

CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE IN THE BUREAUCRACY OF PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE RAMIFICATIONS WITH APPOSITE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

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Abstract

This article presents the dynamics and nature of bureaucratic governance in Pakistan during various regimes including some notice of the Colonial period. It discusses the practices and norms of the famous 'steel frame of administration' of the British Raj. Bureaucracy embroiled itself in politics and contravened the golden sayings of Quaid-i-Azam. The colonial tradition of primacy of bureaucrats resulted into politicization of bureaucracy after Pakistan became an independent country. Bureau-politic bonhomie led to institutional decay, arbitrary decision-making, corruption scandals, kick-back culture, rent-seeking behavior and lack of accountability, etc. The study endeavors to explicate the grey areas in the bureaucracy of Pakistan with the objective of suggesting reforms to minimize politicization of bureaucracy, gradual institutional decay, estrangement between federal and provincial services, and promoting culture of accountability to achieve cherished goal of a developed Pakistan in 21st Century.

Keywords: Governance, Bureaucracy, Politicization, Bureau-politic nexus, Institutional decay, Corruption

Introduction

At the very outset, it is important to comprehend the term governance which has been defined differently by different authors. Some believe that it is steering and controlling public affairs. Governance refers to the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as societal and economic

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actors interact to make decisions¹. Thus, bureaucracy can't be restricted to its role of implementation only but governance as well. 'Intelligent governance is anti-bureaucratic. Government should be smart, but also as lean as possible- strong but limited. The issue is not big or small government, but good governance in which power is decentralized and distributed where appropriate and authority is delegated where competence dictates'². Amartya Sen holds that development should include a broad range of freedoms or rights such as the basic capabilities to avoid starvation,

Pivotal role of bureaucracies in the rise and fall of countries can't be undermined.

undernourishment and premature mortality as well as rights to education and being able to participate in the political process"³.

Thus, governance refers to behavioral disposition in different political regimes. Governance is said to have three legs: economic, political and administrative⁴. Governance roots also lie in different roles of various departments and sections of society in collaboration. Socialization, sagacious role of public in constituting political society, executive impact of government, administrative part of bureaucracy, regulatory aspects of financial institutions and conflict resolution by the judicial administration; harmonious performance of above arenas constitute imperative parts of good governance. Disorganized or passive role of any of the dynamics would certainly disturb the efficacy of the other. Policies are implemented by the administrative machinery. Bureaucracy is vital agency of the Government wherein "Ministers decide on policies, and civil servants take the necessary executive actions to implement them"⁵. Pivotal role of bureaucracies in the rise and fall of countries can't be undermined. Bureaucratic arena of governance possesses paramount significance but even lopsided accountability may empower bureaucrats to operate arbitrarily. However, bureaucratic performance in the form of rule of law, politicization, efficient delivery system, public confidence, economic development, institutional strength, rent-seeking attitude and corruption, etc., may be dissected in various regimes.

Governance in Pakistan: Historical Perspective and Nature in Various Regimes

Colonial Regime

In 1600 A.D, the British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) was third commercial body (after the Dutch and French) to explore the coast of India with the sanction of Queen Elizabeth-I, to enhance overseas commercial activities for a term of fifteen years only. The regime was an imperial monarchy⁶. The British possessed a culture of power anomalous even by European standards that found formal expression in the state laws⁷. British rule also established a uniform reign of law⁸. Employees of Company were called "Servants". Office of District Collector was introduced in 1769 for revenue collection but assumed proper role in 1784 as a result of 'Pitt's Act'. Here, role of the servants from mercantile activities transformed into civil servants for Revenue administration. Office of the Governor General was introduced in 1773 with the posting of 'Warren Hastings'. Foundational structure of civil service was attributed to Warren Hastings (1774-85) while Lord Cornwallis (1785-93) implemented the reforms by introducing 'Secretariat System'. Government of India Act-1858, liquidated avaricious rule of the East India Company and the administrative authority was transferred to the British crown. The Governor General also became Viceroy. Office of the Secretary of State for India was created. There were thirteen provinces in the British India which were administered directly by the 'Imperial Civil Service'. There were over four hundred districts in British India and a district officer in each⁹. Afterwards, service was renamed as 'Indian Civil Service' (ICS). By 1934, the system of administration of India was consisting of seven All India Services and five Central Departments. The administrative unification of the Sub-continent was accomplished by British rule. Through successive reforms, it erected a hierarchy of central, provincial and subordinate services which formed the executive branch of the unified state. The thousand to one thousand five hundred members of Indian Civil Service (ICS) were the functional equivalent of the Timurid Empire's five hundred senior-most 'Mansabdars'¹⁰.

