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A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
SELECTED FOREIGN AND NATIONAL
REPORTS OF PAKISTAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

By

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PREFACE

This study has been designed to compare a selected number of foreign and national analyses of Pakistan administration. Three reports undertaken by non-Pakistanis have been considered, namely those of Egger, Gladieux and Braibanti. Four reports by Pakistani governmental committees have been taken into account, namely: The Administrative Enquiry Committee Report of 1953; the Federal Reorganization Committee Report of 1956; the Administrative Reorganization Report of 1958 and the Standing Organization Committee Report of 1962.

These two groups of reports have been analyzed and compared on the bases of their assumptions and approaches, their composition, types of data used and methods of investigation and analysis employed by them. Efforts have also, been made to discuss their scope, along with the administrative problems, dealt with by them in the various agencies, they examined. Lastly, an attempt has been made to present a comparative picture of the two groups of reports, on the basis of various points mentioned above, so as to pinpoint the similarities and differences between them, explaining, at the same time, the reasons thereof:

A great deal of credit for this goes to Professor Ralph E. Crow, without whose constant guidance and encouragement, it would not have seen the light of the day. The author wishes to record her heartfelt gratitude to him for his patience and enthusiasm through many a difficult stage.

The writer is, also, indebted to Mr. Abdul Majid Majid, who very kindly, extended all possible help in the way of procurement of various reports, used by her for the purpose of this study.

In the end, the writer must apologize to the readers for any flaws and shortcomings that he may find in this work and takes upon herself full responsibility for the same.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan, like most developing countries, is committed to a programme of accelerated social and economic development. Vast reforms and innovations are being introduced. The Government of Pakistan realizes that the success of the various development plans, envisaged by it, depends to a large extent, on its administrative machinery. In this respect, it appears to be in one accord with B.L. Gladieux, a Ford Foundation Consultant on Public Administration, who, in the beginning of his report on the "Reorientation of Pakistan Government for National Development" declares that; "no matter how well conceived or formulated the development plan may be, its realization in terms of solid achievement; will be dependant on, and measured by the efficiency and honesty of its administration."¹ The increasing awareness, on the part of the Government, for the need of a careful scrutiny of the existing system of administration, resulted in its efforts to reinterpret

¹Bernard L. Gladieux, Reorientation of Pakistan Government for National Development: Mimeographed report submitted to the Planning Board, Karachi, May 20, 1955, p. 1.

and reorient its administrative machinery. Concrete steps are being taken, by the government, to reorganize the system, with a view to enable it to meet the challenge of the changing conditions.

In order to evaluate the status and adequacy of the existing system of administration in Pakistan, it is better to start with an examination of the administrative concepts and systems, which it inherited from its colonial rulers. The British system of government in India was, essentially, colonial in nature. It was, primarily, based upon the concept of the preservation of the status quo. The major concern of the British being continuity, stability and efficiency. Their main efforts were directed towards maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenues.

In 1947, Pakistan achieved independence. A parliamentary system of government was introduced in the country, but the administrative implications of such a system were not, yet, fully realized by its three constituent elements--the people, the politicians and the public servants. This, says, Professor Rowland Egger in "The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan" is not to be wondered at.

Political leaders, whose principal stock in trade had, hitherto, been a recital of the wrongs perpetuated by the British and the Hindus, now found themselves hard pressed to formulate programmes of constructive action and, otherwise, to conduct themselves in responsible ways. The handful

of senior civil servants, who had reached important positions in undivided India, worked in quiet desperation to forge the machinery of the new government. Junior officers, superintendants and even clerks, who were, hastily, promoted to responsible positions, found themselves thrown into direct contact with their own political leaders in a context, which, they did not understand, in an environment which they found acutely uncomfortable and compelled to advise, ministers, direct administrative operations and perform many other duties, for which they were neither emotionally, nor intellectually, prepared. The people, obsessed with throwing off the yoke of both European and Asiatic imperialism, found themselves, suddenly, sovereign citizens, confronted with the hard choices and the unending sacrifices for remote ends, by which, alone, the blessings of liberty are secured--and, at the same time, overwhelmed with the social and economic dislocation of the greatest and the most basic mass movement of population in history.¹

It is, generally, recognized that a democratic system of government needs a tremendous amount of skill on the part of the people, the politicians and the public servants. It involves an effective, working partnership among

¹Rowland Egger, The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan: A Report with Recommendations (Karachi, Pakistan, 1953), p. 2.

its three constituent elements. It appears, that this spirit of partnership was lacking in Pakistan at that time, with the result, that the system of administration deteriorated, causing in consequence, grievous suffering to people.

The problem was given due recognition by the authors of the First Five Years Plan, who observed, "In the period immediately ahead, the inadequacy of Pakistan's administrative machinery will operate as the most serious single impediment to the maximum economic use of the country's financial and material resources." Further, they add, "Administrative planning must assume a role, comparable in importance to that of economic planning, if the plan is to be effectively implemented."¹ Herein, lies the importance of a careful and critical appraisal of the adequacy of the existing system of administration and the necessity of adopting reforms, wherever needed.

An increasing awareness of the above problem has impelled the government to appoint committees from time to time, to look into the existing system of administration, to find out the ills therein and to suggest remedies, if possible. These committees have attempted to study the

¹Government of Pakistan, National Planning Board, The First Five Year Plan 1955-60 (Karachi, 1957), pp. 4-5.

organizational structure, functions and procedures of the various ministries, departments and subordinate offices and have come out with constructive suggestions and recommendations for efficient and expeditious disposal of work, in keeping with the requirements of economy.

One such attempt materialized in the form of "The Administrative Enquiry Committee," set up by the Government under Resolution No. 54 (15) - 53/Cord, dated the 31st March, 1953. Another committee of a similar nature was set up under Resolution No. 54 (13) - 56/Cord, dated the 30th June, 1956 under the name of "Federal Reorganization Committee." A third high level committee called "The Administrative Reorganization Committee" was appointed in pursuance of the Government of Pakistan Resolution No. Cord (1) - 8/101/58, dated the 12th December, 1958. A fourth committee was appointed in February, 1962, in compliance with the President's directive, issued at the Governor's Conference, held on 1st February, 1962. Based on their analytical examination of the existing conditions in various ministries and their attached and subordinate departments, these committees put forward suggestions for administrative reform.

In addition to these reports, the administrative system in Pakistan was, also, influenced by certain foreign agencies, especially, the United States Agency for International Development and the Ford Foundation. The Ford

Foundation, in particular, exerted significant influence on administrative reforms in Pakistan. In ^{May,} 1953, the consultative services of Professor Rowland A. Egger were obtained, through the Ford Foundation, with a view to examine the governmental organization in Pakistan and make recommendations for its adaptation to the current requirements. This report was completed and submitted to the Government of Pakistan in November, 1953, under the title of "The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan. In May, 1955, Professor Bernard R. Gladieux, also, under Ford Foundation auspices, prepared his report, dealing specifically with the problem of "Reorientation of Pakistan Government for National Development." This report, designed, primarily, to serve as a guide to the Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, contained advice and suggestions on the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development activities in the country.

A third major contribution to the administrative reorientation and reform programmes in Pakistan was made by Professor Ralph Braibanti, who was in Pakistan during the years 1961-62, as Chief Advisor to the Civil Service Academy, Lahore. Dr. Braibanti had the opportunity to study administration in Pakistan at very close quarters and made observations from time to time on many of its phases in his speeches and writings. Some of these have

been published. Significant among these, are his articles entitled: "The Civil Service of Pakistan,"¹ "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption,"² "Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan,"³ "Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change in Pakistan,"⁴ and certain portions in a survey of scope and critique of issues of "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform."⁵

All these works by Braibanti, taken collectively, throw considerable light on different aspects of public administration in Pakistan. These, combined with the national reports, initiated by the Government of Pakistan during the last decade may provide an enlightening study of the processes and practices of public administration in the country, from the year 1953-63. They attempt to deal with both its merits and demerits. They, also, attempt to discover the causes behind the existing flaws and

¹Ralph Braibanti, "The Civil Service of Pakistan," South Atlantic Quarterly (Spring, 1959) p. 41.

²Ibid., "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption," Public Administration (London) Vol. 40, 1962, pp. 357-372.

³Ibid., "Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan," in Joseph La Palombara, ed., Bureaucracy and Political Development (Princeton, 1963) pp. 360-440.

⁴Ibid., "Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change in Pakistan" in M.R. Inayat, ed., Perspectives in Public Administration (Civil Service Academy, Lahore), 1962, p. 14.

⁵Ibid., "Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform," mimeographed report issued by CAG, American Society for Public Administration (Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana) 1964.

shortcomings of the system and suggest plausible measures, for the removal of these deficiencies and defects.

It is the aim and purpose of this study to make a comparative analysis of these two sets of reports--the national and the foreign--and examine them on the basis of their assumptions and approaches, their methods of investigation, their scope and dimensions including the administrative problems examined by them in various governmental agencies. A comparison will be made of the specific recommendations put forward by these two groups of reports, on the basis of their similarities and differences and an effort will be made to find out the reasons thereof.

Chapter two, of this study, describes in detail the assumptions and approaches used by each of these national and foreign reports, for the purposes of their investigation. Chapter three, deals with the methods; of investigation employed by them, the composition of the investigating teams, the type of data used and the methods of analysis adopted. Chapter four, explains the scope of the various studies in detail and relates in simple, narrative form some of the important administrative problems and agencies examined by them. Finally, Chapter five makes a comparison of the specific recommendations made by these two groups of reports, pointing out the similarities and the differences between the foreign and national studies and explaining the reasons thereof.

CHAPTER II

ASSUMPTIONS AND APPROACHES OF THE NATIONAL AND FOREIGN REPORTS

Among the various reports studied for the purpose of comparison, the first one falling under the category of national analyses of public administration of Pakistan, is the report prepared by the Administrative Enquiry Committee, set up by the government in the year 1953. The committee was assigned the responsibility of examining the question of:

- a. Reorganization of the Central Secretariat and its attached departments with a view to securing greater efficiency and despatch in the disposal of work.
- b. Elimination of avoidable expenditure in all central government offices.
- c. Expediting action on the recommendations of the committee consisting of members of the Legislature, set up by Government to review the organization and level of expenditure in the ministries.¹

¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Administrative Enquiry Committee (Government of Pakistan Press, KARACHI, 1953) p. 1. Karachi. Hereinafter referred to as A.E.C.

It may be pointed out here, that prior to the formation of this committee, the years 1952-1953 had seen a financial crisis in Pakistan, which made it necessary to impose large cuts in the budgets that had been, provisionally, approved by the Ministry of Finance. So, a sub-committee of the Cabinet imposed lump sum cuts in the budgets of the various ministries. The application of these cuts was, however, left to the discretion of the ministries concerned. This work was done at a very short notice and so the revised budgets, prepared in a hurried manner by the ministries concerned, were not, in some cases, wholly judicious. The Administrative Enquiry Committee, therefore, decided to review these revised budgets, also, while going through the process of making inquiries and recommendations.

The second report studied is the "Report of the Federal Reorganization Committee," set up by the government on June 30th, 1956, with the purpose of looking into the question of the reorganization of the structure of the Central Government in the light of the Constitution of 1956. While approaching its task, the committee, constantly, kept in mind the principal changes made by the Constitution in the relations between the Centre and the Provinces. These were:

- a. Residuary powers of legislation and therefore, of the exercise of executive authority are, now, with the Provinces.
- b. The Centre has been given a new power, to use its executive authority in a Province in any matter in the Concurrent List, if an act of Parliament so provides; and
- c. Certain subjects have been transferred to the Provincial List and others to the Federal List. This is a question of rearrangement, not of principle affecting the relations.¹

It would be significant to point out here, that an important change in relations took place in 1956, just before the enactment of the Constitution. It was the substitution of a single Province in West Pakistan, for the previously existing units. The State now consisted of two provinces--East and West Pakistan. The question that demanded immediate attention, at that time, was the extent, to which each of these two provinces should manage its own affairs.

One of the issues in a federation, is that of national cohesion and integration. The provinces can exercise the authority entrusted to them by the Constitution, under the principle of subsidiary function--a principle, which holds that, while the Federation is,

¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Federal Reorganization Committee, Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1956, p. 3. Hereafter referred to as F.R.C.

necessarily, supreme in all matters concerning the country as a whole, it should refrain from interfering, except in cases of necessity, in those matters in which executive authority has been, "subject to Concurrent and Federal List, given to the Provinces."¹ The Federal Reorganization Committee held the view, that this principle of subsidiary function underlies the Constitution of 1956. It, therefore, adopted this principle, while making its recommendations for the reorganization of the Federal Administration. They "regarded the Federal and Provincial Governments, not as competitors for authority, but, rather, as cooperative and complementary governing bodies, endeavouring, jointly and severally, within the constitutional structure to meet the growing demands of a Welfare State."² The committee, thus, tried to keep this spirit of the Constitution in view, while making its proposals for reorganization.

The third national report, under consideration, is the "Report of the Administrative Reorganization Committee. The government desired this committee to:

¹Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Law, (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Karachi: 1956), p. 42.

²F.R.C., op.cit., p. 3.

- a. Review the organizational structure, functions and procedures of the ministries, departments and subordinate offices of the government of Pakistan and to recommend improvements for efficient and expeditious disposal of business, in consonance with the requirements of economy.
- b. Carry out a survey of the staff position of the Central Government, with a view to strengthening, retrenching or reallocating the staff wherever necessary.
- c. Recommend measures for the establishment of close liaison between the Central and Provincial Government administration particularly in the field of development work.

This committee, it may well be pointed out, was set up, soon after the declaration of Martial Law in December 1958. The Martial Law Government was infused with enthusiasm to do away with the existing ills in governmental departments and offices and to restore efficiency and discipline to the services. The setting up of this committee was one of the steps taken for this purpose.

The old constitution had been abrogated at that time. The new constitution had not, yet, come into effect, nor had the constitutional pattern been decided upon. The committee could only get some indication of the prevailing views on the general character of the

¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Administrative Reorganization Committee (Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1963), p. i. Hereafter referred to as A.R.C.

future constitution. The committee, therefore, considered it best to base its recommendations on the assumption, that the Central Government would concern itself largely with policy-making spread over a wide field of administrative activity, while the Provincial Government would be required to perform all executive functions, except in the case, where the nature of a function made its administration by the Central Government imperative. The committee kept this premise in view, while making its recommendations.

The fourth national report, included in this study, is the Report of the Standing Organization Committee. This committee was set up in 1962, at the "instance of the President of Pakistan, who desired, that as, under the new Constitution, the texture and size of the Central Government may undergo a change, the Minister for Economic Coordination should head the Standing Organization Committee for the consideration of this matter."¹ Consequently, the committee assumed the responsibility of reviewing the functions and organizational structure of the Central Government, in the light of the constitution of 1962.

¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Standing Organization Committee (The Central Army Press, G.H.Q. Rawalpindi), 1962, p. 1. Hereafter referred to as S.O.C.

While making proposals for a reorganization of the functions and departments of the Central Government, the committee approached the problem with the assumption, that the Central Government should have an important part to play in national coordination and planning in such subjects as are important for the economic and social development of the country as a whole, whether they do or do not fall within the purview of the provinces.

At the same time, the committee emphasized the importance of the fact, that the central ministries or divisions should not encroach upon the legitimate rights of the Provincial Governments and that they should not, ordinarily, be allowed to undertake operational functions in the provincial sphere of responsibility. The committee, thus, had in mind an administrative framework, which they assumed, would maintain the strong character of the Central Government by entrusting, to the Centre, broad policy functions, while the operational or executive functions should be handed over to the provincial governments.

Turning to the reports, submitted to the Government of Pakistan, by foreign experts, the first one in the selection under study, is by Dr. Rowland Egger, the Ford Foundation Consultant in Public Administration, deputed to the Government of Pakistan in 1953. Dr. Egger was asked by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, then Prime Minister

of Pakistan, to find out, what was wrong with public administration in Pakistan and what to do to correct it. What was right, was taken for granted and he was not expected to comment on that.¹

Egger started with the assumptions that:

The deficiencies in the public administration of Pakistan are not deficiencies of intelligence or understanding, but are deficiencies, inherent in an administrative system, designed for a day that has gone by, that, both the political leaders and the civil service are fully aware of these defects, but the acute shortage of personnel, both in political and administrative circles and the overwhelming burdens of day-to-day administration, falling upon a corps that is too small in number, have prevented the adjustment of administrative organization and procedures to changing conditions.²

Egger, then, embarked upon the task of digging deep into the existing "ills" of public administration in Pakistan and suggested measures that could, usefully, be applied towards the eradication of these ills. His approach was directed, primarily, towards "breaking the bottlenecks accelerating the decision making process and speeding up operations at the Centre."³ The achievement of these ends, according to Egger, depended upon five

¹Egger, op.cit., p. 1.

²Egger, op.cit., p. x.

³Egger, op.cit., p. ix.

principles, which, he thought, were inter-related. These are:

1. The establishment of a small number of permanent ministries, grouping integral and virtually self-contained departments, with a view to creating agencies, capable of settling the maximum number of problems within their own organization and on their own responsibility.
2. The maximum delegation and redelegation of functions and responsibilities with a view to securing sound decisions, promptly made, that are based on a thorough knowledge of facts.
3. The sharp separation of line and staff functions, throughout the executive branch and the removal of staff officers from the chain of command, with a view of learning the doers in the Government free to operate within their authorizations, while the thinkers and planners are working on future programmes.
4. The replacement as quickly as the improvements in the accounting system permit, of expenditure sanction, by accounting expenditure control, with a view to increasing the effectiveness of fiscal control and decreasing the amount of meddling in operations by finance officers.
5. The sharp separation of current accounting and post audit functions, with a view to developing the accounts as instruments of fiscal and managerial control, on the one hand, and to developing the post audit as an instrument of legislative control, on the other.¹

Egger's detailed recommendations were all directed towards the attainment of these objectives and principles.

¹Egger, op.cit., p. x:

They mainly related to the improvement of the major staff functions of budgeting, personnel management and planning.

The second foreign report included in this analysis is the Reorientation of Pakistan Government for National Development, prepared by B.E. Gladieux in 1955. This report aimed at making recommendations to the Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, concerning the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development activities in the country.

Gladieux started with the assumption that the development programmes, which were being prepared and enunciated by the Planning Board, would put to test the "strength and vitality of public administration in Pakistan" for, he believed, "no matter how well conceived or formulated the development plan may be, its realization in terms of solid achievement will be dependent on and measured by the efficiency and honesty of its administration."¹ Faced as the country was with an economic crisis, he thought, it needed an administrative machinery, which may help expedite firm action towards the planned ends.

Before embarking on the subject proper, Gladieux approached the topic by stating what, to his mind, were the positive requisites for achieving the nation-building

¹Gladieux, op.cit., p: 1.

objectives. These were:

1. The understanding and acceptance of the development programme as being in the general interest on the part of the public, coupled with confidence in the motivation, probity and skill of those administering the programme.
2. The existence of planning facilities which assures the sound development and wise allocation of the nation's human and natural resources.
3. The existence of an organization structure and system of administration at, both, Centre and Provincial levels, which gives proper emphasis to development activities and which assures coordination.
4. The availability of a widely based corps of administrative leaders.
5. The provision of a rational and intelligent fiscal system.
6. The availability of a general public service corps that is broadly based, proficient and performing up to the limit of its capacity.
7. The existence of sound and usable organs of local government.
8. The infusion of a sense of dedication to the achievement of the development goals on the part of all governmental circles.¹

Pakistan, Gladieux believed, stood in need of an excellent administrative system, in order to carry on its programmes of raising the standard of living in the country. According to him the above mentioned administrative standards, if fulfilled, could go a long way towards

¹Gladieux, op.cit., p. 3.

the achievement of these objectives.

Lastly, we come to Dr. Bainbanli, who was the Chief Advisor and Professor at the Civil Service Academy, Lahore, Pakistan for the years 1961-1962, under terms of a contract with the USAID, administered by the University of Southern California. Professor Braibanli was in Pakistan for a comparatively longer time than the other two foreign advisors and had opportunities of studying public administration in Pakistan in greater detail. He dealt with various aspects of administrative problems in Pakistan in some of his articles, published from time to time, in different journals and books. Five of these, dealing with different phases of public administration in the country, have been selected for the purpose of this study, because of their significant contribution and relevancy to the subject concerned.

In the first of these articles, entitled "The Civil Service of Pakistan," Braibanli made a theoretical analysis of civil service in Pakistan in its historical perspective. He started with a quotation from the Analects of Confucius, which says, the administration of government lies in getting proper men. He then cited another quotation pertaining to the civil services of Pakistan, from "Careers in the Pakistan Central Superior Services," by Sir Eric Franklin which calls the civil service of Pakistan as being the successor to the Indian civil service, which was the most distinguished civil

service in the world.

