

Bureaucracy in Pakistan Between Delivery of Civil Services and Politics

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Abstract

Bureaucracy is an essential mechanism cum system for the effective functioning of any state system. It provides continuity in management and governance of public affairs. In case of Pakistan, the system has passed through various stages of reforms and restructuring but could not come up to serve the people as envisaged. Its manipulation under various political and non-political regimes made it corrupt, inefficient and worthless. It needs remedy and reforms to re-raising so that state benefits from its constitutional role and useful management.

This article suggests a two stage model for understanding the state system and effective role of the bureaucracy respectively therein. It is possible to make Pakistan's bureaucracy development friendly when allowed to operate free from political interference, focused on delivery of services to the people and equipped with modern knowledge of management and governance. That is possible when their recruitment and selection as well as training and development is based on fundamentals of Quran.

Keywords: Bureaucracy, Pakistan, Politics, Civil Services

Introduction

The word 'bureaucracy' finds its origin in French 'bureau' which means 'desk' or 'office'. It was coined sometimes in 18th century by French Economics Jacques Claude (Etymology, bureaucracy Encyclopedia). When came in English language, it initially became 'bureaucratic' meaning 'office tyranny'. Thereafter in 19th century, it turned out to be 'bureaucracy' with more elaborated meaning as a system of public administration in which offices are held by unelected officials. It implied management of public affairs by appointed office bearers, often subservient to monarchy. The spheres of bureaucracy were further expanded by German Sociologist Max Weber in 1920. It included any system of administration conducted by trained professionals in accordance with pre-determined rules and procedures. Max Weber (1920) perceived public administration too serious a field to be left to untrained bunch of public representatives. It appears that he rather over-estimated the moral potentials of trained officials; individual human beings with physiological needs and wants who could also be lured into malpractices like those of public representatives or politicians. Education and training to any kind of groups of people works well under a system of checks and balances. It erodes over a period of time as unchecked human desires over take the

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ethics. Pakistan's bureaucracy went into this kind of experience at the early years of its separation from British India where individual desires, aspirations and urge to concentrate power overtook the values, morals and societal norms.

The bureaucracy as prevalent in Pakistan is extension of the 'Steel-Frame of British Empire', a tribute paid to 'Royal Civil Servants' during colonial era (Sumrin Kalia, 2010). This system of bureaucracy in our case has been true to its basic meaning which obliges these instruments of public administration and management to 'desk' or 'office'. However after going through the history of civil services' functioning during colonial era, one finds the 'Royal Civil Servants' not restricted to the offices. They used to be fully aware of the geographical peculiarities of area under their jurisdictions, socio-cultural makeup of the society, religious sensitivities, political affiliations and possible resistance they would come across while implementing empire's policies. Whereas the civil servants were trained how to coerce and oblige the people for obedience; they were equipped with necessary wherewithal to create infrastructures for public use to win their hearts and minds.

Contrarily, the system of public administration under bureaucracy in Pakistan has been oblivious of ground realities. In office work, they followed their mentors i.e. 'Royal Civil Servants'. However in knowing actual conditions as ground realities they maintained distance from the public affairs / their sensitivities. It was difficult as it demanded time, effort and energy (Nasir Islam, Colonial Legacy, 1989). There were two reasons of this disconnect which made them failure in the longer run of managing the state's affairs. One, since these officials were from the same class of people, they wanted to keep distance from public to maintain their inherited royal status. Secondly, they could not differentiate between functioning requirements of state of Pakistan and those under British Empire. Pakistan was no more part of British Empire; it was to serve the people through administration and governance. There was remarkable difference between the two scenarios i.e. system under colonization and that after independence. The practice in all bureaucratized setups is that office bound bureaucracy does what appears justified on papers and in notes for considerations in hierarchal system of organizational functioning. It would rather be more appropriate to narrate; that the system manipulates facts of ground according to their desk bound studies / feasibilities and file records. It is devoid of (as ever in any bureaucratic system) human considerations to create and maintain public services. Its progressive involvement in politics since late 1960s / early 70s further deteriorated the situation, especially in governance and public administration (Muhammad Waseem, 1994).

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Karl Marx was probably the first to give contrasting remarks on bureaucracy. To him bureaucracy was a natural counterpart to development of corporations in private societies (Boeninger, Landell-Mills and Segaedine, 1991). He was of the opinion that corporations and bureaucracies, though seemingly opposite, relied on each other for mutual coexistence. Whereas corporation was civil society's attempt to become state, bureaucracy was a state of its own kind existed in the civil structure of the society. Karl Marx's dictum comes true to Pakistan's bureaucracy which became a state within the state (Yousaf Raza Gilani, Ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, 2010). How the state became bureaucratized over a period of time and lost relevance to public developments? Why civil officials, trained under well-established 'Steel-Frame of British Empire', one of the strongest mechanism of bureaucracy became so quickly desk-bound? How the society got disconnected from state's governance under bureaucracy over repeated failures to serve the people? When and how the civil-military bureaucracy became politicised and lost its impartial image? What could be the possible remedies? These are the basic questions to explore and answer in this research paper.

Literature Review

In ancient China, one finds prevalence of bureaucracy in pre-Christ era. It came into some formal shape in evolutionary time of Roman Empire (Ancient China and Rome, Wikipedia, ancient bureaucracy). The basic concept was maintenance and use of documents having records as critical tools for administration of social system. In Byzantine Empire for example, it was development of administrative districts and maintaining their order through civil officials. These civil officials would maintain records and ensure continuity in running the state's affairs. The modern form of bureaucracy developed its roots during colonial era of British imperialism. From the historical perspective, one finds that this kind of bureaucracy has its roots based on the studies of ancient systems of Chinese, Romans and Byzantine imperialism.

The efficient and professional civil officials of British Empire allowed governance through imposition of taxes especially for war expenses. Their system of developing bureaucratic institutions was based on recruitment by examinations, rigorous training, promotion on merit, regular salaries – pension system and standardised procedures for efficient management of affairs even in the absence of fresh instructions (Niall Ferguson). The civil officials were made capable of handling difficult situations independently under the broad guidelines. Political paradigms of post 'Industrial Revolution' further strengthened it. Thinkers like John Stuart Mill theorised its economic functions and power structures. Max Weber conceptualised its essential features of modernity. Woodrow Wilson (The Study of Administration) put forward his

arguments on bureaucracy as professional cadre devoid of political allegiance. However with all these diversified views, it was not to manipulate its offices for sufferings of the people.

