BASIC DEMOCRACIES FOR PLANNING IN PAKISTAN

Thesis for the Degree of M. U. P.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Mohammad Riaz Shafqat
1966

ABSTRACT

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by Mohammad Riaz Shafqat

Basic Democracies, although having the "sound and connotation of a purely political reform of wide scope, is a comprehensive and orderly scheme for development. This is a realistic combination. Politics and economics (or development) have always been interrelated and mutually supporting. Under this system, the political framework emphasizes maximum democratic participation and responsibility on the part of large numbers of citizens and sets the stage for a motivational base for development. Likewise, sound and stable political systems rest ultimately on increased production and other material substances for life, which in turn provide the means of improving standards of education, health, other social services, and general welfare. In other words, politics and development go hand-in-hand. This inseparable relationship was vividly recognized by the leaders of the revolution of eight years ago.

The principal functions of Basic Democracies are officially described as:

1. Administrative and coordinative,
2. Local self government and services, and
3. Development.

Although the first two major functions of Basic Democracies are very important, this thesis will emphasize the developmental functions set forth in the Basic Democracies Order with particular attention given to those aspects of development which are concerned with the rural people and rural organization. This is of paramount importance since most of the people in Pakistan live in rural areas and the machinery of Basic Democracies (Union, Tehsil/ Thana and District Councils) operates in rural settings.

The findings of this research reveal three important omissions made in the Basic Democracies Order:

1. To emphasize individual responsibility of the people,
2. To incorporate any reference to"Family Planning,"
3. To provide a clear division of responsibility between the various levels of Basic Democracies.

Emphasis is given in this thesis to understand the nature of change, why people sometimes resist it, how to introduce it and why?

An excellent way of achieving the change is by giving the power of initiative to the people and involving them with the process of administration of small projects. This is vital and basic to the realization of individual responsibility among the masses and leads them on a path of development of which they would be proud.

Family planning has been recommended to follow the pattern of close working with the Divisional, District, Tehsil/Thana and Union Council, especially at the last level which constitutes rural areas with 85% population of Pakistan.

For a clear delineation of responsibility between the various levels of Basic Democracies, it is suggested that a clear guide line should have been provided by the Basic Democracies Order based on a pattern to be coordinative at Tehsil/Thana and Divisional levels and operational at the Union and District levels.

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER IN URBAN PLANNING

School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture

1966

"Future holds little hope
for a country,

where the present holds
no hope for the people."

Lyndon B. Johnson

To my father,

Munawar Khan,

Member of West Pakistan Legislative Assembly,

1962-65; 1965-70,

who calls it "Baseless Democracies."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great deal to Professor Charles W. Barr, whose ever available guidance and assistance made the preparations of this thesis possible. His valuable guidance was most useful and beyond just academics. I extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to him for making my stay in Michigan State University most pleasant and memorable. I wish to thank Professor Myles Boylan, Director, and all other faculty members of the School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture at Michigan State University who helped make my stay at the University worthwhile.

I still feel greatly indebted to my father whose leadership, association, and views of the Basic Democracies gave me the inspiration to pursue this topic. My remark of his views about the Basic Democracies in the dedication of this thesis is based on his belief of this institution's weakness in yielding to the pressure exerted by the government in its desire for political gains. And I fully agree with him. Twice elected by Basic Democracies to the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly, 1962-65, and 1965-70, he had

a bitter experience, especially on the latter occasion when the Minister of Home of the Central Government, Mr. Habib Ullah Khan, apparently succeeded with his usual political tactics in declaring my father un-elected. But on a petition to the Election Commission, he was declared elected honorably to be enjoying the confidence, trust, and faith of the people. And this he always had because of his firm belief in the cause of the people and his fight for it to the end.

Finally, I would also like to thank Dr. M. A. Waheed Fakhri, Assistant Education Officer in the Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., who has contributed in gathering data; and my younger brother, Dr. Mohammad Naseem Khan, for his prompt help in sending me some important books about Basic Democracies from Pakistan.

Grateful appreciation is also extended to the Ford Foundation; the Institute of International Education (U.S.A.); the Government of West Pakistan, Communication and Works Department; and West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority for their valuable assistance in making my wonderful stay in the United States possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Concept of Democracy

The development of the concept of democracy has a long history whose final chapter is yet to be written. In consequence, it is not susceptible to a cut and dried definition. Of this the expert is conscious, but not so the average man. Caught in the fast-moving world around him, he has little time, even if he had the inclination, to ponder over this. He is quite willing to accept the identification of democracy with a well-known form of government or with the mechanics of its election and recall. But the fact that the voters of one country, unlike those of another, may not possess the minimum level of awareness, which would enable them to comprehend the significance of the vote they cast, is generally not taken into account.

Similarly, it is not realized that a Parliament so constituted may not be in a position truly to reflect the aspirations of the mass of the people and solve their problems, because of the sheer physical distance and mental disparity between the electorate and the elected.

To limit democracy merely to a particular form of government or a system of its election is to take a narrow view of the concept which is based upon the recognition of the equality of man enjoying the inalienable efficiency as it will obviate frequent references to higher authority.

Since the people will have the power to take action themselves, and to influence official action, it will do much to inculcate an attitude of realism, a spirit of self-help and a capacity for positive action, which is one of the major tasks of national reconstruction. Therefore, it is desirable to review some important steps in the development of Pakistan's form of democracy.

Democracy in Pakistan Before 1958

After Partition in 1947, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan began to draft a constitution for the new country. Factional rivalries delayed the work of the Assembly.

Although it finally approved a draft constitution in September, 1954, the Assembly was dissolved the following month and nothing came of its efforts.

A second Constituent Assembly began work in July, 1955, and succeeded in enacting a constitution which went into force in March, 1956. Under the new Constitution, the Republic of Pakistan became a federation composed of the two provinces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. At the federal level, the constitution provided for a President, a Cabinet of Ministers with a Prime Minister at its head and a unicameral National Assembly. At the provincial level, each province had a governor appointed by the President and a Cabinet of Ministers headed by a Chief Minister, as well as a unicameral assembly.

The National Assembly replaced the Constituent Assemblies as the center of a power struggle in which party lines were often less important than the ambitions of individual politicians. The country fell prey to widespread dissension which, among other things, accentuated differences between East and West Pakistan. Coalition governments changed frequently. None of them stayed long enough to improve substantially the economic situation.

The country could ill afford the heavy burden placed on its impoverished resources. Although many gains had been made since partition, economic growth had been disappointing in spite of mounting development expenditures, increasing foreign aid and the consumption of foreign exchange reserves. Increased food imports were needed to compensate for worsening food shortages. It was generally believed that hoarding and smuggling were intensifying the scarcity of food grains. Standards of public administration and probity declined. Increasing political dissension and growing economic problems finally precipitated a crisis.

After the President had met the crisis by abrogating the Constitution, dismissing the National and Provincial Assemblies, and abolishing all political parties, a military regime assumed power in October, 1958. Drastic measures which the new government took to contain inflation and to halt the loss of exchange reserves caused some initial uncertainty, but popular confidence in the regime increased as it gave increasing evidence of political, economic and financial rectitude, political stability, and a desire to support measures for developing the economy.

Creation of Basic Democracies

In October, 1959, a new and unique system of "Basic Democracies," first of its kind in Asia was evolved and introduced in Pakistan. The cardinal principal underlying the institution of "Basic Democracies" was that all people should be actively associated with the conduct of public affairs right from the village level.

The Basic Democracies represent the government's attempt to give the people of Pakistan an opportunity to participate in the political and developmental process in a different way than those found in the usual forms of democratic representation. The members of this institution constitute the Electoral College of Pakistan, which elects the President and the central and provincial legislatures. The Basic Democracies are also considered to be the organs of local self government. As such, they have been assigned economic functions, which emphasize their responsibility for agricultural, industrial, and community development. While effective power remains largely in the hands of the President of Pakistan and the two Provincial Governors he appoints, a measure of "democratic decentralization" is being sought at various levels.

Under the Basic Democracies Order issued in October, 1959, "Union Councils" are to be created throughout the country to be responsible at the local level for agricultural, industrial, and community development. As prescribed in this Order, for the purpose of election to the institution of Basic Democracies, there are Local Areas, such as the Division, the District, the Tehsil/Thana,[1] and the Unions and Towns.

A Division is the largest geographical governmental unit. It is an administrative and revenue unit and is administered by a Divisional Commissioner. (There are 12 Divisions in West Pakistan and 4 Divisions in East Pakistan.) A Division is divided into Districts which are further sub-divided in descending order of importance, as administrative and revenue units, called Tahsils/Thanas.

As far as Towns and Unions are concerned, the Commissioner[2] may divide in the prescribed manner, the urban

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[1] Tehsil and Thana are the same thing except that Tehsil is used in W. Pakistan and Thana is used in East Pakistan.

[2] "Commissioner" means the chief officer in charge of the revenue administration of the Division concerned, and as respects the Federal Capital, the Administrator of Karachi, and includes any officer specially appointed by the Government to perform all or any of the functions of a Commissioner.

and rural areas of a Tehsil/Thana as the case may be, within his jurisdiction, separately into a number of areas called Unions. This is done by notification in the official Gazette. The name "Union" is applied to both rural and urban areas. Areas which are a mixture of urban and rural development cells shall be declared as Towns.

According to sub-rule (6) of rule 5) of the West Pakistan Basic Democracies Election Rules, 1959, the Commissioner may divide a Union or a Town into wards or declare the entire Union or Town a ward. In the demarcation of wards the principles to be observed are: a) that the area comprised in a ward shall be contiguous as far as possible, b) that a ward shall have as many representatives elected members as the Commissioner determines, c) that where a ward is a single-member ward its population shall not be less than 400 or more than 1,200, and d) where the ward is a multiple-member ward, there shall be one seat for every unit of 800 population and where the total population is not exactly divisible by 800, the remainder shall be disregarded if it is less than 400 and shall be counted as 800 if it is 400 or more.

In the case of East Pakistan the principles are that there shall be one elected member for every 1,000 persons, and the number of elected members of a union should ordinarily be 10.

The divisions of wards is purely an administrative act, and it cannot be challenged except by alleging and establishing that the government did it malafide, capriciously, or arbitrarily.

Finally from this whole process 80,000 members are elected, 40,000 each from West and East Pakistan. These members are called Basic Democrats or members of Basic Democracies and they constitute local councils, such as:

1. A Union Council for a Union in rural areas; and a Town Committee for a Town or a Union Committee for a Union in urban areas;
2. A Tehsil/Thana Council for a Tehsil/Thana;
3. A District Council for a District;
4. A Divisional Council for a Division.

Previously Union Councils were to be supplemented by five or six nominated members with special technical qualifications or representing specified interests like organized labor, etc. However, the government decided that no nomination would be made to the Union Council, which

would therefore have all elected members and they would elect their own chairman.

The Union Councils (Town Committees in the Towns and Union Committees in urban areas) thus constitute the base of a pyramid consisting in all of five[3] ascending levels of councils each representing larger geographic units. At the level immediately above the Union Councils are the Tehsil/Thana Councils headed by a Tehsil officer. At the third level are the District Councils headed by Deputy Commissioners or District Magistrates, who are civil servants and at the fourth, the Divisional Councils under the chairmanship of Divisional Commissioners, who are also civil servants. Councils at each level send delegates to the councils on the next higher level, e.g., all the chairmen of the Union Councils, Town Committees, and Union Committees are members of Tehsil or Thana Council, etc. All councils above the level of the Union Council are composed of elected and appointed representatives. The higher the level of the council, the greater the participation of appointed or official members. Chart one gives this organization in detail.

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[3]Previous to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of 1962 there were two Provincial Advisory Councils as a fifth tier of the Basic Democracies, each headed by the Provincial Governor. After the inauguration of the assembly in 1962, this tier was abolished. (See Chart 1)

CHART 1

BASIC DEMOCRACIES

PROVINCIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
Term of Office: 5 years
Chairman: Governor of the Province

Official Members	Appointed Members
Will include heads of appropriate government departments.	Equal numbers to official members, at least one-third from amongst the chairmen of Union Councils.

DIVISIONAL COUNCIL
Term of Office: 5 years
Chairman: Commissioner (Ex-officio)

Official Members	Appointed Members
Chairmen of District Councils in the Division (Ex-officio); and officers in charge in the Division of specified government departments (Ex-officio).	Total Number not less than that of official members; at least one-half to be from among chairmen of Union Councils.

DISTRICT COUNCIL
Term of Office: 5 years
Chairman: Deputy Commissioner (Ex-officio)

Official Members	Appointed Members
Chairmen of Tehsil Councils (Ex-Officio) and officers-in-charge in the District of specified government departments (Ex-officio).	Total Number not less than that of official members; at least one-half to be taken from among chairmen of Union Councils.

TEHSIL/THANA COUNCIL
Term of Office: 5 years
Chairman: Tehsil Officer/ Sub-divisional Officer (Ex-officio)

Official & Appointed Members	Representative Members
Total Number not more than one-half of representative members.	Chairmen of Union Councils

UNION COUNCIL
Union or Town Committees in Urban Areas or Towns
Term of Office: 5 years
No official shall be a member of the Union Council.
Chairman: To be elected by Union Council
10 to 15 Members: One or more elected members from each ward

Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward Ward

P E O P L E

Constitutional Changes

In March, 1962, a second constitution was adopted for the country. It provides for a federal form of government, a President with strong powers elected indirectly through the Basic Democracies system and unicameral national and provincial legislative assemblies.

All legislation requires the assent of the President, who may also promulgate ordinances when the National Assembly is not in session, subject to subsequent approval by the Assembly. The President appoints a Council of Ministers to assist him in the performance of his functions.

The Central Government has jurisdiction over matters relating to security, coordination of national economic affairs, planning and development, coordination of the two provinces where required, international relations and dealings with international agencies.

The provinces are given considerable autonomy in fields which are not reserved to the central government. Provincial governors, who are appointed by the President, name Provincial Councils of Ministers subject to the President's approval. Bills passed by a provincial assembly do not become law unless the Governor assents to them by signing.

Hope for the Future

For the first time, rural Pakistan will govern herself through her directly elected representatives. It is a big step forward over the previous attempts at the local government under which functions of small urgency and minor consequence were allocated to the so-called representative institutions, which in any case did not percolate down to the village level. They were usually inadequately financed and poorly staffed. In consequence their contribution to the welfare of the community was negligible. Activity in the public weal sectors has been conducted by several departments of the Provincial Government, working more or less independently of one another, although in times of emergency, the district officer does play some sort of a coordinative role. Now the government authority has been effectively decentralized and coordinated at the district level.