Braibanti, then, began to analyze the system of bureaucracy in Pakistan, with a discussion of the nature of relationship between an "officialdom of presumptive superior" ~~virtue~~ and the masses, which, to his mind holds crucial significance. In this context, Braibanti stated:

that in relatively homogeneous societies, in which values are well settled, the bureaucratic disposition is likely to be a refinement, rather than a variation, of values held by the public masses. But in heterogeneous societies, or, in former colonial societies, in which the mass values are different from those of a ruling elite, the problem assumes dimensions of greater magnitude and is compounded by the fact that such societies rarely have the restraints on bureaucracy manifest in an experienced constitutional system.¹

He, then, goes on to describe, at length, the various aspects of civil service of Pakistan, emphasizing its importance for protecting the polity of the state.

Another article entitled "Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption," started with the assumption that governmental corruption or improbity was found in all forms of bureaucracy and in all periods of political development. He, then, analyzed certain factors that were, generally, regarded as causes of corruption.

¹Braibanti, op. cit. "The Civil Service of Pakistan," p. 5.

Further on, he discussed certain measures, that may act as inhibitive forces against bureaucratic corruption.

A third article by Braibanti entitled "Public Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan" also deals with a similar subject. In this article Braibanti makes the assumption, that institutions "transplanted from one milieu to another, develop in unpredictable ways and may serve needs different from those satisfied in the place of their origin."¹ In this context, Braibanti analyzed two institutions--public bureaucracy and the writ jurisdiction in Pakistan--which basically of British origin, have been, when faced by a number of social, economic and historical forces, changed in accordance with the requirements of a modern state, though, in a somewhat different way than in Western society.

Another work of a similar nature appeared under the title of "Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change in Pakistan." In this article Braibanti assumes, that "all developing states face the immense intellectual problem of eliciting from their own culture and history, the philosophical underpinning, necessary to support the structure of government, transplanted either, by colonial rule, or by voluntary importation."² Foreign advice, he

¹Braibanti, *op. cit.*, "Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan," p. 361.

²Braibanti, *op. cit.*, "Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change in Pakistan," p. 14.

states, is of little avail in this respect, since the cultural and philosophical heritage of a nation is hardly understood by the foreign advisors. Foreign help may be of great significance, he says, in connection with certain structures and procedures of government, which, if borrowed and adapted to suit the prevailing conditions in the society concerned, may be, of immense value. This ecological identification, he believes, must be consciously and deliberately undertaken by the borrowing nation itself. He, further suggests that the bureaucratic system of Pakistan has a very strong philosophical foundation and can, therefore, develop into one of the most sophisticated and efficient bureaucratic systems in the world. He, then, goes on to analyze some prerequisites of a 'viable bureaucracy' and makes an effort to demonstrate how Pakistan possesses the philosophical basis for developing all these characteristics.

All the four articles, mentioned above, depict Braibanti's deep interest in and knowledge of bureaucracy in Pakistan. Actually, all four of them, in one way or the other, discuss different aspects of the bureaucratic system and taken collectively, they make a fairly comprehensive picture of bureaucracy.

The fifth article by Braibanti, included in this study is a survey and critique of the various issues of Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform in developing countries, with particular reference to Pakistan.

It is an exploratory examination of a selected number of issues, which grew out of foreign efforts of the last decade, in the way of the improvement of administration in emerging states.

Braibanti approaches the problem by locating the issue in its historical perspective. He, then, seeks to indicate the degree of involvement of the United Nations, the Ford Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development, in this respect. Finally, he makes an attempt to discuss five pertinent issues, chosen, arbitrarily, by him for personal interest and experience relating to concept and practice, which, to him, have appeared to be of some significance in administrative reform.

To sum up, it may be asserted that the A.E.C. was concerned, primarily, with the somewhat limited task of securing greater efficiency and despatch in the disposal of work, along with the responsibility of suggesting measures for eliminating avoidable expenditure in all Central Government offices at a time of financial stringency. The F.R.C. aimed at the reorganization of the structure and function of Central Government as required by the constitutional changes in 1956. The A.R.C. was appointed with wide terms of reference including the review and reorganization of the structure, functions and procedures of the ministries, departments and subordinate offices of

Government of Pakistan, including a survey of staff position of Central Government, so as to suggest measures for strengthening, retrenching, and reallocating the staff wherever necessary. It was also expected to suggest measures for bringing about closer liaison between the Central and Provincial Government administration. The **S.O.C.** was designed to review the functions and role of the Central Government in the light of the Constitution of 1962 and to suggest changes if desired.

Professor Egger, the Ford Foundation consultant, attempted to make a comprehensive examination of the existing flaws in the administrative system of Pakistan and to suggest measures for its rectification and reform. He believed that the existing deficiencies, in the system, originated from the inherited administrative structure of Pakistan which was designed for a different era.

Gladieux', "Reorientation of the Pakistan Government for National Development," was designed to serve as a guide to the Planning Board with regard to the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development in Pakistan.

Braibanti made insightful observations on various aspects of bureaucratic behaviour in Pakistan, along with his lucid treatment of the knotty subject of implanting imported systems of administration in a society, without bringing about the needed change in its philosophical foundations for the acceptance of the newly introduced

systems. Observations made by him appear to have been derived from a sound and fundamental knowledge of the conditions prevailing in Pakistan. His remarks, grounded as they are, on his personal experience and study, savour of an impartial and objective treatment of the subject.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The question of the composition of the various investigating teams, their methods of investigation, the types of data they used and the manner of analysis, employed by them will be discussed below.

The A.E.C. was composed of Mr. T.B. Creagh Coen, C.I.E., Establishment Secretary, who acted as the chairman and Mr. Mumtaz Hassan, Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Mr. E.A. Franklin C.B.E., Joint Secretary Establishment Division, as the two members. They started their work on April 1, 1953 and completed it in a little more than three months. Only Mr. Creagh Coen, the Chairman of the Committee worked whole time. The two members put in only part time work, because they were not relieved of their ordinary official duties.

They gathered the desired material by tapping several sources. Included among these, were the interviews they conducted with all secretaries to government and other official and non-official people, conversant with the subject concerned. Reference was, also, made to the official records and documents, wherever needed.

They, also, made extensive use of certain previous reports prepared by committees, which were appointed, from time to time, to scrutinize the functioning of government. Some of the prominent committees, whose reports they consulted, were the Llewellyn Smith Committee of 1919, the Wheeler Committee of 1935, followed shortly by the Maxwell Committee. A one man report by Sir Richard Tottenham written in 1945-46 and the Rowlands Committee report of 1945, also, constituted a valuable source of information for them.

All these reports bear relevance to the present day administrative issues as they "bring out the long standing nature of many of our problems... The importance of utilizing such experience is obvious since one system of work has been taken over, largely unchanged, from the former Government of India."¹ The committee has, in fact, reproduced a portion of the Wheeler report, summarizing common faults, to show, how persistent they are. The material, gathered from these reports, along with the data collected from other sources, were, carefully, scrutinized and exhaustively discussed by the committee and the solutions arrived at, after thorough deliberation of the various issues, in the context of the prevailing conditions in the country.

¹A.E.C., op.cit., p. 13.

The F.R.C. was composed of Mr. G. Ahmed, Officer on Special Duty in the Cabinet Secretariat, as the chairman with six members and a secretary. Sir Edward Suelson, Secretary Ministry of Law, Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Secretary Ministry of Defence, Mr. Mumtaz Hassan, Secretary Ministry of Finance, Mr. M. Karamatullah, Secretary Ministry of Commerce and Sir Eric Franklin, Establishment Officer, acted as members of the committee, while Mr. Ejaz Ahmed Naik, Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat worked as the secretary. The committee started its work on the 26th of June 1956 and completed it in six weeks. Only Mr. G. Ahmed, the chairman of the committee, was working the whole time. All the members had to perform their normal official duties, along with this assignment.

The method of investigation employed by the committee was, chiefly, interviewing. They interviewed all secretaries and joint secretaries in charge of the various ministries; certain officials of the Planning Board, also those of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. Advice was, also, sought from the chief secretaries of both the provinces and their colleagues.

The material, thus collected, was, then, subjected to scrutiny and careful deliberations, by the committee, in the course of its meetings--altogether twenty-four of which were held during this period. Various members brought forth their own, individual opinions, which were thrashed out and deliberated upon in the light of the

constitution and decisions reached at, in common consonance

The A.R.C. was composed of seven members including a chairman; Mr. G. Ahmed, H.Q.A., chairman, Planning Commission, acted as the chairman of the committee, while Mr. A.R. Khan C.S.P., Secretary Establishment Division, Mr. H.A. Majid C.S.P., Secretary Ministry of Finance, Mr. N.A. Farooqi, S.P.K., C.S.P., Secretary, Ministry of Industries, Mr. M. Khurshid, C.S.P., Secretary, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Mr. M. Ayub, S.P.K., C.S.P., Director, Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation constituted the members, with Mr. S.S. Haider, Joint Secretary, Efficiency and O. and N. Wing Establishment Division President's Secretariat, as the secretary.

The committee met, for the first time, on the 22nd of December, 1958, and thereafter, held its regular meetings upto October, 1959. Further meetings were also held, from time to time, to consider specific questions, referred to them by the government. Since the chairman of the committee, as well as, the members were, throughout, engaged in the performance of their respective official duties, it was, therefore, not possible for them to study, in full, the structure and procedures of all departments and subordinate offices, as they had planned at the outset.

In order to collect information for the purpose of its investigation, the committee issued two questionnaires to all ministries, their departments and subordinate offices, questioning them about their organizational

structure, functions and staff positions. Suggestions were, also, invited from them, for organizational and procedural improvements. It was on the basis of the replies to these questionnaires that the committee reviewed the organization and functions of each ministry, its departments and subordinate offices. It, also, held meetings and discussed matters with secretaries of the various ministries and other officers, conversant with the technical questions of the offices. It, then, formulated its tentative views and, once again, held discussions with the secretaries. Thereafter, it put its decisions in the form of recommendations and submitted them to the ministers concerned, for their comments. Their comments were attached as appendices to the various reports they submitted.

Two sub-committees appointed by the committee, separately reviewed the staff position of various ministries and departments and examined the existing procedures. The staff sub-committees appointed working parties to carry out a detailed review of the staff position of various ministries, departments and suboffices. The procedure sub-committee studied and put forward its suggestions regarding secretarial operations and the delegation of powers--suggestions which were, later on, approved and enforced by the government.

The fourth national report was prepared by the S.O.C. This committee was headed by the Minister for

Economic Coordination. The report does not, specifically, mention the names and designations of the members, who composed it. A number of meetings were held between February 26, and April 17, in which the committee carried on discussions about the reorganization of the functions and structure of the Central Government, with a view to bring it in line with the objectives, aimed at by the Constitution of 1962.

The methods of investigation used by the committee was collection of information from various official records and governmental sources, including interviews with ministers, secretaries and other informed officials. The data, thus gathered, were used by the committee in the course of their meetings and decisions, if arrived at, were forwarded to the government for approval and implementation.

The first foreign report, "The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan," was prepared and written by Professor Egger, who was appointed, by the government, to find out the existing deficiencies and short-comings in administration in Pakistan and to suggest measures for effecting improvements. Professor Egger held sole charge and full responsibility for the project and worked upon the problem quite independantly, helped and assisted, though he was, by local staff, in matters of collection of data and other clerical jobs. He had his office in the Cabinet Secretariat and was,

thus, helped by the staff who were, as he says, helpful and cooperative 'beyond the call' of duty.

Egger collected the desired material for his study from various sources. He interviewed the Prime Minister, the governors of the two provinces, the chief ministers, the civil servants, the politicians and business and social leaders. In all, he interviewed one hundred and eight persons. Moreover, he gathered the required data from government reports of Pakistan and undivided India, as well as from many official publications and other unofficial records. With these data in hand, Egger set about a process of analysis and sifting. For this and for the production of the report in its final shape, Egger, alone, is responsible, since the staff that worked with him acted, strictly, according to his guidance and direction.

Gladieux's report on the "Reorientation of Pakistan Government for the National Development," was, also, prepared by Gladieux independantly. He was, however, helped and assisted by local staff in matters pertaining to procurement of material. Gladieux was engaged to prepare this report for the use of the Planning Board, established in July, 1953. The First Five Year Plan was, then, in the process of being formulated. This necessitated a survey of the administrative aspects of planning, for which Gladieux' services were borrowed from January to May, 1955.

Gladieux surveyed the operations and administration of all development and general ministries at the Centre, by documentation study and extensive personal interviewing. He examined general administration and development departments in major cities of both the provinces. He, also, visited all the seventeen separate administrative districts in the country, where he held; meetings and discussions with district officers, development department officials and many officers of various local bodies, including municipalities, district boards, union boards, etc. He, even, paid visits to village aid institutes, experimental farms, barrages and other works and installations. These served to him, as an additional source of information and visual understanding of the actual development activities, already in progress in the country. Some relevant data were, also, collected by him, from various official reports on administrative improvement, written by committees, before and after the partition of the Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Gladieux, being a professional public administrator, viewed administration from the point of view of a practitioner of government--one, who had held public office and exercised administrative authority. By his training and experience Gladieux was a generalist, with a strong background in public budgeting and general administration. His mode of analysis of the data was influenced by his background and his 'personal preferences.'

Finally, we come to Professor Ralph Braibanti, five of whose articles, have been included in this survey. Taking all of them collectively, it may be asserted that Braibanti's methods of investigation spread over an extensive use of several sources. He conducted research in the desired subjects in Pakistan, India and England in 1957, 58 and 59, under sponsorship of the Social Sciences Research Council and the Duke University Commonwealth Studies Centre. Later on, he carried on research in Pakistan, while on leave from Duke University, to serve as chief advisor to Civil Service Academy, Lahore, Pakistan. While in Pakistan, Braibanti had also ample opportunities of tapping first-hand sources of knowledge and information. The position he occupied in the Civil Service Academy facilitated procurement of material from whichever source he wanted. Cooperation and help was 'generously extended' in every respect at all quarters, as he himself acknowledges. He, therefore, collected the desired material from various agencies of government, reports previously written by various committees and commissions, official documents, unofficial records and publications and personal interviews. The materials; thus collected, were, critically, examined and sifted through, with the help of a deep insight, which he had developed, by an extensive study and observation of facts in the relevant fields. He tried, as far as possible, to put the data to statistical treatment in some cases,

while in others, he had to content himself with descriptive analyses. In both cases, he made abundant use of footnotes to support his arguments and supplemented his statements by relevant quotations from the sources concerned. His works are remarkably well documented and accurate and appear to be a fairly reliable source of information.

An attempt has been made above to bring the reader closer to the subject under discussion by introducing him to some of the more intimate details of the persons composing the teams that prepared the various reports, their investigating techniques, the data they worked with and the methods of analysis they chose to utilize. Having thus prepared the ground, we now turn to some of the pertinent administrative problems dealt with by each of these reports in the various agencies included in their enquiries. An attempt has been made to present the same in the following chapter in the same order they appear in the said reports. This presentation has been made in some detail, deliberately, so as to acquaint the reader with peculiar intricacies of administrative problems in Pakistan.

CHAPTER IV

SCOPE AND DIMENSIONS¹

This chapter has been designed to explain the scope of the various national and foreign analyses under consideration, including a detailed description of some of the pertinent administrative problems examined and the various agencies they were concerned with.

The A.E.C.

The Administrative Enquiry Committee was set up

to deal with such broad issues as the re-allocation of responsibilities and functions of government as between different ministries, the amalgamation or abolition of ministries/divisions/departments, the most appropriate method of dealing with transferred subjects with special reference to the tendency to overcentralization in respect of subjects, which fall within the sphere of provincial responsibility, the question whether the present system involves unnecessary and unproductive work and consequent delays in the disposal of government business, delegation of administrative and financial responsibility to expedite disposal of work and the exploring of possibilities of effecting economies in all forms of government expenditure.²

¹This chapter is a condensed reproduction of about fifteen hundred pages the author studied for the purpose of this research. She claims no originality in the subject matter presented below.

²A.E.C., op.cit., p. 1.

The Ideal Setup

To start with, the committee determined 'the ideal set up'¹ in each office, under the revised budget as a result of financial stringency, considering such problems as staff cuts and abolition of posts where not required. The question of surplus staff was dealt with, in great detail. Some of the basic questions discussed were, whether any Provincial consideration be given at the time of retrenchment; whether the unqualified retrenched staff be given three more chances to qualify at the Pakistan Public Service Commission examinations and whether, some vacancies be reserved for unqualified personnel, provided they qualified.

Basic Organization

The next important problem dealt with, by the committee, was that of basic organization at the Central Government offices for the purpose of reorganization of government machinery. First of all, it concerned itself with some of the problems of the secretarial staff. Some of these, the committee felt, were very acute owing to a great shortage of officers of middle seniority, such as, collectors and deputy secretaries. In this connection, the committee discussed the tenure system, prevalent, at the time, in the Central Secretariat, according to which

¹Ideal here means having the most adequate number of staff under the existing circumstances.

all officers in the Secretariat, who had completed their tenure, were moved out and replaced by men from the provinces. This system, the committee believed, had the double advantage of bringing in men to the Centre, who are in touch with provincial problems and of sending out to the provinces, men who had seen some of the complexity of the Central Government. The maintenance of the tenure system and its strict application, the committee believed, were of vital importance to the efficient running of the Secretariat.

Finance and Commerce Pool

The committee, also, deliberated upon the proposed finance and commerce pool, which, it believed, adequately, provided for a number of specialists for posts, where the need for continuity of experience was considered important. The committee proposed the completion of the aforementioned scheme without further delay.

Transferred Subjects

= The committee, then, discussed the question of the most appropriate method of dealing with transferred subjects.¹ The committee felt there was a tendency to over-centralization in respect of subjects, which fell within the sphere of provincial responsibility. The

¹The word 'subjects' has been used here in the sense of functions and responsibilities that may be transferred from the Centre to the provinces.

problem involved, was to prevent the Central Government expanding unnecessarily and undertaking functions, which can better be carried out by the provinces. The committee's concern was, that there should be no undue growth and development and consequent expenditure at the centre on provincial subject like education, when all resources were needed for producing results on the ground, that is, in the villages and town of the provinces.

Technical Advisors to Government

The role of technical advisors to government, was, also, considered by the committee. There were two alternatives: Either, they could have a strong and powerful bureau (called department) and cut down the staff, in the ministry handling these subjects, to the minimum, or, they could have no department, but place technical advisors in the ministry itself. The committee was inclined to favour the former, with the conviction, that executive work should be located in departments, manned by technical officers, freed, as far as possible, from red tape and left to get on with their work.

Reorganization of Ministries

The committee, then, discussed the problem of amalgamation or abolition of ministries. It took up the question of reorganization of four ministries--commerce, industries, health and works, and labour. It suggested big changes and alterations therein--its concern being

simplification of task and smooth working in the ministries concerned, as a result of suggested changes.

Ministry of Health and Work

For example, it was suggested that health should be separated from works and be transferred to the Ministry of Labour, which may be redesignated as the Ministry of Social Welfare. The subject of village aid which, according to the committee was, inappropriately, handled by the Ministry of Economic Affairs should, also, be transferred to it.

The Ministry of Works, divested of health would have little to do, save to supervise the working of the Central Power and Water Development. The committee, therefore, recommended, that to it be added, all those functions of the Ministry of Industries, including control of the Central Engineering Authority, and Controller of Printing and Stationery, as do not infringe on industrial matters proper. The new ministry, the committee proposed, should be known as the Ministry of Works and Power. This ministry should be in charge of mines and all other natural resources and irrigation projects.

Ministry of Commerce and Industries

The committee, further, suggested that Ministry of Industries should be amalgamated with the Ministry of Commerce, which might be pruned of any non-essential features, such as department of shipping and mercantile

marine. These, the committee opined, should be placed under the Ministry of Communications. The committee was convinced, that there was, at that time, overlapping between the two ministries and that the work of the Ministry of Industries was being hampered by lack of close coordination with commerce, which could, only, be secured by integration. Inter-ministerial consultation, however cordial, relations may be, was not the same as work within a ministry. The difficulties arose, for example, when Ministry of Industries was incapable of securing an allocation of import licences for essential spare parts required, say, by government departments, because of their inability to issue orders to the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, who was under the authority of the Ministry of Commerce. There had been cases, the committee affirmed, when industries had actually been in danger of having to close down for inability to convince the C.C.I.E. of the necessity to grant import licences for raw materials without which, they could not function.

Ministry of Economic Affairs

The committee, then, discussed, at great length, why in its opinion, the Ministry of Economic Affairs should be abolished. The main object of establishing this ministry was coordination. The committee was convinced that there was no need of a separate ministry for

coordination, as it may prove a fifth wheel on the coach. Coordination, the committee was of opinion, could be secured by direct discussion if the committee proposals to cut down work and the number of ministries was approved.

Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs

The committee, also, recommended the abolition of Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs for the existence of which, it felt, there was no justification at a time of financial stringency, since its work was of a seasonal nature. This, the committee believed, could be done by Chief Whip's Office.

