an efficient and price-effective communication network. Any Indian entrepreneur or even a foreign investor first asks whether he can be assured reliable telecommunications network immediately. The department cannot give any such promise and yet does not permit others to provide the facility. Take another example of financial and banking service. An industrialist may not need a licence in Delhi but he will still have to stand in a queue outside the offices of the Reserve Bank in another government in itself and I used to get a number of complaints when I was in Delhi that it takes weeks, if not months, to get clearances from the Reserve Bank.

It is also very clearly noticed that only the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues like the Finance Minister talk of liberalization. It is a revealing reflection on the Congress Party that it now thinks of holding a Narora type camp to educate the party members. Incidentally, even this camp could not be organized so far. It is, therefore, too much to expect of only the bureaucracy to implement the programme where there is no firm

backing of the ruling political machine. Of course the opposition political parties hold a confrontations posture for obvious reasons.

We should also be very wary when industrialists say that bureaucrats are the main stumbling block in the process of liberalization. They may shout at the top of their voice that they are for liberalization but one should hear them whining or using very clever and subtle tactics when liberalization hurts their interests which have so far flourished in a protected domestic market. I can still recall the howls raised by the manufacturers of a 2-wheelers when government tried 4 or 5 years back to be more liberal in granting licences for increasing capacities. The concept of self-sufficiency was exploited by vested industrial interests to perpetuate and exploit a monopolistic autarkic economy.

Take also the case of vested agricultural interests. There is a great resistance to liberalization because it would not only mean strict implementation of land reforms but also proper pricing of inputs and taxation of income. Because of the huge voting strength, the farming lobby will do its best to thwart, if not defeat, the process.

It is true that Indian bureaucracy became bloated and autocratic, but this only reflected the political and social policies of government. It had to grow to implement the ever-expanding role of government. It becomes autocratic only because it was representing an omnipotent government. If, therefore, government has now changed its political philosophy and decided on a course of liberalization, I am quite confident that bureaucracy can be reshaped. It can then reassure its role as a professional tool for new government policies.

Indian bureaucracy has always contained enough internal leadership, which has tried to visualize the future of the country, and what steps should be taken accordingly. No doubt this is in response to political directions but many a time these are *sue moto* exercise also. On this connection I will like to mention some of the measures and steps suggested by my colleagues during 1986 to 1990 when I was in government. A proposal to have statutory limit on government's powers to borrow from the Reserve Bank was considered and suggested. It was also recommended to reduce the fertilizer subsidy over a period of three years but at the same time make a commitment that 10 per cent of the savings would be used for helping small farmers and for promote areas like North Eastern States; and that 50 per cent of the saving would also be invested in agricultural infrastructure, especially irrigation. To reduce subsidy in the Public Distribution System, it was suggested that an increase in the issue price be announced along with increase in procurement price for cereals as also in the statutory minimum price for sugarcane. A good number of proposals were got approved for closing non-viable Public Sector Undertakings, but this could not be implemented for unrelated public equity for additional share capital. A scheme for auctioning of foreign exchange after reserving enough for basic import needs like defence, foodgrains and petroleum products was recommended. My colleagues gave a very clear signal in early 1990 that we would face a foreign exchange crunch by September of that year and measures were also recommended how to tackle it. A draft of a New Industrial Policy was prepared by the Industry Secretary in 1990 which included substantially the policy contents announced in 1991; but this could

not be finalized. No radical changes in FERA could be considered but in the meantime a list of selected Corporations from important foreign countries was prepared and a scheme was finalized to give them escort service to give them entry in selected sectors. As for the banking industry it was argued that when we permit foreign bank to operate, why we should not allow establishment of new private Indian banks. A determined effort was made in 1989 to decontrol steel prices. We almost succeeded but the political argument against this was that this would increase, though in short term, the steel prices, and this was not desirable in an election year.

The present system of audit makes bureaucrats very cautious. The process of audit is very unimaginative, rigid and rule bound and any action of the bureaucrat is examined in that way and also against an imaginary loss of public revenue. The audit reports are public documents and they are then discussed in the Parliament and State Assemblies in the same rigid and unimaginative way thereby further discouraging bureaucrats. The financial control system also suffers from the same rigid approach. The Department of Expenditure is very much rule-bound and precedent-oriented. The Department of Revenue also should look at various proposals not only from revenue angle but also from developmental angle. I must, however, say here that many bureaucrats in that department feel helpless as they are given unrealistic targets which forces them to act in a very rigid rule-bound way.

There is also need to urgently examine as to how we should make deserving officers become Additional Secretaries and Secretaries to Government in their late forties, so that they have a long span of service in these senior positions. At present such officers, at least at the secretary level. Have hardly 2-3 years of service left which naturally makes them more cautious.

Liberalization is going to affect the numbers and privileges of Indian bureaucracy. It is therefore, natural to expect some sort of resistance on its part. A large section of Indian bureaucracy, at least at the middle and subordinate levels, has been accustomed to exercise authority and power for a very long period. This is largely a function of the size of bureaucracy. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to reduce the size.

Some of the bureaucrats are also clever and try to side with political parties in resisting liberalization. Here it is very easy to get the help of leftists intellectuals or left of the centre parties and politicians. This is a well-known phenomenon especially for public sector workers and staff unions in service industries like banking. The bureaucratic ethos in Delhi is another complicated factor. Even now the population of the Union Territory of Delhi has a substantial and powerful presence of bureaucrats. The Congress Party has been very sensitive as to who rules the Municipal Corporation and the Metropolitan Council in Delhi, and now the proposed State Assembly of Delhi. The government is, therefore, afraid to do anything, which will antagonize the bureaucrats. A gathering of lakhs of people on the Chowpatty in Bombay or Marina Beach in Madras does not bother the Central Government but a gathering of even 20,000 to 30,000 on the Boat Club lawns in Delhi is taken very seriously by that Government.

What Ails Indian Bureaucracy?¹

.....D. Bandyopadhyay²

In this paper, Shri D. Bandyopadhyay pens his reminiscences as an 'unrepentant bureaucrat of thirty-five years vintage'. In a democratic polity, power belonged to the people and it was to be exercised by their representative. Civil servants in the executive branch could only be given delegated authority. They could, of course give their professional advise to the political executive. Civil servants were expected to discharge their duties, without fear or favour, affection or ill will. Unfortunately, deviation from these principles appeared to be the norm rather than the exception.

The English aristocracy devised a consuming pastime called fox-hunting. Well-mounted gentlemen, often accompanied by ladies, on the sounding of the horn would gallop behind a pack of hounds in pursuit of a sly fox. It had also the frills of a cavalry charge without the risk of being killed or maimed by a sabre or a lance as there were no opposing horsemen. But as the average IQ of the quarry was much higher than the median IQ of the pursuers, the fox often outwitted them and escaped. Their lady and lordships and their untitled hangers on their drowned their sorrow in pints of ail before devouring half cooked beef. It was an outdoor pursuit which provided some healthy exercise to the participants and it also provided some chance of escape to the more intelligent quarry. Hence it was called a sport. The Indian intellectuals - pseudo, phony, crypto or others - are generally known to be extremely averse to anything akin to physical exercise. Some of them do not even take two quick-steps in pursuit of cockroaches which abound their residence. Ensnared in their living rooms some of them find immense pleasure in bureaucracy bashing for anything that has happened or not happened. Bash it when it deserves; but to do so as a recreation is as disgusting and repulsive as throwing lighted cigarette stubs at caged animals in a zoo. At least the English aristocrats ran the risk of a broken leg or a twisted knee from a fall from a horse but these intellectuals do not even have the risk of a sprained little finger in pursuit of their pastime. It is not even an asinine game.

As an unrepentant bureaucrat of thirty-five years vintage, I do not feel that with my retirement the golden age ended and we are entering into a garbage age ably facilitated by the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. Nor do I belong to that "haut monde" school

1 Published in the Mainstream (August 6, 1994)

2 The author, a highly distinguished administrator, was the former Secretary (Rural Development) in the Union Government and also played a vital role in his earlier years in the Administrative Service in West Bengal in implementing 'Operation Barga' during the Left Front rule

which wistfully longs for the return of the "rulers" and "guardians" preferably under Princess Di, as the elected Queen for life, of the Republic. This would undoubtedly be hailed by many as a bold and "irreversible" step towards globalization. They have both logic and history to support their point of view. The economy was never more liberalized and more open as it was during the colonial rule, the first tariff for the protection of an indigenous industry - sugar - being imposed only in 1931, barely a decade and half before the Raj ended. Those who are desperately trying to open up and liberalize might find this proposition tempting and worth pursuing.

Being inducted into the service half a decade after the Republic was born and the Constitution came into being, I believe that in the democratic republic of ours power belongs to the people and that, it can be legitimately and legally exercised by their representatives (political executive) elected in a free and fair process who are accountable for all their actions to the legislature. Civil servants in the executive branch can exercise only delegated authority under the laws, rules and governmental orders and those who serve in the policy making branch are expected to give informed and fair opinions to their political masters. Both in the exercise of the delegated authority and in giving advice, civil servants are expected to discharge their duty without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Deviation from these principles would fail to stem the fast spreading rot.

Though the bureaucracy is much bigger than the all-India Services, because its members generally operate in more visible areas of governance, there is a misconception in the popular mind that the all-India Services constitute the bureaucracy. A Superintending Engineer or a Chief Medical Officer of Health dealing with normal transactions of business in an office is as much a bureaucrat as his counterpart running the District Rural Development Authority or the office of Zilla Parishad. A Chief Engineer or a Director of Animal Husbandry basically discharges the functions of a Head of Department like any other Director in the State Administration. Wisdom consists of knowledge and experience. As a Head of Department one may have enough wisdom born out of experience to guide the lower formations, but knowledge wise one could not be too sure whether he could match with that of a new entrant unless he took special efforts to keep himself abreast of new developments in the frontiers of knowledge. Occasional controversies that one finds in the States between "bureaucrats" and "technocrats" are totally ill-conceived and serve no purpose. If it is a question of upgradation of pay and perks that is entirely a different issue which can be easily and elegantly solved without getting into such ugly and self-defeating controversies.

Another matter which comes up often in the bureaucracy is the issue of generalists versus the specialists - as if there is an antagonistic contradiction which can only be solved through the violent overthrow of one. This is also an inane and ridiculous controversy. In a complex modern system of governance there is enough space for both. The controversy arises because of certain rigidities in the system of determining and offering compensation packages in the government. Since pay determines status and power, a nuclear physicist feels slighted because the Secretary to the Department of

Atomic Energy might be getting marginally higher pay and some frills of office. If pay could be delinked from status there could be a solution to this genuine interpersonal problem. There is just no point in wasting the talents of a brilliant physicist for routine work as the Secretary to the Department of Nuclear Energy.

His Minister might not be highly amused to find a neat mathematical solution of the problem of Schrodinger's cat in a note pad dealing with the possible supplementary to a starred question on the government's nuclear energy policy. An experienced run-of-the-mill bureaucrat would be quite competent to give the Minister enough material for a fairly good performance on the floor of the House. But the government should not grudge giving adequate compensation to this physicist so that he can devote his talent for the purpose for which he has been trained and recruited, without any grievances in his mind. This controversy is as childish as that between the general practitioner and the super specialist in the field of medical therapy. The GP looks at the health of the patient and tries to cure him by treating generally on symptomatic basis and renders an important social function. A super specialist only looks at a portion of an organ which he may concede is a part of a living organism called the human body. But we require both and there is no conflict of interest. A specialist in government need not waste his time in doing mundane jobs for which he was not trained. If he had any grievance, the government system in the current liberalized ambience should have enough flexibility to take care of the situation.

There was quite a bit of controversy in the Constituent Assembly regarding the creation of the all-India Services as successors to the Secretary of States Services. One of the issues was that it would constitute a serious inroad into the sphere of provincial autonomy. N. Gopalswamy Ayyanger made a special plea that establishment of all-India Services would be desirable to attract to the highest services best materials available in the country transgressing provincial boundaries. Yet the dissension went on. It required the strong intervention of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to incorporate provisions regarding these services in the Constitution.

It is necessary to quote a few sentences from his speeches in the Constituent Assembly to set the right perspective. He stated, inter alia: *I need hardly emphasize that an efficient, disciplined and contented service assured of its prospects as a result of diligent and honest work, is a sine quo non of sound administration under a democratic regime even more than under an authoritarian rule. The service must be above party.*

During the debate, on another occasion, as an advice to political executives he stated: *..... as a man of experience I tell you, do not quarrel with the instruments with which you want to work. It is a bad workman who quarrels with his instruments. Take work from them. Nobody wants to put in work when everyday he is criticized and ridiculed in public. (One wished some of the present Central Ministers read his speech and listened to his advice).*

More importantly, it was expected that the numbers of the Civil Services would act fearlessly to the best of their knowledge and judgement Sardar Patel Said: Today my

Secretary can write a note opposed to my views. I have given that freedom to all my Secretaries. I have told them: "if you do not give your honest opinion for the feat that it will displease your Minister, please then you had better go. I will bring another Secretary." I will never be displeased over a frank expression of opinion. (B. Shiva Rao, *The Framing of India's Constitution: A Study*, Publications Division, GoI, New Delhi, 1968, pp.715,728,722) (Here is also a lesson for the present generation of political bosses.)

I have quoted from the speeches of Vallabhabhai Patel only to show what the founding fathers of the Constitution expected of the Civil Service. They expected efficiency, discipline, diligence, honesty, fearlessness and non-partisanship. In return apart from the constitutional guarantee of the security of service, pay, status, etc., they offered an implied protection against public criticism and ridicule, through the principle of constructive liability under which the Minister alone is accountable to Parliament or State Legislature for all action or inaction of his Ministry/Department. What applies to the all-India Services also applies, *muttis mutandis*, to.

Challenges to Indian Security

.....K. Subrahmanyam

This paper is based on a talk given by the author in honour of the First Indian Chief of Army Staff, General K.M. Cariappa. The author laments the lack of 'strategic thinking' among the political establishment in India and feels that this perceptions about India was shared by other countries as well. Indifference to history came in the way of developing a correct understanding and appreciation of the adversary's mind-set. Another serious challenge was the tendency of the political class and media to discuss issues of national security in a partisan manner.

It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to be asked to deliver this memorial lecture to recall the services of the first Indian Chief of Army Staff. At the time the office was still called the Commander in Chief. I met him briefly as an IAS probationer in 1951 when he visited the Metcalfe House IAS Training School. Otherwise, I had no opportunity to meet him or interact with him I joined the Defence Finance in 1954 and thereafter developed continuous and intense interest in India's defence. In those days some two-three years he laid down his office you heard in the corridors of the Army Headquarters stories of his punctiliousness. "Kipper would not have approved of it" was the usual comment when there was the slightest dereliction from form or the high meticulous standards he expected in matters of decorum. I have heard it said that he did not approve of an officer carrying the round cylindrical tin of cigarettes. It must be a flat cigarette case that fitted tidily in the side pocket of the uniform jacket.

But the story I cherish most about General Cariappa as he was then, was his encounter with Mahatma Gandhi. While undergoing the course in the Imperial Defence College in London as a major general in early 1947, General Cariappa was quoted as advocating that Jawahar Lal Nehru and Jinnah should meet to work out a solution without partitioning India and in any event division of the Indian Army should be averted. Gandhiji criticized him for a military man expressing views on politics in his weekly column in *The Harijan*. When General Cariappa returned to India he called on Gandhiji who was staying in the Bhangi Colony. When he reached Gandhiji's cottage, the meticulous soldier took off his shoes before entering the hut. Gandhiji who knew enough about soldering having served in the battle field in South Africa during the Zulu war, told him that his shoes were part of his uniform and therefore it was not proper to take them off. The General replied that according to the Indian tradition a person did not wear shoes in the presence of a deity, mahatmas and saints. After some polite conversation, General

Cariappa came to the point. He told Gandhiji, "I cannot do my duty well by the country if concentrate only on telling troops of nonviolence, all the time, subordinating their main task of preparing themselves efficiently to be good soldiers. So I ask you, please to give me the child's guide to knowledge - tell me please, how I can put this over, that is, the spirit of nonviolence to the troops without endangering their sense of duty to train themselves well professionally as soldiers." Gandhiji replied, "You have asked me to tell you in tangible and concrete form how you can put over to the troops the need for nonviolence. I am still groping in the dark for the answer. I will find it and give it to you some day." You will find this story in Pyarelal's book *"Mahatma Gandhi: the Last Phase"*. Pyarelal was Gandhiji's private secretary at the time.

This was the honest answer of the apostle of nonviolence to the first soldier of the independent India. He did not have an answer on how to defend India using nonviolence. This happened in December 1947. Next month the Mahatma was assassinated. Even as Gandhiji was searching for an answer how to use nonviolence in defence, he approved and indeed strongly supported the use of the Indian Army to defend Kashmir against Pakistani invasion. Brigadier L.P. Sen obtained Gandhiji's blessings before he flew down to Srinagar to assume his command.

It would have required enormous moral courage on the part of General Cariappa to raise the issue of nonviolence in defence with the Mahatma. It is a pity that this exchange between the Mahatma and the General had not been publicized widely. This exchange made it clear that Gandhiji who successfully practised nonviolence in the offensive mode vis a vis the British Raj which was on the defensive, he had not solved the problem of application of non-violence to defence and therefore, as was demonstrated in Kashmir, was prepared to support the use of the Indian Army in defence. Even today this exchange has not been made known to most of the people in the nation. If that had happened, the wide-spread belief that Gandhian values were responsible for the neglect of defence in the earlier years of our freedom would not be there. In fact, Gandhian values and approach have been used a convenient alibi by people who did not understand Gandhi. The Mahatma, as he himself made clear often, was not a pacifist. He always maintained that violence was better than cowardice.

I start with this exchange between General Cariappa and the Mahatma because even 53 years after our independence there is no clear understanding among our leaders, our political class, our bureaucracy, business establishment and intellectuals about the nature of the security problems India faces. This is illustrated by the fact that though India has declared itself a state with nuclear weapons and the National Security Advisory Board's nuclear doctrine has been publicised, there has been no significant debate on this vital security issue in the country among the political parties and in the parliament. So is the case with the Kargil Review Committee's report. This is the situation after this country has fought five wars. The problem with our country was not the Gandhian approach and values but our centuries old indifference to who rules us. There is a well known saying "What matters if Rama or Ravana rules". That was why a few hundred

horsemen descending down the Khyber Pass could overrun the subcontinent. The East India Company could use Indians to conquer India. When Queen Victoria issued her proclamation in 1857 it was widely welcomed. Even today the same indifference permits a largely corrupt political class to be elected and deny this country the pace of growth and prosperity it deserves. An American writer has highlighted that Indians lack the tradition of strategic thinking.

Mr. Altaf Gauhar an eminent Pakistani Columnist, who was information adviser to General Ayub Khan, wrote a series of articles in the Pakistani daily Nation in September and October 1999 after the Kargil War under the title "Four Wars and one Assumption". He argued that Pakistan started all the four wars under One assumption, which was articulated by General Ayub Khan. The latter genuinely believed "as a general rule Hindu morale would not stand more than a couple of hard blows at the right time and place." Today Pakistani generals write about bleeding India through a thousand cuts. They have been talking about fatigue setting in the Indian Army because of its continuous deployment in counter-terrorist operations and its efficiency as a fighting force in consequence. Lt. General Javed Nasir, the former head of the Inter Services Intelligence Wing wrote in early 1999 that "the Indian Army is incapable of undertaking any conventional operations at present, what to talk of enlarging conventional conflict". It was this mindset which led to the Kargil adventurism.

This country has been facing a nuclear threat arising out of China's proliferation of nuclear weapon capability to Pakistan from mid-seventies. Even as prime Minister Morarji Desai renounced India's nuclear weapon option and nuclear testing in the UN Assembly Special Session on Disarmament in June 1998, Pakistan on October 5, 1999, in *News International*, the present Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Abdul Sattar, the former foreign minister, Agha Shahi and former air chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan have disclosed that Pakistan conceived its nuclear weapons programme in the wake of its defeat in 1971 war and it was India-specific. They also assert that the value of Pakistani nuclear capability was illustrated on at least three occasions, in mid 1980s, in 1987 at the time of the Indian Army exercise, operation *Brass Tacks*, and in April-May 1990. The Kargil Review Committee Report confirms the 1987 threat officially conveyed to India through Ambassador S.K. Singh, posted in Islamabad, and of fears of possible Pakistani nuclear strike in 1990. Yet the country's media, academia and the Parliament have not bothered to discuss the nuclear dimension of the security issue. It would appear that one of the most difficult challenges to Indian security we face is the general indifference to security on the part of our elite.

Recently the *Times of India* managed to obtain a copy of the History of 1965 War, compiled by a team of historians commissioned by the Ministry of Defence and put it on the internet. Though this history was ready for public release in later eighties and the Ministry of Defence and Army headquarters were keen on releasing it, its publication was vetoed by the Committee of Secretaries. This highlighted that among our bureaucracy and political leadership there is not adequate appreciation of using history of post wars,

campaigns and lessons derived from them as learning aids. Even today, 37 years after the report was submitted to the government, the Henderson-Brookes Report is still being kept under lock and key. This secrecy is not attributed to concern about national security. It arises out of callous indifference to national security and laziness to go through the original document and decide whether its release would in any way adversely affect our security. Same approach is holding back the release of the history of 1971 war as well.

Such indifference to history also comes in the way of the development of correct understanding and appreciation of the adversary's mindset. In the absence of such understanding, assessments of the present and future course of actions by the adversary military leadership becomes, that much more difficult. All this arises out of a non-professional and generalist approach to national security on the part of our political and bureaucratic leadership with some rare exceptions. The Kargil Review Committee has recommended that the National Security Council, the senior bureaucracy servicing it, and the service chiefs need to be continually sensitized to assessed intelligence pertaining to national, regional and international security issues and therefore there should be periodic intelligence briefings to the Cabinet Committee both on the part of all supporting staff in attendance. There is reluctance both on the part of politicians and bureaucracy to devote time and effort for the purpose. It is considered adequate if people are briefed when the need for it arises. This attitude is similar to the one exhibited by some political leaders who raised the question as to what was the threat developed in 1998 that necessitated the nuclear tests. In this approach there is a deplorable lack of understanding that the best way of tackling a threat is to anticipate it well in advance and to be well prepared to meet it. Starting preparations to counter a threat after it has materialized is the surest way of inviting disaster. That means there is no understanding of the concept of lead-time needed for preparations. This indifference to carry out regular periodic assessment of security threats on the parts of our political class and bureaucracy and communicate it to the nation is at the root of overall insensitivity of our media, academia, parliamentarians and the public at large to the problems of national security. This Indian mindset is not a secret to our adversaries. Therefore, they cannot be blamed if they attempt to exploit this weakness of ours. When I refer to bureaucracy it includes the uninformed community as well.

This information of not anticipating the threat in advance and not being prepared to meet it and to attempt to counter it after it had assumed serious proportions is what Air Commodore Jasjit Singh calls the Panipat Syndrome. The rulers of Delhi waited till the enemy advanced down to Panipat and then went out and gave battle. It would seem that the political and bureaucratic class of independent India had not drawn any lessons even from the three battles of Panipat, let alone the recent wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971.

Yet another serious challenge this country faces to its security is the tendency of our political class and the media, to a certain extent, to politicize issues of national security in a partisan manner. In all mature democracies, basic issues of national security are kept above party politics. If there are debates in the US on issues like the

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) that is not about national security but about the nature and extent of offensive posture to be adopted to advance their foreign policy interests. In those countries since there are frequent alternating changes of parties in government and opposition, the ruling party generally keeps the opposition informed of major developments in the field of national security,. In India this does not happen.

One can understand our Prime Minister keeping the development of the nuclear weapon a closely guarded secret not shareable even with their own senior cabinet colleagues. However, when the tests were conducted in May 1998 it was obvious to every well informed person, that while the credit for taking the decision to test should go to the ruling coalition, it could not have developed the weapons in the 53 days it was in office. That credit should go to those parties which provided the previous Prime Ministers. If only the ruling coalition had displayed enough grace to invite those former Prime Ministers to be present while making the announcement, the nuclear issue would not have created the controversy it did. While the previous Prime Ministers had a compulsion to keep the programme a secret, there was no reason why they could not have educated their party men on the realities of the international nuclear order. Even today no political party leadership exerts itself to educate its members and its second and third rung leaders on international and national security issues. The result of this pattern of behaviour is that the Congress Party indulged in severe criticism of the nuclear tests when the maximum contribution to the developments of nuclear weapons and missiles were by Prime Ministers belonging to that party.

This politicization reached its peak during the Kargil conflict and continues to this day with adverse consequences for our national security. During the previous wars in 1948, 1962, 1965 and 1971, there were failures of intelligence, assessment of intelligence as well as in policies. There was criticism directed against the army and individual officers, though various accounts of the campaigns do reveal serious mistakes committed including the dissolution of 4th Indian Division at Sela-Bomdila without joining battle. Yet, very rarely one saw the kind of campaign that is now being carried on in certain quarters. In a democracy, the conduct of defence in terms of policy, management and procurement must be subject to criticism. But the degree of personalization of criticism now being generated cannot be termed as constructive. This, it would appear, is attributable to the politicization of national security as part of extremely partisan politics. Many of those in the media are committed political activists and therefore their political commitment colours their reporting and comments. The earlier generations of media persons had their political preferences but were scrupulously objective in their reporting. Perhaps, this present phenomenon may prove to be a passing phase. Perhaps, it may not.

The Indian democracy can accept such criticisms. The only risk is our adversaries may be misled by them and indulge in adventurism. One may recall the Nazis were misled by the Oxford Union passing a resolution in the thirties that they would not fight for the king or the country. A few years later many of those Oxford graduates became the fighter pilots in the Battle of Britain about whom Churchill said "Never was so much

break with tradition in first setting up a Kargil Review Committee and then publishing its report. Then came the group of ministers to revamp the entire national security framework as recommended by the Kargil Review Committee. The four task forces set up by them have completed their work and submitted their reports promptly. It is expected that the group of ministers will act equally promptly and come up with their recommendations. Hopefully the country is likely to witness a progressive revamping of national security framework for the first time since independence. That is encouraging news.

But while the structures may get reformed and updated, the problem of attitudinal change towards national security is beyond the scope of this group of ministers. That is a matter for political leadership at the highest level. The media has commented that the NSC set up in 1998 had hardly met. The NSC and Cabinet Committee on National Security (CCNS), has with one exception, the same composition in terms of five cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister. The Secretariat for CCNS is the cabinet secretaries while for the NSC it is the NSC Secretariat.