According to Philip Mason Akbar, the Great Mughal, tried to give India the unity she had nearly attained once under Ashoka, and once under the Gupta dynasty; his was the third attempt and the fourth was to be the British¹¹. In dissent to the administrative ethos of Mughal Empire, the culture of governance in the British colonialism was not based on servility

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to the king as officers were not the personal servants of even the governor general. Three centuries and a half period rule over a mass of land the size of Europe, the nature of British

Civil Service was political, meant for the British aspirations to rule the sub-continent. Colonial bureaucrats maneuvered as ‘political advisors’ and ‘active agents’, essentially a political role in its nature¹². Rule of law was the pivot of administration in contradistinction to the law of the ruler. There was no theoretical or practical distinction between the civil and military power¹³.

Post-Independence Regime

One of the continuing legacies of the British rule has been in the area of civil administration¹⁴. Colonial administrative structure stemmed its roots from Weberian model of administration-‘Domination or exercise of authority instead of service or performance of duty’¹⁵. On the other hand, primary obligations of the administrative machinery of Pakistan were meant to be citizen-centric, rule-based and apolitical in spirit, wherein decentralization was necessitated to be the hallmark to cater to the needs of the common man at the grass root level. Nation-building and economic survival was the daunting task for the civil servants of Pakistan. Unfortunately, bureaucracy of Pakistan could not succeed to realize such aspirations.

After independence, “Pakistan inherited the powers of the British Government of India but also its administrative machinery. Herein lay a great danger”¹⁶. Junior ICS officers (nearly 105) were granted accelerated promotions while none of them deserved to be posted as federal secretary of

a sovereign state. Impinging upon subtlety of the situation, Quaid-i-Azam presaged the bureaucrats on different occasions in candid words. In an address to a gathering of civil officers of Baluchistan on 14th February 1948, he advised;

“We have met here today without any distinction of being big or small, as servants of the state in order to think out ways and means of advancing the interests of the people and our country. From the highest to the lowest, we all are the servants of the state”⁷.

Addressing the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong on 25th March 1948, he cautioned:-

“You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honor, integrity, justice and fair-play”⁸.

During another informal talk to Civil Officers at Government House Peshawar on 14th April 1948, he alerted,

“Do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go, Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader-this is not your business”⁹.

After the demise of Quaid-i-Azam and assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the civil servants became embroiled in a struggle with the emerging elite of the political parties; CSP soon conflicted with a variety of sectional and entrenched interests²⁰. Members of ICS agreed, not without persuasion, to suffix the letters (ICS-Pakistan) after their names. They prided themselves on the fact that they were entitled to have their pension in Sterling and their home leave in England²¹. The CSP was set up under the patronage of Chaudri Muhammad Ali, a former member of Indian Audit and Accounts Service (IA&AS) it gained strength under another, Ghulam Muhammad, and then reached its zenith under the care of an Indian Political Service officer, Iskandar Mirza²². In 1954, bureaucratic elite stimulated resolution to unite four Western provinces called West-Pakistan. This was meant to create parity between the East Wing (Bengalis) and West Pakistan provinces²³.