In addition, Basic Democracies provide adequate machinery for the solution of the villagers' more immediate problems very near to home. His Union Council enjoys considerable executive and judicial powers and thus obviates the necessity of his having to undertake the journey

to the district headquarters, to place his problems before the "Mai Bap" (Mother and Father) of the community. This concept of the district officer is, in any case, an anachronism under the new system. He is now more of a friend, guide and philosopher and that will be his role as chairman of the District Council.

More important still, the introduction of Basic Democracies will restore to the common man the human dignity of which he was deprived under the system of the past and to which he is entitled as much as anybody else in free Pakistan. This should bring out the best in him. At any rate, the leadership of the day has complete faith in him and it is now up to him, through hard work and honesty, to justify this confidence.

Pakistan is pledged to the democratic way of life. The attempt to plant an alien concept of democracy did not succeed. A system entirely our own, more suited to the genius of our people, all the same as democratic in essence, has been introduced instead. It is just the beginning and not the end. In fact, there is no final stage in a genuine democracy. Ours too, we hope, will be a process ever evolving.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Need for Basic Democracies

Democracy is often mistakenly identified with particular forms of government such as the British or the American, or confused with the mechanics of electing or recalling governments under these systems. This is too narrow a view of a concept which has, over the centuries, come to be based upon the recognition of equality of man and his inalienable right to happiness as a member of society. The method must vary from clime to clime and reflect the temperament of the people it claims to represent.

Having acknowledged social welfare and public weal as the ideals of human endeavor, the next logical step is to determine the most suitable means to achieve them. Through trial and error resulting at times in extreme violence, man's ingenuity has eventually come to recognize that the only way to respond to the individual's wants is to associate him with the process of authority. The method of association would have presented little difficulty had

there been a uniformity in the social and intellectual development of the human race. The world is, however, divided into a large number of communities, each one a product of its own environment. Consequently, we notice the existence of different practices even in a people belonging to the same racial stock.

For instance, the Anglo-Saxons on either side of the Atlantic Ocean owe allegiance to different methods for the pursuit of an identical ideal--the welfare of the community in their respective realms. On the eastern side of the Atlantic, sovereignty rests in the person of a hereditary monarch who exercises it through his Prime Minister elected along with approximately 600 others to Parliament, of which he must continue to command the confidence to retain his post between elections. There is no written constitution sanctioning it. It is a convention based upon, as it were, a gentleman's agreement. It has worked for some hundreds of years.

In America, however, sovereignty belongs to the people. They exercise it through a President who is practically directly elected for a term of four years. They also have an elected Senate and a House of Representatives, but the President is not responsible to either. Their system

is based upon a series of checks and balances which also govern the relationship between the Federation and its constituent units. Unlike their British cousins, the Americans have a written Constitution.

Then, there are countries on the European continent. Their systems of government, being the product of their respective environments are also not altogether alike.

The recent history of the East is one of political subjugation or economic exploitation. Although political emancipation has come to its large areas since the end of World War II, the scars from the past in the form of educational, economic, and political backwardness persist. Conscious of the enormous responsibilities which their recently-won independence has placed on them, both in national and international fields, the countries of the East have been working hard to narrow the gap between their backwardness and the Wests' progress. In so doing, at times they try and benefit from the experience of the West by adapting Western ideas to suit their own conditions. On occasions, they merely try to adopt the European system.

Independent Pakistan's attempts at constitution-making fall under the latter category. Years of political association with the British and the prevailing system of

education had left a deep imprint on the minds of the Pakistani intelligentsia. They had long admired the British form of parliamentary democracy and once they had the opportunity, they decided to apply it to Pakistan.

The British system, as stated above, is the product of the environment of that country. It is based upon the long traditions of that people. Its evolution is spread over many centuries and is essentially an unconscious effort. It suits the British temperament. In any case it is designed to suit British conditions and meet their requirements. It was not consciously intended for export.

These facts were overlooked. The high degree of development of the British society was ignored. Our own backwardness was not taken into account. During the nine years that went into constitution-making, no steps were taken to associate the people with the management of their affairs.

The 1956 Constitution, for which the country had patiently waited, was no more than an illusion seeking to create the impression that it was based upon principles which, if pursued, would create and sustain a democratic society and government in Pakistan. It had provided for the system of election to provincial and national legislatures

and set out the method of constituting governments in the provinces and at the Centre. No attempt had, however, been made to ensure that the vast majority of the people, whom the proposed constitutional governments were to represent at provincial and national levels, was associated with the management of its affairs. It had not been considered necessary to alter in independent Pakistan the old system of administering the overwhelming majority of the nation which still continues to live in rural areas.

What next, is the logical question. The Revolutionary Regime provided the answer in the form of Basic Democracies. Broadly speaking, the plan represents a system which begins at the beginning and, after building a strong base, goes on to construct the structure above. In this, it is the complete opposite of the system which the abrogated Constitution of Pakistan envisaged, and under which a beautifully trimmed structure, with all the frills of parliamentary democracy but hollow from within, was sought to be suspended from above without any base below on which to rest.

Pakistan is essentially a country of villages with a sprinkling of towns and cities here and there. If she is to have real democracy, the inhabitants of her villages

must have a say in their affairs. Basic Democracies offer them an opportunity to apply their talents in the management of their affairs. These will consist of the following tiers:

1. Union Councils, Union and Town Committees,
2. Tehsil/Thana Council,
3. District Council,
4. Divisional Council,and
5. Provisional Advisory Council.

In its fundamentals the system of "Basic Democracies" hinges around the concept that the political system must in some way be grafted onto the spontaneous groupings of people. It is for this reason that politically the most important tier is the Union Council/Committee.

The village as a form of society is the most important basic unit as 85 percent of the people of Pakistan live in villages. Historically speaking, the village society was capable of taking care of its requirements. Its gradual break-up and decay occurred with the introduction of an efficient centralized administration under the British. With the introduction of Union Councils with fairly wide powers and a re-orientation of attitudes, it can be reasonably expected that a sound, representative unit at the base

will again be created upon which it may be possible to build a workable superstructure of a popularly constituted government.

There is a close relationship between politics and administration. No worthwhile political training is possible without the exercise of administrative authority. A glance at the powers and functions of various tiers, particularly of the Union Councils, will show that they will have a substantial say in matters governing the corporate life of the people. This is a major departure from previous practice in Pakistan. In previous attempts at providing local representation, functions which were considered of small urgency were entrusted to representative institutions, which were usually inadequately financed and poorly staffed so that even where there was no corruption, public funds were often wasted through sheer incompetence.

Experience in other countries seems to indicate that unless local bodies are properly staffed, even given a substantial degree of political consciousness, a high level of efficiency cannot be attained. We in Pakistan have to face the twofold problem of an absence of the right type of political leadership and a limited supply of good administrators at a period in our history when we have to

make the maximum use of all the resources available to us.

Under the circumstances the only feasible arrangement was to make a beginning by bringing representative and non-official elements directly in contact with the government machine at all possible levels. But, it was not possible at this stage to subordinate the governmental machinery to popular representatives at the local level, however desirable it may have been in theory, as such representatives have yet to acquire the necessary political and administrative experience.

It, nevertheless, remains a major step toward representative control of local government for the administrator will henceforward learn to work as an Officer-in-Council within a political environment where the wishes of the people must be respected and the people will also acquire that insight into administration without which political power can never be wisely exercised.

From an administrative point of view, the new arrangement will lead to a substantial measure of genuine decentralization. Problems relating to local areas will be disposed of at these levels. This should result in a greater right to happiness as a member of society. It is a way of social life seeking to work for the welfare of

the community through conscious group efforts. It embodies both the ideals of human endeavor and the means of their achievement. And, the life of any one community being essentially the creation of its particular environment it may not be the same as that of another. In consequence, there can be no single method of bringing about an organization that would effectively look after the well-being of all the differing social groups the world over. The methods must vary from clime to clime and reflect the genius of the people they claim to represent.

The failure to recognize this fact in Pakistan led to the unsuccessful attempt of grafting a form of democracy which was alien to our soil and unsuited to the genius of our people. That this unnatural attempt to foist a foreign way of life failed in our country, should not be considered a national calamity. On the contrary, it shows the individuality of our society and its assertive character against attempts to submerge it into something alien. For, Pakistanis do not have to be convinced of the importance of equality and the desirability of common weal. As followers of Islam, they have consciously subscribed to these concepts for the last fourteen centuries. They are clear in their

mind that to give these concepts a tangible form, a representative system of government is needed. Such a system need not be a replica of either "Westminister" or "Capitol Hill." Indeed, if it is to succeed, it must be indigenous.

The struggle waged in Pakistan was to enable the people to fashion their lives--corporate and individual--according to their genius. As the vast majority lived in villages and small towns, it would have been only logical to evolve a system that would increasingly associate them with the ordering of their affairs. The only possible way of achieving this would have been an ever-increasing decentralization of authority which had been vested in the district officer under the British. The constituent assemblies which met leisurely for almost nine years were, however, concerned more with the frills than the substance of democracy. There were battles royal over the number of representatives while scant attention was paid to the masses whom these representatives were to represent. There were seemingly unending arguments about the rights and privileges of the minorities, but hardly anything was said about the majority--the people in the villages who formed the backbone of the country. When after all these years a constitution was finally adopted, one noticed that apart from

being an unworkable document based upon a series of compromises, it had failed even to indicate the system of future elections. While further debate on this essential point was continued, generally outside the House. The Constituent Assembly declared itself the national parliament without any mandate from the people.

Meantime, through executive decisions, successive governments were superseding one municipality after another. Thereby doing away with whatever form of local government had existed. The country had traveled a long way away from its ideal of enabling the people to fashion their lives according to their genius. A band of unscrupulous politicians, for the sake of personal gain or glory, had put the nation into chaos and confusion. A clean break with the past was the only way out. This came in the shape of a revolution in October, 1958.

One of the early pledges of the President, Field-Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, related to the introduction of a representative form of government as soon as circumstances permitted. The deposed politicians had been so thoroughly discredited that had he offered himself for election, he would have certainly received the unanimous endorsement of the nation. Lesser men might have been tempted to report

to this course, but he had made a solemn promise which he was determined to keep, come what may. That promise has been redeemed now with the introduction of Basic Democracies throughout the country.

It is worth recalling Sydney Webb's remark that any system of government, however mechanically perfect, would fail to take root in the midst of the mass of people, unless it was in some way grafted on the spontaneous grouping of the people themselves.[1] In Pakistan, it broke down sooner than later because it was neither mechanically perfect nor did it constitute a special Local Council Service for each province.

The introduction of Basic Democracies is not an end in itself. To quote the President:

> It is a means to an end. The task of reconstruction will indeed begin when the system of Basic Democracies starts working. What we have been able to achieve in the last year is in fact the beginning of the real task which we have to accomplish.

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[1] As quoted on page 5, Basic Democracies, Bureau of National Reconstruction, Government of Pakistan.

Organizations in the Past

The two important functions of the British "Raj" (Rule) that determined the pattern of administration were the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. By the Act of Permanent Settlement of 1793, the "zamindars" (Land Lords) were made the sole proprietors of land in Bengal and revenue was collected from them once a year. They were made responsible for maintaining village peace as well. Hence the need for extending government agencies below the district level did not arise in Bengal. In Madras and Central Provinces, on the contrary, the two important functions of the British Raj were performed by government functionaries extending down to the village level.

The consequences of these two different systems are described in the following excerpt from the "Bengal Administration Report 1871":

> When after many trials and much vexation and difficulty the Government of Bengal abandoned the attempt to manage land revenues in

> a more direct fashion (and) made them over to zamindars, who were bound to pay their quotas into the collector's treasury under penalty of sale of these estates confided to them, it became unnecessary to maintain the tahsildars or native collectors and establishment subordinate to them, who in all other parts of the country collect the revenue in the sub-divisions of the district presided over by European Collectors. These native collectors have since become much more than mere tax collectors, being in their degree administrators for many purposes just as the District Collectors is an administrator in his superior degree. In some respects indeed the Tehsil establishments are the very backbone of British Administration in other provinces. But they are to this day entirely absent in Bengal and the circumstance has much detracted from our knowledge the means and want of an important link between the government and the people . . . . Many things done by tahsildars in other parts of India are not done at all and many things which we should know from this we do not know. For many things that must be done there is a constant deputation of temporary Dep. Collectors, Surveyors and other occasional establishments, under a system which is very inconvenient and unsatisfactory in many respects . . . . This, then has happened that in the province which we have held the longest of any in India, we have less knowledge of, and familiarity with the people than in any other province, that British authority is less brought home to the people, that the rich and strong are less restrained and the poor and the weak less protected than elsewhere, and that we have infinitely less knowledge of statistical, agricultural and other facts.[2]

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[2]Bengal Administration Report 1871-72 prepared by the government of Bengal gives a detailed analysis of the socio-economic position of the country and an account of the administrative measures taken.

By the middle of the 19th century, agrarian unrest in Bengal became acute. Lawlessness was prevalent in villages and the people had no confidence in the government because of the zamindars' oppressive measures and the lack of contact between the people and government agencies. The zamindars had failed to provide such basic services as water, roads, and sanitation, and now they were unable to maintain peace and order.

Thus the failure of the zamindari system faced the Bengal administration with a two-fold problem: first, to have an effective agency to maintain village peace; and, second, to have a suitable link between the ruler and the ruled, so that mutual understanding could improve and the villagers could be provided with the basic amenities. What agency or organization should be devised to perform these two functions?

A study of the earlier history of Bengal revealed the existence of an informed local group, the "P anchayat." In the words of the same report:

> The ancient indigenous village of India that rural self-governing commune, which has existed through wars and revolution and the change of many native dynasties, is too well known to need description here. But in truth it is to pressure from without that these communes owed their cohesion; it was the

> necessity of self-preservation that kept together these corporate units of which early Indian Empires and states were made. It was because there was no effective government from without that they were enabled to maintain self-government within. Under a regular and comparatively settled government they are apt to go to pieces and under a completely regular government such as the British Government in India, if they are not recognized and cherished, they go to pieces altogether. Where there is no compulsion, the individual will always assert himself at the expense of the community. Such village communities still subsist in the hilly countries, attached to Bengal, but in the plains of Bengal these institutions
> seem to have been very much weakened even anterior to British rule, and in the last one hundred years of British rule and the Zamindaree theory of property, they have almost disappeared. It cannot be said that in the more important provinces of this administration there are absolutely no self-government institutions. Some traces yet remain; some things are in some places regulated by village Panchayets or by headmen, elders. But more and more the zamindary agent supplants the old model and the landlord takes the place of the indigenous self rule.[3]

It is to the vacuum created by the withering away of the village Panchayat system and the failure of the zamindars that the first modern local council in the rural areas owed its existence. The Chowkidary Panchayat Act of 1871 provided an agency in the form of a five-man panchayat committee, not for each village, but a "union" consisting

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[3] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

of a number of villages. This union panchayat committee maintained order through a team of local police called chowkidars for whose salaries villagers were taxed. The agency proved to be useful in maintaining village peace, and several attempts were made to use it as a link between the ruler and ruled. But since the chowkidari panchayat was obliged to separate goods and property from unwilling villagers in its function of collecting taxes, it was unpopular with the villagers, and did not succeed as a channel of constructive relationships.[4] It also, like the zamindars, failed to organize the village to meet its basic needs of roads and bridges, drinking water, sanitation, street lamps, and so on.