The two bodies have however totally different roles. The CCNS is a decision making body which has to focus on current security problems. It has also to approve decisions on current equipment procurement. The NSC has an advisory and deliberating role to develop long term future oriented perspectives and to direct the ministries to come up with their policies and recommendations to the CCNS and to monitor their implementation. Because of this role the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission is also a member of the NSC. In order to play this role effectively it needs long term as well as current intelligence assessments. Its deliberations and advice on long term policies will have to be based on such assessment. It would appear from the reports that NSC has not met, that in this country, without a tradition of strategic thinking and without interest in national security on the part of our political class, it has not been found easy to get over the inertia and switch to a culture of anticipatory planning for national security. There are many reasons for it. Our intelligence agencies have not been equipped and oriented towards long term forecasting. Our Foreign Service is mostly geared to react to immediate events. Policy planning has never taken off in that ministry. The Joint Intelligence Committee and long term intelligence assessments have never been given due importance because of the lack of interest in anticipatory security planning. The chiefs of staffs, being operational commanders do not have adequate time for long term future oriented thinking. The Ministry of Defence has burdened itself with house keeping functions of the armed forces which are best left to them and has not been conditioned and trained to think through long term international and national security issues. Therefore, there is not sufficient awareness in the government that the country is not equipped only to carry out short term and current national security management. This is a crucial challenge to Indian security. Because of this grave lacuna the National Security Council is not able to function after it was formally set up two years ago.

The tragedy is that even the nature of the illness has not been diagnosed. Only the symptoms are being treated. That by itself, no doubt, is to be welcomed, but it will not

produce a permanent cure. The situation is likely to become further complicated with the new role we have envisaged for India as a state with nuclear weapons, an emerging economic power on high growth trajectory, a strategic partner of major powers, a global player, an aspiring permanent member of the security council and an increasingly democratizing and federalizing polity. We are to achieve all these objectives as an open society.

There is inadequate realization in this country that achieving these aims will amount to a major alteration of the status quo in Asia and the world and therefore there will be a lot of resistance to it from both within and outside the country and the interaction of forces hostile to such development within and outside the country. In conceptual terms, steering India towards the goals outlined above, smoothly and safely with minimum damage is the basic security challenge to India. If that task is to be successfully tackled there has to be a long term coherent thinking on the risks and threats we are likely to face and long term planning to deal with them. Let us enumerate the threats and risks and how to deal with them briefly.

The Indian leadership accepted the need for nuclear deterrence from early eighties when Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi initiated the nuclear weapons programme in response to Pakistan-China nuclear proliferation axis, which had the tacit acquiescence of the US. India declared itself a nuclear weapons state after the *Shakti* tests in 1998. The National Security Advisory Board has come out with a draft nuclear doctrine. In my view, understandably because I was the convenor of the Board, the doctrine is the most logical, most restrained and most economical. But it is only a draft doctrine. Strategies, policies, targeting plans, command and control, all need to be worked out. It is not enough if the country has nuclear weapons. It should be able to project credible deterrence. Deterrence involves some aspects of transparency and others of opacity. Therefore there is an urgent need to work out the correct mix. A partially visible command and control structure is an essential ingredient in deterrence. Demonstration of capabilities is yet another. A robust and secure C4-1 system is the third. A clearly ordained political leadership in command and control exercise is fifth and so on. Not only should these issues be addressed. They should be seen to be addressed.

Fortunately, if we take him at his word, General Musharraf agrees with our Prime Minister that there are no significant risks of nuclear weapons being used in war between the two countries. Logically, he follows that perception with the proposition that even large scale conventional wars are unlikely. Our recent preparedness should further reinforce this perception of his. We should continue our efforts to dissuade him from thinking about a large scale conventional war by having a visible dissuasive capability. However, General Musharraf does not rule out proxy wars. Last year in April 1999, he predicted that while nuclear and conventional wars were unlikely the probability of proxy wars was on the rise. He was in a position to assert it most knowledgeably since at that time, his mercenaries were infiltrating the Kargil heights. His attempt at 'salami slicing' in Kargil ended in disaster. Therefore India should be prepared to face proxy wars in

future as it has been doing for the past 17 years. Till now and as of today the proxy war is being fought by India on the basis of ad hoc improvisation. Surely there is scope for a comprehensive and integrated strategy against proxy war waged against this country. Counter terrorism needs societal mobilization and effective intelligence effort. Various steps in counter offensive operations will have to be thought through, the most important being in the field of information campaign.

Those who wage proxy war against this country take advantage of our weaknesses. The faultiness in our society are exploited. Our borders have been porous. Drugs, man-portable arms, terrorists, fake currency and illegal immigrants are able to pass through. Neither are our sea shores always effectively guarded. Seven tonnes of high explosives could be landed on Maharashtra coast in one instance. Our air space too was violated with impunity when arms were dropped at Purulia. This country has contributed the term 'politician-bureaucracy organized crime nexus' to political lexicon. Political cum bureaucratic corruption is rampant in the country because of the role money and muscle power play in elections. Corruption at lower levels cannot be effectively tackled when there is corruption at higher levels. A widely corrupt society cannot provide good and efficient governance. A corrupt and misgoverned polity is highly vulnerable from the point of view of national security. It is like a body affected by the AIDS disease. The immunity to resist infection drops and the body is liable to various kinds of diseases. Foreign intelligence agencies can make use of organized crime, like narcotics barons, money launderers and smugglers to infiltrate arms and terrorists. Some years ago, Pakistani press published an interview with one of their drug barons, Haji Iqbal Beg, who boasted that he sends the drugs across to his friends in India who, shipped it to Europe and America. A CIA report gave details of the activities of Pakistani drug barons and their transactions via India. They did not evoke much response in this country.

In 1997 in a talk in Georgia University, US Defence Secretary William Cohen said that since the US was going to build an unrivalled defence force he expected its adversaries to hit at US indirectly through international terrorism. In our case too, since we are reversing the trend of cuts in defence spending and are initiating programmes of defence modernization, we should expect our adversaries to wage a campaign of terrorism and proxy war. The corruption and lack of good governance provide opportunities to our adversaries to exploit our vulnerabilities. Therefore, there must be adequate popular awareness in the country of the fact that corruption and mis-governance are national security threats.

Cynics would argue that there is corruption all over the world including in many long established democracies. After all a company in one of the best-governed countries in the world, the Bofors, indulged in corruption in this country. The result of that corruption has been a virtual paralysis of decision making in our defence procurement for years with adverse impact on our preparedness. Those countries, however, even while having the same problem of corruption, do not have neighbours who wage proxy war and campaign of terrorism against them. Very few of them are as Multiethnic, multilingual,

multireligious and multicultural as India is. Those who are corrupt and therefore look away for a consideration, from legitimate law enforcement and politicians who shield organized crime barons in exchange for large sums of black money to fund party coffers to contest elections, may not realize that their corruption amounts to treason and endangers national security. It is the duty of the state and the government to create that awareness.

As Indian economy development accelerates, one must anticipate the adversaries of India to target it and one of the ways in which it can be done is by subjecting the country's economic symbols to terrorist attacks as happened in Mumbai in March 1993. Mumbai recovered in a remarkably short time, but imagine the consequences and impact of such attacks simultaneously carried out in a number of cities of India. That would hit the business confidence of foreign investors. I do not want to convert this into a lecture on terrorism and proxy war and would only emphasize that terrorism can be directed against Indian economic development. Our long term anticipatory planning for national security must take this into account and our business community should be sensitized to this and their support be mobilized to deal with this threat.

The recent report on police reform brings out clearly how politicization of police forces in the states has led to failure in law enforcement. I mentioned earlier how the resulting misgovernance is a grave vulnerability in our national security. But do we tell our political class this simple truth and what damage they are doing because of their wayward governance? This is not a political question but a national security issue.

The present report Home Minister promised to bring out a White Paper on the activities of the Inter Services Intelligence Agency of Pakistan in this country. That was a welcome move and would have helped to sensitize our population to the threats of proxy war, terrorism and subversion they face. This would have contributed to societal mobilization. But for reasons that are not clear or cannot be logically inferred, the publication of that White Paper has not happened. It is alleged that its publication would expose the sources of our intelligence agencies. It does not speak highly of our drafting and communicating skills if a White Paper on the activities of the ISI in this country cannot be published without revealing the sources. This again highlights the mindset which does not have a comprehensive understanding of national security and the need for societal mobilization in defence of our security.

If we are able to initiate the process of long range future oriented assessments of threats and challenges to our national security what will be the areas of our concern? The foremost concern should be the security of our communications and the transactions in our economic institutions. There have been cases in the west where millions of dollars were robbed from banks by computer hackers. Recently after a visit to the United States the Minister Mr. Mahajan said that our entire banking system could be wrecked by our adversaries if we do not take adequate precautions to protect our communications and what would be far worse than an atom bomb on a city. He was no doubt right. But unfortunately in this country there is not sufficient awareness about the need to protect our communications through encoding. Instead some vested interests are attempting to

delay and derail efforts to increase the carrying capacity, the bandwidth for telephonic and computer communications. There, again, is no attempt on the part of our national security establishment to educate the population at large, both, on the need to rapidly improve our connectivity as well as the need for awareness to protect own individual communications.

If this is not done expeditiously, not only will the vulnerabilities to our economy increase in all negotiations between our economic institutions and outsiders we shall be at a disadvantage since the outside world is in a position to tap any information through telephones. Recently, France accused the US of allowing its business establishments to have access to information gained by their intelligence collection satellites meant for military purposes. I am afraid there is a lot of complacency in respect of this security challenge. It is felt that we have a large reservoir of people with skills in software engineering and we know all about it.

The revolution in military affairs (RMA) is the future of war, if and when it takes places. This is application of information and sensor technologies to improve the accuracy of weapons, obtaining real time information on the adversary and using the information superiority to protect and defend oneself and severely damage the adversary's capability to prosecute the war. One saw the application of some aspects of RMA during the Gulf and Kosova wars. But there is further scope for advances in this area. There are both offensive and defensive aspects in this field.

Arising out of these challenges is the issue of India preparing itself to meet them in terms of next generation weaponry, which will incorporate information technology, microelectronics and sophisticated sensors. Today's defence production establishments under the Ministry of Defence are incapable of producing the next generation weaponry equipment. The private sector in India is today far ahead of defence production establishments in capabilities in these areas. Therefore, planning to involve private sector in such defence production should start right now. Unfortunately there is not much evidence of either the Defence Ministry or the Private sector being fully cognizant of the nature of problems they will be facing.

Till now security planners in India were attempting to carry out their tasks on the basis of their past experience or what they learnt from the industrialized countries. Often there was a time lag in absorbing the experience of industrialized countries after analyzing what would be applicable to our security environment. As mentioned earlier, our understanding of national security was not future oriented. Even in the rest of the world where countries have a strategic tradition, the common saying till recently used to be that generals were used to preparing to fight the last war. It is no longer possible to deal with the problems to fight the last war. It is no longer possible to deal with the problems of national security on the basis of past experience only, though that experience is very valuable as a learning process. Today's national security challenges call for thinking ahead to anticipate which state and non state actors entertain hostile intentions towards our state, our society and our value systems and what they are likely to do and to devise

ways and means of checking them. Therefore, it needs future oriented research into international, national, political, social, economic and technological developments to keep abreast with the thinking of potentially hostile state and non-state actors. This is why in other countries national defence universities have been established and scholarly research is carried out to enable the national security establishment to keep a step ahead of the potential adversaries. Unfortunately the recognition that national security today calls for high intellectual inputs and is not a routine bureaucratic management exercise by both people in uniform and civilians, is yet to develop in this country. That raises further questions of training, periodic refresher courses, updating of knowledge and information for officers in the defence and intelligence services and to the civil servants. The present culture of generalism has become outdated and counter-productive.

There will be many in this country who will ask whether all this is necessary and whether these steps will not lead us towards becoming a garrison state. I am a liberal, totally abhor violence in any form, hate the nuclear weapons and would like nothing better than a world without enemies and weapons. I am committed to a good government, democracy, equal opportunities to all, affirmative action to speed up upward mobility of hitherto disadvantaged sections of society, an equitable economic order, secular and casteless society, total elimination of corruption and maximum human rights to every one. The issue is how to move towards that world. A section of our people argue that we should set an example to promote that world actively impinging on us. We cannot afford to ignore the intentions of others, benign and hostile, towards us. In the Mahabharata, Bhishma, lying on his bed of arrow, while in the process of choosing the moment of his death, taught Pandavas the principles of statecraft. He told them, "Nobody is anybody's friend. Nobody is anybody's enemy. It is the circumstances that make enemies and friends." "Thousand of years later Lord Palmerston the British foreign security reannounced the dictum in words which every student of international relations is taught. "There is no permanent friend there is no permanent enemy. There is only permanent interest." In fact, in this country this dictum is better understood in domestic politics but not so much in foreign policy. Therefore, while we should try to pursue a non aggressive policy, one of good neighbourliness and of friendship and cooperation and promote the concept of 'Vasudeva Kutumkam'(the whole world is a family) we will not be fair to one-sixth of mankind if in the name of such professed idealism we sacrifice their security, safety and interests. Very often such posturing becomes a convenient cloak for incompetence and mediocrity.

There is where the Gandhiji-Cariappa interaction is highly relevant. Gandhiji was an apostle of nonviolence and went on a fast in 1948 to compel the Government of India to release the money, which was Pakistan's due. Yet, he strongly supported the Indian Army going into action to save Kashmir because he found there was no alternative to the use of violence against wanton aggression. At another point, Gandhiji said forgiveness adorned a soldier, and added, but only the strong could forgive. A mouse being torn by a cat could claim to forgive the cat, he argued. If the world is to be reshaped and values of peace, freedom, international cooperation and justice are to be

promoted only the strong can do it and not the weak. One should have a realistic assessment of the international situation as it exists not as one would like to fantasize it to be. The international community has legitimized the nuclear weapons and the use of force without declaring war. When countries are harassed by international terrorism and proxy wars, by narcotics traffic and organized crime often posing as noble causes, the international community often looks away. In trying to counter these efforts to wreck and derail our disputing that they should be curbed. But that cannot be done by abdicating the basic responsibility of the state to counter and overwhelm the criminal and anarchistic forces. There are ground to complain that the problems of use of force in a fair and just manner with restraint and effectiveness have not been addressed. But that is part of the overall problem of indifference to issues of national security, incompetence and mediocrity in governance.

It is often argued that this country should not be spending money on armaments and national security efforts before tackling our poverty. Some others are of the view that because our poor have no stake in this country, society and polity and since our politicians have to reflect the views of the constituency of the poor, they are indifferent to national security. These are superficial and illogical arguments mostly meant as alibis for 'lotus eating' attitude of our political class. It is estimated in this country some 30 per cent of the people are below poverty line and 70 per cent are above it. One would therefore expect that 70 per cent should have a stake in national security and they should be on guard that external as well as internal hostile forces do not further disrupt our economic development. Secondly if adequate resources have not been applied on the ground on education, health, water supply, housing and job creation, it is not due to disproportionate diversion of resources to national security but due to the fact, as stated by former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, only 15 pass out of every rupee spent reaches the poor. The rest is siphoned off by the politician-bureaucracy-organized crime combine, which I have already termed as one of the major national security threats. Therefore, those who overlook this diversion of resources meant for poverty alleviation and provision of basic needs through corruption and ask the country to reduce its national security preparedness are only helping the continuous robbing of the poor. Very often such lobbies are assisted by funds from abroad from sources which are interested in diverting attention away from the real reason for lack of speed in eliminating poverty, namely corruption and the imperative need for our national security preparedness.

In these circumstances the responsibility for rectifying the present situation, increasing the popular awareness of the problems of national security and initiating the whole package of measures to safeguard our security and accelerate the political, social, economic and technological developments which are two sides of the coin of promoting a just social order, is with the government and particularly the NSC.

The cabinet secretariat resolution No.281/29.6.98/TS of April 16, 1999 stated "The Central Government recognizes that national security management requires integrated thinking and coordinated application of the political, military, diplomatic, scientific and

technological resources of the state to protect and promote national security goals and objectives. National security in the context of the nation needs to be viewed not only in military terms but also in terms of internal security, economic security, technological strength and foreign policy. The role of the council is to advise the Central Government on the said matters".

If the NSC is not able to fulfil the role prescribed for it, that becomes a challenge to national security. Therefore it is necessary to analyze why it has not been able to fulfil that role and what could be done to ensure that the NSC can play that role.

The NSC and CCNS have two distinct and complementary roles. The NSC has to look to the future. According to the cabinet resolution the NSC is to cover external security, security threats involving atomic energy, space and high technology, trends in the world economy and economic security threats, internal security, patterns of alienation emerging in the country, especially those with a social, communal or religious dimension, transborder crimes and intelligence coordinating and tasking. Broadly it covers the areas I had earlier enumerated as those posing security challenges.

This task of the NSC cannot be carried out without a dedicated staff which will have adequate expertise and will be able to develop holistic future-oriented perspectives and submit them for deliberations of the NSC. In the light of those deliberations, the NSC will advise different ministries and organizations to come up with their policy recommendations. Those, in turn, will be considered by the CCNS and decisions taken thereon. Unfortunately, this has not happened and the NSC has not functioned at all in the absence of a fully developed staff support. The present NSC staff was the old JIC staff with some marginal additions. That staff has to discharge its earlier function as the intelligence assessing body at a time when failure of assessment process has been under intense criticism. Further, the same staff provided secretarial support to National Security Advisory Board, the Kargil Review Committee and the four taskforces set up to review defence management, intelligence, border management and internal security. It is quite obvious that adequate thought has not been given to develop an appropriate staff for the National Security Council to function effectively. It is therefore not surprising that the council has not been functional.

The task cannot be performed by the ministries offering their inputs and their being coordinated. The ministries are focused on the present and are not equipped to undertake a holistic long-term view of various security issues. The generalist system of civil service in this country inhibits the civil servants acquiring the required expertise in most of the ministries. The country has not developed the culture of contract research and our civil servants are not used to sharing information which is necessary to have successful contract. In fact information handling is an area of grave weakness with out civil services. As mentioned earlier they are reluctant to share even the time of the day.

It is understandable that for a country where the political class and the bureaucracy, including the uniformed one have not developed adequate familiarity with the total concept

of national security, as is evident from the NSC being formed only 52 years after independence, there will be teething troubles, various infantile ailments and adolescent problems in the development of NSC and its full effective functioning. What is worrying and of concern is that it has not even let out its first cry since its birth. The amateurish experiment of V.P. Singh set back the concept of NSC by many years. One is worried that a NSC on paper without any activity will prove fatal to future holistic national security management in this country.

There is the Sanskrit saying 'Yadha Rajas Thatha Praja' - as is the king so are the subjects. If at the topmost political level there is an attitude of casual approach to national security one cannot expect the bureaucracy, the parliament, the media and others to pay more meaningful attention to national security except when the issue is used as a political football. President Truman talked of the buck stopping in his office. In our system the buck stops with the Prime Minister. Therefore, the responsibility for the present unsatisfactory situation of casual approach to national security. I am not saying it in a spirit of criticism. I am aware that last two years, have seen many steps forward in this area including the setting up of the NSC. I am pointing out the deficiencies with a view to help, not only to diagnose the problem but to prescribe the treatment. I have some credentials in this field. I have devoted more than 40 years of my working life to advance Indian national security in a holistic manner. I have advocated and campaigned for setting up NSC for the last 30 years. I would not like to see the experiment fail. Therefore, let me detail my suggestions to activate the NSC.

I have gone on record that in my view it is difficult to do justice to both the responsibilities of the offices of the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister and that of National Security Adviser. However, I shall not press that point any further. Whether the chief of a government can have his utmost confidence in one or more persons is a matter no one from outside can prescribe. It has to be left to him, though my preference is clear. If he chooses to have only one person to man both posts then the work has to be so devised as to ensure smooth functioning of the NSC. There are very well tried out organizational principles to deal with the problem. Today there is a well established and adequately staffed Prime Minister's office. But there is no adequately staffed NSC office under the NSA. The present NSCS, the old JIC is part of the Cabinet Secretariat. Let its old name be revived and let it focus more effectively and exclusively on intelligence assessment. That is a full time and enormously burdensome responsibility. The NSA requires independent dedicated staff to activate the NSC.

The NSC must have a regular time table to meet on a prescribed day in a fortnight at the initial stage and once a week a little later. The members of the NSC will arrange their tour programmes keeping that regular meeting in view. The NSC should have comprehensive intelligence briefing in each meeting to be followed by a discussion. The Chiefs of Staff and intelligence chiefs and the concerned secretaries should attend these meetings. These discussions should be free for all ministers and official and should not follow the cabinet procedure where the official speaks only when spoken to. It is quite

possible that the discussion that follows would generate perspectives for studies, sensitize the NSC to anticipate further situations and promote more intensive interaction at the top levels of bureaucracy. At the initial stage, with a staff, which is new, and still to acquire expertise, it may be necessary to set up task forces to come up with studies on various issues. In this respect the recent experiment of setting up task forces is a valuable one. In about two to three years time a reasonably well trained staff will be in place. Simultaneously, a number of autonomous think-tanks have to be encouraged and research in universities on national security issues should be supported. One of the problems we have is that the national security management is not looked upon as a long term issue in which the capabilities have to be developed over a period of time. Each Cabinet looks upon it as an issue limited to its term of office. The NSC or the Prime Minister should hold regular periodic meetings once in three or four months to brief other parties in the Parliament and keep them informed through a regular supply of literature. The NSC secretariat should also ensure that when major policy statements are made they are made available to all political leaders and bureaucrats and they should be informed that was the government's policy and no pronouncements should be made in ad hoc and off the cuff remarks. Therefore, a lot more attention has to be paid to the information policy of the government on matters related to national security.

Perhaps I will be told in our system described by Professor Gallbraith as the only functioning anarchy, all this is not possible and I am out of touch with political realities. That, in my view, is an alibi for not making the necessary effort. That is an abdication of the responsibility of the leadership. For decades I was told that India could not afford to go nuclear, mostly by people who have not taken the trouble to study the subject.

This is the right moment to start the effort to make the NSC work. Thanks mostly to efforts of this government, India is entertaining an era in which it is called upon to play a global role and is poised to enter into a high growth trajectory. Therefore, it is the responsibility of this government to lay strong foundations for a national security planning structure and to start training cadres who will later on man the posts in that structure. The present cadre of generalist civil servants cannot do it.

The development of the awareness to initiate the tasks constitute the core challenge to our national security. The present 'stop-go' attitude of casual approach to it in normal times, and finger pointing at the time of crisis, has got to change by leadership efforts. Bringing about these attitudinal changes, setting up an appropriate national security planning structure and organizing the training of cadres are more difficult tasks than to test the nuclear weapons in May 1998. There is no point in just listing out various security challenges if the country continues to lack the mechanism to assess the long-term implications of each one of those and plan our responses to them.

These vital challenges of bringing about attitudinal changes towards our national security and taking steps to get the NSC working have been neglected far too long. The country cannot afford to continue this way much longer without paying high costs. Let me hope that the leadership will pay immediate attention to these basic challenges.

External Security

.....K. Subrahmanyam

The paper examines India's external security environment in the light of the nuclear weapons systems development capability in both India and Pakistan, and the increasing role of IT and RMA in the conduct of military operations. China was likely to emerge as an important player in the global economic and security scenario. India's security was also threatened by terrorism and proxy war. The paper also discusses the need for having a proper security management system in India.

Speculating about India's external security environment at the end of a quarter century can only be an extremely hazardous exercise unless one has the capability to shroud it in verses like those of Nostradamus which will lend themselves to a whole range of interpretations. If we throw our minds back to 1975 and check whether at that stage how far India's present security environment could have been correctly predicted it would give an idea of the magnitude of the challenges of the task. Today the pace of change in international security environment has accelerated to make such exercises in futurology far more risky. There was a book written in the sixties titled *Famine 1975* which predicted that famines would stalk India in the seventies. That was based on the developments on the food front in this country in the fifties and sixties and on food imports under PL-480. India stopped import of food in mid seventies because of the intense efforts launched through the green revolution. In respect of that development too there were many gloomy predictions by very respected economists that the green revolution would turn red.

Fully aware of this background it is proposed to adopt a very cautious approach in venturing along term assessment on India's external security environment by 2025. No doubt such an assessment has to be based on extrapolation of current trends in international security developments. Some of them are mature ones and others incipient ones. Some of the radical changes are so recent that there may not be agreement that they constitute a trend and not episodic happenings. For instance there is still a consensus to develop whether the improvements in India's relationships with the US and the European Union and revival of the cordiality with Russia which got eroded in the nineties constitute an essential component of a global paradigm shift or not. There are also enormous uncertainties at the rate India will grow economically and liberalize and how effectively India will be able to manage its social engineering problems. The following analysis will focus mostly on the international trends that are likely to impact adversely on India's security over the long period of 25 years.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait and annexed it the international community took very severe punitive action and resorted to the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait. The Pakistani attempt at 'salami-slicing' in the Kargil heights only led to the leading nations of the international community revalidating the sanctity and inviolability of the line of control. The Croatian territory occupied by Serbia had to be given back under the Dayton accord. In the present international milieu any occupation of territory in violation of the status quo does not generally meet with approval of the community of nations and is not allowed to go unchallenged. The probability is that this trend is likely to be strengthened. Therefore, security threats by way of attempt at seizing our territory are not very likely though our conventional defence preparedness at a level adequate to meet such threats from Pakistan and China.

The Nuclear Factor

Before India conducted the *Shakti* tests there were possibilities of the country being subjected to threat of use of nuclear weapons. According to the article 'Securing nuclear peace' written by the present Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar, former foreign minister, Agha Shahi and retired Chief, Air Chief Marshal Zulfikhar Ali Khan in *News International* of 5 October, 1999. Pakistanis feel the value of their nuclear capability was illustrated on at least three occasions in mid 1980s, 1987 and 1990. In other words on these occasions they conveyed either an implied or explicit threat to India. The Kargil Review panel report has confirmed the explicit 1987 and implied 1990 threats. In the same article the Pakistani authors acknowledge that the Kargil crisis both tested and illustrated the deterrence assumption. They argue that the crisis was contained by both parties. India has declared a no first use policy and so also China. While Pakistan refuses to declare a no first use policy it is obvious that in future it cannot assume that its nuclear blackmail would work given its own vulnerabilities and the Indian capabilities. Therefore, while the nuclear factor would be a significant one in Indian security calculus India is not likely to face an asymmetric situation either real or perceived, to its disadvantage vis-a-vis Pakistan on the nuclear issue. India is a status quo power in terms of line of control in Kashmir. Therefore, chances of clashes occurring due to violation of line of control or possibility of nuclear escalation arising out of such clashes are likely to have their origin in Pakistani behaviour and not India's. There is extreme sensitivity on the Indian side, as was demonstrated during the Kargil war, on not testing Pakistan's tolerance limits even while imposing on it condign punishment for aggression. The role of nuclear weapons in International security relations may continue as it is or hopefully may even decline. At this stage it is very difficult to foresee their role becoming more significant than they are today.

