

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDIAN AND SOVIET  
BUREAUCRACIES SINCE 1945 :  
A SURVEY OF SOURCE MATERIALS**

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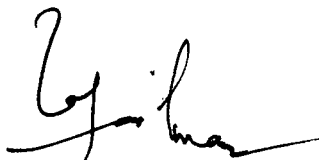
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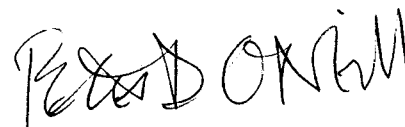
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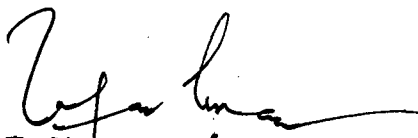
The research embodied in this paper has been carried out in the School of International Studies, at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The work is original and has not been submitted so far, in part or in full for any other degree or diploma of any University.



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Peter D. O'Neill,  
New Delhi, 1976.



## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to examine whether there are any positive or negative elements common to the Soviet and Indian systems of administration which can be usefully studied on a comparative basis to the advantage of both systems.

In order to assess such a research project, of key importance is the availability of source materials on the history, working, and successes and failures of both administrations. This paper is therefore largely a bibliographical survey of such material, or the lack of it.

The period 1945 to the present day covers most modern material on the subject particularly for the Soviet Union and Independent India. However the author has felt it necessary to reinforce the bibliography by devoting the first two chapters to historical antecedents of both administrations. This is of particular importance for the British legacy in India.

This is followed by a survey of Soviet material for the post-1917 period but in fact most work occurs after 1945. The fourth chapter considers the post-Independence period in India. The concluding chapter

scans the shortcomings in material available, offers an assessment of the problems of research and also possible comparative areas which could be usefully studied.

The bibliographical sections at the end are of course the main fruit of the dissertation and they cover Indian, Soviet, general and methodological materials.

The idea of investigating comparative aspects of Indian and Soviet literature has stemmed from the author's presence in India for the last two years and an association with Soviet studies over the last ten years.

This association has included several visits to the Soviet Union. The first two were student delegation visits of three weeks each in 1967 and 1969. The third was a one-year British Council Scholarship at Moscow State University in 1969-70. The latter was during a first degree joint honours course which included Russian language and Soviet studies at the Modern Languages Centre at the University of Bradford.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS (RUSSIAN -- SOVIET)

Even a society which came into existence as abruptly as Soviet society cannot regard itself as totally bereft of the features which characterised it before the Revolution.

While there was immense upheaval, new ideas and systems of control of administration flourished, there was considerable continuity in the affairs of men in the newly-governed state which formally ended its ties with monarchy with the assassination of the Tsar and his family.

However, the machinery of war, because of the first World War, continued, diplomacy continued and ended in considerable forfeits of territories to the Germans in spite of Trotsky's interesting new gambit of "no peace, no war." Civil war disrupted the organisation of food supplies and industry on the home front and imposed on the administration the burden of feeding the population. Lenin was soon forced to reinstate many of the managers and officials who had been swept out in the first flush of the Revolution.

Russia's isolation from the rest of the world was seen during the Tsarist period by the attitude to the foreigner and the employment of specialists to

help innovate or extend various sectors of the economy, or industry. A brief survey presented elsewhere by this author seems to indicate this has also been a feature of the Soviet experience. (1) Foreign specialists were invited in during the early years although during the Stalin period the isolation of Russia became in some ways as great as during the early periods of the Tsars. In recent years the Soviet Union has again come to rely on foreign specialists particularly for turnkey products but nevertheless it is still not a society freely open to foreigners.

Peter the Great took great pains to borrow ideas from abroad and to bring foreigners into Russia although they were never integrated and the Germans eventually had their own enclave outside St Petersburg after conflict within the city had caused them to move out. Wright Miller, in his, Who are the Russians? tells us how Peter studied the Swedish and German systems of administration and set up ten colleges on the Swedish model, basically ministerial departments, to deal with various social, political and economic requirements.

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(1) "The 'Specialist' and the 'Foreigner' : An Aspect of Economic Development, 1917-1931." Term paper presented at the S.I.S., J.N.U. (1975).

Peter had a great respect for the self-discipline of the Protestant peoples, and he was constantly trying to inject it into the easy-going Russians. The civil service of some German states already had a reputation for probity and conscientiousness and Peter now persuaded hundreds of Germans and a number of Swedes to serve in his administration. This was the beginning of the love-hate relationship with German Ordnung and with austere stiff-necked Germans, which lasted all through the Tsarist period. (In fact Lenin's plans for the first Bolshevik administration were drawn up on the model of the Imperial German administration during the First World War). (2)

While personnel may have changed, the Okhrana of the Tsars -- its secret police who imprisoned not just revolutionaries but also many of the leaders and writers of the liberal movements -- continued in the Cheka for the Soviets.

The Soviet Union has today become a large industrialised state in many important sectors. However a large part of its population is still closely linked to the countryside. Food production remains one of the most important factors in political life in the country.

The writer of this paper has been unable to locate, to date, any specific works which trace the continuing aspects of the administration from the Tsarist period through to the administration of the Soviet Union today. There are however a number of indirect

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(2) Miller, Wright, Who are the Russians : A History of the Russian People, Faber and Faber (London, 1973). p.74-75.

sources such as encyclopaedia and passing references in various books devoted to the later period. (3)

It would be wrong however to simply presume that there was a continuous flow of institutions from the Tsarist period. The processes of nationalisation, collectivisation, and development of heavy industry at the cost of the consumer, must all have had profound effects on the life of the country.

Furthermore the Russian element of the Soviet Union has had to expand its administrative network to cater for the pressures which arose by involvement after the Second World War in various foreign territories to which Soviet influence was extended.

Because of the lack of scientific studies in this field it is not possible to draw any specific conclusions here. But it may be useful to refer back to the issue of the foreign specialist in the Russian and Soviet economies.

It is interesting to note that throughout Russian and Soviet economic development, at least from Peter the Great onwards, the need or desire to bring in foreign

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(3) Among these one could include, Kochan, Lionel, The Making of Modern Russia, Pelican (London, 1962); Nove, Alec, An Economic History of the U.S.S.R., Pelican, (London, 1972); Carr, E.H., and Davies, R.W., Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926-1929, Macmillan (London, 1969). Vol. II.

know-how seems to have posed a constant problem of social readjustment.

This may perhaps be attributed to the Russian character and attitude towards foreigners. Or it may also be attributed to the similar characteristics of both Tsarist and Soviet regimes. They have both been autocratic in terms of decision-making, whether by rule from a central figure or centralised party control.

Peter the Great, Wright Miller suggests, was counteracted in his efforts by the sheer weight of the inefficiency which existed below him. This is not true of the later Tsars as the administrative system developed and we find that men like Peter Stolypin, who introduced radical land reforms in the decade before the 1917 Revolution was a man of considerable talent. He had been, as far as the Tsar was concerned a successful Governor, and after a spell as Interior Minister, retained that post and became the Tsar's Prime Minister. However the Basic power structure was still one of autocratic central rule.

The author is not attempting in this paper to offer hard evidence that there are important and significant links between the pre-and post-revolutionary societies. But he suggests that such study would produce not only a number of significant elements common to both periods but also elements peculiar to the very

nature of Russian society at least, if not also to many of the other national groupings of which the Soviet Union is now composed.



CHAPTER II  
HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS  
( BRITISH-INDIAN )

In contrast to research on the Tsarist-Soviet period in this field there seems to be a plethora of material on the past and present for the India of the British Raj and the Republic.

Before examining this material it would be useful to offer a viewpoint to the reader which comes from an authoritative source and encapsulates the link between the past and present and the problems that exist for the administration in India today.

In his address at the annual meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) in 1974 the President of the Institute, G.S. Pathak, formerly Vice President of India, had the following to say:

In our constitutional set-up public administration occupies a unique position. In the welfare state there is hardly any aspect of civic life which does not come into contact with public administration. When activity of an individual has to be regulated in the interest of the common weal, administrative Law and Rules assume great importance. What should be the equipment of the administrator and what should be the pattern of his behaviour are matters of deep concern. Moreover, in a democratic society which is passing through rapid changes of great magnitude, new problems arise. Public administration has to adapt itself to new conditions and must possess sufficient elasticity and strength to meet new

challenges. All this requires close study of social changes in the country and also of the problems thrown up by these changes to provide effective answers in the administrative field. Growing political consciousness among the people, the impact of modern science and technology on human affairs and the necessity to satisfy the needs and demands of the people require a new orientation to the education and training of the administrator. That he holds a key position in the economic life of the nation is clear from the fact that without efficient administration, the developmental process loses all significance.

In essential particulars, the government machinery has continued unchanged since we inherited it from British times. No doubt some changes have been introduced as a result of the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission. But in the main, the system has remained unaltered and enough does not seem to have been done. The common man wants speedy action and quick disposal of his case.

Corruption has been a universal complaint. It is not a new malady. There are laws which punish corruption. But has it diminished? This matter deserves serious and earnest study. Why cannot this blot be removed from public administration? The present conditions make demands of an unprecedented character on the administrator in some spheres. Political agitations sometimes becomes violent and magistrates and police personnel receive injuries. They have to control huge crowds and make instant decisions on the spot. Strikes disturb public life and result in heavy financial losses to the nation.

A deep study into the causes and cures seems to be urgently called for. The authorities concerned may consider the possibility of creating such conditions as may help the solution of this problem.

Administration in public undertakings and in Universities and other educational institutions require constant attention. The former has a vital effect on production and economic progress; the latter is directly affecting the nation-building process so important for the future of the country. Special attention has to be given to the rural areas where bulk of our population lives. Public administration should be so oriented as to solve the peculiar problems of these areas.

The civil servant is put to real test during periods of emergency, economic depression and social upheaval. Changes in the government do not affect his efficiency and he must continue to discharge his duties and serve the people in complete disregard of the political changes around him. He never takes sides in politics. He is always neutral. High standard of impartiality, courtesy and consideration for the citizens' rights, equal treatment for all persons, irrespective of social and economic considerations must be his watchword. This alone can ensure confidence in public administration and mutual cooperation between the civil servant and the citizen, so essential for good government. Article 40 of our constitution enjoins the State to take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of the self-government. This appears in line with the thinking of those who hold that planning must start from below. Unfortunately Panchayati Raj has not succeeded in the manner envisioned in the Constitution. (4)

There are a number of excellent bibliographies available on all aspects of the Administration in India. But in this paper the underlying effort has been to compile a bibliography which deals with the administrator and how he influences society and how it affects him. For example there are a large number of British biographical works but only a small number of these have been incorporated for their relevance.

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(4) Report of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual meeting of the General Body held on 29th October, 1974, Indian Institute of Public Administration (New Delhi, 1974).

An important bibliographical source is Bernard S. Cohn's The Development and Impact of British Administration in India. (5)

In addition two other useful sources are available to the student, both from the IIPA, like the Cohn bibliography. One is V.A. Pai Panandiker's A Bibliography of Public Administration in India, the Central and State Governments. (6)

Another is R.N. Sharma's Indian Administration. (7)

The Indian Council of Social Science Research Study: A Survey of Research in Public Administration in two volumes cannot be underrated as a bibliography of source materials. It is a major work of compilation and produced as late as 1973 (Vol. 1) and 1975 (Vol. 2) by Allied Publishers, New Delhi, it brings us reasonably up to date in this field in India.

The author makes no attempt to directly incorporate the relevant ICSSR bibliographies in his own at the end of this essay. It is sufficient to point out to the student that this is a reference book which must be consulted.

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- (5) Cohn, Bernard S., The Development and Impact of British Administration in India, IIPA, (New Delhi, 1961).
- (6) Pai Panandiker V.A., A Bibliographic Essay, IIPA, (New Delhi, 1961).
- (7) Sharma, R.N., Indian Administration, IIPA Bibliography series No.3 (1973).

In addition this author has already borrowed heavily from works of several of the contributors to this two volume survey including, V.A. Pai Panandikar who is an editor of the survey and C.P. Bhambri whose work has been mentioned in this essay with reference to the textbook section.

Every area seems to be covered by the survey but it would be useful to point out in Vol.1, Chapter 2, the section by S.P. Aiyar on Politics and Administration and Panandikar's Public Personnel Administration in Chapter 11.

Each of these sections has a specific and very large bibliography attached to it which should be closely used by a student when a particular area has been specified for further research.

Iqbal Narain and Bhambri in Vol.2 take us further with their Chapter 4 on Administration and Politics, A Trend Report.

ICSSR also gives an interesting section of the Administration of Public Enterprises (including Project Planning) in Chapter 11 of Vol.2 by H.K. Paranjape.

One criticism which may be levelled against the ICSSR contribution in this field is that it does not devote over much space to the training, selection, recruitment and deployment of personnel which would seem to this author to be a key area of concern in administration.