In 1883 a Self-Government Bill was prepared. This bill proposed a union committee with considerable financial power and extensive municipal functions covering a group of villages; at the next higher level, subdivisional boards were to function only as guides and supervisors to the union committees. No board was envisaged for the district (comprising a number of subdivisions). The proposal under

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[4]A detailed analysis of the working of Chowkidari Panchayat can be found in the Bengal District Administrative Committee Report 1912-1913.

went very significant revisions before it was enacted.

The Act of 1885 as finally passed introduced three tiers of local bodies, the district board, the "local" (subdivision) board, and the union committee, a union comprising several villages. It was the district that was vested with executive and financial powers and the local (subdivision) board was made an electoral body for the district board and a supervisory and grant-distribution agency for union committees which in turn had no executive or financial powers. The union committees, therefore, instead of having their own financial powers and municipal duties became the agents of the district board in providing community services.[5] This arrangement obtained for 34 years.

The yearly reviews of the Bengal government on the working of the local bodies and the District Administration Committee Report 1912-1913 give descriptions of how these local bodies worked. There were 25 district boards in undivided Bengal, most of which were presided over by the district officer; a majority of the members were elected by adult franchise. Average income of a district board

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[5]Bengal District Administration Committee Report 1912-1913 describes how the changed Self-Government Bill of 1883 was drastically changed to the Local Self-Government Act of 1885.

varied between 5 and 6 lakhs (one lakh = one hundred thousands) of Rupees, derived primarily from the local (tax) rate, fees from cattle, income from the Trespass Act, school fees, and government grants for education, medical relief, and communications. The district board spent its funds on roads and bridges, primary education, dispensaries, veterinary hospitals, water supply, water works and drainage works.

From government reports it appears that the district boards were working satisfactorily. They were employed by the government as a useful means of providing basic amenities to villagers through the district officer. The boards worked as well as they did because of the keen interest and able guidance given by the district officers and because most boards were fortunate in having able and energetic (elected) vice-chairmen. Problems that hindered the functioning of district boards were dearth of funds and lack of proper planning and active cooperation among the members.[6] Yearly government reports on the working of local bodies mention that district board funds were not sufficient to

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[6]Government of Bengal, Local Self-Government Department, The Report on the Working of the District Boards in Bengal for 1919-1920, pp. 1-2.

support their increasing functions.[7]

The "local" (subdivision) boards had little enough to do to justify their existence, as nearly every Annual Administrative Report from 1895 to 1929 bears witness:

> To be merely a controlling body, allowing funds and supervising the work of the Union committees would not satisfy the Local Boards. They were not a suitable controlling agency, for the area of their jurisdiction is too large and they are composed largely of members who have neither knowledge nor interest in village works. The continuance of Local Boards on their present basis is consistent with the extension on a large scale of union committees financed by the District Board, for the more committees there are, the less reason will there be for the existence of the Local Boards, except as supervising agencies, a function for which as now constituted, they are unsuited.[8]

Similar was the fate of union committees which had been conceived in the proposed Bill of 1883 as the real base of local self-government. The Act of 1885 made the district board, under the chairmanship of the district officer, the unit of administration and the local (subdivisional) boards the agents of the district board with very restricted powers. Union committees became merely optional appendages of the superior bodies, having very limited

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[7] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[8] Ibid., p. 85.

powers for raising funds by local taxation and that, too, only for specific projects. The District Administration Committee Report 1912-1913 dwelt at length on the ineffectiveness of the union committees.[9]

Not a single union committee was organized until 10 years after the passing of the Act. By 1913 only 61 union committees had been organized. Here and there they did some useful work in matters of roads, tube wells and primary schools but, in the absence of any clearly defined functions and for want of any agency to control and advise, the committees lacked initiative. The district boards were adverse to making liberal grants of money to the committees for expenditures which they were not in a position to supervise effectively. They believed that this money could be more usefully employed by themselves or the "local" boards. Moreover there was never any clearly defined policy in regard to the committees, nor was any sustained effort made to carry through schemes for their improvement. Much time was spent in elaborating and considering schemes, and different views were held by successive Lieutenant-Governors, but after 25 years of discussion and voluminous writing,

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[9] Ibid., p. 83.

scarcely any advance was made. No doubt the indecision of the higher officials contributed to the failure of union committees, but it seems probable that the real difficulty lay in the changes made in the originally proposed Self-Government Bill of 1883, under which union committees were to have had a definite place in a scheme of local self-government.

The Local Self-Government Act of 1919 made an attempt to remove those difficulties and put these bodies on a solid footing. The base of election was broadened and elected chairmen were introduced in the district boards. The union committees were replaced by union boards which had executive, municipal and judicial functions and original sources of funds to support their activities. The local (subdivision) boards were kept unchanged. The Act provided an agency in the office of the circle officer, below the sub-divisional officer, to guide and supervise the working of the union boards. The need for such an agency, without which village organizations could hardly develop, had been felt for a long time. Ever since the creation of Chowkidari Panchayat in 1871 it was consistently argued by several commissions and various district officers that an agency below the subdivisional officer

was required to guide and supervise local bodies effectively.

The union boards became active bodies under direct guidance of civil officials and now had executive and municipal and judicial functions. Besides maintaining village peace and resolving petty disputes, they constructed and maintained roads and bridges, installed and maintained tube-wells, ran dispensaries and primary schools and other public works. Above all, the union board was the only agency on which the administration could fall back in times of emergency created by flood, famine and epidemic, frequent visitors to Bengali villages.

Reports available on the working of the district boards after 1919 indicate a withdrawal of official leadership from the district board and deterioration in the quality of administration. The local (subdivision) boards lost much of their utility and were ultimately abandoned.

The Second World War retarded the development of all the local agencies, as government functionaries diverted their attention to war needs. This preoccupation of officials, particularly the sub-divisional officers and circle officers, resulted in lack of proper guidance and supervision

of these agencies, and their work suffered accordingly.

The historic general feeling that administration was slack and corrupted, and that servicing departments were not working efficiently was rather common through the creation of Independence in 1947. The "struggle for sheer survival which the country was called upon to offer at birth, unfortunately made any immediate large scale changes in the administration pattern impossible."[10] Political instability further agravated the situation. On the other hand, the government had to expand its activities to provide services in most spheres of life. Provincial departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Public Health, Education, Cooperatives, Protective Police and Civil Administration extended their services down to the Tehsil/Thana headquarters in all cases and down to the union board in some, and even to the village level in the case of village. "But the servicing programs," one of the framers of Basic Democracies writes, "have been inadequate and have not aroused public enthusiasm and have not drawn whole-hearted public cooperation. This ineffective and inadequate

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[10]Government of Pakistan, Bureau of National Reconstruction, "Dawn of a New Era," p. 5.

servicing led to apathy and even dissatisfaction."[11] No machinery was in existence to secure public participation in administration at district, sub-division, tehsil/thana, and village levels. The warm enthusiasm and eager expectations of people to have partnership in administration were completely frustrated. Observing the crude exhibition of self-interest in the name of democracy in the provincial and central political set-up, the people were dismayed.

The execution of the First Five Year Plan made it clear that lack of popular involvement in the process of economic development could act as a serious impediment to development. Those local governmental institutions which might have served to involve the people in realistic planning and implementation had become ineffective. They had been weakened by internal political rivalries and inadequate funds or had become victims of repeated repercussions by the provincial government.

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[11] As a member of the committee to suggest reforms in the system of local bodies, Mr. Akhter Hameed Khan, presently the Director of the Village Development Academy, Comilla, submitted a paper in 1958. The quotation appears on page 1.

The Basic Democracies Scheme

Under the above circumstances, the Basic Democracy system was introduced in October, 1959. Very briefly, it envisioned an integrated and interdependent five-tier system including the union, tehsil/thana, district, division, and provincial levels. Each of the five councils was attached to the general administration to ensure maximum participation of the people's representatives in general administration and in development work.

In the words of President Ayub Khan, Basic Democracy "provides the base on which an upward pyramid of a sound political system can be developed."[12] It was given its name because, as said by the President:

> We wanted it to grow and evolve from the first rung of the political and economic ladder so that it finds roots deep among the people starting at the village level in rural areas and at the Mohalla level in towns.[13]

The mixture of department officials and appointed public representatives in all these councils except the union council aim at developing mutual trust and confidence

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[12] Quoted in "Dawn of a New Era," op. cit., p. 6.

[13] Ibid., p. 6.

between officers and people through discussion and joint work, in order to infuse a sense of close identification between the people and the administration. In the sphere of administration, these councils were expected to work as agencies for securing coordination among government departments themselves and between government departments and local agencies and the local people.

In the sphere of development the councils were expected to work as a center where public representatives would bring up local needs and problems. The councils suggest ways and means of solving problems, and government departments would explain to them their resources in terms of funds, machinery, technical experts to solve these problems, and out of such discussions a plan for development would be prepared. The same kind of joint work between officials and people would be expected in the execution of the plan. Local leaders would mobilize local people and resources and take major responsibility for executing a scheme, while officers would give them expert knowledge and secure timely arrival of implements and materials. Lastly the councils were to work as training forms for officials and public representatives alike.

It was realized that as the carriers of colonial administration the bureaucrats had developed certain attitudes which became impediments to working in cooperation with the people. It was thought that, by coming in closer contact with the public representatives in these councils and by joint discussion and work, the officials would develop the right attitudes for working with the people. Public representatives, in their turn, would get an insight into the complexity of administration and would develop leadership qualities through continuous exercise of responsibility. Moreover, in the absence of political elements in the administration, the public representatives would exercise a degree of control, to secure efficient service from the officials.

Planning Process, Organization, and Program for Pakistan

In Pakistan planning by the national government is basically economic planning and if national income or income per head is the only measure of progress then Pakistan has already increased its national income by about 60 percent and will achieve a further increase of 200 percent in the next 20 years. The advance is in geometrical progression.

But figures are meaningless unless they are related to the welfare of the common man. The real index of economic development is not cold statistics, but the visible effects on the pattern of the daily life of the people. And it is here that we have to go far beyond the usual economic measurements and consider the cultural, social, and religious enrichment of life, besides the material progress and it is for this reason that economic planning has to be conceived as a part, and only as a part, of the broader social and economic framework which is rooted in our cultural and religious traditions.

As put up by the President Mohammad Ayub Khan,

> our approach to economic planning has been pragmatic all along. It has been the constant endeavor of the government to mobilize the creative energies of the nation and to give all possible incentives for the stimulation of private initiative. The government has limited its own role to providing a suitable framework for the private sector and to the creation of those facilities which the private sector had neither the ability nor the willingness to develop. There have been no grand experiments in nationalization, no fancy slogans about socialism, no undue intervention in the private sector. In fact, the government has gradually removed most of the administrative and bureaucratic controls which hampered progress of the private sector.
>
> The result of this approach has been the rapid growth of private enterprise in Pakistan. This has certainly yielded high rates of growth, especially in recent years, but it has also led to some problems. Capitalism all over the world

has already undergone a profound transformation and its character today in the western countries is very different from the capitalism of the 18th and 19th centuries which was characterized by excessive profits, exploitation of labor and disregard of the larger welfare of society. We have to ensure that in Pakistan too private enterprise moves towards that stage of enlightenment where making of high profits and their reinvestment ceases to be the sole or even the major criterion of success and private sector is motivated by the larger interests of society. It will be our firm policy, therefore, to prevent excessive concentration of income and wealth in the hands of a few, to distribute economic opportunities widely and so to regulate private enterprise that society as a whole benefits by it. It is our intention to humanize all such vested interests as stand in the way of a progressive, dynamic society. The feudalistic structure in the rural areas has already been humanized through land reforms. We are determined to see that such a feudalistic pattern does not emerge elsewhere, whether in the industrial field or in the social sphere. The emerging industrial class must turn its undoubted energies to efficient economic management of the country and refrain from conspicuous and ostentatious living and from developing any partisan political interests so that the need for corrective action does not arise.

The ultimate aim of all our efforts in economic and social spheres can only be to move speedily towards the attainment of Islamic Socialism in Pakistan. The term Islamic Socialism is almost inter-changeable with "Welfare State." In addition to the familiar welfare goals, Islamic Socialism implies that the cultural and religious heritage of the country should be preserved and not allowed to be destroyed by the ruthless pursuit of economic development. It is, therefore, a concept much broader than the "welfare" and

> embraces all the phases of an individual's life.
>
> What is basic to the establishment of Islamic Socialism is the creation of equal opportunities for all rather than equal distribution of wealth. In fact, perfect equality of incomes has never been achieved, not even in the communist countries because differences in the aptitudes and talents make for differences in incomes even when individuals start off with equal opportunities. And this is at it should be. The important thing is that every individual must be given the fullest opportunity to develop his natural talents and that he should not be inhibited by an oppressive economic and social framework.

Pakistan's planning history to date has been characterized by a movement away from a project-by-project approach limited to the public sector toward more comprehensive and aggregative planning encompassing the entire economy. Three distinct periods are discernable in that history: the period between independence in 1947 and 1955, when the Six Year Development Programme was terminated; the period of the First Five Year Plan, 1955/60; and the present period of the Second Five Year Plan beginning in 1960.

In the first stage, the re-establishment of government machinery, communications, trade, and commerce, and the resettlement of millions of refugees constituted urgent priorities for the new state. There was no attempt to plan

on a broad scale and available resources were distributed among projects whose high priority appeared obvious to the new Government. Even the Six Year Development Programme of 1951, prepared for the purpose of the Colombo Plan, as well as the Two Year Priority Programme which followed it, were little more than a package of uncoordinated public investment projects collected on an ad hoc basis without reference to available resources and the economy's requirements.