The Ministry of I. & B. and Education

The committee further suggested the amalgamation of the ministries of Information and Broadcasting and Education, as it believed the two subjects were closely akin. The important ideological work of integrating national culture fell, both, within the spheres of information and education.

Ministry of States and Frontier Regions

Lastly, the committee proposed the immediate abolition of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, both, on account of the financial saving, which would result in its abolition and because, experience had shown that it tended to centralize authority to the detriment of the power and prestige of the Agents to Governor General on the Northwest Frontier and in Baluchistan.

Further on, the committee discussed certain miscellaneous problems, which could not, suitably, be brought under any particular ministry. The first problem discussed under this heading, was that of financial control, which, the committee considered to be inadequate in three ways. First, too much attention was being paid to expenditure, but not enough to revenue. There was a great deal of leakage of revenue under main heads like customs, excise and income tax, due to inadequate quality or quantity of staff. Second, excessive attention was being paid to preaudit but not sufficient enough to post-audit, that is, scrutiny of expenditure after it had been made, to see, not whether it was formally covered by sanction, but, whether, it had served any useful purpose. A fuller appreciation of financial responsibility inside the ministries was called for. This, the committee suggested, could be done by providing financial advisors in all ministries. The committee, also, considered the possibility of having one high powered officer in each ministry, who could exercise any financial powers, which might be delegated by the Ministry of Finance and the disciplinary powers now delegated to the secretary. The committee disagreed with the proposal that the departments should be allowed to deal direct with the Ministry of Finance as this was liable to cut out the essential element of control.

Rules of Business

The committee, then, regretted the ignorance of rules of business and secretariat instructions on the part of some of the officers. If all officers were familiar with these, a great number of jurisdictional disputes would be settled, before they arose and government business would proceed more smoothly and quickly. These rules covered all suggestions for cutting out red tape and avoiding delay and corruption. The officers, it suggested, should, also, be conversant with rules setting up selection board and providing for filling secretariat appointments. This the committee believed, would help check the temptation to nepotism and partiality.

Delay in Departmental and Criminal Cases

The committee deplored the inordinate delay that takes place in departmental enquiries and criminal proceedings against government servants. If such cases were handled quickly, at all stages and an officer, normally, placed on special duty to conduct the enquiry, the officials would be saved the trouble of being kept under suspension for years.

Welfare Officers

The question of cooperation among welfare officers, working in different organizations to advise on the problems of government servants was, also, thrashed out. This, the

committee believed, should be secured by the proposed Ministry of Social Welfare.

Training of Employees

The committee, then, discussed, at length, the need for training of employees. The problem, at the moment, was acute since haphazard recruitment, during the war and after partition of the country, had led to the appointment of persons, who could never, perhaps, pass the examination of Public Service Commission. The committee welcomes the proposal, made by the Establishment Division for setting up a training school.

N/O References

The committee, then, discussed the problem of referring files to other ministries and departments unofficially. This, according to the committee, led to delay and lack of any record on the file of the office concerned. It was, also, a source of temptation to officers to shift responsibility to others. The committee, therefore, suggested total abolition of U/O (unofficial) references system.

Budget

The committee believed, the presentation of the budget was not very clear. It did not show demands according to ministries. Demands should be numbered under ministries in alphabetic order, their departments being

attached to them. Moreover, the grants from the social uplift fund should be quite separate from the main budget.

Department of Supply and Development

The committee, then, considered, at length, the so-called existing faults in the Department of Supply and Development. The department, the committee felt, had worked under great difficulties, not the least of which was the lack of sufficient qualified, technical staff. The committee, therefore, suggested a full-fledged enquiry to be conducted into the affairs of this department.

O. & M. Unit

The committee applauded the work of the newly-instituted O. & M. unit in the Establishment Division and desired that the officers in this unit should not be diverted to other work, nor, any immediate or sensational results expected from them.

Review of the Recommendations of the Committee of Members of the Legislature

Lastly, the committee reviewed the recommendations of the committee of Members of Legislature, which was appointed in 1949 to review the organization, structure and level of expenditure of the various ministries, departments and offices. It suggested that those of its recommendations, which were wholly unacceptable to certain ministries and departments might be revised after con-

sultation with the ministries, departments and offices concerned.

Mr. Franklin's Note on Branch Organization in the Central Secretariat

Towards the end of the report Mr. E.A. Franklin, Joint Secretary, Establishment Division, made an attempt to defend the much criticized organization of the Central Secretariat. Explaining the work procedure in the Central Secretariat branches, he suggested certain changes which served as a basis of the Section Officer Scheme-- a scheme, which, later on, became fully established.

A minute scrutiny of the various problems, dealt with by the A.E.C. brings home the fact that it took into account altogether eight-five major problems. Thirty-three out of these fell under the heading of Ministerial and Departmental Organization. Twenty-two are concerned with personnel problems of various orders. Twenty-three throw light on the financial aspect of the administrative system and seven speak of miscellaneous problems. The following table shows the various administrative problems, taken into consideration by the A.E.C. under the five main categories established for the purpose of comparison in this study. A mere glance at this table gives an idea of the magnitude of the problems faced by the Government of Pakistan in 1953, when A.E.C. was set up to conduct its enquiry. It appears, that the most serious problem

TABLE 1

MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE
ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

		C a t e g o r i e s									
Personnel management	Ministerial & departmental reorganization	Financial administration	Planning & development	Miscellaneous	Total						
Organization	Proce- dure	Organiza- tion	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure
-	22	28	5	3	20	-	-	-	7	31	54
22		33		23		-		7			85

of the time was that of the reorganization of the structure and functions of the governmental machinery. The administrative problems falling under this category are greater in number than those falling under any other category.

A further scrutiny of the table discloses that twenty-eight out of the thirty-three problems falling under the category of Ministerial and Departmental Organization deal with purely organizational matters, while only five discuss procedures. The twenty-two personnel problems, on the other hand, are all concerned with one or other aspect of administrative procedures. The financial problems, also, depict an overwhelming majority under the procedure column. Out of a total number of twenty-three problems discussed under this head, twenty discuss procedures, while only three touch upon the organizational side. Seven issues relate to miscellaneous questions.

It is significant to note that the question of planning and development does not attract the attention of this committee. Concerned as it was, with matters of efficiency and despatch in the disposal of work and elimination of avoidable expenditure, it did not go beyond its terms of reference. It, rather, restricted itself to the few main functions, for which it was set up.

The F.R.C.

The second report, prepared and presented to the Government of Pakistan, by the F.R.C. in August, 1956, was designed to examine

the impact of the Constitution on the functions and structure of the Central Government, particularly with regard to the distribution of powers, as between the Centre and the Provinces and to recommend changes necessary in the organization of the Central Government as a result thereof.¹

Moreover, the committee was instructed to examine all proposals for the transfer of subject from one ministry to another and make its recommendations in this behalf.

The committee proceeded by examining the then existing administrative organization of the Central Government and to suggest modifications, where required.

The Cabinet Secretariat

It started with the Cabinet Secretariat and stated, that no change was required in the existing structure of either the main, or the establishment division of the Cabinet Secretariat. It, then, passed on to various ministries, taking into account each one of them and discussing their functions.

Ministry of Economic Affairs

To begin with, the committee examined the Ministry

¹F.R.C., op.cit., p. 1:

of Economic Affairs, which was, at that time, responsible for planning and development. More specifically, the ministry claimed to deal with planning, initiation of projects, development coordination, authorization, progressing and evaluation of development projects. The ministry acted as the secretariat for the Planning Commission and the Economic Council. It was, also, responsible for coordination of economic policies.

The assessment of projects and the determination of priorities, had, till then, been the function of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, assisted by the Planning Commission. The committee believed, that the Planning Commission as such, was, rather, a heterogeneous body, imperfectly equipped to conduct objective evaluation of projects and determining priorities. Moreover, it had to perform its task in a hurried manner. The committee was, therefore, of the opinion, that the Planning Commission should be abolished and the normal machinery used, where required, for discussion and consultation at the secretariat level. It suggested that the responsibility for the assessment of projects and determination of priorities, in relation to the five year plan, should be placed on the Planning Board. It, also, proposed that planning and development should be made the responsibility of separate organizations, to be known as Planning Board and Development Board. The Development Board should be responsible

for the work of progressing, expediting, and implementing the national plan.

The work of planning and implementation, at the Centre was, according to the committee, of such paramount importance, that it should be placed in the direct charge of the Prime Minister, who should, also, be the chairman of the National Economic Council, to be set up for a review of the overall economic position of the country and for advising the Central and Provincial Government to formulate plans in respect of financial, commercial and economic policies. In view of the above, the committee proposed the abolition of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the expansion of the existing Cabinet Secretariat to include a Planning and Development Division, under an officer of the rank of Secretary, or Additional Secretary to the government. The expanded Cabinet Secretariat, the committee proposed, should be named as the Prime Minister's Secretariat; and should consist of three divisions-- Cabinet, Establishment and Planning and Development. The Planning and Development Division should act as the Secretariat of the National Economic Council. Foreign aid, including technical assistance, should be made the responsibility of this division, while, village aid should be transferred to the ministry, dealing with social welfare. The Planning and Development Division, the F.R.C. concluded, should be responsible for the coordination of

schemes and projects, received by it from all quarters, for ensuring their coordination at the secretariat level, for obtaining the advice of the Planning Board, for processing them with the Ministry of Finance and foreign aid agencies and after, the schemes and projects had been approved, for passing them on to the Development Board, for ensuring their implementation by the appropriate agency. The F.R.C. was convinced, that in view of the reorganization of functions, as proposed by it, the staff requirements of the Planning and Development Division would be smaller than those of the existing Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations

The F.R.C. then, considered the problem of the subject of foreign publicity, which was, at that time, being handled by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reiterated the claim, which it had previously put before the A.E.C., that the subject of foreign publicity should be transferred to it. The F.R.C. agreed with A.E.C. that this subject should remain with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting who had built up a technical organization, which could not easily be replaced without much work, duplication and expense.

The F.R.C., also, dismissed the demand of the ministry for the transfer to it, of the entire work

relating to foreign trade, foreign aid and international cultural activities. The subject of the pilgrimage to Mecca, the committee agreed, might be transferred to the Ministry of Commerce, as suggested by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since the former was also responsible for shipping. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should, however, continue to be responsible for assistance to pilgrims, other than provision of transport.

Ministry of Finance

The Ministry of Finance wanted to take over the subject of insurance from the Ministry of Commerce, on the plea, that various processes involved in insurance were of a financial character. The F.R.C. believed, however, that marine, fire and accident insurance being the main insurance business in Pakistan, they were intimately linked with commerce. The committee decided, therefore, that insurance should remain with the Ministry of Commerce.

Ministry of the Interior

The F.R.C. discussed the administrative problems of the Ministry of Interior and decided, that certain subjects, which, under the Constitution, had become the responsibility of the provinces, should be dealt with by them and not by this ministry. The transfer of certain functions from this ministry to other ministries, by way of

fixing more effective functional responsibility, was, also, considered by the F.R.C. For example, it suggested, that the subject of Islamic and Social Reconstruction should be redefined as Islamic Research and Instruction and, more appropriately, made the responsibility of the ministry dealing with education; the work of Evacuee Trusts should be transferred from this ministry to the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation; Honours and Awards was considered fit for the Prime Minister's Secretariat; the Police Service of Pakistan, at that time under this ministry, should, along with Central Superior Service of Pakistan be under the direct control of Establishment Division of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, so that, uniform standards of administrative judgment were applied to the two All Pakistan Services.

Further on, the committee maintained, that the subject of census should not be transferred from this ministry to the Central Statistical Office, because, the holding of census was a major and complicated administrative operation involving provincial government district officers and other government employees. The Ministry of Interior, the committee believed, was far better equipped to carry out such a country-wide operation, than the Central Statistical Office could possibly be.

The committee did not encourage the suggestion of this ministry, that the grant of visas and the issue of

passports and visas to Indian subjects should be transferred to it, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the entry of a foreigner into Pakistan posed an internal security problem, which could be better dealt with by them, than, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs contended, that there was an important foreign relations aspect involved in the grant of passports and visas. The committee considered it best not to disturb the existing arrangements. The subject of extension of visas and externment of foreigners from Pakistan, should however, remain with the Ministry of Interior.

The Ministry of States and Frontier Regions

The F.R.C. was of one accord with the A.R.C. that the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions should be abolished since, both the States and the Frontier Regions, as understood in the past, had disappeared. Functions relating to the accession agreements with Pakistan, could be performed by the Ministry of the Interior. In order to safeguard the special needs of these areas, the committee suggested, that an officer of the rank of a Joint Secretary, who had personal experience of the local conditions should be attached to the Ministry of the Interior.

Ministry of Law

The committee considered it necessary to make essential expansion in the case of the Ministry of Law, to

which, further administrative responsibilities had been added, under the Constitution. To mention one of them, there was the enormous task of the adaptation of laws, which, as required by the Constitution, was to be completed within two years.

Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs

The committee agreed with the A.E.C., that this ministry should be abolished and its work be transferred to the Government Chief Whip.

Ministry of Commerce

The Constitution provided, that the control of the Ministry of Commerce would be restricted to the Federal Capital and coastal shipping confined to ports, within a province and inland navigation would, no longer, be its concern. This ministry requested for the subject of major ports to be transferred to it from the Ministry of Communication. The committee, however, believed, that the subject should be retained by the latter, since the control of ports involved general administrative problems and was less concerned with shipping interests.

Ministry of Industries

The ministry had under its charge three main functions--water and power development, regulation of mines and mineral development and industries proper. According to the Constitution, all aspects of water and power develop-

ment became the provincial responsibility. Administrative responsibility for nuclear energy and natural gas were, however, Central subjects, while electricity was a provincial subject. Where agreements for foreign aid or loans were entered into, with foreign governments, or agencies, in respect of specific water and power projects, the responsibility for the observance of these agreements, the committee emphasized, must be borne by the Central Government. But, the actual execution of the projects, should be the responsibility of the provincial government.

Turning to the question of the development of mines and mineral industries, the committee pointed out, that its authority, under the Constitution, was variously distributed. The ~~Cent~~ral Government was responsible for mineral resources necessary for the production of nuclear energy, mineral oil and explosives and concurrently with the provinces, for iron, steel, coal and mineral products. The provincial governments were responsible for the regulation of mines and mineral development. Here, again, the sphere of the ministry's activities had become more limited, than was the case hitherto. Its primary functions related to the matters, which were a direct ~~Cent~~ral concern. Its concurrent functions in respect of iron, steel, coal and mineral products would be shared with the provinces.

Regarding industries, the interest of the Central Government, under the Constitution, would be limited to industries connected with defence, manufacture of arms,

fire arms, ammunition and explosives and industries, owned wholly or partially by the Centre. All other industries had now fallen within the purview of provincial responsibility. In this connection, the committee proposed that the textile industry, having become the responsibility of the provincial government, the office of the Textile Commissioner need no longer, be maintained by the Central Government. The Central Boiler Board should also be abolished, since boilers had become a provincial subject.

The committee, also, supported the suggestion of the Planning Board that Supply and Development Directorate should be known as Directorate of Supply, acting solely as a governmental purchasing agency. Its development functions should be handed over to a new department of Industrial Planning and Development, under the Ministry of Industries.

The question of the nature of the Central control exercised over industrial development, through the Capital Issues and Permission Committee, was, also, discussed by the committee. This committee consisting of Controller of Capital Issues and a representative each of the ministries of Commerce and Industries was authorized to issue sanctions for industrial and commercial units, requiring capital of over a lakh of rupees, or, when any investment of foreign capital was involved. It, also, acted as a permission-granting authority which considered and approved applications for starting new industrial units.

The F.R.C. discouraged the suggestion, that the functions of the Capital Issues and Permission Committee should be transferred to the provinces, because foreign exchange considerations were deeply involved in the functions of this committee. Since, foreign exchange was a Central responsibility, decentralization of the duties of this committee would be constitutionally incorrect. The F.R.C. decided, therefore, that this committee should continue to be under the control of Ministry of Finance.

Ministry of Natural Resources

Unlike A.E.C., the F.R.C. felt, that Ministry of Industries should not be amalgamated with the Ministry of Commerce and that, the Ministry of Natural Resources should form a part of it. With a view to emphasize and draw pointed attention to the importance of exploitation of natural resources the committee recommended this ministry should, in future, be called the Ministry of Industries and Natural Resources.

Ministry of Communication.

The F.R.C. held the view, that no change in the structure of the Railway Division was called for, nor, were any other basic changes required in Posts and Telegraph Department and the Communication and Transport divisions, except for the fact, that inland water transport and road transport should be transferred to the provincial

list. The committee, also, suggested, that the department of civil aviation and the department of meteorology should be transferred back to the Ministry of Communication. As for the transfer of the subject of shipping to the Ministry of Communication, the committee argued against it, on the plea, that in the existing stage of development of Pakistan's trade and commerce, the balance of advantage lay in leaving shipping with the Ministry of Commerce.

Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation.

This ministry dealt with the administration of evacuee property and the rehabilitation of refugees. The committee was of the opinion that, since, the subject of evacuee property constantly brought the Central Government into relationship with India, therefore, policy and executive authority, in respect of it, must need remain with the Central Government. Even in the matter of Refugee Rehabilitation, the Central Government must retain policy control for purposes of coordination.

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

In the opinion of the F.R.C. no change was required in the structure and functions of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It did, however, recommend for consideration the proposal to set up an Inter-Federal-Provincial Advisory Committee, to advise on broadcasting policy and needs.

Ministry of Health and Education

Previously, the A.E.C. recommended that Education and Information should be combined into a single ministry, while the Ministry of Labour should be redesignated as the Ministry of Social Welfare and should include within it, the subjects of health and village aid. The F.R.C. felt, that it was high time for the formation of a Ministry of Social Welfare. Therefore, it suggested, that the existing Ministry of Health and Education, should be abolished as separate entities and, in order to discharge the Central functions relating to health and education, a Directorate of Health and a Directorate of Education should be formed and placed under the administrative control of the new Ministry of Social Welfare. It might, also, include the Directorate of Village Aid. The rationale behind combining the three, according to F.R.C. was that, the Ministry should not, merely, aim at the promotion of services for relief of distress where it was present, but, in the present stage of our development, the emphasis should be on the larger concepts of social welfare and the adoption of measures to cut out all misery at its roots. The committee, further, proposed, that the National Council of Social Welfare, already organized by the Ministry of Works, should function as an advisory body of the new Ministry, with the Minister of Social Welfare as its chairman.

Ministry of Works and Labour

The committee recommended, that the Ministry of Works should be amalgamated with that of Labour and the resultant ministry be known as the Ministry of Works and Labour. It, further, suggested, that the administrative functions, at present performed by the Ministry of Labour, should be placed under a separate department with a Federal Labour Welfare Commissioner at its head, so that, the policy making functions of the ministry were separated from purely executive work.

Further on, the committee could not find reason to agree with the Ministry of Commerce, for the transfer to it, of the subject of 'seamen's welfare' from the Ministry of Labour, because, as the Ministry of Commerce was responsible for training and recruitment of seamen, the welfare of seamen might not receive the desired attention in the Ministry of Commerce. Besides, the committee could not find any direct connection between recruitment and welfare and thought it was desirable, in principle, to centralise the labour policy of the government in one ministry. Therefore, it suggested, that the subject should be left with the Ministry of Labour, which was, generally, responsible for the welfare of all labour.

Ministries of Food and of Agriculture

In the opinion of the F.R.C. the Ministry of Food

and the Ministry of Agriculture should be combined in one ministry. In view of the existing food situation, the committee, also, considered it necessary, that the Central Government should continue to maintain effective machinery at the Centre, to deal with food and agriculture, so long as the country had not passed through its present production crisis. It, further, suggested that the various institutes, organizations and other administrative departments, functioning on a Central basis, in the field of agriculture, under this ministry, should be controlled by a single department, with an agricultural development commissioner at its head. The ministry should confine itself to dealing with policy matters, only.

The committee, then, referred to a recommendation made, previously, by the A.E.C., which considered it a logical and desirable change to transfer the survey of Pakistan from this ministry to the Ministry of Defence. The F.R.C. agreed with the recommendation of the A.E.C., that the survey of Pakistan, should be placed, directly, under the Ministry of Defence, since, the greater part of its work consisted of map-making and topographical surveys, which were of vital interest to defence.

On retrospect we discover that the F.R.C. discussed, altogether, forty-six problems. Thirty-six out of these were concerned with ministerial and departmental organization, while ten related to **planning and development**. The following table gives a clear picture of the whole situation.

The above table shows that the F.R.C. took into consideration forty-six major problems. A large majority of these were concerned with proposals for transfer of subjects from one ministry to another or from the Centre to the provinces as required by the redistribution of powers according to the Constitution of 1956. Incidentally, it dealt with certain economic and social problems arising out of the proposed changes and discussed them in the light of the fact that according to the Constitution Central Government was to have concurrent responsibility with the provincial government for economic and social planning. Ten such problems were taken into consideration by the committee. This bears witness to the fact that there was in the country a growing consciousness of the urgency and importance of the economic and social development. Most of these concerned themselves with questions of greater coherence in planning according to national, social and economic development and discussed in detail the need for expediting progressing and implementation of plans.

