


FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE IIPA

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(October 23, 1971)

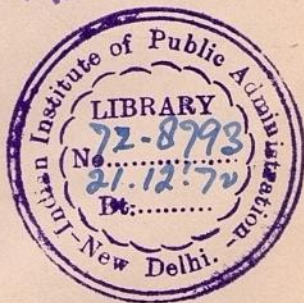
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ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR
SOCIALIST PROGRAMMES IN A
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY"

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THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD, NEW DELHI-1

NAMES OF PERSONS WHO CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

Discussion Paper

Dr. S. K. Goyal Reader in Industrial Administration, IIPA, New Delhi.

Background Papers

Shri Y. A. Fazalbhoy General Manager, General Radio and Appliances Private Ltd., Bombay.

Shri Arvind Koratkar Department of Public Administration, Vivekvardhini College, Hyderabad.

Dr. V. S. Murti Head of the Department of Public Administration, Nagpur University, Nagpur.

Shri P. Krishna Murthy Department of Public Administration, Vivekvardhini College, Hyderabad.

Prof. H. Pathak Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Kasturba Rural Institute of Higher Education, Rajpura (Punjab).

Shri M. V. S. Prasada Rau Deputy Secretary (Plan Programmes), Department of Panchayati Raj, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

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Shri J. K. P. Sinha Assistant Director, Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, Patna.

Shri S. P. Sinha Assistant Director (Economics & History), Bihar Tribal Welfare Research Institute, Ranchi.

Shri V. Subramanian Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra, Revenue and Forests Department, Bombay.

Dr. Vishwanath Prasad Varma Director, Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, Patna.

Shri Krishan Kumar Vij New Delhi.

**FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF
MEMBERS OF THE IIPA
(October 23, 1971)**

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of Members of the IIPA was held at New Delhi on October 23, 1971. The subject for the conference was "Administrative Organization for Socialist Programmes in a Parliamentary Democracy". Eleven papers received from the participants were circulated in advance.

The Conference had also before it the discussion paper on "Administrative Organization for Socialist Programmes in a Parliamentary Democracy", prepared by S. K. Goyal. The Conference met in two sessions presided over by Shri Asoka Mehta and Prof. M. V. Mathur, respectively.

**MORNING SESSION
(In Chair : SHRI ASOKA MEHTA)**

Welcoming the participants to the Conference, Prof. G. Mukharji, Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, said that the participants would be discussing the important subject of Administrative Organization for Socialist Programmes in a Parliamentary Democracy. This subject, he observed, has many inter-related components and attention needs to be focussed on as to what kind of Administrative Organizations are needed for the Socialist Programmes in a Parliamentary Democracy. He further said that some members had submitted good papers which would help in the discussion.

Prof. Mukharji requested Shri Asoka Mehta to preside over the session to conduct the proceedings.

Shri Asoka Mehta said that taking into consideration the number of speakers, it would be appropriate if each speaker

takes about 10 minutes and highlights the salient points or the most significant parts of the paper.

Dr. S. K. Goyal, introducing his paper, said that for a meaningful discussion, it would be useful to clarify as to what was meant by socialist programmes. It was only then that they could think of evolving the requisite administrative organization for the social objectives. Due to the vagueness of the concept of socialism, the term has been used for indicating a variety of objectives and different things have been meant and sought to be conveyed by it. In India, every 'radical' and 'developmental' programme is taken to be a 'socialistic programme', though many such programmes can by no criteria be treated as socialist ones. He added that it would be of help to distinguish between 'developmental programmes', 'welfare programmes', and the 'socialist ones'. There is a marked difference between the three types of programmes. While developmental and welfare programmes are neutral on the question of institutional relationships, the socialist programmes have a pointed reference for changes in the economic and social system. All programmes which tend to raise the level of savings, seek mobilisation of resources or are meant to achieve a higher rate of development of the economy can rightly be termed as developmental programmes. The welfare programmes reflected in a wide range of social services, such as education, health, unemployment and pensions in old age, are meant to ensure that everyone gets a certain minimum share of the national product. The State also raises resources through a progressive rate of taxation for providing welfare services, but a welfare state may not necessarily attempt to alter the basic relationships between the means of production in the society. The welfare activities lay emphasis on better distribution of national product, while the socialist programmes are designed to correct the basic causes of inequality, *i.e.*, the imbalances in the ownership and control over means of production.