Ayub Khan, being martial law administrator, purged few old ICS officers to curtail the unrepressed role of administrative actors. The CSP-class timorously turned to acquiescence. Most of 3,000 dismissals, compulsory retirements and reduction in rank, took place at the lower rank²⁴. The purge rekindled among citizens a sense of rightful pride in the administrative efficiency, patriotic fervor and high moral tenor of President Ayub's revolutionary regime²⁵. CSPs posted in East Pakistan commanded Bengalis in disparaging manner. Principle of 'national integrity' was plunked at the back burner. Soon, grievances multiplied and some people went so far as to suggest that the behavior of West Pakistan officers was the main cause of estrangement between East and West Pakistan. Though this is an exaggerated view, it has an element of truth in it²⁶. No special arrangements were made for selection of federal level officers from East Pakistan. Although ICS/CSP Officers introduced 'Quota System' to escalate the number of Bengalis (East Pakistan Representation) yet their actual strength remained below one fourth of the total despite majority in East Pakistan with reference to population. Let's glance at bureaucratic representation of the two wings in the Civil Service of Pakistan²⁷.

Inter-Wing Representation in Civil Service of Pakistan, 1948-58

Year	No of Officers	East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
		No	% of Total	No	% of Total
1948	18	2	11.1	16	88.9
1949	20	9	45.0	11	55.0
1950	20	6	30.0	14	70.0
1951	11	4	36.4	7	63.6
1952	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1953	13	3	23.1	10	77.9
1954	25	7	28.0	18	72.0
1955	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1956	21	11	52.4	10	47.6
1957	20	7	35.0	13	65.0
1958	24	10	41.7	14	58.3

Inter-wing Representation in Higher Ranks of Central Secretariat of Pakistan 1955-56

The struggle between East and West Pakistan showed itself in the assignment of officers, in the allocation of funds, and the establishment of quotas at the Civil Service Academy (to the detriment of the merit principle)²⁸. West Pakistan elite and the Bureaucracy exacerbated the gulf between the two wings that ultimately led to catastrophic conclusion. During their posting in East Pakistan, Punjab-based bureaucrats treated Bengalis scornfully bearing in mind supercilious superiority of being 'steel frame of administration' and successors of Roman Empire, Lord Macaulay and British Raj. Bengali officers were discriminated and humiliated on the different biases of

West Pakistan elite and the Bureaucracy exacerbated the gulf between the two wings that ultimately led to catastrophic conclusion.

color, creed or skinny structure. Today, it's unimaginable to comprehend the factors for issuance of notification of Bengali language in Arabic manuscript²⁹. The Bengali administrators were a different quality from West Pakistani bureaucrats as the Bengalis were egalitarian in demeanor, more democratic in outlook, more informal, closer to the people in mood and attitude and less haughty³⁰. Supercilious, snobbish and distant demeanour of the West Pakistan bureaucrats sowed the seeds of hatred among the general public and civil servants belonging to East Pakistan. This disposition accentuated feelings of alienation between the two wings of Pakistan.

Purges in bureaucracy were made to capsize the dominance of CSP class. The purges of 303 and 1303 witnessed dismissal of a number of ICS/CSP officers by General Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1969 and 1972 respectively. This purge of bureaucracy politicized the institution as the peril of termination from service was hanging over their heads. Bhutto regime of nationalization pointed out critical role of in-efficient, unskilled and corrupt elite of Pakistan. During the military regime of General Zia (1977-88), bureaucracy stabilised itself. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Roedad Khan (Interior Secretary) and Ijlal Haider Zaidi (Defence Secretary) were three

close confidants in Zia administration³¹. General Zia gave greater confidence to civil servants by putting an end to the practice of screening. During Zia regime, army exerted a pre-eminent role in policy making while the bureaucracy was only meant to implement the policies. However, bureaucrats felt a sigh of relief in terms of their purges.