Robert K. Merton (Social Theory and Structures) referred it 'trained incapacity' which results from 'over-conformity'. He found bureaucrats to defend their own interest instead of benefitting the organizations. Undue pride in the desk bound craft was to be the hallmark of bureaucracies, where procedural conformity was importantly preferred over interpersonal relationship and overall wellbeing of the organizations. It basically stemmed from fundamental meaning of the terminology 'bureaucracy' elaborating its basics which included being desk-bound, inward looking, paper centred, record maintenance mechanisms, accustomed to set procedures and serving to the system in hand. This implied following the time tested procedures come what may be the actual environments, disregards to the changes and human behaviours, their wants and needs.

Pakistan's bureaucracy is derivative of Indian Civil Services, an extension of 'Steel-Frame of British Empire'. Under the colonial rule, obviously the representative bodies of people had no active role in running the state's affairs. Everything starting from planning to implementation – enforcement was to be done under the authority of bureaucratic mechanism as per monarch's policies of governance. The civil officials were effectively trained to solely meet the requirements of that time. The local bodies organized under the feudal monarchs were to assist and legitimise the policies of bureaucratic rules (Saeed Shafqat, 1999). History is full of examples that those feudal lords very honestly supported the civil officials in the discharge of their duties. In return, they were given enormous privileges including allotment of big chunks of agriculture land.

Upon creation of Pakistan, there existed a powerful legacy of bureaucracy but weak political system. The political fibre had been made subservient to bureaucratic network of state's functioning. Main characteristics of bureaucratic style included; divide and rule, maintain elitism and keep the people oblivious of state's affairs. Soon after creation of Pakistan, the much needed political strength and maturity got reversals due to death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The vacuum was filled in by the civil servants who were comparatively better trained to handle the state's affairs under the British system (Ayesha Jalal, 1995). The point, readers need to keep in mind is that political institutions are public accountable bodies. Bureaucratic setups are desk-bound and file-work centred institutions, not answerable to the people. The political make ups, in essence, are to serve the people using state systems as mechanisms of public services. Contrarily, bureaucracy is to

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serve the state of their own understanding using public means. This is their inherited designs. So for one, society is first that makes up the state; for other it is the state that gets preference as it houses society.

Quaid-e-Azam, in one of his public addresses had given his vision about role of political system in Pakistan. At Quetta, during reply to one of the questions from an officer of armed forces, he categorically clarified his future course of action in running the state's affairs. He said: "not to forget that the armed forces are the servants of the people and you do not make national policy. It is we, the civilians, who decide these issues and it is your duty to carry out these tasks with which you are entrusted" (Speeches of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Government Pakistan). Unfortunately political backwardness of Muslims had touched its extremes at the time when Pakistan came into existence. On the other hand, bureaucracy (civil as well as military) had well trenched by virtue of their education and training under the British system, they came forward to make policies and rule the country in political absenteeism. So we say that under those environments of political vacuum, the civil and military bureaucracy joined hands to take control of the state's affairs.

Therefore the British trained civil servants of Indian Civil Services alongwith joint ruling relationship with armed forces officials termed political figureheads as illiterate, backward, incapable and incapacitated. They were (most of them are still taken as such) taken as too clueless to handle sensitive issues of the state. So for the initial about twenty five years, bureaucracy manipulated rules of the game at their wish, will and wisdom. Military regimes of this era depended heavily on civil officials, the bureaucracy. Therefore civil – military bureaucracies meshed up well for mutual understanding to keep the political parties away from the power circles. Legislative and Judiciary both served bureaucracy, the weak democratic institutions were used as rubber stamps on need basis. Public representatives pleasingly served under the joint arrangements of civil-military bureaucracies. Rivalry among political parties further shattered development of democratic culture. The country remained purely under the rule of civil-military bureaucracies for most of the times from 1947 to 1971. The two wars with India (1965 and 1971) remained short of achieving intended objectives. Rather in 1971 war with India, due to mismanagement of state's affairs, Pakistan had to face humiliation and lost half of the country. This clearly indicated incapacity of the system under bureaucracies to serve the state in any direction.

Since political health of the state had progressively been undermined over a period of time, the debacle of 1971 gave it a legitimising strength. The country found solution in institutional development of democracy under Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto. He had seen legitimised power centring in bureaucratic circles, especially since late 1960s. So he found all the germs of state's illness in civil – military services institutions. The military bureaucracy was still in shocks of 1971; Mr. Bhutto took complete powers over the state in his hands. He demonstrated it as well through removal of some high ranking officials of the elite defence services. To him bureaucratic rule had let down the nation. The civil servants had ruined the socio-political fibre of the society. He referred this system as 'Naukar Shahi' and civil servants as 'Brahmins (Pakistan Development Review, 1999). What he meant by this was 'servants becoming the rulers and civil servants as the elite human beings like those in Hindu religion where common citizens are taken as untouchables.

Therefore he set out to undertake major reforms in civil bureaucracy of the country. Sending 1300 officials of civil services on compulsory retirement was his first step to break myth of bureaucratic dominance in state's affairs (Abdus Sattar Ghazali, Pakistan: Illusions and Realities, 1996). He was convinced that attaining political dominance would not be possible without having effective control over the most powerful bureaucracy. In order to attain this, he undertook three main initiatives. Firstly, he broke the prestige and myth of CSP (Civil Services of Pakistan) cadre of bureaucracy through elimination of their reserve quota for vertical progression of promotions. Secondly CSP was regrouped into categories like district management, tribal areas and secretariat groups. Thirdly other groups like audit and accounts, military accounts and railway accounts were merged into accounts groups (Andrew Wilder, 2010). In order to makeup deficiency with loyal bureaucracy, he horizontally inducted hundreds of civil servants. These were mostly close relatives of political stalwarts of Bhutto and his lieutenants. This proved to be a rapid step towards politicization of bureaucracy.