The ever increasing use of information technology (IT) in new weapons and more countries the revolution in military affairs (RMA) are inevitable and India will have no option but to acquire those technologies. The pace of acquisition will no doubt depend on the international security developments. If as is expected India's economic growth will be at six percent and above then India should be able to afford to modernize its

defence forces at a level of defence expenditure which in terms of percentage of gross domestic product should unduly be burdensome. While India's external security environment from the point of view of nuclear and large scale conventional threats arising from its neighborhood appear to be manageable, on the basis of extrapolation of current trends it should be borne in mind that the Indian external security environment has to a large extent been shaped by global developments in the last 50 years. That will continue to be so in the 21st century.

The Neighbours

All military attacks India faced since its independence in 1947 except the Kargil one were attributable to cold war politics. Pakistan counted upon the support of Britain in 1947 and of US in 1965 and 1971. They also miscalculated about the nature of Indian response. As the Pakistani Columnist Altaf Gauhar wrote in a series of articles in the **Nation** during September-October 1999 under the title "Four wars and one assumption" Pakistan believed the "Hindu morale would not stand more than a couple of hard blows at the right time and place". Now ten years after the end of the Cold war the US hails India as a partner. Though they have not publicly articulated it Pakistan is a state of concern for the US; European Union and Russia. Even the Chinese have reasons to worry about Islamic fundamentalism centered in Pakistan. Increasingly Pakistan will find it difficult to rely on external support - both overt and covert for its adventurism against India. In 1999 during the Kargil war and in the subsequent period it found itself isolated as never before from the international community. In these circumstances the threat from Pakistan is likely to be more adventurism in the form of proxy war than direct attack from any across the line of control.

With China there has been no major clash across the border since 1967. Though the line of control is yet to be demarcated through mutual agreement, peace and tranquility have been maintained all along the border area. While neither China nor India has given up their demands in regard to any of their claimed areas there are reasonable grounds to hope that the present peace and tranquility can continue to be maintained till demarcation of the line of actual control can be achieved and a mutually acceptable border settlement can be reached. China has no interest in undermining the stability of the multilingual, multiethnic multicultural and multireligious state of India because of its own vulnerabilities in this respect vis-a-vis Tibet and Sinkiang. While India is in harmony with the mainstream international value system of pluralistic democracy China is not. In that sense China has more vulnerabilities than India has. The Indian nuclear tests and the ongoing development of Agni missile are likely to lead to stable mutual deterrence between the countries.

While China has at present a distinct lead over India in economic sphere there are possibilities of the gap between China and India narrowing in overall terms contributing to further stability in their relationship. The adoption of one child policy in China in the eighties is likely to create an unfavourable situation for that country vis-a-vis Indian in the next 10-15 years in terms of the ratio of productive to nonproductive sections of the populations. Secondly China is yet to go through the adjustment processes involved in

democratization. Thirdly India as an English speaking country has an advantage in integrating with an increasingly globalizing international community. The recent international political developments of India being accepted as a partner by US, Russia and the European union enhance the possibility of a stable global balance of power-consisting of US, China, European union, Russia, Japan and India. In these circumstances there are reasonable grounds to hope that China, while posing a political challenge to India is not likely to figure as an adverse factor in military security calculus of this country.

Terrorism and Proxy War

All this does not mean that India has no need to worry about its external security environment. The nature of external security threats is likely to undergo a change. The United States, the mightiest power on earth fears that its security is likely to be threatened through indirect means - through terrorism sponsored from outside. Such a threat is more likely to be faced by relatively freer and open societies which are pluralistic. In the case of India it has been subjected to such a threat over the last two decades through terrorism either encouraged and assisted or directly sponsored from outside. Such externally sponsored terrorism which sustained over a period of time involving a significant number of personnel is appropriately termed proxy war. Such covert campaign by one state or nonstate organization against another state is facilitated by four factors. The air travel and tourist industry makes it easier for people to get in and out of nations of which they are not loyal citizens. Secondly very effective tools to practise terrorism are now available and can easily slip across national frontiers. Thirdly pluralistic states are more vulnerable to internal dissidence which can be utilized to attract extremist elements among to wage a proxy war. Fourthly organized crime specially the narcotics trade and the facilities for money laundering made available by existing banking channels can easily be tapped by unscrupulous states to wage proxy war against others.

This is the kind of external security threat India should be prepared to face in the next quarter of a century. At the same time preparedness to meet the threats of limited and wider conventional wars and nuclear missile deterrence are needed as an insurance, especially to avoid provision of temptation to an adversary like Pakistan, given the history of that country's self delusions. Further nuclear weapons have been legitimized by the international community and is being used as a currency of power. It has been made into a necessary but not a sufficient condition for recognition as a global player. Even in the case of Japan it needs the US nuclear umbrella and it keeps itself in readiness to translate to the status of a nuclear - missile power at a short notice. In spite of its being the sole victim of an unjustified nuclear weapons and voted always in support of nuclear hegemonic powers. It is considering the possibility to participate in the American sponsored threat nuclear missile defence programme indicating that neither Japan nor other nuclear weapon powers are likely to give up their nuclear weapons or dependence on extended deterrence and agree to nuclear disarmament in the foreseeable future.

The US has made clear its long-term assessment on nuclear proliferation in an implicit manner. By putting in immense effort on the development of missile defence US has demonstrated that it believes that there will be no nuclear disarmament in the next 25 years and that there will be further nuclear and missile proliferation to other states of concern in spite of all the hype about the Nonproliferation Treaty and Comprehensive test ban treaty. The US also expects the proliferation to occur mostly in Asia. In those circumstances it is quite clear that India would have to pursue a modest nuclear and missile programmes. Since India is in any case a space power and intends to develop capabilities for launching geo-stationary satellites, missiles of appropriate range will be within India's capability without significant additional outlays. Such capabilities are also needed for an effective indigenously sustained space surveillance programme which is an essential component of the preparedness in the era of revolution in military affairs.

The revolution in military affairs envisages incorporating information technologies, space based and high altitude surveillance and accurate terminal guidance for air, sea ground launched stand off weapons. In due course it is logical to expect these technologies will spread and our potential adversaries will obtain such weapons by import in view of the selective and often discriminatory technology denial regimes put in place by advanced industrial nations. Therefore India needs to develop a long term strategy of self reliance. Unlike in the sixties and seventies when the Indian private industrial base was not adequately developed and therefore India had to rely mostly on the public sector for its weapons production from now on there has to be a deliberate attempt to develop the private sector in India to achieve the goal of self reliance.

India and International Status quo

India has embarked upon a high growth trajectory in economic development. Its poverty alleviation is making slow and steady if not spectacular progress. It is a nuclear and missile power and aspires for a permanent seat in the Security Council. It is coming to be accepted as a major global player and one of the balancers in the global balance of power system. When any country moves from a lower level of prosperity and power to a higher level it upsets the existing regional and in some cases even global status quo. When that happens the system at regional level and global level, in cases where the country concerned has potential to become a global actor resists the transformation. This happened when Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and China rose to great power status. Two world wars and the cold war resulted from the conflict between the status quo powers and the new rising ones. India's rise to the role of a global player, a knowledge based society, an information great power and fourth largest market is not to go unchallenged. However the existence of nuclear weapons virtually rules out wars of the type that occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries. The resistance to India's emergence as a global player is likely to be through covert means by targeting Indian economic development, and social and political integration.

Al the other global players have had recognition of their status for quite some time. Britain, France and Japan are ex-imperial powers. Russia is the successor of former

superpower USSR. China has built up its image of power since 1971 and is an acknowledged permanent member of the Security Council. Therefore, the most changeable among the emerging balancers is India. This country faces three kinds of challenges. First is the competition from the other balancing powers, some of whom would like to curb the power and influence of India. In the age of nuclear weapons this is likely to be done through means other than a formal war. Secondly given the geo-strategic configuration of Southern Asia some of India's immediate neighbours would like to countervail India's growing influence and power by invoking countervailing factors. Thirdly there is the possibility of "conflict of civilizations" especially one arising out of religious extremism. The majority Indian public opinion does not subscribe to Professor Samuel Huntington's thesis on "clash of civilizations". That is not as relevant as the issue whether Osama Ben Laden and other *Jehadis* subscribe to it or not. Here the term *Jehad* is not used in its higher meaning of spiritual struggle within oneself but in the popular political sense in which it is used by Taliban, Pakistani ruling elite, the extremist Islamic groups in West Asia and Central Asia.

All religious extremism have their origins in the tension arising out of the inability of traditional elite, to adjust itself to the impact of modern technology and new social and political ideas and its attempt to resist change and go back too a mythical righteous order which never existed in reality in history. Societies which have not had a tradition of free interaction with the rest of the world and which have walled themselves off from the rest of humanity have a higher chance of generating religious extremism. Organized religions with a clergy with vested interests are more prone to this affliction than unorganized ones. When the latter attempt it they tend to model themselves on the former.

Since the rise in oil prices in the seventies some of the Islamic states have been spending significant sums of money in supporting the cause of Islam and a portion of this money went to nurture the *mujahideen* in Afghanistan. When the Soviet Union finally withdrew the *mujahideen* considered it as their victory over a super power. They felt emboldened to resort to terrorism in other countries such as India, Algeria, Chechenya, Central and West Asian countries. The Afghan *mujahideen* had Pakistan as their base during the war against the Soviet forces. Subsequently with assistance from Pakistan ex-servicemen and armed forces the Taliban overran most of Afghanistan. This has confirmed the Islamic extremists and the Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence Wing that they are in a position to unleash proxy war in any other country. They count Bosnia and Kosovo among their victories, Chechenya as a temporary setback and the on going attempts at destabilizing Central Asian republics and Kashmir as pursuit of *Jehad*. The Taliban *mujahideen* are recruited when they are children and conditioned with years of education only in religious texts and weapon training. They are brainwashed to believe that they would all become *Ghazis*, if they are killed in the *Jehad*.

Sending in these *Jehadis* into Kashmir or through other routes into India with arms, explosives, fake currency and drugs is a low cost operation. Pakistani elite and the ISI are likely to continue to indulge in it unless a radical attitudinal change takes place

within Pakistan. That is not impossible as can be seen from what happened to Maoist China or Khomeini's Iran or Hitlerite Germany. That would come about only when the external pressures from the international community generates countervailing forces within Pakistan which will overwhelm the *Jehadi* forces. That will not be a violence free process. It could amount to a virtual civil war within that country with pressures on India. With some luck, it could be as non-explosive as the changeover in China or Iran. If it does not turn out to be so, India and all other neighbours of Pakistan and Afghanistan will have to be prepared for a prolonged struggle of attrition with the *Jehadi* forces.

The progress of this counter *Jehadi* campaign will in turn depend upon the success of the international community to curb the drug trade, centered on Pakistan cum Afghanistan region since the drug money finances the *Jehad*. It will also depend on the extent to which India and the international community can successfully counter other forms of organized crime-international money laundering, fake currency and smuggling and protection rackets within the country. These forms of organized crime are used by Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) to carry out its campaign of proxy war and terrorism. Nepal and Bangladesh have been used as convenient bases for this purpose.

The Threat Within

The success of organized crime within the country is linked up with the nature of governance. Indian politics is characterized by the dominance of the politician-bureaucracy - organized crime nexus. A number of our politicians and political parties are dependent on large sums of black money and muscle power used to win elections. Such money is largely available from organized crime and in turn the latter ask for political patronage to protect their operations. That leads to linkages between organized crime, bureaucracy and political parties. Since the organized crime is basically anti-social and is primarily interested in money making most of the organized crime barons have by and large no sense of patriotism and are prepared to collaborate with foreign agencies to assist it in penetrating the country. In this way the external security threats and internal ones get linked up. Most of the politicians building their careers on the basis of linguistic, caste, communal and ethnic bases are less interested in overall national security considerations than in the parochial one of getting money for their politics. There is a certain amount of widely prevalent permissiveness in respect of politician-bureaucracy-organized crime nexus since the politicians and political parties not indulging in such dubious forms of fund raising for party political and electoral purposes happen to be exceptions rather than the rule. Our coalition politics also involves major national parties having to depend upon all kinds of parties to sustain their majority. In an era in which proxy war and terrorism are likely to be the primary forms of external threats the politician-bureaucracy-organized crime nexus is a prime vulnerability in terms of external security threat.

This threat also extends to flow of fake currency into the country. In a country like ours where cash transactions dominate at ground level and black money constitutes a significant proportion of the economy the infusion of fake currency presents two kinds of

threats. Firstly to our economy. Secondly the fake currency enables the adversary to obtain the services of individuals and groups in this country to act against our security interests at very low cost to itself. Once such conduits are established they are used to push in drugs, explosives, weapons and trained terrorists.

It is one of the basic convictions of the Pakistani ruling elite and national security establishment that the Indian unity is not sustainable and the caste, communal, linguistic and ethnic tensions in India would lead to its disintegration. They are consequently on the constant look-out for such divisive forces surfacing and attempt to exacerbate such tensions. In that sense the tensions and divisions in our country and politics not only constitute an internal security threat but an external one as well. Today our electoral process is a highly divisive one. No thought has been devoted to ensure the process will be a unifying one. Often the electoral divisiveness becomes perpetual animosities.

Already people in this country are familiar with Pakistanis hacking through to our Websites and leaving their propaganda materials. As the use of computers increase and the country becomes increasingly reliant on internet it should also be prepared for a cyber attack on our economic infrastructural framework and other ways of conducting cyber assaults. This could be done by a hostile state actor; or a hostile non-state actor. Therefore, our long-term security interests demand that our cyber security is fully safeguarded both from the point of view of external and internal security.

There are possibilities of Pakistan being subjected to very severe economic, social and political stresses and strains if the ruling elite of that country does not mend its ways. Already the possibility of attempts to counter the obscurantism clergy-dominated extremist elements leading to a civil war situation has been referred to. Such contingencies may lead to refuge effluxes with pressures on our borders and increasing breakdown of governance in Pakistan. Such developments are likely to pose external security problems for this country. One should not overlook recently a Muhajir delegation was in India to apprise their cousins in this country of their sad plight in Pakistan.

The relatively rapid growth of India compared to its neighbouring states also draws in illicit immigrants into this country. It is believed that there are perhaps more than ten million illicit immigrants in India. This influx if unchecked is likely to increase social tensions in various areas where the illicit immigrants tend to settle down in local concentrations. They may also be targeted by state and non-state adversaries to be enlisted to wage a proxy war in this country.

The China Factor

China, India's neighbour to the north is likely to constitute the most important international security problem in the years to come. It is the most populous state in the world but is yet not in harmony with the international democratic value system. At the same time in the globalizing world with rapid advances in people to people communication China will find it difficult to continue to sustain its present system of economic pluralism and political centralism. The developments in China may follow one of the following three scenarios.

Its economic pluralism may inexorably compel China to move towards political pluralism, democracy. If that were to happen China will accept the international value system. This perhaps is the best outcome to be expected. That does not necessarily mean that China would not be hegemonic. After all the US, the longest democracy in the world is a hegemonic power. However a democratic hegemonic power is better to deal with than a non-democratic one. It would also mean within China there will be less tension between it and non-Han populations. Since those minorities are on the periphery of China tensions on the border states of China is of concern to China's neighbours.

The second possibility is China manages to continue its present system of economic pluralism and political centralism. That would make China the most powerful corporate state in history and is not likely to reassure its neighbours. The growing Chinese influence on South east Asia, especially Myanmar, Central Asia and demographic pressure on Russian Siberia are likely to cause concern to international community.

The third alternative scenario is the possibility of mismatch between China's economic pluralism and political centralism leading to a break down of China. That would be a nightmare for all neighbours of China. Unlike in the Soviet Union where the Red Army had a tradition of non involvement in politics the Chinese PLA was the founder of modern Chinese state and had intervened on a number of occasions in Chinese politics, the latest being the Tien An Men square in 1989. Therefore, the evolution of China is bound to be world's primary security concern in the coming years. China's transition to democracy can be made relatively smooth if the major democracies of the world, US, European Union, Japan, India and Russia collaborate in a balance of power system to embed China in a democratic Asia. If there are differences among them or US attempts to confront China through a national missile defence then incorporating china in an international democratic order may prove more difficult. Though the probability of a military confrontation between China and India is minimal, if not negligible, missile deterrent capability and acquiring and maintaining an adequate conventional military capability by India would help to stabilize the balance between the two.

A major factor in the long term Indian security environment is energy security. India has to develop friendly relations not only with energy producers but also countries which either dominate or constitute the routes of supply of energy material.

Security Management

The history of last fifty years proves that the most difficult problem in our external security is not our capability to deal with them in terms of men and material but our inability to organize our national security planning and management framework in an effective manner to anticipate threats in time. If that is addressed with foresight half the task of managing the threat would be done. As of now there is not adequate awareness among our political, bureaucratic and services establishments about the need to study the long term future developments, the likely security problems they are likely to pose and the need to plan preparations to dissuade the potential adversaries from acting against

our interests. This lack of awareness about the need for foreword looking long range intelligence assessment is at the root of many of problems of optimal national security management. The Kargil report brings out how the apex intelligence assessment process had been ignored. In the new arrangement constituting a National Security Council, by converting the Joint Intelligence committee as National Security Council secretariat staff the present government, which proclaims a higher commitment to national security than its predecessors, has shown that its own understanding of scope of national security and its management process is no better than that of its predecessors.

The National Security council though constituted on paper has not met (as of November 2000). Its task is to advise the government on long range assessments and planning for national security in a comprehensive sense. That is explicit in the Government resolution setting up the council. While day to day policy making and national security management is being attended to by the Cabinet Committee on National Security long term national security planning has not received the attention it deserves.

As the US author, George Tanham has pointed out Indians appear to be lacking a culture of strategic thinking. Indian policy making has by and large been reactive. This inability to anticipate long term trends and plan in time to meet adverse contingencies is seen not only in the field of national security but also in economic development. After fifty years of planning the country is handicapped by inadequate infrastructural development. Whether it is good governance, maintaining effective law and order and ensuring optimal economic growth all call for long term anticipatory thinking. In the case of external security threats, preparedness has long lead-time. The Indian thought process was illustrated by some of our leaders raising the question at the time of 1998 *Shakti* tests against what threats were those tests needed, as though one could prepare against a nuclear threat after they materialize. The apathy of our political class to matters of national security is illustrated by the Parliament and political class to matters of national security is illustrated by the Parliament and political parties not debating the draft nuclear doctrine even after one year since it was published. Similarly the Pakistani intrusion at Kargil was subject to intense political debate as the fighting was on. Now a detailed report has been published with all details of intelligence available for a year before the intrusion and there does not appear to be much interest in debating it.

There is not adequate awareness of long range national security threats among the Indian political class as a whole. Consequently national security issues are tended to be tackled reactively as and when they arise. The issues of external security referred to earlier need to be anticipated and acted upon in time. The major factor that would stand in the way of meeting effectively the external security challenges is an internal one - the politician-bureaucracy-organized crime nexus. Not only the political class is corrupt there is also a large amount of permissiveness among the masses about corruption which is the most serious security vulnerability in the age of terrorism and cyber assault. India can stave off any external security threat if it is not betrayed by the fifth column of politician-organized crime-bureaucratic nexus.

Patriot Games: Eating Out of the Foreign Hand

.....K. Subrahmanyam

This article accepts the fact that few countries are free from the scourge of political corruption. However, this rationalization overlooks the fact that India is targeted by an adversary sworn to its disintegration. Therefore, the nexus of narcotics, organized crime and money laundering needs to be thoroughly probed and examined from the point of view of India's security interests..

Following the Tehelka expose, there has been considerable discussion about how far our national security has been compromised by corruption at political and bureaucratic levels. But there is a much larger issues that has not received the attention it deserves. Politicians justify their corruption on the basis of their need for large sums of unaccounted money to run the political parties and fight elections. Such large sums can be supplied to politicians only by illegal means.

More often than not, politicians depend on organized crime for such large sums of money. In turn, they provide protection for organized crime. Political corruption is not confined to India. A Japanese prime minister was convicted, a French foreign minister is undergoing trial, a secretary general of NATO was sentenced and a prince consort had to retire from public life, all for their dubious deals with arms merchants. The most illustrious German chancellor had to pay a fine for maintaining a slush fund. The retiring Russian president had to receive an anticipatory pardon. So to recall the words of Indira Gandhi who was alleged to have received American money for election purposes, by no less a person than ambassador Patrick Moynihan, corruption is a global phenomenon.

This rationalization overlooks the fact that this country is targeted by an adversary sworn to its disintegration. Pakistan has been carrying on a proxy war against India for the last two decade. Its inter-services intelligence wing has been engaged in acts of terrorism all over this country. Pakistan aims to disrupt the political and social stability of this country and wreck its economic progress. Pakistan is quite openly harboring Dawood Ibrahim and others who are still operating effectively in western India using their channels in organized crime. A Pakistani drug baron, Haji Iqbal Beg, boasted that he smuggled his narcotics consignments to his friends in India who exported them to Europe. This and other details about drug trade appeared in a report commissioned by the CIA titled 'Sowing the Wind' in early 90s. But, predictably, Indian politicians and Parliament took no notice of it.

Pakistan is using organized crime in India as an instrumentality to break up this country. Money flows to different political parties through hawala and other channels to

fuel communal and caste tensions. The most probable reason why the promised white paper on ISI activities in India cannot be released is it would reveal the flow of funds from Pakistan, through organized crime and hawala channels to various political parties. One cannot rule out the possibility that when parties splinter and new parties are formed, they may be financed through such channels. When corruption is rampant and every political party takes money without bothering to verify where it comes from, various leaders may not even realize that they are being financed by India's enemies. Pakistan could well be distributing money to all parties to cultivate political leaders who would, in turn, shield organized crime, raise political and social tensions and cause social and political instability and disruption in public life. They may also storm the wells of the two houses of Parliament and legislatures to destroy the basic foundations of Indian democracy and even advocate extremist positions whether Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Dalit of any other denomination. Not all politicians engaged in such activities would even be aware that they are fulfilling the meticulous plans of our adversary.

Are we sure beyond doubt that the market crash took place without the involvement of organized crime and laundered money? The damage caused to India's economy due to the market crash was many times more than what squadrons of Pakistani aircraft could have inflicted. It can happen again. Films in this country are financed by organized crime with links to Pakistan. Often, some of these films give a particular slant to the treatment of sensitive themes like Kashmir or violence in Punjab. Can we exclude the possibility that such slants are part of a sophisticated information war campaign? These reflections do not constitute paranoid fears about a foreign hand. These are about the hand of our own corrupt politicians who is liable to be exploited by an external adversary. Therefore, political corruption in India cannot be compared with that elsewhere. Here it has all the potential of making the politicians accessories to activities which amount to treason including terrorism directed against the country. The inability to publish the white paper on ISI activities, the unwillingness to get party accounts audited, a refusal to reform the electoral process, the all-party attempt to prevent the CBI being made autonomous and to dilute the authority and functions of the Vigilance Commission and the delays in passing the Lok Pal bill taken together would show that political corruption is almost out of control. The Nazis perfected the art of subverting the governing elites of the countries they had targeted to take over. That led to the coining of the terms, fifth column which would subvert the country from within and quisling, the traitor politicians, named after the Norwegian who betrayed his country. Political corruption lends itself to Pakistan raising a fifth column among our politicians and there is no dearth of quislings.

Political corruption is, therefore, a vital national security issue. Every politician who opposes cleansing the system and who accepts unaccounted for money is endangering national security and integrity. Most of them may not realize the full implications of their actions. American and Russian money flowed into this country and helped to finance elections in the seventies - that was the origin of the political corruption. But the US and the erstwhile USSR had no plans to breaking up India. The ISI's laundered drug money coming in through hawala and the organized crime channels today cannot be treated the

same way because this is part of the proxy war against this country. The public in India cannot be cavalier about this on account of the fact that our politicians have always been corrupt the nation is grave danger.

Political corruption invariably leads to bureaucratic corruption. That, in turn, affects the country's ability to keep our adversary's hostile activities under effective surveillance. In these circumstances, The patriotism of our political leaders is on trial. If they are truly patriotic, they should come together to ensure that political corruption is not used to subvert the country.

Ethics in Service-Self

.....K.V. Sheshadri

In this paper, the author recounts his early days in the civil service when Anonymity, Poverty and Dedication were the watchwords, and conduct rules were adhered to, both in letter and spirit. It talks about the decline and decay in the civil services even through legitimate 'material benefits' for members of the IAS had increased manifold. A tribute is paid to officers of impeccable integrity like B. Sivaraman and P. Pimputkur who stood up to the 'highest traditions of the civil service'.

Set down in Metcalfe House first for us by the Minister, RK Sidhwa, Anonymity, Poverty and Dedication were our watchwords. The conduct rules said that we could not belong to any political party. Many of us did not exercise our ballot at any time for this reason. It is also true that most of us came from middle class families. The IAS gave us much to feel satisfied working for the people. I had 13 transfers to make in my career; every time my wife and I packed our bulky crates and boxes with the meager TA given. Incidentally the then Bombay state gave all Assistant Collectors a fixed TA per month but we had to be on tour 28 days each month; otherwise the AG would bar the TA quickly. Each office in Bombay state was delivered a set quota of paper, ink in powder form, paper weights .etc. to make do for the whole year. When I heard and wrote down in hand over 600 appeals under the tenancy law in Sirsi prant of Karwar, all within 6 months, it was not easy. The then Hyderabad state paid us TA only as long as the budgeted amounts had not been exhausted; otherwise we had to wait for reimbursement.

Everything has changed since. Salary is good. The size of IAS has grown phenomenally - we were one of the smallest batches. But officers are reluctant, not eager to go on deputation to GOI back and forth. Is it not the backbone, the raison d'être for the IAS?

The Cabinet Secretary has a pledge for and of the IAS to make a success of deputations.

Housing and schools for children are major concerns. But I believe there are other factors in operation.

