

**LOK SATTA**

*People Power*

**Promoting National Good Governance**

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# True Swaraj

The real *Swaraj* will come  
not by the acquisition of authority by a few,  
but by the acquisition of the capacity by all  
to resist authority when abused

- *Gandhiji*

## Why is Governance Vital?

- Governments spend Rs. 1800 crores every day
- Out of 27 million organised workers, government employs 70%
- Fiscal deficit (Union and States) has reached 10% of GDP
- 50% Union tax revenues go towards interest payment
- Only 5 % of GDP spent on Health, Education and Social Security

# Role of State

- **Defend Freedom**
  - Laws to regulate conduct
  - Laws to protect liberty (child labor etc.)
  
- **Common Services**
  
- **Facilitate Enjoyment of Freedom**
  - Public order and peace
  - Education
  - Health care
  - Elimination of drudgery
  - Conditions for economic growth

# Irreducible Role of Government

- Public order
- Rule of law
- Justice
- School education
- Healthcare
- Infrastructure
- Natural resource development

# Crisis of Governance

- Increasing lawlessness
- Inefficient state apparatus
- Unresponsive bureaucracy
- Ineffective judicial system
- All pervasive corruption
- Criminalization of politics
- Money and muscle power in elections
- Political instability
- Erosion of legitimacy of authority

# What Does the Citizen Expect?

- Justice
- Dignity
- Vertical mobility

# Is Money the Issue?

## Sanitation

- 140 million toilets needed
- Cost: Rs 35000 crores
- Equals just 20 days expenditure

## School Education

- 1.6 million class rooms needed
- Capital cost : Rs 16,000 crores – 9 days govt. expenditure
- Recurring expenditure : Rs.8000 crores – 5 days govt. expenditure



# Keys to Resolution

- Change of players not enough, a change in rules of the game needed
- Values are not the issue, institutions are the key
- Most players are victims of a vicious cycle
- Resources are not a problem, the way they are deployed is the key

# Distortions of State Power

- Positive power restricted  
Negative power unchecked
- All organs are dysfunctional
- Crisis is systemic
- Political process ought to be the solution  
But has become the problem itself

# Failure of Political Process

- **Parties**

- Autocratic and unaccountable
- Repel the best
- A problem, not solution
- Choice - Tweedledom & Tweedledee

- **Elections**

- Change of players
- No change of rules of game
- Criminalization
- Money power
- Flawed process
  - Electoral rolls (40% errors)
  - Bogus voting (22%)

## Campaign Expenditure – Vicious Cycle

- Illegitimate expenses are often 5-10 times the ceiling or more  
 (Assembly ceiling: Rs 6 lakhs  
 Lok Sabha ceiling: Rs 15 lakhs)
- Every crore spent illegitimately

↓  
 Rs 10 crore returns

(to cover ROR, Interest, personal upkeep, supporters, family's future, next election costs)

↓  
 Rs 100 crore collected through bureaucracy

(for every legislator, there are 2000 employees who need to collect 'rent')

↓  
 people suffer ten times more.

(Extortion, harassment, humiliation, pain of delay, anxiety of greater loss)

# Can Economic Reforms Alone Deliver?

- Smaller and more focussed government will help
- But government still has large role

## Irreducible Role of Government

- Law and order
- Justice
- Rule of law
- School education
- Primary health care
- Basic infrastructure

# Way Out

- Assert people's sovereignty
- Fundamental democratic transformation
- People centered governance

# Key Governance Reforms

- Comprehensive electoral reforms
- Empowerment of local governments
- Instruments of accountability
- Speedy and efficient justice

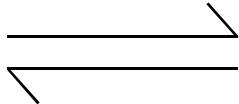
# Electoral Reforms

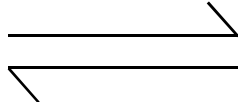
- Process Improvements
  - Preventing polling irregularities
  - Arresting and reversing criminalization of politics
  - Checking abuse of unaccountable money power in elections
  
- System Improvements
  - Political party reform
  - Proportional representation
  - Direct election of Chief Executive at the State level with clear separation of powers

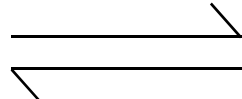


# Empowerment of Local Governments

- Transfer of funds, functions and functionaries to local governments
- Link between

vote  public good

taxes  services

authority  accountability

# Instruments of Accountability

- Right to Information
- Independent crime investigation
- Independent appointment of constitutional functionaries
- Independent and effective anti-corruption agency
- Term limits for public office
- Strict penalties for abuse of office
- Citizen's Charters
- Stakeholder empowerment

# Judicial Reforms

- Limit writ jurisdiction
- Increase number of courts
- Local courts in local language (Gram Nyayalaya)
- Time bound justice
- Independent mechanism for judicial appointments
- Independent crime investigation

# Dangers of Status Quo

- Fiscal collapse
- Anarchy
- Authoritarianism
- Balkanization
- Unfulfilled potential
- Avoidable suffering

# Society's Follies

## Absence of

- Sense of equality
- Trust
- Sense of common fate

# Keys to Good Governance

- Citizen-centered governance
- Efficient and focused government
- Accountability
- Participative political culture
- Leadership development
- Conditions conducive to liberty
- Steps to promote human dignity

## **Why No Action So Far**

- Ignorance
- Fear
- Inhibition (elitism)
- Lack of common platform

## **How Can We Overcome**

- Trust
- Sense of equality
- Common fate
- Knowledge
- Credible common platform

# Keys to Action

- Day-to-day personal relevance
- Tangible, easy action
- Precise knowledge guiding action
- Meticulous preparation
- Wide dissemination
- High credibility



## **How to Build a State-wide Movement?**

- A group of credible persons with excellent track record
- Deep insights into political and governance process
- An agenda that is acceptable to all segments
- Collective informed assertion on specific issues
- Fulltime commitment and professionalism
- Building a platform with brand image

# Window of Opportunity

- Economic, social & political convulsions preparing the ground
  - Impending fiscal collapse
  - Citizens' disgust / Concern
  - Unsustainable status-quo
  - Relatively sound private economy
  - Communications revolution & satellite television
  - Rising expectations
  - Political instability

## Two Paths – Choice is Ours

- **German example**      vs      • **USSR Example**
  - Freedom-enhancing
  - Democratic
  - Orderly
  - Integrating
- Tyrannical
  - Chaotic
  - Disintegrating

# Keys to Transformation

- Forces of history
- Triggering events
- People's initiatives
- Concerted action
- Clarity of goals
- Consensus on reforms
- National platform with synergies

“The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government, is to live under the government of bad men”

- *Plato*