True there are sub-sections in the chapters of a number of contributors such as the question in Vol.2 of Specialist vs Generalist Administrator, Chapter 1, page 9 and 17, Training, by V.R. Gaikwad. Panandikar in volume 2, Chapter 12, gives us a one page Overview of Present Training. This is concerned largely with research methodology, as indeed the chapter is entitled Research Methodology in Public Administration.

At the end of this paper the author has drawn up an extensive bibliography separated into areas compiled from these sources in an attempt to offer works on which future research might be based.

However, at this stage the author wishes to take the reader through some of the books selected by Cohn in his bibliography and he must express full attribution to Cohn for the survey which follows. It is a survey which the author could not improve on.

The detail for earlier years of administration which Sharma and Panandikar cover are of much interest but it is generally only the later part of their bibliographies which the author has thought useful to include for the present aim.

Cohn attributes considerable importance to the Mughal influence on later British administration under the East India Company. He stresses that in fact the British did not really bring a whole administrative

system with them but borrowed heavily from the earlier invaders who of course had a much more sophisticated civilisation at work before the British.

It is often forgotten in the twentieth century that the British in the eighteenth century had little experience in governing a colony such as India. Although by the eighteenth century some of the basic legislative framework of Great Britain had been formed, there was little the British in India could draw on from the home country in the way of administrative experience. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when they began to develop an administrative system for India, they drew from the only model at hand, the Mughal administrative system. The Mughal administrative system was a gradual development which reached its fullest development under Akbar (1556-1605), who, drawing heavily on Sher Shah's (1538-45) ideas and innovations, established the basic pattern of administration which the British adopted and of which traces can still be found.

The British not only borrowed heavily the structure of the system, but to some extent took over the feeling and tone of the Mughal administration -- a mixture of great pomp and show, and combined benevolent and despotic interest in India long before it was thought of for England, and part of this development was borrowed from the Mughals. There was almost a two hundred year lag, though, from the high-point of Mughal administrative development until the British began seriously to concern themselves with large-scale Indian administration.

There was no civil service in the Mughal or British sense. However, in such states as the Marathas took over they maintained some of the trappings of the Mughal administration, so that throughout the northern and central part of India, even under the eighteenth century successor states, there was a shadow of Mughal administrative practice and theory.

After some of the British learned Persian and were able to read the Mughal histories, Royal biographies, and administrative records, the Mughal administration became the basis for their own. (8)

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(8) Cohn, op. cit., p.7.

## THE BRITISH BUILD BEYOND THE MOGHULS

### Point of View

Cohn says that Works by Temple, Chesney, Strachey and Charley "all present detailed descriptions of the structure and functioning of the administration in India at the end of the nineteenth century" with emphasis on structure and theory and what the authors perceived as the "benefits" : regularity, concern with general public welfare, impartiality and the development of well ordered channels for decision-making. This is a view from the inside by the administrators and conveys little perception of how the people being administered felt about the administration. They paid little attention to how the system actually functioned as opposed to how it was supposed to function.

### Administration Building

The real establishment and early development of the administration begins with Clive for Cohn. But he gives Warren Hastings pride of place under his Governor Generalship. This showed a clear mandate from both the owners of the East India Company and Parliament for the servants of the company in India to develop a system of administration. Incorruptibility and systematization he attributes to Lord Cornwallis although he says many were



opposed to his system based on the Whig philosophy of government.

It was with Governor General Wellesley that the problem of training civil servants came to the fore and a change in attitude from merchants to proconsuls ruling the country. He established the college at Fort William, Addescombe, and was instrumental in producing some of the great administrators of India. The college at Haileybury in England is also singled out for attention by Cohn for its influence on a body of new administrators from a common background.

Cohn also suggests there is a shortage of material on Munro's efforts to introduce the Madras system against the Cornwallis one under which the latter excluded the Indian from the civil service.

#### Bentinck a New Era

For Cohn, Bentinck's Governor Generalship is to be regarded as the beginning of a new era in the British administration of India, because of its innovations and reforms and a new involvement rather than simply supervision of the nation.

#### The Men

Cohn's own words can hardly be improved for a comment on this whole period:

Although Clive was the first of the English to plan and to think seriously about the government of the newly acquired territories in Bengal, it was not until Warren Hastings' Governor Generalship that there was a clear mandate from both the owners of the East India Company and Parliament for the servants of the Company in India to develop a system of administration. (9)

Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General from 1786 to 1793, was sent by the owners of the East India Company to put the administration on a systematic and uncorruptible footing. The basic decisions which Cornwallis made shaped the administration well into the 1830's. Even though by 1813 there was a strong body of opinion against the Cornwallis system, as evidenced by the Fifth Report, it continued to dominate the administration in the Bengal Presidency until the time of Lord William Bentinck. Cornwallis brought to India the English Whig Philosophy of government. It had as its central belief the Whig conviction that political power is essentially corrupting and inevitably abused; that power, to be exercised with safety, must be reduced to a minimum and even then kept divided and counter-balanced. Cornwallis sought to reduce the function of government to the bare task of ensuring the security of person and property. Cornwallis' name is closely linked with the idea that Indians, through inherent dishonesty and slothfulness, were incapable of being administrators. He established that except for the lowest ranks officers were to be British. There is an excellent monograph on Cornwallis' administration by A. Aspinall, Cornwallis in Bengal. Forrest has collected and published the major official documents of Cornwallis' Governor-Generalship and Ross has edited Cornwallis' Private Correspondence. Thus the reader has available to him some of the basic source material on Cornwallis in published form. The basic criticisms of Cornwallis' system can be found in the Fifth Report of 1812. (10)

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(9) *ibid*, p.13.

(10) *ibid*, p.14.

Some of the esprit de corps which characterized British administrators in India in the middle of the nineteenth century owed its inception to Wellesley (Governor General 1798-1805). He was the first of the Governors-General to give concerted attention to the problem of training civil servants and to recognize that the men who ruled India were no longer merchants, but proconsuls.

There is an excellent study of Wellesley's administration by P.E. Roberts, *India under Wellesley*. The basic official documents can be found in the five volumes of Wellesley Despatches, and in Sidney Owen, ed., Selections from Wellesley's Despatches. There is little on the college at Fort William other than Thomas Roebuck's, Annals of the College of Fort William, which gives the important official papers, the establishment and structure of the college, class lists, and speeches made at various commencements up to 1811. Dr. R.C. Majumdar, in an article, in Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVII, 1948, has discussed the relation of the college at Fort William to the development of historical, linguistic, and geographical studies in Bengal as a result of the employment of pandits on the staff and of giving prizes for historical and geographical works in Bengali. On Haileybury there is a good deal, since it was in existence for a much longer period. Monier-Williams and others, Memorials of old Haileybury, is an "old boy" salute which contains important anecdotal materials as well as a list of the graduates and brief biographies of the faculty. The faculty at Haileybury was a distinguished one: T.R. Malthus, W. Empson, Sir James Stephens, among others, were associated with the college, and its faculty was in the forefront of the intellectual developments of the period. The careers of the leading members of the faculty can be traced in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Haileybury provided a common background for the civil servants and gave them strong bonds to one another for a period of fifty years. The best brief account of Haileybury, its curriculum and its effects is in H. Morse Stephens (of the ubiquitous Stephens family), "an account of the

East India College at Haileybury", in Abott Lawrence Lowell, Colonial Civil Service. The majority of the civil servants passed through Haileybury. All were exposed to the same teachings, acquired similar sets of values, and became part of a peer group, their fellow students, with whom they would work throughout their lives. Some idea of what Haileybury was like can be gotten from some of the memoirs of officials, particularly from the relevant sections in George Campbell's memoirs and in H.G. Keene, A Servant of John Company. Not only was Keene a student at Haileybury, but part of his boyhood was spent on the campus of the college, since his father was on the faculty. There are discussions of the benefits and demerits of Haileybury in the parliamentary investigations of the East India Company in 1832 and 1852 and there is able defence of Haileybury by T.R. Malthus in A Letter to the Rt. Honourable Lord Grenville, 1813, and in "Statements Respecting the East India College", the Pamphleteer, Vol.9, 1817, p.470-522. (11)

Neither Bradshaw's, Sir Thomas Munro in the "Rulers of India" series nor Krishnaswami's, Tom Munro Sahib do justice to Munro's innovations, his fight for the Madras system of administration. Munro, as well some other early nineteenth century administrators, felt that the Cornwallis system was disastrous, because it excluded Indians from the administration and put too much emphasis on formalities and not enough on the character and ability of individual officers. There is no recent biography of Munro. (12)

Bentinck's Governor-Generalship (1828-1835) is rightly looked upon as the beginning of a new era in the British administration of India; in Bentinck's reform and innovations many forces which had been working since the end of the eighteenth century combined to put the administration of India on the road to being a direct and conscious innovator in the life of India, rather than being merely (as in the previous conception of the administration) a regulating, tax-collecting, and conserving force. There is a brief life of Bentinck by Boulger in the "Rulers of India" series. Stokes' English Utilitarians and India

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(11) *ibid*, p.16-17.

(12) *ibid*, p.18.

brilliantly covers the influence of utilitarian philosophy on administrative reforms in India under Bentinck and in the period immediately following him. Earlier discussions of Bentinck and utilitarianism are found in Spear, "Bentinck and Education", Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, 1938, and "Lord William Bentinck", Journal of Indian History, XIX, 1940; Ballhatchet, "The Home Government and Bentinck's Educational Policy", Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. X, 1951; and George Bierce, "Lord William Bentinck: The Application of Liberalism to India", Journal of Modern History, XXVIII, September, 1956. (13)

### Imperial Alienation?

Cohn regrets that in the period up to 1857 there was too little critical work done on the administration, largely because those who wrote about it perhaps worked in it.

This produced a smugness and estrangement he suggests but there were also a number of case histories which give penetrating insights.

The dominant tone of a writer such as Sir John Kaye is one of restrained self-congratulation and admiration. As the Victorian period continued in England, this attitude turned to one of smugness and progressive estrangement, not from India generally, but from middle class educated Indians.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, there has been a minor tradition in writing on the British in India. Some writers did not see the British administration as bringing law, order, and progress to the Indian masses, but saw in the effects of the British administration the seeds of the destruction of Indian society. In their view the scheming, corruption,

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(13) *ibid*, p.20.

and cunning were the results of the British administration rather than the expression of some underlying character trait. Panchkouree Khan, Revelations of an Orderly, was apparently written by George Wyatt, an Anglo-Indian uncovenanted servant, who served from 1841 to 1852 in Benares district as deputy collector and deputy magistrate. This work is an expose of the corruption of Indian officials at the district level, from head clerks down to peons, and a delineation of the stupidity of British officials and their regulations. A more balanced yet not overly favourable view of the revenue administration in Upper India is found in Charles Raikes, Notes on the Northwestern Provinces. A real insight into the functioning of the administration and the life of administrators can be found in some of the unofficial and semi-official guidebooks for officers which were produced in the early nineteenth century. The best is Captain Thomas Williamson's East India Vade Mecum or Complete Guide to Gentlemen, intended for the civil, military or naval service, printed in London in 1810. Williamson discusses what type of kit to bring to India, how to hire servants, how to select a mistress, the importance of letters of introduction, the best ways to stay out of debt, and how to learn the language, as well as more formal aspects of the new company's servant's job. (14)

#### Bentinck's New Era Expanded

Cohn then takes as his watershed Bentinck's Governor Generalship. He suggests this was the turning point when the East India Company was finally abolished and the Crown took over direct responsibility for India. Here the change from appointment by patronage to open

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(14) *ibid*, p.22.23

competition is an aspect of much interest to the student of today in this field. Haileybury was abolished four years after the civil service was started in 1854 and the use of Oxford and Cambridge education was also introduced.

This was a time when the basic provincial patterns were established in most areas. While the arm of the government expanded to many sectors indigenous discontentment grew in the late nineteenth century.

The Suez Canal and direct telegraphic communication from London made for greater proximity between ruler and empire. The Viceroy was more subject to control from London and so a cleavage developed, Cohn suggests, between the Centre and the civil servants who spent their careers in one province.

"The lieutenant governor and his advisor and the departments which grew up in the provincial capitals tended to be the focus of interest for the administrators, so that provincial history and provincial administration came back into their own, in the late Victorian period." (15)

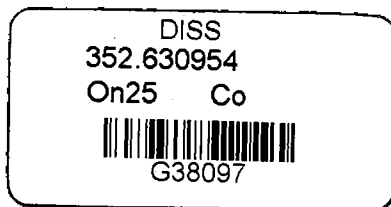
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As already stated, Cohn finds a lack of material on the person of relatively low status but picks out

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(15) *ibid*, p.29.