In the 1950's I was posted to Gulbarga district to hold charge of Yadgir subdivision. Apparently the local bigwigs thought that I was a Lingayat by caste. As soon as they came to know the truth it was no problem for them to have me moved out- luckily for me I went to GOI for the first deputation. I was told in the late 1970's that in Bihar state

every minister preferred to have an outsider, a "South Indian" if possible, as they would not dabble in local affairs as Collector for "his" district; the cabinet had to approve each person chosen any way. In our batch V. Prabhakar was told one day that he would take over as the Chief Secretary but within days he was summoned by the CM and told that not being a Maharashtrian that promise would not be honored. This though much earlier YB Chavan, the CM, had declared in a public speech- he held the masses spellbound- that Prabhakar spoke Marathi better than a local person. How nice to know that in West Bengal, SV Krishnan was given that post without question.

Perhaps the existence of states in our constitution is working both ways. One Cabinet Secretary is far less powerful when it comes to postings compared to the many Chief Secretaries. The officers know this. I had the best jobs to do all along, being chosen for them at times. To recall but one, AN Jha was the NAA Director when I came in 1960 for the first very refresher course; he wept like a child on the day Govind Vallabh Pant passed away. As Defence Production Secretary later, he wanted a Chief Liaison Officer for the timely completion of new factories. At a meeting he took with our state Minister and Industries Secretary I was mentioned as available; he wanted me to report forthwith.

The Emergency made a big change to the spirit and soul of the IAS. I begin by citing from the memoirs of NK Seshan; he started as a trusted and humble steno to Jawaharlal Nehru at the dawn of independence and became PA later:

"With three Prime Ministers- Nehru, Indira and Rajiv"

by N.K.Seshan, Wiley Eastern 1993

Chapter 7- Indira becomes Prime Minister- pps 99 and 100

"Indira Gandhi removed L K Jha from the position of her Secretary after the devaluation of the Rupee. Jha was continuing from the time of Shastriji. In his place she brought in PN Haksar.....His appointment led the way to much that has since come to be associated with Indira Gandhi.... It was now that the idea of a "committed bureaucracy" came up because it was felt that such an arrangement was required for the implementation of all the programmes. It was put into practice."

I was removed from the BMRDA on the very day the Mumbai Municipal Commissioner and I had come back from a IBRD loan negotiation. A new CS took over that morning and agreed to pressure from Delhi to have me removed after DD Sathe, his predecessor had said no to the CM who knew me all right. No wonder the then Mayor of Bombay said that I did not know how to work with politicians being rigid in my views. So be it, I felt. I cherish a cartoon that appeared in that afternoon's newspaper.

But the last straw on the camel's back was yet to come. The FCI was doing satisfactorily and I had introduced many new checks and procedures where none existed for over two decades. A detailed study was made to analyze the losses; it is being quoted even today from what I learn from colleagues not retired from FCI. Believe it or not

almost invariably every procurement season used to begin with no plans drawn and circulated to move the purchases from the market to the godowns all over the country with due regard to existing stocks, the type of grain needed in different places and available godown space, etc. Once there was a serious dispute to settle in our favour with the Chairman, Railway Board where change of gauge was involved. I changed the whole approach. A FCI meeting held the previous day with journalists ended most satisfactorily. But I was ill and badly wanted a respite. I met the Food Secretary. Struggling for breath before him and walking with difficulty I said that he might grant me the earned leave pending for long in his own knowledge. He did not demur. All that he did though was to send my letter in the file box to the Minister with a note saying that I insisted on taking leave. The Minister, unaware of my health condition as he told me later, immediately reported to the PM in terms against my conduct. No time later did the Secretary explain his conduct.

My troubles got compounded. I was made the victim of a chargesheet and departmental enquiry by a distinguished Director of NAA earlier; his findings:- nothing had been proved against my conduct but as a senior officer with a good record I ought to have realized that any file note set down was likely to be misused by someone else; so my pension could be cut. I had provided enough evidence to show that the related orders had been recorded on the very same file not by me but by an IAS colleague who had held charge of the MD, FCI's post in my leave absence. Was it strange that he retired only four months prior to me and thus was saved by conduct rules from any chargesheet!

To cut the story short, during the enquiry I shared the lunchroom with the two CBI inspectors who were responsible for my prosecution and the evidence. They told me how sorry they were for my fate; the CBI findings/report had set me down to be the first witness for the prosecution and another officer- I did not seek his name- as the accused, but under political instructions "from above" the two names were interchanged by the Deputy Secretary (Law) in the CBI. They let me glance at the first page of the summary to convince me and added that the current Additional Director, CBI -he had worked with me in the CCIE and had an excellent record- had *suo moto* opined in a CBI staff meeting lately that "we", namely the CBI ought to be ashamed for chargesheeting an officer with a clean and good record like me. My entire thanks for totally dropping all the charges and exonerating me go to the Minister P Chidambaram and Pratibha Trivedi in Personnel.

Long before this enquiry, my promotion had been held up twice after the Emergency. PN Haksar who had seen me in the Cabinet Secretariat meetings regularly selected me for the post of Adviser (Power) in the Planning Commission but the PM would not approve it. He told me in person that she wanted him to propose anyone else but that he would not change his mind after he was so satisfied about my suitability for the post from the list provided by the EO. Again, when my promotion as Chairman, FCI was put by the PM in cold storage for months, when that post was lying vacant against public interests prior to my illness cited above, the Minister, Rao Birender Singh told me that he had been sounded by the PM more than once to suggest other names; he had responded

that if integrity and efficiency were factors of importance he would not change his mind. I met the then Home Minister-later President- too who only said that things could change and I had still some years to retire. But what about the head of the IAS? He wondered if I could not meet... like others in the service for help; I refused for he was to care for all our interests. He then requested the Secretary to the PM to meet me as I had worked under him too. But that person told me point blank that the PM would not meet me at all.

How powerful or powerless(?) the heads of administration are in the GOI and the states. And there are Central Vigilance Commissioners of various hues; the one who ordered my enquiry is one extreme. I am all admiration for MG Pimputkar who was known for his ruthless eye over all staff. He was removed overnight- like me from BMRDA in a way-from the GBMC because he could prove that huge amounts were owed to it from bigwigs but all the time new taxes were imposed on poorer citizens. He moved to GOI as the EO and swore not to set foot on the soil of his cadre state as long as he was alive. I had the privilege of interacting with him from the FCI to have the findings and recommendations of his staff reversed on merits; one related to an IGP level IPS officer of the West Bengal cadre with the FCI on deputation who was being unnecessarily harassed by an IAS colleague of the same state.

Thus much can be said on both sides about the move of N Vitthal for putting on the website names of officers of doubtful integrity. Doubtful in what way? To whose ends? Does the CVC have the time to study every fact on record on each file. Do remember that even friends and colleagues keep away when you are in difficulties for political reasons, not your proven conduct. My father was a founder member of the IIPA from the 1950's and heralded its branch in Bangalore too. As a student of public administration he used to say that every officer has to guard himself against the one immediately below him and the one above. True? But I wish N Vitthal well in his dedication to eradicate corruption.

Let me pay the best tribute to B Sivaraman under whom I worked as Joint Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat. One day when I was with him on a working paper he got a call on the RAX; the conversation was something like this:

"Mr. Sivaraman, I am the President here..Good morning, Sir.... I believe you are looking into the file of Sri....., IPS who is to revert to his parent state on completion of his tenure...Yes, Sir....He is an outstanding officer in my knowledge and it would be good for GOI to extend his period of deputation.....Sir, the PM has ordered that no officer shall be continued in such circumstances.... Can you not make an exception?....But Sir, what is a loss for the GOI is a gain for that state and I cannot do otherwise."

When it was time for his retirement as Secretary, Planning Commission, MG Pimputkar was asked by the PM to stay on for a short time until she found a proper person. He politely declined saying that all his life it was understood officers would retire to make place for the many, qualified and aspirant juniors; he did not want to fail in this motto.

With relevance to the context let me add an incident of the days of Emergency. Prabhakar Rao Kunte, state Deputy Minister for BMRDA then and one who fought many a politico-legal battle in elections since, asked me:- Honestly, does an intelligent and educated officer of the IAS like you have no political views? Look at other nations like Germany or the USA where bureaucrats are allowed to register their affiliations and if their party is elected to govern, he or she can occupy any high post for and as long as it is in office, but later revert to that person's regular position. He hinted that it was hypocritical to give a negative reply. In the USA such a party has by law a maximum number of posts to replace the incumbent. AR Antulay as the CM, Maharashtra made no secret of the fact that parties are elected on manifestos to fulfill in 5 years whereas bureaucrats go on and on in secure jobs.

I was the first qualified engineer to be a direct recruit. Those days we had few options. But look at the number of doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc. many of whom could not make a living in their own professions. They will surely contribute to the richness of our service.

But let me close by citing an incident in NAA. I was put in charge of it for a short time in 1982 when IC Puri left. I came from Delhi periodically to do so. None knew me but I was at coffee break talking to a probationer in the integrated course, a lady at that. I asked her - considering her rank-which service she was going to join and if it was the IFS, IAS, or IPS; she smiled and said that she had opted in the application itself for the Income Tax or the Customs and Excise services for she could easily make money there quickly and take early retirement.

The role of the IAS and its functioning in our constitution does need review, as the multitude of our citizens become literate and mature politically and the means of communication develop. These are not what they were when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel spoke so eloquently for the nascence and acceptance of the IAS as the successor to the ICS and to hold the nation together. We have performed with dignity all right including those of our batch no longer with us..

Reminiscences - Service

.....KV. Sheshadri

In this article, the author describes the opportunities that the IAS offered to him to utilize his technical skills and qualifications. Experiences are drawn from his involvement with the HEC, MSEB, MSRTC, and MIDC. The author also describes his tenure in the FCI and as the Chief Controller of Exports and Imports.

The service gave ample opportunities to use my technical qualifications for planning and executing national growth and development. The Minister, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had allowed me to shift from the Telegraphs Engineering Service (after I had topped the list in the UPSC Engineering Services Examination and become a probationer) into the IAS only because I would still serve the nation and not be a case of brain drain. I had to honour that trust. Luckily I did do three terms of deputation with the GOI.

The automobile industry is one whose development I promoted in the formative years. When I attended in 1971 a course at the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, I defended our approach in detail. Naturally EDI wanted multinational firms to be given a freehand in that industry. Machine tools was another such industry. The US delegation that was invited to give us advice on its development declared that Indians- "Batala" was the word of choice- were very good in reverse engineering, another word for copy manufacture; so they would prefer to collect lumpsum payments for technology transfer, but not royalties based on production.

In retrospect I wonder if India would have fared better if we had forgone the "cheap" long term loans like the IDA it secured from the IBRD. We have been guided by economics specialists of the IBRD and IMF much more than by our own technical experts. Economics is good for research surely. Indian history has recorded periods of growth with political stability when its economy was open to outside competition. The licensing system played a major role in our initial industrial efforts but we should no more create opportunities for power potential cores to swarm. Let us not be afraid.

I had much to do with ushering public sector enterprises in different ways. Some of them ran into problems. Having planned consciously the Heavy Engineering Corporation to design and make steel plants of a million tonnes annual capacity, we went in for three times that size when it was just ready and denied it orders. The Coal Mining Machinery plant was asked to go in for a new type of coal cutting but we grasped an ½% interest bearing 40 year term IBRD loan that gave overseas firms the chance to secure orders for the traditional British type; this national enterprise went abegging for orders.

Having said so let me recall an incident; it was the annual GOI conference of the heads of central public sector enterprises chaired by the Union Minister; I was there from the Cabinet Secretariat. The MD of National Instruments was asked why his performance was not good. He said that he had the best skills and no shortage of orders; his problem was that equal halves of the labour were on strike on alternate days and the one that was stood at the entrance gate proudly displaying a picture of the PM and declaring that their welfare was in good hands now that the banks had been nationalized; he wanted advice about how to make them work and add to national wealth. The Union Secretary said it was a local issue for him to solve.

It was and is time for us to realize that only mercy droppeth like the gentle rain from heaven, not national wealth calling for sound risk taking, good investment and disciplined productive efforts. In change the metaphor, to be free there is no free lunch.

In the case of the Hindustan Organic Chemicals an excellent site was chosen and the State gave its best help. Our leaders in chemical technology were involved fully. Its product line was basic to future indigenous development of the drugs, plastics and related industries. The PM had accepted in his inimitable handwriting on the file the advice of the renowned Director of the Haffkine Institute that this industry had interfered in politics in all nations where it was left to private enterprise; hence it had to be in our public sector. But one day a copy of the detailed technical project report obtained by GOI for HOC was missing and we knew who had taken it previously-later came in the first application of a private firm for a licence for making some of the items! Who gave up?

Jumping years, as the Chief Controller of Imports and Export I was happy to prepare the proper technical framework with the Department of Electronics to develop our software industry. Let us face international growth and competition openly and get our hardware talents into focus. The world has shrunk from 1951 in more ways than one.

The Alexander Committee did effect radical changes in our foreign trade policies; but it perhaps erred in not discarding the "Actual User" condition then and there and thus compelled both barons of industry, public or private and labour, organized or not into unions, to work together as partners in a world of skilled competitive efforts sans politics. Incidentally I strictly enforced denial of passes for each name listed as an undesirable visitor by the CBI; this hurt one of the leading industrial houses whose representative was known to walk around with boxes of cash to distribute. That house had enjoyed implicit tariff protection of over 800% since the early 1980's, with everyone's backing.

I have the best recollections of my work in Maharashtra. Recognizing my background I was made member of the State Electricity Board despite being a junior Deputy Secretary. The Chief Minister, YB Chavan and Minister in charge of Industry, Electricity, Mining and Labour, SK Wankhede placed full trust in my plans and proposals. I conceived, crafted and drafted and got the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation law enacted; a harbinger in its approach to disperse the benefits of industrial growth. Areas and estates were selected with the best maps and other data like proximate

water flow, transport by rail and road, power supply, present and projected, and satisfactory effluent disposal- for each district and taluka. Units with environment problems anticipated to arise were restricted in their choice. It is time for change for putting this infrastructure to modern use. I hope the MIDC will allow lessees to transfer the land in use to newer industries speedily. Coupled with modern retraining techniques for workers of course.

The parallel completion of the Koyna hydel project by the ablest of our engineers- its Chief Engineer, NGK Murthy was later the head of the Mekong Development plan- provided a unique opportunity to me to see that areas with industrial potential were dovetailed into the state power grid system then blossoming. We planned grid supply on the maps for 11KV/440V networks for rural electrification purposes to minimize losses; thanks to our eminent Chairman, Sri. M.D. Bhat they were implemented. Tariff rates were streamlined to further all this. For agricultural pumpsets we compared the cost of their operation by bullocks/ diesel engines and declared a better rate. Unfortunately Haryana started some years later the politically profitable policy of supplying free electrical energy for rural pumps; the corrupt practices of state electricity boards since then had better not be analyzed here. Are their transmission and distribution losses true?.

(Recently I read the "State of the World Report 2001" by the World Watch Institute; it is so sad to know that industries in an enlightened state like Gujarat pump their toxic effluents into earth through dry pumpsets thus adding to today's serious rural water supply problems. The CVC, N Vitthal who was in that cadre, indeed its Director of Industries in the years that matter, may like to have this examined in national interests.)

In the 1970's I took up the reins of the Maharashtra State Road Transport Corporation. Its Chairman was Shri R.G. Saraiya. He was particular that we honour a principle that their family concern, engaged in cotton trade, had followed always- if you owe money to a client but he is not even aware of it, pay it on your own volition; next time you will benefit from his honesty likewise. At a Delhi seminar he stoutly supported nationalized passenger road transport though a champion of private enterprise. He was right, for the Gokhale Institute under Prof. D.R. Gadgil had done a study of the good that MSRTC had done to the state that was most positive. We then nationalized fully the operations in the Vidarbha region. Shri S.B. Chavan, the state Minister for Transport fully backed our scheme having known the benefits of the working of the RTA in the old Hyderabad state; but he advised us not to seek cabinet approval for it as this would not be forthcoming with a CM from Vidarbha! I am proud to record the fact that this was and till today is the only known use of the related Chapter in the Motor Vehicles Act. The required public notice of its content ran into 25 pages of the supplement to newspapers. We won at the level of the Supreme Court. Sad it was to claim that victory against two operators who had treated their staff honourably and honestly ensuring all the benefits that labour laws asked, including Provident Fund and other such statements. We could not employ them. We have neglected infrastructural development needs for too long.

In the case of passenger transport we should single mindedly concentrate on public transport systems. Why not exclusive pedestrian areas as in Germany? Take Hamburg

for example. Land is precious to us and the population is bursting. Do give individual autos the lowest priority possible. Unfortunately our reforms of late have opened the door to financing companies to sell the maximum number of autos for the richer clientele who shun public transport. 2/3 wheelers are bad for pollution, but we may have to bear with them for some time.

The water potential of the Ganges-Indus basin with the peninsula included has the highest internationally recorded water exploitation level of well over 70%. Our coals are high in ash content, low in calorific value and sources of water supply and coal mines are far apart for easily paired bulk transport. It is but proper that "Unconventional" energy sources are tapped to the maximum. A 1972 study done under the Cabinet Secretariat found that the cost of nuclear power was competitive with thermal plants in many parts of north India. We have access to other means of late. There is no time to lose in funding good schemes in rural areas for solar energy based lighting and pumps, if not industries.

Government of India I set up a committee for looking into the question of bonus for its employees. The railways had done so and parallel demands from the unions was difficult to deny when a monopoly like the railways was staring the GOI in the face. I was a member from the Cabinet Secretariat. It was an honest study but did not favour the formation of vote banks. Is it not a misnomer to speak of profit sharing in public administration and any such enterprise?

It was my luck to be handpicked in 1975 to be the first Metropolitan Commissioner of Bombay. We had three technical groups to help us chaired by most distinguished persons of international repute including Charles Correa and NGK Murthy. But it needed the acceptance by the Bombay Municipal Corporation, a body bigger in budget than a state like Kerala even then and full of powerful lobby groups of its role as an equal partner with smaller local bodies ringed around it and subject to democratic rules. It would not abide and so perished the glory of the BMRDA; naturally the IBRD ceased to consider it a model for others. I am reminded of the uneasiness that PG Kher, MLA and later state Minister, expressed about the inevitable demise of his small town, Khar, proposed in 1960 to be "incorporated" (swallowed up in his words) in the GBMC.

Our constitution seems to have enshrined very powerful states and (like GBMC) states within states though aware of their crucial role in nation building for small, genuinely democratic local government. This has been as much an opportunity for the politicians as for the bureaucrats like the IAS. Had states better not play a secondary role?

I was coaxed by NK Mukerji to work in the Food Corporation of India. I demurred citing my lack of experience in this field but he said my performance as CCIE in curbing corruption and bringing in efficient procedures made me the choice for this corporation with a history few liked. To my pointed query he averred as Cabinet Secretary that I was in the approved list of officers found suitable for promotion as Secretary to GOI at the first opportunity to come by. One's career is not shielded from queer turns. I allude to this in my second paper with satisfaction but no sense of shame. The FCI provides food

security to the nation and does a thankless job which no private party or state is ready to shoulder; it has its wrongs no worse than many others. One of them is the so called Handling and Storage Losses; at the worst about 2%. The basic problem was that the jute bags were made in mills to ancient British designs meant to hold less than a quintal under the metric system; so the stitching was not all secure being close to the edge. Plus the

ILO had recommended adoption of smaller capacity bags to take cognizance of the diminished stamina of our citizens to carry on their back such large bags in hot summers or monsoon rains and over the length and breadth of India into and out of trucks and railway wagons. Use of hooks was accepted in this situation; they tore the weave of ten times. So we did propose a 50 kgm bag with eyes for hooks that was developed in collaboration with the Jute Research Institute; it was for the Ministry of Labour to press for its acceptance and for Finance to take our word for a drop in the cited losses over years. Why blame the FCI? Unlike the state electricity boards, it is all based on manual work. It has been one more instrument for political exploitation over years.

One last mention about reservations for scheduled castes and tribes. In the MSRTC we put up a new central workshop in Aurangabad. Because of the pile up of such reservations almost every vacancy had to be filled from such persons. The association guarding their interests was skeptical about my commitment but they trusted me to do the correct thing; enough artisans and other staff were selected without any hitch. Following my practice everywhere the names of those chosen was notified the same afternoon. In the FCI we were to interview candidates for District Managers; I got a call at home from a sitting judge of the Madras High Court who said he knew my reputation for honesty but wanted to put in a word for a person from a particular community. I said justice would prevail and if the person was good he would be there- as he did and is working even today. In the Emergency Jagjivan Ram- Sri KB Lal, Defence Secretary had told me how he was the best Minister to work under in his long career in the ICS- came to Bombay and I was his nominated chaperon. At the very first conference he addressed that day of the state scheduled castes federation he said that none in the audience could deny the fact that except for the bhangis and chamars all other subcastes had progressed enough already so as not to seek prolongation of the special constitutional benefits. The rest is history. I believe quite sincerely that enough qualified persons "belonging" to such castes are there to tap if only the concerned personnel planning is done well ahead and there is dedicated effort by chief executives. Look at the fact that none abroad asks the caste of a computer specialist wanted. Let us do justice to them. (Of late our Supreme Court justices do attend the US Supreme Court and vice versa as the two largest working democracies. Our experience has perhaps made them realize that while justice needs to be done for "affirmative action" in their language, binding quotas can take the nation in reverse gear.)

Rightsizing the Government Workforce

This position paper of LBSNAA prepared for an international seminar on 'Good Governance' looks at issues like organization restructuring, impact of technology, abolition of vacant post, freeze on recruitment, across-the-board-cut, and voluntary retirement. It also discusses the initiatives taken by the Expenditure Reforms Commission.

1. As per the information available in the report of the Fifth Central Pay Commission the strength of the sanctioned posts for the regular civilian Central Government employees was 41.76 lakhs in 1994. The number of sanctioned posts of the Central Government increased from 17.37 lakhs in 1957 to 29.82 lakhs in 1971, to 37.87 lakhs in 1984 and to 41.76 lakhs in 1994 (as mentioned above). During the 14 years between 1957 and 1971, the number of sanctioned posts increased by 71.7%, during the next 13 years between 1971 and 1984 by 27% and during the next 10 years between 1984 and 1994 by 10.3%. Thus, the annual increase rate from 1957 to 1971 was 3.9% and from 1971 to 1984 1.9%. The percentage of annual increase fell to a level of 1.0% during the period from 1984 and 1994. The fall was as a consequence to the various measures taken by the Government to impose economy cuts and freezes on further recruitment.
2. In terms of percentage of total posts in Government, Group 'A', 'B' and 'C' posts have shown a substantial increase between the period 1957 and 1994. Group 'A' posts which were 0.6% of the total posts in 1957 rose to 2.2% of the total in 1994. Group 'B' posts rose from 1.1% to 3.3% of the total and Group 'C' posts from 42.0% to 66.8% of the total for the same period. Group 'D' posts, however, registered a decline from 56.3% of the total to 27.2% in the same period. The percentage increase in the number of Group A, B, C and D posts at the rate of 31.9%, 69.2%, 21.9% and (-)14.4% respectively between the period 1984 and 1994 indicates that the pace of creation of posts at the higher levels i.e. Groups 'A' and 'B' has been much faster than at the lower levels. The fifth Central Pay Commission observed that this was in line with the general experience in countries abroad where officer oriented structures have come to stay and that this also appeared to be a healthy trend and was not retrograde at all.
3. The number of sanctioned posts in the Central Government as on 31 March, 1997 and 31 March, 1998 and 31 March, 1999 was, 42.18 lakhs, 41.93 lakhs and 40.67 lakhs respectively. It will be seen that there has been a decrease in the number of

sanctioned posts during the period from 31 March, 1997 to 31 March, 1999. This decrease is of the order of about 1.51 lakh. The Group-wise distribution of sanctioned posts in the Central Government as on 31 March, 1999 was as given below :

Group of Posts	Number of Sanctioned Posts	Percentage
A	90,029	2.21
B	1,93,315	4.75
C	25,61,324	62.98
D	11,93,824	29.35
Unclassified	28,557	0.70
Total	40,67,049	100

4. The issue of rightsizing the Government manpower received the attention of the Fifth Central Pay Commission. In its report the Commission had made several recommendations/observations in this regard. The major recommendations of the Commission were across-the-broad abolition of 3.5 lakhs vacant posts and 30% reduction of the Government workforce spread over a period of 10 years, amounting to 3% reduction every year. The Commission also recommended a total freeze on recruitment of manpower in the categories of supporting and auxiliary staff. The Government, however, due to certain functional considerations as also on account of opposition from the Staff Side of the National JCM found that it would not be feasible to accept these recommendations. The Government decided to continue need-based recruitment. The details of these recommendations and certain other recommendations/observations and the decisions of the Government thereon have been given below:

(i) ***Reduction in the quantum of Work***

The Commission observed that in order to reduce the quantum of work, the Central Government have to :

- (a) Ascertain tasks that need not be done by Government.
- (b) Pass on tasks to State Governments.
- (c) Transfer certain tasks to corporate entities in public sector.
- (d) Contract out tasks to the private sector.
- (e) Transfer some entities to the cooperative sector.
- (f) Convert some institutions into autonomous bodies.

(ii) ***Reduction due to organizational restructuring***

The observations made by the Commission include :

- (a) Reduction in number of Ministries and Departments.

- (b) Introduction of officer-oriented system in Government.
- (c) Delaying and level-jumping.
- (d) Multiskilling.

(iii) *Reduction due to change in technology*

The Commission observed that induction of new technology in the Government working will help the Government to reduce its existing workforce. The steps suggested by them include:

- (a) Computerization
- (b) Office automation
- (c) Creation of paperless office
- (d) Changes in office systems and file management.

(iv) *Rightsizing strategies*

The Commission suggested the following measures to rightsize the Government manpower :

- (a) Abolition of vacant posts.
- (b) Freeze on recruitment.
- (c) Across the board cut.
- (d) Statutory control on creation of new posts.
- (e) Voluntary retirement.
- (f) Compulsory retirement.

(v) *Abolition of vacant posts*

The Commission observed that there were 3.5 Lakhs post vacant in the Government. The Commission recommended abolition of these 3.5 lakhs vacant posts at one stroke, unless in some particular cases Government felt otherwise.

5. The Commission's recommendation for abolition of vacant posts was considered by the Government and not accepted. As per the agreed settlement dated 11.9.1997 with the Staff Side it was decided to continue need-based recruitment.