Unethical employment of bureaucracy was demonstrated before and after general elections of Bhutto Regimes (Urdu Daily, July 1976). Since civil servants were blessed by the ruling political party and they used to be transferred and at times removed by the powerful Bhutto, they accepted political dominance to secure their jobs. They had no constitutional security; this was another extreme, where the bureaucracy became totally inert and completely subservient to the democratic monarchy. Where they lost on moral ground, their professionalism became meaningless; rather became rubber stamps in the hands of political absolutism. Insecurity of job under the constitutional amendments of Mr. Bhutto's regime made the civil bureaucracy totally docile and ineffective. This is the reason that suppressed bureaucracy welcomed Mr. Bhutto's overthrow by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 (Ayesha Jalal, 1997).

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As happens in all dictatorial regimes, Zia-ul-Haq era was dominated by technocrats starting from public administration to foreign affairs. Legitimacy crisis compelled him to accept civil bureaucracy's predominant role in running the state's affairs. So they got their lost esteem back in ranks and positions. Addition was influx of large numbers of armed forces officials colouring to civil bureaucracies. The system moved to another direction abruptly; earlier it was politicising of the society and the system, then it became de-politicisation (The Dialogue, Volume VIII Number 2). The civil bureaucracy who was at reversals during the Bhutto regime became more active for their preeminent position in policy making and running the state's affairs. The regime of Zia-ul-Haq had two distinct features as far as state's functioning and governance is concerned. One; the society was completely dissociated from the state's affairs, may it be public administration, development issues or making foreign policy of the country. Second; the civil bureaucracy who had lost its pride in the previous regime became (readily) predominantly subservient to military office bearers of the public services and governance. He also took steps towards Islamic fundamentals as set forth by Saudi Arabia.

The civilian governments which came after the death of Zia-ul-Haq had to restart the political process. The bureaucratized mechanism of state's functioning was earlier interrupted by Mr. Z A Bhutto. Therefore the country started with a weak and slow political understanding in late 1980s (Bureaucrats or Politicians, Working Paper 10241, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2004). The civil bureaucracy had reawakened after reversals of Bhutto era. The civil servants of bureaucracy had worked with armed forces officials for almost 10 years of Zia-ul-Haq. So they maintained working relationship with them for backup coercive support against political government in case of need. Two streams of civil bureaucracy had emerged at this point in time. The vertically processed / progressed civil servants and those inducted laterally from armed forces under Zia regime. The two categories had difference of opinion in understanding the state's affairs. Both developed temporary comfort levels based on needs with the civil governments. However the two leading bigger political parties had developed their own teams of civil bureaucrats. In most of the cases these civil officials were patronised and promoted based on their loyalties with respective political parties, disregarding their professionalism. So the bureaucracy got divided in three groups in early 90s. Firstly; the group patronised by Muslim League Nawaz Group. Secondly; the group comprised of sympathisers of Pakistan People Party. Thirdly; the group comprised of those bureaucrats who were laterally inducted during the Zia regime, not very well adjusted after 1988 and facing identity crisis.

The democracy got interruptive blow again in 1999; therefore the bureaucracy had to readjust as per new developments. Musharraf's military government looked over the shoulders of civil bureaucracy for legitimacy and continuing governance. This gave them a refreshing revival to reassert themselves for more and more say in the policy formulation and functioning of the state's affairs. The military rule came with a slogan of combating corruption, eliminating malpractices of the civil officials and providing speedy – justified services to the people. Overwhelming induction of armed forces personnel as fresh militarised bureaucrats gave a new dimension to civil bureaucracy which came under monitoring mechanism of government officials (Sumrina Kalia, 2006). The famous devolution plan of 2001 had varying impacts on bureaucracy. District coordinating officer of the civil bureaucracy became linchpin of district governance. At division level, it became almost non-functional.

Elections of 2008 gave a new dimension to Pakistan's bureaucracy. The new political setup came into the system with lot of unfair, rejecting the unidirectional rule of Musharraf regime at the same time. Over 300 laterally inducted officials were withdrawn from the civil departments and sent to their parent setups. This provided a space for the civil bureaucracy to work more independently and out of the shadows of monitoring mechanism of the previous regime (National Commission for Reforming the Government in Pakistan, Prime Minister Secretariat, 2008). The departments like WAPDA, PIA, Pakistan Railways, Pakistan Steel etcetera were completely taken over by the joint bureaucratic setup of civil and military bureaucracy in Musharraf Regime. These departments slowly came back to the elected government, meaning by the civil bureaucracy under the control of politicians. As usual, the new political government of Pakistan People Party brought in their own team of bureaucrats at national level as well as outside the country. The Musharraf's team was functionally taken out especially on key posts.

Finally the elections of 2013 brought in new political government of Pakistan Muslim League. Accordingly they brought in their own team of bureaucrats; those were marginalised by the previous two regimes. Understanding the ground realities, the bureaucrats of rival political parties take back seats and wait for their own turn. Professionalism is the name of readjusting plans as per political aspirations and letting the opponents suffer in the eyes of the people. The political system is always under monitoring mechanism of what we call 'Establishment / Intelligence Setups'. Therefore the bureaucrats maintain their abiding by relations with those offices of the 'Establishment'. Disregarding the professional aspects, the bureaucrats under prevailing environments have three groups on functioning planes. Those loyal to the leading political party Pakistan Muslim League; the diehard sympathizers of Pakistan People's Party

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and the third group obsessed with the notion of professionalism, not with any political party, maintain links with the offices of 'Establishment' and wait for change of cards. This is how the bureaucracy has been politicised, de-politicised, marginalised and mixed up in a way that it has lost its identity, professional pride and respect. Over the decades, the system has been employed by various regimes, not for the benefit of the people or the country but to serve their own vested interests.