The First Five Year Plan was a much more sophisticated approach to planning. The Plan necessarily included many projects carried over from the previous period. The paucity of statistical and other data greatly limited the value of the calculations which were used to allocate resources. Nevertheless, in establishing an internally consistent theoretical framework on the basis of which an attempt was made whenever possible to allocate resources rationally, a great step forward was taken. The First Plan also brought into focus the problems which the country would have to resolve in order to develop. Although it was never adopted by the various governments of the period and it failed to achieve its main objectives, the Plan became a guide for future action. Its greatest virtue was

that it increased the country's awareness of the need for planning by giving form and direction to inchoate and dispersed efforts to develop the country's resources.

The Second Five Year Plan lacks the pioneering character of the First. It merely extends the course of the development along lines laid out in the First Plan. Like the First Plan, it includes many projects started in the preceding period and, technically, it suffers from the same lack of dependable data which made the First Plan defective. There is, however, a crucial difference between the First and Second Plan periods. The essential and novel fact which distinguishes the present stage from the previous one is the attitude of the Government toward economic development. During the period of the First Plan, no government made the execution of the Plan a central objective of policy. In marked contrast, the present political leaders are firmly committed to the principle of economic development and to the Second Plan as the means for giving effect to that principle.

Pakistan's experience also demonstrates the importance of political stability and the necessity of having the strong support of the country's political leadership for the planning body. Without that support, the planning

body was ineffectual even though the Prime Minister headed it; with that support, the Planning Commission has made good progress in performing its functions. After many failures, it has now succeeded in acquiring two prerogatives essential to effective planning: the right to prepare annual development plans which form the basis for budgetary allocations and the right to review and evaluate the implementations of plans.

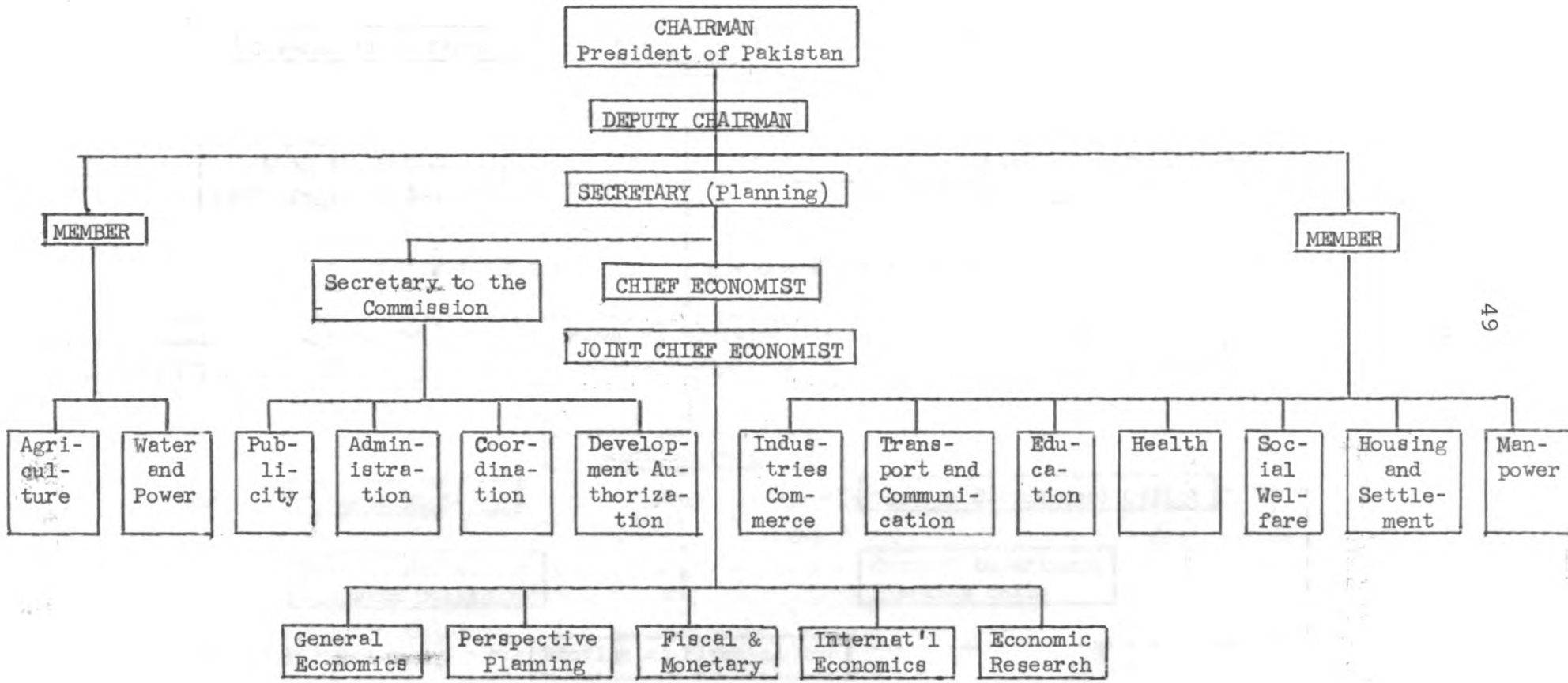
One of the key lessons revealed by Pakistan's experience is the importance of relating plans to basic, economic, financial, and fiscal policies. Until recently various government bodies adopted policies without any consistent attempts to relate them to the objectives of the plans prepared by the central planning agency. Consequently, economic policy has often conflicted with plan objectives. Thus, agricultural programs and controls have often impeded the development of industry along lines laid down in development plans. Only within the last few years or so has the Government come to understand the integrality of planning for the public and private sectors with economic and financial policy. As a result, the commission now participates in all important government bodies dealing with economic matters. The Deputy Chairman of the

Planning Commission, besides being the Commission's operating head, also is in charge of the important Economic Affairs Division of the President's Secretariat. He attends Cabinet meetings and is a member of the National Economic Council and its Executive Committee. The Secretary of the Planning Division heads the Central Development Working Party, is a member of the Foreign Exchange Control Committee, and acts as a Secretary (with the Planning Commission as Secretariat) of the National Economic Council. Through its participation on these bodies, the Planning Commission now has a powerful voice at high levels of government in the formation of economic policy, in the coordination of economic policy in the planning objectives, and in the implementation of development plans. (See Chart 2, Organization for Planning Commission, President's Secretariat; and Chart 3, Organization for Planning and Implementation in Pakistan.)

The acceptance of planning and of the central planning agency in Pakistan has been the result of a gradual process characterized by ups and downs. It will be seen from the following chronological table how Pakistan has undergone a series of trials for establishing, abolishing, and replacing of its different central planning agencies.

Chart 2

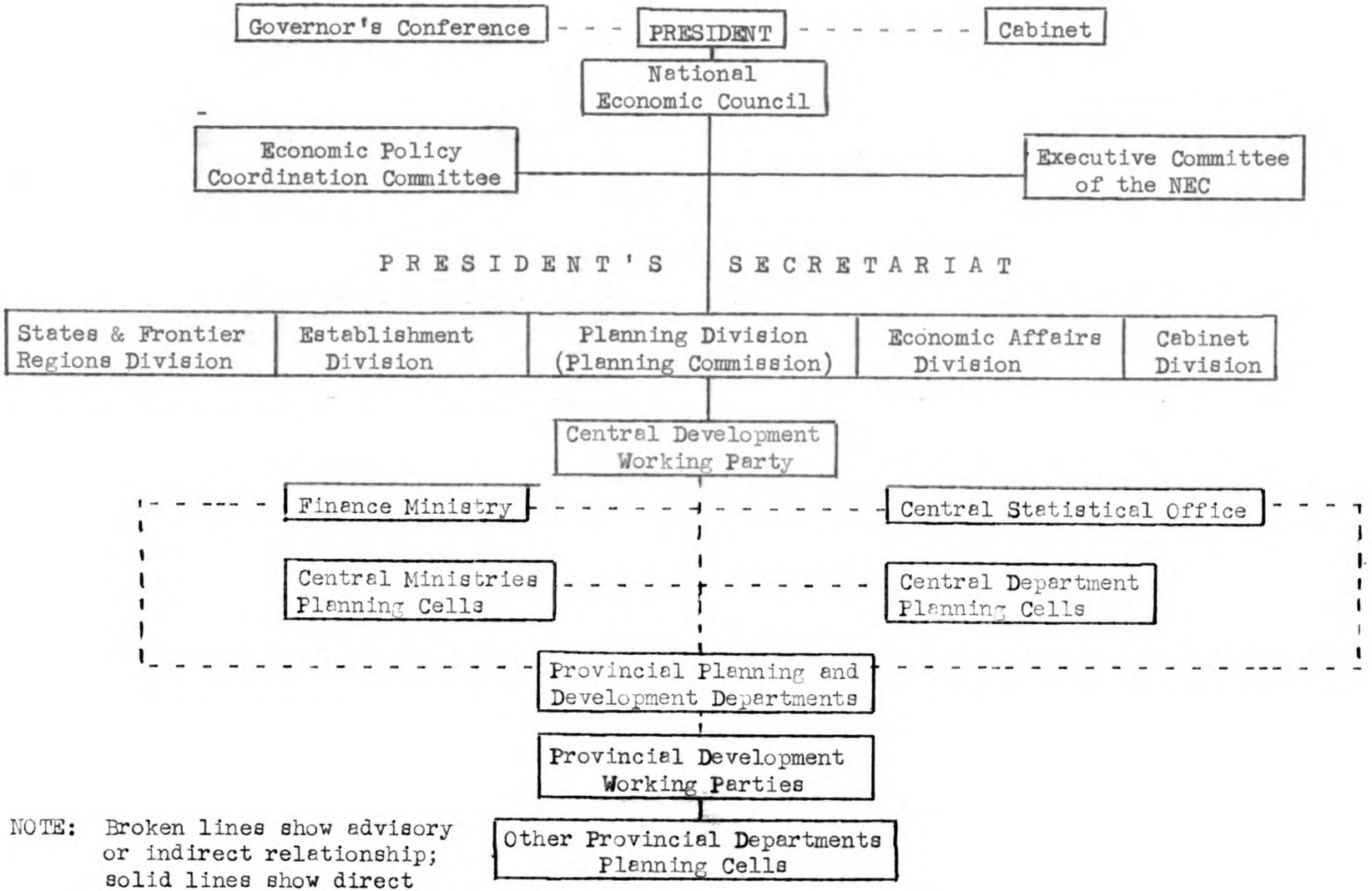
ORGANIZATION CHART FOR PLANNING COMMISSION PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT



February 1963

Chart 3

ORGANIZATION CHART FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION IN PAKISTAN 1962



NOTE: Broken lines show advisory or indirect relationship; solid lines show direct supervisory relationship.

Chart 4

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

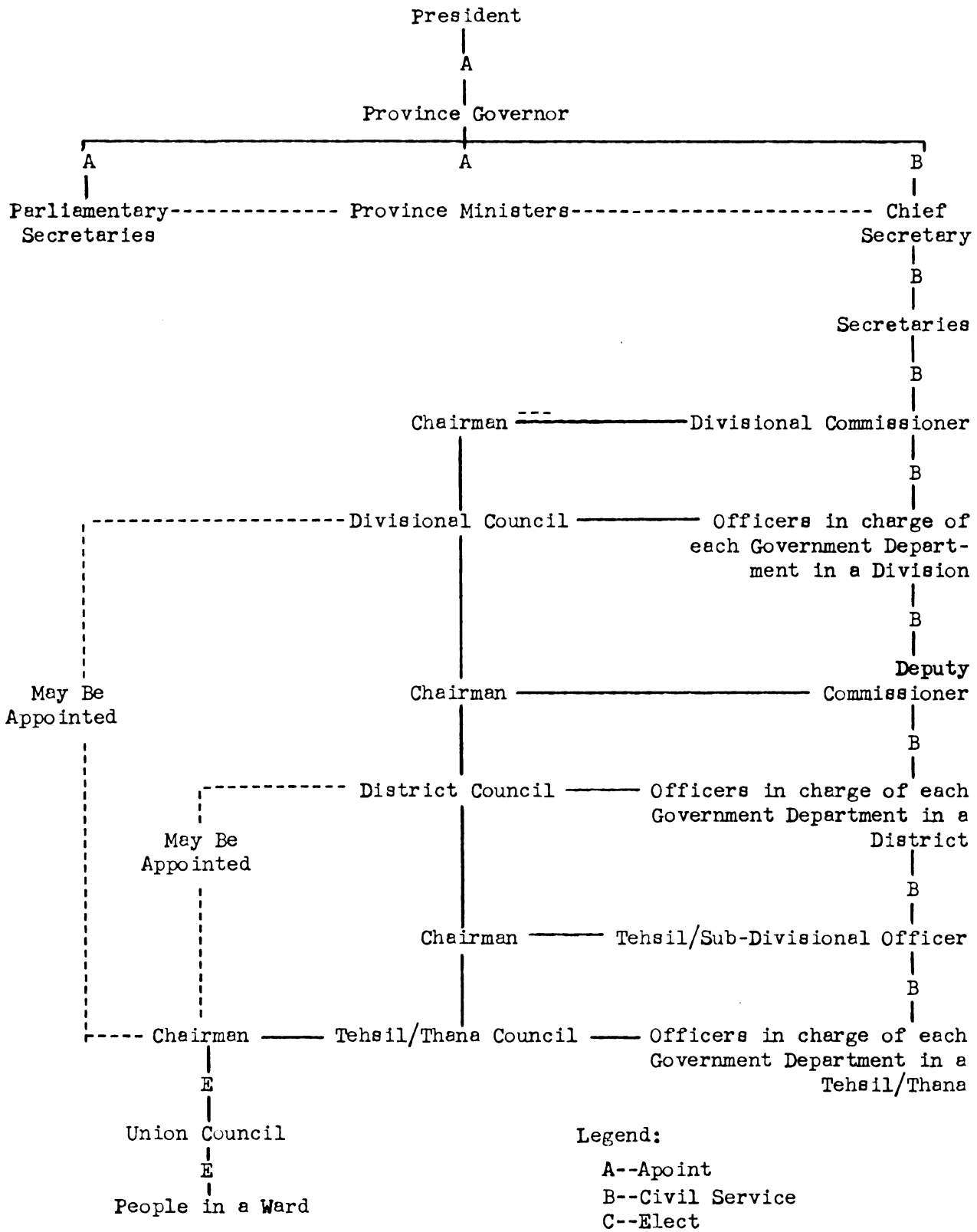
	No.	Period	Agency	Purpose
Early Planning Period	1	1948-50	Development Board	The first planning body
	2	1948-58	Ministry of Economic Affairs	Coordinated planning activities and acted as planning secretariat to various planning bodies
	3	1948-50	Planning Advisory Board	Advisory and public relations body during Pakistan's early Pakistan's early planning period
	4	1951-57	Planning Commission	Reviewed projects before submission to higher authority
	5	1951-56	Economic Council	An economic committee of the Cabinet responsible for implementing the six year Development Programme
First Plan Period	6	1953-58	Planning Board	Established to prepare the First Five Year Plan
	7	1956-58	Economic Committee of the Cabinet	The name given to the Economic Council (No. 5) when the National Economic Council (No. 8) was established.
	8	1956-58	National Economic Council	Created after adoption of Constitution of 1956 as the highest economic body in Pakistan. Approved the First Plan
	9	1957-	Development Working Party	The central body which reviews projects and programs
	10	1958-	Governor's Conference	Highest policy making body in the country
	11	1958-59	National Planning Board	The name given to the Planning Board to distinguish it from the East Pakistan Planning Board established in 1957

Chart 4--continued.

