CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Career progression of an IAS Officer:

The Chief Secretary is an IAS officer and is the head of the state bureaucracy. During the time of the British the Chief Secretaries were the ICS officers. After independence gradually the IAS started to occupy this prestigious office and now it is the most sought-after post for all the senior most IAS officers of the States.

The IAS has been referred to as a generalist service per excellence. Its members shift from one department to another, one sector to another, from generalized administration to more specialized working, from field and implementation-related assignment to secretariat and policy-making postings. The variety of experiences that of the IAS undergo during their career may be unmatched in any other career service in the world.

A fresh IAS probationer or ‘officer trainee” reporting to Charleville, the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie, after having successfully negotiated the grueling Union Public Service Commission recruitment process can never imagine what sort of postings would be in his/her fate the next over 30 to 35 years. Nevertheless, there is a rough pattern which most IAS officers follow in this career.

The first two years comprise induction training. The Mussoorie training starts with a foundation course in common with other Central Services. Thereafter, the professional course for the IAS at the Mussoorie Academy is in two phases which sandwich the State and district training conducted in the officers’ state allotment. The Bharat Darshan during the first phase of the professional course at the Academy when the trainees visit various parts of the country. In fact, the day in Mussoorie when the officer-trainee learns as to whether he/she would be getting one’s home state or would be going to the cadre of another state, has always been a defining moment determining the region in which much of the working life of the officer is to be spent. Though, they do not know it then, and are raring to report for their regular first postings, the trainees are destined never again to
cross paths with some of their batch mates allotted to other State Cadre, or may only meet up with them in some meeting or training course, 20 to 30 years later.

A short stint as Sub-divisional Officer is common for virtually for all IAS officers. In the last decade or so some young IAS officers have been moving on from the Sub-divisional posting to that of Executive Officer of a municipal council at a district headquarters.

Thereafter, comes one’s first promotion from the junior scale. In some states this has meant an assignment as Additional Deputy Commissioner/Additional District Magistrate, or Project Director District Rural Development Agency, or Chief Executive Officer Zila Parishad. Other coveted district assignment as Deputy Commissioner accrues along with the first promotion. Some go to the Secretariat as Deputy Secretary to the State Government upon promotion.

Then follows a period of rotation between being Deputy Commissioner, Deputy Secretary to the State Government in the State Secretariat, and a Director or Head of Department (HOD) in an executive State level department in the State capital. Some get assignments as Executive Director or Managing Director in State Government Public Sector Undertakings or ‘State Enterprises’. A Deputy Commissioner posting, like that of HOD or Deputy Secretary can come more than once to an IAS officer. Most IAS officers prefer a District Collector posting to that of a Deputy Secretary to State Government because of the great importance accorded to a DC by both government and society, as also because of the perks available as DC in the field. Later, as seniority brings further promotions, the officer may become a Special Secretary to State Government—but still rotates between that, being DC in a large, more important district and being HOD.

Then comes a major milestone—promotion to the Supertime Scale of the IAS and posting as a Secretary to government heading an administrative department in the State Secretariat. Equivalent postings may be Divisional Commissioner coordinating a number of districts (or an Area Development Commissioner) or being HOD of a more important executive department with the designation becoming Commissioner instead of Director, or Chairman and Managing Director of a State Enterprise. There are also some not so popular postings like being made Member of the Board of Revenue or Commissioner for Departmental Enquiries. Till the late 1980s or early 1990s most IAS officers retired in the Supertime Scale with only one or two rising higher to become the State’s Chief Secretary.
or Chairman of Board of Revenue. Now, however, a level of Principal Secretary to State Government above the Supertime Scale exists and most officer reach that level. The erstwhile posts of Secretary to Chief Minister and Secretary to Governor have also now got upgraded to the level of Principal Secretary. Such officers also get to head important State Enterprises. A handful of officers (not all the officers in any batch because many retire as Principal Secretaries) attain the grade of the Chief Secretary and are designated as Additional Chief Secretaries or Chairman, Board of Revenue—and of course a select few become Chief Secretaries in the State Government.¹