An Analysis in Retrospect

Repeatedly, the bureaucracy in Pakistan moved from one extreme to another over the last about 69 years. At the time of creation of Pakistan, it was the elite governance setup, the steel frame and backbone of country's state system. Nothing could move without the whims of civil servants. Even the powerful Ayub Khan's Regime was dependent on their professional expertise and constitutional understanding. Their life style and way of conducting the public affairs were more autonomous and privileged than their British predecessors and mentors. The British civil servants were responsible to the monarch for continued somewhat satisfied dominance over the populace through an articulated system of carrot and stick. Therefore they had to maintain close relationship between what happens on files and that of ground realities. This implied some developments in public services and regulated system of tax collection and development expenditures. Contrarily the bureaucracy of Pakistan, had rather very weak political system after the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to whom they were accountable for public services. So they had unchecked powers and resources at their disposal and no system of accountability. This left their predecessor British Bureaucrats much behind; they would rather have wished to be part of Pakistan's Bureaucracy.

When Ayub Khan came into power in mid 1950s, the bureaucracy had fully entrenched in the state mechanism to steer it at will. The two fundamental weaknesses of Ayub Khan Era were legitimacy and advisory requirement in state's functioning. The bureaucracy was in full grip of affairs, so they stepped forward to meet the requirements. Through expert articulation of rules mixed with need of the time, they provided much needed legitimacy to the General and made him a ruler having all powers. Advisory services' was their primary role which they managed very successfully. The military establishment was clueless of state's functioning; so for all legal and subject special issues they were to look towards bureaucrats, the elite group, the cream of the nation. In this way over dependence of dictatorial rule of Mr Muhammad Ayub Khan on civil bureaucracy made the bureaucrats rather indispensable on legal and technical issues. Since they were at the helm of affairs, their promotions and

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other privileges were tailored distinctively. The decade of 1960s is basically the time of complete bureaucratic rule in Pakistan; civil and military bureaucracy meshed up very well to look after each other's interest. Mr. Bhutto rightly gave it the name of Naukar-Shahi, where civil servants were the actual rulers of this country; the 'Steel Frame of Pakistan' for which unfortunately the country had to pay heavy price.

Since the military in power was not expert in the functioning domains of state's affairs; actual steering power came in the hands of bureaucrats. For anything going wrong at the policy formulation levels by the inept bureaucracy, the military establishment was in front because they were at the driving seat. Therefore we find in the initial biographic history of Pakistan that all bad things were done by military system, the good deeds were basically due to acted upon advices of bureaucracy. Mr. Bhutto was probably the first person who became aware of the nexus created by bureaucracy to keep political process away from the state's functioning. The civil bureaucracy was very much comfortable with military rule of Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khan. The society was nothing to do the state's functioning; rather it was a subject beyond the comprehension of people. It happened to be an intellectual work which could be performed by the well-developed bureaucracy only. The late 1960s, where Ayub regime was fading away and new military led interim government was to take charge, provided complete powers to the bureaucracy to develop rules of governance and public administration. However the events of closing 60s and very early 70s exposed the civil-military bureaucracy for its incapacity to deliver. The edifice of governance built around technocracy under supreme bureaucracy simply came on ground. We lost half of the country on bitter grounds with a humiliating defeat on all front including defence, diplomacy, foreign affairs and national integrity.

The worst state of affairs appeared when hegemonic and arrogant bureaucracy refused to accept the responsibility of humiliating disintegration of the country; rather put blames on others. Since Mr. Bhutto was witness to this entire unidirectional rule under bureaucracy led 'Establishment' for over 20 years; he set forth to break the myth of powerful bureaucracy. The reforms undertaken under Mr. Bhutto regime put the bureaucratic mechanism on the other extreme. As per his philosophy of bureaucracy, the mechanism was to be made to serve the people not to rule them which they were doing earlier. However as suited to his personality; the extreme measures taken under his rule reduced the role of bureaucracy upto opening and closing the doors for political stalwarts. Since their promotions and privileges all linked with their loyalties to political affiliations, so the new generation of bureaucrats became rubber stamps for covering up corruptions and misdoings of those at the helm of affairs. Therefore the reforms undertaken by powerful Bhutto, took the

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bureaucracy to the other extreme. Whereas earlier they were masters of state's affairs, now turned out to be subservient statues; completely at the mercy of their political masters even for their posting and transfers. So what was the impact of these reforms? Earlier the bureaucracy was serving to itself; now it was doing the same but for politicians as well as for their own families and friends. The lateral induction into civil services and employment of bureaucracy for political purpose by Bhutto regime laid the foundation of progressive politicisation of bureaucracy.

The depleted bureaucracy pinned some hopes of revival from Zia-ul-Haq regime which came into power by ousting Bhutto and imposing Marshall Law. Zia-ul-Haq also needed two things like Muhammad Ayub Khan; legitimacy and advice. Both the requirements could be moved very well on files by bureaucratic mechanism. That was done; Zia-ul-Haq got legitimacy to rule as situational necessity. However for advice, at this point in time, integral system of military had become quite conversant so they took over. The civil bureaucracy became subservient to integral bureaucratic establishment of military regime. They were comparatively comfortable because they had to manage the things on file otherwise the bureaucracy was not responsible for successes or failures. All dictators / similar regimes need a very strong and diehard loyal group of individuals who should undertake the execution of instructions without questions. Zia-ul-Haq also needed the same; there were many from civil bureaucracy who could do the same. He never wanted to take risk under those politically hostile environments; so lateral induction of armed forces officials started into the civil bureaucracy. Here also pick and choose became the requirement and bureaucracy which was politicised by the previous regime continued with a different shade and intensity as per requirement. The bureaucracy struggled and got some relaxations on accounts of their job security and others alike. However it could not regain its status of self-claimed intellectuals and forerunners in national policy making.

This was followed by an era of political wrestling of two bigger parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan People Party. Both the political giants maintained their own agenda; instead of doing anything good for the country, they accumulated and employed their energies in letting the opponents down. They maintained their own teams of bureaucrats who were put to limelight and work on their turns to governments. In either case, bureaucracy suffered on grounds of their prestige, honour, professionalism and delivery of services to the people. An elite corps of civil servants who were to provide professional advice second to none and administer public services had become instruments of political power players. The issue was further compounded with complications by 4th military rule in closing months of 20th century. Like his predecessors, he also faced legitimacy and consultancy crisis. The civil

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bureaucracy put forward its services and paved way for Musharraf's extended rule. The reforms undertaken under devolution of power reduced the role of bureaucrats to clerks and superintendents who were monitored by military officials. He also introduced lateral induction of armed forces officials into civil bureaucracy, relied more on military intelligence for twisting politicians and bureaucracy for his own governance philosophy. He tried to diminish the boundaries between civil and military rules by frequent public addresses where senior bureaucrats including military officials and politicians were to be present. In the process, the bureaucracy lost itself in retrospect.