	No.	Period	Agency	Purpose
Second Plan Period	12	1958-	Planning Commission	Replaced the National Planning Board (no. 11)
	13	1959-62	Economic Committee of the Cabinet	Successor to a development committee previously established by the Martial Law Government
	14	1959-62	Economic Council	Established by the Martial Law Government as the country's supreme economic body
	15	1959-61	Project's Division	Progressive agency
	16	1961-	Planning Division	The alternate name for the Planning Commission (No.12) after it was made a part of the President's Secretariat. "Commission" and "Division" are now used interchangeably
	17	1962	Economic Policy Coordination Committee	One of two Committees which succeeded the 1959-62 Economic Committee of the cabinet (No. 13). Reviewed economic policies and oversaw their implementation. Abolished soon after it was created
	18	1962-	Executive Committee of the National Economic Council	The second of the two committees which succeeded the 1959-62 Economic Committee of the Cabinet (No. 13). Approves projects.
	19	1962-	National Economic Council	The successor of the 1959-62 Economic Council (no. 14)

Chart 5

ELEMENTARY STRUCTURE OF BASIC DEMOCRACIES ORGANIZATION



Planning at Provincial Level

Pakistan has inherited a strong tradition of political and economic centralization, which has been reinforced since independence by the channeling of domestic funds and large amounts of foreign aid and foreign exchange resources through the central government to East and West Pakistan. Central control over domestic and foreign funds, as well as financial policy, greatly limits the Province's freedom of action in development activities. The preparation and execution of the First Plan reflects the inherent centralism in Pakistan's administration. The Planning Commission's attempts to get provincial planning agencies to contribute to the formulation of the Second Plan were only moderately successful and the Second Plan, like the First, was essentially a product of the Central Government.

The failure of the Provinces to make significant contributions to the country's planning activities was directly due to the inadequacies of the provincial planning and programming agencies; but these inadequacies were in turn the result of the provinces' failure to recognize the importance to them of effective planning and, in East Pakistan, the frustration induced by a belief that the province

was not getting its fair share of development resources. The Constitution of 1962 gave effect to the growing realization that in Pakistan, with its separated and diverse provinces, decentralized planning was likely to produce better results than centralized planning. As a consequence of the decentralization of developmental functions from the Central to Provincial Governments following adoption of the new Constitution, the importance of good planning is becoming manifest to the provinces. The staff and status of the provincial planning bodies have now reached levels which permit them to participate actively, if not always effectually, in both the formulation and execution of development plans and programs.

Local Planning

Before the introduction of Basic Democracies in Oct. 1959, at the local level within each Province there were no effective planning or programming bodies. District officers and divisional commissioners were only infrequently consulted by provincial departments about development problems. For their part, district officers generally had insufficient staff, were overburdened with day-to-day administrative duties and were largely concerned with law enforcement and revenue collection. Few had the time or the

inclination to pursue developmental activities. Unduly rapid rotation of district officers also greatly reduced their effectiveness. Local self-governing bodies in the districts, which had formerly been important media for constructing roads, schools, water works and other local facilities, had also lost their effectiveness as developmental agencies. As popular pressure for official action increased, Provincial Governments gradually assumed many of the functions formerly exercised by local bodies and as the functions of these bodies were reduced, public confidence in them diminished still further. By the time the First Five Year Plan was formulated, there was a tendency for plans of development to be prepared at the Provincial and Central headquarters, and nearly all decisions are taken at these levels, especially at the latter.

The Need for Planning at Local Level

Decentralization of the planning process was advocated in the First Five Year Plan, which recognized that "instead of being prepared and imposed from above, programs particularly in the sphere of rural development should originate in the villages and proceed upward."[14] Provincial

[14] Planning Commission. The Second Five Year Plan, p. 111.

Governments had a greater share in preparing the Second than in preparing the First Plan. Nevertheless, because of Provincial Governments' inability to frame adequate plans and programs, the Second Plan, like the First, was "disproportionately the work of the Central Government."[15] While the extent of Provincial participation in the planning process increased somewhat between the First to the Second Plan periods, divisional, district, and communal bodies played almost no part in the formulation of either plan. Nor have these local groups participated much thus far in preparing and carrying out projects and programs under the Seconc Plan.

The central authorities now believe that this situation will change because a new dimension has been added to planning by the institutions of Basic Democracies. They hope that the system can become the means for decentralizing the preparation and especially, implementation of plans and for local coordination of development. They believe that out of the discussion within the councils of local needs and problems, with officials explaining the extent to which funds, equipment, and materials are available, development plans will emerge which will reflect the

[15] Ibid., p. 55.

requirements and aspirations of each area, as well as the means for executing the plans. While the district councils are viewed as the key units for development administration, where disparities between parochial issues and broad provincial and national interests can be resolved, it is considered desirable to delegate powers, as far as possible to lower levels, where elected chairmen of the union councils will be in strong positions to represent the views and interests of the people.

The tehsil councils in the West and the thana councils in the East are considered crucial points for coordinating the union councils' development plans before they are combined into district plans by the district councils. District plans are to be processed and consolidated further at the divisional level into divisional plans which are to include priorities for projects and programs. At the Provincial level, the Planning and Development, in consultation in the provincial departments and agencies, are to consolidate the divisional plans by sectors into provincial plans. For implementation of these plans, the process is to be reversed. When national plans have been approved at the center, national targets are to be broken down, to the greatest extent, into provincial, divisional, district,

tehsil and thana, and village targets. Although this is to be done particularly for agricultural targets, it is also to be done, in some degree, for all targets.

So we see that a serious shortcoming of planning in Pakistan, thus far, has been the limited extent of public knowledge and support of development plans. Attempts are being made to break through administrative barriers to bring a general understanding of the plan to the people and to encourage them to articulate their needs and aspirations through a hierarchical system of elected and appointed local and other councils constituting the institutions of Basic Democracies. The public works initiated in East Pakistan in 1962 and in West Pakistan in 1963, was an important step toward making development meaningful to the people. If, so far, these attempts to "plan from below" have not yet borne great fruit, at least a start has been made toward drawing the mass of people into the national effort for planned economic development.

Chapter III

BASIC DEMOCRACIES

On September 2, 1959, the President Mohammad Ayub Khan in a broadcast to the nation said,

> All changes and reforms which have been introduced or contemplated in the agrarian, educational, local, and economic spheres are, in fact, designed to prepare the base on which an upward pyramid of a sound political system can be developed. We have given it the name of Basic Democracies for the obvious reason that we wanted it to grow and evolve from the first rung of the political and economic ladder so that it finds roots deep among the people, starting at the village level in rural areas and at the "mohalla" level in towns.

The chief factors which have been kept in mind in determining the new system have again been stated by the President in the following words:

> Firstly, that the type of democracy would not be foisted upon the people from above. It would go up from below.
>
> Secondly, people would not have to go far away from their neighbourhood to elect their representatives. They would know closely the persons they would like to elect.
>
> Thirdly, the Assemblies would be active institutions participating in the affairs of the State in close cooperation with the Government and they would thus be better placed to take part in the development schemes.

The above statements give the broad concept of Basic Democracies and the thinking underlying the new experiment. As the system is essentially based on realism and a lively appreciation of the socio-economic and administrative situation of Pakistan, the present national government has great faith in the success of the scheme, provided, it is worked honestly, conscientiously and with the enthusiasm that it merits. It is the actual working of the new institutions that will formalize and give substance to the aims and objectives with which they have been conceived. We must, therefore, consider in practical terms what will be the scope of functions on different tiers of Basic Democracies and the conditions necessary for their effective performance.

Structure of Basic Democracies

The system extends to both rural and urban areas but, for obvious reasons, places more stress on the farmer, in which 85% of our people live. It functions at five levels viz, Union Council, Thana/Tehsil Council, District Council, Divisional Council, and Provincial Advisory Council. The last named level which acted as the chief advisory body of

the Governor, in matters relating to Basic Democracies was abolished immediately after the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies in 1962.

Union Council/Committee and Town Committee

The base of the system is provided by three types of institutions:

1. Union Councils, in rural areas,
2. Union Committees in Municipal and Cantonment area,
3. Town Committees for towns or small urban-communities.

1--Union Council:

In the rural areas, an average Union Council covers a group of villages with a total population ranging between 10,000 to 15,000 people although there are some variations, as in the case of the sparsely populated territory of the Kalat Division. A group of 1,000 to 1,500 persons will be represented by one member on the Union Council elected on the basis of adult franchise. In addition to the elected members, there was a provision for the nomination by the national government's representative commissioner of non-official representatives for special interests or for their

ability to render service to the people. The number of appointed members could not exceed one-half of the number of the elected members. Later on it was decided to discontinue the system of nominations in Basic Democracies. It was also decided that in the new elections to the various councils, there will be no room for appointed members, but the present members would continue to hold office until the expiration of their term and that the seats of the appointed members falling vacant in any of the four tiers of the B. D. Councils would not be filled.

2--Union Committee:

The Municipal Administration under the new set-up is essentially a double tiered structure. At the first level a municipal area is divided into a number of unions on lines similar to the union in rural areas, and a union committee is constituted for each such union. At the second level is the Municipal Committee which consists of the elected chairmen of the union committees' members and official and appointed members. The total number of the elected members can not exceed 30, and the total number of official and appointed members can not exceed the total number of elected members. In order to avoid unwieldy houses the

maximum strength of a Muncipal Committee, including elected, appointed, and official members, has been fixed at 45. In practice, however, most municipalities have a membership much lower than this. For example, in West Pakistan only the municipalities of Karachi, Lahore, and Lyllpur have a membership of 45 each.

To comply with the limit of 30 elected members for Lahore and Karachi, where the number of Union Committees exceed 30 (the number in Lahore is 60, and the number in Karachi is 94) the Union Committee members can elect one of the Chairmen of the Union Committees in the group to represent it on the Municipal Committees.

In Cantonment areas, the Union Committees have been set up on the basis of civil population residing in the area. The elected element in the Cantonment Board will now be composed of the Chairmen of these Union Committees.

3--Town Committee:

The Karachi area has a diversified character. It has high urban concentration at the center which gradually thins out into the rural community at the periphery. We have, therefore, in Karachi 9 Union Councils, 5 Town Committees, and 111 Union Committees. The Town Committees

largely consist of the refugee colonies which have not yet been fully merged into the Muncipal structure.

On an average, each Union Council, Union Committee, and Town Committee represents a population of 10,000 and has ten members elected on the basis of adult franchise. Each Council or Committee elects its own Chairman.

Tehsil/Thana Council

Above the base of Union Councils and Union Committees, Tehsil Councils have been set up in West Pakistan. These bodies are composed of the Chairmen of Union Councils as representative members and official and non-official nominated official members. The number of nominated official and non-official members must not exceed the number of representative members.

The Sub-Divisional Officer is the Chairman of the Thana Council. In the absence of the Sub-Divisional Officer, the Circle Officer, as Vice-Chairman of the Thana Council, chairs the meetings of the council. This is usually the case except for the headquarters Thana where the Sub-Divisional Officer himself presides.

In West Pakistan the "Tehsil Officer" presides over the meetings of the Tehsil Council. This includes the

Sub-Divisional Officer. The official members represent various national building departments, such as Agriculture, Cooperative, Education, Health and Animal Husbandry, Public Works Department, etc. The Development Officer acts as an advisor to the Council on Community Development.

District Council

At the next higher level, District Councils have been established for each District in East and West Pakistan. These councils are a successor institution to the former District Boards.

The District Council consists of official and non-official members. The number of official members cannot exceed the number of non-official members. Representation is also given to other interests like Cantonment Boards and Municipal Committees through their elected Vice-Presidents or Vice-Chairmen who are ex-officio members. At least half of the District Council membership is composed of Chairmen of Union Councils and Town Committees in the district. The official members include Chairmen of Thana/Tehsil Councils and of Municipal Bodies in the district and the heads of nation-building departments such as Cooperative, Education,

Agriculture, Health, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, and the Engineering Departments of Government. The total membership of a District Council varies between 30 and 45 according to local requirements. The Deputy Commissioner is the Chairman of the Council.

Divisional Council

The Divisional Council, which is at the highest governmental level, consists of official and non-official members. This is the main coordinating body for administration and development in each division. The Commissioner is the chairman of this council. The total number of official members on the Council are not to exceed the number of appointed non-official members. Out of the appointed non-official members, at least half must be selected from amongst the Chairmen of Union Councils, Town Committees, and Union Committees in the Division.

In West Pakistan the membership of the Divisional Council has been fixed at 45. Out of these, 22 seats have been assigned to officials and 23 to appointed non-officials. Eleven of the non-officials are from amongst the Chairmen of the various councils. In East Pakistan the total membership

has not been fixed, and varies according to local conditions.

The official members of the Divisional Council consists of Chairmen of the District Council in the Division and the heads of the nation-building departments in the Division such as Cooperative, Health, Education, Forest, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, WAPDA (Water and Power Development Authority), Public Health, etc.

Before the promulgation of the constitutions there were high powered Provincial Advisory Councils in each of the two provinces, East Pakistan and West Pakistan. With the coming into being of the Provincial Assemblies as the supreme representative institutions in each province, the Advisory Councils have been abolished.

After the new elections in October, 1964, according to the Constitution, the non-official members of a District Council will be elected from amongst the electors by an electoral college consisting of the Chairmen of Union Councils, Town/Union Committees within the district and the non-official members of a Divisional Council will be elected from amongst the electors by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of the District Council of that District. These changes have been designed to give a fully representative character to these institutions.

Functions of Basic Democracies

1--Union Councils

Under the Basic Democracies order, 1959, the Union Councils were given a wide range of functions, such as: provision and maintenance of public ways and public places; plantation and preservation of trees; management and maintenance of common land, burning and burial grounds, common meeting places; prevention of encroachments on public ways; sanitation and conservancy; collection and disposal of manure; regulation of the erection of buildings, provision and maintenance of wells, water pumps, tanks and ponds; regulation of brick kilns and potteries within residential areas, relief measures in the event of natural calamities; adoption of measures for increased food productions; provision of first-aid centers and libraries and reading rooms, and aid in the promotion of education and agricultural industrial and community development. It also includes maintenance of village police, promotion and development o f the cooperative movement and village industries, forests, livestock and fisheries.