In Musharraf Regime, Devolution plan-2001 was strategized to devolve political, financial and administrative power to district, tehsil and union council levels³². Office of the Deputy Commissioner was abolished on 14th August, 2001 and replaced with District Coordination Officer. A newly carved out slot of elected Mayor (District Nazim) was introduced as administrative pivot in the district whereas the District Coordination Officer and District Police Officer were kept under his subordination. Local Government Ordinance, setting detailed rules for district-level governance was recognized by the World Bank as silent revolution in Pakistan³³. Initially, bureaucrats took this system as another move to curtail their administrative powers. Many DMG officers opted for higher study programmes abroad. However, keeping in view hefty financial powers of District Coordination Officers (upto 50 Million) as 'Principal Accounting Officer' and incharge of twelve departments at district level, they again hustled in the mainstream. General Musharraf said, "I had to withstand tremendous pressure and intrigue from the bureaucracy trying to nip this system in the bud, but we held our ground and succeeded in putting the new system in place"³⁴. Rent-seeking attitudes, kick-back and corruption culture seeped widely in the higher echelons of bureaucracy through a channelised system of lucrative postings for blue-eyed young officers. Pakistan Muslim League (N) issued a white paper referring corruption scandals of stock exchange, sugar scandals, oil and cement cartels, Pepco, land mafia's loot, privatization of HBL, Pak American Fertilizer, PTCL etc, pertaining to Musharraf regime³⁵.

Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) remained in power for five years (2008-2013) and maneuvered to complete full tenure for the first time in the political history of Pakistan. Punjab - the biggest province, was run by Pakistan Muslim League (N) while the center and Sind by PPP. Apart from

18th amendment-2010 and 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, the government was confronted with serious governance issues and corruption scandals. Junior federal officers (DMG & ex-cadre) of 18 and 19 grades, came to be regarded as de-facto rulers of Punjab. In dissent to the principle of subsidiarity, Local Government elections were always avoided deliberately, denigrating the same as a legacy of Musharraf regime. State-owned enterprises like Pakistan International Airline (PIA), Pakistan Steel Mill (PSM), Pakistan Railways fell victim to inefficiency mainly because of nepotistic practices. Rental power Scam, NICL corruption case, Swiss-bank and Ephedrine quota cases adversely affected the governance indicators. During this regime, bureau-politic collusion and their corruption was the trademark of the provincial and federal governments in Pakistan. Federal DMG officers were able to enhance their status through a change in nomenclature from District Management Group (DMG) to Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS) on 21st May, 2012. PAS members started use of suffix PAS with their names. This was a tactical move to divert the attention of the nation that was well conversant with the corrupt practices of DMG officers.

During the PML (N) government (2013 till date), bureaucracy was politicized. Some Federal officers working in Punjab were pulled out to run the affairs of the federation. Both the governments at the federal and Punjab levels came to be run by federal DMG/PAS officers. Political posting of junior officers at higher levels, cronyism, tax concession packages to favoured business concerns business-friendly economy rather than market friendly economy, economic growth through the business elite have been the main features of the PML (N) regime. Pakistan's premier, Nawaz Sharif, was ousted as a result of Supreme Court's verdict in Panama Paper Leaks³⁶.

In 2014, deaths of around 200 innocent children in Sind (Thar-Mithi) due to food (starvation) and health issues represented a testimony of the mismanagement, governance crisis and lack of accountability in the administrative machinery of Pakistan³⁷. Worsening law and order situation and daily killings in Karachi (Sind) and Quetta (Baluchistan) raised big question marks on the skills and institutional quality of the bureaucracy of Pakistan.

Provincial officers of Punjab were discriminated vehemently in terms of promotion, transfer and posting. They were not promoted at par with their due share after 18th March, 2011. Government extended federal quota system for further twenty years³⁸. Extension of quota³⁹ and discrimination with provincial officers⁴⁰ was contravention to the spirit of provincial autonomy bestowed through Constitution (18th Amendment)-2010.

