

Lok Satta



Swarajya



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

- Mahatma Gandhi

Crisis of Governance



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

Key to Resolution



Crisis encompasses all organs of state

- Executive
- Legislature
- Judiciary

Most players are victims of a vicious cycle

- Politicians
 - Bureaucrats
 - Judiciary
 - Citizens
- Change in the rules of the game
 - Not merely a change of players
 - Focus on governance processes
 - Not on contentious policy debates

Why is Governance Vital?



- ⌘ Government spends Rs. 1250 crores every day
- ⌘ Out of 27 million organised workers, government employs 70%
- ⌘ Fiscal deficit (Union and States) has reached 12% GDP
- ⌘ 50% Union tax revenues go toward interest payment

Is Money the Issue?



Sanitation

- ⌘ 140 million toilets needed
- ⌘ Cost: Rs 35000 crores
- ⌘ Equals just one month's expenditure

School Education

- ⌘ 2 million class rooms needed
- ⌘ Cost : Rs 20,000 crores capital
Rs 8,000 crores recurrent
- ⌘ Equals 16 days expenditure - capital
7 days expenditure - recurrence

In a Sane Democracy



- ⌘ Political process should resolve the crisis
- ⌘ Parties, elections and public office are the route to reform
- ⌘ In India a vicious cycle operates

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%)

Dangerously Stable Equilibrium



⌘ Elections - a case -Andhra Pradesh : 1999

Expenses of parties : Rs 600 crores

Returns to Politicians :

ROI	}	Rs 3000 crores
risk		
future		
personal		

Actual extortion from citizens :

rent-seeking at every level : Rs20,000 crores

Conformity :

- best option individually
- worst option societally

Way Out



- ⌘ People's sovereignty
- ⌘ Fundamental democratic transformation

Can economic reforms 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

Citizens' initiatives

Guiding principles



- ⌘ Freedom
- ⌘ Self-governance
- ⌘ Empowerment
- ⌘ Rule of law
- ⌘ Self-correcting institutions

Possible Initiatives



⌘ People's watch for public services

- Collective
- Informal
- Assertive

⌘ Local reforms

- Right to information
- Citizen's charters
- Local self-governance
- Stake-holder empowerment
- Access to school education
- Rural courts for speedy justice
- Toilets for every household

Election Watch



- ⌘ Parties' internal democracy
- ⌘ Accountable and transparent funding
- ⌘ Democratic choice of candidates
- ⌘ Electoral rolls
- ⌘ Campaign finance
- ⌘ Criminalization
- ⌘ Informed public discourse
- ⌘ Voter Identity cards
- ⌘ Monitoring polling

National Movement



- ⌘ Reform of parties
- ⌘ Electoral reforms
- ⌘ Federalism
- ⌘ Local self-governance
- ⌘ Accountable Bureaucracy
- ⌘ Speedy justice
- ⌘ Separation of powers
- ⌘ Self-correcting mechanisms

Concern to Action



⌘ Obstacles

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

⌘ Requirements

- ☑ 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

Active Citizenship



⌘ Nexus

- ☑ Vote and public good
- ☑ Tax and services
- ☑ Authority and accountability

⌘ Passive Citizenry

- ☑ Legal plunder
- ☑ Constitutional brigandage
- ☑ Anonymous tyranny

Window of Opportunity



- ⌘ Impending fiscal collapse
- ⌘ Citizens' disgust
- ⌘ Unsustainable status-quo
- ⌘ Relatively sound private economy
- ⌘ Communications revolution
- ⌘ Satellite television
- ⌘ Rising expectations