2--Municipal Committees

For urban areas, though the basic unit is the Union Committee, in actual practice, the corporate body entrusted with executive function is the Municipal Committee. Basic Democracies Order contains a provision that the Union Committees shall perform such functions as may be prescribed for them and undertake measures of social up-lift, family planning, creation of civic consciousness, etc. However, in practice the Union Committees work only as sub-territorial units of the Muncipalities whose functions are defined by a Municipal Administration Ordinance. These functions include sanitation, public health, water supply, drainage, education, regulation of trades in the articles of food and drink, veterinary aid, maintenance of urban roads and streets, public parks, gardens and forests, libraries, and control or erection of buildings.

The committees can levy taxes to put these powers into effect.

3--Town Committees

Town Committees, though they have characteristics of both rural and urban communities are, in practice,

treated as urban areas. They have been authorized to undertake functions which Municipal Committees perform in the urban areas. In West Pakistan their field of operation is slightly narrower than the municipalities.

It excludes functions with respect to public safety, fire fighting, civil defence, floods and famines, etc. Their powers and responsibilities with regard to development and undertaking of commercial schemes have also been limited.

Tehsil/Thana Councils

The Tehsil/Thana Council has mainly coordinative functions. This is the lowest tier at which public representatives and public servants from various nation building departments come together, and discuss the plans prepared by Union Council/Town Committees. It may also assess the work being done by various departments and the councils in the area.

District Councils

The District Council is the most important unit after the Union Councils. Its functions are defined by the Basic Democracies Order. These are divided into

compulsory and optional functions and cover a very wide range. The compulsory functions include: provision and maintenance of libraries, hospitals, dispensaries, public roads, culverts and bridges; plantation and preservation of trees on the roadside and public places; provision and maintenance of public gardens, play ground and public places, public ferries, cattle ponds, rest houses, prevention of encroachments and nuisances; promotion of sanitation and public health; prevention of adulteration; registration of marriages, provision of water supply, agricultural, industries; regulation of traffic; improvements in cattle breeding; and relief measures in the event of calamities. The optional list covers as many as 70 functions under various heads, such as Education, Culture, Social Welfare, Economic Welfare, Public Health, and Public Works.

The District Council has been empowered to coordinate the work of all the nation-building departments in the district and to review generally their progress. It can sanction expenditure up to Rs. 20,000 (U. S. $4,000) for a productive and Rs. 10,000 (U. S. $2,000) for an unproductive scheme, out of development grant and up to Rs 50,000 (U. S. $10,000) on any scheme in the Rural Works Programme. It has also been authorized to formulate and

recommend to the Divisional Council and other authorities development schemes of importance to the district.

Divisional Council

The Divisional Council is the highest coordinating body under the system. It coordinates the activities of various government departments, District Councils, Local Councils, Municipal Bodies, and Cantonment Boards within the Division. It is authorized to review the progress of various development schemes being implemented in the Division, make suggestions for improvements in administration and formulate and recommend to Provincial Government development schemes of importance to the Division. It can sanction expenditure up to Rs. 50,000 (U. S. $10,000) for a productive and Rs. 25,000 (U. S. $5,000) for an unproductive scheme out of a development grant, and up to Rs. 5 laks (U. S. $100,000) on any scheme in the Rural Works Programme. It can make such modifications in the plans of the districts as it deems necessary.

A General View

According to the official classification the principal functions of Basic Democracies are divided into four categories:

1. Administrative and coordinative,
2. Local Government or Service functions,
3. Developmental, and
4. Constitutional.

In order to attain a more comprehensive view of the scope of these institutions, however, we may divide their functions into six categories:

1. Representational,
2. Administrative and coordinative,
3. Local Government or Service Functions,
4. Developmental,
5. Judicial functions, and
6. Constitutional functions.

Representational:

It is necessary to separate the representational functions from the administrative ones because the councillors acting as the representatives or leaders of their areas are performing primarily a political rather than

administrative role. The effect is most marked at the Union Council level, where the representational aspect has attained considerable importance. The form of the Union Councils provides articulation to the needs and urges of the village feature of the visit of district officials to the rural areas, in this articulation of demands, with respect to development as well as administration.

Administrative and Coordinative:

Administratively, Basic Democracies are intended to serve a three-fold purpose, namely:

a. To provide for maximum collaboration between the people and Government functionaries for dealing with public business;

b. To decentralize the administration for the effective exercise of administrative responsibility at the grass-roots level and above; and

c. To coordinate administrative effort at all key-points, particularly in the field organization of departments.

To achieve the objective of (a) above, Basic Democracies Councils have been integrated at all appropriate levels with the administrative machine. All nation-building departments of government, e.g., Agriculture, Education, Health, Cooperation, Animal Husbandry, etc., with whom our people come in daily contact have been represented on the upper tier councils. This close association of the people with their Government is intended to achieve a two-fold purpose. On the one hand, it will make available to the local communities the technical and managerial skills of government and of the other public agencies for the more skillful management of their affairs; while on the other hand, the work of the administrator will be subjected to public scrutiny and discussion leading to greater responsiveness of departmental activity to the real needs and wishes of the local people. We have suffered too long from a lack of such responsiveness and the people, who are at the receiving end of the administration, have seldom had an effective voice in the way problems affecting their day-to-day lives have been handled for them.

As regards (b), the underlying idea is to transfer the locus of decision to the most appropriate level at which public business should be disposed of in the interest of

maximum convenience of the people and optimum effectiveness of the system. It is, therefore, intended to make Basic Democracies effective administrative units for the areas under their charge. The local people will be involved directly in the decision-making process and in the exercise of authority vested at the local level. The Provincial Administration Committee has made far-reaching recommendations for the delegation of authority to the divisions, districts, and lower down the line. The departmental officers will progressively become "officers-in-council" working in close collaboration with people's representatives, this will board-base the exercise of administrative responsibility and enhance the accountability of government departments to the public whom they are privileged to serve. This process will be combined with the larger decentralization measures to be undertaken by way of implementing the recommendations of the Provincial Administration Committee. The Government has decided that the various B. D. Councils can call for progress reports, from government departments and that departmental plans should be included in the Annual Development Programme after they have been discussed by the Divisional Councils.

As regards (c), the divisional, district and tehsil councils have been specifically entrusted with coordinative functions. While the Tehsil/Thana councils will coordinate the work of the union councils, the district and divisional councils have been charged in addition with the following statutory responsibilities:

1. To formulate and recommend development schemes of importance to the District/Division;

2. To review generally the progress in various branches of administration in the District/Division; and

3. To consider problems of importance to the District/Division in all branches of administration, and make suggestions for development, improvement, and general advancement (Articles 34 and 35 of B.D.O.)

These are very important functions and their effective performance will help remove some of the fundamental defects of the present administrative machine. A large number of governmental and public agencies make a segmented approach at present to the problems of the villager whose life is not cut up into similar segments. The situation is aggravated by the considerable differences in the field unit areas of various departments, making the task of coordination particularly difficult. Basic Democracies will

provide a solution for this lack of coordination in two ways, viz:

1. The exercise of coordinating power by the Local Councils and in the executive sphere by their Chairmen; and

2. Progressive and systematic readjustment, to the extent feasible and desirable, of operational units of various nation-building departments to the areas of local councils. This will tend to make the area comprised in a local council an autonomous and self-contained administrative unit under the general scheme of the provincial and national governments.

The above measures of coordination will be workable in the case of all departments and agencies except those whose policy, as well as operations, require centralized control and direction, as discussed below in connection with the role of Basic Democracies in Development.

Local Government or Service Functions:

In their capacity as local bodies, the primary duty of B. D.s will be to provide and administer such environmental and social services as are laid down in the Basic Democracies Order and the Municipal Administration Ordinance.

There are a number of ways, however, in which Basic Democracies constitute a significant departure from the former local bodies.

First, they have been built into the administrative machine and made responsible for the exercise and coordination of administrative authority at the various levels.

Secondly, the range of services entrusted to them is much wider than that of the former bodies. They have been associated actively with Development administration and with the promotion of the activities of nation-building departments.

Thirdly, B. D.s have not been imposed from above by a "benign" foreign government but are intended to form the base of a new governmental and administrative structure built from the bottom upwards.

Fourthly, special care is being exercised to see that the factors responsible for the failure of local bodies in the past do not again become operative in the case of Basic Democracies.

The last mentioned point in the preceding paragraph merits a little more consideration. The chief factors responsible for the uninspiring record of local bodies in the past may be described as follows:

1. Dearth of public spirited individuals among members of local bodies;

2. Absence of regular elections and lack of civic consciousness in the electorate;

3. Factional intrigues in municipalities and district boards having their repercussions on the provincial politics;

4. Inadequate and inflexible finances; and

5. Lack of proper guidance and supervision by the higher authorities.

The first three factors have been largely eliminated by the emergence of a new leadership that has been attracted to serve on Basic Democracies. It has a high percentage of literacy and good representation from the educated and professional classes. They are young and enthusiastic. The average age is between the years of 35 and 40; the bulk of them belong to the lower middle and middle classes, the backbone of a free and progressive society in the process of industrialization. The system provides that the new leadership will be also represented

at the upper tiers. Given such men, it can be reasonably expected that there will be greater civic consciousness and responsibility at all tiers of Basic Democracies. As such, there is little likelihood that local Councils will, like the former local bodies, become arenas of factional or political wranglings.

As regards the finances of Basic Democracies, they are receiving the active attention of Government. The income from local taxation and fees will be supplemented under a proper system of grants from government, undertaking of commercial schemes by local councils, loans from government as well as from the open market, donation, and local contributions on self-help basis. A detailed long-term financial plan is being prepared for Basic Democracies in consultation with the Provincial Governments. In the budgets for 1961-62 and 1962-63 adequate provisions were made to give these bodies a good start.

Necessary steps are also being taken to ensure that the new institutions do not languish through neglect by government and other controlling authorities. It is intended to set up adequate arrangements to guide and stimulate the functioning of local councils by encouragement of good work and good men, systematic programs of training,

regular supply of information and other means. These arrangements will, however, carefully avoid the imposition of restrictive checks and controls on the councils, which would do more harm than good by stifling local initiative and enterprise. Basic Democracies must develop as semi-autonomous and self-reliant bodies and the supervision of their working must be the minimum required in the interest of administrative efficiency; it should be constructive and purposeful without being detailed and inhibitive.

Developmental

The role of Local Councils in developmental administration will be broadly similar to their role in the administrative field in general. These bodies will help to:

1. Decentralize development planning and implementation; and

2. Coordinate developmental activity at all appropriate levels.

At present there is a tendency for plans of development to be prepared at the Provincial and Central headquarters. Nearly all decisions are taken at these levels. Instead of being prepared and imposed from above, programs,

particularly those in the sphere of rural development, should originate in the villages and proceed upward, so that their aggregate represents the needs, aspirations, and thinking of the people. In the words of the First Five-Year Plan:

> The planning and execution of a national development program is a process to which nearly every unit of government must contribute. Schemes and proposals should be prepared at every level of government from the village to the center and in every department and ministry concerned with development. These schemes and proposals should be reviewed and coordinated into district, provincial, and national plans. Decisions must be reached and sanctions given for the execution of plans by operating organizations, and their work must be coordinated to achieve maximum results.

The Basic Democracies will serve as ideal agencies for the purpose in view. Through them, national and provincial development programs will be broken into divisional, district, and union plans to create a continuous chain of development administration all along the line. In a planned economy based on an over-all assessment and utilization of the national resources, it is necessary to have a clear perception of the scope and range of developmental activity that Basic Democracies will be in a position to undertake.

Broadly speaking, the Local Councils will be concerned with the planning and execution of two categories of schemes, namely:

1. Schemes undertaken by various government departments and public agencies as part of their normal operations; and

2. Schemes undertaken by the councils themselves largely from their own resources.

Departmental development schemes: In the case of departmental schemes, it is further necessary to distinguish between subjects of which both policy and operational control must necessarily be centralized from those activities which can in greater or lesser degree be decentralized to the districts and divisions. In the first category, subjects like Large Scale Industry and Water and Power would be included while the second category would extend to subjects like Community Development, Social Welfare, Cooperation, Labor, Education, Medical and Public Health, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Buildings and Roads, etc. It would no doubt be unrealistic to associate Basic Democracies with the planning and execution of development schemes of the first category. But in the case of other subjects, the Local Councils should participate actively as an agency for reflecting the needs and requirements of the people in respect to departmental development plans affecting the local areas. As a concrete

measure to this end Government has already accepted a recommendation of the Provincial Administration Committee that all new development schemes of departments should be discussed in the district and divisional councils. These councils, among other things, will assign priorities among the schemes of various departments from a local and regional point of view. These "territorial" priorities will be duly considered before the schemes are incorporated in the Annual Development Programme of the province.

Participation in the planning process by the Council will be supplemented by their association also with the implementation of the departmental schemes. It is intended that they should be able to call to account departmental agencies in case of obvious delay or inefficiency in the execution of a scheme and the non-fulfillment of stated targets but without interfering with its technical aspects.

Development Schemes of Basic Democracies: As regards their own schemes, the type of plans undertaken by Basic Democracies would be determined largely by local conditions and the availability of the funds. It would be necessary for the councils to guard against undertaking over-ambitious and unrealistic programs which exceed their normal financial

resources. Within this limitation, however, much can be achieved by these bodies. For this purpose, effective and practical assistance will be made available to them for framing their programs on the basis of well thought out priorities. This assistance would extend to both planning and implementation, somewhat on the following lines:

(a) In the preparation of schemes, the technical and administrative assistance of official members of the upper tier councils would be made available not only to the Councils, of which they are members, but also to the Union Councils and Town Committees. Instructions have been issued to give the highest consideration to the development plans of Basic Democracies and not treat them as a relatively unimportant adjunct of departmental operations; and

(b) A special engineering service is being constituted for the execution of the works undertaken by Basic Democracies. A District Engineer in the district with a Superintending Engineer at divisional level will be provided and this organization will be fitted into the public works department set-up.

The foregoing discussion shows that the main object is to integrate for maximum effectiveness the headquarters and field organization in the framing and execution of development schemes. The district, divisional, and lower councils will have considerable discretion within the funds available to them from local resources, supplemented by grants from Government, to undertake development plans of importance to their areas. It is hoped that the Basic Democracies, at every level, will progressively become the nucleus of active planning. At present, there is very little fruitful collaboration of regional planning with provincial and national planning and this deficiency will be largely made good if Basic Democracies function successfully in the development sector.