Dr. Goyal pointed out that the basic approach of a socialist programme is to bring about institutional changes *i.e.* the relationship between landlord and tenant, employer and the

employee and is designed to transform all such economic, social and political institutions which extend support to one man to exploit or dominate the other for his personal advantage.

Dr. Goyal observed that the rural development programmes as outlined in the community development and agricultural extension services are no doubt useful but are not socialist in character, as these accentuate the level of inequality in rural areas and help to strengthen the "haves" against the "have-nots". Land Reforms envisaged during the period of the national movement under the leadership of Gandhiji, were talked of by the then leadership, as programmes of 'welfare state', but such measures were not by implication, socialist in character. He further said that planning is a neutral term and does not necessarily lead to socialism. Planning is even being adopted by capitalist countries which lay no claim to socialism. They only make attempts to direct their economies through a set of coordinated fiscal and financial measures for better economic growth.

Dr. Goyal expressed surprise that in India the measures to regulate monopolies and restrictive trade practices are considered as 'socialist' measures by radicals in the Congress Party, the opposition parties and by many people claiming themselves to be socialists. How can a legislation which seeks only to regulate private monopoly capital be treated as a socialist measure, he asked. He added unless there was clarity of thought with the political leadership of the country it was difficult to expect that the requisite lead, for translation of socialist objectives into concrete programmes and policies of the government, can be given by the present political elite. One has also to recognize that no bureaucratic set-up can be effective in implementing socialistic programmes, unless the civil servants are committed to the overall socialistic perspective and have some stake in showing results.

Shri P. Krishna Murthy said that lack of commitment of the civil servants to the programmes and their stereo-typed attitudes and behaviour towards the public are of a serious type and call for urgent and concerted action. There exists a

paradoxical situation in the sense that the Government is committed to socialism and intends to carry out massive programmes of socialist development, but most of the civil servants in India have developed stereo-type traits and attitudes such as authoritarianism, lack of courtesy and exclusiveness. The civil servants can play their positive and effective role only when they are committed and emotionally involved in socialist programmes. The Directive Principles of State Policy, as contained in the Indian constitution to which every civil servant swears have morally bound him to have a sense of commitment and dedication in the implementation of socialist programmes. It is common experience that courtesy and helpfulness are absent in our public offices and the common man for whom the socialist programmes are meant are driven from pillar to post and get exasperated in getting these benefits.

Shri Arvind Koratkar said that the civil servants by virtue of their initiative, enterprise, hard work and dedication can make an impact on the policies and programmes of the government as a whole. Even irksome regulatory functions of the government, which affect the people, can be made acceptable to them with good gestures and sympathetic approach of the civil servants. He further expressed that much of the gap that exists between expectations raised and results achieved, is to a great extent attributed to civil servants for their lack of commitment. Many years ago, the concept of civil service neutrality was developed in Britain out of a felt need to secure harmonious blend of relationships between the politician and the administrator in the context of parliamentary democracy. In our country, the government is wedded to socialism and the civil service has the added responsibility for implementation of socialist programmes. He added that the majority of the people in this country are illiterate or semi-illiterate and come from rural areas; but the civil servants are educated and urbanised and, therefore, quite often clash and confrontation between them and the people could occur.

Shri M. V. S. Prasada Rau said that the Directive Principles of State Policy as enshrined in the Constitution set a

goal for achieving the ideal of egalitarian society based on social, economic and political equality. Effective action is needed to implement the goals of economic development and planning. All this presupposes an efficient administrative system and a bureaucracy which is capable of quickly implementing the decisions of political executives and capable of translating them into action. He added that there is a close relationship between the nature and efficiency of the planning process and success recorded in terms of economic growth. Over three plan periods, we have seen how leeways and lags in plan implementation have already affected the progress of the economy. Sterile controversies about *who* is to administer and manage, rather than how best to manage, are unfortunate and lead us nowhere. He emphasised the need to evolve a new conceptual approach and philosophy to the problems of management in the public sector. The survey of the economic scene indicates the need to have firm control over the public undertakings by Government on behalf of the principal shareholder, namely, the President. The right sort of relationship between the Secretary and the Minister on the one hand, and the head of the public undertaking on the other, should be properly established.