The A.R.C.

The Administrative Reorganization Committee was set up by the Government of Pakistan in 1958, with a view to investigate and make recommendations on any issue of administrative reform, which, in its judgement was relevant to its task. The recommendations of the committee may be

divided into three categories:-

- a. Proposals relating to organizational and procedural improvement covering a wide field of the activities of the Central Secretariat;
- b. Proposals relating to the reorganization of individual ministries and departments including a review of their staff position;
- c. Recommendations on specific ad hoc questions referred to the committee.

Ministry of Commerce

To begin with, the committee discussed the problem of the reorganization of the Ministry of Commerce. The committee believed, that in view of the important role trade and commerce played in the economy of the country, the Ministry of Commerce should concentrate, exclusively, on policy making functions and divest itself of a number of other functions which, according to a more rational distribution of work should be the responsibility of other ministries. For example, subjects like shipping, coastal traffic, mercantile marine, light houses and light ships should be transferred from this ministry to Ministry of Railways and Communication.

The Department of Trade Promotion and Commercial Intelligence held much importance in shaping, guiding and executing the trade and commercial policy of government.

Therefore, the committee emphasized the importance of the improvement in the working of this office.

In view of the protection needed for the newly emerging industries in Pakistan, the committee also considered it desirable to have a permanent Tariff Commission.

Regarding trade offices abroad the committee believed they did not contribute much towards promoting international trade. They should, therefore, be abolished and their functions handed over to the officers of Pakistan Foreign Service, who should, previously, be trained in economic and commercial matters.

The committee also considered the proposal to transfer the subjects of insurance accountancy and tariffs from this ministry to the Ministry of Finance. The financial aspects of insurance being overshadowed by its commercial side, the committee decided that it should continue to be dealt with by the Ministry of Commerce. Similarly, accountancy had acquired a special meaning in the context of company law, which is administered by the Ministry of Commerce; so, it would be desirable to maintain the status quo. Regarding tariffs also the committee maintained the same attitude.

Ministry of Defence

The subject of civil aviation had been amalgamated with the Pakistan Air Force with a view to improve the efficiency of the aviation services, through better utiliza-

tion of trained personnel and other technical facilities. The A.R.C. recommended that without upsetting the existing arrangement, the supervisory control of civil aviation should be transferred from the Ministry of Defence to the proposed Ministry of Railways and Communication.

Ministry of Education

Considering research to be an integral part of education, the committee suggested it should be a responsibility of the Ministry of Education. It recommended the creation of a National Council of Scientific Research to guide and coordinate the various research activities all over the country. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research should act as a Secretariat of the Council.

The committee, further, considered it undesirable for the Central Government to maintain control over or supervise educational institutions directly. It therefore suggested that the Directorate of Central Government Institutions should be abolished and the work relating to the maintenance and supervision of the existing Central Educational Institutions at Karachi and Dacca should be transferred to the respective local authorities.

Lastly, the committee recommended that the posts of section officers should be filled by technical officers belonging to the senior education service. Replacement of non-technical personnel should take place as soon as technical personnel became available.

Pakistan Foreign Service, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
and Commonwealth Relations

Regarding the Pakistan Foreign Service, the committee believed that P.F.S. cadre was too small to man the large number of top diplomatic posts and that it was necessary that a proportion of these posts be set apart to be filled by non-career diplomats.

The committee also suggested that the functions of P.F.S. officers should be reoriented to include the functions of commercial and press attaches.

Concerning the reorganization of the foreign office, it disagreed with the Foreign Secretary, who proposed that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations should be headed by a Secretary General, assisted by two secretaries. The committee felt such an organization would be top heavy and create multiple tiers.

The committee also suggested the withdrawal of ambassadors from less important countries. These could be placed into convenient groupings and put under one ambassador.

Ministry of Finance

This ministry, the committee suggested, should be reorganized into three divisions--the Budget Division, the Internal Finance Division, and the External Finance Division. The existing revenue division was a secretariat cum operational agency. The members and officers of the

Central Board of Revenue were at the same time Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Section Officers to Government in the Revenue Division. There was, thus, a mixture of policy and operational functions in the Revenue Division. This position called for rectification. The Central Board of Revenue, the committee suggested, should be constituted into a self contained department of the Ministry of Finance.

Appraising the functioning of the Central Statistical office, the committee felt it had not been able to provide a statistical service of the desired standard. It suggested that steps should be taken by this office to determine the present and future statistical needs of the country and should plan its activities in conformity with those needs.

Ministry of Food and Agriculture

The A.R.C. recommended, that for reasons of economy and efficiency the two independent divisions of Food and Agriculture should be combined into one administrative unit.

The Agricultural Division in the Ministry had developed into a diffused organization, combining a number of executive functions with secretarial duties. The distribution of functions between the secretariat and the departments was vague and involved overlapping. The committee, therefore, suggested that its departments

should be reorganized and their functions should be clearly defined. Functions which were executive in nature should be transferred to provincial government.

Power and Natural Resources

On examining the sanctioned strength of this ministry, the committee recommended that a Joint Secretary in addition to a Secretary was not justified, since it was a comparatively compact ministry. The committee, also, desired reduction in the number of its section officers.

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Health, being a provincial subject, the committee felt that Health Division, in this ministry, should confine itself strictly to the formulation of policy. Combination of the executive functions with the policy functions was according to A.R.C. unsound in principle. It also suggested that Labour Division, being an important complement of the ministry, should have a clear indication of its existence in the title of the ministry.

The main functions of the Social Welfare Division related to the Community Development programmes, which were, purely, executive in nature. This organization should, therefore, the committee suggested be treated as an attached department of this ministry. The policy functions relating to it could, however, be delegated to the Secretariat.

Ministry of Industries

The committee considered the proposal of the amalgamation of the Ministry of Industries with that of Ministry of Commerce. It believed that if amalgamated the workload of the two ministries would become inordinately heavy and would thus affect efficiency adversely. They should, therefore, continue to exist separately.

The subject of industrial research, the committee proposed, should be affiliated with the proposed National Council of Scientific Research, under the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

The committee welcomed the decision of the government to set up Investment Promotion Bureau to promote private investment both foreign and local in industry. It, also, recommended the institution of a Bureau of Mines in order to provide effective administrative machinery for the speedy stimulation of mineral development in Pakistan.

Information and Broadcasting

In view of the great importance to future development of the information and public relations organizations of the country, the committee recommended that there should be a regularly constituted Information Service of Pakistan.

The committee, then, took into consideration the difficulties, which had hampered the efficient and effective working of Radio Pakistan. These difficulties, it

believed, sprang mainly from the restrictive administrative and financial powers given to the Director General Radios. The committee recommended the reorganization of Radio Pakistan on the basis of a public corporation under a Director General.

The National Bureau of Reconstruction should, the committee agreed, continue to exist independently, though its size should be reduced. The committee, also, suggested the termination of audit Bureau of Circulation as there was no longer any control on newsprint.

Ministry of Interior

The ministry consisted of two divisions--the Home Division and the States and Frontier Regions Division. The committee recommended the complete merger of these two divisions, as it believed that it would gradually lead to integration of the Frontier Regions with other regions of West Pakistan.

The committee, then, studied the functions of the Establishment Division and suggested that Honours and Awards should be placed directly under the President and transferred from the Establishment Division to the President's Secretariat; that the work relating to welfare of the staff of the Central Government should be centralized in the Establishment Division; that the Establishment Division should, in the light of recommendations, made by the

various experts and committees, work out an integrated training programme for civil servants, prescribing the stages at which, officers of different levels should undergo training in the various fields of responsibility.

Reorganization, the committee believed, was a continuous activity, since circumstances changed and organizations and procedures had to be adjusted accordingly. Therefore, the committee suggested the constitution of a Standing Organization Committee, which should watch the implementation of recommendations by the A.R.C., advise the government continually on the organizational structure, functions and procedures of ministries departments and to consider and approve any recommendations made by O. & M. office for improving organization and procedure of ministries and departments of Central Government and to progress their implementation.

Ministry of Kashmir Affairs

The committee considered the possibility of amalgamating the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs with the Ministry of Interior and came to the conclusion, that although, it would be administratively feasible and more economical it would not be politically desirable to merge the two ministries together.

Ministry of Law

The ministry, the committee felt, needed strengthening in order to be able to function more effectively. The

ministry had to deal with references, from various ministries, of legal opinion, legal and constitutional drafting and litigation. It had, thus, great pressure of work and needed more staff of a higher calibre.

President's Secretariat

The committee was of the opinion, that the Cabinet Division, in the President's Secretariat, was inadequately equipped for coordinating the activities of government at the Secretariat level. The Cabinet Secretary did not enjoy the status required to carry out this function. The committee suggested the revival of the post of Secretary General, whose main function should be to coordinate, at the Secretariat level, the work of all ministries.

Ministry of Railways and Communication

This ministry consisted of two separate divisions--communication and transport. Having examined the functions and organizational structure of this ministry the committee suggested that for the proper and coordinated development of the means of communication and transport in the country, there should be a full fledged Ministry of Railways and Communication. This ministry should, also, have the supervisory control of Civil Aviation.

Ministry of Rehabilitation

In view of the proposed abolition of this ministry, the committee suggested that Housing and Settlement Agency,

recently set up by this ministry, should be transferred to the Ministry of Works, Irrigation and Power.

Ministry of Works, Irrigation and Power

In addition to the Housing and Settlement Agency mentioned above, this ministry should have under it, sewerage and water supply schemes, as it was technically equipped for the examination of such schemes.

Planning Commission

The committee discussed in detail the question of reorganization of Planning Commission. It held the view that the status and operational strength of the Planning Commission should be raised.

The committee recommended the amalgamation of the commission with the Projects Division of the President's Secretariat for the purpose of bringing about more effective coordination between governmental implementation agencies. The Director General Projects should be redesignated as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

Federal Public Service Commission

The committee considered the proposal of the Chairman, Federal Public Service Commission asking for executive and mandatory powers in addition to the advisory powers already enjoyed by the commission. The committee believed its existing powers were adequate enough. It did, however, emphasize the importance of ensuring that the recommendations

made by the commission were not disregarded by the ministries.

Closer Liaison between the Central and Provincial Government

Further on, the committee discussed the question of bringing about closer liaison between the Central and Provincial governments and suggested that a carefully selected officer should be posted by the Government of East Pakistan, at Karachi, as liaison officer. He should remain in close touch with central ministries and departments. Secondly, the Central ministers and secretaries should visit the provinces at regular intervals to acquaint themselves with provincial problems and finding a speedy solution. Thirdly, the Governors' Conference should be held every two months, in turn, at Karachi, Dacca and Lahore. A teleprinter service should, also, be installed between Dacca, Lahore and Karachi.

Reorganization of the Central Secretariat

The committee considered the existing system unsuited to modern administrative needs, being wasteful, cumbersome and dilatory. It led not only to inordinate delays owing to the existence of many bottlenecks and tiers but also inefficiency. The committee, therefore, recommended the introduction of Section Officer Scheme, which envisaged the splitting up of a branch into two sections under two section officers each having a small comple-

ment of clerical staff consisting of one assistant and one steno-typist.

Discussing the relationship between the ministries and the attached departments, the committee was of the opinion, that to enable the heads of departments to perform their executive functions expeditiously, maximum financial and administrative powers should be delegated to them. Policy making, it believed, should be the responsibility of the Secretariat and implementation should be the concern of the attached departments. There should be no confusion of staff and line functions.

The committee further suggested that department heads could be held responsible for the technical soundness of their proposals which as a rule should not be subjected to any technical scrutiny by the ministry concerned.

System of Financial Control, Budgeting and Accounting

The A.R.C. also, considered the current system of financial control, budgeting and accounting. Financial control was exercised by the Ministry of Finance at the time of the formulation of budget proposals and at the time of expenditure sanction, when the administrative ministries were required to seek concurrence of the Ministry of Finance to incur expenditure against appropriated funds. The committee believed, the expenditure sanction system to be unsuited to the modern administrative needs, since it had a hampering effect on the implementation of development

programmes and execution of approved projects. It, also, led to lack of financial responsibility on the part of administrative ministries who submitted exaggerated demands to the Ministry of Finance. The existing system minimized the importance of budget as an effective instrument of financial control and planning.

The committee suggested, that the primary responsibility for the propriety and economy of expenditure of allocated funds should be, firmly and squarely, laid upon the heads of the ministries, i.e. the secretaries to government, who should be held answerable to government for the proper discharge of their responsibilities. It, also, proposed the appointment of a financial advisor in each ministry, who should be under the administrative control of the ministry to which he is attached. Similar powers should also be delegated to the heads of attached departments and subordinate offices.

Budget system, the committee believed, needed re-orientation. It should become a continuous process and cease to be a seasonal activity.

It also emphasized the importance of an accounting system which should help ministries and departments to control their expenditure within budget allotments and to keep their revenue collection under review. The existing system, it pointed out, had failed to fulfill this purpose.

Reorientation of the Civil Servants' Outlook

Commending the establishment of District Development Committees and Divisional Development Boards in the provinces, the committee suggested, that civil servants should be made to understand, that their efficiency would be measured by their success in utilizing these bodies as effective instruments of social welfare.

New entrants to civil service should be required to have some grounding in economics. For this purpose a course in elementary economics, with special reference to the development aspect of Pakistan's economy, should be included in the curriculum of Civil Service Academy and other training institutions.

Reorganization of the Selection Board

The A.R.C. considered the question of selection procedure for Central Secretariat posts and for posts in such departments which did not fall within the category of "sizeable technical departments." It recommended the constitution of a Central Selection Board, consisting of Establishment Secretary, the Cabinet Secretary and one of the secretaries Ministry of Finance for filling the vacancies in the Central Secretariat. For the latter the committee suggested the constitution of Selection Boards in the ministries concerned, with the Secretary of the ministry as chairman and the head of the department as member.

Allotment of G.S.P. to Provinces

The committee considered the decision of the government to provincialize the cadre of C.S.P., and suggested that since the present C.S.P. were taken on the clear understanding that they would belong to a centralized cadre, they would feel discontented, if confined to one province. The assignment of C.S.P. to provinces should, therefore, commence with the new recruits.

Amalgamation of the C.S.P. and P.F.S.

The A.R.C. considered the pros and cons of the proposed amalgamation of C.S.P. and P.F.S. and came to the conclusion, that a complete merger of the two services would, not only, create administrative difficulties, but would also deprive officers of the opportunity to specialize in the field of diplomacy or civil administration.

The Finance and Commerce Pool: Proposals for Its Reconstitution as the Economic Pool

The Finance and Commerce Pool originated in 1939 with the growing recognition of the specialization and increasingly complex character of the work in the Finance and Commerce Department of the Government of India. According to this system, selected officers of the I.C.S. and certain other services were, permanently, allocated for employment in the Finance and Commerce departments and ministries. Pakistan inherited eight such officers at the time of independence. A need had been felt, subsequently,

for building up an expert cadre of officers with special knowledge, experience and outlook for the purpose. Realizing the importance of such specialization the committee recommended, that the pool should be enlarged, so as to embrace the Ministry of Industries and may be called the Economic Pool:

Ad Hoc Recruitment to Services

The committee considered the question of appointing, on ad hoc basis, well qualified persons in public life to government posts which could not be otherwise filled from the regular services. The government, the committee said, had the right to employ any person selected from any walk of life, to any post it may consider suitable. But, it suggested, such appointments should be sparingly made. Moreover, selected persons should not form part of regular service.

Absorption of Surplus Staff

Lastly, the committee considered the question of the absorption of surplus staff and made the following recommendations:

- a. The ban imposed on making direct recruitment from outside should continue till further orders.
- b. All surplus staff should be reported to the Establishment Division within a fortnight.
- c. Surplus personnel should be determined according

to the reverse order of seniority in the grade concerned.

d. All ministries/divisions/attached departments and subordinate offices should report all vacancies to the Establishment Division.

e. Establishment Division should nominate the persons declared surplus for appointment against vacancies intimated by ministries attached departments and subordinate offices.

f. Permanent government servants who are declared surplus should be kept as supernumeraries till they are absolved.

A reappraisal of the above discussion appears to prove that the A.R.C. did full justice to its name. It reviewed altogether seventy-six main problems, sixty-five out of which, were purely organizational matters. Table 3 gives a more accurate idea of its performances. An overwhelming number of the administrative issues, taken into account by the A.R.C., were those dealing with the reorganization of the ministries and departments. It shows the deep concern and concentration of the committee towards the purpose of its creation. As seen in Table 3, even financial problems taken into consideration had an organizational bearing. There are only six issues having a procedural tinge. Most of these relate to the personnel management. It appears, the questions referred to the committee, for review were, mostly, concerned with organizational problems.

TABLE 3

MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE
REORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

		C a t e g o r i e s									
		Ministerial & departmental reorganization	Financial administration	Planning & development	Miscellaneous	Total					
1	4	65	1	3	-	1	1	-	-	<u>70</u>	6
= 76											

The S.O.C.

The S.O.C. was set up for the specific task of studying the role of the Central Government in Pakistan, according to the Constitution of 1962. The new Constitution provided only a Central list of subjects; there was no concurrent or provincial list and, therefore, the subjects not included in the Third Schedule of the Constitution were, ipso facto, the responsibility of the provincial governments.

Central Government vis-a-vis the Provincial Governments

The committee considered it important, however, to maintain appropriate, but, small administrative units in the Central Government, to deal with the subjects of education, health, food and agriculture, labour, social welfare, railways, industries and fuel and power. These administrative units would, according to the S.O.C., perform duties, in connection with international aspects of these subjects. They would, also, keep in touch with the conduct of affairs in the provinces in their respective fields--especially with regard to broad policy and planning--in order to assess the need for Central legislation or presidential intervention. Lastly, these units would look after the Central agencies and the Central institutions, for the promotion of special studies and special research, in connection with the above mentioned subjects. While, emphasizing the need for such units, the committee

considered it important to ensure, that the functions of these units did not extend in the executive and operational fields, which should remain the exclusive domain of the provincial government:

Machinery for Planning and Implementation of Development Schemes

In view of the responsibility of the Central Government relating to national economic planning and national economic coordination, the committee considered the question of providing a suitable machinery for planning, progressing and implementation of development schemes. It came to the conclusion, that the existing Economic Council should, with appropriate changes, be reconstituted as the National Economic Council in accordance with Article 145 of the Constitution. This council should include the Finance Ministers of the Provincial Governments also, as its members.

The committee, also, discussed the problem of coordination and planning relating to subjects, which constituted the specific responsibility of the provinces. The question was, whether such responsibility should be lodged in the Planning Commission, or be performed by the administrative units, to be maintained at the Centre, to deal with the national and international aspects of those subjects. The committee felt, it was not only administratively undesirable, but, also, rather, cumbersome for the commission to

assume total responsibility. It, therefore, suggested, that the functions of economic coordination and planning, in these subjects, should be the responsibility of the administrative units at the Centre. This responsibility was not, however, to be exercised in a manner, that would result in divesting the provincial governments of their initial responsibility in these subjects.

The committee, then, considered the proposal, made by government, of providing a planning cell in each ministry, composed of one professionally qualified economist and two or more technically trained officers. This, the committee believed, was not essential in the case of ministries or divisions, dealing with subjects wholly provincial in nature, since, they would be responsible for broad examination of the schemes in the national perspective. In the case of Central projects, the planning cells should be lodged in the technical departments, which were, primarily, responsible for planning in their own sectors.

The committee, also, reviewed the Progressing Wing of the Planning Commission, which was, specifically, created for providing a high powered agency, to secure speedy implementation of projects by eliminating administrative bottlenecks. The committee felt, that not much had been done in this respect. The difficulties, it guessed, arose, perhaps, out of possible resentment, on the part of operating agencies, against outside interference. The committee,

also, believed, that the role of the Progressing Wing, particularly, in the light of the new Constitution, does not fit in very well with the general pattern of decentralization. It, therefore, suggested, that this wing, in the Planning Commission, should be abolished and an Evaluation Section should, instead, be formed, to coordinate the evaluation of projects of various sectors of the planning.

Role of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries

The committee, also, felt that there was need for the framing of new Rules of Business, identifying the roles of ministers and parliamentary secretaries and specifying their precise functions and extent of responsibilities, in view of the change in the administrative arrangements, that would come into force, under the Constitution. The committee held the view, that the ministers should be concerned, only, with policy and not with day to day administration and parliamentary secretaries should deal only with parliamentary affairs and perform public relations functions on behalf of their ministers.

The Role of Secretaries vis-a-vis Departments

The question, whether the technical head of a department should submit his cases direct to the minister, or, whether, the files should pass the secretary, or the joint secretary, was, also, considered by the committee. It felt that secretariat scrutiny, regarding policy and

financial implications, was a necessary step and should not be discarded.