Administrative Ramifications

Politicization of Bureaucracy

After the assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan, bureaucracy grabbed power with a dominating role. This fault line weakened the other institutions. The primacy of unelected institutions over representative organs left Parliament weak and subservient to the executive⁴¹. Political institutions began to be seen as weaker than the steel frame of bureaucracy⁴². The higher bureaucracy diverged from the sayings of Quaid and adopted a dominant position over politicians. Constituent Assembly was dissolved. During this period, there was alliance between the bureaucracy and the army through the “gang of four” consisting of Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub Khan⁴³. Power sharing arrangements were made between army and bureaucracy during Ayub regime (1958-68). The bureaucracy acquired strength by adopting a sub-servient role under military. The ICS/CSP bureaucrats as commissioner, Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners played a biased and political role through Basic Democracies (BD) System. The presidential election of 1965 allowed the CSP to show its ‘loyalty’ to the military dictator⁴⁴. During the military regime of General Zia, they heaved a sigh of relief from the Damocles Sword, hovered by Z.A.Bhutto. Bureaucrats enjoyed the political instability of 1990’s and PPP’s period (2008-2013) wherein different political parties faced the dilemma of multi-party governments at federal and provincial level. Shrewd bureaucrats were articulate in maneuvering such asymmetry of governments as the chief executive of the province had no administrative powers to suspend any federal officer. Punjab discerned this crisis wherein the then Principal Secretary to Chief Minister, Dr. Tauqeer Shah was

generally referred as the de-facto CM of the Punjab⁴⁵. In 2014, PML (N) appointed serving federal bureaucrats, Habibullah Khan Khattak–Federal Secretary for Ports and Shipping, Arbab Muhammad Arif–additional Chief Secretary of Fata and Fawad Hassan Fawad–Additional Secretary at PM’s Office, as member of ‘Taliban Peace Committee’ for holding dialogues with militants⁴⁶. Current period of PML (N), 2013 onward is the domination and recurring rise of bureaucrats through politicization of bureaucracy. This tenor of rising tide has swept Punjab as well.

A culture of amassing unlimited wealth by hook or by crook in the shortest possible time has taken root.

Civil servants have learnt the art of being a part of political regimes to enjoy the power corridors, arbitrary authority in decision-making, being de-facto rulers, channelized environment of policy making for vested interest, imperial life-style, white-collar corruption and unlimited perks and privileges. A culture of amassing unlimited wealth by hook or by crook in the shortest possible time has taken root⁴⁷. They have concerns only to please the ruling elite for their vested gains, not for the common man. Now these little cogs of Max Webber are no more servants of state but the real masters of destiny of the marginalized public.

Gradual Institutional Decay

For early two decades, Pakistan has known only limited franchise wherein political institutions were weaker than the steel frame of bureaucracy⁴⁸. Successive regimes of Pakistan’s polity transformed bureaucracy into politicized institution to avoid imperils of dismissals, transfers and postings. Institutional strength was clubbed with regimes and rules of the game. Charles H. Kennedy disagrees with the quota system in the words, ‘the quota selects candidates who, according to whatever criterion of merit is employed, are not the ‘best’ available for appointment. Arguably, such a selection policy makes the bureaucracy less efficient’⁴⁹. Academic standards of colleges and universities are not capable of

producing potential candidates for civil service examination. Current education system (policies, plans, programs and schemes) is not more than pronouncements and glowing optimism of success⁵⁰. Federal Public Service Commission recruits only 7.5% on open-merit while 92.5% are recruited on quota-basis, as under⁵¹:

Percentage of Quota-Based and Open-Merit Recruitment

Induction	Detail of Quota						
	Punjab	Sind	KPK	Baluchistan	Fata/ Gilgit-Baltistan	AJK	Open-Merit
Percentage	50	19	11.5	06	04	02	7.5

It has been observed that the best products of the present poor education system do not normally sit for the civil service examination⁵². Federal and Provincial Civil Servants are trained through Civil Service Academy, Management and Professional Development Department (MPDD) and National School of Public Policy and Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC). Semblance of training is imparted mostly through guest speakers (seminars), multi-media presentations which is void of hectic research assignments. The courses are so superficial and the evaluation of participants so soft as to pose no great intellectual challenge to the current generation of officers with rather modest intellectual endowments⁵³. Intellectual capacity of administrative machinery was also jeopardized by dismissals, transfers and postings. Politic-bureaucrat nexus resulted into arbitrary decision-making. The decline further aggravated institutional decay. Roedad Khan, a former member of higher bureaucracy asks: "Is it surprising that the image of service is tarnished and public confidence in its integrity, objectivity and ability to deliver is totally shattered"⁵⁴ Intellectually and morally crippled machinery is incapable to resolve the issues of biting poverty and social polarization, ethnicity and sectarianism, breakdown of law and order and economic growth. The prevalent training environment does not groom bureaucrats to cope with such formidable problems.