The political process which resumed after Musharraf's rule did not change its policy of using bureaucrats for political management and mismanagement. Whosoever came in power brought his own team of bureaucrats to steer the government machinery. The usual practice has been (is) that bureaucracy manipulates the rules and procedures to suite rulers for their vested interests. Therefore instead of acting as think tanks for national policies, the bureaucracy has become team of file managers / record keepers. The present bureaucracy of Pakistan has lost its relevance to the functioning of state's departments for public administration. If one would like to summarise, the prevailing bureaucratic system suffers from the following shortfalls / ills, hence it is of no use to the society or the state:-

- It is pollicised from head to feet and all regimes have used it for their own vested interests in the political domains. In its present shape, survival of bureaucrats lies in their political affiliations. They come to the limelight on important appointments as and when their affiliated political parties make governments after winning elections etcetera. They go dormant when other party's government comes in.
- The bureaucracy is divided in three main groups. The first group is of ruling political party which serves the affiliations and steer the policies accordingly. Their thought process is based on what their political masters aspire at. They do not develop policies out of analytical studies; rather mould planning to serve achieving given assignments. Second group is in waiting line; loyal to the main opposition political party or group of parties. They are dormant on backburner appointments, would come to steer the governance mechanism on the turn of their affiliated political party. The third group is of those bureaucrats who could not make their place with any political party. They are pro-establishment and always look at derailing the political government and changing to technocracy. Under these environments, the state and society are not in sight anywhere in the bureaucratic system of Pakistan.

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- For the first 20 years, the bureaucracy of Pakistan maintained their strong hold on all matters of the state; it was like 'Steel Frame' of British Empire, looked beyond the capacity of Pakistan in utilization of the resources, policy making and strategy developments. They were part of Pakistan's bureaucracy but their life style, way of thinking and attitude were that of British officials. Thereafter they went to another extreme whereby their role was reduced to clerical assignments and protocols. Since 1970, they are in continuous struggle of regaining their prestige and at times survival. All their efforts are to show their performance and seek approval for next promotions etcetera.
- They have lost the basic theme of conceptual growth for planning and developments. In their functional domains, they are not servants to the public, rather expect people to obey their instructions for their smooth office routines. It is more of a job's requirement. Their recruitment procedures, training and development in service is basically to remain acceptable to those matter. They are not developed to make policies to serve the state or the society.

A Suggested Model for Role of the State System and Bureaucracy

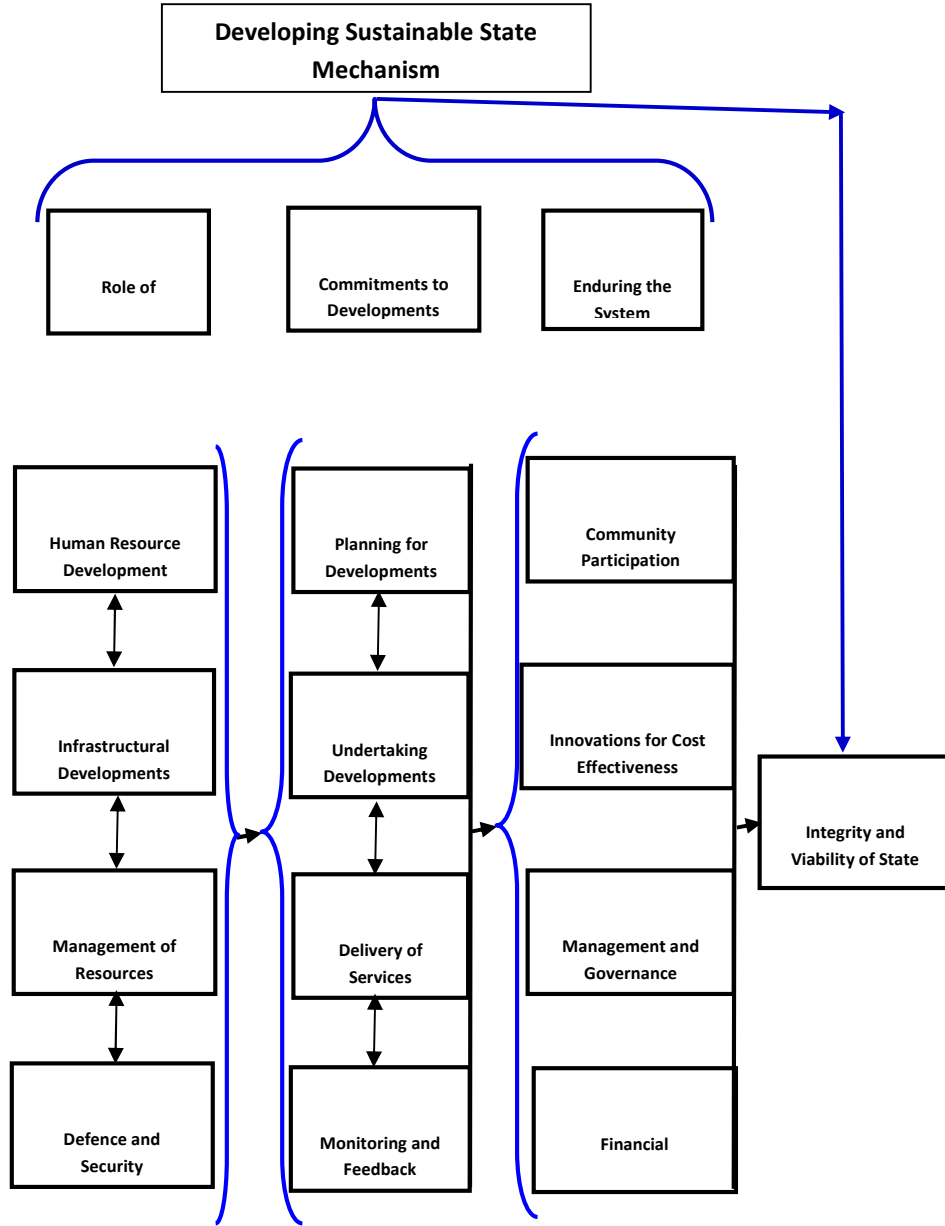
Having seen the shortfalls of Pakistan's bureaucracy in historical perspective, it is now prudent to suggest a model which is free from all the ills as discussed in the preceding discussion. The requirement entails to talk about a model which is people friendly with services delivery focus and designed to work as a mechanism. It should work as a system which is not personality oriented and focused on top notches. Even if the key appointment holder from the top is removed for some time, the system should keep running on routine matters. Its shortfall shall only be in developmental domains. At the same time, the system should not be technology averse, rather flexible to absorb emerging realities of benefits which technical developments provide to the humanity. That is possible only when responsible individuals are developed and kept aligned with the technological advancements as is the case of successful entrepreneurship. The bureaucracy should also be made part of the common ownership and accountable to the state system. These two attributes warrant certain obligations as well as privileges for the system to become effective. This shall fill the gap in the present system where political mechanism becomes answerable to the shortfalls of bureaucracy.