From Sepoy to Subadaga by Sita Ram. This he says "contains much of great interest on the British military and civilian administration and is one of the few things available which gives the view of a relatively low status person." (16)

Cohn admirably sums up the situation on material after 1840 in his section on The Administration: London and Imperial Policy:

After 1840 the tendency in England and to a lesser extent in India was to view events and policies almost as something apart from general developments in Great Britain. Writers on India in the twentieth century continually complain that there is little interest in serious works on India among the general British public. Interest in India appears to have been limited to returned civil and military servants and to those few in government and politics who were directly concerned with India. Books were and are written about the Empire and the Commonwealth which barely mention India, but which tend to concentrate on the 'White' colonies. Although there are excellent works on the relation of English politics to India and the East India Company in the eighteenth century, and good studies of the East India Company in London until 1834, there are no good works on political battles in England concerning India after this period, except for a brief study on the administration in London by Malcolm C.C. Seton, The India Office. Except as part of biographical studies of some of the Governors-General or Secretaries of State for India, the problems of the structure and functioning of the Council of India, and of the development of policy, are untouched. In Strachey's work, India Its Administration and Progress, there is a brief account of the Home Government. (17)

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(16) *ibid*, p.32

(17) *ibid*, p.32



Indianisation or Rule by Assimilation?

Cohn also stresses his assessment of the importance of Bentinck for the administration's development in the following way:

Bentinck's name is also associated with the re-introduction of Indian into responsible positions in the administration, with the creation of the post of deputy collector and the upgrading in pay and status of the judicial officers, amins and sadr amins, to the point where these officers adjudicated most of the litigation at the district level. Unfortunately, none of the studies of the administration deals extensively with the Indians who began to join the service at this point or those who were found in the service before this. Ghosal's, Indian Administration Under the East India Company and Misra's, Central Administration discuss the formal arrangements affecting lower civil servants and the formal requirements of recruitment, but there is no sociological study of this important aspect of the administration. R.N. Nagar has dealt with revenue officials in the North Western provinces during this period in a series of brief articles: "The Subordinate Services in the Revenue Administration of the North Western Provinces, 1801-1833", Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol.XV, part 2; "The Kanungo in the N.W.P.", Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol.XVIII, 1942; "The Tashildar in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces 1801-1833", Uttar Pradesh Historical Quarterly, Vol.II (N.S.), part 1, 1954 and "Employment of Indians in the Revenue Administration of the N.W.P. 1801-1833", Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. III, part 2, 1924, p.205 and following. There is an account of the recruitment of Indians into the lower civil service in Benares at the beginning of British rule and the effects which British rule had on the Benares region, by Bernard S. Cohn in the August 1960, issue of the Journal of Asian Studies. (18)

In his survey on British Imperial policy there is little to interest us within the aims of this paper except to mention A.P. Thornton, The Imperial Idea and Its enemies. Cohn stresses "there is no study of the relationship of India, Indians and the administrative policies which evolved in India and in the rest of the British Empire."

He says however that Hugh Tinker, in a brief article "1857 and 1957: The Mutiny and Modern India", International Affairs, Vol. XXXIV, 1958, suggests that the antagonism between British and Indians in India after the Indian war of Independence overshadowed the substantial cooperation between the two people. In the Empire, especially in East and Central Africa and in Southeast Asia, a real partnership both administrative and commercial, developed between the two peoples. (19)

#### The Law

Cohn on "The Administration: Law Making and Law Enforcing"; this is of only indirect interest to us in this paper. But the backlog of cases which grew up and put pressure on the administration as a whole is of significance. In addition Cohn says there was "the over-technicality of the Land Revenue Regulations the

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(19) *ibid*, p.33-34.

prevalence of the use of perjury and false evidence the vagueness of the Hindu and Muslim Law, the strangeness of the procedure of the courts for the litigants, the lack of training of the judges, the use of an alien language in the courts, the susceptibility to bribery of the lower court officials, the high cost of litigation, the furthering of litigation by lawyers and other interested parties, the failure of the Muslim criminal law to recognise certain crimes, and the distance of the courts from the litigants. The British were never able to solve the bulk of these faults of the legal system, and each reform which was brought in over the next one hundred years tended only to exacerbate the situation."

(20)

#### Social Reform

Cohn touches on certain social practices such as infanticide sati, and thagi, all of which involved the local official in his day to day work.

#### Feeding the Nation

Food for the nation today is a major factor of political decision-making and bureaucratic activity. So too then, but the emphasis was perhaps on famine as

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(20) *ibid*, p.35.

a thing to be contained or warded off. From the time of the Mughals, Cohn tells us there are good records.

He suggests:

At least for the latter part of the nineteenth century, materials are easily available in the famine inquiry commission reports of 1867, 1874, 1878, 1880-85, 1898, 1902 and 1945. These, particularly the reports of 1880-85, have a great wealth of material on the social and economic conditions of the time. Loveday, History and Economics of Indian Famines, is a good starting point. W.W. Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, describes the famine of 1872-73 in Bengal, its effect on the Bengal economy, and its relation to the decision to settle permanently the revenue of Bengal; it is still one of the outstanding works in the field. Kali Charan Ghosh, Famines in Bengal, discusses all the major famines from 1772 to 1943. The following contain first-hand accounts of late nineteenth century famines and British attempts to control them: William Digby, The Famine Campaign in Southern India, Shafton, A Tour Through the Famine Districts of India, and Nash, The Great Famine and its Causes. There is a good deal in the memoir literature about famine and British policy and practices to control famine. Particularly worthwhile are parts of George Campbell, Memoirs: Machonochie, life in the Indian Civil Service, and W.H. Horne, Work and Sport in the Old I.C.S. By the twentieth century, due to the development of railways, the spread of irrigation facilities, the existence of a regular system of notification of famine conditions, and the establishment of a famine relief programme, large scale famine became a thing of the past, except for the tragedy in 1943, when, because of administrative ineptness, dislocation in the transportation system and the cutting off of the supply of Burmese rice, Bengal was wracked by a devastating famine. T.K. Ghosh, The Bengal Tragedy, gives an Indian view of the famine. The official famine inquiry report of 1945 is a monumental study which digs into the whole background of the famine and discusses the relation of such things as land tenure to the famine as well as its more direct causes. Bhawani Bhattacharya's, He Who Rides

a Tiger, is a fictional account of the famine and illustrates how the social dislocation of a famine can be used by individuals; in this case, a low caste man passed as a holy man after the famine. The development of famine control policy is discussed in most of the standard works on late nineteenth and early twentieth century administration, by Strachey, Chesney and Chailley. The structure of the policies can be seen in the Famine Codes of Madras (1905), Bombay (1912), and the Punjab (1906). (21)

What is perhaps most significant is that even 100 years later, India can still face enormous problems of drought and flood which threaten actual famine or near famine. The year 1974 was a case in point. Although the Central Government only talked about pockets of "food scarcity" there were many on the spot reports particularly from regions like Assam, of real cases of death from famine.

Cohn suggests that the development of the public health services has not been adequately studied. This would be of interest in comparing the problems of medicine in far flung parts of India and Soviet areas, and population increase or distribution.

#### Education in General

The general background of educational opportunity is important for shaping the framework of future candidates for the administration. Their specialised training

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(21) *ibid*, p.46-47.

will be another matter. There is an extensive general literature on Indian education and the efforts of the British government to shape it and of course the cachet of British education, particularly higher education, is still extremely important for social prestige or advancement.

Cohn's picks out McCully's "English Education and the Origin of Indian Nationalism" documenting as it does the important relationship between education and the emergence of new classes. (22)

#### Cohn Concludes

Cohn's bibliography is an assessment on the British impact on India and in his conclusions he says there have been several notable attempts to evaluate the effects of British rule in India and suggests the best is O'Malley's, (editor), Modern India and the West:

O'Malley contributed a long historical survey and evaluative chapter to this work, as well as more specialized sections. It contains sections on literature, education, the role of women, tribes, the social system, economics, transportation, philosophy, and the impact of India on the West.

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(22) *ibid*, p.48.

But his opinion is that it fails in the final analysis because "it does not come to grip with Indians; rather it is concerned with India." (23)

Even though the British contribution to modern India is marked with regard to the form of its government, its educational system, its political life and ideas, its economic life and organization, and even its face, as seen in its railways, architecture, and canals, an understanding of the British impact must be found in Indians themselves. Other works, such as Sir Percival Griffiths the British Impact on India, and H.G. Rawlinson, British Contributions to India, are not as successful as the O'Malley work. They are attempts to vindicate the British connection rather than to make a true evaluation of the effects of the British. Attempts by Indians to make general surveys of the British impact have not been too successful either. The most famous general work, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, A Cultural History of India During the British Period, is a good solid job, but does not go much beyond a straight history of the British period. A.R. Desai, The Social Background of Indian Nationalism, is an attempt to describe and assess the changes in Indian social structure brought about by the British. It is marred by an overdose of Marxist philosophy. B.B. Misra has in press A Study of the Rise of the Middle Class in India, which it is hoped will fill an important need. (24)

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(23) *ibid*, p.48.

(24) *ibid*, p.55

For Cohn the biographical work or the 'auto-biography assumes importance in getting to know the India of Indians. His premise, and it seems a valid one to this author, is that while the fabric of buildings may tell us about the works of men they do not really take us into their minds. Cohn says:

Jawaharlal Nehru's Discovery of India, discusses the British connection with India in its later sections. On the whole, taking into account the fact that a good deal of it was written while Nehru was in British jail for his nationalist activities, it is remarkably balanced. Its importance, however, lies mainly in its author. It is in autobiographies and fiction that the reader begins to approach an understanding of the impact of the British on Indians. Dorothy M. Spencer, Indian Fiction in English, has an excellent listing, not only of novels, but also of autobiographies in which the intellectual and social small town life, in which the stress and strains of the changing society can be seen. Ruth P. Jhabvala, A Pole Married to an Indian, has written several interesting novels about the upper class of Delhi; although Jhabvala's books do not pretend to be anything more than mild satires on a very limited class, they convey some of the feeling tone of what sociologists rather pompously call the "westernized elite". A brief essay by Edward Shils, "The Culture of the Indian Intellectual", The Sewanee Review, April-July, 1959, is a fine description and analysis of the origin and content of the life of the intellectual. (25)

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(25) *ibid*, p.55.



In conclusion

In assessing the bibliography which Cohn gives us it is clear that there are well defined areas on the Administration where material is available to show us the continuum between the British past and the present running of the country. What it does highlight more than anything else for this author is the paucity of material which is available on the Soviet side for at least the pre-revolutionary period.

It might be after all that the Soviet Russian of today is far closer to what went before him. While the great machinery which is the modern Soviet state certainly did not exist under the Tsars certainly the institutions of the Russia of pre-1917, the people and the problems of food and development did.

However the last word in this section must go to Cohn:

As has been implied throughout this essay, there is not one British impact on India, and a general description and evaluation is almost impossible. There are many impacts and there are many Indias which were affected. Often the major changes which came in India were the result of unanticipated consequences of British action; often the results are clear and the processes obscure; often processes or policies which would be expected to have had the greatest impact had no apparent result. One thing is clear, a new civilisation is emerging. It is related to the civilisation which developed and changed over three thousand years of recorded history in the Indian subcontinent; but a very different one would have emerged if the British

had not been the paramount political power for 150 years. The changes intentionally or unintentionally brought by the British are now part of the fabric of the emerging civilisation.  
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(26) *ibid*, p.55.

CHAPTER III  
THE POST-1947 PERIOD OF INDIAN  
ADMINISTRATION

General Sources

The student wishing to acquaint himself with this period need be at no loss for material with which to understand the structure and basic principles which lie behind the public administration system of India. There are many textbooks, among them C.P. Bhambri's popular and workable, Public Administration: Theory and Practice. General works and textbooks are catalogued in the bibliography at the back.

As far as the Indian area of any comparative study with the Soviet Union is concerned, the student must also make use of reports of the various cases undertaken either by the Central Bureau of Investigation or the Central Vigilance Commission. Even if details of investigation are not available then certainly the decisions on retirement, transfer or punishment of officers are.

In addition there is a useful report which should perhaps be made available by the authorities to selective scholars for help in this research. It is that made by Mr Campbell Wood, at the invitation of the Indian

government under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the U.N. Unfortunately, so far, this has not been published.

Part of Mr Wood's business was a prolonged stay, during the latter part of 1975, in the National Training Institute for IAS officers at Mussorie as well as a period in New Delhi.

A visit to the Institute at Mussorie would also appear to be essential for any serious student wishing to examine the training of the elite group of the civil service in India.

The aim of this essay has been ultimately to assess the source material position for an Indo-Soviet comparison on some aspects of their administrations. No such comparison appears to have been done so far. However, while the final chapter will be an attempt to analyse possible common areas and possible opposite areas which may be fruitful in their own right, an attempt has also been made to prepare the Indian and Soviet bibliographies under headings which tally as far as possible.

This will be seen in the bibliography section.

It will also be seen, when comparing the two bibliographies that they do not tally directly. This is to be expected.

### Bibliographical Sources

The main bibliographical sources used by the author are already mentioned in the second chapter on pre-independence. Apart from Cohn they offer wide coverage of the post-1947 period.

One noticeable lack in the preparation of many books seems to stem from the fact that there have been few schools of business management in the country. These might have influenced more the way authors tackled their subject matter. This is partly due anyway to the late development of business schools as such throughout the world. Generally reliance has been on in-house training schools and often the actual trainer of civil servants appears to have too little time to devote himself to serious research.