Centralization of Personnel Administration

The committee took note of the fact, that various all Pakistan Services were, at that time, being administered by different ministries. This resulted in different standards being observed in matters of recruitment, promotion, transfer and discipline. The committee believed, that, in order to ensure uniformity of standards and greater objectivity in personnel management, all establishment work, pertaining to all Pakistan Services, should be centralized in the Establishment Division and its counterparts in the provinces.

Reorganization of Secretariat of Provincial Government

The committee was of the opinion, that, since, the provincial governments had not been used to the ministerial system of government for nearly three years and a half, they should reorganize and regroup their departments according to the number of ministers and parliamentary secretaries, that would be justified by the size of the provincial administrative machinery. In their reorganization scheme, the provincial governments should take special care, that proper and adequate machinery was set up for the administration of the subjects, that would be transferred to them from the Central Government, in order

to avoid any serious dislocation of work. The committee, also, felt, that, in the interest of the continuity and smooth takeover of the work by the provincial governments, it was necessary, that the staff engaged on the work in the Central Government should, also, be transferred, along with the work.

Reorganization of Ministries and Divisions--Transfer of Functions to Provinces.

The committee, next, examined the functions of the ministries and divisions of the Central Government. It interviewed the secretaries of the various ministries and held discussions with the chief secretaries of the provincial governments, to determine the functions to be retained by the Central Government under the Constitution. The functions of ministries and divisions dealing with subjects, which, under the Constitution, were essentially the responsibility of the provincial government, were scrutinized in great detail, with a view to transferring to provincial governments, the functions, which belonged to them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The committee suggested, that Efficiency and O. & M. Wing should conduct a survey on the basis of the proposed changes-- particularly in the attached departments and subordinate offices of the various ministries and submit its reports and recommendations for reorganization of these offices.

Reorganization of the Central Government

Having determined the functions and organizations of the existing ministries and divisions, in the light of the new Constitution, the committee considered the organizational structure of the Central Government: To start with, it suggested that there should be the President's Secretariat, which should consist of the following divisions:

- (i) Cabinet Division
- (ii) Planning Division
- (iii) Establishment Divisions
- (iv) Economic Affairs Division
- (v) States and Frontier Regions Division

In addition to the President's Secretariat, the committee proposed the following ministries:

- (i) Ministry of Defence
- (ii) Ministry of External Affairs
- (iii) Ministry of Finance
- (iv) Ministry of Commerce
- (v) Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs
- (vi) Ministry of Industries and Natural Resources
- (vii) Ministry of Communication
- (viii) Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare
- (ix) Ministry of Education and Information
- (x) Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs
- (xi) Ministry of Agriculture and Works.

The committee, then, continued to discuss the various ministries one by one, specifying the proposed subjects for them, the departments they were going to hold and the administrative problems entailed, due to changes brought about as a result of reorganization and readjustment. Some of the most important ones are:

Ministry of Commerce

Having specified the various subjects, attached departments and subordinate offices for the ministry, the committee considered the demand of the East Pakistan Government, to transfer to them, the Jute Board and the Tea Board from the Central Government. Since item 5 of the Third Schedule made the Central Government responsible for inter-provincial, external trade and commerce and standards of quality of goods to be exported out of Pakistan, the committee considered it fit, that the administrative control of these bodies should remain with the Ministry of Commerce.¹

The committee, also, expressed its concern over the lack of coordination between the Ministry of Commerce and Industries in the matter of import of raw materials and manufactured articles, resulting in an adverse effect

¹Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Law, ^{The} Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi: 1962), Third Schedule, p. 130.

on the productivity of indigenous industries. It suggested measures for achieving better coordination between the two ministries.

Ministry of Education and Scientific Research

This ministry, according to the committee, was to restrict its activities to planning, development, coordination and international aspects of the subjects, which were the responsibility of the provinces. In addition to that, it should be responsible for a general watch over the implementation of reforms introduced on the recommendation of the Education Reforms Commission, external examinations, equivalence of degrees, etc., overseas studies and scholarships, foreign students and teachers in Pakistan, national learned bodies, University Grants Commission and other subjects of similar nature. Towards the end, the committee suggested, that the organizational set up of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research should be reviewed in the light of the revised functions now assigned to it.

Ministry of Food and Agriculture

The committee examined in detail, the functions performed by the Food Division with a view to transferring such of them to the provincial governments, as did not fall within the purview of the Central Government in the light of the new Constitution. Examples were price control,

rationing, nutrition and publicity in regard to food, initiation and enforcement of food controls and construction of modern godowns and storage of sugar and food grains on scientific lines. The Food Division should deal with planning, coordination, international aspects of food and imports and exports of food grains. Its functions, according to the committee, were to be restricted to subjects like economic coordination and planning in respect of food, keeping a watch over the food supplies, procurement of food grains, import and export control on food grains and foodstuffs, etc.

Dealing with the Agriculture Division, the committee pointed out the subjects to be transferred to the provincial governments and specified those to be retained by the Agriculture Division. It, then, recorded the fact, that, since, the recommendations of the Food and Agriculture Commission, relating to the role of the Central Government in the field of agriculture, were made in altogether a different context, they did not always conform to the policy of decentralization, underlying the Constitution and their implementation should, therefore, be assured only, to the extent, that they fit in with the provisions of the Constitution.

The committee, then, made a suggestion that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture should be constituted into a Food and Agriculture Division and form part of the Ministry of Agriculture and Works. This division should

be headed by a secretary, who should be assisted by two joint secretaries, one on the Food side and the other on the Agriculture side. The organizational set up of the proposed Food and Agriculture Division and its attached departments and subordinate offices should, the committee proposed, be reviewed by the Efficiency and O. & M. Wing in the light of the revised functions assigned to this division:

Ministry of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources

The committee discussed, in detail, the subjects to be transferred to the provincial governments, as well as, those to be retained by the ministry itself. It, also, specified the attached departments and subordinate offices, that should continue to be the responsibility of the ministry. Towards the end, it made the point, that the Ministry of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources should be constituted into a division and form part of the Ministry of Industries and Natural Resources:

Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare

In this case, also, the committee dealt with the question of transfer and retention of subjects. It, also, considered the government's proposal, for the formation of a Central Medical Service of Pakistan and pointed out, that, since, a class I medical service, already, existed in both the provinces, there was no justification for a Central Medical Service. The committee, therefore, recommended

that the government would re-consider its earlier decision to form a Central Medical Service of Pakistan.

Ministry of Home Affairs

Having discussed the problem of taking off certain subjects from its list and adding others, the committee, then, specified the list of subjects, which were to remain the responsibility of this ministry. It, also, considered it proper that Special Police Establishment, Directorate of Passports and Immigration and Directorate of Civil Defence should continue to be administered by this ministry. In the end, it suggested that the Ministry of Home Affairs should be constituted into a division and form part of the Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs.

Ministry of Industries

As in the case of other ministries, the committee determined the subjects to be transferred to the provinces and those to be retained by the Ministry of Industries. It, also, recommended, that, since, the work of procurement of stores had decreased, to a very great extent, owing to decentralization of purchases, the Directorate General of Supply and Development should be merged with the Investment Promotion Bureau, which should be renamed as the Directorate General of Investment Promotion and Supplies. Finally, the committee suggested that the Ministry of Industries should be constituted into a division and form part of the Ministry of Industries and Natural Resources.

Ministry of Kashmir Affairs

The committee, after scrutinising the list of functions, assigned to the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, came to the conclusion, that no change was called for, either in the functions or organization of the ministry. The only change needed, according to the committee, was that the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs should be constituted into a division and form part of the Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs.

Ministry of Law

In the case of the Ministry of Law, the committee recommended, that the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology, should be lodged in this ministry. It, also, suggested that this ministry should be redesignated as the Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs. It should, thus, have two divisions, the Law Division and the Parliamentary Affairs Division.

Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information

The S.O.C. discussed the functions and organization of the Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information and examined the continued existence of the Bureau of National Reconstruction after the promulgation of the Constitution. The main objective of this bureau had been to bring the public closer to the government, by explaining its policies and projecting its philosophy and approach towards

national reconstruction. The committee believed, that liaison between the public and the government, could be maintained by the Parliamentary Secretaries, through the National Assembly. The Press Information Department, could, also, give appropriate publicity to the policies and activities of government. The committee, therefore, recommended that the Bureau of National Reconstruction should cease to exist from the next financial year.

Further, the committee suggested that the Central Film Censor Board should be abolished and the provincial governments should set up their own boards. In this way, being divested of two of its most important functions, it would not be necessary to maintain a full fledged Ministry of National Reconstruction and Information. This ministry should, therefore, be constituted into a division and form part of the Ministry of Education and Information.

Ministry of Railway and Communication

While discussing the question of transfer of subjects, the committee felt that the Civil Aviation Directorate should be placed under this ministry. This had been recommended by the Administrative Reorganization Committee also, but was not put into effect. This committee suggested the immediate transfer of Civil Aviation Directorate to the Ministry of Railways and Communication.

The Chairman, Railway Board, raised the point, that the Commissioner Railways should not route his cases through

the secretary, but send them straight to the Ministry of Communication, which should have experience of communication and transport. The committee did not favour this arrangement, but suggested, that as far as possible, it should be ensured that the secretary in charge of the Ministry of Communication should have experience of communications and transports.

Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works

The committee discussed the problem of transfer of subjects to the provincial governments and emphasized the need for the early completion of rehabilitation work. In this connection, the committee explored the possibility of the provincial governments undertaking the rehabilitation work in urban areas, also. It came to the conclusion, that it would retard the progress of speedy work, perhaps, because of the inability of the provincial government to find the requisite number of permanent officers and nongazetted staff, with adequate experience of this specialised work. Finally, the committee recommended, that the Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works should constitute a division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Works.

Ministry of States and Frontier Regions

The committee discussed the functions of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions with the Acting Secretary of the ministry and the West Pakistan authorities

and recommended that this ministry should be constituted into a division which should form part of the President's Secretariat.

The S O.C. thus reviewed forty-five major organizational issues, in the light of the Constitution of 1962. Forty, out of these were matters of ministerial and departmental reorganization, while the remaining five dealt with planning and development side of reorganization. The following table shows the nature of problems discussed by the committee:

The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan

As pointed out before, Professor Rowland Egger, a Ford Foundation Consultant in Public Administration, was appointed by the Government of Pakistan in 1953, to look into the existing evils in public administration in Pakistan, to find out the causes therein and to suggest remedies, if possible. The above mentioned report was an outcome of this effort. The report started with a discussion of the administrative implications of a democratic self-government, which, according to Prof. Egger, was the central fact, around which all consideration of ways and means for improving public administration in Pakistan revolved at that time. Under this heading, he discussed various weaknesses and shortcomings involved therein,

especially those related to the people of Pakistan, its political leaders and its civil service. Then, he went on to discuss the ministerial and departmental organization in Pakistan, followed by a discussion on government management. Further on, he dealt with the question of the administration of fiscal affairs in Pakistan. Next, he considered the problem of staffing and personnel management and lastly, he took up the question of planning and development. Towards the end, he gave his conclusions and made recommendations with respect to each of the problems discussed.

The Administrative Implications of a Democratic Self-Government

At the outset, Egger brought out two main points. These were that:

a. Colonial system of government inherited by Pakistan in 1947, was essentially a law and order administrative system based on the principle of status quo.

b. Not only the people of Pakistan but the political leaders and public officials were, at that time, unprepared for making the psychological transition to democratic government.

He, then, made the point that democratic self-government, under whatever form it may be organized, required a great deal of skill and sophistication on the part of all three of its constituent elements--the people,

the politicians and the public servant. He, therefore, made an attempt to appraise the existing situation of each of the constituent elements and its potential for contributing, worthily, to the undertaking of the working partnership in a democratic self-government.

According to him, the people in Pakistan, were the weakest element, because of their lack of political education and illiteracy. There was, also, a great shortage of politicians skilled in political and administrative management. The civil service in Pakistan was, according to him, strong professionally, but weak socially--strong in preparation, training, experience, but weak in the basic political realities of the new nation. Despite their loyalty, dedication and efficiency, they were somewhat apart from the community they served.

Ministerial and Departmental Organization

Regarding the ministerial and departmental organization, Egger started with pointing out the defects in the existing system. He believed that:

1. The twenty-eight secretariat divisions, while basically functional in concept, do not provide reasonably discrete units for the handling of government business; vary substantially at the level at which they operate and have little in common with respect to the nature of their functions.

2. The offices, departments, bureaus, directorates general, etc., which have been established from time to

time, since partition to a total present number of sixty, obviously represent no planned functional development of the governmental machinery.

3. The nineteen ministries provide no coherent, functional grouping of divisions or sub-divisional units, through which the coordinative function might be channelled.

4. There is nowhere evident any appreciation of the fundamental and pervasive differences between line and staff operations.

Having pointed out the deficiencies of the existing system, he, then, tackled the problem of ministerial and departmental reorganization. His belief was, that the executive branch of the Government of Pakistan should be reorganized on the basis of minimum number of functional ministries, the operating units of which should be functional departments. The functions assigned to the departments and the combination of departments to form ministries should aim at producing elements, capable of discrete and virtually independent operations. In the light of the above, Egger pointed out that the existing organization of the ministries was deficient in various respects.

Government Management

Egger introduced the subject of government management by remarking, that good organization and good civil service alone were not enough for securing efficient and responsible operations in government. He considered the

solution of the basic and fundamental dilemma of government management, which was created by Pakistan's rapid transition from a colonial law and order regime to a modern welfare state more important than the two aforementioned issues. The Pakistani administrative system, he continued, was not actually British as is generally presumed; rather, it was based upon a system devised by Englishmen for ruling India at minimum cost and maximum advantage to England. Here, there were, too few officers of the right kind and too many clerks of the wrong kind.

According to Egger, the objectives of administrative management, in the modern state, were to provide for planning, programming, organizing, staffing, directing, supervising, controlling, coordinating and reporting. Pakistan Government, he believed, was deficient in:

1. Over centralization--relatively unimportant issues were finally resolved only at the very highest administrative level.
2. It was over-coordinated, so that completely marginal aspects of problems were explored to the bitter end.
3. It was under-supervised--everyone in the hierarchy was so busily occupied that he never had the chance of supervising those who were supposed to work for him.
4. It was under propelled--almost everyone in the upper echelons was either starting something or stopping something but very few were occupied in carrying anything through to a conclusion.¹

¹Egger, op.cit., p. 24.

There was, he remarked, too much congestion at the Centre while almost a paralysis in the extremities: This highly centralized pattern of government was, actually, a British legacy. A high degree of centralization was inevitable in an all powerful, impartial bureaucracy, determined to secure equality and dedicated to the establishment of a uniform system of government. There was also, he found out, an unwillingness to delegate power to subordinates, especially by ministers who were considered to be individually responsible for the functioning of the ministries, whose portfolios they held. Control of marginal and interdepartmental reference sometimes became a serious problem. Improvement of interdepartmental communications was necessary for expeditious coordination.

There was, he thought, a good deal of command, but little supervision in the offices. People in supervisory positions, did not supervise, they super-erogated. They did not approve or amend the notings that came to them from those they were supposed to supervise--they wrote new, additional and usually, somewhat longer notes. This delayed work and caused inconvenience. Operators in government, he felt, were smothered by overhead. Doers in the administrative structure were under so many layers of thinkers, planners, coordinators and plain 'do-notters', all busily occupied in noting on files that the work could not proceed at the desired speed. As long as the secretariat continued to spread its chain of command, its red tape would

continue to harass and impede the "doing" part of the government: The secretariat must loosen its hold over the executive heads.

The Administration of Fiscal Affairs

Passing on to the prevailing defects of Pakistani system of financial control, Egger remarked that they were many and varied. Among these were:

1. The budget system lacks almost entirely, the programmatic foundations essential to the effective budgeting of the operations of modern government.
2. The combination of responsibilities for current post auditing and disbursement in a theoretically independent auditor general units in a single office and under single direction, three quite basically incompatible fiscal functions, if any sort of checks and balances in financial management are to be maintained.
3. There is no truly independent post audit of a large part of the financial transaction of the Government of Pakistan, whereby strict accountability may be enforced against Government by the Legislative Assembly.
4. A modern system of current accounting capable of serving fully, the requirements, both of ~~financial~~ financial control and of administrative management has not been adequately developed.¹

The budgetary process of the Government of Pakistan, was, according to Egger, a classic example of the sort of fiscal planning, which was developed in the days of law

¹Egger, op.cit., p. 36.

and order, status quo government of the Indian subcontinent. Because of their dominantly fiscal orientation, the budget documents did not indicate, adequately, what government had done and what it proposed to do, but revealed rather some of the less interesting details, about how government proposed to go about it. They did not tell the legislators and members of the general public, what their tax rupees were buying. They were, also, inadequate for legislative and administrative control, because the budget documents dealt, predominantly, with process, rather than product, so that they could not be related to anything the legislator or administrator could see and identify. Egger argued, further, that direction and control of accounting and expenditure and a check of administrative competence became difficult, because, the auditor general of Pakistan held extensive powers, including current accounting, post auditing and even disbursement of public funds, with the result, that Pakistan had no real post audit, its accounting system did not meet management needs and hence, expenditure sanction system became inevitable for interim fiscal control. At the same time, he pointed out, it was evident, that expenditure sanction as it was practised at that time, was generating a rising tide of opposition and in many cases it caused delay, inefficiency and waste. He admitted, however, that until some acceptable substitute for expenditure sanction could be devised and put into operation, the existing technique of control would have

to be continued, no matter how much unhappiness it produced.

Staffing and Personnel Management

Egger considered the personnel management in Pakistan as being deficient because it was, according to him, too heavily oriented to mere academic notions of intelligence and ability. It underestimated personnel potentialities of society and growth potential of the individual.

The selection system in Pakistan, according to Egger, was self-perpetuating and tended to repeat its own type. The limitations of cadre strength in the Central Superior Services was another drawback in the system. There was, moreover, little common allegiance, because the personnel admitted to services were rigidly classified into different services soon after they were recruited. Officers tended to be obsessed with service membership, title, class and rank and too little concerned with particular job responsibility.

Further on, he pointed out the weaknesses of the Pakistan Public Service Commission. He believed it had failed to distinguish between what it should do itself and what it should merely police. Moreover, its procedures, its mechanical attitude towards selection processes, its blind reliance on slow motion advertizing and its general insistence on maintaining a dead march tempo were, according to Egger, rapidly removing it from any, but the most formal sort of participation in the main stream of public

administration. Pointing out some of its glaring defects, Egger said, recruitment was essentially passive and was almost wholly dominated by consideration for the security and monopoly of those already employed. The upper age limit of twenty-four was, according to him, unrealistic. Examination system needed improvement. The existing system should, he suggested, give way to open competitive qualifying examinations, which may reveal more of native intelligence, social stability and teachableness. Lastly, he pointed out that promotion should be made on merit, placing the least reliance on seniority.

In this connection, Egger referred to, what he called, essentials of performance rating system. The first one of this, according to him, was a thorough job analysis, which would tell the work that was performed at a particular post. The second was a highly qualified professional rating officer, who understood how to interrelate operations and consequences, decisions and actions, instructions and implementations.

This system, coupled with promotional examinations and necessary specialization, would, he assumed, throw the very best talent in the service. This meant that the candidate, who was able to clear the initial selection hurdle, become an officer in an organization, in which he was secure to compete for promotion to the very highest administrative post.

Compensation Working Conditions and Retirement

According to Egger the maintenance of fair schedules of compensation, the availability of satisfactory conditions of working and living and the provision of adequate health, disability and retirement benefits was an important part of personnel management in modern government. In this context he considered Pakistani system deficient in respect of all these.

The present compensation was, according to him, planned on an inadequate basis. He referred to the Report of the Pakistan Pay Commission as an example of misapplication of administrative zeal and fervour, attempting a classification for pay purposes, of virtually the entirety of central and provincial posts, without the assistance of job analysis. It, thus, lacked one of the most important tools for dealing with several highly complicated problems of staffing and personnel management including compensation. He considered the establishment and maintenance of such a comprehensive job analysis system to be essentially a permanent and continuing function of the Establishment Division of the Cabinet Secretariat.

He, then, discussed the existing living and working conditions for public employees. These, according to him, were poor at the moment and seriously affected their working efficiency. Of the importance of conducive physical conditions of working, he argued, there was no denying the fact. There was, he said, a greater need for loan and

grant programmes. Efforts should, also, be made to develop morale building programmes. Good morale, he believed, was always a creature of the department, the division, the branch, the unit or however the division may be designed.

Posting procedures according to Egger, were also defective. Unilateral principle of command was over-emphasized. Secondly the existing practices greatly undervalued the intellectual and emotional pulls of certain type of work. Differences of interests and aptitude do hold importance. Thirdly, posting operation, in his opinion was a highly important part of the development procedure. A higher position involving greater administrative responsibility should contribute to the deepening of knowledge and understanding of the problems of administration.