For this purpose, a two stage model has been suggested through paper which is not relevant to Pakistan's bureaucracy only, it is rather applicable to all developing state systems, especially where democracy is in muddling stage. Interestingly there are two kinds of democracies in the developing world. One;

the democracy which is though professionally weak but in loggerhead with bureaucracy to dominate and lead. Second; those developing countries where political mechanism having understood their shortfalls developed working relationship with bureaucracy. In the latter case, bureaucracy leads and political mechanism develops compromise to survive and sustain on mutual benefits basis. The two stage model given in the subsequent paragraphs integrates essential components of state system and role of bureaucracy respectively. The first stage answers as to how can we attain and maintain state's integrity in the comity of nations. The second stage outlines the role of bureaucracy to make possible the state's integrity as desired in the first stage. The models in both the stages consist of linkages of certain factors which ultimately lead to the attainment of stable state system. After each stage of the model, short explanation of the factors is given which encompasses concept and planning for its implementation strategies. That is essential to understand the model in its entirety. Now let us look at first stage of the model which is how to develop sustainable state mechanism.

State's Integrity and Viability: The bureaucracy needs to build on it, details given in the model.

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Outline Model of Integrated and Viable State System

Developing Sustainable State Mechanism

This stage of the model outlines three pillars of the state mechanism without which it is not possible to develop an integrated and viable state. The three pillars explain fundamentals like what determines the role of state system for its sustainability, what are the core development strategies and what all is essential to make the mechanism durable and workable over the times to come. In the model given above, these are referred at the top with double vertical linkages as Role of the State System, Commitments to Developments and Enduring the System.

Role of the State System:

The secret of sustainability of the state system lies in developments. Accordingly to Russian philosophy, the state is a living organism; therefore it must grow otherwise it will stagnate and diminish. Growth of the state system is basically the developments. Therefore fundamental role of the state mechanism is developments in four areas which would provide strong basis for its survival. It includes human resource development, management of material means, infrastructural developments and finally defence and security of the state. Out of these four, the drivers are human and material resources. Development of human resource becomes fundamental to other developments. Human resource development is basically multiplying the numbers or working hands. It is how we can increase work productivity. That is through education, training and giving skills to the working hands so as to enable them produce maximum with minimum utilization of time and means. In the modern times of functional societies, technology is the mother of all developments. Technology is creation of mind for effort multiplication of hands. With trained and developed human resource, the second step becomes comparatively easier and that is management of material resources. It basically entails judicious and cost effective utilization of natural resources available to the state. With the increase in population all over the world especially the developing countries, it has become essential survival mechanism to utilise the resources to the bare minimum so that these are saved for others.

Human hands and minds put together produce infrastructures and utilizable commodities. So the third factor in developmental role of the state is infrastructural developments. Through the cost effective employment of human resource and utilization of material means, the national state system creates infrastructures to provide better lives to the people. Creation of infrastructures entails two functions. One; creating industries and services organizations to produce commodities. Secondly; to create environments for

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human hands to produce to the optimum. So when human resource is properly developed, there is a knowhow of cost effective utilization of national means and sufficient infrastructures to feed the people, then comes defence and security from external and internal threats. Defence and security is fundamentally to guard against unethical access to means and facilities of your people. Anything beyond that is getting into the race of conflicts.

Commitment to Developments:

Commitment to developments is basically planning and execution phase of state's fundamental roles covered above. In such commitments, state's systems come into play. It includes planning for developments, execution of development plans, provision of goods and services to the people and monitoring and feedback systems to make the system sustainable over periods of time. In this way, it is second step in developing the sustainable state mechanism undertake the roles and convert them to reality. Planning includes short as well as long term depending upon nature of the projects. The bottom-line in planning is to produce goods and services for the people in the most possible cost effective manner. One finds long term planning to make the commodities cost effective in times to come in view of growing needs of the people. Long term planning is based on vision and forecasting; failing which the state system either collapses or becomes too dependent on others. In both the cases, people suffer due to either non-availability of required commodities or their monopolistic costs. Contrarily the short term planning provides solution to immediate problems. In both the cases, effective planning entails precise cost-benefit analysis. The planning is followed by actual undertaking of the developments or creation of infrastructures for meeting people's needs and wants. This is through either to build factories or procure the commodities as per findings of the cost-benefit analysis.

Once commodities have been produced or procured, their justified and even distribution and delivery is equally important. Delivery of goods and services also includes price control so that it is available to all segments of the society on relative need basis. The fourth factor here is monitoring and feedback which is for the successful accomplishment of earlier three factors. Monitoring and feedback performs three functions. Firstly; it is to provide information to the executive management about production plans being executed as envisaged. Secondly; it is to let the higher management know standard of services and changes in that in view of the market dynamics. Thirdly; it is to give input about technological changes / preferences and consequently the environments. Based on these inputs, planning and implementation of plans are modified to keep them aligned with the time.