Furthermore the constant tussle in the West particularly in Britain and therefore by indirect influence in India, over the specialist versus the generalist, has tended to bifurcate the direction of research as to what is the best way to train a civil servant.

When one considers the immense growth of Public institutions in India over a brief period on its road towards the welfare state, there appears to be a paucity of material on the subject. Ad hoc reports are there, but serious research is in short supply.

### Case Studies

Case studies on the Secretariat are available but again there is a dearth. More seem to have been written as asides rather than part of a main research effort. Certainly case studies available under British rule are few and far between and although they provide interesting detail they unfortunately do not have the scientific basis that would be required of them today.

An exception to this problem is the recent case series which has been produced under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi. The latest of these (27) makes an attempt, in line with the project, to concentrate on the diverse problems that are met by an administrator in the course of his duties and the way these problems have been tackled.

However the present state of case study work is regretted in the forward to the book. "The Case Study method, as a valuable instrument in the education and training of administrators, has not yet been widely appreciated in India". (28)

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(27) Administrators in Action, Committee on Case Studies, IIPA, Case Studies: New Series, Vol.III (New Delhi, 1972).

(28) *ibid*, p.ix.

Even the IIPA programme began late, in 1961, and slowed down due to lack of funds until a generous donation was received from the Ford Foundation in 1967.

A type of case study can also be found in S.K. Ghosh's Crisis in Administration. (29) This is largely concerned with the law-enforcing agencies in crisis situations where they are of course subject to control by the senior local administrator. A former senior police officer, Ghosh deals with a number of specific riot and civil disturbance situations and his own analysis of how they spread but could have been contained.

#### Comparative Works

In terms of comparative works, a number are available which compare India in particular or as part of a general framework with other countries particularly in the West.

The assumption seems to be that India's problems are similar, whereas its medium technology and rural base would seem to offer better material for comparison with other developing countries. There seem to be no published work on comparisons with China whose period of "Independence" under non-colonial or monarchical rule

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(29) Ghosh, S.K., Crisis in Administration, Eastern Law House (Calcutta, 1974).

is more or less the same as India's.

Prior to 1949 China could boast of a long period of civil administration either foreign or indigenous. The indigenous could perhaps claim to be the most advanced and sophisticated -- long before that of South Asia, Europe or the Americas. There might be scope for comparing that period with Mughal rule from which the British borrowed so heavily.

#### Statistical Method

A book which is atypical of material available, yet which is badly needed, would be Anant Neghandi's Organisation Theory in an Open Space System: A Study of Transferring Advanced Management Practices to Developing Nations, Dunellen, 1975, which includes work on multinationals in India as well as other countries.

#### Corruption

Corruption is a major feature of all areas of Indian life. There are a number of works on this topic but the ineffectiveness of reports such as that of the Wanchoo Commission or the Santhanam Report in actually eliminating corruption may have convinced a number of authors that fruitful research in this field is impossible.



There is indeed scope for the detailed research of the newspaper-type expose in India. But unfortunately the Indian press neither appears to have the will nor the resources to pursue such matters as would the press in many other countries. Elsewhere the aim of such an expose would be to bring the matter before the courts and therefore usually the standard of research is extremely high because it must stand scrutiny from the courts and also the scrutiny of possible libel action.

However, one expose type book is that of Noorani's *Ministers' Misconduct*. (30) This in fact is a book by a well known journalist who takes a number of cases and bases in his book on investigating commission evidence. Certainly the picture which he paints, and it is well known today, contrasts strongly with the impression gained by Paul Appleby in his famous report. "All in all, I believe that the general judgement I have expressed about the quality of the government of India applies in respect of honesty. This is to say that India is one of the dozen or so governments in which honesty has been carried to its highest levels". (31)

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(30) Noorani, A.G., *Ministers' Misconduct*, Vikas Publishing House (New Delhi, 1973).

(31) Appleby, Paul H., Public Administration in India: A Report of a Survey, Manager of Publications (New Delhi, 1953).

Noorani concentrates largely on well known individual cases of politicians but at the same time one must realise that this is the tip of the iceberg which is shown because so much complicity of others is required for corruption, particularly amongst the administrators.

Noorani is blunt: "This book is a small effort in strengthening public concern about the misdeeds of men in high offices. They have debased the values of our public life, retarded the country's progress, and brought the democratic system into disrepute .... I have, besides, tried to analyse the problem of inquiry. When, by whom, and how an inquiry is to be instituted are questions of crucial importance. Unless a satisfactory solution of the entire problem is found, corruption will ever remain with us, a testimony not only of the calibre of our leadership but also proof of the lack of grit in our people". (32)

#### The "Bureaucracy"

This overlaps to some extent with the areas which are covered later particularly reform. But to begin with it may be useful to cite some remarks from R.S. Verma's book, "Bureaucracy in India". This is

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(32) Noorani, op. cit., p.v.

written by an ex-civil servant and is in fact an attack on his peers but it lacks statistical back-up. It is rather a case history without the broad perspective of research and sourcing which would make it a valuable guide in the field of corruption investigation for the scholar and its effect on the administrator.

He unfortunately does not give us the material on which to either believe or disbelieve his introduction:

The central idea of the book is to highlight the traditional prestige structure, the insolence, the isolation, the huge losses suffered, the mismanagement in public institutions, ungloriously petty output of public servants, in terms of benefits accruing to society. While doing so, the attempt to produce a definitive concept of bureaucracy has not been missed.

One is face to face with young men, who after distinguishing themselves in examinations, compete for the various services; and, after selection, most of them cease to grow, due to the inhibitions of the bureaucratic structure, which breeds competent mediocrity. (33)

In his Development Administration in India, (34)

Panandiker points out the conflict which can arise between the politician and the civil servant in deciding key policy issues relating to development

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(33) Verma, R.S., The Bureaucracy in India, Progress Publishers, (Bhopal, 1973). p.103.

(34) Pai Panandiker, V.A., Development Administration in India, Macmillan (Madras, 1974).

administration.

The services, as the traditional votaries of public authority, implicitly tend to take the stand that in the final analysis it is their business to determine and administer the various governmental programmes. The political leaders on the other hand generally take the stand that they alone, as the people's representatives, know what is more desirable, suitable and acceptable to the people at large. The conflict has by no means been resolved and in all probability will get accentuated as the political and administrative systems attempt to gain the upper hand over the other for deciding developmental matters. (35)

It may also be argued of course that the reason it may be possible for such charges to be levelled against the administration is the way the politicians themselves behave. In his book on Administration, Politics and Development in India, (36) Bhalerao highlights another trend affecting the administration. He says in order to achieve a modern state and society what is needed is the establishment of a stable and coherent policy and the strengthening of the authoritative structures of government. "When we consider the case of India it would appear that there has been a decline in the capability functions of both the political and administrative sectors of the system. " (37)

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(35) *ibid*, p.xiii-xiv.

(36) Bhalerao, C.N., (ed.), Administration, Politics and Development in India, Lalvani Publishing House (Bombay, 19720.

(37) *ibid*, p.xxx

The political system he suggests is ineffective in dealing with the increasing demands and loads of basic services, maintaining law and order and formulating and executing policies. In addition the consensus and integration which so struck Appleby in his 1953 visit has declined although he says that after 1971 a process of new political integration has begun. "Finally", he says "the system is based on inadequate legitimacy of the political regime which undermines popular mobilisation and participation in development programmes. Such political development is marked by the emergence of weak political institutions like the cabinets, legislatures, parties and ineffective political leadership."  
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#### Neutrality, Role Incentives

Pay, conditions and restraints put on members of the Indian civil service (compared to the job for salary basis, perhaps with house loans at cheap rates only) are significant points about the Indian bureaucracy.

A number of books are available which deal with the question of the neutrality of the civil servant, his pay conditions, his role and the incentives and

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(38) *ibid*, p.xxx.

motives before him. This is of considerable importance when the government is the biggest employer in the country. The total number of perhaps some three million employees (including state concerns) is however small compared to the total size of the nation of some 600 million people. Nevertheless, we are not talking of a highly urbanized society. Many jobs such as octori (interstate border-tax levy) collection are done by police-style bodies, rather than officials, at border points, so there is some duplication of work.

A number of authors point out the importance of a neutral administration but suggest that the present civil servant is not able to be as neutral as he perhaps ought to be. Bhalerao suggests that in developing countries administrative agencies often become aligned with political leaders and interests with resultant factional politics and rivalry between the departments. There is also a tendency towards a department acquiring autonomy and independent power positions or to enhance its groups interests, he says. In India he adds "... there is taking place an increasing 'politicisation' of administration. The political leaders and elected representatives of the people tend to excessively control the administration, interfere with its executive processes, bring improper pressures

and demands on it, and carry their politics to the stage of administrative departments and agencies." (39) What is needed he stresses is a cooperative relationship between the politicians and administrators but working through effective organisation and institutionalisation of political organisations and procedures.

One of the problems of course which does affect India is the fact that since 1947 there has been effective one-party rule by the Congress Party at the federal level.

In his survey Appleby also addressed himself to this problem and raised certain questions. He said one of the most difficult conceptions was that of the permanence and security of civil servants. This he discusses in relation to the question of promotion and competition to the services by recruitment from outside. "Is the personal confidence of those thus protected worth the loss in governmental dynamism that comes from this minimization of competition? Can sufficient confidence be achieved along with wider competition?" (40)

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(39) *ibid*, p. xxx.

(40) Appleby, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

On this same question Muttalib (41) examines how the Public Service Commission has worked since it was set up with the aim of protecting from all personal influence, recruitment to the civil services in India.

### Participation

Panchayati Raj is not under discussion at this juncture but what has come more to light since the internal emergency declared by the government in June 1975 is the clear lack of public participation in administration.

It seems important to note that there is only one article apparently available that deals with this topic directly. That is Bulsara's "Public Cooperation: Role of Voluntary Organisation", Indian Journal of Public Administration. (42)

Apart from exhortatory articles -- which have always been the hallmark of party publications here -- certainly of the Congress and Communist parties of

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(41) Muttalib, M.A., The Union Public Service Commission, Indian Institute of Public Administration (New Delhi, 1967).

(42) Bulsara, J.F., "Public Cooperation: Role of Voluntary Organisation", Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1961), p.353-363.



India, the problem of involving 600 million people in running their country seems to have bypassed the researchers. And the government's recent efforts show perhaps little response for positive participation.

Indeed to take the simple question of conservation of wood and wood fuel and tree planting. Depradation of the forests goes ahead with one or two state governments and a cluster of journalists and individuals making desperate pleas for action yet with little direct result. Mass public opinion seems to be unformed or like its Soviet counterpart sometimes deliberately apathetic and ready to take the least line of resistance.

Most authors dealing with administration, and who touch on the question of public participation, seem to agree that it is an essential factor in the kind of development situation in which India finds itself. Bhalerao, pointing out the increasing central role of governments and the bureaucracies in development programmes says that the government's role has changed from that of coercion to welfare. In fact the government plays a key role in stimulating programming and implementing development activity. He adds:

The capability aspect of the political system evidently assumes a critical importance with respect to the goals of nation-building and socio-economic development in transitional

societies. A modernizing political system committed to these goals is characterised by four functional features. Firstly it is based on mass participation and popular involvement in political activities. This emphasises the open, competitive and democratic character of the system. (43)

Pai Panandiker takes up the same theme and agrees that traditionally in India the civil service has been looked upon as an instrument of coercion compelling people to fulfil certain duties especially paying taxes and maintaining law and order. But he adds

The propensities and attitudes of the civil service have been more of political dominance than of promotion of social change or even of social welfare except in a narrow sense. These propensities are sharply in conflict with the relationship inherent in a democracy between the ultimate masters -- viz., the people -- and the officials.

As a result of these historical reasons, the civil service has often been found to be a very poor vehicle for initiating and communicating developmental objectives and for persuading the masses. (44)

In the same book which Panandiker edits, in Chapter xi, Jagannadham examines 'Citizen - Administration Relationships in Development'. He says the relationship is of great relevance in a developing democracy since "successful development administration depends heavily upon citizen cooperation". (45)

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(43) Bhalerao, op. cit., p.xxiii:

(44) Pai Panandiker, op. cit., p.xiii.

(45) ibid, p.xx.

Part of Jagannadham's aim is to suggest ways in which this relationship can be made more effective so that public and civil servants get the best deal from each other.

Maheshwari in his weighty book on the Administrative Reforms Commission (46) goes into detail on the way the Commission examined the administrations reactions with the public and takes into account the mental make-up of the nation as an important factor in effectiveness.

#### Secondment, Public Sector and Planning

Again another area with which it will be useful to examine is the secondment of the civil service officer to a public undertaking. These public undertakings were originally set up to work as state-owned but autonomously run bodies like the Reserve Bank of India. Yet we find an encroachment of the executive on their autonomy through the appointment of civil servants as a method of exerting control on them. This is not true everywhere but the recent appointment of a ministry service officer as acting governor of the

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(46) Maheshwari, S.R., The Administrative Reforms Commission, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, (Agra, 1972).