6. Freeze on recruitment

The Commission had also observed that it would be of no use abolishing the vacant posts, if further recruitment went on without any brakes being applied. The Commission observed that around 70,000 posts were reported to be filled up every year most of which were at the level of supporting and auxiliary staff. The Commission further stated that the manpower at the level of supporting and auxiliary staff was too much and that the Government should move towards officer-oriented

organizational structure. This could only be achieved if a total freeze on fresh recruitment on manpower in the categories of supporting and auxiliary staff was applied.

6.1 The Commission's recommendations were considered by the Government and it was decided, as stated above, to continue the need-based recruitment in various Departments.

7. Across-the-board-cut

The Commission recommended to frame a 10- year manpower plan for 30% across-the-board-cut involving 3% reduction in manpower every year.

7.1 The Commission's recommendation was not accepted by the Government.

8. Voluntary retirement

The Commission observed that there was no reason to tinker with the VRS and no change was called for in the existing provisions. Under the VRS, the voluntary retirement can be sought after 20 years of service. A weightage is given by adding 5 years to the service rendered. The FCPC had recommended against reduction of the period of 20 years. It had also recommended against giving higher weightage. The argument given by the FCPC against educating the qualifying period of 20 years was that any reduction was likely to create difficulties in the retention of trained manpower in Government besides casting upon Government the liability to pay a life-long pension to the employees and to his family after his death. In short, no change was recommended by the FCPC.

8.1 The Commission recommended a Golden Handshake Scheme with certain additional benefits to be given to the surplus employees falling within the age group of 35-50 years and seeking voluntary retirement including:

- (i) Full commutation of pension by surrender of the right to receive monthly pension with an option to avail, instead, of commutation upto the limit prescribed for employees retiring on superannuating and to receive monthly pension.
- (ii) Ex-gratia amount equivalent to 1.5 months emoluments (pay+ DA) for each completed year of service or the remaining years of service left before the normal date of retirement, whichever is lower. The weightage allowed in qualifying service shall not count for the purpose of computation of ex-gratia amount. The employee shall be given an option to receive the amount of ex-gratia and retirement gratuity either in lump sum or in the shape of a Monthly Protection Allowance, equivalent to the ex-gratia gratuity and interest thereon at the rate applicable to GPF accumulations, spread over 60 months. This Allowance could help the employee to pull on during the period of transition, by providing him with a substantial monthly income sufficient to cater to his basic needs at least.

- 8.2 The above mentioned recommendations (i.e. para 8.1) has not been accepted by the Government.
9. The Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure) has been issuing instructions from time to time to reduce the number of sanctioned posts and to control creation of Plan and Non-Plan posts with a view to reduce the expenditure on establishment. Some of these instructions are as follows :
- (i) **10% Cut in posts** : In 1992 it was decided by the Government to enforce 10% across-the-board cut in the number of sanctioned posts as on 1.1.1992. As a result of this exercise, 1.83 lakhs posts have been abolished in various Ministries/ Departments of the Government of India.
- (ii) **Ban on creation of posts** : In August, 1999 instructions were issued by the Ministry of Finance (D/o Expenditure) to all the Ministries/ Department of the Government of India to undertake a review of all the posts which were lying vacant in the Ministries/Departments and in their attached and subordinate offices etc. in consultation with the Ministry of Finance (D/o Expenditure). These instructions, inter alia, envisage that till the review is completed, no vacant post will be filled except with the approval of the Ministry of Finance. Further, such Ministries/ Departments as had no fully implemented the Government's decision to achieve reduction in the number of posts (as on 1.1.1992- referred to above) have been asked to fully implement that decision immediately.

10. Restructuring

The Fifth Central Pay Commission had also gone into the issue of restructuring the Government and had made certain observations in this regard. The Commission in its report had stated that the Central Government had "8 posts of Secretaries, 18 departments and a total workforce of 14.40 lakhs in 1948. Today (i.e. at the time of drafting of the Report by the Commission) we have 92 Secretaries, 79 departments and a workforce of more than 41 lakhs". The Commission further observed that no doubt, the work had expanded, but the expansion of the Government was disproportionate to the increase of workload. The Commission took note of efforts made by the Government to streamline its functioning which include:

- (i) Setting up of Organization and Methods Divisions in the Ministries
- (ii) Setting up of a Department of Administrative Reforms
- (iii) Setting up of Staff Inspection Unit
- (iv) Introduction of Desk Officer system
- (v) Introduction of Financial Adviser system
- (vi) Introduction of Annual Action Plans
- (vii) Introduction of Performance Budgeting

10.1 The Commission had observed that while attempting restructuring, the Government should address itself to three basic questions:

- (i) whether this needs to be done?
- (ii) whether this needs to be done in the Government?
- (iii) whether this needs to be done in the Central Government?

10.2 The Commission had recommended abolition of the Department of Programme Implementation and merger/realignment of certain Ministries/Departments. A copy of the list of such Ministries/Departments is enclosed.

10.3 The following Departments have been abolished by the Government in the recent past as a part of its continuing exercise at restructuring its workforce :

- (i) Department of Industrial Development
- (ii) Department of Sugar and Edible Oils.
- (iii) Department of Supply.

11. Expenditure Reforms Commission :

The Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure) have set up an Expenditure Reforms Commission by a Resolution dated 28 February, 2000 under the Chairmanship of Shri K.P. Geethakrishanan, former Finance Secretary. The terms of reference of the Commission, inter alia, are :

- (i) to suggest a road map for reducing the functions, activities and administrative structure of the Central Government;
- (ii) to review the adequacy of the staffing under Central Government ministries, attached offices and institutions and suggest measures for rationalizing the staff and cadres of different services.

The Commission is expected to submit its final report within a period of one year.

Annexure

MERGER OF DEPARTMENTS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Sl. no.	Department to be merged	Ministries/ Department in which to be
1.	Department of Administrative Reforms	Cabinet Secretariat
2.	Department of Animal Husbandry and Fisheries	Department of Agriculture and Cooperation (to be renamed as Department of Agriculture)

Sl. no.	Department to be merged	Ministries/ Department in which to be
3.	Department of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs, Official languages and Inter-State Council	Ministry of Home Affairs
4.	Department of Consumer Affairs	Department of Civil Supplies and Public Distribution
5.	Department of Fertilizers	Department of Chemicals and Petrochemicals
6.	Department of Family Welfare, Indian System	Department of Health of Medicine and Homeopathy
7.	Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, Industrial Development, Public Enterprises, Heavy Industry, Small Scale Industries, Agro and Rural Industries and Ministry of Textiles	To be merged into a new single department called Department of Industrial Development
8.	Department of Culture, Youth Affairs and Sports, Women and Child Development	Department of Education
9.	Department of Food Procurement and distribution; Food Processing Industries	Department of Food
10.	Ministry of Non Conventional Energy Resources	Ministry of Power
11.	Department of Rural Employment and Poverty Alleviation; Department of Waste Land Development	Department of Rural Development

Bureaucracy at Cross-Roads

..... Madhav Godbole

Looking at the afflictions of our bureaucracy as reflected from its very poor image due to politicization (it was intended to be apolitical), tight grip of tycoons and godmen, etc., the author suggests some remedial measures - statutory Civil Service Boards, checking transfers, ombudsman for redressal of their grievances, and transparency and right to information.

Introduction

The last 50 years since Independence are marked by the continuous down-hill journey of Indian bureaucracy. Time and again, questions have been raised about the imperviousness, wooden-headedness, obstructiveness, rigidity, and rule - and procedure - bound attitude of the bureaucracy. Only the context has changed in which these harsh but often well-deserved judgements have been passed. Initially, it was in the context of lack of enthusiasm of the bureaucracy for implementation of various development schemes and programmes. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India, was often despondent and lamented about the "bureaucratic jungle". Currently, the onslaught is in the context of bureaucracy's opposition to the economic liberalization and globalization politics being pursued since 1991. It is also often alleged that the bureaucracy is opposed to decentralization of powers and functions as envisaged earlier in the Panchayat Raj and, more recently, in the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution. Thus, Indian bureaucracy is perceived as incapable of giving its best in any situation in which it is asked to function.

The Depressing Scenario

An All-time Low Image

There is no denying the fact that the public image of the bureaucracy at all levels has reached its nadir. There is a widespread feeling among the people that the bureaucracy is unresponsive, insensitive, lacks integrity and is neither transparent nor accountable. The ploy of systemic failure used so ingeniously during the bank scam to shield those who were guilty of gross dereliction of duty or worse has come to roost with a vengeance. Since then, all scams and failures of the government have been ascribed to systemic failures, eroding faith of the people in the civil services. It will not be wrong to say that people would have been prepared to suffer in silence if the bureaucracy was to be only inefficient. What is worse, it has also become highly corrupt. The feeling has grown that not just the lower bureaucracy but even the higher civil servants are in league with their political masters, industrialists and vested interests and are together plundering the

country. Looking around, one cannot but agree with these unpalatable observations. At no time in the past, so many senior civil servants were facing criminal prosecutions and anti-corruption esquires. The Uttar Pradesh IAS Association took the very unusual step of identifying, by secret ballot, three of its most corrupt members. Similar moves have started in Madhya Pradesh. It is not surprising that, in a number of surveys, India has been categorized as one of the most corrupt countries in the world.

Politicization of Services

We have come a long way from the initial objectives and ideals which permeated the creation of permanent civil services while framing the Constitution. All pros and Cons of the issue were discussed at considerable length and a conscious decision was taken by the Constituent Assembly to provide some specific safeguards to the two all India civil services. Vallabhbhai Patel, the then Union Home Minister, wanted the services to be apolitical, independent, fearless and upright in tendering advice to the government. Largely, it was his foresight which led to the acceptance of the institution of All India Services. Unfortunately, reality has turned out to be quite the opposite. Most of the safeguards have remained only on paper. Successive governments, both at the Centre and the states, have continued to take actions in total disregard to the Constitutional obligations cast on them.

The watershed in this process has undeniably been the regime of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister. She made no secret of her contempt for the civil services and took every opportunity to run them down. The concept of 'committed' services did a permanent damage to the fabric of the services. The ambitious and up-wardly mobile civil servants quickly took the hint. A new breed of civil servants was born who were prepared to crawl when asked to bend and were prepared to do the bidding of their political masters, often anticipating their wishes. The Prime Minister's 'household' and her private office started exerting considerable influence in the postings and transfers of officers. No doubt, this process was legitimized by its ready acceptance by civil servants themselves.

The politicization of the services was carried forward by the next Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. During his regime, some of the most eminent civil servants of outstanding calibre and integrity were treated most shabbily. Business tycoons came to acquire a decisive voice in the promotions, postings and transfers of civil servants. Civil servants were treated as second class citizens who were to be at the beck and call of their political masters. The most intemperate and ill-considered comments of a Supreme Court Judge, from the bench, in effect, equating the higher civil servants with one's cook and personal servants were responsible for further erosion of the prestige, position and standing of the civil services.

Unhealthy Influence of Tycoons, Godmen, etc.

The interregnum of the short spells of the National Front and the Janata Dal governments carried this process further. The tenure of Chandra Shekhar as Prime Minister saw the tightening of the vicious hold of large business and industrial houses, astrologers and

godmen on the promotions, postings and transfers of higher civil servants. Yet, again, the civil servants not only accepted these writings on the wall but quickly became adept at maneuvering the system and had no compunctions in making full use of these extra-Constitutional centres of power.

The regime of Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister saw the intensification of these forces. The power brokers and their influence over the civil services acquired new legitimacy. Prime Minister's office once again became all-powerful. For the first time since Independence, a policy of giving extensions in service, beyond the age of retirement, was adopted in respect of officers of the rank of secretaries to the government and those manning equivalent posts, leading to considerable demoralization. The state governments were quick to take advantage of this new policy and asked for similar dispensation in respect of officers serving under them. Thus, an altogether new ballgame was started. These and other totally short-sighted policies contributed to further worsening of the spirit of the service.

This rapid down-hill journey of the services has continued in the regime of the United Front Government at the Centre after the last general elections in the country in 1996. The situation in the states in this period has gone from bad to worse. There is no moral authority left with the Centre to tender any advice to the states. And, in any case, it is now the regional parties which are calling the shots and the Centre is in no position to guide the states or to prevail upon them to take any particular line of action. On this background, one question which has to be addressed is where do we go from here? Is this the end of the road? Should the permanent civil services be abolished altogether as is being advocated by some people?

Comparisons Between IAS and ICS and IPS and IP Invalid

Often, comparisons are made between the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and the Indian Police Service (IPS) on the one hand, and their predecessor services, namely, the Indian Civil Service (ICS) and the Indian Police (IP), on the other. It must be admitted that such a comparison is invalid to begin with. By no means, the record of work and conduct of the ICS or IP officers was uniformly superior to that of their successor services. There were rotten eggs in these services too. But more importantly, the conditions in which these services worked were qualitatively different from those in which the civil services have to function now. It is a moot question whether these services would have even been as successful as the present civil services. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to draw any facile conclusions and to suggest that the present civil services ought to follow in the foot-steps of these services. To do so will mean living in a fool's paradise.

Some Remedial Measures

Instead, a number of steps can be considered to deal with the present highly depressing situation. The first set of measures relates to improving the moral and inner fibre of the services, and the second pertains to institutional and other changes to usher in an open government which is transparent, accountable, sensitive and people-friendly. For lack of space, these remedial actions are considered only illustratively in the following paragraphs.

Creation of Civil Service Boards for Service Matters

Let us first deal briefly with the important prerequisites pertaining to the morale of the services. One of the main suggestions in this behalf pertains to the setting up of a statutory Civil Services Board (CSB), both at the Centre and the states. These boards could advise the government on matters pertaining to promotions, postings, foreign assignments and transfers. Its advice should be binding on the government. Wherever the government decides to over-rule the advice, it should be incumbent to record the reasons in writing which should be open to challenge before appropriate authority. The stand taken by the Centre on this subject at the Chief Ministers' Conference convened on May 24, 1997 is far too weak and fails to address the basic issues. Effectively, the Centre proposed to the states setting up of CSBs on the lines of those in the centre.

The experience, however, shows that at the Centre these boards have hardly inspired any confidence among the officers. In fact, the working of such boards is an example of how ineffective, arbitrary and causal they can be. Further, the recommendations of these boards have not received any particular consideration or respect at the level of the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet (ACC). In an appeal filed by the Centre in the Supreme Court in 1988 against the judgement of the Central Administrative Tribunal in the case of Jagdish Chander Jaitli, the Centre pressed for untrammelled powers to the Cabinet Secretary and the ACC in deciding matter pertaining to promotions, postings and transfer of officers. This is quite the antithesis of the statutory CSBs envisaged in the reform of the present system. It is another matter that the states were not prepared to accept even this watered down version of the CSBs. The statement adopted by the conference shows 'some misgivings were expressed regarding the mechanism of the CSB', though the Centre clarified that the CSB, as envisaged in the Action Plan, was basically to aid the political executive to 'implement a streamlined and transparent transfer and promotion policy'. This was clearly a case of clash of opposite objectives! It is also necessary to note that the Centre is also not prepared to set an example by amending its present scheme to have an institutional arrangement which will serve the purpose of bringing about some sanity, rationality and transparency in the system. This basic requirement for upholding the morale of the services has, thus, become a dead letter even at the stage of initiation of the discussion on the subject.

Putting an End to 'Transfer Mania'

The arbitrary and mindless transfers of government servants have become a matter of serious concern. The states are now playing havoc in the exercise of these powers. Neither is the Centre free from blemish on this account. The main question for consideration is when a transfer may be treated as a punishment. Transfers have become a lucrative industry in several states and there is no possibility of its being delicensed even in this era of economic liberalization! The world example of this 'transfer mania' is to be found in the actions of successive governments in Uttar Pradesh. It may seem odd but this also includes the period when the state was under President's Rule. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court refused to take cognizance of this totally untenable situation in spite

of the Public Interest Litigation filed by the Common Cause in Delhi. However, with the transfers of over 600 IAS and IPS officers effected by the BJP-BSP coalition government headed by Mayawati in less than two months since assuming office, the Uttar Pradesh High Court took cognizance of this shocking state of affairs. The High Court noted that all governments in the last decade had been responsible for making transfers and postings a lucrative industry, and observed that 'government servants were being treated like shuttle-cocks to be banged and battered around frequently on political, caste, monetary and other extraneous considerations'. The Court suggested setting up of a high level committee to oversee transfers and postings. The state government promptly went in appeal and got a stay from a division bench of the Court. It is abundantly clear that there is no political will to make any change in the present system.

Ombudsman for Grievance Redressal of Civil Servants

The other suggestions in this behalf, such as creation of an ombudsman for looking into the grievances of government servants, prompt action on investigation, prosecution and punishment of officers who are involved in corruption cases and so on are also unlikely to see any expeditious action. The resolution adopted by the Chief Ministers' Conference on May 24, 1997 itself provides for 'making appropriate allowance for variation on local circumstances', an euphemism for stalling action. Otherwise, the remedies for improving the present mess in the bureaucracy in the country, should have been accepted as a universally applicable package of measures for time-bound implementation.

Ensuring Freedom of Information

This foot-dragging is to be seen also in respect of the other sets of measures pertaining to bringing in an open government. This pertained to the emphasis on transparency and right to information. The Chief Ministers' Conference in May 24, 1997 itself provides for 'making appropriate allowance for variation on local circumstances', an euphemism for stalling action. Otherwise, the remedies for improving the present mess in the bureaucracy in the country, should have been accepted as a universally applicable package of measures for time-bound implementation.

Ensuring Freedom of Information

This foot-dragging is to be seen also in respect of the other sets of measures pertaining to bringing in an open government. This pertained to the emphasis on transparency and right to information. The Chief Ministers' conference in May 1997 provided useful pointer to the direction in which the country was poised to move on this subject as well. Endorsing the proposals in this behalf tabled the Centre for introducing, in consultation with the states, a legislation for Freedom of Information, and amendment of the Official Secrets Act, 1923, and the Indian Evidence Act, some of the state governments indicated the need to include provisions which would ensure that the misuse of the provisions under this Right do not lead to embarrassment of the governments. Here, again, the recommendations of the Working Group on Right to Information will need to be carefully looked into to make sure that the proposed legislation will not defeat the very purpose of

the exercise. For example, the draft legislation proposed by the Working Group suggests a number of exemptions from disclosure. Particular attention may be invited in this context to the following, among other, exemptions:

- a) Information, other than exclusively factual information, in the nature of internal working papers, such as inter-departmental/intra-departmental notes and correspondence, appears containing advice, opinion, or recommendation for purposes of deliberative processes
- b) Information, the disclosure of which would not sub-serve any public interest; and
- c) Information, the disclosure of which may result in the breach of Parliamentary privileges.

While, similar provisions may obtain in other enactments in some other countries, it is necessary to consider the relevance or appropriateness of such provisions in the context of series of scams and scandas, which have come to notice over the years and have remained unattended. Even the theology of secrecy of cabinet and cabinet sub-committee papers needs to be questioned. This is particularly true in respect of decisions taken in respect of award of contracts, licenses, permissions for foreign investment and so on. Even the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence has, in its report in 1994, recommended that all papers pertaining to Defence purchases should not be withheld on the grounds of secrecy as large public funds are involved in such purchases. Further, who is to decide the 'public interest'? As seen in a number of instances, the government can hardly be trusted as the sole authority on the subject. This is amply borne out by the stand taken by the government in a number of Public Interest Litigations in the recent past - death of over 3,000 children of a tribal community in Amravati district in Maharashtra, safety of nuclear installations in the country, and withdrawal of cases against Bal Thackeray for his communal writings and speeches. In all these cases, the government, whether at the state or the Centre, took a stand that it will not be in public interest to divulge the information. This is also true of the celebrated case of Enron Power Project in Maharashtra in which the state government refused to place before the legislature the agreement it had entered into for purchase of power from Enron on the ground that it would mean dialoguing a commercial secret! This inevitably happens when the government is looked upon by the ruling political party as a private limited company meant for making quick profits and not as a government answerable to the people. Any legislation to be effective has to taken into account the ethos in which it has to work, the maturity of the political parties, their commitment to certain values and principles and so on. Otherwise, like several other enactments, the new law on right to information may also remain yet another paper tiger.

Summing Up

The answers to the long-standing ills and deficiencies of civil services will have to be basic and sweeping. Any patchwork of temporary remedies will not serve the purpose. It is often forgotten that good governance is basic to any other reforms and changes in society. Everything else can be purchased for a price but not people-friendly, socially

conscious and clean administration deeply committed not to any political ideology but to the basic values of Rule of Law, respect for secularism, human rights and the welfare of weaker sections of society. This is the charter for the civil services. Looking to the present state of affairs, it sounds utopian but, if it is to be translated in reality, it will require both administrative and political will. Unfortunately, both are missing in this quest for good governance. The bureaucracy is, therefore, at crossroads. The road it takes will make all the difference to where India finds itself in the 21st Century. It is a travesty that no one has timed to pause and ponder on these vital issues.

Bureaucracy And Ethics

..... Madhav Godbole

In this paper, the author exhorts bureaucrats to adopt a 'charter of ethics'. The charter should ask every civil servant to pledge himself/herself to uphold the rule of law; promote an open and transparent administration; provide clean administration; promote accountability for actions; observe complete political neutrality; give free, frank, objective and unbiased advice; uphold preserve and strengthen the interests of the weaker sections of society; uphold and strengthen human rights; adhere to and encourage secularism; not to accept or give any money or other allurements as illegal gratification; uphold the integrity not only of self but also of the system as a whole; scrupulously observe standards of rectitude and undertake not to approach any politician, industrialist or anyone outside the normal hierarchy for obtaining any postings, transfers and personal benefits of any kind; and strive to be a role model for others.

The country is inundated with the news of scams and corruption scandals in recent months. These news items are vying for space on the front pages and, all other news is now relegated to the other pages. In the process, several news reporters had to become crime reporters. The same is true of the electronic media. Mr. R.K. Laxman is one of his inimitable cartoons, has shown a boss in the All-India Radio telling his subordinate, "just stick to normal announcement. Let me not hear you again say; This is All India Radio giving you the bad news. Hopefully, there is really good news round the corner. The Centre has decided to seriously work on the preparation and adoption of a Charter of Ethics for the civil services. It is also proposed to undertake legislative, institutional and policy changes to translate the Charter of Ethics into reality.

Both these subjects-preparation of the charter and creation of a framework for its implementation - are of vital significance for cleansing public life and removing a major cause for growing dissatisfaction, alienation and even anger among the common people. In view of the long-term significance of the proposed move, it is necessary that there is the widest possible public participation in this exercise. Further, the ruling political parties, whichever color or ideology they belong to will be reluctant to move ahead on these long overdue reforms without public pressure.

A charter of ethics need not be an amorphous and esoteric document. In fact, it ought to be a simple and straightforward document, which a common person in the street can understand. He should be able to judge the civil services on the basis of their adherence to such a charter. He should also be able to hold the government of the day responsible

for its faithful implementation. It is for this purpose that it is not enough to say, for example, that the civil services should commit themselves to implementing the provisions of the Constitution. For, this is like praying to and worshipping the infinite and formless God Almighty. Just as a common person has to begin with the form of a deity of his reverence, the charter of ethics has to spell out the precepts and principles simply and clearly. There is also a great deal to be said for brevity. For example Mahatma Gandhi's dictum, "See no evil, speak no evil and hear no evil" with the images of three monkeys, went a long way in conveying the message. Another aspect which needs to be borne in mind is to avoid, in the proposed charter, certain words which in the past have acquired bad connotations in their use in relation to the civil services. The first of these is the word "Commitment" Indira Gandhi did permanent damage to the civil services by advocating the concept of a committed civil service... When this met with sharp criticism from intellectuals, the press and the Opposition parties, she tried to retract and clarified that what she had in mind was a commitment to the constitution and not any political party. But, as experience in the succeeding years showed, what she had in mind was no less than a commitment of the civil servants to herself and her party. It was not surprising that other parties which came to power. Whether at the Centre or in the States expected from the civil servants the same kind of commitment to their own parties' policies and programmes. Apart from this unsavoury past association, the word commitment conveys a negative concept. The Oxford Dictionary describes it as "engagement that restricts freedom of action". This will be quite contrary to the positive aspects of administration, which are sought to be reflected in the charter of ethics.

The other misconception deliberately propagated over the years was to equate ministers with the Government. It was a personification of "I am the State". The attribute of "loyalty" to the government advocated with reference to the civil services further underlined the master-servant relationship between the political executive and the civil servant. The most ill advised and highly questionable observation in the same refrain by a Judge of a Supreme Court in the Course of hearing a writ petition of a few years ago did not help in putting matters in the correct perspective.

The virtue of 'flexibility' was emphasized among the civil services time and again to underline that the laws were to be interpreted keeping in mind the interests of individual applicants, and that the laws, rules and regulations should not be permitted to come in the way of any decisions or discretionary actions. The root cause of corruption and mal administration can be traced to some of these consciously propagated precepts in the past.

It is in this light that a Charter of Ethics has to make a new beginning. Such a charter should ask every civil servant to pledge himself to: uphold the rule of law; promote an open and transparent administration; provide clean administration: promote accountability for actions; observe complete political neutrality; give free, frank, objective and unbiased advice; uphold preserve and strengthen the interests of the weaker assertions of society; uphold and strengthen human rights; adhere to and encourage secularism; not

to accept or give any money or other allurements as illegal gratification; uphold the integrity not only of self but also of the system as a whole; scrupulously observe standards of rectitude and undertake not to approach any politician, industrialist or anyone outside the normal hierarchy for obtaining any postings, transfers and personal benefits of any kind; and strive to be a role model for others.

These points illustratively bring out of the broad scope and sweep of the proposed Charter of Ethics. One could broaden its coverage to include any other important concerns of society at large: The next question of the policy, legal and institutional framework which would have to be put in place to ensure strict adherence to the Charter is equally important. Reforms in a number of areas will be necessary for this purpose.

The first and foremost pertains to the amendment or preferably the repeal of the Official Secrets Act and its substitution by a simple and straightforward legislation to safeguard against the leakage and publication of information which has a bearing on national defence, security and to a very limited extent, out external relations. The other side of the coins to bring in a new legislation to give the Right to Information to people and, simultaneously, safeguard the equally important right of an individual to privacy. The Common Minimum Programme, adopted by the United Front Government at the Centre, has made some significant promises on this score but like, on many similar promises, not much action has been seen so far.