Estrangement between Federal and Provincial Services

Estrangement was pre-eminent since inception of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan passed a resolution in 1950 to maintain the CSP as an all-Pakistan service⁵⁵. East Pakistan initially conveyed reluctance to the posting of West Pakistan Officers. The Provincial Civil Service officers voiced their resentment against the virtual 'provincial zing'. It was also argued that if the duties and responsibilities of CSP and PCS officers were practically the same, why should the CSP officers be promoted much faster than their PCS counterparts⁵⁶. As a result of CSP (composition & cadre) Rules-1954, 25% posts were reserved for Provincial Civil Service (PCS) Officers⁵⁷. But this was changed because All Pakistan Unified Grades (APUG) introduced in 1973 gave no benefit to PCS. After the promulgation of the Constitution-1973, Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was abolished and a new service group, District Management Group (DMG) was introduced. DMG was not the successor of CSP. In fact, CSP comprised of two services while DMG was only one.

Inter Provincial Coordination Committee Formula-1993						
PROVINCE	BPS-17	BPS-18	BPS-19	BPS-20	BPS-21	BPS-22
PUNJAB	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
SIND	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
NWFP	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%
BALUCHISTAN	25%	40%	50%	60%	65%	100%

On 19th September, 1993, DMG fixed lion's share for themselves and deprived PCS Officers in Inter Provincial Coordination Committee (IPCC) Formula⁵⁸. In Punjab, PCS were discriminated by the DMG officers. Promotions of PCS Officers from BS-17 to BS-18 were prolonged for almost 20 years while DMG Officers were promoted within 4-5 years. Junior DMG Officers were posted on one or two step higher posts. Senior PCS Officers

were forced to work under Junior DMG Officers. All important posts of Chief Secretary, Additional Chief Secretary, Senior Member Board of Revenue, Chairman (P&D), heads of attached departments, autonomous bodies, and almost all projects were captured by DMG. In 2010, posting of DMG officers in the provinces was challenged in the Supreme Court of Pakistan by the provincial services of four provinces through seven Constitutional Writ Petitions, i.e,53/2010,54/2010,55/2010,56/2010 and others. On peaceful demonstration for rights in Punjab civil secretariat, 73 PCS officers were arrested on 18thMarch, 2011⁵⁹. Provincial officers were suppressed and discriminated vehemently. In 2014, a Statutory Regulatory Order (SRO) opened up new litigations between even federal service groups (Secretariat Group and DMG). PCS and PMS Officers were despised as subalterns of civil service. Provincial officers were intimidated by ruling bureaucratic elite and made to embrace a subservient role under the Federal Officers (DMG). This estrangement between federal and provincial officers further marred prospects of good governance. Discriminatory policies of DMG(now PAS), slow promotion prospects of PCS officers and absence of All Pakistan Service (APS) as enunciated in Article-240 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, led to institutional decay and further inflated the already existing gulf between federal and provincial officers.

Culture of Unaccountability

Mutuality of interest between certain politicians and bureaucrats resulted into culture of corruption. In addition to this, lack of knowledge, skills and expertise, coupled with myopic vision of the politicians, infested bureaucrats with influential role in policy making. National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and Anti-Corruption Establishment (ACE) were run, directly or indirectly, by bureaucrats of the same clique. ACE has rarely lodged any corruption case against any Secretary, Commissioner or DCO belonging to federal service group as compared to the provincial service officers. Commission culture has pervaded so deep in the development works that it

is not considered as an evil practice now. Channelized corruption vitiated accountability mechanism.