R.B.I. is an example of this. This poses a large range of problems of the conflicting duties or rights and loyalties of such officers.

Again there are very few deep texts on this problem nor the possible effects of it in the long term.

The case studies which have already been mentioned and which are produced by the Indian Institute of Public Administration do offer some insights into the area of secondment. They are often studies where an administrator has been called in to a private sector body that has been taken over by the authorities because it has run into difficulties.

The author does not wish to go into the whole sphere of planning in this essay. But since the administrator is so involved with planning because it covers the whole of a developmental society it is worth while noting a comment from Pai Panandiker which offers one view point on the effect of planning here.

In his Development Administration in India he says that the last four national plans have provided enough insights into what problems are dominant. They are of all kinds but he says, regretfully: "Unfortunately, despite more than twenty-two years of planning, there is still more talk about planning than there is actual

planning. Repeatedly the lessons from the field seem somewhat similar: there is not enough planning at the operational level -- the critical issues are too often overlooked resulting in serious damage to performance." (47)

S.R. Sen also contributes a chapter to this book: the 'Formulation of the National Plan -- the Basic Process and the Machinery' where he analyses the complex processes involved in drawing up the plan. Panandiker also examines in detail in Chapter IV of the book problems connected with programme planning and management and he brings out the areas where there is a lack of planning and management. The importance that is attached to the theme is stressed even more by another chapter written by J.M. Kitchlu who tackles project management and its present failings.

#### Recruitment and Training

On the training and recruitment of civil servants both for the former and the new elite levels of the ICS and the IAS there is a reasonable amount of material. Field work should make it possible either by interview or questionnaire to expand this area. This can be partly matched with the serious work done on

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(47) Pai Panandiker, op. cit., p.xviii.

the Soviet side and education of various levels of managers and party secretaries by such authors as Jerry F. Hough. There is practically no work on this which has been published by the Soviets themselves.

An important work for the student in this field is the thorough study by Muttalib which has already been referred to. (48) We have already referred to Appleby's comments on the question of examination and competition for entry into the service and the same issue is of importance today and is examined by Muttalib, and other writers such as Bhambri, Maheshwari, Panandiker and Bhalerao.

In the introduction to Muttalib's book, a former director of the IIPA, Jagannath Khosla, stresses that the UPSC was first considered necessary as a safeguard against the "dangers that have been found to attend the development of democratic institutions." In the present day, he suggests, the state legislatures have laid more emphasis on exposing "jobbery and nepotism".

In this context Muttalib tries to examine how far the UPSC has remained an independent body fulfilling an impartial and expert role as adviser to the Government and watchdog of the merit system.

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(48) Muttalib, M.A., The Union Public Service Commission, IIPA (New Delhi, 1967).

This was the first full length analysis of the composition, organisation and working of the UPSC undertaken for the IIPA with the active cooperation of the Commission. His work analyses the techniques used for recruitment to the Public Services in the light of the welfare state commitments of the government.

He covers the historical antecedents of the Public Service and the transfer from patronage to merit system and the struggle which that involved.

Muttalib also devotes a chapter to the important question that Appleby raised in his survey, that of the effect of recruiting from inside the service and the compromise situation that has arisen since independence when British and Muslim officers left.

He stresses the independent role that the Commission was supposed to have, alongside the Judiciary and the Comptroller and Auditor General. They were to be the bulwark of democracy.

"To them the existence of an independent Public Service Commission was a pre-condition for securing expert administration in a popular government. Such an independent institution, they considered, could aid materially in maintaining an essential balance between the civil servant and the politicians by sterilising the civil service". (49)

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(49) *ibid*, p.178-179.

Muttalib has many suggestions to make among them the need for testing the validity and reliability of modes of recruitment. He proposes that more psychologists and psychiatrists should be employed in order to supplement the Commission's present assessment techniques and more accurately test the aptitude of the candidates.

He advises that the need for specialisation has become more important and there should be rigorous post-entry training courses and the ministry concerned should share with the Commission the search for the right candidates for the right jobs.

#### Reform and Reorganisation

Reform must play an important role for any government which seeks to use its administration for the best. Unfortunately the overwhelming legacy left by the British must influence the man in the field or the administrator in charge of the policy of staff who wishes to make reforms. Certainly the India of today has little comparison in size with the India of yesterday. At this point no judgement can be made on the best system that is actually needed. However, there is a good selection of material on the need for change. Seeking new models from existing research work is a trying pastime for the scholar although much appears to be in the pipeline.



Appleby's report was the first major impact on the need to reform and of course one of his main suggestions, the setting up of an Institute of Public Administration came to fruition.

The most marked trend in recent years is the issue of development administration and whether one can graft the old onto the new or whether it is necessary to think in totally new concepts. The general trend among writers seems to be in favour of new concepts.

In 1953 Appleby said in his report that there was no near precedent for what was being undertaken in India and while there was value in comparisons because this provided stimulation to the parties compared, the best administration say for the United States would not be the best for India and vice versa.

He said then that the country was run on "something now closely approximating a one-party system, although not in any sense implicit in the institutions of governance and not likely to continue indefinitely: the single party is strongly organised and cohesive, policing and enforcing policy and administrative unity -- though not uniformly among the states -- probably more importantly and pervasively than in any

other democratic nation". (50) In this he was somewhat wrong for the same party rules India today as it did then. He also said that there was a lack of evidence that interpretational and operating discretion was opening the door to a strengthening of the Centre's potentialities in administration of programmes essential to social well being. He also deplored a lack of "action-mindedness". "It is lack of highly developed capacity to conduct action institutions, which is to say an administrative lack". (51)

We have already mentioned the books on development administration by Pai Panandiker and Bhalerao. They are typical of the new trend of work in the search for solution to current problems. However they do tend to be works trying to get people into that search rather than offering all the solutions themselves. This is because their theme is largely that a whole new format has to be worked out and this will take time.

Bhalerao (52) brings together a wide spectrum of writers, not just Indians, and there is an emphasis on the socio-political aspects of the problems of today.

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(50) Appleby, op. cit., p.3.

(51) ibid, p.4.

(52) Bhalerao, op. cit.

The problem of politicisation of the administration which is raised in the book, has already been touched on in our section on neutrality. Also mentioned has been the importance of public participation, and the way the system has not been able to respond to the growing burden which has been imposed on it.

Bhalerao sums up the administration's role in the following formula, and sees all reorganisation in the light of this:

The administrative system is the only instrument of action which the governments of emerging countries use for executing their development programmes. With the vast expansion of the functions of government and its increasing role in social and economic development, the administrative system has assumed a crucial importance. The administrator plays a two-fold role. Firstly, he assists the process of policy-making; and secondly, once the policy has been determined, he has the responsibility for its implementation. Primarily performing the "output" function of executing policies and programmes, the administrator also performs important "input" functions. His "input" functions relate not only to policy-making but also to determining public orientation towards government, the expectations that the public has from the government and the demands that are channeled into the political process. The administrative system thus performs a significant role in the capability function of the political system both in its "input" and "output" aspects and links the polity to society. (53)

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(53) Bhalerao, op. cit., p.xvii-xviii.

Pai Panandiker has also brought a varied group group of authors together (54) and the various essays touch on the general framework, changes since Independence, preparation of the national plan, financial control, development at various levels and its evaluation, while we see Khosla again contributing this time on Research in development administration.

Panandiker stresses that the most striking thing to emerge in the experience of developing countries is that national development has to be an integrated process of change involving a complete shift in the character and attitudes of the various elements participating.

These new dimensions of development administration have necessitated serious rethinking amongst the researchers and practitioners of public administration. At no time did the theory of public administration contemplate a system of thought capable of embracing such complex and uncertain factors. The traditional concern was with relatively simple and identifiable tasks, the more difficult problems being left to the undefined frontiers of other social sciences like political science, sociology, psychology and anthropology. Within its limitations, the traditional approach did quite well. However, with the shift of administrative concern towards developmental objectives, such an approach promptly brought the discipline to a dead-end.  
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He suggests that the result is a plethora of works "strenuously attempting" to conceptualise the

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(54) Pai Panandiker, op. cit.

(55) *ibid*, p.ix.

development situation and to close the serious gaps which exist.

Panandiker's comment sums up the present situation rather brutally: "The literature which is available today, however, is doubly inadequate in terms of providing a satisfactory answer. Most researchers and scholars, are over-concerned with extending the traditional and limited theoretical concepts to development administration". (56)

He suggests that the basic problem arises from limitations of the traditional theory of administration put forward mostly on the basis of western experience which was good as far as it went but confined to highly definable organisational activities.

He suggests just the opposite is true now in the diffused areas faced by the development administrator. "The variety of simultaneously operating parameters is so bewildering that they cannot be brought under the kind of discipline which the existing administrative theory necessitates." (57)

The real need therefore, he suggests, is to open up the message of experience and blend them together

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(56) *ibid*, p.x.

(57) *ibid*, p.xi.

to build a new body of knowledge beyond the boundaries of the old -- a "new theory extending beyond the limitations of the existing conceptual frameworks".

(58)

But Khosla stresses that so far the emphasis on research has not been adequate to the task of solving the problems thrown up by the developmental process.

There still prevails a general belief among the government circles that these problems can be tackled successfully through reports written by knowledgeable and experienced administrators and through discussions and working groups. There is at present too inadequate a realization of the need for scientifically based empirical research on operational problems of development administration, for collecting first-hand data about the nature and extent of these problems, and the factors and forces involved. (59)

In concluding this Indian section of this brief essay it seems important to look at Maheshwari's work (60) in order to highlight some of the criticisms of the Administrative Reforms Commission and the Government. The aim of this body is to help reform and for any institution the ability to constantly face renewal is the surest sign of its healthiness.

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(58) *ibid*, p.xii.

(59) *ibid*, p.217.

(60) Maheshwari, *op. cit.*

Maheshwari's book traces the history of reform, the Commission's work and findings in a wide area and the implementation of its recommendations. Indeed, because he is so disheartened by what he finds in the implementation of those recommendations he devotes a whole chapter to it.

He sums up the crux of the matter as follows "It is much better to have second class recommendations resulting in first class implementation rather than immaculate proposals with indifferent and partial implementation. This should sound unexceptionable. Yet, it is this which has proved to be the knottiest problem confronting the reformers of Indian administration. (61)

He also suggests that there is resistance to change by the administration itself, while to add to that people lose interest.

"Even if certain proposals survive all hurdles and gain acceptance their implementation may not be taken for granted. This may sound incredible but is nevertheless true, the reason being the absence of regular follow-up proposals". (62)

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(61) *ibid*, p.143.

(62) *ibid*, p.144.

He also criticise the fact that the government ignored the Commission's proposal and gave the major role in implementing the reforms to the bureaucracy itself. This opened up the obvious danger that the bureaucracy would do too little because it was wedded to the ethos and values of the present administrative system.

But Maheshwari plunges even further to the root of the problem and indeed his statements of 1972 seem borne out to a large extent by the present political emergency situation. It seems fair to leave the last word with him because he sums up the basic needs and failings of the moment which must be corrected if the new development administration is to come into being.

The key to this query appears to lie with the Prime Minister. India is at present an example of a presidential government within, of course, the framework of parliamentary democracy. The Prime Minister has virtually all powers concentrated in her own hands, her colleagues almost reduced to nonentities. Issues of administrative reforms like other issues, therefore, come to hinge on a single person's disposition towards them. But public administration by and large falls outside the sphere of her direct inclination and interest. On questions of public administration, she is likely to allow herself to be advised by that group of civil servants located in her own secretariat. In other words, bureaucrate like P.N. Haksar would actually come to determine the fate of the Commission's proposals. Action on the Commission's recommendations calls for initiative and leadership on the part of the Prime Minister and her senior colleagues. They do not seem to have enough time for examination of the reports. We are living in a regime in which decisions are taken more by inspiration



than by deliberation, more by ad-hocism than by cool study. We are in an era in which decisions are being arrived with an eye on purely popular feelings. A commission is obviously out of place with such a prevalent mood. The ministers are too much preoccupied with the parliamentary and political activities. In such a situation, public administration is bound to suffer. .

But none should forget that a corrupt and inefficient administration cannot remain hidden for long. Its evil effects threaten to uproot the very foundations of the society. No political party should expose itself to such perils by permitting such an administration to continue. Moreover, as reforms in public administration ordinarily raises no political controversies, it ought to be implemented in a determined way. (63)

CHAPTER IV  
THE POST-1917 PERIOD OF RUSSIA:  
THE SOVIET UNION

It will be no surprise to any reader familiar with research on the U.S.S.R. to find an author decrying the paucity of materials in his subject. But in this case the position is perhaps even more unbalanced because the bulk of work done in the field is of North American origin. Generally it is of a very high standard indeed but this does not make up for the lack of Soviet material.

There is some Soviet material, but when it is described later the reader will realise that it falls far short of even its North American counterpart.