The second area for urgent action relates to the setting up of a statutory Civil Service Boards at the Centre as also in the States. Such Boards should have the responsibility to make recommendations to the government in matters pertaining to promotions, transfer and placement of officers, including the larger personnel policy matters pertaining to the higher civil services. As opposed to the functioning of the present non-statutory central establishment and senior selection boards at the Centre the new Boards must operate on the basis of transparent and well - publicized guidelines, rules and procedures to minimize the scope for subjective capricious or arbitrary actions. The recommendations of the Board must be binding on the Government and it should be mandatory that it records its reasons in writing, over which an appeal could be filed by the aggrieved officer to an Ombudsman.

Currently, there is no grievance redressal machinery available in the system which a government servant can approach in the above matters. The creation of a statutory institution of Ombudsman, with the status of a Supreme Court Judge or the Chief Justice of a High Court and with necessary safeguards regarding his appointment, terms and condition of service, and removal would fill this void admirably. It should be clearly laid down that the decision of the Ombudsman would be final and binding on all concerned and cannot be challenged in any court of law.

Yet another area which deserve some in-depth and public discussion and debate pertains to the role the Association of civil servants should play in ensuring strict adherence to the proposed Code of Ethics. There is no denying the point that peer pressure can go

much further in ensuring ethical standards in any organization than mere pressure applied from outside. We have shied away from addressing this problem all these years. At the same time, it is important to take note of the disenchantment, frustration and even helplessness which a section of the officers, particularly of the younger age group, has been experiencing due to rampant corruption and decline in the value systems in the services. Unless these change-agents are used effectively to catalyze the new culture, the impart of the proposed reforms would peter out quickly.

Bureaucracy in Nation-Building and Development: A Fifty Year Profile

..... Noorjahan Bava

Following a description of the developmental paradigm of our democracy, the author attempts an analytical assessment of India's developmental performance since Independence, drawing a comparison of the scenario prevailing then and now on the basis of relevant bench-mark data reflecting on the quality of life. She then attempts a brief comparison between India and some Asian nations which are presently on a faster track of development to deduce her conclusions. Before winding up the discussion, she also attempts a brief evaluation of our bureaucracy as a catalyst of change and nation-building.

Fifty Years ago, independent India embarked upon the long and arduous journey of planned socio-economic development and nation-building for establishing a welfare state and an egalitarian social order with social, economic and political justice, equality, liberty and fraternity for every citizen so that individual liberty will become a cherished value and dignity of the individual, a living reality for every member of the society. The flagship of the Indian State under the dynamic captaincy of its first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, with its ablest crew consisting of Sardar Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, and many others began its historic voyage to reach the destination of the sovereign, democratic, socialist, and secular Republic of India.

Free India launched massive programmes of planned socio-economic development to consolidate her hard-won freedom and achieve its grand development goals of eradicating poverty, unemployment, inequality, illiteracy, ill-health, ignorance and socio-economic backwardness of its teeming millions to redeem the promises made to them during the freedom struggle and fulfill their hopes and aspirations kindled during that movement.

Indian Paradigm of Development through Democracy

To achieve the nation-building and developmental goals, the Indian leaders, planners and policy-makers deliberately and consciously chose the democratic model of development- same path of non-violence and people's participation that brought political independence to the country. Unlike her Afro-Asian neighbours, who were beset with similar problems, but most of whom chose the totalitarian path of development³. India is the only nation in the Third World to experiment development through democracy⁴.

³ K.P. Karunakaran, Democracy in India, New Delhi, Intellectual Corner. 1978. P. 18

⁴ Noorjahan Bava. People's Participation in Development Administration in India: An empirical Study of Tamil Nadu. New Delhi. Uppal Publishing House. 1984.pp. 3-4.

India's democratic model of development is certainly not the easy model for more reasons than one. Firstly, to change a traditional society into a dynamic one in a country with a vast population rooted in the past is a tremendous task. To do this through peaceful and democratic means and by the consent of the people makes the task difficult. Secondly, the democratic path to development becomes all the development within the democratic framework is our most important goal, we may feel frustrated at the slow grinding process of democracy⁵. On the other hand, if democracy is our primary goal, we may be frustrated at the slow rate of development. Thirdly, the Indian model encounters more problems and difficulties, for, it has reversed the direction of development of the developed countries. In the latter, economic growth preceded social change and social development preceded the growth of adult franchise. Other democratic extensions, such as the ideology of equal opportunities or welfare services for all also followed economic affluence and social service consciousness. In those countries, private bureaucracies, through organized social action, led the State to grow into a full-fledged welfare state within a democratic frame of government. We started with adult franchise for the poor, illiterate masses and then began to plan for social change and economic growth simultaneously. Thus, India's attempt was unprecedented in its own history and unparalleled in the history of other major nation-states. India's attempt thus "put history upside down"⁶. Consequently, the electorate and their representatives are more anxious about the distributive aspects of the development processes than about the production aspects. Fourthly, studies show that goals of social, economic and political development are not compatible with one another but conflict with each other. The study of Samuel Huntington and Joan Nelson indicate that "In the early phases of modernization, conflict exists between the goals of socio-economic equity and political participation, while in the later stages there is a conflict between economic growth and political participation". While some countries have been able to balance and contain these conflicting goals, in most developing countries the dominant elite must choose among them⁷.

Nehru's Perception of Services' Role in Free India

The Indian model of development through democracy was not only a historically dictated one but also it was consciously and deliberately sought by Pandit Nehru, one of the staunchest democrats and the architect of modern India. Democracy becomes both the means and one of the goals of development in Nehru's perspective. To quote him:

..... the whole structure of Government in India has changed from rather an autocratic structure to a democratic structure- a structure which was based on some outside authority to a structure which is based on an authority not only within the country but ultimately responsible to the people of the country. That is a basic change. Together

⁵ V. Jagannadham, "Citizen-Administration Relationships in Development" in V. A. Pai Panandiker (ed.), *Development Administration in India*, Madras, Macmillan, 1974, p. 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-02

⁷ Rajni Kothari, "Integration and Performance: Two Pivots of India's Model of Nation-building", in Rajni Kothari (ed.) *State and Nation-building*, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1976, p. 195

with that, other changes have come. That is to say, the State has become a dynamic State- not a static State... (in which) Services (administrators) have to adapt themselves to the change... have to adopt methods to the changed conditions of work and the changed objectives of work⁸" .

The Constitution of India and the policies of the government cast a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of the administrators/ civil servants as the principal agents of social change and economic development in the country. The then Prime Minister Nehru, called upon the members of the Services- civil, military or police - to change their old attitudes and develop new attitudes - i.e., one of active cooperation with public, of active service to the public and the public side also the attitude of welcoming that cooperation and giving their cooperation too⁹. Nehru gave a clarion call that "the Services must gradually cease to think of themselves as some select coterie apart from the rest of the people. They must think of themselves as part of the people of India cooperating in this great adventure of building up India¹⁰" . Nehru reminded members of the civil service that the great task of execution of India's development plans called for "a more progressive and realistic attitude", "faith in India's future, a genuine belief in the value of national objectives and a determination to go ahead, and, willingness and capacity to work¹¹" . Above all, the members of the bureaucracy must understand that "it is their duty to work for the unity of India, to break down barriers which come in the way of the unity of India and always be a crusader in that behalf¹²" . Nehru founded the Indian Institute of Public Administration in 1954 to promote the study and practice of public administration.

India's Development Policies 1947-90

The Nehruvian model of India's development gave the pride of place to the strategies of planning, mixed economy with a growing and dominant public sector to control the `commanding heights' of the Indian economy and a minor level playing field for the private sector. Mostly the consumer industries and decentralized rural development through community development and Panchayati Raj. The Public Sector Enterprises regarded as "temples of modern India" by Nehru Public Sector Undertakings (covered the entire basic, core and strategic industries. There were a total of 240, PSUs) at the Central level with Rs. 1,64,332 crore investment and nearly 1,000 State level public enterprises with a total investment of Rs. 38,283 crore on the eve of the policy shift in 1991.

Police Shift to Economic Liberalism Since 1991

With the adoption of New Economic Policy, involving liberalization, privatization marketisation and globalization of the India economy since July 1991, India had to

⁸ Jawaharlal Nehru's speech "A World to the Services", delivered on December 9, 1955 to an audience of public servants at Kurnool, as reported in Jawaharlal Nehru and Public Administration, New Delhi, IIPA, 1975, p.43

⁹ *ibid*, p.45 ¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 47 ¹¹ *ibid.*, p.40

¹² Anand Sarup and Sulabha Brahma, Planning for the Millions, New Delhi, Wiley Eastern. 1990. Pp.43-4.

implement the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), entailing reduction in fiscal deficit, doing away with subsidies, deregulation of the economy, disinvestment of government equity shares in PSUs, reduction of custom duties and encouragement to foreign investment leading to more open economy, financial reforms, market determined exchange-rate, reform of the stock-exchanges and reduction of bureaucracy. In short, the government has to become a 'facilitator' and provider of the "social safety net" by the State to those left out of the market.

An Assessment of India's Developmental Performance since Independence

Bench Mark Data on the Independence Eve

India is a welfare state. Fifty years have passed since India became independent and 47 years have lapsed since she became a sovereign democratic republic. During this period, India launched massive programmes of planned economic development and welfare. Eight Five Years Plans have been almost implemented so far. Let us examine as to what is India's performance on the welfare/ developmental front.

Before evaluation of the profile of India as a welfare state begins it will do well to recall the bench-mark data about the country on the eve of Independence. As far as the basic needs of life in general, food in particular, are concerned, India was short of not only cereals but also of pulses and oils seeds. In 1945-46, the per capita availability of foodgrains had declined steadily from 195 kg per year! For cloth, per capita availability was 17 meter in 1951. After spending Rs. 100 crore in producing drinking water supply in 1971, as many as 3,25,000 villages out of a total of 5,76,000 villages were without this facility. About housing, it was estimated that in urban areas alone, which had only a little more than one crore families, there was a shortage of more than 18 lakh houses in 1951. In addition, 10 lakh houses were required for displaced persons from Pakistan.

Levels of Literacy, Health Services and Income

In 1951, only 17 per cent of the population was literate, and out of every hundred children in the school going age of 6-11, only 43 attended school. As far as health and medical facilities are concerned, the position in India was thus: one doctor for 6,300 persons against 1,000 in UK; one nurse for 43000 people against 300 in UK; one trained midwife for 60,000 women against 618 in UK; and one health visitor for four lakh against 4,710 in UK ¹³.

In short, immediately after Independence, India was one of the most underdeveloped nations in the world. Its per capita income was extremely low. Most people were engaged in over-crowded agriculture at a low level of productivity. There was no infrastructure for industrialization. Life expectancy was low and infant mortality high, inequalities between various sections of people, exploitation and oppression of women, scheduled castes and tribes existed ¹⁴.

¹³ Anand Sarup and Sulabha Brahma, *op.cit.* pp.44-45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

March of India towards the Welfare State Ideal

Reaching the destiny of 'Welfare State' is the constitutionally mandated development objective of the State in India. Article 38 provides that "The State should promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice- social, economic and political- shall inform all the institutions of the national life". The Directive Principles of State Policy embody the object of the State under the Republican Constitution, namely, that it is to be a 'welfare state' and not a 'police state'. These directives (Articles 36-51) aim at the establishment of economic and social democracy pledged for in the Preamble of the Constitution. They emphasize that the goal of the India polity is not unbridled laissez-faire but a Welfare State, where the State has a positive duty to ensure to its citizens social and economic justice with dignity of the individual consistent with the unity and integrity of the nation. By making them fundamental in the governance and making of the laws of the country and the duty of the State to apply these principles, the founding fathers made it the responsibility of future Indian governments to find a middle way between individual liberty and the public good, between preserving the property and privilege of the few and bestowing benefits on the many in order to liberate the powers of all men equally for contributions to the common good¹⁵

India adopted the strategy of development through democratic planning within the framework of a mixed economy to reach the Nehruvian vision of a socialistic pattern of society. Rejecting the orthodox model of the Western capitalist economies and the radical approach of the socialist command economies, India took the middle path of 'growth with equity' based on the belief that developing countries like her, where majority still lives in rural areas and where the poor are concentrated, more governmental intervention and action than the orthodox (market economy) approach advocates is required if growth with equity is to be achieved. Plan after Plan reiterated India's faith in the growth with equity approach chief components of which are: expansion of employment opportunities, corrections of market distortion through governmental policy and administrative action, emphasis on rural development, meeting basic needs of people, developing small/ cottage/ rural / industries and a new international economic order which will help the poor nations of the world to receive a fairer share of the world's wealth.

In a democracy, everything that government does, has to be for the welfare of the people. Planning was started to improve the quality of life of the people. After four decades of planning for socio-economic development, welfare and nation building. India's experience is neither a run away success nor a dismal failure. Indeed, India today is a major industrial and military power. It produces a wide range of different industrial goods, including sophisticated computers, military aircrafts, and automobiles. It has launched its own weather satellites into space. We have one of the largest pools of scientists and engineers in the world.

¹⁵ Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: The Cornerstone of a nation*.

Poverty Alleviation

Considering the critical importance of rural development for India, our planners and policy-makers have given the highest priority to it in the national agenda right from the commencement of the era of planned development. A whole host of programmes- ranging from Community Development and National Extension Service, Panchayati Raj, IAAP, IADP, to special programmes for weaker sections, like the Small Farmers, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Programme, Drought-Prone Area Programme, Desertification Programme, Community Area Development Programme, Tribal Development Programme, Hill Area Development Programme, Minimum Needs Programme, IRDP, Integrated Child Development Programme, NREP, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, TRYSEM, JRY, etc.- have been implemented to achieve self-reliance, removal of poverty, employment generation and all-round and integrated development of rural urban areas.

As Sukhmony Chakravarty observes: "While India has doubtless scored some success, but it has left large number of people below the poverty line. The Thirty-second National Sample Survey showed that in 1977-78 the proportion of population in rural areas living below the poverty line was 51.2 per cent, whereas the corresponding figure for urban areas was 38.2 per cent. According to the Thirty Eight Survey (1983-84), the figures have nose-dived to 40.4 per cent for rural areas and 28.1 per cent in urban areas. This indicates the gross poverty that exists in the country as the norm used for these purposes is based principally on caloric intake¹⁶ .

In term of nutrition, the average per person availability of cereals has gone up from 334 gm to 429 gm per day in (1986-87), though this is still not adequate to provide two square meals to the entire population. The per capita availability of oilseeds has remained static at 14 kg per year, while the availability of pulse, the main source of protein in India, has declined from 22 kg to 13 kg per year. Thus, the economic condition of half the farmers of India, who grow coarse cereals, pulses and oilseeds in the dry regions, has not improved during the last four decades¹⁷.

Employment

Unemployment scenario of India is neither healthy nor sound. Vitiated by chronic unemployment, both absolute and seasonal, the situation is perhaps grim. The position of unemployment within agronomy is further aggravated by wide underemployment with 10 persons competing for every job opening and labour being mostly landless and disorganized, wages are poor and verge on exploitation. In the industrial mining and infrastructural areas, the bulk of labour is unskilled, and education being largely non-vocational, there is large-scale educated unemployment, wage differentials, deep-seated

¹⁶ Sukhmoy Chakravarty, *Development Planning: The Indian Experience*, Delhi, Oxford University Press. 1987.p. 85; B.N. Sahay "Social Policy for Rural Development" in T.N. Chaturvedi and Shanta Kohli Chandra (eds) *Social Administration, Development and Change*, New Delhi, IIPA. 1980, pp.7-17

¹⁷ Anand Sarup and Sulabha Brahma, op. Cit., p 71

labour unrest and militant trade unionism (undermining production and productivity in the nation)¹⁸ .

Since an overwhelming proportion of the Indian population lives in the villages, the bulk of the unemployment is rural. The backwardness of Indian agriculture and failure in land reforms aggravate the situation. From 1970 onwards, an additional five million is added to number of the rural unemployed. The level of unemployment is very high all over the rural sector, it is equally rapidly rising in the urban sector, and public sector employment and public works programme-based palliatives have failed to check this additional alarming rise¹⁹ .

The main factor causing the problem of unemployment has been identified as structural dis-equilibrium, distortions in planning, deficient employment planning, population explosion and faulty education cover²⁰ .

Economic Growth

While Independence certainly broke the spell of stagnation in Indian economy, the national income showed a trend growth rate of 3.6 per cent per annum over the period of 1950-84. India's macro-economic performance has been only 'moderately good' in the terms of GDP growth rates. Allowing for the fact that the better part of the entire Plan period, population increased by more than two per cent per annum, the growth in per capita income on an average basis has been somewhat less than two per cent per annum. The rise in the domestic savings rate from around 10 per cent of GDP in the early 50s to 23 per cent currently is quite impressive. Secondly, while India has had to reckon with a fair measure of inflation from time to time, the average rate of inflation has been a 'modest' one by international standards. Most often they were triggered by harvest failures and brought under control without resort to large-scale foreign borrowings. There are two major reasons for this success. One is the ability to maintain a rate of growth of food production around 31 per cent over the period as a whole. The other is the deepening financial support that was experienced by the country, which allowed domestic savings to go up in magnetized form. As Nicholas Kaldor and other have emphasized in the analysis of Latin American inflation, the proneness of these countries to inflation has been in large part due to their neglect of foodgrain agriculture. The policy of the Government to tackle inflation from both demand and supply side whenever it exceeded the single digit limit, coupled with political legitimacy (poor but an open democratic system is generally less tolerant of inflation than authoritarian regimes), it has, in the long-run, helped to increase the savings rate by helping to maintain confidence in the standard of value. However, much of the saving had taken place in the domestic sector and not in the public sector²¹. Most of the PSUs became white elephants.

¹⁸ *ibid.*p.72

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ S.K. Ray, *Indian Economy*, New Delhi , Prentice-Hall of India, 1987.p.548

²¹ S.K. Ray, *Op. Cit.* 1987., P.546

While the trend of growth rate of the industrial sector was five per cent, per annum during 1950-84, that of agriculture was only 2.2 per cent, same as the rate of population growth. Consequently, the contribution of the industrial sector to the national income had increased from 15 per cent in 1947 to 26.1 in 1988, but it has not resulted in a significant increase in the percentage of total labour employed in industry, the change has been from 10-15 per cent in 40 years. Consequently, the percentage of India's labour force employed in agriculture and allied activities has changed only from 74 to 66 in the same period²².

Health Services

India is one of the very few countries that had, from the very beginning, planned health services as a part of general socio-economic development. The broad objectives of the health plans are to strengthen the health infrastructure and complete eradication of diseases and their integration into basic health services. Health-care system was coordinated with other nation-building activities and was made apart of the community development programmes and administered through a network of primary health centres, which formed the nucleus for a minimum of scheme of health services for the rural community²³.

During the First and Second Five Year Plans, emphasis was laid on control of communicable diseases, improvement of environmental sanitation, organization of institutional facilities, training of medical and para-medical personnel, provision of maternity and child-health, services, health education and child-health, services, health education and nutrition and family planning. From the Second Plan onwards, greater emphasis on family planning has been laid by the government. During the Third Plan, a shift in the approach took place from the narrow clinical to one of the exclusive community education, provision of facilities near the homes of the people, and widespread effort in rural and urban community. The Family Planning Department was established in the Ministry of Health. The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act was placed on the Statute Book in 1972. Since 1975-76, the Government has been actively implementing and expanding the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), which provides supplementary nutrition, immunization, health checkups, referral service, treatment of minor illness, nutrition and health education, pre-school education and other services. Out of the 5.143 Community Development Blocks in the country, the ICDS have covered 1,551.

The experience of ICDS during the first 12 years indicated that it had the potential of bringing about a silent revolution- a profound instrument of community and human resource development. Its achievements include decrease in malnutrition and anemia, better nutritional assessments, significant decrease in preventable diseases, effective Anganwadi workers, fall in infant and child mortality and positive results of community

²² Sukhmoy Chakravarty, *op.cit.*p.87

²³ Mukesh Eswaran and Ashok Kotwal, *op. Cit.* P.4

participation. The health services also include maternity and nutritional services to women. The central expenditure on ICDS has increased over the years from 6.02 crore in 1980-81 to 144 crore in 1987-88. There are 1,054 rural projects and 497 tribal projects and 187 urban projects in the country, covering 87.78 lakh children in 1988.

The fruits of development have been neutralized by the failure of family planning programme to arrest the population growth.

Weaker Sections

The Constitution of India provides for promotion of welfare of the weaker section through socio-economic policies embodied in the *Directive Principles of State Policy*. Article 46 states that "The State shall promote with special care all the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

The weaker section include not only the SCs and STs but also the physically and mentally handicapped, women, widows, orphans, socially and educationally backward classes, minorities and so forth. Although Article 17 of the Constitution declares that untouchability is abolished and the Untouchability (Offences) Act provides penalties for preventing a person on the grounds of untouchability from entering a place of worship, or taking water from a sacred tank, well or spring and enforcing all kinds of social disabilities, yet the implementation of the law has been very ineffective resulting in atrocities against SCs, STs, women and others which are on the increase. Though the SCs and STs enjoy constitutionally laid down reservation of seats in Parliament and State Legislatures, in public services and for admission in colleges and universities, after the Supreme Court judgement on Mandal Commission Report, OBC (Other Backward Classes) have also been entitled for reservation not exceeding 49.5 per cent in public employment.

The Ministry of Welfare of the Government of India administers several welfare programmes for the SCs and STs, and the physically and mentally disabled. It provides financial assistance to organizations for disabled persons for of construction of building, purchase of furniture, equipments, salaries and allowances of the staff, books, contingencies, transport, publication of journal and maintenance charges and gives assistance for purchases/ fitting of aids or appliances and scholarship to various types of the handicapped- visual, hearing, orthopedic and mental persons for studies under its scholarship scheme.

Although women constitute roughly 50 per cent of the population of India and Constitution guarantees the same fundamental rights that are bestowed on men. Women suffer from serious social and economic disabilities. Their participation in various political, administrative and social institutions of national life and in the process of production is negligible. Unless women are treated equally and their right to participate

in the process of production, governance and administration is vigorously enforced and the social evils-such as dowry, child marriage etc. - against them are prevented from entering the orbit of development and its fruits, achieving participation of 50 per cent of the (women) in the development process appears to be far cry calling for prompt and effective corrective measures.

Social Security

The Constitution of India provides for social security and assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of want. It provides that the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity level of and development, make effective provision for security, the right to work, education and assistance in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. The Welfare State in India has been strengthened by the enactment and enforcement of Retirement Benefit Act, Employees Provident Fund Scheme, Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972, Family Pension-cum Life Insurance Scheme applying to employees drawing upto Rs. 1,000 per month in every factory, mine, port, oil field, plantation, shops, etc., employing 10 or more persons. The State has passed a number of labour legislation regulating the conditions of work of employees which also provide for social security. For instance, the employees State Insurance Act, 1948, covers all power-using non-seasonal factories wherein 20 or more persons are employed for a period of 12 months, except in mines and railway shed. The benefits include sickness, extended sickness, maternity, disablement, dependency and medical benefit.

There is no dearth of social security and welfare legislations in India. However, effective and efficient enforcement of these legal measures is far from satisfactory. The chief obstacles in the way of the full blossoming of the Welfare State in India are lack of : will power, resources, participation of people, corruption and inefficiency in social, political , administrative systems; the new economic policy of the Government; poverty and low position of women and workers in the unorganized sectors; and failure of the family planning programme to arrest the population explosion and illiteracy.

India's Development Performance In Comparative Perspective

Comparison with South Korea and Other Asian Tigers

A comparison between India's record of performance at the developmental front with those of Asian 'tigers', leads to the startling revelation that although both India and South Korea had almost the same per capita income at about 7 per cent of that of the United States in 1950, it has gone up for south Korea to 25 per cent in 1980, while it has remained virtually unchanged for India. Countries like Malaysia and Thailand have also shown superior performance than India with a rate 25 and 15 per cent respectively.

Not only is India a very poor country, but its income is also unequally distributed as in many other countries of the world. The top 20 per cent of the population in India have

a share of more than 40 per cent of the total consumption expenditure (income minus saving) while the share of the bottom 40 per cent is less than 20 per cent. The distribution of income is even more skewed than that of consumption expenditure. As a result, the poorest in India, typically the landless agricultural workers are exceedingly poor. Even by the most conservative estimate, over 35 per cent of Indians were below the official poverty line in 1987. (The Sixth Five-Year Plan defined an all-India poverty line as a per capita consumption expenditure of Rs. 65 of 1977-78 prices in rural areas corresponding to a calorie intake of 2,400 and Rs. 75 in urban areas corresponding to a calorie intake of 2,100). According to the World Bank data of 1985, poverty condition of India was worse than that of Sub-Sahara Africa. What is even more alarming is the fact that the percentage of population below the poverty line is higher and yet falling more slowly in India than in other less developed Asian countries, like Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand.

A significant percentage of the population is so poor that its basic needs like adequate diet, clean drinking water, and health care are not being satisfied which is also reflected in health indicators like child mortality and life expectancy. On the literary front, India's performance is one of the worst in the world. In 1947, 19 per cent of India's population could read and write. By 1985, this has improved to only 43 percent whereas during the same period China has improved the literacy rate from 30 to 70 per cent, and South Korea from 32 to 95 per cent. India's performance is especially shocking in the light of her achievement in higher education. While the slums, lacking in drinking water and sanitation are increasing in metropolitan cities, thousands flee to cities every day from villages in search of better life. The stark reality and most oppressive fact of life in rural areas being the scarcity of employment opportunities. India is far away from reaching the goal of a Welfare State as the hypotheses of the study stand vindicated.

Indian Bureaucracy As Catalyst of Economic Development & Nation Building

The development experience of India during the last half a century is a mixture of successes and failures. The responsibility for India's achievements and failures at the developmental front has to be borne by the nation's political leaders, civil servants, and the police. The specific failures of the Indian bureaucracy include politicization and communalisation of the civil and police services, dereliction of duty, wastefulness, lack of motivation for productivity, failure to eliminate the colonial legacy, failure to ensure efficiency and effectiveness and to invoke people's participation and, above all, corruption²⁴. The failure to arrest the population explosion in the country is a serious lapse.

At the human developmental front, India has to go a long way in the achievement of its goals as is evident from the World Development Report 1997²⁵. The Report mentions that in 1995, India's development record reads thus:

²⁴ Noorjahan Bava, "the Welfare State and Liberalization in India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XLII, No. 3, July-September, 1996. Pp.334-41

²⁵ World Bank, *World Development Report 1997: The State in a changing World*, New Delhi, 1997.