Job analysis programme appeared to him to be essential, since it provided a comprehensive description of the functions, duties and operating methods of a particular post. A logical sequel to the development of a unified programme of job analysis, he assumed, would be the unification of the entire group of employees, now under Central Superior Services, into a single Civil Service of Pakistan.

Training, Education and Research:

Discussing the above mentioned problems, Egger

first of all pointed out the need for assigning additional functions to Civil Service Academy. He, also, pointed out the need for the establishment of an Administrative Staff College, and emphasized the urgency of in-service training for lower staff. Lastly, Egger made a proposal for Pakistan Institute of Public Administration, for the purpose of systematic teaching and research in public administration.

Planning and Development

Pointing out the importance of national planning he emphasized the urgency of planned economic and social development. Mentioning certain factors that had caused the existing crisis, Egger enumerated the, so-called, shortages that impede progress in development. These, according to him, were shortage of money, of technicians and those of good engineering and construction organization, both inside the government and outside. The most acute shortages, however, were those of a sense of urgency and a shortage of the bent for action. Thus, thought and action, idea and consequence were not integrated.

Pakistan, he continued, did not lack plans for development, but it had not yet mastered either the problem of planning or that of implementation of projects.

Talking of the objectives of national planning as being the orderly development of the natural and human resources of the nation, he pointed out that the planning

function in Pakistan had been influenced to a very high degree by the division of functions between the Centre and the provinces:

Enumerating the various impediments of planning such as the Economic Council, Planning Commission, technical sub-commissions and the Ministry of Economic Affairs, he pointed out the major defects of the machinery. He considered it to be unrealistic, elaborate, unwieldy and ponderous. It confused staff and line functions and was not properly constituted and located. These defects of conception of role, of structure and procedures and of location and orientation were, according to him, the main hurdles in the way of speedy progress. He thought a piece of light running machinery at the Centre, operating within the general staff context, to function as a clearing house of planning interests, activities and concerns, would go a long way in accelerating the pace of development in the country. He, also, suggested the creation of a National Resources Advisory Board to advise the National Resources Planning Department with respect to its work and activities.

Leading the discussion on to the Community Development Programme, he pointed out, that it cut across many lines of departmental jurisdiction, at the provincial level and involved the district authorities as well. Besides, Centre having assumed a number of commitments had, also, put itself into a position of responsibility.

Continuing, Egger, referred to the deficiencies of Central and provincial organization. Operational difficulties such as bridging the gap between the expert and the villagers also presented tremendous problems. What was needed in Pakistan, he believed, was the need for central leadership which could provide status, as well as, manpower adequate to the task.

A bird's eye view of the above discussion brings home the fact, that while attacking the evils of public administration in Pakistan Egger, also, like the national reports made the reorganization of ministries and departments his main target. But it appears, that he turned his attention to other pertinent problems also, because the one hundred and eighty-one problems discussed by him in his report are spread over all the four categories, as shown in Table No. 5:

A more careful look at the table, discloses the fact that according to Egger improvements in procedures needed more attention than just the reorganization of governmental structure. This is clear from the comparatively larger number of procedural issues taken into consideration by him. Out of a total number of 181 problems, chosen by him for the purpose of review, 111 fall under the sub-category of procedures. For example, some of the procedural problems discussed by him were those connected with the personnel management, ministerial and departmental re-organization or financial administration. More specifically,

TABLE 5

MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED BY ROWLAND EGGER IN
THE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN

		C a t e g o r i e s									
		Ministerial & departmental reorganization	Financial administration	Planning & development	Miscellaneous	Total					
Organization	Procedure	Organization	Procedure	Organization	Procedure	Organization	Procedure				
5	45	41	32	3	29	21	5	-	-	70	111
50		73		32		26		-			181

they dealt with questions like recruitment, examinations, posting central secretariat work procedures, or the desired changes in budgeting procedures:

Reorientation of Pakistan Government for
National Development

Gladieux was asked by the Chairman, Planning Board to "prepare recommendations for the Board concerning the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development activities in Pakistan."¹ According to Gladieux, the development efforts in Pakistan were spread over almost the entire field of governmental enterprise; therefore, he conceived and conducted his study on a very broad basis.

He started with a discussion of the administrative impediments to development objectives, followed by a consideration of the ways and means of planning, coordinating and energizing the development drive in Pakistan. He, then, discussed the ministerial and departmental organization for development at the central and provincial level. Further on, he pointed out the importance of administrative leadership and its relation to decision making process, the necessity of the reorientation of district administration

¹Gladieux, op.cit., p. i.

and revitalizing the organizations of local government for participating in development work. Pointing out the deficiencies in current public service system, Gladieux stressed the need for a new Public Service Agency, with a new philosophy and approach towards public management. He, then, considered the processes of budget control in relation to development programmes. Finally, he made an effort to bring out the importance of sustained improvement of governmental management.

It would be an interesting exercise to describe the various problems, discussed by Gladieux, in greater detail. In the introductory part of his report, he pointed out the importance of good administration to development purposes, by remarking that the success of all development plans in a country rested in the efficiency and honesty of its administration.

Administrative Impediments to Development Objectives

He, then, mentioned certain factors, which, to him, appeared to be administrative impediments to development objectives in Pakistan. The first of these, according to him, was the inflexibility of governmental machinery. There was, he said, a tendency among the administrative leaders of Pakistan to regard public management in somewhat static terms. A general reluctance to disturb long established systems and practices, made them put up strong resistance to proposals for change. He, then, deplored

the imperfect team work among the leaders of government in Pakistan, declaring, emphatically, that political leaders, secretariat personnel and technicians do not generally accommodate one another. Administration, he further asserted, tended to be passive, mechanical and low-pitched. There was a lack of programme and policy initiative. Administration most often consisted in merely reviewing papers received from the subordinates and passing them on to the higher officers. Too much importance was being given to the generalist, resulting in the creation of a civil service inclined to be quite uniform in interests and outlook. Technical departments and personnel were submersed under superfluous layers of general officers. This led to clogs in the channels of communication and inordinate delays in decision-making and diluted programme execution.

Another administrative hurdle, according to him, was over-centralization and reluctance to delegate authority, resulting in a congestion of work towards the top leading to slow, cumbersome and unpredictable governmental action. Decision making process, he alleged, had too much clerical orientation in the secretariat system, which permitted clerical personnel to receive, review and sometimes pass on proposals and actions of the technical department heads. The result was, that responsibility was obscured and frequently the wrong people were making the decisions.

The organizational structure, and the assignment

of functions among ministries and agencies, he believed, reflected haphazard development of governmental programmes and unplanned grafting of new activities on older establishments. Coordinative process was defective in so far as the unimportant matters tended to be coordinated diligently, while subjects of vital importance were frequently decided exparte, by a single ministry, without reference to others, directly concerned.

Referring to the personnel management in Pakistan, Gladieux was of the opinion, that it was self-regulating and self perpetuating, since those who controlled the civil service through the Selection Board and the Establishment Division, were themselves an integral part of the service.

Talking of budget system, he said, multiple budget controls needed modifications. Operated as it was, in a mechanical manner, budget system was dominated by a control philosophy, without the countervailing factors of facilitation and helpfulness. It lacked the basis of programme comprehension, which he deemed to be a pre-requisite to intelligent allocation of resources.

Gladieux, then, referred to the neglect of the resources of local government, pointing out the fact, that there had been a general failure to develop resources and to foster the growth of democratic government, at the village and district level. The present government, he declared, was an ill-suited and outmoded governmental

machinery, too inflexible in its outlook and administrative concepts. It was not geared for development drive. A greater degree of imagination, drive, enthusiasm and conviction was needed.

Planning, Coordinating and Energizing the Development Drive

Talking of planning, coordinating and energizing the development drive, Gladieux made the point that a strong catalytic centre was needed to give positive force and leadership to the total endeavour, concerning uplift programmes. He suggested the creation of a strong planning and coordinating agency, which could lend creative social and economic vision to this broad undertaking. He, therefore, proposed the creation of an independent Pakistan Planning Board. This board should be responsible for:

- 1) economic appraisal, 2) development planning, 3) project review, 4) development progress and appraisal, 5) programming of foreign aid.

National Rural Development Programme, he suggested, could, also, be placed under the aegis of the Pakistan Planning Board. Director of the programme should report to the Chairman of the Board. The National Rural Development Programme being multi-purpose in nature required location in a central and neutral agency.

Ministerial and Departmental Organization for Development at the Centre

Gladieux' next main concern was the question of

ministerial and departmental organization at the Centre. Pointing out the importance of the organization structure, he said, it determined where responsibility was lodged, how the broad objectives of government were translated into meaningful action and what emphasis was accorded to the various programmes, carried on by the government.

Referring to the prerequisites of good organization, he summarized them as being (a) reasonably discrete units of operation, (b) assignment to them of functionally inter-related activities, (c) clear fixing of administrative responsibility, (d) the delegation and redelegation of authority, and (e) the establishment of coordinating and control mechanisms. Judged by this criteria, he pointed out the existing deficiencies of organizational arrangement in Pakistan. These were:

- a. Many implicitly related functions of government had been split into separate ministries.
- b. Many ministries and departments were not self-contained.
- c. Unplanned accretion of functions.
- d. Lack of recognition of development operation.
- e. Little authority given to the executive offices of development departments.
- f. Authority not always accompanying responsibility
- g. Functions split into excessive sections without structural forms.

In the light of the above he suggested the following

unified entities, which to his mind, should be able to make broad decisions within their own boundaries. These were:

- a. Ministry of Natural Resources
- b. Ministry of Food and Agriculture
- c. Ministry of Commerce and Industry
- d. Ministry of Social Service
- e. Ministry of Public Buildings and General Services
- f. Ministry of Communication

Organization and Administration of the Provinces for Development

After having discussed, at length, the structure, functions and responsibilities of the above ministries Gladieux passed on to the problem of organization and administration of the provinces for development. He placed much premium on provincial administration since, he believed, it was on provincial governments, that the crucial responsibility of carrying out the great undertakings rested. Central Government could not be of much avail, unless the provincial governments were prepared, both to initiate sound schemes and to carry them out, with fidelity, promptness, efficiency and integrity.

While admitting the fact that provincial organization in Pakistan was, generally, better integrated than the Centre in so far as the basic ministerial arrangements

were concerned, he pointed out certain flaws in the existing system. The administrative structure, he believed, still reflected the historic emphasis of government on revenue collection and public order functions. Old forms and practices were, still, adhered to, with a disinclination to make procedural changes.

Referring to coordination and programme gaps Gladieux quoted the following as examples--the function of labour welfare was lost in the industries function, the function of local self-government was generally associated with the Department of Health, the social welfare function was, virtually, nonexistent, no unified organization was concerned with the total planning and development of the water and power resources and public works departments tended to go their own way without consultation with interested programme agencies.

There was, also, a lack of administrative continuity, because of the constant changes in secretariat personnel and assignments. The C.S.P. tenure system was conducive to frequent changes in leadership. Another factor, which operated to impair cooperative administration was the cleavage and lack of rapport between the general administrator and the technical specialist. The generalist insisted on maintaining his traditional supremacy, while the specialist was demanding an equal status.

Development coordination in the provinces was, according to Gladieux, fragmentary. Development commissioners

designated to give focus and concerted attention to development programmes were made responsible for only segments of development. None of the existing coordination facilities had its scope so defined as to cover the whole range of development activities. This resulted in a weak broad planning and poor follow-up. Little effort was made to plan a broad development programme with balanced emphasis. Similarly, follow-up and evaluation work in any 'vigorous context was virtually nonexistent.' Taken as a whole, Gladieux concluded, planning and coordinating machinery in Pakistan was quite inadequate. He suggested the need for a superior agency for development coordination.

In this connection, he suggested the urgency of strengthening the organization for planning and development by bringing the Chief Minister and the Chief Secretary more directly into the development picture. Chief Minister, in each of the two wings, should serve as Chairman of a Provincial Development Board, while the Chief Secretary should be designated as the Secretary of the Development Board, lending, thus, not only their capacity but also their prestige to the effort.

Referring to the functions of the Provincial Planning Board, Gladieux suggested that they should be responsible for the continuous review of the economic status and policies of the provinces, the preparation and maintenance in current form of a broad plan of development, the review

of schemes and projects proposed by various departments and other agencies, the maintenance of a continuous review of the progress and implementation of the development programme and the programming and coordinated use of foreign economic aid:

Proposing the development ministries, Gladieux recommended the following to be created or consolidated into integrated units to cover the action side of the development programme:- Ministries of:

- 1: Natural Resources
- 2: Education
- 3: Health
- 4: Food and Agriculture
- 5: Labour and Social Welfare
- 6: Communication and Buildings
- 7: Commerce and Industry.

= He also recommended the creation of a Ministry of Local Self-government in each province to provide a central point of leadership and constructive guidance and to represent local interests:

Administrative Leadership and Decision-making Process

Further on, Gladieux took up the question of administrative leadership and decision-making process, since, according to him, good organization structure, alone, could in no way guarantee good administration. Leaders and systems

determine character of public management. He considered these two to be reciprocating, the one imposing conditions and limitations on the other. Taking up the administrative system first, he said, the secretariat system which was the keystone of present administration, in Pakistan, both at centre and provinces, was not adapted to dynamic administration. It did not meet the requirements of modern government, where quick and decisive action was called for every day, on highly technical subjects. Improvised as it was, by a colonial power, to guarantee, that no decisions would be made at subordinate levels, the slow and methodical system of secretariat, consideration of papers passed up from below in a long chain of command, represented the antithesis of a dynamic administration. It was founded on the premise that policy and administration were divisible and that secretariats could be concerned only with the former, and programme departments, exclusively, with the latter. Thought and action were not, thus, integrated, resulting in sterile and unrealistic administration.

Moreover, administrative accountability was obscured, since the system tended to produce irresponsibility. Department heads were required to report to subordinate members of the secretariat, who were in no position to be held responsible for their decisions. Besides, all proposals and actions passed through the same process of noting, filing and referral, whether of major or minor importance, resulting, thus, in voluminous files and

retardant action.

Considering the above, Gladieux suggested that the procedural and hierarchical aspects of the secretariat system should be replaced by a system of straight-line organization and broad delegation of authority, with staff officers firmly removed from the line of command. A simpler more direct and shortened chain of command should be created, which could operate to produce quicker decisions.

In this connection, Gladieux discussed, in detail, the burning problem of the generalist versus specialist. He declared the "generalist in C.S.P." tradition as an obsolete phenomena in a modern government. His contention was, that technological developments and the increasingly specialized activities of government, no longer permit an administrator to get by, with only general or superficial knowledge of the subject field, the administrator is supposed to administer. He went to the extent of holding the C.S.P. generalist group responsible for a greater number of administrative deficiencies in the existing system and the failure to implement, or even, take very seriously the many reforms and improvements recommended by various official commissions, over the years. He argued that the C.S.P. should be judged by the efficiency and responsiveness of the administrative system, which they so jealously defend against all attack. From this, he concluded that they did not earn the right to be in such complete command of governmental administration. He recommended, therefore,

that the top public position should be open to all who qualified for the duties and responsibilities of public office on a free and open competitive basis:

Talking of the function of Secretary to Government, he seemed to think it was, rather, ambiguous and indistinct. He suggested that the secretary should be invested with full executive authority and responsibility, under the minister, for the totality of the activities encompassed by the ministry. His role should embrace policy, administration, coordination, planning, public relations or any other attribute of governmental management. He should combine in himself, both the generalist and the specialist talents. In this context, he conceded, the C.S.P. cadre represented the principal administrative resource of Pakistan, some of whom had demonstrated aptitude for, and interest in, the content of particular programmes. But many of them needed to equip themselves, more positively, for the technical demands of their posts:

Referring to the staff assistants of the secretary, Gladieux stressed the point, that they should avoid command. Department heads should have direct access to the secretary and should report and be responsible to him and not to any of his assistants.

Reorientation of District Administration

Passing on to the reorientation of district administration, Gladieux held the district officer as a

strategic link in administration, being the embodiment of governmental authority in local areas. Although the district officer idea contained authoritarian and paternalistic elements, yet he considered it inevitable under the existing circumstances. However, there was need of much adjustment and reorientation, both attitudinal and administrative. District officers had played, but a minor role in the development programmes; their full potentialities had not been realized. Some of the reasons for this failure to exert the desired influence on development by district officers, he thought, were:

- a. Preoccupation with the historic law and order magisterial and revenue functions.
- b. Poor internal organization in some of the district offices.
- c. The continuation of ancient procedural requirements.
- d. Lack of continuity in district administration due to tenure system.
- e. Disinclination of the development departments to accept district officers' supervision.
- f. The discouraging reception accorded to plans and schemes initiated by the district.
- g. The absorption of much district officers' time by official visits of ministers and other high officers.

Regarding reorganization measures in the district offices, Gladieux suggested, that the district officer

should be placed in charge of all those projects and activities which relate exclusively to his district jurisdiction and that, he should be given the requisite authority and staff to this end.

Further on, he suggested the creation of the post of District Development Commissioner as the chief assistant to the District Officer. These posts should not be reserved for any class or service, but should be open to any one, who has the requisite capacity. He also proposed the creation of a Development Council in the district with the District Officer as its chairman and the Development Commissioner as the vice-chairman. This council being an advisory body would offer counsel to the District Officer and the Development Commissioner concerning local needs, help make plans and set priorities.

Revitalizing the Organs of Local Government for Development Participation.

Gladieux' next main concern was the question of revitalizing the organs of local government for development participation. Regretting the deterioration of local governmental institutions through neglect or rigid negative controls, he emphasized their importance for lending push and drive to the success of the national programme.

Recounting the factors affecting the growth of local self government adversely, he considered excessive supervision by provincial authorities as one of the major

hurdles. He called it 'control without responsibility' on the part of the provinces. There was too much reliance on the power of suspension of a local body by the provincial government. Moreover, progressive withdrawal of local functions from local bodies, substituting for them direct provincial administration, was also undermining local self-government. Lastly, Gladieux observed local responsibility was not feasible without adequate tax base. Provincial authorities, he believed, had failed to work out effective and suitable tax sources for the local bodies.

Prerequisites of better local government according to Gladieux were, first of all, a change in philosophy on the part of those in authority. Second, there was a need for the modernization of the statutes governing local bodies. Third, the provision of a centre in the provincial government, to give encouragement to local groups to build up responsible local institutions. In this context, he emphasized the importance of the re-establishment of the village panchayats and the creation of village development councils to help in planning to meet village needs. He wound up his discussion, by observing, that there was an urgent need to give more technical advice and guidance to local bodies through specialized provincial departments.

Public Service Policies and Administration

Shifting on to the problem of public service policies and administration, Gladieux pointed out the importance of personnel in modern government by making the

remark that the government of Pakistan would be no better than the men and women who man its multifarious posts. Turning to the existing deficiencies in current public service system, he observed that personnel system in Pakistan was designed for another era and a form of government now long past. The basic objective of that system was to produce, maintain and underman a master class of administrators, who governed for an absentee sovereign. The current administrative scene, he believed, showed the same traits of inadequacies, inequities and discriminations.

Elaborating the point further, he explained the root cause of the problems, as being the self-regulating and self-perpetuating nature of the public service system. To quote an example, he said, the Establishment Division of the Cabinet Secretariat, together with the Selection Board, both comprised of secretariat officials, fixed public service policies, approved all promotions, transfers and postings of administrative personnel and generally regulated the public service.

There was, also, an excessive reliance on academic standards for determining appointment eligibility and standing. Service assignment and seniority were both assigned to the young candidate on the basis of his rank in a series of general knowledge examinations. How he, actually, performed on the job was not of much import.

Flexibility of services, cadres and classes, he thought, was much too rigid. Personnel recruited to public employment, were immediately, classified in a particular service. This resulted in limiting competition based on merit. He considered such restrictions as barriers, which, he felt, needed to be removed. Every position, he suggested, should be open to any aspirant, provided, he was qualified for it.

Gladieux, next, deplored the overuse of promotions for filling vacancies. This tended to produce an inbred public service with types and experience, which were repetitive. He felt that an occasional infusion of new blood at all levels would keep the public service from becoming complacent and stagnant.

Inferior status and rank given to technical personnel was one of the most serious obstacles faced by development departments for recruiting highly qualified technical personnel. The matter of status and rank were significant, because they had direct bearing on the willingness of people to enter a particular service.

There was, also, a disproportionate weight given to seniority, stultifying, thus, the desire for better performance. Seniority considerations needed to be minimized, so as to encourage superior performance.

Ineffective procedures for disciplinary action and lax supervisory practices led to inability to command

compliance. This resulted in mediocrity and even inefficiency in performance.

Last, but not the least, was the widespread difference between the salaries of secretaries to government and the intermediate and lower level officers. There were no scientific principles to determine maximum and minimum levels of compensation for public service.

Winding up his discussion on the subject, Gladioux remarked, that Pakistan was urgently in need of a new philosophy and approach, towards public service management. He felt the need for a permanent agency of government, which was given full support in its efforts to evolve a new and better formula.