Judicial Functions

Certain judicial functions have also been given to the Union Councils and Union Committees under the Family Law Ordinance and Conciliation Courts Ordinance. They are empowered to decide disputes regarding maintenance of families, divorce, second marriage and other related matters under the Muslim Law. The Conciliation Courts Ordinance makes it compulsory for the complainant to seek redress

from these Councils in case of rioting, hurt, wrongful restraint or confinement, mis-appropriation of property, criminal breach of trust, cheating, mischief, criminal trespass, intimidation, and unlawful assemblies. Their optional jurisdiction extends to cases of assault, theft, house trespass, enticing away married women, and defamation. They are also authorized to decide certain disputes of civil nature such as recovery of money due on contracts, recovery of movable property, compensation for damage to movable property and damage for cattle trespass.

This system has brought justice closer to the doorstep of the people, and made it speedier and economical. These bodies decide more than 25,000 cases every year.

A special feature of these courts is that they, rather than concentrate on punishing the offenders, tend to tackle the root-cause of the disputes and effect amicable settlement. This is helping to build up an atmosphere of amity and trust in the villages.

Constitutional Functions

Basic Democracies redeem the pledge of the President to restore democracy to the people but in a form that they can understand and work. The new institutions are based on

the fundamental concept that the task of governing must be carried out with the active consent and participation of all the governed. Given the present educational level, mental horizon, and lack of political maturity of our people, this assumption would be quite unsupportable in case direct elections based on adult sufferage were held to the Legislature or to the Office of President.

A workable democracy must be rooted in society; while it must encourage the progressive trends and elements of the society, it must also be based on realism and an objective perception of the social, economic, and political conditions as they exist. In advanced countries, where people have long experience and training for the task of choosing their representatives, certain patterns of political behavior emerge and intelligent thinking can be focused on national problems by the development of necessary means and facilities. The existence of mass communication media--the Press, the Radio, and the Television--provide instruments of political education and of the presentation of programs to the nation. The nation is also, by and large, composed of literate individuals capable of comprehending the issues facing the country and judging between one program and the other.

In Pakistan, 85 percent of the people are illiterate. Their attention has hardly ever been engaged by problems other than those at the local level. It would be unrealistic, therefore, to expect them to judge between plans relating to issues beyond their immediate horizon. The underdevelopedness of our press and radio and the absence of television only aggravates the situation. It will be some time--a couple of generations at least--before literacy becomes considerably widespread and the mass communication facilities develop to the extent necessary and desirable. Under the circumstances, if the effective participation of the people in the management of the country is to be assured this should be done in first instance by entrusting them with the prudent management of their own particular localities. Within these areas, the problems are known to them as they have a direct and daily impact on their lives. The matters are also of sufficient intimate concern to them to provide a basis for comprehension, and for judgment as to who should represent them in institutions designed to solve those problems.

The electoral college constituted by elected councillors of Basic Democracies, consisting of the trusted men of the local communities chosen from localities where they

are known and their public motives and ethics are understood, provide a realistic basis of representative government in the country. It is for this reason that the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, faced with similar problems of mass illiteracy, social stagnation, and economic backwardness, are watching with such great interest the success of the new democratic system in Pakistan.

Chapter IV

ANALYSIS OF BASIC DEMOCRACIES

Assignment of Development Functions

The Basic Democracies Order of 1959 provides a reasonably complete structural framework for the evolution of local self-government to which is also assigned the major burden of initiating, coordinating, and supervising the development activities in which the government is actively interested. The membership of the several tiers of Basic Democracies, composed as they are of elected, appointed, and official members, is designed to assure a close integration of the will of the people, as expressed through their elected representatives, with specialized knowledge of the bureaucracy (officials) and the counsel of appointive members. In many respects the whole scheme can quite properly be thought of as a vast adult educational experiment which has at least four interesting challenges:

1. The challenge to the electors generally to select leaders who will represent their interests in the

most competent and objective manner of which they are capable. This means applying measures of acceptability to the several candidates which are more inclusive than family, sect, or faction. Basic intelligence, (not necessarily literacy), practical experience, breadth of view, and leadership qualities were apparently considered important criteria for selection as may be deduced from the following summary of results:

> The analysis of the results (involving 1389 elected representatives from a total of 3329 candidates) shows that, by and large, a new class of leadership has emerged. It is young and enthusiastic--the average age of the representatives being 35 to 40 years. Educationally, the successful candidates present a hopeful picture. In West Pakistan 12 percent of them are well educated, 58 percent have read up to IX Class and only 30 percent are illiterate. In East Pakistan, 11 percent are well educated, 87 percent have studied up to matriculation, and only 2 percent are illiterate. In Karachi, 90 percent of the people's representatives are literate. The elected councillors come mostly from the middle and lower middle classes. Farmers constitute 82 percent of the elected representatives in East Pakistan. In the Western wing, some 60 percent of the elected come from average middle class families. On the other hand, out of a total of 38,475 seats in the province, no more than 472 were captured by the landed gentry.[1]

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[1]Bureau of National Reconstruction, Dawn of a New Era, p. 24.

2. The challenge to elected chairmen (of more than 8,000 union councils) is to perform their coordinative and administrative functions in a manner which will help their communities create and carry out developmental plans which will yield the greatest benefits to the largest number of inhabitants. Those union council chairmen appointed to represent their constituencies at succeedingly higher tiers of Basic Democracies have the further challenge to bring forcefully to the attention of officials the genuine interests and needs of the village cultivators as well as their will to work and contribute to the achievement of production and other goals.

3. The challenge to the employees of nation-building departments (the bureaucracy) is to set aside their traditional, sometimes arrogant, views towards the people; to accept with dignity and poise the reversal of roles in which elected representatives of the people--rather than officials--take over, increasingly, the responsibility for the major policies which guide the programs of development and welfare; to broaden their conception of the

role of government as encompassing more than law and order--indeed as being more concerned with development and welfare than with the essentially negative goals of the past; and to produce more realistic and practical ideas, methods, and practices which cultivators working alone and in groups will find more productive of good results than their traditional practices.

4. The challenge to the people generally is to accept responsibility, which no one else can assume, for making the best use of their lands and other resources for the purpose of producing more food and other products which are basic to the elevation of their own standards of living as well as essential to the attainment of increased national wealth, from which higher standards of education and welfare can only be provided; to set aside their prejudices, factions, and traditional enmities in favour of the larger community welfare; and to use restraint in their demands of and reliance upon the government to solve their problems. This challenge can best be met imaginatively and vigorously--with

> increased satisfaction as results become apparent, within a political framework of freedom and voluntary participation.

It should be apparent from the above comments that orderly and progressive development can only take place in a social environment in which hope, mutual trust, personal and group dedication, and motivation predominate, and in which the resources of government are combined with the material and spiritual resources of the people for the achievement of higher standards of living.

Special Assignments of Union and District Councils

The principal substantive assignments for development are made to the 8216 union and to the 76 district councils. The language of the order is unambiguous in both cases. The law reads that,

> A union council shall be responsible for agricultural, industrial and community development in the union, and may, for that purpose perform such functions as may be prescribed.

In addition to this mandatory function, union councils may undertake such development functions as: 1) promotion and development of the cooperative movement, village industries,

forests, livestock and fisheries; 2) provision of maintenance of wells, water pumps, tanks, ponds and other works for the supply of water; 3) adoption of measures for increasing food production and other related functions.

The assigned responsibilities to district councils are divided into compulsory, optional, and coordinative. The compulsory list closely parallels the fields of development which are assigned to union councils. The difference, except for agriculture, lies largely in the language of the order which classifies most of the development functions of union councils. Industrial and community development, which indeed are very comprehensive, are given to the Union Council as optional functions, whereas the same functions, plus others, are classified as compulsory for district councils. More specifically, the adoption of measures for increasing agricultural production, plantation, and preservation of trees; provision of water supply; improvement of the breeding of cattle, horses, and other animals; and related development functions are compulsory for the district councils.

The major service function, which is also included in the "compulsory" category, is the provisions and maintenance of primary schools.

The optional functions ("unless required by government") are essentially narrower in scope than the compulsory functions, rather than different in kind. Examples would be: the establishment and maintenance of model agricultural farms; maintenance of crop statistics; promotion of agricultural credit; promotion of agricultural education designed to stimulate the adoption of more production practices; preservation and reclamation of soil; drainage and reclamation of swamps; the provisions of facilities for the procurement of raw materials; and the marketing of products of village industries.

The coordinative functions generally relate to the conventional activities of review and appraisal of the work of subordinate councils. In addition, however, the district councils have responsibility to consider local problems which inhibit development and to make suggestions for their solution, as well as, the broader assignment to formulate and recommend to the divisional councils, and other authorities, development schemes of importance to the district. This function clearly recognizes that some problems of development can only be dealt with in larger geographical areas, with possibly different methods and with larger or longer range application or resources.

Tehsil/Thana Councils

The 599 tehsil/thana councils can play as large or as small a role in development as the leadership of these councils may elect to play or as the district councils may assign. More specifically the language of the Order permits tehsil/thana councils to undertake "all such functions in the tehsil/thana as the district council is competent to undertake in the districts," or they shall, if required by district councils, perform the same functions. Thus, the powers of the tehsil/thana councils are in effect derived powers and are more subject to variables in leadership than are the union and district councils. The absence of taxing powers also suggests that they are a level to be used for assignments from the district council and for coordination and communication rather than as a level which has its own legal dynamic power for development. Whether the tehsil/thana councils play this somewhat "passive" role (vis-a-vis union and district councils) needs investigation.

Divisional Councils

The functions of the 13 divisional councils very closely parallel the coordinative functions of the district

councils. In addition a "safety-valve" provision is included which permits the government from time-to-time to direct that,

> subject to such terms and conditions as may be specified, any functions entrusted to District Councils . . . shall be undertaken by a Divisional Council on behalf of all the District Councils or any particular District Council in the Division.

What seems clear is that divisional councils, at their best, will be dealing with development problems and possibilities which are far beyond the resources of individual cultivators or small associations of cultivators (cooperatives or otherwise) to deal with. These problems may involve the creation of water control and use facilities in larger watersheds, wider marketing arrangements, more comprehensive transportation networks and similar problems. The absence of taxing powers of the divisional councils, like the tehsil/thana councils, suggests more emphasis on planning and coordinative functions rather than dynamic grass-roots functions which result from and are tested by the willingness of people to contribute to development by the "acid test" of taxing themselves or submitting to taxes imposed from higher levels.

Provisions Applying to All Local Councils

Most of the provisions of the Basic Democracy Order applying to all "Local Councils" (all councils up to and including divisional councils) deal with legal powers, executive powers, conduct of business, records, reports, establishment matters, control over activities and other administrative matters. Of central importance to the mechanics of putting development ideas into concrete form are the optional or required provisions for submission of development plans. The language of the Order follows:

> A Local Council may, and if by Government required shall, prepare and implement development plans for such periods and in such a manner as may be specified. Such plans shall be subject to the sanction of the prescribed authority, and shall provide for
>
> (a) the promotion, improvement and development of such function or functions of the Local Council as may be specified,
>
> (b) the manner in which the plan shall be financed , executed, implemented and supervised,
>
> (c) the agency through which the plan shall be executed and implemented, and
>
> (d) such other matters as may be necessary.

The above requirement for the orderly formulation and submission of development plans may be the "real test" and distillate of the scores, if not hundreds, of hours of thinking and discussion which may have taken place in the

councils before the ideas are set down in writing. The scope and importance of development plans coming through this channel are, of course, not the sum total of development activities going on in Pakistan. At least two large categories of development activities are presumably omitted --one category includes the activities of individual cultivators who, in one way or another, without governmental help, except possibly technical advice, are employing practices which are adding to the sum total of production of food and other commodities. The other category includes those authorized departmental development programs which are directly administered by the departmental employees or indirectly as subsidy programs (seeds, fertilizers, credit, etc.) for application by individual cultivators, cooperatives, or others. Thus the facts of how much development money and activity is genuinely carried on within the framework of Basic Democracy councils and how much occurs outside the councils is not known.

As a practical matter, a sufficiently large amount of development work must be initiated by, channeled through or be controlled or influenced by Basic Democracies to satisfy the basic democrats that their discussions are not merely "academic exercises." Furthermore, to the extent

that development funds and activities originate and/or are financed by and through the councils, the quality of the development plans and budgets will doubtless have a great deal to do with actual performance. From what little evidence is available, this aspect of the operations of Basic Democracies needs a great deal of "shoring up" before highly generalized, if not largely theoretical schemes are translated into actual "blueprints" for action--but the instances which have been brought to attention may not be a fair example of the practices. Undoubtedly much more research is called for in this area.

To the extent that budgets reflect income and expenditures for development projects (as contrasted with establishment items, etc.) the provisions in the Basic Democracies Order for orderly submission and review can be helpful in the process of creating realistic plans. The provision for raising loans, undertaking commercial or business enterprises, and for making plans for and executing works which may be invoked by local councils, adds to their potential strength and capacity to carry forward development plans. Further research and documentation of actual experience with these provisions will doubtless be helpful in

guiding the various councils in the use of these powers which probably, up to now, have been exercised quite sparingly.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

Critique

Although there is no doubt that the scheme for Basic Democracies is bold, imaginative and very soundly conceived, a few critical remarks may not be out of order. The first has to do with a basic omission. There is need to emphasize, in one way or another, the fundamental fact that undergirding the whole structure is the necessity to increase individual responsibility for changed habits of production, wider outlook, and a higher level of community and national spirit.

The principal purpose of the Order is to create an organizational structure for the evolution of local government and development. But, some kind of reference should have been worked into a preamble, if not in the text of the Order, to emphasize the importance of the individual in the entire organization. Without widespread assumption of individual responsibility for the broad goals which are set forth

in the Order and the Plan, the structure, however soundly conceived, will essentially remain a scrap of paper.

Another topic, closely allied to the whole subject of development, which is conspicuously absent, is any reference to "Family Planning." This topic may have been omitted for broadly political reasons because of the religious feelings involved on the part of some persons who consider this program against Islamic principles. However, this explanation is difficult to make when the government has taken such a forthright position on this subject. The scheme for Family Planning was first initiated in 1959, followed by a provision of Rs. 30.5 million (U. S. $6.1 million) in the Second Five-Year Plan. By March, 1963, Family Planning Centres numbered 1,920 and were functioning throughout the country. The public was being educated in Family Planning through films, radio, and the press. The program is also being aided by foreign agencies like the Ford Foundation, Population Council, New York; and the Swedish Government. The Ford Foundation has given financial aid within the first two years of the program to the extent of $549,000 in the form of consultants, equipments, etc., and has agreed to extend further assistance to the sum of $925,000. A National Research Institute of Family Planning was set up and is being expanded.