Population	929.4 million
GNP Per capita	\$ 340
Average Annual Growth	3.2 per cent
Poverty (Less than \$ one per day income)	55.1 per cent
Life expectancy at birth	62
Adult literacy	48 per cent
Government's deficit	1.6 per cent of GDP
Inflation	9.8 per cent of GDP
External debt	23 per cent of GDP
Average annual nominal growth rate	16.8 per cent during 1985-95

Nevertheless, the achievements of the Indian bureaucracy in nation-building activities, especially in the effective handling of the refugee and rehabilitation problem, following partition of the sub-continent, integration of the princely states with the Indian Union, successful management of the problems in the wake of the Reorganization of the States in 1956, conduct of elections to 11 Lok Sabhas and Legislative Assemblies, efficient management of India's foreign policy, effective handling of the terrorist, secessionist and insurgency problems in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and North-Eastern States, ensuring record performance of India as a successful functioning democracy, developing science and technology to enable the nation to enter the space Club, the successful and peaceful scientific explorations to Antarctica, satellite communication, safeguarding the country's unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty, to mention just a few shall remain the most shining and spectacular feats of the service- civil, police and the military of the nation.

Reining in the PMO*

..... P.S. Appu ²⁶

In this paper, the author argues that concentration of executive power in the PMO had made a mockery of the cabinet system. Another fall-out of the appropriation of powers by the PMO was the decline in the power and authority of the Cabinet Secretariat, which did not augur well for the civil service

An over-grown, all-powerful Prime Minister's Office has been at the centre of a major political controversy. The attack on the present setup of the PMO has been spear-headed by the hard core of the BJP and some elements in the National Democratic Alliance. The gravamen of the charge is that all the executive power of the Government of India is concentrated in the PMO, and that the Prime Minister has become a prisoner in the hands of some officers. There is also the allegation that in certain matters the PMO acts in tandem with a relative of the prime Minister living in his house and operating as the focus of extra-constitutional executive power. Newspapers and journals have commented copiously on the subject. An over-arching, all-powerful PMO is a grave threat to parliamentary democracy and subverts the Constitution.

It was after a thorough discussion and mature deliberation that the founding fathers of the Constitution opted for a parliamentary democracy of the Westminster type. Those wise men felt that considering the country's great diversity, supreme executive power should vest in a council of Ministers representing diverse interests and regions. In their judgement, such a Cabinet could more faithfully reflect the aspirations of our plural society than the presidential system. Under our Constitution, as in the United Kingdom, all executive power vests in the Council of Ministers collectively responsible to Parliament. Concentration of all executive power in the PMO makes a mockery of the Cabinet system. And what is worse, there is absolutely no check on such concentration of power. The American President, arguably one of the world's most powerful chief executives, has to contend with powerful Congressional Committees and some of his decisions have to be ratified by the legislature. No such check exists in our system. Concentration of all executive power in the PMO undermines the collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers.

When Walter Bagehot wrote his "English Constitution" in the latter half of the 19th century, the Prime Minister was only the first among equals. Much water has flowed

* The Prime Minister should of course, have aides of high calibre to help him in the discharge of his duties. But they should not dabble in the formulation of policy or interfere with the functioning of the Ministries.

²⁶ The author is a former Director of the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie

down the Thames sine then. Recent decades have witnessed enormous accretion to the powers of the Prime Minister of England. Winston Churchill during the Second World War, and in the post-war years Prime Ministers such as Harold Wilson and Ms. Margaret Thatcher exercise immense power. The accretion to the power of the Prime Minister was so vast that Mr. Richard Crossman in his Harvard lectures (1970) put forward the proposition that in England prime ministerial government had supplanted the Cabinet system. The Prime Minister of England, however, exercises his enormous power without having a high profile PMO. He relies primarily on the Cabinet Secretariat for assistance.

Before the Second World War, the Cabinet Secretariat in England was a small office. It expanded greatly during and after the war. The system of decision making through the Cabinet and Cabinet committees has developed and stabilized over the years. The Prime Minister presides over the other Cabinet meetings and over some Cabinet committees. Designated Ministers preside over other Cabinet committees. The Cabinet Secretariat records the minutes of the proceedings of the Cabinet and Cabinet Committees and renders all necessary help in decision making. Where expertise of high quality is needed it is secured by drafting talented persons on official committees. The Cabinet Secretariat thus functions as the nerve Centre of the Government. It also maintains a faithful and accurate record of decision making ensuring transparency and accountability, the two most important requirements of democratic governance. The Prime Minister relies on the Cabinet Secretariat for formulating policy, ensuring coordination and exercising control. In Mr. Crossman's words, "one of the greatest advantages of the British system is that we have evolved a method of enabling the civil service to have a continuing directive from the politicians, backed by a summary of the balance of argument on which each decisions is made."

So, when a powerful Prime Minister uses the Cabinet Secretariat for discharging his functions no damage is done to the Cabinet system or the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. Furthermore, as the Cabinet Secretariat is manned by professionally competent and politically neutral civil servants, the change of government does not lead to dislocation. The Cabinet Secretariat in India performs practically the same functions as its counterpart in the U.K. Its functions include the preparation and circulation of the agenda for the meetings of the Cabinet and Cabinet committees, accurately recording the decisions and circulating them, assisting the Prime Minister and the Cabinet in the formulation of policy, overseeing implementation and ensuring inter-ministerial coordination. In short, it is expected to serve as the nerve Centre of the Government of India.

While what has been stated above is the theory, during the last 35 years on a few occasions the role of the Cabinet Secretariat in policy making was usurped by the PMO. It happened for the first Time during Indira Gandhi's initial years as Prime Minister. The only saving grace was that Mr. P.N. Haksar, the then Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, was a person of Unquestioned integrity endowed with vision and interested in questions of policy. There was never any suspicion of his having misused his position for personal gain. Yet, he was guilty of undermining the sound system of democratic governance that had been evolved over the years.

After Mr. Haksar's exit from the PMO things deteriorated fast. With emergence of the then Prime Minister's younger son as the power behind the throne, both the Cabinet Secretariat and the PMO were eclipsed. During the Emergency all semblance of democratic governance disappeared and a stunned nation helplessly watched the ruthless and arbitrary exercise of executive power by a small coterie headed by Sanjay Gandhi. After the general elections of 1977 the Cabinet regained its primacy. However, during the last 23 years there have been periods when the authority of the Cabinet was undermined and the PMO subverted the Cabinet system.

Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee heads a weak and unstable coalition. Even over his own party he does not have the kind of sway that Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi exercised over the Congress(I). And Mr. Vajpayee has to reckon with his coalition partners. This was an ideal situation for the emergence of the Council of Ministers as the sole repository of supreme executive power. If this has not happened and unchecked power is exercised by the PMO, the entire responsibility for the aberration must rest with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues. It is beside the point to direct all criticism against the present incumbents in the PMO. Personalities do not matter. What is totally unacceptable is the system of concentration of all executive power in the PMO. Such concentration of power, as system of government and the collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers. The practice is repugnant to the basic structure of our constitution and should therefore, be ended.

The Prime Minister should, of course, have aides of high calibre to help him in the discharge of his duties. But they should not dabble in the formulation of policy or interfere with the functioning of the Ministries. In no circumstance should they be permitted to initiate important changes in policy keeping the cabinet and even the Prime Minister in the dark.

The Favourite Whipping Boy²⁷

..... S.S.Gill

This paper suggests that even though the bureaucracy had become the favourite whipping boy, (especially of the media) the fact was that most of the ills ascribed to it could actually be traced to the depravity of the political class. Moreover, while the media highlighted all the negative aspects of bureaucracy, positive interventions and success stories - like the successful conduct of the Kumbh Mela were never brought to public focus.

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his Autobiography, "But of one thing I am quite sure, that no new order can be built up in India as long as the spirit of the ICS pervades our administration and our public services. Therefore it seems to me quite essential that the ICS and similar services must disappear completely, as such, before we can start real work on a new order". This was not a casual, off-the-cuff remark. Nehru had seen at close quarters the working of the Indian bureaucracy and had been at its receiving end for nearly two decades before he made this observation. Even after he took over as Prime Minister of the Interim Government, he wrote to Sardar Patel, "I am shocked at the slowness of our work and the delays that continuously occur. I felt, therefore, and still feel that it is necessary to overhaul this entire system."

Nehru set up several committees to overhaul the system. The First Five Year Plan stressed the need for structural changes to raise the level of administration". But the colonial bureaucracy not only remained completely in tact but became much more powerful; systems and procedures were never altered, and we are still governed by the legal framework designed in the middle of the 19th century to serve the goals of a colonial power.

After she became Prime Minister, Nehru's daughter also lamented that her father had not been able to reform the bureaucracy. But Indira Gandhi did not initiate the necessary reforms. After her, practically all the Prime Ministers have blamed the bureaucracy for the lack of the country's rapid progress. But, despite all the power at their command, none of them has ever introduced any radical changes in our administrative system. And there are any number of cases where the elected representatives have sabotaged any reform meant to transfer powers from the bureaucracy to the people.

It is not my case that the Indian bureaucracy needs no reforms. By and large it is insensitive to the plight of the poor, it is inefficient and slow-moving, and it has become

²⁷ Published in The Hindu (7 June, 2001)

increasingly self-serving and corrupt. It never shed its colonial paternal syndrome to assume the role of a public service provider. But these failings are not the only reason for its having become the favourite whipping boy of the press, the public and the politicians. It lies in the very nature of this institution to wield power without being directly accountable to the electorate.

The bureaucracy's hold becomes all the more pervasive owing to the character of our political executive. Most of our Ministers are insufficiently educated to comprehend the complexities of modern governance and have to depend heavily on their officers to discharge their functions. What aggravates this dependence is their compulsion to continuously extend patronage to their constituents, and quickly make their pile for future contingencies. These pursuits they can follow only with the active connivance of the bureaucracy, which further strengthens its hold over the system.

As you cannot get rid of bureaucracy, serious attempts need to be made to reform it. One of the most effective means to restrict its ubiquitous power is to reduce its functions and size by vigorously implementing Panchayati Raj. But so far the elected representatives have shown little inclination to empower the people, as an empowered citizenry means not only weaker bureaucracy but also reduction in the area of influence to the political bosses.

The fact that the bureaucracy has a vast spread also renders it liable for the sins which are not of its commission. For instance, civic amenities in most cities and towns have steadily deteriorated. Roads are full of potholes, power supply has become erratic and water supply undependable. And in the public mind it is the civil administration which bears the blame for these failures. But, in fact, it is the elected municipal bodies which are primarily responsible for making plans and allocating funds for these amenities. It is no secret that the councillors consider the municipality a milch cow and siphon off funds through contracts awarded to their cronies. In fact, wherever a municipal committee has been superseded and a bureaucrat appointed as administrator, things have invariably improved.

Coming to specifics, nearly half the power supplied by the Delhi Vidyut Board gets stolen. Residents of unauthorized colonies and industrialists are the major culprits. Whenever the Board tries to stop the theft in these colonies, the local politicians intervene on the plea that the slum-dwellers are their vote bank and should be spared. And if the industrialists are hauled up, the politicians come to their rescue on the ground that they are their financiers and should not be alienated. This situation creates an environment where the employees get an opportunity to indulge in rampant corruption under the protection of their political patrons. Or take the aftermath of the Gujarat earthquake. Slackness of the local administration in organizing relief has come in for a lot of criticism, and rightly so. But what has not been sufficiently appreciated is the manner in which the local politicians and the municipal councillors contributed to this situation by their infighting and their rivalry to make political capital out of the misery of their constituents.

Again, if the havoc in Ahmedabad was caused by the collapse of 70 newly-constructed buildings, it resulted from the use of sub-standard material and flagrant violation of the safety norms by the contractors who were hand-in-glove with the local politicians. Government employees also shared a good bit of the loot, but theirs was only an incidental gain.

As compared to the mismanagement of the relief operations in Gujarat, look at the manner in which the Maha Kumbh Mela was managed by the local administration. Despite a gathering of 30 million pilgrims milling around the Ghats, there was not a single major mishap, no fracas occurred among the competing akharas, and there was no outbreak of any epidemic. A high level of sanitation was maintained and supply of necessities assured. How was this feat performed? Here the politicians did not meddle with the administration, as smooth management of this religious festival was in their interest also.

It is not uncommon that a bureaucrat who has displeased an influential politician or taken a principled stand against his Minister is victimized and humiliated, without anyone coming to his rescue. It is all right to say that as he has the protection of permanent service, a civil servant should willingly pay such a price in the interests of clean administration. But when a young District Collector with two school-going children is repeatedly transferred from one place to the other, or an outstanding officer gets rotten postings, his idealism take a heavy beating. Yet, despite these odds, there are numerous cases where bureaucrats have shown commendable social commitment. Several NGOs would tell you about the leading role played by some Collectors in promoting literacy campaigns. The manner in which the civic administration of cities such as Baroda, Mumbai, Pune and Jalandhar was radically improved has also attracted considerable media attention. Several Collectors have taken a lead in promoting water harvesting and fostering Panchayati Raj institutions.

The point I am trying to make is not that our bureaucracy has done a magnificent job and is criticized without good reason. Its sins are legion, and it has to bear a part of the responsibility for the steep decline in the performance of civil administration. But several of its failings stem from the intervention and depravity of the political class. The bureaucracy is the creation of the prevailing political system, and a thoroughly corrupt and self-serving political system cannot foster an honest and public-spirited bureaucracy.

Proceedings

.....Sanjeev Chopra

This section records the deliberations and discussions of the members of the Retreat in the Inaugural session and the six Working sessions. The proceedings are based on inputs provided by the rapporteurs viz., (Shri S.K. Nandy (Inaugural Session and Security Issues on the South Asia, Shri Manoj Ahuja (The IAS and the Present World), Shri Yaduvendra Mathur (Administration & Ethics), Ms. Arti Ahuja (Challenges before the Service: Issues in Capacity Building), Shri M.H. Khan (Academy as a Think Thank).

Inaugural Session

The Inaugural Session of the Retreat for the 1951 batch was held at the Conference Hall of the Academy. Eleven officers, Ms. Anna R. Malhotra, Shri Bhalchandra Gopal Deshmukh, Shri Binoy Krishna Dubey, Shri Chand Babu Jain, Shri Harbans Singh, Shri K. Subrahmanyam, Shri K.V Seshadri, Shri Kartar Singh Bawa, Shri P.S. Appu, Shri Pratap Kishen Kaul, Shri Satyendra Krishen Sen Chib of the 51 batch were present. The Academy was represented by Shri Wajahat Habibullah, Director, Shri Binod Kumar, Joint Director and members of the Academic Council.

Shri Habibullah welcomed the participants to the Retreat. He began by paying a tribute to the deceased members of the batch. He also read out the message of Shri V. Natrajan, currently in the USA expressing his inability to attend this Retreat. He also conveyed Shri Natrajan's best wishes to the participants. He also read out the letter from Shri R.P. Subramanian, son of Late R.S. Paramasivan conveying the news of his death on May 14, 2001.

In his address, Shri Habibullah mentioned that the Retreat tradition had started in 1997 on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence. In that year, all surviving members of the ICS and officers of IAS allotted the seniority of 1947 batch were invited to the Academy. Thereafter the Academy had organized Retreats for the 1948, 1949, and 1950 batches in the years 1998, 1999, and 2000. He said that he was very happy that the Academy was playing host to officers of the 1951 batch in the Golden Jubilee year of their entry to the IAS. He spoke of the contributions made by the Service in strengthening the unity and integrity of the country and for laying the foundations of a stable democracy. However, he raised the issue of the 'continuing relevance' of the IAS as a service, and suggested that the participants of the Retreat deliberate on this issue at length. He also mentioned that in many quarters, people were questioning the claim of the IAS 'of keeping the nation together'. He asserted that if there were defects in the

system, they could be rectified. However, he also referred to the IAS becoming the 'favourite whipping boy', and blamed for all the wrongs in the administration of the country. He concluded by admitting that the Service was facing severe criticism from many quarters, and sought appropriate help and guidance from the senior members of the Service to overcome this impasse.

Thereafter the members of the Academic Council introduced themselves. This was followed by the reminiscences of the 1951 batch Officers about their 'good old days'.

Ms. Anna R. Malhotra was distressed at the present day reputation of the IAS as a Service. She felt that two contributing factors had eroded the credentials and credibility of the Service; viz., 'corruption' and 'political affiliation' or 'alignment'. She was quite clear that this aspect needed immediate attention.

Shri Balchandra Gopal Deshmukh referred to the traditional norms associated with the Service, '*never ask for any posting: never refuse any posting*'. He advised the present generation of officers to do the job for which they are appointed, 'without fear or favour', as the country required good civil servants with unimpeachable integrity and character.

Shri Binoy Krishna Dubey expressed his dismay and unhappiness over the current state of the Service. He pointed out that the deterioration has touched its nadir. He contended that a large number of officers were inclined to accept the dictates of their political bosses and that their only concern was that of a lucrative posting.

However, Shri Chand Babu Jain, did not agree with the views of Shri B.K. Dubey. Shri Jain asserted that many IAS officers were quite honest and capable, and had the capacity to deliver positive results. He admitted that there were a few 'black sheep' that were aligned to their political bosses. In his view, the IAS was not 'an end by itself', but a means to run the country in a more efficient and professional manner. He was not oblivious to the present day problems of the Service, and admitted that its reputation was not as good as it had been in the past. He also expressed an apprehension that because of lack of honesty and integrity in the highest echelons of administration, senior officers were sometimes unable to implement their orders through their colleagues and subordinate officers. He also drew the attention of the house to the very attractive pay package and perks offered to the bright, young and talented boys and girls from the IITs and IIMs. He felt that this factor did act as a de-motivation to civil service aspirants. He felt that if Sardar Patel's concept of unified and independent Civil Service had to be upheld, this aspect of attracting bright boys and girls to civil services should be inquired into and deliberated upon.

In his reminiscences, Shri Harbans Singh spoke about the progressive deterioration of the Service. He was concerned that the guidance offered by the senior officers to their colleagues was no longer available in the present days. He felt that this should be emphasized by the Academy. Collectors and other senior officers should spend more time guiding and mentoring the younger entrants to the service.

Shri K. Subramanyam mentioned that he did not have a 'conventional career' in the IAS. He referred to his association with the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis and allied areas outside the mainstream administration. He refuted the myth of 'the IAS holding the country together' and contended that there were serious 'question marks' regarding the role of IAS in policy making, as also in development administration. He felt that the IAS had to make the transition from being the 'steel frame' to being 'facilitators' in the age of Information Technology.

Shri K.V. Seshadri agreed with Shri C.B. Jain and Shri K. Subrahmanyam that the world was no longer the same as it was in the fifties. Rural areas, let alone district and taluk headquarters had modern means of transport and communication, including TV and computers. Citizens too were better informed of their rights. The democratic process was well established in India. Moreover, there were specialist departments and service personnel for different aspects of human development. As such, the role and functions envisaged for the IAS had to be looked into afresh. He however, referred to the observations of Shri N.N. Pillai, who had been deputed by UNESCO to do a study of family planning in Kerala and UP. He observed that in UP, even villages which were proximate to district and Tehsil headquarters had large family sizes and were totally unaware about any family welfare programmes. Nonetheless, he was optimistic about the commitment and potential of the young officers who were performing their duties with sincerity and devotion. He also wanted greater empowerment for citizens' groups and local bodies. He stressed the need for top priority to education of women. In his view the Constitutional guarantees to All India Services had led the media to think that the IAS had been given some 'special' privileges denied to other public servants. According to him this provision was not of any significant help to the service.

Shri Kartar Singh Bawa contended that the good rapport between seniors and juniors was gradually ebbing away. He specifically referred to the tradition of '*not lobbying for any particular posting*'. He also wanted a discussion on strategies for rebuilding the image of the Service, which currently was rather poor.

In his reminiscences, Shri P.S. Appu contended that the principles and values, which had steered them through the early years in the smooth running of the Administration, were getting eroded. He felt that the Academy had a role to play in ensuring a high ethical and moral standard for officers.

Shri Pratap Krishen Kaul stated that even though there was no rigorous system of training of civil servants in their times, there was 'fellowship' and 'camaraderie' among them. He advised officers to maintain their contact with the general public. He expressed his reservation about the 'abrasive behaviour' of district officials towards their stakeholders. He was also concerned about the Service losing its credibility.

Shri Satyandra Krishen Sen Chib spoke of the top-heavy administration and felt that the country could not be administered from the Secretariat. He was concerned about the neglect of district administration and field office. He referred to the dichotomy between

'public interest' on the one hand and 'political pressures' on the other. He also laid stress on the values of personal integrity, ability to take decisions and help and guidance to the juniors.

The meeting ended with the vote of the thanks by Shri Binod Kumar, Joint Director, LBS NAA. He said that the house had been enriched by the deliberations of the inaugural session.

The IAS and the Present World (Working Session-I)

Shri B.G Deshmukh opened the session and invited the participants to make their presentations. Shri Harbans Singh initiated the discussion with the question: did we need the IAS? He stated that in order to answer this, we had to examine the rationale behind setting up of the IAS. At the time of independence, many states did not want the IAS, and it was mainly due to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's insistence that the IAS was created. However Patel had to make compromises with his idea of the IAS. The IAS was to work under the dual control of the Union and State Governments. He also had to accept the 'promotion quota' from the State services²⁸.

Shri Singh pointed out that the basic considerations for setting up the IAS and the IPS were still relevant. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wanted the All-India-Service to be an important factor in national integration. The movement of officers of the IAS from one part of the country to the other had contributed to this process. According to Shri Singh, India's system of 'territorial administration' predated that of the British, and had worked well. District officers came in contact with the people and this experience was of immense help to the Union and State Governments. India was a Union of States, and therefore it was necessary for the Centre to have a body of officers with knowledge about the state administration from different parts of the country. Shri Harbans Singh added that even though the basic framework of the governance had not changed, the following points had to be noted. Firstly, the tone and tenor of the administration was set by politicians and not by the officials. Secondly, there had been a major change in the character of politicians. Many of them had a criminal background, and it was not possible for the IAS to work with them without 'consideration of fear or favour'.

Moreover, the Service itself had changed. The Service had to exhibit neutrality, but in general perception, IAS officers were seen to be in a 'hand-in-glove' alignment with politicians. He also regretted the clear decline in the levels of integrity.

According to Shri Singh, the general impression of the IAS was that of a gang which occupied all lucrative posts, and impinged on positions that should have gone to other services. However, compared to many other professions, the IAS was still regarded as competent and honest. According to him, the IAS was 'a pool of officers, selected centrally and impartially and from amongst the best talent available in the country'.

²⁸ It may however be noted that prior to 1947, there were 'listed posts' which could be held both by members of the State services and the ICS.

Although there was an impression that the IAS was not attracting the best talent, this was disproved by the trend of professionals taking the civil services examination.

Ms. Manisha Shridhar raised the issue of decentralization and the transfer of functions and responsibilities to Panchayati Raj Institutions. The IAS officers now had to deal with an increasing number of politicians at various levels. It was necessary to analyze the impact of these developments for the public as a whole, and on the Service in particular.

In his presentation, Shri P.S. Appu raised two basic questions, viz., the need for the IAS and the imperative of decentralization. He was of the opinion that the IAS could not survive or be the premier service of the country if it continued to 'live in the past'. The world had become complex, and administration had to respond to the changes. He however pointed out that there had been no change in the calibre of people joining the services. They were as good as the previous batches. However, he wanted officers to take up specialization in a particular field from the twelfth years of service.

Shri Appu referred to the process of decentralization and stated that the role of the IAS was going to be different. The process of decentralization had been given Constitutional sanctity by the 73rd Amendment. India was a country of great diversity and there was no way the Central or State Government(s) could micro-manage schools and hospitals throughout the length and breadth of the country. Democratic decentralization was the only course left. He complemented Late Rajiv Gandhi for his insistence on devolution of powers to the Panchayats.

According to Shri Kaul, the IAS was established, not only for maintaining the integrity of the country, but also for performance of management and administrative functions at the district level. This experience later helped them in policy formulation tasks at the State and the Central Government level. However, it had become necessary to review whether these tasks were still required to be done by the IAS.

He said that at the district level, the major task of the IAS were revenue administration, management of law and order and coordination of development functions. It had to be accepted that the importance of the revenue function had declined considerably, and elected representatives were now looking after inter departmental co-ordination. As such, there had been a marked decline in the role, responsibilities and functions of the Collector. He also added that with regard to policy formulation, the task could now be outsourced to specialists, universities and think tanks. The media was also playing an important role in offering viable policy options for the consideration of the general public. As such, there was a 'question mark' with regard to the relevance of the IAS.

Intervening at the stage, Shri SKS Chib pointed out that lack of specialization in the IAS was the consequence of a 'non-professional personnel policy' followed by the government. IAS officers were being transferred frequently, even in critical postings such as those of Collectors or Secretaries. He suggested that the IAS officers should be given fixed tenure.

As regards, specialization, he felt that officers in the middle management group (1220 years of seniority) should be encouraged to specialize. He felt that at the highest levels of administrator, a generalist was better suited for policy formulation roles. He suggested a proactive role for the DoPT in career planning for officers.

As regards, democratic decentralization, he pointed out the negative side of 'district government' experiment in Madhya Pradesh. The abolition of technical department had led to confusion and chaos with District Ministers - and Planning Committees engaged in function other than those envisaged in the Constitution. He also referred to the distinction between 'representative democracy' and 'participatory democracy', and felt that in Madhya Pradesh, an unnecessary conflict had been created between the *Gram Sabha* and the *Gram Panchayat*. He recommended a cautious approach to 'democratic decentralization'.

Shri K Subrahmanyam observed that the title of this session should have been '*IAS in the years to come*', rather than '*IAS and the present world*'. It had to be understood that the IAS was not an end in itself. One had to see where India was going to be in the coming years, and the role IAS could play in that context. According to him, the writing on the wall clearly indicated that in the years to come, greater autonomy would devolve upon state governments, Zilla Parishads and Municipal Corporations. He also felt that with the integration of Indian economy, it was not the IAS, but trade and commerce, besides cultural and civilization links that would hold India together. He appreciated the positive role played by the Service in the fifties and sixties, in making the transition from the Raj to the Republic. At that time, the country did not have managerial cadres and IAS manned almost all the posts. However today there was an availability of managerial cadres. Secondly, many functions, which had to be done only by the Government, could be out-sourced today. Many of the functions of the present day Collector could be given to the local self-governments. Even the policy role had to be seen in the context of the increasing trend of privatization and economic liberalization.