The existing Public Service Commission, he argued, was not suited for a positive, vigorous and non-political programme of public personnel management. It had failed to develop into the moral guardian of the merit principle, nor had it been able to institute more advanced techniques of selection and general personnel management. Under the circumstances, he recommended that the Pakistan Public Service Commission should be reconstituted with new membership and a fully rounded mission. Its functions should embrace the totality of the personnel authorities and responsibilities of the government and its powers drawn, accordingly.

Specifying the immediate major tasks of the new Public Service Commission, he considered the revision of

basic philosophy and goals of public service system as of paramount importance. Another major task which should proceed concurrently with the first was a systematic programme of job analysis, for the purpose of defining position duties and responsibilities. Closely associated with this was a comprehensive study of the compensation levels in public service. Taking a firm grip on the matter of disciplinary action was a fourth important task before the new commission.

He, then, suggested the unification and broadening of the public services by combining the Central Superior Services, with all other professional grade officers in a single Civil Service of Pakistan.

Discussing the question of recruitment into public service at entrance levels, he offered the suggestion to give approximately equal initial pay and opportunity to all successful entrants into the public service. Age limit should be liberalized. The same generalized examination should be given to all with specialized examinations later on at the option of the applicant for his specific field. Finally, he conceded the necessity of appointing young men with intellectual, moral and temperamental equipment towards careers in administrative leadership. They should, however, be given an early opportunity to narrow their scope of substantive programme interest and begin to get some knowledge of a programme field. Similarly, young

technical specialist should be encouraged to gain experience in administrative management. Towards the end of his discussion on public service policies and administration he emphasized the importance of training, education, research and welfare needs.

The Process of Budget Control in Relation to Development

Turning his attention to the processes of budget control in relation to development, he regarded a sound budget system as an essential quality of good administration. Pointing out the deficiencies in the existing fiscal system and procedure, he considered the prevailing multiple controls system a real handicap to programme administration trying to move along on approved projects.

Moreover, reliance on sanction check reduced integrity of budget as a serious expression of plans and programmes. The expenditure sanction procedure, also, retarded the steady progress of development programmes, since no programme officer could initiate operations, until he had the assurance that the full period of the programme would be financed.

For the purpose of reconciling budget control and administrative flexibility, Gladieux regarded it inevitable for a country like Pakistan to be tough in its fiscal review, but he suggested the time to be tough was during the period of budget formulation.

Talking of the long range and immediate cures in

this connection, he agreed with Egger's recommendations concerning the separation of current accounting and post-auditing, mechanization of accounting procedures, reviving classification into better alignment with operations, reorientation of budgetary process with greater emphasis on programmatic foundations and the establishment of a system of quarterly budget allotments.

Budgetary process, he further argued, required more cooperation between the various development ministries and the Ministry of Finance. With a view to strengthen fiscal responsibility in the ministries, he made the suggestion of having a responsible finance officer in each ministry and in each major department. Gladieux deplored excessive centralization of financial controls and urged that the ministries should be permitted to exercise greater powers on fiscal matters.

Lastly, he discussed the problem of improving budget staff work. Too many finance officers, he felt, were remote from the operations they supervised and did not go out for visual observation and consultation at the scene of programme activities. The range of experience and intellectual scope of the finance staff, generally, needed to be broadened.

Sustained Improvement of Governmental Management

Sustained improvement of governmental management was the topic of his discussion in the next chapter.

Organization and procedures, he said, were not immutable, nor was the management of government a static thing. Dynamic public administration calls for a readiness to adapt organization and procedures to new conditions and requires the existence of a permanent machinery to follow through, on essential changes. In Pakistan, he said, there was an absence of any specialized staff which could give sustained and expert attention to the broad problems of structure, functional assignments, management methods and work procedures. The existing O. & M. unit in the Establishment Division of the Cabinet Secretariat was too narrowly conceived in practice. He, therefore, recommended the creation of a new Division of O. and M. at the centre. This division should be located in the Ministry of Finance.

Referring to the significant question of definitions of purpose and organization, he pointed out, that Pakistan Government was notably deficient in this regard. Administrative manuals, definitions of authority, statement of functions and duties and other documents explaining the functions of government agencies were, entirely, lacking or outdated. Such basic information was essential to create a sense of participation among the public personnel. He suggested, therefore, that every ministry and department of government should set about the task of the preparation of statement of policies, functions, organization and programme for the widest distribution within the agency.

Lastly, Gladieux discussed the matter of outmoded and unwieldy procedures as a handicap to efficient administration. The common excuse, put forward in defence of red tape was that it served as a check to corruption. Gladieux believed that no system of checks and counter checks would prevent crooked public officials from gaining his perverted ends if he was so determined. He hoped, that the proposed Division of Organization and Management, would play a significant role in designing systems and procedures, which were not only simplified and streamlined for operating purposes, but which, identified points of responsibility, in order that inefficiencies and irregularities would be clearly isolated.

On retrospect, we find, that Gladieux studied in detail the problems relevant to the issue in hand and made approximately 158 recommendations for effecting reform and improvement. The table given below shows the problems taken into account by him under various categories:

It appears from the table that Gladieux took into consideration a fairly even number of problems of organization and procedure. Out of a total number of 158 problems discussed by him, seventy-nine deal with the reorganizational and seventy-nine items with the procedural issues. The majority of organization questions are centred around the reorganization of ministries and departments--their number being fifty-two. Among procedural issues, personnel management appears to be the main centre of attack, the

TABLE 6
 MAJOR ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED BY B.L. GLADIEUX
 IN THE REORIENTATION OF PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT FOR NATIONAL
 DEVELOPMENT

		C a t e g o r i e s									
		Ministerial & departmental reorganization			Financial Administration		Planning & Development		Miscellaneous		Total
Personnel Management	Organization	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation	Proce- dure	Organi- zation
5	27	52	26	1	18	21	8	-	-	79	79
= 158											

number of such problems being twenty-seven, procedural issues in financial issues appeared to him worthy of note in eighteen cases. Planning and development, according to him, need improvement in twenty-nine main problems, twenty-one out of which, were, primarily, organizational issues.

Ralph Braibanti

Professor Ralph Braibanti's five articles, included in this comparative study, make a weighty contribution towards giving an insight into the prevailing conditions of administration in Pakistan and the explaining of the reasons thereof.

The Civil Service of Pakistan

"The Civil Service of Pakistan," for example, deals with a history of recruiting procedures in Pakistan, distribution of administrators into different services, post entry generalist bias in bureaucracy, need for re-orientation and relationship between bureaucracy and the people.

Referring to the Asian political systems Braibanti remarked, that they rely, to a large extent, on the rectification of society by personal virtue, invested with charisma. In this context, he pointed out, that a dominant professional value of the highest ranking executives of the Pakistan Public Service, had been that of classical generalism:

Emphasis here was placed on the recruitment of young men of, presumably, tested intellectual attainment in human letters, aloof from politics, devoting their lives to the interests of the state. Tracing the history of this generalist bias, he said its sources were manifested in the Indian Civil Service, which aimed at moulding the habits of life, manners and morals of young men, to the utmost advantage of their foreign masters. The tradition and the structure of the Indian Civil Service, designed for the rule of the conqueror over the vanquished, continued even after independence.

Stratification, discretion and esteem characterized the system. The small group of highly trained generalists filled the key posts and enjoyed great influence and prestige. They, usually, headed the divisions or districts or filled the positions of secretaries in the Central Government. It was here, Braibanti believed, their attitudes of aloof superiority to the masses were nurtured. The sources of their power were their responsibility for the collection of revenues, the registration of land records, the adjudication of cases involving land, along with their responsibility for maintaining law and order.

That the traditional pattern of education, preparation and the accompanying dispositions had not changed, was clear from documentary evidence, which indicated that classical and literary pattern was still regarded important for the C.S.P. The score attained by the successful

applicants in the examination, was a crucial determination in his entire career. His standing in the competition was one of the factors in determining the service to which he would be assigned. It, thus, created a situation in which there was unusual reliance on evaluating a civil servant at the beginning of his career, without allowing for the potential of growth and experience.

Analyzing the data on the recruitment examination for the year 1950 through 1960, Braibanti discovered a significant predisposition, of the candidates towards a literary and humanistic specialization. Such data, he said, were suggestive of the inadequate preparation of the candidates, in empirically oriented subjects, such as social sciences, pure sciences or mathematics.

Referring to the training procedures, Braibanti stated that the successful candidates for C.S.P. were sent to Civil Service Academy and those for audit and account services to Finance Services Academy. The Civil Service Academy, Braibanti assumed, succeeded in stamping the probationers with its mark, its aim being to inculcate a concept of guardianship, sufficiently strong to resist the corrosive influences of political pressures.

Talking of the two academies, Braibanti said, they reflected the exaggerated independance of the parts of the public services. They did not conduct any joint classes in subjects taught at both institutions and there was little social contact between the two groups of probationers, or

the faculty.

In creating an ethos, the two academies were quite different. The Civil Service Academy had highly disciplined courses but gave meagre attention to economics and public administration, the Finance Service Academy gave attention to economics but had too little rigour and discipline in its seminars. There was, also, at the Civil Service Academy, a significant persistence on generalism, while the problems faced by bureaucracy demanded an empirical frame of reference. When bureaucratic ethos placed such a high value on nonempirical generalism, he said, there was a denigration of the attitudes and skills of the technically competent.

The relative statuses of the classical generalist functionary of the C.S.P. and the technically oriented officials, were rigidified in Pakistan further by a social system, already divided into castes on the basis of occupation. The differences in the pay scales of the two services made the situation worse.

An excessive generalist orientation in the Pakistan bureaucracy and the accompanying rigid compartmentalization of the services had, according to Braibanti several disadvantages. Conceding the wisdom of placing generalist in policy making positions, he considered it uneconomic to label a career civil servant a generalist or a technical expert, at twenty-two years of age and force him to remain in one or the other category for the whole of his career.

In Pakistan, he believed, the demands of modern government exceeded the pace of attitudinal adjustment, necessary for empirically oriented technical management. An attitude of a bureaucracy that led it to depreciate an empirical point of view, was of more crucial significance than the status of personnel, for, it was the attitude that determined how much use would be made of an empirical methodology. The supply of bureaucratic leadership capable of creating an empirical attitude was severely limited.

Braibanti, also, emphasized the importance of the planned economic development, to cope with the phenomena of rising expectations. This problem, he believed, could best be dealt with by governors, whose minds were of an empirical and rational bent, because the people they had to deal with, were intuitive and nonrational: Domination of bureaucracy by classical generalist was likely to be detrimental to the attainment of administrative efficiency and integrity. A bureaucracy, so dominated, would be suspicious of rational planning and forecasting.

Finally, Braibanti discussed the relationship of bureaucracy to the public. This relationship, he believed, was affected by the extremely low rate of literacy in Pakistan. The babel of tongues--Urdu, Bengali and English was, also, a divisive effect between the mass and bureaucracy. Of equal seriousness was the bifurcation of the cultural values of the bureaucracy and the masses and the different interpretation of Islam by different sects.

Towards the end of the article Braibanti, conceded the importance of the role of the generalist with his literary and humanistic qualities. He admitted, that to him, who was entrusted with decisions involving values, there must be given, a knowledge of the inner philosophy of his society. But, at the same time, he suggested the role of empirical methodology of techniques must be admitted to the level of esteem equalling the literary role.

Winding up the whole discussion, Braibanti made the remark, that bureaucracy in Pakistan will be the principal factors in determining, interpreting and safeguarding the polity of the state in the foreseeable future.

Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption

This article is the substance of a talk given by Braibanti at a conference on administration at the Academy for Rural Development, in Peshawer, Pakistan. The article contains certain nations, which according to Braibanti, were commonly considered to be causes of corruption. In this connection, he suggested certain measures, which may serve as cures for eliminating the evil.

There were, as he called them, twelve 'platitudinous injunctions', which were in common circulation about corruption and which were, generally, considered to be its root cause in Pakistan. These were:

1. Having too much reliance on the force of personal virtue of a few leading figures in the total society.

2: Lack of education--education being regarded as a panacea for all worldly ills.

3: Lack of a sense of religion--religion has been considered to have a remedial effect.

4: Colonialism has, also, been blamed as one of the causes of corruption because it has been associated with an attitude of irresponsibility in the citizen towards the alien ruler.

5: Poverty is generally considered to be another factor--though not a direct cause.

6: Severe punitive are at times considered to be effective for controlling corruption--a statement which is not supported by scientific facts.

7: Bureaucratic corruption has also been considered to be merely a stage in a nation's political development.

8: Psychological and psychiatric analyses of corruption, explain it in terms of environment and society, considering them to be responsible for turning men dishonest.

9: At times, the system of government itself is blamed for inducing corruption. Bureaucratic corruption is called, by some, only a transitory phase which appears whenever, value systems, in a society, are undergoing radical changes.

10: Absence of early training for a life time career is considered to be another explanation.

11. Finally, it is believed, by some, that bureaucracy is but a reflection of society; hence its morals will be no better or worse than the morals of society:

Ten positive measures, which, according to Braibanti, can help in eliminating corruption in government are:

1. Acceptance by society of standards of governmental morality:
2. Detachment of the officials from political pressures:
3. Intimate acquaintance with work:
4. Diffusion of information about government:
5. Legislative oversight exercised by standard committees or by special enquiries:
6. Efficient work flow
7. Pride in work
8. An ideology of austerity to curb desire for material gain:
9. Institutional measures such as administrative courts for redress of grievances:
10. Salary:

Towards the end of this address Braibanti suggested, that the problem being so complex must be attacked in a variety of ways:

Public Bureaucracy and Judiciary in Pakistan

Braibanti's third article included in this selection, analyzed the development of bureaucracy and judiciary

in Pakistan, recounting the handicaps, if any, in this developmental process, caused by partition of the country and later traumatic events:

Talking of bureaucracy, at first, Braibanti says that the influence of a small group of Muslim officers, whose system of order and administrative values, derived from the British, was the strongest, single factor in re-assembling a bureaucratic system. This small group of officers was buffeted by a larger sphere of administrative values more intimately connected with vernacular, non-British values of Pakistani society. But, the staying powers of the smaller group were maintained and enhanced by the radiating source of its values, that is, British education, accompanied by a continued British pattern in training recruits to the Civil Service of Pakistan and by sending them to England for further training. Moreover, limiting the size of the C.S.P. cadre to about 400 men and admitting only young recruits in small numbers, each year did much to prevent I.C.S. values from being overwhelmed by the vernacular, non-British values of the total bureaucracy. But, says Braibanti, order, rationality and de-personalized bureaucratic behaviour emanating from the small sphere of I.C.S. oriented officialdom, could not, sufficiently, permeate the total bureaucracy. This phenomenon had the dual effect of helping the higher bureaucracy in maintaining its strength and preserving its identity, because of its being detached from society and, at the same

time, provoking hostility in the society at large and generating within the bureaucracy a loss of confidence in its capacity to resolve conflict.

The judiciary, particularly, the high court, was juxtaposed with the bureaucracy, which had been a symbol of alien rule. Conflict resolution between the two sections of bureaucracy, was carried through, by means of writ petition, which had been accorded a high legal status. The judiciary was motivated by a strong sense of compassion and humaneness, while interpreting its writ jurisdiction. The judiciary was, at the same time, better able than bureaucracy, to withstand the non-British norms of law and order. It, thus, became a source of continued permeation of Western norms in the bureaucracy, not in administrative technique or organization but in values of order in employee relations and conflict resolution. It was because of this, that inspite of the inadequacy of the internal order of the bureaucracy, it was the judiciary, which made constructive, positive proposals for reform--proposals based on understanding of social environment or knowledge of comparative jurisprudence. The power of the writ jurisdiction, though curtailed during martial law, received support from the Law Commission and the Constitution Commission, and ultimately, reappeared in slightly different, but untarnished form in the 1962 Constitution. Braibanti guessed, however, that the High Court may not continue to assert, so vigorously what it had long regarded as its positive responsibility

for rectifying the wrongs within the bureaucratic apparatus. A series of ordinances, issued on seventh July, 1962, increased jurisdiction of the lower district and sessions courts and the higher Supreme Court. This may lower the prestige of the High Court and ultimately, its effectiveness in adjusting service cases. The year 1962 according to Braibanti marked a new era in the development of Pakistan's judiciary. The pre-eminence of the writ jurisdiction, as a powerful instrument to rectify bureaucracy seemed, at that time, somewhat less assured.

Philosophical Foundations of Bureaucratic Change in Pakistan

The fourth excerpt, contained in this section is a portion of the above mentioned article by Braibanti. In here, he tackled the problem of eliciting from ones own culture and history, the philosophical underpinning, necessary to support the structure of government transplanted, either by colonial rule or, by voluntary importation.

Braibanti believed, that foreign advice, in this connection, was of little use, for foreign comprehension of cultural and philosophical heritage of a nation was the minimum. Importation, he believed, must be enmeshed in a network of roots connecting them to the basis of society, if they are to flourish. This ecological identification, must be consciously and deliberately undertaken by the nation itself. In this connection, he quoted the example of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, which was, actively,

engaged in the task of eliciting from the Islamic tradition, the latent attitudes and concepts, supporting democratic government.

Braibanti, further, remarked that bureaucratic system of Pakistan had the potential for developing into one of the most sophisticated and efficient bureaucratic system in the world, because its philosophical foundations were strong. The fundamental needs of the bureaucracies of developing nations, he said, were primarily, those of disposition, attitude and philosophy and only, secondarily, those of technique and procedure. In the realm of procedure and techniques, he believed, great assistance could be received from foreign sources.

By way of example, he said, the quality of compassionate justice was remarkably strong in the judiciary of Pakistan. Sources of compassion and humaneness, according to him, were:

1. Muslim tradition of justice and of firm benevolent administration, best exemplified by the Moghol emperor, Aurang Zeb.
2. Historical and cultural developments on the subcontinent.
3. Ethos of the pattern of reciprocal obligation, which is the basis of military life.

All these he assumed formed the philosophical foundations of the quality of compassionate justice in Pakistan.

He, then, pointed out that the synthesis between tradition and the urgent administrative requirements of developing states could be achieved in a context of order, discipline, stability and rationality. Pakistan, according to him, had achieved a high degree of order and rationality. This had manifested itself in the creation of some twenty-five commissions of enquiry to appraise all sectors of the nation's life and to determine basic policy. Of particular interest to bureaucratic reform, were the three commissions, dealing with administrative matters, whose work had been integrated into a cohesive pattern of reform. Pakistan, according to Braibanti, thus, had reconstructed its national life, with such consummate common sense and wisdom, fusing the best of an ancient heritage, with the demands of a modern state. Compassion, discipline, hard work and speedy efficiency were combined with vigorous intellectuality in Pakistan. From this base, a great administrative system could be forged.

Transnational Inducement of Administrative Reform

The last article by Braibanti studied for the purpose of this analysis, is an exploratory examination of selected issues, arising from foreign efforts of the last decade to improve administrative system in emerging states. Having given a historical perspective of this phenomena, which might be of some value in assessing current efforts, he indicated the degree of involvement of three major

entities--the United Nations, the Ford Foundation and the US AID. The main point around which the discussion revolved, here, was that the whole community development concept involved a revolution in both ideology and technique of public administration.

The Ford Foundation, he pointed out, sought to survey the administrative problems in Pakistan and tried to make remedial suggestions. He thinks, its effect on public administration activities had been of significance, primarily, as a means of generating dissatisfaction articulating problems and formulating a basic structure of reform within which subsequent efforts might be directed. In 1953, Rowland Egger, a Ford Foundation consultant on public administration, was appointed to find out the ills in the existing administrative system in Pakistan. The immediate effect of the Egger's report appeared to be negative, yet it made a searing effect on the bureaucratic mind. Later on, says Braibanti, most of the suggestions made by Egger, were put into effect.

In 1955, Ford Foundation activity again had telling impact on administrative reform in Pakistan. Preparation of the First Five Year Plan necessitated the survey of the administrative aspects of planning, for which the services of B.R. Gladieux, another Ford Foundation consultant, were employed. Gladieux' report received official sanction, for it was submitted to the Planning Board. The essence

of this report was widely disseminated through the printed First Five Year Plan and, thus, became a part and parcel of the national policy.

A third facet of the Ford Foundation programme was financing the establishment in 1958, of an administrative staff college, for the purpose of training the elite public servants in public administration.

To come to the U.S. A.I.D., Braibanti explains that its principal reliance for inducing administrative reform in Pakistan had been on establishing training institutions. In this way, the goal implicated the total social order and was designed more for long range increase in administrative results, rather, than short-range increase in administrative efficiency. The main effect was considered to be, that individual attitudinal change would be reflected in corporate institutional change in bureaucratic attitude structure and process. Outstanding achievements of the U.S. A.I.D. appeared in the form of the establishment of the Institute of Business and Public Administration, the three national Institutes of Public Administration at Lahore, Karachi and Dacca, and the Department of Public Administration at the Punjab University.