The author has had recourse to several books which he considers significant in this area and also which lay out the source position. This is a major problem with a closed society like the Soviet Union particularly where statistics are concerned.

But again the author's aim has been to present a bibliography and this has been done over as wide a range as possible. The material will be presented under a Soviet bibliography after the Indian one at the end of the paper.

The author has constantly returned to works by Jerry Hough during this essay's preparation for inspiration and guidance. However it must be said that bulk of his work has been done on the Soviet party secretary's background. This does not necessarily give a comparative line for the Indian civil servant. Much of the material which Hough labours academically to produce is freely available for the Indian of the species. In that sense Hough can by no means take the author as far as he would have liked in later research. But he does provide a most valuable refuge along a route full of pitfalls.

#### Sources and Data

As sources pose such a considerable problem it would seem best to plunge straight into the difficulties with an authoritative statement from Ellen Mickiewicz in her handbook of Soviet Social Science Data (Collier, New York, 1973).

Her statements, warnings and suggestions to the user of Soviet statistics can be found in many books to a lesser or great extent but not with the same comprehensiveness nor clarity.

On the general picture she has the following to say:

As work on quantitative data has developed, so have methods of analysis which now often can extract far more information and meaning from an array of raw data than would be apparent on the surface. In comparison across relatively few states, provinces, or districts within a nation - such as 50 states in the United States, 15 Union Republics in the USSR, or 97 French Departments - we can now work with the entire universe of cases for which data are available, for large numbers of subdivisions such as counties, municipalities, or wards, we can take samples and check in what respects they are or are not representative of the total. Expectable error margins can be estimated and indicated for whole series of data as well as for particular countries or districts.

All these methods are well known, and these things have been done, at least to some extent, and for some groups of data. But they have not been done to any large degree in the field of Soviet Studies, mainly because the data were not, or were not readily, available, and partly because few area specialists in the Soviet field have had enough familiarity even with these well known quantitative methods to apply them themselves, or even to cooperate effectively with methods specialists who could have been added to their team. (64)

Mickiewicz tells us why any government may not wish to reveal data but highlights what this really means in the case of the Soviet Union.

Governments and their officials may be understandably reluctant to reveal some of these data. Any information a government gives to outsiders could be used by someone as a basis for criticism or attack on it. The temptation to reveal nothing, and thus avoid possible embarrassment, is even stronger if the prevail-

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(64) Ellen Mickiewicz, Handbook of Soviet Social Science Data, Collier (New York, 1973). p.xxiii.

ing national belief system asserts that there are no serious social problems or malfunctions left in the country, since the excellence of the nation's institutions -- such as the United States' wealth and freedom, or the Soviet Union's socialism and social justice -- already has reduced these evils to insignificance. (At most, foreign agitators, immigrants, or, in the USSR, remnants of "former classes" might be held responsible for any surviving crimes or other troubles.)

But a government that does not publish quantitative data on a political or social problem of this kind denies the information to its own people and indeed to a large portion of its officials and political leaders. The top leaders cannot pay attention to all problems, and the lower echelons cannot get very much genuine information if secrecy is not to be endangered. Moreover, what the government thinks it knows in these matters remains shielded from correction through criticism and discussion. The effective thought of the community cannot be brought to bear on problems that are not adequately reported to the population.

Adequate data and a vigorous political and social science, with the possibility of critical verification and self-correction, are essential elements for the effective self-direction of a society and its political system. In recent years we have learned something of this rather painfully in the United States. Pervasive secrecy begets drift, unnoticed by decision-makers. Manipulative communications, untrue or only partly true, eventually return as popular beliefs and become decision premises in the minds of many of the nation's leaders, making errors more likely. But the vast powers of modern industrial technology have increased the cost of errors in their application, in military clashes, in the impact on the natural environment of water, soil, and air, and in the effects of chemical and pharmacological technology on the lives of people. With the rise in costs, of errors, and of delays in self-correction and in discovering solutions, these costs of error and delay eventually may come to outweigh by far the costs of a temporary setback in the contest of international prestige, or of political or ideological embarrassment in domestic politics.

If so, the rational case for secrecy will eventually weaken in most of the world's highly developed countries, including eventually perhaps both the Soviet Union and the United States. (65)

#### Statistics, Reference Works

The handbook edited by Ellen Mickiewicz begins with an introduction of uses and strategies in data analysis of the Soviet Union. Our concern is also with several chapters including one by her on elite recruitment.

However she also offers the student valuable words of warning in her introduction which this author feels quite unabashed in reproducing in full because of their eminent value. They are of much value for comparative, cross-national study.

Although the present supply of data is vastly superior to that of the past, political criteria still influence the objective quality of data in five important ways.

First, and most simply, for categories that are politically sensitive in the opinion of the regime, data are not released to the public, Soviet or non-Soviet.

Second, changes from one reported period to the next may involve shifting criteria for what has been included in the data or such a vague description of the criteria that it is difficult to determine the exact base to which the data refer. The user of Soviet data must be alert to such changes of base, and, with careful attention to the definitions in use, many

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(65) *ibid.*, p.xxv and p.1.

problems can be avoided. The too vaguely defined data category also presents a difficulty for the scholar, as Gayle Hollander observes in her discussion of the definition of books and periodicals in the introduction to Chapter VIII, "Communications".

Third, changes over time may be given only in percentage differences, with no provision of the base from which the change has been calculated. In my introduction to "Elite Recruitment and Mobilization", for example, I note that although we have a great deal of information on percentage changes in level of education and other attributes of the top Communist party professional bureaucracy, we really do not know how many of them there are, and we have to use various kinds of estimates for this important category of Soviet Elite.

Fourth, it is sometimes particularly difficult to make cross-national comparisons which include the Soviet Union and use Soviet data because Soviet statisticians use definitions that differ significantly from the definitions widely in use among other nations of the world. This presents a serious problem of comparability, and some operations must be executed to bring the Soviet data in line with commonly adopted practices.

The fifth way in which use of Soviet data may be limited by political criteria is a problem more peculiar to the Soviet Union. The Soviet plan for economic development, although in large part centrally formulated, is subsequently broken down into regional or local plans. Overseeing and aiding fulfillment of the plan are two of the major duties of the Communist party, and economic production has profound political implications. Failure to fulfill the requirements of the plan has, in the past, entailed rather severe sanctions, and although the recent tentative reforms have attempted to mitigate the dysfunctions of the tensions and constraints surrounding plan fulfillment, non-fulfillment still carries with it the risk of opprobrium and possible career termination. Thus, there is a tremendous pressure for the subnational units to falsify the results of their planned production to indicate, at the

very least, successful fulfillment. One imperative emerges from the combined efforts of the contributors to this handbook: Be aware of the limitations of Soviet data, but take advantage of their increasing variety and amount. Seldom do the Soviet sources print outright and deliberate falsification of data. One of the main purposes of this handbook is to aid scholars in making cross-national comparisons that include the Soviet Union. There is at present no other source which makes such a wealth of data available in English to the Western scholar. The task of making cross-national comparisons of problems of development and modernization, for example, lies at the center of much current scholarly research, and yet the Soviet Union is rarely a component part of the theories elaborated. United Nations sources, although they present much valuable information, cannot provide the scholar with enough data to bring the Soviet Union into a sufficiently comparative framework. On the other hand, looking into Soviet publications requires collection from many scattered sources and experience with Soviet statistical problems and definitions, not to mention the intricacies of the language. (66)

It is interesting to note that in the case of Party searches to sound out public opinion Ellen Mickiewicz's handbook concludes:

Official perspectives can never be accurate, and without the kind of public opinion research discussed above, Party effectiveness will not be optimal. The search for party efficacy goes on within the party itself, as well, and as the level of education among that elite rises, so too, emerge more refined and critical attitudes -- attitudes that may support a redefinition of role, more pragmatic, more concretely defined, and more widely based on empirical research. (67)

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(66) *ibid*, p.1-4.

(67) *ibid*, p.34.



The book also deals with communications, agriculture and education, another three aspects of particular interest for the future aim of this essay but the other really valuable section is Mickiewicz's Elite Recruitment and Mobilization. (68)

Unfortunately it tells a tale of considerable difficulties for work in this very field:

Very little information is available on the training of Party functionaries. Table 16 contains cumulative figures for graduates of the schools in the system of professional Party instruction, but information is scarce about the number of these graduates still in the Party and in responsible apparat positions. Thus, it is not yet possible to determine the role of these schools in the recruitment and advancement of Party officials. It is almost as difficult to gather information about the administration, teaching faculty (called propagandists), and enrolment of that vast network of Party schools for the political education of nonapparatus, or rank and file, Party members. Table 17 brings together from many sources data bearing on the staffing and enrolment of this system. The next table focuses on the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, the institution responsible for the preparation and certification of the propagandists. (69)

To give the final word to Mickiewicz, and to leave it understood for other works we will touch on later, both Soviet and non-Soviet:

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(68) *ibid*, p.159

(69) *ibid*, p.159-160

Generally, the main problem in working with Soviet statistics on mass communication is learning to recognise political influence and taking it into consideration. Distortions usually stem from selective suppression, not open falsification, so that in time one can learn to recognise the patterns of distortion and correct them by careful comparison with occasional data. (70)

The work by Jerry Hough has already been mentioned and the author wishes to make particular reference to The Soviet Prefects (Harvard, 1969).

This book is about the Soviet elite, or rather certain aspects of it. Granick's earlier book The Granick's Red Executive (Gardencity, Doubleday, 1960) would in title seem to be about the same thing but in fact they take two very different approaches. More of Granick later. For Hough the main value to the student lies in his methodology and painstaking analysis of the origins of the elite managers of the ruling Communist party and structure in the Soviet Union and their relation to industry.

This author's interest lies in Hough's bibliography which has been incorporated into the one at the end of this essay.

But Hough also provides some excellent annexes on source material for research in this field, and

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(70) *ibid*, p.176.

makes clear that a galaxy of modern Soviet students of eminence guided him and helped him during the work.

In summary, on primary data on Soviet personnel, Hough says "very little" biographical information was published on Party and governmental personnel in the Soviet Union, at least on personnel who were not in the Politburo.

Between 1938 and 1958 major sources were obituaries. Since then things have become a little more systematic. He says that the yearbooks of the Big Soviet Encyclopaedia, particularly the 1962 and 1966, ones, in conjunction with the list of m.p.'s (Deputy) "are indispensable for the student of local party officials and top industrial administrators". (71) He however advises care with this material because of possible omissions or errors, deliberate or otherwise.

Mr Hough also refers to the collection of details on Soviet personnel from the Soviet press on an individual basis. He also mentions a series issued by the Division of Biographical Information of the U.S. State Department, plus one by the Central Intelligence Agency entitled Directory of Soviet Officials.

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(71) Hough, Jerry F., The Soviet Prefects, Harvard (n.d.) p.349.

For many types of officials however there is no alternative to the collection of individual references in the Soviet press to the occupation of posts, he says.

Hough also mentions another series of English-language sources (72) and then takes us on to the main area of importance, in this author's opinion anyway, Soviet newspapers and magazines.

While Hough's overall work is valuable it is not able to probe into the attitudes and tensions which are reflected (and therefore do not fall so easily into the high standard of rigid academic testing which Hough demands) in the newspaper reports of civil servant problems in the Soviet Union. These reports may be dressed up in various fashions.

But we are interested here in a later possible valid study of comparative aspects of the Indian and Soviet man in charge, at whatever level. In order to do that, Hough's educational background data to secretaries is not enough when we can probably get the same material so simply by purchasing a manual from a stationery shop in India.

Hough of course did not have our aim in mind. It would be this author's problem to reconcile Hough's

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(72) *ibid*, p.351.

demand for rigorous verification of data from which to make inferences from Soviet material. This may pose the biggest problem in making a comparative study at a later date.

Hough says "The primary sources of Soviet information on the role of the party apparatus are not books and pamphlets, but newspapers and magazines. No serious study can afford to neglect these three periodicals, of Pravda, Sovetskaiia Rossiia and Partiinaia Zhizn". (73)

Hough also singles out Partiinoe Stroitelstvo, Kommunist, Ekonomicheskaiia Gazeta, Politicheskoe Samoobrazovanie and Agitator. He says the latter two are limited in usefulness because they are directed more towards the agitator and the student than toward the middle-level ideological official. (74)

He then draws our attention to the great use of the republican and local press.

Of course these newspapers are more or less unobtainable outside the Soviet Union and can even present problems of access in Moscow at the Lenin library for a foreigner. Nevertheless they would provide key information for cross-national research,

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(73) *ibid*, p.352.

(74) *ibid*, p.352.

particularly in areas such as the civil servant, public complaints, transfers, corrupt practices, bonus schemes and conflict attitudes between civil servant and public.

Hough also reminds us of the press media of various bodies like the trade unions or the army, which are meant to be vehicles to carry the opinion of their respective publishing institutions.

It would be useful to quote Hough's concluding paragraph in this context; bearing in mind he is talking about his own book and of course did not have in mind what the writer of this essay is considering.