Dr. K. V. Viswanathaiah said that the political parties and people favour adoption of socialistic measures, but the content of the socialist programme requires to be spelled out. In his opinion there was need to amend the constitution to give statutory basis to local authorities. He also emphasized the need for the reorganization of various ministries on some rational basis. For implementing socialist measures, he added, the ministers should be capable of exercising administrative leadership. Many of the ministers cover up their deficiencies by blaming the civil servants, and keep on interfering in day-to-day administration.

Shri N. H. Atthreya emphasised the need for self-organization. He said that every individual should make a rational use of his time and contribute his maximum efforts for achieving given goals. He pointed out that most of the work is done by

five per cent of the devoted workers and the rest of them are not careful in performing their duties.

Shri S. P. Sinha said that socialism does not come in conflict with operation of a Parliamentary system. We have, however, to see whether administrative organization as found in tribal areas of Bihar could be conducive to the establishment of parliamentary democracy and thereby provide a basis for implementing of socialistic programmes in this part of the country or not. He drew attention to the fact that when Britishers got the Devani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765 and they wanted to penetrate into Chotta Nagpur their entry was fiercely opposed in a series of disturbances. The tribal aspirations have to be brought in the mainstream of Indian life.

Shri J. K. P. Sinha said that an administrative organization for a socialistic programme in a parliamentary democracy has to be both responsive and responsible for performing its functions and achieving the ideals. But there is a growing tendency to be not responsive to public demands, and to shirk and shift responsibility as far as possible. The problem is to reconcile parliamentary democracy with the positive and energetic administrative organization required for implementing socialist programme.

Dr. Vishwanath Prasad Varma said that socialism has been accepted as the fundamental social and economic ideal in contemporary India. It is through the implementation of socialist policies and programmes that the basic values of liberty, equality and social and economic justice can be realised for the Indians. Mere government control over certain industries cannot be considered as socialism. At the administrative level, there can be five basic institutional patterns through which socialist objectives and programmes can be realized. These are : (i) Government Departments, (ii) Mixed (or private limited) companies, (iii) Government Corporations, (iv) Municipal socialism or Municipalisation schemes, and (v) Cooperatives. The management of socialized industries through departmental organization is one of the most prevalent patterns. Dr. Varma was not in

favour of extorting sizable profits by public sector undertakings. He pleaded that seniority should never be the sole criterion for promotion, incentives in the shape of bonus should be given to the staff to accelerate production; transmission lines for the despatch of commodities produced should be improved and over-staffing should be avoided. He also laid emphasis on the need for more research in public institutions.

Prof. M. V. Mathur said that socialist programmes have to be implemented within the framework of parliamentary democracy in India. We intend to bring social transformation through planned economic growth. This calls for right kind of education and discipline in the people. In our parliamentary democracy, the economic and social measures are to be adopted in accordance with the will of the people and on certain accepted social values. He added that politicians have the major responsibility for social transformation. He also emphasised the need for reorienting the civil services to carry out socialist programmes.

Prof. H. K. Paranjape said that there has been a sterile and unnecessary controversy over giving a definite meaning to socialism. Each political party claims to accept and implement socialist programmes in its own way. We have to think of the kind of administrative structure required by the political party which comes into power and wants to bring about transformation. In a parliamentary democracy, the possibility of changing the government of the day cannot be precluded. One way could be to adopt the system of the U. S. A., where the upper echelons of federal bureaucracy are changed alongwith the President. But such a scheme implies that political parties would require a long time in building up such cadres at different levels. Further, such a system could lead to patronage rather than to commitment. The system of permanent civil service, as we have inherited from the British, does not much help the ruling party to bring transformation and sincerely implement the desired policies.

Prof. Paranjape suggested that we should have such a system which permits the entry of new personnel at critical points and

critical levels in the governmental system. New institutions require a different kind of expertise than the existing bureaucracy. Personnel at strategic levels should come through lateral entry and remain temporary appointees. They should come and go with the government. It is a mistake to think that the development of public enterprises can take place with the existing personnel system. He emphasised the need for career development at the level of lower employees.

A member said that socialist programme in our country should be spelled out according to the basic and fundamental needs of the Indian people. He criticised the tendency to borrow foreign concepts, and emphasised the need to evolve suitable methods for solving administrative and other problems.