Enduring the System:

Based on the fundamental roles of the state, once planning is transformed into creation of infrastructures for better lives of the people, then comes the question of how to make them durable over periods of times. In the developing countries, dilemma is that projects are conceived comprehensively, executed and inaugurated with fun and fare; however after some times, these develop problems in maintenance and finally abandoned. No state system can run them successfully until and unless collaborated with the users. Accordingly for this purpose, four fundamental factors have been put in the model. Community participation is basically giving ownership to the user. This is possible where they have to pay for the services delivery and management is run through public representatives. However for the dispute resolutions, the state mechanism comes in. The scarlet thread of this mechanism is accountability for financial fairness and equity in the availability of service. Therefore community participation provides financial durability and ownership for continuous functioning.

Second factor given in the model is innovations for cost effectiveness which provides survival strategy in the present technology dominant environments. Technical developments and technology provide two things i.e. cost competitiveness and quality of goods and services. Therefore for the endurance of the system, research and development should be a continuous process which is to affect innovations in performance of productive functioning of the organizations. The third factor is management and governance which is obviously for coherence in functioning and disciplined delivery of goods and services. The fourth and final factor is financial management which has durability prerequisites for the envisaged projects. Here financial management entails balance between cost and services without resource leakages due to corruptions and malpractices.

Proposed Model for Functioning of Bureaucracy in Pakistan

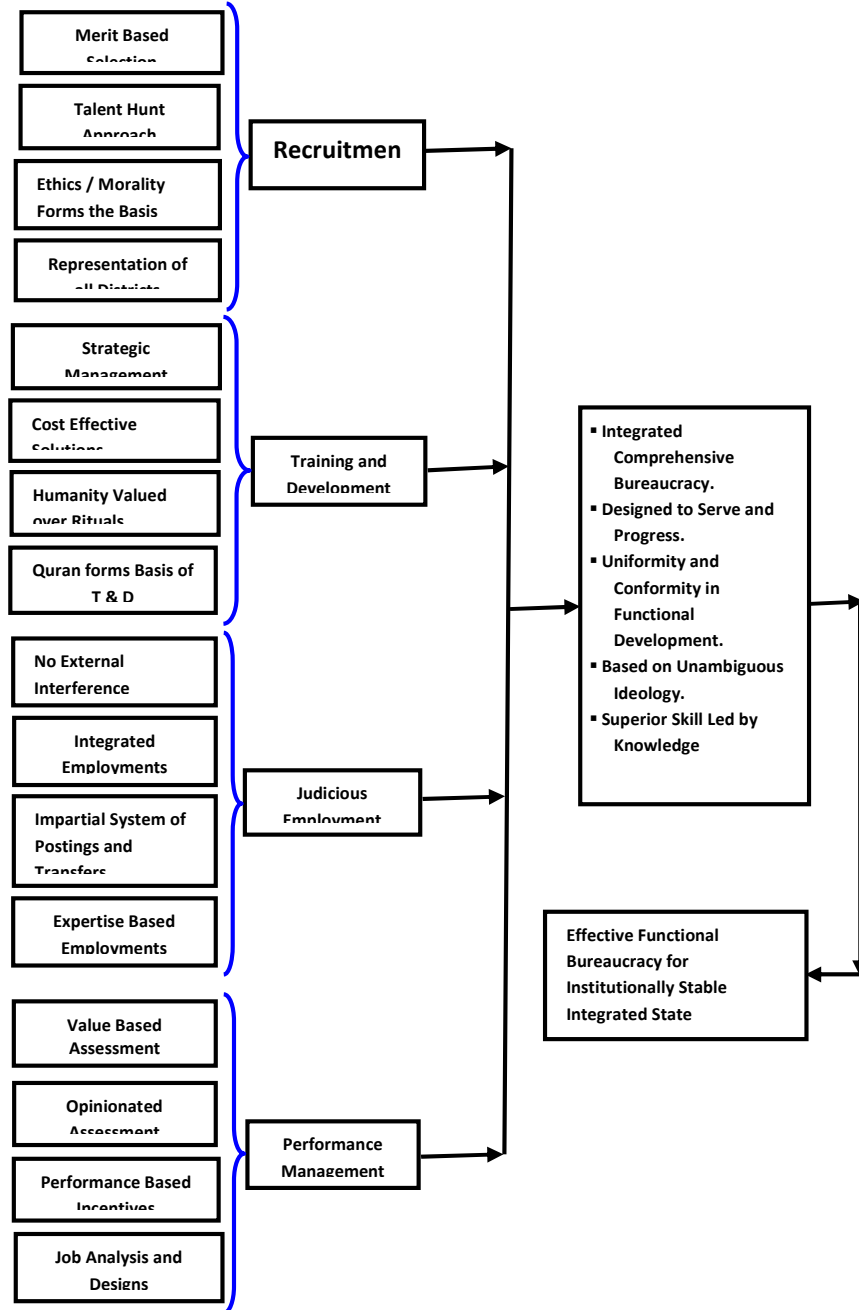
Having outlined the fundamental attributes of an integrated state system, it is easier now to put across a model for developing bureaucracy which should be able to contribute towards achievement of a sustainable system. In my view, there are three fundamental functions which a resourceful bureaucracy should perform. Firstly; long term planning for developments in view of society's future needs which term based political system cannot do. Secondly; developing concepts for judicious employment of national means so as to produce optimum with least utilization of means. Thirdly; unbiased planning for developments across the country based on independent thinking.

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Implementation of these factors is possible only with a strong faith and conviction of the day judgment.

At the time of independence, we had an impartial bureaucratic system but that turned to arrogance and intimidating; forgetting that one day they shall be answerable to somebody. So they proved to be intellectuals without sincerity of purpose so went strayed till checked by the reversals of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Consequently they were put to other corner where they lost their wisdom cum balance and became intellect-less blind order followers. The point is that how to make them useful members of the system with functional intellect. For this purpose, they need three things. Firstly; it is strong balanced education base with complete understanding of Quran, its philosophy of state system and the modern world of technology. Whereas comprehensive education base shall equip them with use of technology and management techniques, teachings of Quran shall keep them bowed to remain with the people, not above them. Second is independent environments for unbiased and free from interference planning, execution and delivery of services to the community. Thirdly; the professional pride with national spirit to serve the people not the rulers of certain political parties or groups of people.