Policy Recommendations

Bureaucracy is the backbone of any government which transforms ideas and suggestions into reality and actions for the public good. Following policy recommendations can improve the governance parameters:-

- Concept of intelligent government of 21st Century is anti-bureaucratic. Under the principle of subsidiary, decentralization and development of local government system with independent financial, political and legislative powers, can improve the participation of civil society toward better governance. Such devolution may break the hegemony of the bureaucrats and this alienation from public. It will improve national unity wherein common man may feel privileged and empowered.
- Ascendency of one group over the other must be wiped out during in-service trainings. Training institutes, meant for mid-career management and high profiles, must stress upon development through research techniques under the supervision of highly skilled research scholars rather than bureaucrats (meant for policy implementation only). International community can help to improve the prevalent civil service structure through modernized methods of administration. Un-reformed, degenerated and un-skilled bureaucracy can never improve governance.
- Politicization of bureaucracy must be abandoned through new legislation and stringent rules to keep the bureaucracy apolitical, unbiased and neutral. Stern action must be initiated against politically affiliated bureaucrats. This detachment would improve bureaucratic efficiency.
- Independent Judicial Commission to settle the inter-services, inter-provincial and federal-provincial controversies regarding provincial share, posting of federal officers in provinces, promotions, transfers and posting matters. This commission may be established without the

representation of any serving or retired bureaucrat. Commission may also remove the violation of Constitution relation to Article 240 and proviso of Article 27 of Eighteenth Amendment.

- Civil Service must be modernized and purged through screening and right-sizing. If DMG clique can't mend their ways and they still think themselves steel frame of administration with this inefficiency, then modernization and purge must become imperative and operative.
- Provincial Civil Services (PCS) of each Province are equally able to run the affairs of the state in the Provinces and Federal Service Groups (Railways, Accounts, Foreign Service, Customs, Inland Revenue, Postal Services, Secretariat Group etc.) are capable to run the federation and federating units. Their pertinent role must be improved through rigorous local and foreign trainings, higher studies, research methodologies and annual training courses.
- Hydra-headed monster of corruption must be dealt with iron hand policy. Bureaucrats living beyond their means or involved in mal-practices must be screened out. Channelized corruption may be checked through the imperative role of secret agencies. Anti-Corruption Establishment and NAB have lost their efficacy due to politically biased posting of bureaucrats in these agencies. Refurbishment of posting system through the officers of high integrity can recuperate accountability mechanism.
- Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions must be transparent, independent and un-biased. Currently, it comprises of retired bureaucrats who have already worked in the same bureaucratic environment. This may promote favoritism to their colleagues, minimizing genuine chances of selection for brilliant candidates. This practice must be put to an end to convalesce public confidence, transparency and validity of recruitment process so that common man may enjoy the fruits of equity, justice and fair-play.

Conclusions

It is concluded that institution of bureaucracy has lost the skill, efficiency and competency which they inherited from the colonial legacy. Due to lack of research, coupled with superficial training environment, current lot of bureaucrats is incapable to comprehend the nature of formidable problems of poverty, social polarization, ethnicity and sectarianism, breakdown of law and order and economic regression. Decline in intellectual capacity has marred the prospects of governance parameters. Major institutes (National School of Public Policy and others) meant for training and professional development have badly failed in achieving the target of skilled and intellectually well-equipped bureaucrats to run the affairs of the state successfully. Irony of fate is that training institutes in the country are also run by the same clique of bureaucrats. How can a constricted mind in a morbid and nostalgic environment propound fresh and healthy ideas?

Politicization of bureaucracy debilitated this institution in different ways. Primacy of PAS officers during the current government resulted into politicization, bureau-politic bonhomie, institutional decay, arbitrary decision-making, corruption scandals, kick-back culture, white-collar crime and lack of accountability. Channelized corruption further aggravated the crisis. Bureau-politic nexus at federal and provincial level empowered bureaucrats with preeminent and decisive position in policy making. It made them unaccountable in the absence of proper checks and balances. Public policies continue to be formulated for vested interests of elite genre at the expense of public exchequer and heavy debt of foreign and domestic loans.

NOTES

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- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ Greek word Nomos means 'Law or Custom'.
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