1.2 Federal Structure and Chief Secretary as the Head of the State Bureaucracy:
The Indian federal structure has made arrangement for division of powers between the Centre and the States through Union list, State list and Concurrent list². There is no denying that the supremacy and growth of Central Government was inherent in the original design of the Indian federal system. But over the years, it has grown strong and stronger in relation to the States, partly because of the deliberate efforts of the Indian Prime Ministers to make the Centre all powerful and partly because of the creation of number bodies like Planning Commission, Central Water Commission, the Central Electricity Authority, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and so on. To these, it would be appropriate to add some other political and economic factors such as the recurrent threats to national unity, the imperative of development, the spread of more or less uniform infrastructure of growth, modern means of communication, the introduction of a common educational system and emergence of a national market. Hence, under the current arrangements, Centre dominates not only in the legislation and financial fields but also in non-economic field. Thus, the peculiarity of Indian federation lies in the fact that the Centre occupies a predominant position as compared to that of the States. Because of this pronounced Centralized bias of the Constitution, Prof. K.C. Wheare described it as “Quasi-federal”³

However, a careful and candid scrutiny of the various developments, both at the Centre and State levels, will reveal that despite this unusual increase in the role of the Central Government the importance of the Indian States has not declined. They are key components in the political system. The administrative staff of the State Governments has
considerably expanded. The scope of their activities has also enlarged and they have been spending more and more money. According to Paul Brass, “not only have they been spending more money, but they have been spending both ‘money that they don’t raise’ and money that they do raise”. Moreover, with the emergence of non-Congress Governments in the States, there has been an apparent increase in the relative importance and role of the States and of the State Chief –Minister –Congress and non-Congress.4

Successive Finance Commissions have tended to enlarge the devolution of taxes to the States. The First Finance Commission assigned to the States’ 55 per cent of the net proceeds of income tax. This was raised to 60, 66 and 67 by the Second, Third and the Fourth Finance Commissions respectively. The Fifth Finance Commission retained it at 75 per cent. It was raised to 80 and 85 per cent by the Sixth and Seventh Finance Commissions respectively. The Eight Finance Commission kept it at 85 per cent.5 There has been huge flow of funds from the Centre to the States. These shift in the resource distribution have been accompanied by a decline of control over the way the States spend the resources transferred. As for monitoring of the funds, the 13th Finance Commission has endorsed the recommendation of the 12th Finance Commission. It had recommended that a high level monitoring committee headed by the Chief Secretary should review utilization of grants on a quarterly basis as required to ensure proper utilization of these funds.6

In the present phase of development, the States are the main operating agencies. The responsibility of implementing a large number of Centrally-Sponsored Schemes has fallen on the State governments. Besides, a good number of powers and functions of the Urban and Local Government Authorities, on account of various factors, have been made in practical sense the jurisdiction of the State Government. Till date full transfer of funds, functions and functionaries has not taken place in Assam.7 Thus in addition to acting as the primary linking mechanism between the Union and Local Governments, the State Governments have become the focal points of development planning and administration. Thus, the Centre is heavily dependent upon the States for implementation of its developmental policies and programmes. Besides politics at vertical level draws its sustenance from the support of the State level leaders. Paul H.Appleby has remarked that,
“no other large and important government is so dependent as India, on theoretically subordinate but actually rather distinct unit responsible for a different political control, for so much of the administration of what are recognized as national programmes of great importance to this nation”

1.3 An overview of Literature:

Certain descriptive accounts of a few State governments using the legal-structural approach have been published which I have consulted for the purpose of my research work. Some of the retired Chief Secretaries of ICS era and other senior IAS officers have published their memoirs. A retired Additional Chief Secretary of Assam who later became the Chief Secretary of Sikkim published his memoirs where he has narrated his administrative experience while working in Assam which depict insider’s viewpoints. I have also consulted some of the selected articles published in standard journals on various aspects of State administration. Many Government Reports and Research Studies have also added to the existing informative literature on State administration. Here an attempt has been made to review some of the literatures highlighting the importance of state administration in India in the following manner:

1. S.R. Maheshwari in ‘State Governments in India’ (first published in 1979 Reprint 1987, Macmillan India Limited, New Delhi -6) focused on comparative study of the machinery of governance in the States and Union Territories and its functioning. Its particular focus is on policy-making and public administration at the State level in India.