With these fundamentals in mind, the model as shown on the next page has four basic sub-stages which include Recruitment and Selection, Training and Development, Judicious Employment and Performance Management. All these terminologies are well known to the students of modern management. The outcome of these four steps culminates at bureaucratic model of five attributes as shown in the model which contributes in creating effective bureaucracy for developing an institutionally integrated state system. For each step of the sub-stage as shown in the model, there are four strategies for planning and implementation to achieve the required impartial outcomes. These are shown in the boxes connected with sub-stage fundamentals for their subsequent linkages. Their accumulative effects culminates at the development of desired bureaucratic system. These have been briefly explained after the proposed model.



Proposed Model for Functioning of Bureaucracy in Pakistan

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Recruitment and Selection:

Whereas merit has been the issue and still so in most of the developing countries, Pakistan suffers from under and over representation of certain areas / regions in bureaucracy. The problem has been in the recruitment criteria which carries over weightage to language, appearance, manners and family background. The candidates from rural and less developed regions are at disadvantage, not on grounds of intellect rather due to non-availability of better educational institutions which did not provide them coaching for the required attributes. Therefore the need is to reappraise recruitment and selection criteria for civil servants which should rather be focused on talent hunt, values, inventing solutions, independent decision making and knowledge of our people and country. English as language should not be the criteria, talent may even be expressed in local understandings. Therefore the issue is not following the merit or undertaking merit based selections, it is rather to redesign and realign the fundamentals. We need to carry out recruitment from our people, because the present attributes, the system looks for, are alien to ourselves. Undoubtedly, all regions have intellectuals and good people, it has been the misperception to underestimate and prefer a group of people over others. The next connected issue is to recruit candidates from all the districts and regions. It should provide horizontal integration to the state system. Therefore, it is prudent to carryout recruitment and selection from all over the country giving due share to each district and even the tehsils / subdivision.

Training and Development:

Establishment of a single academy for all civil servant is essential for national integrity, cohesion and better performance. Civil Services Academy on the lines of Military Academy Kakul is the solution to re-raise the civil servants in Pakistan's bureaucracy. Joint Civil Services Academy (JCSA) should feed provincial and federal bureaucratic systems. After graduation, JCSA should provide three years rigorous education cum training to potential bureaucrats. Whereas Quran forms the basis of education, it should be taught in the light of modern knowledge and developments. Under no circumstances, its teachings should be handed over to religious clerics. Other themes as highlighted in the model include 'Humanity Valued over Rituals', 'Searching Cost Effective Solutions' and 'Strategic Management'. These are self-explanatory and encompass whole sphere of bureaucracy's functioning.

Judicious Employment:

In the suggested model above, judicious employment has been based on four fundamentals. It includes expertise based employment, impartial system of

postings and transfers, integrated tasking in different areas and functioning without external interferences. History of Pakistan's bureaucracy leading to the present state of incapacity, incompetency, corrupt practices and deficient intellect for planning to serve the people is hinged on these four factors. Initially where they had a degree of competency but suffered due to disconnect from the society for delivery of services. From 1970s onwards they lost competency due to politicization and rampant corruption so turned into worthless system. All these four fundamental requirements for successful functioning of bureaucracy in Pakistan are well know; the point is how to implement those and who would do it? The political mechanism or establishment whosoever came in power, the historical inference is that they misused the system and made it further corrupt.

So we two options; one public accountability through comparatively honest educated politicians and second Pakistan Armed Forces be asked to play a role while remaining under the democratic system. Since the system has gone worst over the years, the political honesty and sincerity shall take time when people become aware of voting for such political figures. The solution for speedy remedy is that we give three responsibilities to the Armed Forces, especially the Army. One; reorganise and redesign civil services academy and run it for five years giving feedback to public service commission for better recruitment and selection. Second; reorganize and restructure civil services staff colleges for mid-carrier and advance training and education of civil servants on the lines of their Staff College Quetta and National Defence University Islamabad respectively. They should also be asked to conduct the training and development of civil servants under Ministry of Interior for ten years. Third; performance management, carrier development, posting and transfer of bureaucrats be entrusted to Chief of Army Staff for establishing a fair system. This responsibility be given to him for five years, extendable to five more years. This is how we can revert to a system useful to the country as well as the people.

Performance Management:

The proposed model explains four paradigms of performance management. Values based assessment includes what all you are ready to return to the society. Opinionated assessment is about developing a mechanism for public accountability of the civil servants. The third factor is about extending appreciative hand to good performers and those focus on services delivery. The fourth paradigm is reappraisals of job analysis and designs in view of the technological deployments which have affected all walks of life. This has become essential for our stagnant system of organizational functioning. It appears that probably we have never carried out job analysis and design for

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our public sector employments. We are working on the systems designed by the British Bureaucracy decades ago. Implementation of these strategies would lead us, the developing democracies, towards establishing a bureaucratic system which is integrated and comprehensive. The system would emerge to serve the people, not the individuals. It shall have uniformity and conformity to the national designs and policies in functional domains. In this way, the bureaucracy emerging in next 5 - 10 years shall have unambiguous ideology based on superior skills and knowledge.

Conclusion:

The case discussed here in this article is of Pakistan's Bureaucracy which has passed through various stages of experiments, reforms and restructuring. Unfortunately, the efforts did not work because these were not in line with the intentions. It is like you plan and do something whereas you intend achieving something else. You will never achieve either. The case study is equally applicable to other democracies of the developing world which are almost passing through the similar / same system.

However, it needs further two studies on 'Implementation of Proposed Model' and 'Restructuring Pakistan's Bureaucracy'. Pakistan's bureaucratic system needs not only detailed job analysis and design but a comprehensive restructuring to make it aligned with modern management and functioning of organizations under ever facilitating technological developments / innovations.

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