Miss Sarojini Bisaria emphasised the need for change in the behaviour and attitude of persons working in governmental and non-governmental organizations. She said that lack of dedication to work, unresponsiveness to the wishes of the people and such other negative factors obstruct proper implementation of socialist programmes. There is a need to provide executive development programmes to employees at different levels. She added that the spirit of socialism is reflected in the objectives of the Directive Principles of State Policy, which the administrative organizations should try to achieve.

Shri S. S. Dhar held the view that parliamentary democracy is the best form of government. Coordination amongst various administrative organizations within government was of basic significance in formulating and implementing the socialist programmes.

Shri C. A. Ramakrishnan said that policies should be framed in a realistic manner and the tendency to be over-ambitious in formulating policies, which subsequently cannot be implemented, should be discouraged. He emphasised the need for courtesy, sense of urgency, sympathy and integrity among the civil servants. He mentioned that there is a widespread feeling that an individual citizen cannot get his work done in the government offices unless he has some push or

resourceful person behind him. He said that rationalisation of pay scales for the employees at the Central and State level is immediately required. He observed that many of the civil servants suffer from an under current of fear from the Ministers who can transfer them and cause inconvenience. The Indian Institute of Public Administration and local Branches, should provide a forum for the civil servants to express their view frankly.

Shri K. K. Puri said that leaders at the helm of affairs neither feel the sense of responsibility, nor are they responsive to the needs of the people. Administrative organizations should be capable of implementing socialist programmes. He pointed out that civil services are demoralised to some extent. The civil servants are provided with sufficient protection, and therefore, they should demonstrate impartiality. He added that frequent transfers of high ranking civil servants are not conducive to the efficient functioning of administration. Every civil servant should be allowed to stay at a particular job for a reasonable time, so that he can thoroughly understand his job contents. He felt that the concepts of welfare state and development of public sector are quite consistent with socialist programme.

Shri T. N. Chaturvedi said that the persons who man the administrative organizations should get opportunities for self-development and the meritorious persons should have avenues open to rise. He emphasised the need for training and continuing education for civil servants. He explained that it is difficult to determine parameters or yardsticks to measure the socialistic content of a programme. It is necessary that all policies and programmes should be spelt out clearly and realistically, and the resource position for them should be thoroughly taken into account. He added that the important task of political elite and leadership is not only to formulate policies, but also to convince the people about the usefulness of such policies and programmes. The administrative organizations should cultivate long range thinking and managerial techniques to tackle important problems. In our parliamentary democracy

there is a problem to reconcile accountability with speed and expedition. He further observed that Minister-Secretary relationships, and the role of the interest groups in colouring the judgment of the political executives have strong impact on the working of administrative organization. He stressed the importance of creating a climate of confidence and eliminating the credibility gap between the politicians, administrators and the people.

Shri K. C. Dhanda pointed out that there is tendency to unnecessarily blame and criticise the civil services which have only to perform their instrumental role in executing the policies and programmes of the government. The civil servants are many a time exploited and demoralised by the politicians. Often the civil service is condemned by attributing it as a legacy of the past, but there have been very many cases when some of the old and senior civil servants have efficiently performed difficult and remarkable tasks. He further said that the term 'socialism' has been given a lot of currency but no two definitions of socialism can be found to be identical. Instead of talking too much on the vagueness of concepts around socialism and commitment, we should try to analyse and consider the causes of failures in administration. He added that delays in the administration are largely due to inadequate selection techniques for personnel and poor supervision. He observed that youngmen are not attracted towards the civil service simply because of unfavourable conditions of service, faulty compensation plans and day to day interference by the politicians. Brilliant persons join commercial organizations where they find adequate salary and better opportunities to excel themselves.

Another member said that although many persons are attracted towards the ideology of socialism and even communism but it is extremely difficult to define socialism. Ministers should realise that they have stupendous tasks to perform. He added that the administrators should make the ordinary man feel that change in the social and administrative systems is for the benefit of the people and the country as a whole.