Initially, says Braibanti, the institutes seemed to concentrate on training methods and on patterns of human relations and psychology, which, many considered to be unsuited to the bureaucratic problems of Pakistan. More recently, the institutes have tended to focus on management

problems and research and have attempted to adapt to administrative conditions, peculiar to Pakistan. A significant outcome of the study of management problems and research in Pakistan, according to Braibanti, has been the formulation of a comprehensive policy, administered by the Establishment Division. This policy acknowledges that training is a continuous requirement in career planning and that, such training should be counted, while recommending officers for promotions. Research publications by the National Institutes of Public Administration are helping in professionalization of public administration.

Significant basic work, such as preparation of a census of government employment and furnishing advisory services to O. & M., is, also, being done by the public administration units within the Pakistan Mission of the A.I.D. American influence, he believes, has, also, increased in various agencies of the Government of Pakistan, which began to call upon direct hire staff of U.S. A.I.D. for advice.

U.S. A.I.D., also, rendered help to Civil Service Academy and the Central Secretariat Training Institute besides sponsoring the three National Institutes of Public Administration. These were instrumental to massive official American influence being felt in 1960. The institutes were cast in the American mould and by 1962, as many as thirteen American advisors were assigned to them. The edifice of

administrative reform in Pakistan, as constructed by senior Pakistani officials, who were guided, unwittingly, by the design outlined by Egger and Gladieux, declares Braibanti, had penetrated the bureaucratic consciousness in Pakistan.

In summary, it can be concluded from the above presentation of Braibanti's five articles that his attention was mainly directed to the personnel problems existing in the system of administration in Pakistan. Almost all the issues dealt with by him above, bear some relevancy or the other to personnel problems. He also appears to be interested in the ways and means of introducing public administration reforms and making the changes desirable and acceptable to the receiving nation. His fourth and fifth excerpts included in this selection are directed, more or less, towards this objective.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISON OF THE FOREIGN AND NATIONAL REPORTS

This chapter presents a comparative picture of the two groups of reports, the foreign and the national. An attempt has been made to point out the similarities and the differences between them on the basis of the categories improvised for the purpose of comparison and explain the reasons, thereof.

The recommendations made in each of the two groups of reports, have been classified in Table No. 7, in order to give the reader, an approximate idea of the nature and number of the subjects, dealt with by the national and foreign investigating agencies. Table No. 7 makes it clear that reorganizational problems were the focal point of concern for the national committees, constituted for the purpose of investigation, so much so, that the recommendations, made in this respect, far outnumber those, falling under any other category. Out of a total number of 728 recommendations, made by the national reports, five hundred and ninety-two, that is eight-one per cent of the total (728) fall under the category of ministerial and departmental reorganization. Whereas, the number of such re-

TABLE 7

THE NATURE AND NUMBER OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE
NATIONAL AND FOREIGN
INVESTIGATING AGENCY

Investigating Agencies	C a t e g o r i e s															
	Personnel management	Ministerial & departmental reorganization	Financial Administration	Planning & Development	Miscel- laneous	Total	No.:	%	No.:	%	No.:	%	No.:	%	No.:	%
National Reports	59	8	592	81	49	7	15	2	13	2	728	100				
Foreign Reports	200	44	151	33	51	11	55	12	-	-	457	100				

commendations made by the foreign reports comes to thirty-three per cent of the total (457) number of recommendations made by them. The overbearing dominance of reorganizational recommendations, made by the national committees, indicates the fact, that the necessity of reorganizing its administrative system, with the object of adapting it to the requirements of a developing society, was realized full well by the government. The administrative system in Pakistan was set up, at an instant, at the time of partition out of chaotic conditions. Constant reorganization and changes were, therefore, an inevitable necessity, in the course of time, as a consequence of changing conditions in the country. This deep-felt need found expression in the initiation of national reorganization committees by the government.

These same reasons prompted the government to seek the advice of even foreign experts on the subject. The recommendations made by the national committees are mainly concerned with the problem of reallocation of functions of government between different ministries, departments, the amalgamation or abolition of ministries/divisions/departments and the question of transfer of responsibilities, with special reference to decentralization in respect of subjects, which fall within the sphere of provincial responsibility. They are, also, concerned with the problem of unnecessary and unproductive work and consequent delays in the disposal of governmental business. For example,

it has been suggested that health, labour and social welfare should be continued under the aegis of one ministry, because they are contiguous subjects.¹ Amalgamation of ministries of commerce and industries is designed for the sake of more smooth working and closer coordination between the two closely related subjects.

Transfer of subjects from the centre to the provinces, also, forms the topic of a large number of recommendations, in order to redefine the centre-province relations, under the impact of the changes brought about by the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 respectively. The Constitution of 1962, for example, provides only a central list of subjects, with no concurrent or provincial list, implying, thereby, that the subjects not included in the Third Schedule of the Constitution are, ipso facto, the responsibility of the provincial governments.¹ But, at the same time, while determining relations between the centre and the provinces, the Constitution specifies, that the Central Government under article 135(b) can assume execution authority, if provided by a law under article (131 (2), even in matters falling within the purview of the provincial government.² This strong character of the Central Government is reflected in the recommendations made

¹Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Law, The Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan (Government of Pakistan Press, Karachi, 1962), p. 129.

²Ibid., pp. 68, 70.

by the S.O.C. when it suggests measures for the Centre to keep in close touch with broad policy functions, to secure coordination and to deal with international aspects of even such matters as fall wholly within the provincial sphere:

The fact that the operational or executive functions must be entrusted to the provinces, is also depicted in many recommendations. For instance, while making recommendation for the reorganization of the Ministry of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, it has been suggested that planning and development of power should be transferred to provincial government, while the Centre should confine itself to international aspects of matters relating to oil, gas, atomic energy, power minerals and water resources:

Changes are, also, suggested for the reorganization and rearrangement of departmental agencies, especially, with regard to matters of wasteful and cumbersome work procedures in the Central Secretariat. A significant reform, in this respect, was the suggestion (later fully implemented) of the introduction of Section Officer Scheme in the Secretariat, replacing several layers of subordinate staff by a single officer of under-secretary's status, who can, generally, decide cases on his own:

There are two reasons, why it has been considered proper to dwell at length, on some of the important sub-categories of recommendations, made by the national committees under this head. First, they are significant because they constitute the main bulk of the recommendations

made by the national committees and secondly, to bring out the extent to which the national committees were, or were not, influenced by the Egger and Gladieux reports, which had preceded three of them. This point will become clear by an examination of some of the recommendations made by the above mentioned foreign consultants. Both Egger and Gladieux criticize the administrative system in Pakistan, in general, and secretariat divisions in particular on the grounds, that while functional in concept, they do not provide reasonably discrete units for the handling of the government's business, at all levels, from the ministerial down through the substructure; that, no planned functional development of governmental machinery is visible in offices, departments and bureaus, nor any coherent functional groupings of divisional or sub-divisional units, through which the coordinative function might be channelled. They also called attention to the top heavy super-structure of administration and coordination with insufficiently reposed authority to executive authority, they pointed out, was not always commensurate with responsibility and that line and staff were not much differentiated. The secretariat system of administration was, in particular, their main target of criticism in this respect.

An impartial and objective examination of the recommendations made by the national committees shows, that most of these criticisms appear in them, in the form of suggestions for reforms. As demonstrated by the examples

of some of the recommendations made by the national committees, it seems, that the spirit of these criticisms has been translated into proposals, by the national committees, in the case of ministerial and departmental reorganization:

This does not, however, mean that the two groups of reports are exactly alike. There are points of marked differences, also. For example, the foreign experts criticize the problem of the monopoly of all policy making positions by the C.S.P. generalists, much to the dissatisfaction and discontentment of the specialist, whose technical competence, they believe, is in great demand in specialized fields, where the judgment of the generalist is not of much value. The foreign consultants condemn the depreciation by the C.S.P. of an empirical point of view in administration and advocate the importance of the capacity to adjust to empirically oriented management. The national committees being, mostly, composed of the C.S.P., almost ignore this point. Suggestions are, no doubt, made to establish the Economic Pool, to form a reserve of the expertise, with a view to man the ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industries, but the problem never received as much attention at their hands. It is understandable, that the C.S.P. did not emphasize a question that might have affected their own interests, adversely.

The next important issue, that appears to have attracted the attention of the national as well as foreign

investigators, is that of personnel management. It is significant to note that an overwhelmingly large number of personnel problems, attracted the attention of the foreign experts, as compared to the national committees-- their number being 200:59, that is 44 percent and 8 percent of the total, respectively. On examining them closer, it is discovered that a comparatively larger number of procedural problems appears to be worthy of attention in personnel management, than the organizational ones. In the cases of both sets of reports recommendations made reflect this aspect of the problem, markedly. The foreign experts appear to be concerned with questions of improvement in recruitment, examinations, selection, posting and promotion procedures. They also deplore the existing barriers between the various services in Pakistan and make recommendations for combining them in one Civil Service of Pakistan. Once again, the national reports keep silent over the removal of distinctions between the different cadre of services in Pakistan, probably, for the same reason as mentioned above. They appear to be more concerned with problems of absorption of surplus staff, retrenchment, curtailment in work load, ad hoc appointments, and living and working conditions.

Next, in order of priority, appear to be problems connected with financial administration. Once again, there is a larger proportion of financial matters discussed by the foreign consultants, as compared to those taken into

account by the national committees, their proportion being 11 per cent: 7 per cent, respectively. They make recommendations regarding the improvements in budgeting and administrative control, the direction and control of accounting and expenditure.

The national reports confine themselves to recommendations regarding the eradication of financial irregularities and making suggestions for practising economy. They are also concerned about financial control and budgeting. It has been, for example, recommended that administrative ministries should be entrusted with wide financial powers and that the expenditure sanction system prescribed for incurring expenditure against appropriated funds should be replaced by a system of financial advice build into the ministries concerned. The emphasis in both cases is on procedural aspect of financial administration.

Passing on to planning and development, it is discovered, that, once again, foreign reports exceed the national reports in respect to the number of recommendations made, their proportion being 12:2 per cent respectively. Both groups of reports are interested in the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development activities and suggest measures for improving the development drive and accelerating the pace of progress. Foreign experts appear to be more concerned with matters of planning, coordinating and energizing the development drive, since these according to them, encompass almost the

totality of governmental enterprise in a developing country. In this connection, they point out, the existing deficiencies in the planning commission and suggest measures for reform.

So much for the nature and magnitude of the recommendations, made by the two groups of reports. Before making any comments on the reasons for the above mentioned similarities or differences between the recommendations made by them, it is but opportune, here, to look back and refresh ~~our~~ memory as to the purpose of creation of these national and foreign investigating agencies, their assumptions and approaches regarding the problem in hand and the methods and techniques, employed by them, for the purpose of investigation.

The national reports, as is clear by this time, were the offshoots of some important national crises, or events, and were created with a specific purpose, or end in view, to answer the needs of that particular time. Two of the national committees, for example, the F.R.C. (1956) and the S.O.C. (1963) were set up just after the enactment of the two Constitutions and the main purpose for their creation was to determine the impact of the changes brought about by these new constitutions, on the structure and functions of the Central Government and to suggest recommendations for reorganization and readjustment, if needed. One of the other two committees, the A.E.C. was constituted as a result of a national crisis in 1953, when there was a dire need for financial stringency, keeping in view at

the same time the importance of securing efficiency in the disposal of business and economy in governmental offices. The fourth committee, the A.R.C., was set up just after the promulgation of the martial law in 1958, when the whole country was swayed with the spirit of reform and reorganization.

These committees were given clear cut specific terms of reference, within which they were expected to operate. Their members were in most cases topmost officers of the elite service in the Government of Pakistan. Their methods of investigation included the study of various governmental documents, a reappraisal of previously written reports of a similar nature, other official sources plus their own personal experience, gained through years of service. Intricate details desired, were gathered by means of questionnaires, issued to various ministries and their departments and subordinate offices. All these factors go a long way towards producing differences in the attitudes and approaches of the committees towards the investigation of the administrative problems.

The foreign consultants, on the other hand, were appointed by the government, on individual basis, for rendering counsel and advice, for improvement in administration. By the very nature of their terms of reference they were given more freedom to exercise their own judgment and discretion in matters of selecting, what aspects of the problem to investigate. In the case of Egger, for

example, he was asked to find out what was wrong with public administration in Pakistan and to suggest remedial measures. He, therefore, tried to determine the suitability of the inherited structure of governmental system in Pakistan under the existing conditions in the country.

Egger went about the task by using his discretion and judgment in matters of investigation. For the purpose of collecting material for his study Egger made use of official documents and records, previous reports and personal interviews.

Gladieux was appointed by the Government of Pakistan, with a view to prepare recommendations for the Planning Board, concerning the administrative and organizational aspects of planning and development activities in the country. Since, he considered the nation building activities to encompass almost the totality of governmental enterprise, he conceived and conducted his study very broadly, discussing all the subjects he considered relevant to his task.

Braibanti, the Chief Advisor in the Civil Service Academy, throws light on certain subjects, which appear to have been actuated and influenced by his professional interests. Questions discussed by him bear the semblance of advice from the teacher to the taught. He does not come out with cut and dried recommendations; rather, he makes soft and subtle suggestions, gaining ground with the reader in an imperceptible manner.

As a natural corollary of the above, there are differences of approach to the problem between the two groups of investigating teams: The national investigating teams being a part and parcel of the administration themselves approach the problem in a guarded, careful manner and without making any scathing remarks about the existing system of administration, proceed to make suggestions for reorganization and reform. The foreign consultants, on the other hand, more particularly Egger and Gladieux openly criticize the existing system of government in most of its aspects, since they were appointed to find out the 'ills' and to suggest 'cures'.

Egger has said some very sharp things about civil servants, ministers, government organizations and administrative procedure in a plain, rough and straight forward manner. At times, his tone is almost sarcastic. Yet one has to admit that most of his remarks are valid, in the context in which they have been made. Based as they are, on an analytical investigation and study of empirical data, some of his observations carry weight even today. It is but fair to state, that Egger's report paved the way to further reform in the field. At least, it served as an effective instrument of creating dissatisfaction, bringing the problems into focus and constructing a basic structure for administrative reform movement in Pakistan, which has been followed, vigorously, by the government ever since.

Gladieux discusses the problems in plain, simple, narrative form bringing forth his recommendations as he proceeds with his discussion. He does not separate the body of recommendations from the main text. His report, though initiated with a slightly different purpose and aim, appears to echo, at various points, Egger's recommendations. Their manner of presentation is, also, somewhat similar.

Braibanti treats the subject in an impartial, cool and rational manner. By the very logic of his presentation and argument, one cannot, but, feel inclined to agree with what he says. Most of his addresses and talks have been published and widely circulated.

The two reports, by Egger and Gladieux, did not see the light of the day. Egger's report, though printed in 1953 was never released to the public view. Gladieux' report was never published. But this does not mean that they failed to fulfill the purpose for which they were written. In fact, even those who, outwardly, criticized them for being 'exaggerated nonsense' could not help admiring them for their free and candid treatment of the subject. Though not immediately implemented, their recommendations penetrated deep down in the bureaucratic mind and emerged, later on, though, in somewhat different form, in some of the national reports. For example, one of his very forceful suggestions, regarding strengthening of the public service commission was discussed, at length, by the

A.R.C. and its recommendations in this connection got the approval of the government in the form of the following decisions:

(i) that the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, should be given the ex-officio status of Joint Secretary in the Establishment Division:

(ii) that even a temporary appointment for six months be referred to the Federal Public Service Commission, which should suggest, within ten days, a better candidate if readily available.:

Another one of his recommendations, concerning the change in the recruitment pattern of the C.S.P. was the theme of the report of the Pay and Service Commission under the chairmanship of Chief Justice A.R. Cornelius:

Gladieux' report though never published, had its substance widely disseminated, through the pages of the First Five Year Plan, where it appeared in a condensed form in one of its chapters:

To sum up, it may be stated, that the system of administration in Pakistan was examined by the two investigating groups, on the implicit assumption that having been, basically, designed as an instrument for administering colonial policies, for the purpose of maintaining law and order and for collection of revenues, it was not suited to the existing needs of an independent developing society; that

¹A.R.C., op.cit., p. 245.

it lacked the desired buoyancy and dynamism, was over-centralized and dilatory and that it failed to answer the needs of a rapidly progressing nation. Within this general framework, the investigating teams operated under their specific frame of reference, assigned to them by the Government, at the time of their creation. The National teams were given specific terms of reference, while the foreign consultants enjoyed greater freedom and used their discretion within a general framework.

The composition of the two investigating agencies was, entirely, different. National reports were written by Committees, consisting of government officials, who were a part and parcel of the administrative machinery themselves, while foreign reports were written by individual consultants, appointed temporarily by the government, with the specific purpose of seeking advice on matters of improving the system of administration.

Their methods of investigation were similar, both the teams used personal interviews, questionnaires etc. for eliciting the required information. They, also, benefited from previous reports and official records and documents. The data, thus, collected, were analyzed on group and individual basis in the case of national and foreign investigating agencies, respectively.

The above mentioned factors, it is assumed, had

their bearing on their approach to the problem. The fact, that the national teams were given specific terms of reference, at a particular time, restricted them to the study of specific problems falling within their frame of reference, with the result, that the problems discussed by them were not as wide-spread as those examined by the foreign agencies. They were inclined to concentrate on the main task in hand. For example, the S.O.C. confined itself solely to the study of those problems which needed revision in the light of the constitution of 1962.

The fact, that the national teams consisted of more than one individual, also, had its bearing on the recommendations. It is obvious that the recommendations made, were the cooperative result of discussion and examination by all the members of the investigating teams and not just the outcome of individual judgment, as in the case of recommendations put forward by foreign agencies. It, also, resulted in a more temperate and deliberate expression of opinion, rather than emotional outbursts, as sometimes happened in the case of foreign consultants. The fact, that the national teams comprised of government officials, who themselves formed a part of the administrative machinery, limited their critical treatment of matters dealt harshly with by the foreign consultants. As pointed out before, their treatment of the subject was, rather, careful and cautious as compared to the bold and forthright treatment of the subject at the hands

of the foreign consultants.

To come to the aims and objectives of the two groups of reports, it may be stated, that they were, generally speaking, similar--both aiming at administrative reform. Both discussed, somewhat, similar problems. But, while suggesting measures for reform, one of the investigating teams put more emphasis on reorganization, the other on procedure. The national committees appeared to believe, that reorganization of structure and functions of the various ministries and departments would set things right, while foreign experts seemed to think, that reform should be more deep-rooted, that good organizations alone was not enough to improve the system. The remedy according to them lay in the actual working of the system, its procedures. Hence, they put more emphasis on "breaking the bottlenecks, accelerating the decision making process and speeding up operations."¹ Table No. 5, for example, shows that out of 181 problems discussed by Egger, III were procedural problems. In the case of Gladieux, this proportion was 50 percent. A large majority of Braibanti's recommendations were, also, directed towards procedural improvements.

As for the response aroused by the two groups of reports, the national reports, on the whole, were accorded

¹Egger, op.cit., p. ix

welcome and their recommendations were, to a large extent, put into effect. The foreign reports, however, did not, to all outward appearances, receive wide acceptance. Yet, as seen earlier, there is no denying the fact, that they created a deep-rooted impact on the minds of those at the helm of affairs. They could not help being impressed and influenced by the logic of their argument and the reason of their judgment.

It may be added, that the efforts of the national and foreign agencies, both, have gone along way towards the promotion of administrative reform movement in Pakistan. Radical changes have taken place in the system. The machinery for economic and social planning and implementation has been reoriented and reorganized. More functional redistribution of ministries has been put into effect; their internal working has been improved; their departments and subordinate offices have been rearranged and reorganized. Emphasis has been laid, by the government, on decentralization of administration from the secretariat to departments, divisions and districts, right through the line. Efforts are being made to decentralize executive responsibility.

The generalist bias in the Civil Service is being reduced. Efforts are being made to reorient his training and broaden his outlook, in order to enable him to meet the

demands of a dynamic development administration. The importance of the role of the specialist is being realized. The Economic Pool has, therefore, been expanded, to include officers of the Civil, Audit and Accounts, Customs, Income Tax and Excise, so that they can act as permanent staff of the ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industries. Increased facilities are being provided, by the Institutes of Public Administration and the Administrative Staff College, for the training of Civil servants in various fields of public administration.

The processes of budgeting, accounting and financial control are being revised. Administrative Ministries are being entrusted with increased financial powers to sanction expenditures within the budget grants. These, turn are delegating similar power to operating departments.

A great deal, however, remains to be done. Reorganization, as a matter of fact, is a continuous process, because of the evergrowing demands in a changing society. Fresh re-adjustment and adaptation is needed. It is important, therefore, that the reorganizational and procedural activities in the system of administration in Pakistan are, constantly, reviewed and revised according to the demands of changing conditions

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