For the subject-matter of this book, the most useful non-Party newspaper is Izvestiia (news) which contains excellent discussions of the consequences of subordination of industry to agencies independent of the local Soviets. Also of great use on certain types of personnel questions is the organ of the trade union council, Trud (Labour). The specialized newspapers of most value for this book Gudok (Whistle, the organ of the railroad industry), Selskaia Zhizn (Rural Life), and Stroitelnaia Gazeta (The construction newspaper). (Selskaia Zhizn is actually an organ of the Party Central Committee and would be vital for an analysis of Party work in the countryside.) Other specialized newspapers consulted were Lesnaia Promyshlennost (The Timber Industry), Meditsinskii Rabotnik (The Medical Worker), Sovetskaia Torgovlia (Soviet Trade), and Uchitelskaia Gazeta (The Teachers' Newspaper). The journal Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo (Soviet State and Law) contains discussion of industrial administration, but its articles are usually too legalistic to be of much use for a study such as this. (75)

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(75) *ibid.*, p.353-354.

We now turn to another work, Granick's Red Executive, which is a comparison of managers in the Soviet Union and the United States with some references to Britain.

Granick suffers from a lack of sourcing -- contrast this with Hough's rigid determination to take only proven facts -- and only a one month visit to the Soviet Union on which he relies heavily for what he calls "anecdotes". However Granick's is a very readable book. There are factual errors which although not frequent are regular enough to make the book of less dependable value for the scholar than it might have been.

For example he mistakes the "class feeling" of Britain for something other than it really is or was in terms of promotion. (76) He also suggests that Soviet students do not have to earn to work their way through college. A discussion with a Soviet student might have disarmed him on this view, or a simple analysis of how much it costs to live there and how much the monthly student grant is. However, these errors are part of the penalty imposed on the

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(76) Granick, op. cit., p.7-8.

foreigner by the Soviet authorities' secretiveness about what is considered normal information in other parts of the world. (77)

Granick does give a good overall grasp and comes far nearer than Hough for instance, in explaining exactly where the civil servant starts and where the party or party secretaries take over in administering Soviet society.

But let us be fair to Granick and quote his own final note on his sources:

My background for writing this book is that of an eleven-year professional interest in problems of Soviet economics and management. This interest has led me into the use of a wide variety of Soviet sources, from official statistical tabulations to newspapers and technical journals. During the summer of 1958 I spent a month in the Soviet Union. This trip is the source of many of the anecdotes, descriptions of particular factories, and analyses of education facilities and methods which have been presented in this book. Any such first-hand experience, however, is likely to give rise to highly misleading conclusions. This danger is a result of the limitations of time and spatial coverage which are inherent in the process of one person's trying to observe everything himself. I have done my best to guard against the error of misinterpretation by being careful to evaluate my own experience against the accounts of other visitors to the Soviet Union and of Russian emigres, as well as against the background of a personal knowledge of the Soviet Union acquired from secondary sources over the years.

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(77) *ibid*, p.85.



Finally, some intensive work has been done in accumulating data about American industry. Here, as in the Russian case, I have relied mainly upon the printed word. But I have also leaned on a series of brief studies of American factories which I carried on during 1957, and on the impressions gained first hand by some of my colleagues at the Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Figures as to both Russia and the United States are mostly taken from official statistical collections. The general view of American experts is that the use of Russian statistics is no task for the novice; such statistics are often incomplete or deliberately misleading, and not infrequently they are based upon curious and unexpected definitions which are not carefully spelled out. Nevertheless, given an awareness by the user of the problems involved, the statistics are considered by most authorities as reasonably reliable. (78)

Granick offers little bibliographical material.

Let us now take one of the few books which concerns itself with administering Soviet society, the training of the administrator and related areas.

This is V.G. Afanasayev's, The Scientific Management of Society (Progress, Moscow, 1971).

This is a late book. It is also a pointer to the paucity of published Soviet material in this field. However one can be certain there is an enormous amount

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(78) *ibid*, p.321-323.

of unpublished material, if simply because Soviet leaders have so often in their speeches called for implementation of the various plans at all levels and demanded to see improved efficiency and less wastage of every kind.

Afnasayev's book is the extreme opposite of Granick's. It is highly modalistic, gives no anecdotal material, and offers a certain number of cross comparisons which unfortunately do not seem to be impartial.

However, given the nature of the Party's guiding role in assessing what is best for Soviet Society, the book offers interesting insights into present-day thinking. It shows that it is now possible for authors to investigate this field seriously and it also opens up the way for the opinion poll survey of a type which has become popular in recent years as evinced by Mickiewicz's statistical handbook mentioned earlier.

Cybernetics are mentioned a great deal in the book with emphasis on self-controlling systems and the nature of administration in a socialist society. In one sense the author is pushing at the frontiers of socialist management and administrative science. Therefore he spends considerable time analysing the nature of society.

For later comparative purposes Afanasayev also gives us interesting principles for the main causes of State economic intervention under capitalism and patterns of State-Monopoly Intervention in the Economy. (79)

Furthermore he gives us chapters which give the official view on the role of the Communist party in the system of management of socialist society, (80) the principal requirements of the state apparatus (81) and various aspects of the administrative-managerial personnel. (82)

A major topic for analysis in a further paper in this area would be exactly where the party official ends (full time or part-time) and where the manager begins as civil servant. This is partly seen in the secondment process from the government in India to public sector autonomous undertakings. But on the Soviet side it is far from clear.

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(79) Afanasayev, The Scientific Management of Society, Progress (Moscow, 1971), Chapter III, p.52-58.

(80) *ibid*, Chapter V, p.122-129.

(81) *ibid*, p.130-140.

(82) *ibid*, p.141-148.

Afanasayev also takes us into areas of decision-making, social development plans (83) and what he calls government and social information. (84)

But what his book does more than anything else is to highlight the lack of statistical research rather than the continuous philosophical presentation of what should exist under a socialist society on the road to communism.

Afanasayev certainly opens the door to studies of this kind.

He points out the importance of a Soviet ministry acting in fact like a ministry in any other part of the world -- the following could be applied to most industrialised societies with consumer markets:

In present conditions large-scale problems of industrial management come under the charge of ministries, whose main task is to ensure technological, scientific and methodological uniformity. A ministry maintains contacts with other ministries and boards, its consumers or suppliers. Whether their work is connected with the intellectual or material side of life, ministries have to take into account the fact that they cannot exist without constantly improving their contacts with other branches of the economy. A ministry is responsible for standardisation and unification of equipment and output, and this must be done with an eye to the best economic effect and working conditions. Now that capital goods are sold

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(83) *ibid*, Chapter VIV, p.154-164

(84) *ibid*, p.182.

instead of being handed out, and the consumer will not accept just any product because he has to pay for it, ministries have to devote more attention to scientific methods. (85)

Let us now glance through some of the areas into which books will be catalogued in the bibliography.

### Case Histories

Moving on from bibliographies by Churchward, Horecky, Kolarz and Swartz, we find several case histories which include Merle Fainsod's, Smolensk Under Soviet Rule -- The Smolensk "Hoard" of documents captured during the German retreat from Smolensk town by the Allied powers. The widespread use of this work as a reference book for scholars points to how few case histories have become available about recent Soviet administration. Scholars from the West have in recent years been allowed to do research on the pre-Soviet period using Russian Archives but there appears to be no great volume for the post-1917 period.

A.K. Gastev's, The Proper Way to Work: A Practical Introduction to the Scientific Organisation of Labour, is self-explanatory. The other book noted here is Inkeles' and Bauer's, The Soviet Citizen,

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(85) *ibid*, p.134.

which is a classic based on information from defectors. But this is still in the realm of Kremlinology and not unfortunately Soviet-produced case history material. There are few biographical works apart from Krushev's and Zhukov's autobiographies, the former still in doubt, the latter more concerned with the IIInd World War. This compares very poorly with the Indian scene.

### Managers and the Party Elite

This seems to be the area of most avid research, partly perhaps because the need for penetration of future Soviet policy for foreign governments, or research into international relations.

There is a constant overlap with the industrial sector, so we begin with Arakelian's, Industrial Management in the USSR, 1950 and see Azrael's, Managerial Power and Soviet Politics much later (1966), Joseph Berliner's Factory and Manager in the USSR of 1957. These are largely early works and with the emergence of collegiality after the Stalin personality cult, after 1953, the emphasis seems to have swung towards books like Armstrong's The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite, or Hough's, The Soviet Prefects and some work on social stratification by Alex Inkeles in, Social Changes in Soviet Russia in 1968.

We also find a recent book by A.A. Godunov, Some Problems of the Theory of Production Management, 1965. Other Soviet works include Material for the All-Union Scientific-Technical Conference on the Problems of Scientific Organisation of Socialist Industrial Management, (1966). And there is an attempt, also made by Afanasayev, to define the decision making process in E.V. Shorina's, Kollegialnostie v Sovetskom Gosudarstvennoe Upravelnii, 1959.

#### Comparative

Berliner gives us some work on Managerial incentives in the USSR compared to the U.S. and indeed the small number of books in this field are usually US/USSR, apart from for example, Armstrong's article in the American Political Science Review "Sources of Administrative Behaviour: Some Soviet and European Comparisons".

#### Incentives

This is a particularly difficult area to find material although Granick in his Red Executive does devote some space to the question. Ideologically of course the whole question of incentives, bonuses and the independence and neutrality of the Soviet civil

servant are fraught with difficulties. Without being cynical, Barrington Moore's, Terror and Progress, has to come under this category. This chronicles the purges under Stalin.

### Leaders and their Statements

The role of individuals in the history of the Soviet Union has been particularly important and even under the system of collegiality which seemed to have come with Khrushchev we still find the emergence of men like Brezhnev, who, while he leads a team, is very much the undisputed leader, whatever speculation there may have been about his health recently.

The traditional practise in the Soviet Union would appear to be to outline the aims that should be followed in certain sectors according to leaders' works with much emphasis on Lenin. The difference between that and practise is not at this moment a case in issue but needs to be borne in mind. Otherwise books and statements in this section do provide an overall guide to current official party thinking.

### Local Government

It is hard to unravel this from the work of the Party at the primary level but there are a small number of works in this field which need to be noted



including one by Churchward whom we have mentioned earlier and one by Tucker on field work, as well as more official Soviet work by Vlasov, Sovetsky Gosudarstvenny Apparat.

At this point it seems reasonable to group together the areas of public participation and voluntary organisations, civil servants and the public and the party with the Party secretaries.

There are a number of Soviet works which have been listed under participation including a party work by editors, Shevtsov and Vasilenko: Rabota Partii po Vospitanii Kommunisticheskogo Otnosheniia k Trudu.

On the Party there are the official congress reports which offer official lines to the student and some idea of trends of officially allowed discussion and the degree to which any changes may be taking place.

There are a large number of western works matched to a lesser extent by material such as that presented by Kochetov, Sekretar Obkoma.

This is a critical area for the Soviet Union -- the whole effort of the leadership to have its policies implemented through its administration among the population depends on this. There are works on the party organisation by Soviet writers and of course historical works.

But to what extent they really tell the student about the inner workings of the machinery is another question. This has to be culled from newspapers as Hough has already pointed out, and from books, by, for want of a better word, Kremlinologists, like Shapiro's The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is in spite of the existence of such books like the Spravochnik Partiinogo Rabotnika issued in Moscow. But they all form essential reading material.

There are a limited number of works available in the areas which follow and for convenience they are referred to only in passing. Their absence will be noted in the final chapter because they represent an important element in the administrative process.

Among these areas is that of decision-making. Indeed Afanasayev refers us to what he calls Bokarev's "successful attempt to analyse the existing definitions of control (upravleniye) and describe its main features in his article 'The Scope and Meaning of the Concept of "Control"', Problems of Philosophy, No. 11, 1966." However the main works available are Western.

There is very little work of any value on the question of problem solving or the implementation of policy.

### Planning

Planning in the public sector has always been a major facet of Soviet existence. It also has been one of the most secretive particularly because of the competition war which Khrushchev began in the fifties in his declarations that the USSR would overtake the U.S. economically.

There are Soviet works like Evenko's, Voprosy Planirovaniia v SSSR na Sovromennom Etape, but this dates back to 1959 as do most Soviet works in this field. We are therefore thrown back on Western authors and discover another gap, apart from a few works about models on economic systems in the mid-sixties. Afanasayev treats us to a whole list of works from the West on cybernetics signifying how important he feels this should be when the Soviet planners are at work. This flows over into the next area of statistics with the main work by Mickiewicz from which we have quoted at length and a small number of Soviet works. Mickiewicz' statements are clear enough to indicate the position on statistics for the student.

### Recruitment and Training

This is another problem area which Mickiewicz has pointed out to us. There is also the difficult demarcation between where the party worker ends and

the administrator begins. But Mickiewicz's book, Soviet Political Schools makes us remember that there is a whole training network and recruitment system in the Soviet Union apart from the institutes which produce say civil or electrical engineers. The author refers here to Rigby's, Selection of Leading Personnel in the Soviet State and the Communist Party which could prove of value.