According to Shri Seshadri, there was total confusion in the minds of the people and the media about the status of elected legislators who were sworn in as Ministers at Delhi or in the States. Once they had been administered the oath of office, it was only correct to regard them as part of the Executive branch of the government: true that under the parliamentary system they were answerable to the legislature and their party also. But their daily duties were clearly those of an 'executive' and the IAS in the Secretariat was but one of the (functional) instruments of the same Executive Parliamentary Traditions in place had put into practice the procedure of citing (within quotations) the text of any order passed by a Minister, including his name, designation and the date of his signature, and below that setting down the name and status of the officer who under the authority of the President notifies its implementation. This had much to merit our adoption. Otherwise the IAS and such officials were held responsible for acts and orders for which Ministers ought to be responsible.

Likewise he wondered how far it was relevant for IAS officers to maintain that they had a major policy making role to play vis-a-vis the legislative branches. Were we not biting more than we can chew?

As regards the pernicious and quite often arbitrary flood of transfers of officers, deemed pro and anti, by each party when it came into power, there was need to consider introduction of the 'spoils system' (as in the United States); he had been advised that it may have some lacunae in a parliamentary system and instead the practice could be adopted of getting the names of 'critical' appointments like the Cabinet/ Chief/ Home/ Foreign/Finance Secretaries accepted by the opposition parties first from short lists, so that the incumbents are not changed just because the party in power is voted out midterm.

In his presentation, Shri K.S. Bawa spoke about the weaknesses of the IAS. Over the years, there had been an undue expansion in the IAS. There were too many officers in the posts of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries etc. Particularly in the state governments. These posts were not really needed and could be reduced. It also invited animosity from other services whose opportunities for advancement were correspondingly curtailed. According to him, it was the unwarranted increase in the cadre strength of the IAS, which enabled the politicians to make the IAS officers pliable. He underscored the need for IAS officers to understand the political system and the working of a politician's mind. It was also important to understand political compulsions in an era of coalition politics.

Shri Chand Babu Jain raised several issues, which had a bearing on the Service. These included the role of IAS in economic development, the threat to IAS from alternative avenues of employment, and the challenge from the process of privatization.

Ms. Manisha Shridhar raised the issue of service conditions of IAS officers posted to the North-East cadres. Shri Sanjeev Chopra wanted the allotment of cadre on merit-cum-choice basis. Shri K. Subrahmanyam informed the participants that this matter had been discussed before, and the concept of a 'Frontier service' for the North-East was a possible solution. Committed persons in the service could volunteer for the frontier service and given adequate compensation, with special provision for education in the best schools for their wards.

In his concluding remarks, Shri Deshmukh summed up the discussion by reiterating the relevance and need of the service in the coming years. He however, felt that the Service had to 'reinvent' itself to keep in tune with the changing time. He emphasized the importance of career planning in the IAS and recommended that Chief Secretaries in States and the Cabinet Secretary in the Centre should act as a buffer between the political executive and the judiciary.

He felt that the criminal tenderous of the politicians and their complete neglect of the 'rule of law' were responsible for the determination of ethical values in government, and for the near breakdown in the relationship between civil services and politicians. He

wanted the Academy to study the recommendations of the Nolan Committee (UK) which had laid clear norms for conduct of parliamentarians and ministers.

Administration and Ethics (*Working Session-II & III*)

In this session, the participants of the 1951 batch were joined by officers attending the DoPT's²⁹ Vertical Integration Course on Ethics (IB³⁰ Campus). The Co-ordinator of the Ethics Course, Shri Yaduvendra Mathur initiated the discussion by providing a brief background to the Ethics Course, followed by a round of self-introduction. The session was chaired by Shri SKS Chib. Shri K.V. Seshadri was the co-chairman for the session.

In his opening remarks, Shri SKS Chib suggested that the Academy and IIPA should compile information and conduct case studies on the causes and reasons for corruption and its impact on administration and society. According to Shri Chib, 'discretionary powers' of bureaucrats and politicians was the root cause of corruption and nepotism.

Shri B.G. Deshmukh felt that a sound and firm grounding in ethical values was very essential to have a corruption-free society. According to him, the 'socialist state' with its 'outstretched bureaucracy' was the main cause for corruption. He felt that the downsizing the government and the end of 'discretionary powers' would bring about a noticeable decline in corruption levels. He also said that the problem with corruption, in India was that it affected the day-to-day life of the common citizen. He expressed serious concern over the 'social acceptance' of corruption and felt that the media had to play a vigilant role in this regard. However Shri S.K.S. Chib felt that the media's role was not always positive, and that on several occasions, it had exhibited a definite 'bias' against civil servants. The media was not aware of the conditions under which bureaucracy had to function.

Responding to a question from the participants of the Ethics course, Shri K.V. Seshadri acknowledged that their generation was not entirely free from the menace of corruption. He shared his own bitter experiences in the Service but ended on a positive note that in the long run, *'right always prevailed over wrong'*.

In his remarks, Shri P.S. Appu said that the Indian 'state' was becoming increasingly corrupt. However, he felt that lectures and seminars on ethics and values had a positive impact, provided the Resource Persons were people of established ethical integrity. He admitted that even his generation could not absolve itself of the blame for the decline in the Service. However, he was convinced that bureaucratic corruption flowed out of political corruption.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam demolished the image of the ICS and the British Raj as being impeccably honest. He mentioned that the village officer's salary was only Rs. 7 per month, and he 'managed' the rest by 'dispensing official patronage'. However, he felt that the system could reform itself, as happened in the US after Roosevelt took over as the President.

²⁹ Department of Personnel & Training, Government of India.

³⁰ IB - Indira Bhawan

Shri P.K. Kaul drew the judiciary within the ambit of discussions. He questioned the ethical propriety of asking the Chief Secretaries to confirm/deny on affidavit the allegedly defamatory statements made by the Political Executive. He felt that the entire system was outdated and incapable of responding to the changing needs and requirements of the society. The State in India still followed the concept of the '*sovereign being above the law*' and the new rulers (politicians and bureaucrats) were most reluctant to treat themselves as public servants responsible to citizens and stakeholders.

Shri C.B. Jain clarified that ethics and corruption were not synonymous. There could be instances when a person was not corrupt but 'unethical'. He felt that ethics was a comprehensive term and needed to be looked at holistically. Participants from the Ethics Course talked about the need for 'peer group pressure' to contain unethical practices.

Shri Harbans Singh felt that ethics was best learnt at a younger age, at home and at school, when the receptivity was higher. Shri Jain narrated the parable of the grandfather and the grandson on the sea beach. As the grandson threw back one of the hundreds of starfish into the sea, the grandfather asked him if it would make any difference. The grandson had replied in the affirmative - '*to this starfish -it would make all the difference*'.

The session concluded with a vote of thanks from the Director.

Challenges before the Service: Issues in Capacity Building (Working Session-IV)

The session was chaired by the Director, Shri Wajahat Habibullah who flagged the key issues. At the outset he mentioned about a letter from Pune that was published in the Hindustan Times. According to the correspondent, "the bureaucracy was furthering the vested interests of the political masters, and this collusion was weakening of the steel frame. The CBI delayed investigations and ensured that the guilty got away. The lower judiciary was corrupt, and the higher judiciary was beset with delays." The letter described India as the world's largest '*mafia syndicate, masquerading as a democracy*'. Shri Habibullah mentioned that unfortunately this perception had become quite widespread. In this context, he flagged the following issues:

- i. The need for IAS in the present day India,
- ii. Identification of the areas where privatization of Government functions could be done. There was also a need to identify the areas where privatization was not required, for example, health and education
- iii. Whether the concept of a 'generalist service', and 'specialization' were necessarily in conflict? How could specialization be done within the parameters of the Service
- iv. Rising provincial autonomy and the role of the IAS. Could IAS take credit for the unity of India and was there really a threat to India's unity?
- v. The 73rd and 74th Amendment and decentralization of powers to the Panchayati Raj
- vi. The dilemmas faced on account of liberalization and the protection of domestic market in the face of challenges due to WTO

- vii. Prioritizing areas of work: was it better to focus on fewer things rather than do many things poorly. Should Government concentrate only on few functions? Should it facilitate rather the govern?
- viii. The issue of 'e-governance' and it's impact on the Service
- ix. The importance of citizens' charters
- x. The need for regulatory reforms.

He concluded by emphasizing the point that policy making would remain an important role for senior members of the Service. However, as regard the implementation function, the responsibilities could be given to specialist functionaries and departments.

In his remarks, Shri P.K. Kaul said that in order to remain a vibrant democracy, it was important to look beyond the formal structure of democratic institutions. It was important to examine the quality of life, and whether citizens were able to exercise '*reasonable choices*'. He referred to Amartya Sen's writings, which pointed out that '*the conflict was not about the democratic form of government in new countries, but on the quality of democracy*'. Democracy gave us the freedom to act, but also the freedom of 'thought' and 'work'.

According to him, an examination of the existing systems was required to understand whether they actually enhanced the welfare of the people. He quoted from an article in Fortune Magazine, which compared the increase in per capita income across countries from 1950 to 2000. The highest increase was seven times for China and India was at the near bottom. Thus, we had to ensure that all our measures led to increasing incomes for the people. Shri Kaul gave an example of the service industry, which from the time of independence had been in the public sector (transport, railway, etc.). Most people felt aggrieved with their functioning. He also referred to the aggressive labour unions in many PSUs like Indian Airlines, and Air India. Likewise in the case of education - Allahabad and Delhi Universities, which were under Government control, had shown a marked decline in quality. The efforts made to find remedies in the Government owned service sector had largely been unsuccessful.

In his opinion, traditionally, management had worked on a system of 'checks and balances'. These were now becoming dysfunctional. Even at the district level, the line departments functioned independently of the District Collector. He concluded by suggesting that the IAS needed to examine its strengths and weaknesses vis-à-vis technocrats and members of other services.

Speaking after Shri Kaul, Shri SKS Chib agreed that changes were required, but he felt that '*these should not be revolutionary but gradual*'. The axiom that privatization was the panacea for all evils of government was not necessarily true. It depended on the quality of the people in each sector. He gave the example of Modern Foods India Ltd., which had deteriorated after privatization. With reference to the 73rd and 74th Amendments, he was of the opinion that it would lead to an imminent conflict between

the states and Panchayats. He also mentioned that bureaucracy was identified only with the IAS. In his view, it also included the technical departments, and subordinate functionaries.

He referred to a book of Bruce Healy, which categorized Ministers into different categories such as Management oriented, Policy oriented, Constituency oriented and Parliamentarians. Thus, the orientation of ministers affected the running of the government. Regarding specialization he recommended that government should be divided into eight to ten broad areas of functioning.

Shri Harbans Singh pointed out that in Australia and New Zealand, the permanent civil service had been abolished, and contractual employment was followed. There were three levels where contractual appointments were given: by the Minister, by the Secretary and by the Head of the Department. The person making the appointment could fix the salary at any level within a given range. He or she also had the freedom to terminate or renew the contract. Shri Singh wondered whether such a prescription would be valid for India at this stage.

Shri Subrahmanyam commented that in the information age, '*decisions had to be marketed and endorsed by the people*'. This consciousness was missing at the political and bureaucratic level. He mentioned that 'liberalization' had not been properly marketed by any government.

He was also critical of the present system of money being routed from the Centre to Panchayati Raj Institutions in the name of decentralization. *He wanted statutory bodies at the state level to regulate flow of fund to PRI's*. The present system had generated conflicts at different levels about the distribution of power.

As regards the functioning of the government, he pointed out the lacunae in the current system. Persons holding elective offices appropriated all decision making to them. This was the reason for the present political instability because the MPs/MLAs felt like '*a nobody*' till they became Ministers. He therefore, recommended that 'committees' be made more powerful. He said that it was important to remember that '*power had to be exercised by the Parliament, and not by the ruling party alone*'. He was categorical in stating that the rule of law needed strengthening. In the present communication age, the rule of law got subverted because Chief Ministers gave directions to district officials to act in a particular manner. The media also played up the issues without knowing the facts.

With privatization and consequent consumerism, more goods and services were required. The managerial function could not be done by government alone. The need for managerial decentralization compelled government to privatize. Similarly, it was also true that 'choices to people had to be regulated', and thus the need to have regulatory bodies. Coordination was needed between regulatory authorities, and in Shri Subrahmanyam's view this was a generalist function. He saw an important role of the IAS in regulatory administration.

According to Shri B.G. Deshmukh, it was wrong for the civil servants to consider their relationship with politicians as 'adversarial'. Civil servants had to understand the functioning of the political machinery in a democracy. He suggested that junior IAS officers work for some years in a Minister's establishment to know the politician's mind. However, many participants and LBSNAA faculty members expressed serious reservation on the practical implications of implementing this suggestion.

According to Shri Deshmukh, it was not for the IAS to decide what India be in the next two decades? However, as a Service, it was important to foresee the trends. Certain functions of the Government could be transferred to private professionals or NGOs. He suggested that except the main functions relating to external affairs, fiscal and monetary policy, national security etc., others could be contracted out. However, he was convinced that in a sub-continental country like India, All India Services had to continue. Their structure could of course be redefined in tune with the newer responsibilities and changed policy environment.

Shri Seshadri did not agree with the suggestion of Shri B.G. Deshmukh for posting young IAS officers with Ministers as their Private Secretaries as Officers-on-Special Duty. He felt that it would be perceived as yet another road to "success". Referring to corruption again, he pointed out that we had inherited a bad commercial system.

In his comments, Shri Appu said that the days of the '*gifted amateur*' were over. Even though radical changes were required, some functions had to continue. There would be more responsibilities for the services in the social sector. NGOs could be assigned responsibilities only if they were good and accountable. Regarding the abolition of the Civil Service in Australia and New Zealand, he said it may not be applicable in India because it was a diverse and unique country. As far as PRIs were concerned, money should not go directly from Center to PRI's as this was a negation of democratic decentralization. He pointed out that liberalization did not imply lack of control. *Control and regulation was essential in liberalization.*

Shri Seshadri quoted Thomas Jefferson's remarks at the time of drafting of the American Constitution. Jefferson had warned that 'people were avaricious and needed a system of checks and balances'. Shri Seshadri said that we had to learn from positive interventions, like BEST, which was accepted by most people as an efficient means of transport. He also spoke about the imminent need to tap unconventional energy sources. He was however skeptical about the involvement of the IAS with regulatory bodies as he feared that these could become another source of corruption.

Shri Harbans Singh pointed out that government was still performing many unnecessary roles. As a consequence, *its basic role of maintaining law & order, peace and tranquility has been relegated to the background.* These areas had to be given the highest priority by government.

He drew the attention of the house to the criteria set by the Fifth Pay Commission, to determine the tasks of the government. These were, first, a review of whether a

'function' was required to be done, second if it was to be done by the 'government', and last but not the least whether it was to be done by the Government of India.

There was also the question of rules and procedures, which determined how government authority was exercised. At present ration cards, passports and booking of railway tickets could be done only after paying bribes. In principle, many responsibilities could be transferred to NGOs or professional organizations but it had to be seen if they were equipped for the task and whether social audit was possible.

Shri C.B. Jain pointed out that if liberalization had to be adopted, it should be pursued with vigour. Archaic laws and rules, which prohibited foreign investment, had to be abolished. According to him privatization could be done in health and education as well. The National Health Service in UK had failed, and in many countries top universities were private. Hence in India also, these sectors could be considered for privatization.

However, he was categorical in maintaining that IAS as a service was necessary for India because of its size and diversity. A 'son-of-the-soil' policy, and political instability could lead to fragmentation in the country. He felt that IAS had maintained continuity and unity in administration.

Security Issues on the South Asia: Lessons from the Past, Strategies for the Future (*Working Session-V*)

The Chairman of the session Shri K. Subrahmanyam introduced Shri Sumit Ganguly, Professor at the University of Texas, Austin, USA, who was scheduled to make a presentation. The Chairman said that people outside India were more concerned about security issues in South Asia, especially in the Indian sub-continent. In this connection he referred to the '*Bharat Rakshak*' website launched by the Non-Resident Indians.

Prof. Ganguly analyzed security issues pertaining to this region from different perspectives, viz., sources of the discord, consequences of conflicts, new social developments, and strategies for management of the problem from the Indian point of view.

Prof. Ganguly said that conflicts between India and all the countries in the region were a consequence of the colonial legacy and border disputes. No other country in the region had a border with any other country except India and as such, there was no question of any outstanding 'territorial' issues.

He then referred to the role of 'external powers' as an important factor with regard to the security issues in the region. According to him, for the best part of the period under cold war, Pakistan had succeeded in earning political confidence of the UK and the USA. The inevitable consequence of this was India's alignment with the Soviet block and a distortion of relations with the USA. He was also concerned about China's military relations with Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan.

He also referred to the 'domestic sources of discord' as posing a threat to India's Security. According to him, many factors contributed to the decay in the 'political institutions' of the country. He also referred to militant movements in several parts of the country. With reference to Punjab, he said that the Green Revolution had an impact on political and social life of Punjab, which ultimately contributed to insurgency in Punjab.

Thereafter, Prof. Ganguly discussed 'Balance Sheet of War/ Conflict'. He highlighted some little known facts about military engagements in South Asia. According to him, except for the Kargil war, the level of casualties was low and did not involve large-scale loss of human lives. He also pointed out that the use of firepower was limited. This was due to the fact that none of the parties involved in conflict possessed enough firepower. Another factor that kept the conflicts at relatively low intensity was that the military elite in South Asia were following the strategies used in the Second World War.

Last, but not the least, was the informal understanding between the countries not to provoke and escalate the conflict. In fact, such informal arrangements usually resulted in exhibition of mutual restraint on either side. A manifestation of such restraint was discernable from the fact that the Pakistani Prisoners of War were treated according to the Geneva Convention.

As regards Kashmir, Prof. Ganguly admitted that it had become an international issue. However, he acknowledged that India had succeeded in developing a coherent strategy to deal with the insurgencies in various part of the country, (Nagaland, Punjab, Mizoram, Darjeeling etc.)

On the issue of ethnic sub-nationalism, Prof. Ganguly contended that the neighbouring countries of the India were less successful in developing strategies to cope with unrest in their own countries. He mentioned the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM), the unrest in Baluchistan (Pakistan), and the Tamil homeland movement (Sri Lanka) as relevant examples.

Thereafter Prof. Ganguly dealt with the social, political and technological aspects of security Issues. He argued that the advent of new technology had brought a qualitative change in the military power of both India and Pakistan. While supporting India's acquisition of nuclear power, he described the 'stability-instability paradox' of nuclearization in the sub-continent. According to him, the acquisition of nuclear power by India and Pakistan meant that a full-scale war (as in 1971) was less likely to happen, because only a 'rank fool' or idiot could resort to warfare involving such destructive capabilities. As such, while the chances of a major war were averted, such a situation gave an impetus to a 'low-intensity-conflict'.

On the political side, his assessment was that a systematic external involvement by countries like Pakistan was detrimental to India's security. Pakistan's strategy included promotion of communal tension, spread of illegal arms, ammunition, narcotics and fake currency etc. Pakistan was trying to fish in troubled waters to destabilize the social-

economic and political structure of India. According to Prof. Ganguly, such attempts had to be nipped in the bud.

He also directed his critique to the governance systems in India. He was convinced that India could not be governed as a monolithic entity. *He hailed India's plural polity as its greatest strength.* India's success in democracy had generated extra-ordinary demands and expectations from different sections of society and the country had evolved institutional mechanisms to cope with these aspirations.

This was followed by an interactive session in which Shri Harbans Singh, Shri. K.V. Seshadri, Shri P.K. Kaul, Shri B.G. Deshmukh and Shri Sanjeev Chopra made their comments and observations. These included comments relating to the Green Revolution, the role of SAARC, minimum credible deterrence, re-orientation of India's foreign policy vis-à-vis China and Pakistan, feasibility and desirability of mediation to resolve Kashmir dispute.

Prof. Ganguly dealt with all the questions that were raised. He said that the Green Revolution in Punjab had brought about structural changes in the society, thereby widening the economic disparity leading to mass unrest, sporadic violence and emergence of insurgency. With regard to SAARC, he opined that as India was the only country to have a common border with most other countries in SAARC, they could not appreciate India's position and sensitivity regarding a discussion on bi-lateral disputes in a multilateral forum.

On Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear power, Prof. Ganguly contended that India was exposed to a very high security risk, given the political instability and lack of institutional checks and balances in that country. Regarding the possibility of a meaningful solution of the Kashmir problem, he contended that it could be achieved by mediation or negotiation subject to the pre-condition that Pakistan stopped clandestine support and assistance to the militant insurgency on Indian soil.

In his concluding remarks, the chairperson of the session, Shri K. Subrahmanyam said that he was in 'substantial agreement' with the views expressed by Prof. Ganguly. According to him, before leaving India, the British rulers planned to create a weak Muslim State as a buffer to the expanding Soviet Empire. This state would have been dependent on the West, and this explained the position taken by Pakistan in the Cold War era. He also recommended that India should clearly profess its minimum security requirement to other countries in the region. Any transgression had to be met with stern action from Indian side.

Academy as a Think Tank (*Working Session-VI*)

The Chairman of the session, Shri P.S. Appu requested Dr. Atindra Sen, ED, NSDART to make his presentation. Dr. Sen gave a brief background to the formation of NSDART as a society of LBSNAA in 1995. It was currently doing research in development administration, public management and public policy.

The objectives of the NSDART included development of training module based on research, conduct of training programme, and organization of sabbatical programmes. It also offered consultancy services and maintained a documentation Centre for the LBSNAA.

The areas of competence included Rural Industries - KVIC, Primary Education DPEP, Geographical Information System, Training needs and analysis, Literacy, Agrarian Issues, Cooperatives and Public Sector Management

The main focus of activity was promotion of research by faculty and field officers, besides development of training module based on research. NSDART was also developing itself as an Institutional Memory Bank. He also made a presentation on the Management Portal, which the Academy was trying to establish. The highlights of his presentation are enclosed as Annex-I

Dr. Sen informed the house that the funding for NSDART was entirely project based and that there was no transfer of Plan /Non-Plan funds from the government. Staff were hired & engaged as per the needs of the Center.

In his remarks, Shri P.S. Appu commented that the DoPT and other government ministries should look at the NSDART with a positive viewpoint. According to Shri K Subrahmanyam, government had still not realized the importance of being 'knowledge/information based systems'. Shri Kaul mentioned that the CII had developed a 'Code for good governance' for its members. He felt that government departments should also spell out 'citizens' charters' in their respective areas.

Shri Deshmukh and Shri Subrahmanyam offered their help to NSDART for taking up assignments with Government of Maharashtra and Ministry of Defence.

In his concluding remarks, Shri P.S. Appu supported and appreciated the initiatives taken by NSDART. He supported the Academy's endeavour of developing itself as a think tank for the government.

All Said and Done: Recommendation

In general, the participants gave a very positive feedback on the Retreat and thanked the Director and his team for excellent arrangements and a well designed and structured session plan. They also made the following recommendation for the next Retreats:

1. A summary containing the 'proceedings' and 'Recommendations' of the previous Retreats should be sent to participants along with the invitation letter.
2. Greater time for interaction with Faculty may be provided.
3. Retreat may coincide with Phase-I/Phase-II to facilitate interaction with the younger members of the services
4. Secretary (Personnel), DoPT, Government of India may be requested to attend the Retreat and take note of the suggestions
5. Spouses of participants may be invited to the Inaugural/Valedictory sessions.

Presentation by Dr. Atindra Sen

A Working Definition

- ♦ A fluid mix of contextual information, framed experience, values and expert insight that provides framework for evaluating and incorporating new experiences and information.
- ♦ Human beings lend context, meaning and purpose to information and thus move along a continuum towards what we commonly call knowledge.

Defining Knowledge Management

- ♦ Knowledge Management (KM) can be defined as the discipline that attempts to:
 - i. Identify and capture knowledge.
 - ii. Promote sharing of knowledge.
 - iii. Leverage existing knowledge in the creation of new knowledge.
 - iv. Contribute to efficient and effective resource utilization.

Defining Knowledge Management

- ♦ KM is an attempt to recognise what is essentially a human asset buried in the minds of individuals and leverage it into organisational assets that can be used by a broader set of individuals on whose decisions the outcomes depend.

Creation and Assimilation of Knowledge

- ♦ Knowledge creation/ acquisition
 - i. Buy or rent
 - ii. Research & development
 - iii. Shared problem solving
 - iv. Communities of practice

Knowledge codification/ organisation

- ♦ Representation of knowledge in a manner that can easily be accessed / transferred
- ♦ Defining strategic intent
- ♦ Determining appropriate repository and transmission media

Types of Knowledge

- ♦ Tacit knowledge or the know-how that is hidden or implicit in organisations.
- ♦ Tacit knowledge is personal, context specific and hard to formalise and communicate

In organisational context, this takes one of two forms

- ♦ Knowledge embodied in people.
- ♦ Knowledge embedded in systems and processes that people create.

Types of Knowledge

- ♦ *Explicit knowledge* : knowledge that can easily be gathered, organised and transferred through digital (or other) means.
- ♦ *Some examples* : financial reports, circulars and memoranda, manuals, guidelines, policy announcements, official documents and databases.

Moral of the Story

- ♦ The type of knowledge will influence the design of the Knowledge Repository.

Knowledge Repositories I

- i. Organisational Documents / procedural knowledge
 - (e.g. manuals/guidelines) stored on-line capturing and re-using structured knowledge
- ii. Business Intelligence
 - Acquisition, synthesis and sharing of knowledge from external sources
- iii. Best practices and expert stories

Knowledge Repositories II

- i. Organisational Knowledge Map
 - On-line directory of expertise and skill-set
- ii. Knowledge Enabling Applications
- iii. Electronic Performance Support System
- iv. Discussion Database

Capturing and reusing structured knowledge

- ♦ Implement an online document management system for government rules, procedure and guidelines.
- ♦ Build knowledge creation as key part of every management processes.
- ♦ Arrange learning reviews and capture lessons learned from practice.
- ♦ Document best practices and expert stories.
- ♦ Allow access to stored resources through an intranet and/or public access nodes.

Tasks in Applying KM II

- ♦ Acquisition of External Knowledge.
 - i. Identify key knowledge needed to enhance performance.

- ii. Acquire relevant knowledge from external sources.
- iii. Ensure horizontal and vertical sharing.

Tasks in Applying KM III

- ◆ Identifying sources and networks of expertise.
- ◆ Develop communities of practice on thematic areas.
- ◆ Build online directory of expertise (Knowledge Map).
- ◆ Technology Platform for knowledge Organisation and delivery.
- ◆ In addition,
- ◆ Industry and sector news feeds
- ◆ Corporate portal
- ◆ Frequently asked question (FAQ)
- ◆ Email integration
- ◆ Legacy profiles
- ◆ Corporate thesaurus
- ◆ Product Architecture