Starting with the analysis of the constitutional position accorded to the States in India, it surveys the various efforts directed at the modernization of the old system. It analyses the formation and manifestation of regionalism. Professor Maheshwari pin-points the thorns in inter-governmental relations and uncovers corruption at various levels in this candid analysis of the functioning of the State and Local governments.

In India, it was the ‘State’ which first came into being; not the Central Government. Yet, this lower-but vital-level of government has not received the attention of researchers. This book provides the long-felt need for such a work.

K.K. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta-6. The thesis bears original title-Assam Secretariat 1874-1947. A sub-title – An Administrative History of North-East India has been added to make the book explicit. This thesis traces the growth of the Assam Civil Secretariat during the period of 1874-1947 and incidentally deals with some aspects of the Assam Public Works Department Secretariat. In this book the author highlighted that a Secretariat is the brain trust of the government. It is the agency through which government operates. The efficiency or the inefficiency of the administration depends on the Secretariat. It is the place where the major governmental policies originate. It is the pipeline through which ideas flow from the people to the seat of government and vice versa. There is also brief reference to the evolution of the office of the Chief Secretary in Assam.

3. Dr. R.K. Sapru, in his book “Civil Service Administration in India” (Deep and Deep Publication, New Delhi-27, 1985) has made an attempt on the continuing problems of development and how civil service can be developed to meet this challenge. Here he has analysed the problems of how to increase the capacity of civil service administrative system so that it contributes to the sustained economic and social growth and state building. Dr. Sapru has stressed the need for improving and revitalizing civil administration to bring changes and achievements required in the transformation of developing societies like India. He dwells at length on different problems of personnel. They include civil service structure, recruitment, training, career development and staff associations.

4. “The Indian Bureaucratic System” edited by Jeevan Nair and U.C. Jain, (2000, Pointer Publishers’ Jaipur -3). This book describes in great details, the formation of the Indian bureaucratic services, the influence of British rule and its evolution into one of the most widespread and convoluted institutions of governance. The author did not hesitate to hide the shortfall in standards of the Indian bureaucracy at certain periods of Indian history, its sycophancy and often its decisions which were palpably against the interest of the country, the common people, or certain sections of society. At the same time, full credit is given to the positive side and the enormous task the bureaucracy faces in smooth running a country as large and diverse as India. It also deals with the administrative
institutions of India and the factors that led to their establishment and over all, the successes and failures of the administration over the years.

5. “Working and Reforms of State Secretariats in India” authored by Dr. Shantaram K.Bhogle (1980, Venus publishers, Pune -29). The book presents a searching analysis of the basic and important factors that are responsible for the inefficient working of the State Secretariats in India and the need for reforming the Secretariat organization and its procedure, on the basis of the various Reports of the Administrative Reforms Committees/Commissions appointed by various State Governments. It includes the important observations and recommendations of these to shape the administrative organization and administrative procedure of State Government at highest level. Undoubtedly, the political as well as the administrative wings of the State Secretariat have a crucial role to plan the dynamics of total policy and decisional systems at the State level and, therefore, analytical examination of the functioning of such policy centre assumes crucial significance.

6. Ramesh K.Arora and Rajni Goyal’s Indian Public Administration: Institutions and Issues (Second revised edition of Wishwa Prakasan, New Delhi, 1997) is a treatise on environment, structure, functioning, behaviour impact and problems of the Indian Administration. Part four of this book is devoted to State administration involving Governor, Chief Minister, Council of Ministers, Chief Secretary and functions of the Secretariat. A brief sketch of the role of the Chief Secretary has been described in this book with special reference to the role of the Chief Secretary in the State of Rajasthan. Apart from that there is also reference to the structure and organization of the Secretariat administration in the State of Rajasthan, Maharastra and Orissa.