There are number of interesting Soviet works which highlight the awareness of the problem including the whole question of party assignments, Ovalov, and Morozov's Leninskie Printsipy Podbora, Rasstanovka i Vospitaniia Kadrov. But this takes us back to the year 1959 and can hardly be said to be modern. However it should have some permanent value.

### Reform

For Reform one finds works by Western authors, Black's, Transformation of Russian Society, and a Soviet work by Efimov, Perestroika Upravlenii Promyshlennostiu i Stroitelstvom. But one must also look to the press. Also to works by dissident authors such as Amalrik, and Sakharov for ideals of reform and trends in the non-official community which often reflects the problem points of a society.

### Workers' Control

There are a few authors who devote themselves to the question of workers' control which should, of course, be a much bigger thing but must be seen in the context of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### Women

The author has included a bibliographical section on women. This is small but women do form an extremely important part of the workforce of the Soviet Union certainly in the fields of education and medicine and there are interesting comparisons to be made between women administrators of Indian and Soviet society.

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSION

A major obstacle that the author has faced in this brief paper has been the inability to obtain and read all the materials published. Many books and journals referred to are quoted by authors whose books have been available however.

The author makes no secret of the fact that this paper was meant to be an attempt to provide a student with a framework of bibliographical sources which could be used to seek out narrower areas of research.

Because of this it has been necessary to cover a wide number of general areas, in order, so to speak, to pick out the trees in the wood.

In conclusion the author wishes to sketch what seem to be the main areas of similarity between India and the USSR where the administrator is involved. Secondly there will be an examination of the shortcomings in available material and thirdly it is hoped to make suggestions about what comparative areas could be pursued.

Both societies are predated by monarchical rule and administrations which have to some, or to a large

extent, continued in the independence period either by design or necessity. Both have become nation-building societies dealing with large populations which have tried over a comparatively short period of time to advance the welfare of their respective peoples. To do this the administration has a key role to play.

Since their independence, both societies have effectively been run by one party. Certain power groups have held sway in both countries and influenced the administration.

The two countries have large food problems and are known to need to import foodgrains partly through unpredictable weather, partly through inefficiency, mismanagement and waste and partly through bad planning or the lack of it.

There is a large degree of state ownership in both countries although India is still a mixed economy. However, each has spent heavily on public sector projects, often, if one accepts this viewpoint of development, at the expense of consumer goods development and the consumer.

There has been a large element of abnormal state coercion in administering the Soviet Union. The present state of emergency in India appears to be attempting to use abnormal coercion to instil discipline through strong measures and a general invasion of the personal liberty of the individual in an attempt to seek the common good. However, what became institutionalised under Lenin and Stalin has not yet become so in India.

Both societies face peculiar problems of employment. There are not enough people for jobs in the USSR yet there is well known, widespread overmanning. In India there are not enough jobs, thus a drop in the value of labour occurs and yet this produces overmanning also because labour is cheap. The growth of urban areas through the movement of cheap labour has also caused severe housing shortages in both countries.

The civil servant, manager or party secretary are being trained for the same kind of developmental society where the need is to produce enough to feed, clothe, house and provide employment for large populations as well as bring up backward areas as fast as possible so that they do not cause a drain on the wealthier and industrialised areas.



The question of the neutrality of these individuals is a difficult one. In the Soviet Union there is only one party and the individual's loyalty is supposed to be unwavering. But within and around the Party there are all kinds of pressure groups. In India, the civil service, while inheriting a neutral stance in theory from the British, has in fact been at the command of one party since independence through only two family type rulers -- prime ministers Jawaharlal Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi, apart from the brief rule of Lal Bahadur Shastri. This is not to rule out completely collegiality of the Indian cabinet nor collegiality in the Soviet Union since Stalin.

Both administrations are marked by corruption and self-interest. It is difficult in both societies to lose a job once a person has it. There is dependence on the state for housing and it is difficult in both instances for the individual to be financially independent in accommodation because of either pay or conditions of work which tend to wed them to the state machinery. In addition both are dependent on the State for health, security and pensions. Furthermore the family circle plays an important part in the procurement of employment also taking in friends as

well as relations. A Kashmiri group has generally held power in India at the top of the bureaucracy while the Russians as an ethnic group have largely done the same in the Soviet Union.

In terms of education for the administrator there is certainly a much bigger chance for the Soviet person in general than for the Indian. However it might also be argued that the recruitment of individuals still comes from fairly small elite groups because of the use of either special (Soviet) or private (Indian) schools which give the children of the intellectual administrator grouping a better start for their later entry into institutions of higher education.

Both countries face problems of involving the masses in development administration. Soviet propaganda expends a considerable amount of effort on trying to involve people. Much of the party's work at the primary level is also spent in doing this and there are a host of various organisations involving people in 'obshchestvennaya rabota' -- public work. It is difficult to assess how much willing cooperation there is but generally people who are not party members prefer minimal participation particularly during

their home life. During their work life it is a part of the daily round.

The formation of public opinion in relation to the civil services poses problems also. Criticism does exist in the Soviet Union on a formalised basis with more expression in the provincial than the national press. But there is no channel for a body of public opinion to exert itself as there would be in most West European countries, where the press has a role as the fourth estate. In India the newspapers have had an influence on public opinion but it has been rather an elite group of public opinion albeit an important one. The penetration of the masses by the press in the political forum cannot really be said to have occurred. In the same way the sports pages of Soviet newspapers usually draw more attention than the political pages. However, in India, such movements as those of Mahatma Gandhi or today, of Jayaprakash Narayan, to name two, have reached many areas relying on oral communication. The mass meeting is still an important forum in India. The growth in recent months during the emergency of the 'anti-fascist' meeting is more along the lines of Soviet public meetings where what the leadership

seeks is not proposals or discussion from the floor but public approbation of already decided lines of policy.

In both countries, there is also a marked gap between declared policy and its final implementation if one is to judge by criticism at official levels in both societies. Also officials in both states are compelled to violate complex and often non-market responsive laws in order to run their particular sector efficiently. Whether the problem is endemic or not it is hard to tell. Certainly the 20-point programme brought in under the Emergency in India reflects long-standing Congress party programmes and nothing new.

In this context it may be worth quoting Verma again:

Ministerial pronouncements are full of hope. One is led to believe that sooner the progress of the country will be nearing its meridian. If all the past pronouncements came to be fulfilled, this country might have been in the forefront. This is not to denigrate the progress made, but to bring into focus the tribe of Indian ministers, who are like an Alexandrian stanza: read it forward, backward or across, it still spells the same thing -- Promise, Promise, Promise. (86)

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(86) Verma, op. cit., p.40.

### LACK OF MATERIALS

While there are many areas which do differentiate India and the Soviet Union it seems to this author that there are some similarities which are worthwhile exploring to see how each country has deployed its administration.

There are serious difficulties however facing the student who wishes to pursue a comparative study. In examining work by authors like Hough it is possible to see what work can be done on the restricted materials either ordinarily available or which the Soviet themselves might make available. Essential in any such study would be access to Journals and Newspapers. The latter is feasible in New Delhi but only to a very limited extent because early editions have not yet been built up adequately. Of critical importance in such research are provincial newspapers which are not available here and this represents a major hurdle. It would of course probably be possible for a student to make up for this gap by a field visit to the Soviet Union and the use of a place of research such as the Lenin library. These problems do not occur for Indian material.

The value of interviews with individuals in administration cannot be overrated. They can give valuable insight into the problems which he faces in his day to day work. But while such interviews would be possible in India their being possible in the Soviet Union is very much open to doubt. And in one sense they would be even the more necessary there because so little true investigative work has been done by the Soviets for publication in this field.

This leads us on to the question of statistics. We have already seen the valuable analysis that Mickiewicz has carried out in this field and of course we have also seen the painful paucity of material available statistically. Statistical research in administration is available aplenty in India and can generally be regarded as accurate. But the same cannot be said of the Soviet Union.

## AREAS OF COMPARATIVE STUDY

Before considering what areas could be usefully compared in the administrations of both countries some assessment has to be made of the serious difficulties which have just been mentioned. If they cannot be overcome then one has to consider whether they make the task of research so difficult as to be valueless. It is more than likely that the Soviet authorities would not consider allowing a researcher to visit the Soviet Union to pursue the kind of investigations required for adequate academic research. They would perhaps regard these as too delicate. It is probably true that research by the Soviets themselves in this area is on the increase, if one is to judge by the small but sure growth of materials on the subject. Some of them, as can be seen in the bibliography, have appeared in book form while others in terms of sociological research are beginning to appear in significant literary or academic journals. That does not of course mean that the foreigner would therefore have easy access. However, according to some scholars, there does seem to be a shortening of the period for which it takes a certain taboo subject to enter the realms of respectability and acceptability in the USSR.

There is a school of thought which suggests that even when one is faced by severe limitations, such as those mentioned, then since one is aware of a profitable area of research and problem for analysis, then it is worth pursuing them. It could be argued that it is always worth beginning the investigation of certain areas in the hope that at some later stage it may be possible to pursue the matter much further when circumstances change.

Bearing all this in mind, the author would like to suggest some areas relating directly to administration which might be worth taking up on a comparative basis. In the examination of these topics it may prove that there is little to be gained from such research. On the other hand, since the problems faced are often the same perhaps something fruitful may arise which would offer improvements in both societies.

In the first instance the very primary level of recruitment and training of civil servants in both societies offers a basic departure point. This would make it possible to look at the form of education before recruitment, the conflict of whether a developmental society requires a specialist or a generalist, and whether the training really equips them for the work in hand. This need researching in view of the



growth of a whole new school of thought on development theory.

There is a reluctance in both societies for the graduate or professional person to pursue early careers in out of the way places and in both countries this usually means anywhere outside a major city. This raises the whole question of motivation in an individual faced by a developmental situation. Such a situation requires far more initiative and commitment than does probably a job in a developed western society, probably in an acceptable urban environment.

Work in the rural areas of course raises the question of how the civil servant involves the community. There are problems peculiar to India because of illiteracy and numbers but that still leaves open investigation of the other media available today. Indeed in India and the USSR one sees a similar trend for using networks such as television (including satellite-based t.v.) and radio to promote government policies. However what is at question here is how can they help the administrator in his work, how can he gain credibility through them and what kind of information should they endeavour to carry.

This question of communication relates directly to the idea that there must be involvement of the masses in a development administration situation.

There will be problems of comparison here because a large number of Soviets are highly educated and live in cities and there is heavy penetration of the work and home life by the government-run media. But what is open to investigation here is whether that physical penetration does in fact produce mental or psychological results with a corresponding effect on the individual's participation in society. The effect of these efforts is often compared to the way street advertising in the West becomes part of the unnoticed scene and is in fact ignored by the passerby. Another question of course would be how far it affects people subliminally.

The researcher might also consider how far administrators are successful in implementing policy, and how far policy decisions are diluted by the time they reach the implementation stage. The case of the Khrushchev educational reforms is one instance where a major Soviet programme was not implemented because of passive resistance at the teacher/parent level and the various pressure groups which represented them. There have been a number of corruption commissions in India which appear to have had little direct effect. The criticism by reformers of the way the Indian government has been so diffident taking up the recommendations

of the Administrative Reforms Commission is another illustration of the gap between policy and practise.

Indeed there is a general criticism by leaders and pressure groups in both societies of the failure to deliver the goods as promised and on time. The role of the administrator is a key one in this area and important in any changes which might be made.

The line of demarcation of authority between party secretary and factory manager in the Soviet Union is often very confusing. But certainly the way the USSR functions depends very much on their role in industry. To a similar extent in India much depends on the performance of the vast public sector undertakings and on the quality of the man in charge and his subordinates. A study could be undertaken on the way the manager or civil servant copes with his relationship with his political counterpart -- the Indian his ministry or the Soviet manager the party or party secretary. In addition, a valuable avenue of research to help assess their efficiency would be an examination of how the bureaucrat has to violate the law or regulations of his ministry in order to meet targets or deadlines or make a profit.

Finally it could be useful to examine what machinery each administration has for its own reform

and control. The ability to reform is a very important one and is an indicator also of how efficient the administration is by nature. One charge levelled against the Indian government about the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission was that their implementation was handed over to the very people who were to be reformed. To some extent this is the same situation in the Soviet Union where the bureaucracy has vested interests in maintaining the status quo. A group of people who become more resistant to change are also unlikely to be those who help initiate and administer bold public reform policies, and of course without this the prospects of good government in any society diminish considerably.

SOVIET SECTION

Bibliographies

Civil Service and/or The Manager

Case Histories, Biographies and Manuals

Comparative: Soviet and Foreign

General Administration and Textbooks

Incentives, Decision-making, Motive, Role,  
Neutrality and Independence

Leaders and their Statements

Local Government

Participation, Voluntary Organisations and  
Civil Servants vis a vis the Public

Party: Secretary and Structure

Problem Solving and Implementation

Public Sector, Secondment, Planning and Economy

Statistics and Reference Works

Reform and Reorganisation

Training, Recruitment and Education

Workers Control and Labour

Women

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