Central and Provincial Family Planning Councils have also been set up. In spite of all this no reference is given to it in the Basic Democracies.Order. Somewhere in the enumeration of functions of union and other councils, the function of promoting and facilitating the government's program in this field might very well have been worked in. For the President of Pakistan has rightly indicated that if the problem of increasing numbers of human beings is not solved, the economy will, at best, do no more than hold its own. The prospects of being on an "economic treadmill" are not very exciting, to say the least.

A third and more complex point has to do with the allocation of functions between the several tiers of Basic Democracies. For example, the promotion of agricultural programs appears in much the same language in the allocation of functions for union and district councils. Certainly agricultural development functions are and should be a major concern of both tiers of councils, but what is appropriate for union councils to do about agricultural development may be quite different from the functions which district councils, should perform. A clean delineation of the potential contributions and responsibilities which each tier might best make to this area of development will help

sharpen the character of the specific development plans which are formulated and on which successful administration may ultimately rest. This delineation can be made in the implementing rules promulgated by the provinces, but the Basic Democracies Order should aid the process of clarification by being more carefully drawn on this point.

Suggestions for the Improvement of the Operations of Basic Democracies

1--Individual Responsibility

First consideration will be given to the omission in the Basic Democracies Order regarding a need to emphasize the necessity of increased individual responsibility for changed habits of production, wider outlook, and a higher level of community and national spirit. The problem is to understand the nature of change, why people sometimes resist it, how to introduce it and why? These aspects are dealt with briefly in the following paragraphs.

Resistance to Change.

It has become a commonplace saying "that people resist change." But, a generalization which has many more

facts to support it is: "People accept change." The average man worships a Hebrew deity, buys a paper with coins invented in ancient Lydia, reads the news of the day printed in characters invented by ancient Semites upon material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. People all over the world have been changing their ways. The rate of change may be slow or fast, but the fact of change is obvious. If we grasp this concept firmly we begin to see resistance to change as a symptom of something wrong in the cross-cultural situation, that is, something wrong between those advocating change and those who are asked to adapt to it. There can be many reasons for resistance to change.

The historical background may be such as to make it difficult to establish satisfactory functional relationship between the administrators and the people. For the last two centuries the peasants in Pakistan have been governed through the Patwari and Tehsildar as tax collectors and through the village watchman and the police as the agencies of law and order. Most of their experience with government has been unpleasant and costly. The government servant has fostered an image of himself as someone authoritative, paternalistic, and aloof. Maintenance of a respectable distance was considered by the British to be an important

method of perpetuating control. So infectious was this attitude that not only the smaller civil servants but also the other hierarchies of officialdom, e.g., officers of the Agriculture, Education, and Public Health Departments, imitated in spite of the fact that they were supposed to work for improving the lot of the people.

Centralization.

There was extreme centralization developed during the colonial period. Policies and plans were made at the top. The men in the field were not even invited to participate. Targets had little relation to local customs, needs, or resources. The workers in the field were allowed little initiative by their bosses and could not obtain the willing cooperation of the people. The goal of the worker became the satisfaction of the superior rather than betterment of the people. He took to manipulation of results in order to retain the good opinion of his boss. The villager stood outside all this, as it were. At best he considered it a kind of game between the worker and the higher officer. His real needs were not touched and he was asked to perform many meaningless and bothersome tasks so that officers might

be pleased. No wonder that he developed a strong attitude of avoidance.

The attitude of distrusting government persists to this day--eighteen years after independence. This is illustrated by the following examples.

A village AID worker reported that a census of milch and draught cattle was being attempted, in a village in the Bannu Development Area, a rumour spread that milch animals were going to be taxed. People refused to cooperate with the survey and declined the gift of the government stud bull. In Kotli Loharan of Sialkot Development Area, when seed treated with Grenosen was offered, all kinds of rumours began to spread. It was fairly widely believed that the object of the government in distributing the seed was to render the village women sterile.

Basic Security.

People resist changes that seem to threaten basic securities. It is not always realized fully that villagers have a culture or integrated way of life. This way of life consists of their social organizations and their sentiments, i.e., ideas, attitudes, and modes of behaviour. Any change

in one aspect of their way of life affects, to a smaller or lesser degree, the other aspects. Take, for instance, the question of having model houses in a village. The villagers are told that they should have separate dwellings with enough ventilation, that it is unhygienic to tether animals near the place where human beings sleep and so on. The villagers listen in seeming deference. They know that having common walls, doing with little or no ventilation, tethering animals in the courtyards used for sleeping are all practices that give them a basic security--security against theft of property. They resist the change and if forced to adopt it, they revert to their old practices as soon as possible. Unless their objections are understood and met they will not adopt the change.

Again, thinking of changes in health practices and in agriculture, the villager has perhaps come to rely on an indigenous theory about the origin of ailment. He resorts to charms, tavizes, pirs, etc. He ascribes the havoc wrought by the vagaries of the weather to Destiny or Kismet. These beliefs are not scientific, but they do lead to stability and give him a hearing in a vast and hostile universe. If we take away the beliefs and do not substitute something better, we may be leaving him defenseless in his battle of

life, even if we do occasionally succeed in introducing a reform or two. We must take into account the cost which a community has to pay in modifying its culture.

The man who intrudes into another culture or way of life with administrative acts may be like one who cuts bothersome roots without being aware of their function and inter-connection. It is the people whose roots are being cut who can often feel what is happening.

People look askance at advice given by strangers. No community anywhere readily acts on advice given by strangers. It is good that people are not gullible.

Understanding.

People resist changes they do not understand--as Elton Mayo says:

> If an individual cannot work with sufficient understanding of his work situation, then, unlike a machine, he can only work against opposition from himself. This is the essential nature of the human; with all the will in the world to cooperate, he finds it difficult to persist in action for an end he cannot dimly see.[1]

The history of community development is full of instances which corroborate this fact. In some places big development funds lie unused because the people are not interested

[1] Quoted on page 37, Village Aid in West Pakistan, Chief Information Officer, Village Aid Adm., W. Pakistan, Lahore.

in the programs which we think are good for them. In other places the people have so come to regard the program as their very own that they do not want to use government funds and take pride in the fact that they have achieved results through their own efforts. In India they tried to rehabilitate aborigines from the hills on the plains. Each family was given 5 acres of land, a pair of bullocks, and Rs. 300 (U. S. $60) to build a house. At the end of six months the aborigines killed the bullocks, ate the meat, sold the hides, burnt the houses, and disappeared.

How to Introduce Change and Why?

We have so far discussed why people resist change. Now we shall consider how to introduce change and why.

A famous medical teacher, Dr. Samuel Darling, once said: "If you want to control the mosquito you must learn to think like a mosquito." Similarly, if we wish to improve the way of life of a people we must learn to think like the people. To be able to teach the teacher must learn. What appears from outside as irrational behavior becomes intelligible when viewed from within.

By studying the belief system of a people the administration will realize that it is easier to change in some directions than in others. A wise administration knows that before more difficult re-education can be attempted he must develop a feeling of confidence towards himself.

It is better to begin by trying to move in an easy direction that approximates the administrator's aims than to insist on a difficult direction that exactly fits his purpose. He must:

1. Create prestige, especially through identifying himself with the interest and welfare of the community.

2. Gain and give love and affection.

3. Make the people feel they are participating in a common venture.

An excellent way of achieving these objectives is to allow the people to have initiative. It is here that the training of villages can be useful. It is suggested that each Union Council should assign a Village Worker, trained in the rural academies, to each village in that particular Union. He

should go to a village, introduce himself, find out the felt needs, organize discussion on those needs which can be met through self-help, create self confidence, help plan a solution of a small local problem and encourage execution of the plan through the villagers' own effort.

Initiative from People.

There are many good reasons why the people should be involved and given the initiative:

1. No matter how perfect a plan is, if the people fail to feel it belongs to them, it leaves them cold, if not hostile. Take the simple question of a survey so essential for even an imposed scheme. The people neglect or refuse to give correct answers when government wants some statistics. On the other hand if the survey is carried out by the villagers to solve a problem in which they are involved not only are the answers reliable, but the people's enthusiasm for finding a solution gets kindled in the very process of the survey.

2. Ours is a poor country. If the people are involved they make the best use of the funds and contribute many times more in land, material and labor. Our biggest potential wealth is our manpower. In the villages this manpower remains idle for nearly six months in the year. Once the people's enthusiasm is aroused it can transform Pakistan.

3. People strive to maintain what they feel is their very own--if the people are involved not only do they proudly contribute the maximum they can (including all their ingenuity) to execute the plans but they are also anxious and eager to maintain what they achieve. In Ahmad pur area of Bahawalpur region the roads were not made. The administrators felt that better communications should be the need of the area. Hume Pipes (which are used to carry water of crossing streams and channels under the roads during construction) were offered gratis without involving the people. Disregarding that it was for their benefit the people demanded wages to carry pipes to the villages. In Sadigabad another area in the same region, a contrasting example

is found. Seven miles of a very wide stretch of land were given free by the villagers of Shakirkot, Chandrami, etc., and a road was made at no cost to Government. What is more no cart owner had trespassed onto the portion earmarked for lighter traffic. In the Mandan Village of Bannu district there is a District Board road. The boys used to damage the culverts and remove bricks. Some time back a link road was built to this very District Board road by villagers. The Development Officer asked some boys how it was that they did not remove a single brick from the link road or damage its culverts. Straight came the answer, "Oh, that is a government road and this is our own. No one is such a fool as to damage his own property."

4. People who participate in changing their own ways want to achieve bigger and bigger results. Once they achieve something worthwhile, through their own efforts, their enthusiasm, self confidence, and group pride increase manifold. They want to maintain the pride through bigger efforts.

5. Whenever a change is imposed from above, the cost is to be paid in good will if not more. It is incorrect to say that facts speak for themselves. They are cross-examined and given meaning in accordance with the assumptions of the examiner. Good results do not automatically carry conviction. Technically successful campaigns have resulted in public charges of incompetence and failure. The famous program of soil conservation on the Navaho Indian Reservation in the United States checked erosion on millions of acres and restored hundreds of square miles of eroded land. This success is not appreciated by the people for whom the program was so designed. Navahos hate the persons connected with the program. Coercion was used to reduce the number of cattle which had been integrated into their prestige system. In Arizona a similar program was executed on the Papago Indian Reservation. The village councils initiated the program. In the long run time was saved through local participation. More important, a tradition of participation was established in the application of technological aids to the community's problems. The

program also saved the government millions of dollars. The community itself planned and carried out the program of stock reduction. It also controlled erosion on half a million acres of land.

6. Our farmers are poor. Very few are in a position to take risks. We have to secure their good will and active participation before they willingly agree to experiment with new ways. Once they are involved they will not mind even an occasional or accidental failure.

7. Initiative compensates for the stresses that cannot be relieved, e.g., poverty of the masses in Pakistan for at least one more decade. On the other hand blind submission robs a person of the ability to take care of himself. It produces unhealthy and unbalanced individuals who are either spiritually crippled or are ready preys for the subversive elements. The best chance of making the constitution a reality and to run the State on truly democratic lines is to make the citizens fit for democratic rule.

8. Human beings learn by doing. The Village Worker's desire to do too much is about as destructive as apathy and refusal to do anything. It is important that the people's right to commit mistakes should be recognized. There are times when the Village Worker should not interfere even if he knows that he can do the job better. Village Workers should also try sometimes to think that they are not infallible.

9. A good Village Worker must delegate responsibility and reduce his problems to proportions with which he can easily expect to cope.

10. If the people are not given an opportunity to say what their problems are, the consequences may be dire. Before the French Revolution, men coming in an orderly manner to place their grievances before the king were beheaded. Public silence was mistaken for public calm.

11. The pressure of group opinion on individuals is enormous. The modern trend of group psychotherapy makes use of this principle. The Village Worker

should channel the force of group opinion to suit his aims. People are more susceptible to opinion of persons in groups that resemble their own than they are to the beliefs of the people that are different, e.g., the Village Workers. We have to find out the most effective unit of social organizations, e.g., a mohalla committee, village council of elders or leaders. From the past experience we have learned that direct mass approach to the villagers yielded hardly any perceptible results. Once the leaders are involved and the block opinion is convinced of the correctness of a move, the rest will be relatively easy.

12. The people may not know all the answers to their problems, but they certainly know most of their real problems. They do have a vast store of wisdom that comes out of experience. It is a pity to disregard it and plan in a vacuum. This is not necessarily to say that the expert is not wiser, only that his wisdom will leave him high and dry unless he induces people to benefit from it.

13. Last but not least, our aim should be to develop men and not merely things. Man is happy to work purposefully in a free atmosphere which allows the fullest possible scope to his initiative. He is happy creating things of beauty out of inert matter. He is never happy as long as he is himself treated as inert matter.

2--Family Planning

The omission of Family Planning from Basic Democracies Order seems meaningless as the Order is purely an administrative and development document closely allied to population figures and in turn to Family Planning. Along with the other functions the local councils such as Divisional, District, Tehsil/Thana, and Union can take care of promoting and facilitating this important program. The Family Planning Divisional Directorate and the District Sub-Directorate should be further broken down to Tehsil/Thana and Union levels and working in close contact with the councils at these levels. The responsibility in this field should be followed as coordinating at Divisional and Tehsil/Thana council levels and operational at District and

Union Council levels. More stress to be given at the last level which deals with the villagers and illiterate people constituting 85% population of the country.

3--Division of Responsibility

The third omission regarding the clear delineation of functions between the various levels of Basic Democracies has only to do with the language of the Order. The language of the Order is very broad and the functions of the different levels more or less seem to be the same. As a legal document the Order should be specific as to allocations of functions between different tiers of Basic Democracies and should provide a clear guide line for the potential contributions and responsibilities which each tier might best make. This could best be done just by referring and differentiating the functions to be operational in case of Union and District Councils and coordinating in case of Tehsil/Thana and Divisional Councils. Though the same thing has been done in the Implementing Rules of Basic Democracies promulgated by the provinces, its mention in the Order itself will help sharpen the character of the specific plans on which the success of the whole scheme of Basic Democracies exists.

In Conclusion

In general reference to all the elements of the Basic Democracies Plan, it can be said that sufficient publicity and support have been given by the government to help the councils at each level to make a good start, and that a start has been made in right earnest. As would be expected, the progress is not uniform, but depends on many factors, especially the interest and desire to cooperate on the part of all concerned.

The time is now ripe to chalk out the working pattern of the councils and to give them vigorous executive leadership. The earlier it is done the better.

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