Shri Bipin Chandra said that during the last twenty years;

government has established many public sector undertakings, probably with view to strengthening the socialist economy. In order to determine whether we should go in for different type of administrative organizations, it would be worth while to evaluate the performance of public sector undertakings. Such an appraisal would help to find out whether these administrative organizations are superior to the governmental departments like Railways and Posts and Telegraphs, which have been running on commercial lines. He further said that 'commitment' should be taken in the sense of dedication to one's own duty. Commitment, therefore, is necessary for any kind of programme whether it is socialist or capitalist. For the effective implementation of policies and programmes, it is necessary that the civil service should be free from internal rivalries, bitterness and work as a team. He suggested the evolving of measures to check demoralisation of the services.

Shri V. S. Rajan said that we are living in an age of rapid social change and developmental activities. He pointed out that there is a prevalent tendency to blame the administrators and not the politicians. Many of the civil servants work in conditions which are not conducive to the efficiency. Officers show reluctance to act confidently, and decisions are not made on merit but are influenced by extraneous and personal considerations. He added that lack of effective leadership and lack of discipline have adverse repercussion on administration. Civil servants often do not get tools and opportunities to perform their jobs efficiently. They are also not provided with necessary facilities such as trained staff. Rigidity of procedures also affect their efficiency and speed.

AFTERNOON SESSION

(In Chair : PROF. M. V. MATHUR)

Shri R. Parthasarthy said that during the preceding years, a lot of controversial comments and criticism have been made against the civil services. He observed that there is nothing wrong with the human material of our bureaucracy, and it would be futile to blame the civil servant whose role is only

instrumental. We keep on talking and wishing to go fast with social-economic developments with the result that the expectations of the people have mounted higher. There is a need to adopt pragmatic and not dogmatic approach in dealing with the policies and programmes. It would be better if we concentrate on factors responsible for administrative failures. Formulation of any policy should be realistically related to the available resources, and difficulties in the implementation need to be clearly visualised. Powerful vested interests operate as stumbling block in the execution of policies. It is easy to talk and write about land reforms, but quite difficult to assess the practical difficulties, problems and legal constraints which impede their implementation. He added that the basic need at the time is to have effectiveness in administration, which requires dedication to work, firmness in handling vested interests and self-confidence, not only from the bureaucrats but also from the politicians. More delegation of powers at various levels, effective supervision and systematic career planning are essentially needed for effective execution of policies and programmes.

Shri M. Rafique remarked that it is unnecessary to go in for definitions of socialism. The aim of administrative organizations is to work for the common good of the people. He emphasised that the civil servants should put forth their views without fear and remain objective and impartial in their advice.

Prof. G. Mukharji said that successful implementation of socialistic programmes is largely dependent on the availability of the right kind of manpower. He observed that often comments are made on 'bureaucracy', 'specialisation in administration' and 'management by objectives', but not enough attention is devoted to the need for a search of good men whom we need at all levels. He added that only those programmes should be launched for which we have capacity and organizing ability. The responsibility for the successful formulation and implementation of policies and programmes cannot be placed on the bureaucracy only as it also rests on the political leaders, legislature and the judicial system. Our bureaucracy is not inferior in any way. *Prof. Mukharji* further said that ministers and

legislators should realize that they have a very important role to play and that they are basically accountable to the community, and are required clearly to indicate their decisions to the bureaucracy. He suggested that politicians should practise austerity and the administration should be sensitive to political judgments.

Prof. V. Jagannadham said that development and social welfare programmes do not necessarily alter the structural relationship in society and in that sense they may not be fully socialist in nature; but their aim is to provide benefits to the under-privileged citizens and are therefore closely linked with the socialist programmes. Socialism and democracy are not incompatible with each other. He agreed with the observation of some members that parliamentary democracy is the most suitable form of government, because it remains in office at the pleasure of the elected representatives and provides scope for settling conflicts through discussions and deliberations. In the parliamentary system, people get the government which they deserve. *Prof. Jagannadham* emphasised the need to establish the right type of relations between the people, elected representatives and the political executives, for achieving socialism. He was of the view that the bureaucracy can be refined by deliberate action and training for which the Indian Institute of Public Administration can play a significant role.

Proposing the vote of thanks, *Prof. Jagannadham* said that he was grateful to the participants and the members who had contributed papers for the Conference. He requested all the members to extend cooperation and take greater interest in the activities of the Regional Branches of the IIPA. *Prof. Jagannadham* thanked *Shri Asoka Mehta* and *Prof. M. V. Mathur* for presiding over the morning and afternoon sessions, and the staff of IIPA, for helping in the organization of the Conference.