Memoirs: To understand the role of the Chief Secretary being the senior most IAS officer of the state bureaucracy in terms of the changing environment in which it has to function, as also the fact that the administrative acumen and the character of the individual civil servants can and has significantly influences the pattern, orientation and productivity of the administrative system there is a need to go through the memoirs written by these IAS officers mostly after retirement. Following are some of the memoirs that this researcher has consulted:
1. K Shreedhar Rao,’s “Wither Governance; Reflection of an Assam civilian” published by South Asia Foundation (printed and distributed by Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi-59, 2002) is a memoir. The author, who belonged to the Assam-Meghalaya cadre of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), has held various responsibilities in the states of Assam and Sikkim. The Chapters on Assam bring out in eminently readable style, the particular character of the administration in the State and the serious complications one has to face in dealing with a highly fragmented social structure, undergoing unprecedented stresses and strains, while being plagued by divisive tendencies. The central theme that the author has projected is the immediate need to arrest the precipitous decline in the standard of governance that this country has experienced over the years. The book also deals with the current concerns relating to internal security focusing North East. The author in this book also shared his experiences while acting as the Chief Secretary of Sikkim.

2. In 1965 K.L.Punjabi brought out an edited book, The Civil Servant in India. (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay) This book containing narratives by 20 civil servants had been a great source of interest for the IAS officers who followed in the footsteps of these ICS luminaries and this book was still well known in bureaucratic circles who joined the IAS in the 1970s.

3. Governance and the IAS: In search of Resilience edited by R.K. Dar came out in 1999. It primarily concentrates on reminiscences by officers of the 1958 batch of the IAS which was the twelfth and the last batch to be trained at Metcalfe House, Delhi before the IAS training shifted to the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie. But it is more than the recollections of 14 officers who wrote about their early years in service, their working at the middle level in government, as well as their senior level postings.

4. Another book is The Collectors Recollect (1987, Centre for Administrative Change, Jaipur) edited by Mohan Mukherji (a former IAS officer who had earlier risen to the level of Chief Secretary) and Ramesh K. Arora (an Academic), which concentrates on the first hand accounts by 15 members of the Indian Administrative Service of their experience as District Collectors.
Mohan Mukherji and Ramesh K. Arora planned another book on the reminiscences of the IAS to further the understanding of the role played by the “men at the top” in State Government in operating and transforming administrative structure. Following the demise of Mukherji, the volume came as; In the Corridor of Power (1997) edited by Ramesh K. Arora and contained reminiscences of 13 administrators, both direct recruits and promotees to the IAS.

5. Philip Woodruff’s The Men who Ruled India (2 volumes) does not contain reminiscences of the ICS and its predecessor HEICS (Honourable East India Company Service), since the persons concerned were long gone when Phillip Woodruff wrote the book. Instead, letters, journal entries, etc., of and about the protagonists have been studied and biographical accounts of prominent ‘civilians’ or administrators of the British Raj along with extensive quotations in their own words as well as paraphrasing have been provided by Woodruff who himself served in the ICS in the year preceding independence (real name Philip Mason). His work has followed a chronological approach with the first volume tracing story till the events of 1857 and chronicling the work of the ‘founders’ and the second bringing the tale in India’s independence and the endeavours of the ‘guardians.’

6. Recently, in 2005, David Gilmour has brought out The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victoria Raj which some reviewers feel will replace The Men who Ruled India as the definitive book about the British administrative (or ruling) class in India, whereby through exhaustive research in official archives and family papers, Gilmour has provided a panorama of what it was like to administer the British Raj. Gilmour has focused on individuals who manned the civil service so as to understand the HEICS/ICS institutions through their members. It becomes clear that many concerns regarding issues like recruitment, training, allotment of provincial or state cadres, cadre management, promotions, hobbies and other intellectual or leisure related non-official activities, their ambitions and role and the views of spouses and families, which concerned British Indian Civil Servants during the approximately 70-year period of the Victorian age (which punctuated by the change from Company rule to that of the Crown in 1858), are very similar to those which concern today’s IAS officers.
Both the books highlight the high standard set by many of these civilians, but do not omits the misdeeds of some members of the civil service and even refers to some social scandals regarding some officers.

7. Mention may also be made of Sanjoy Bagchi’s *The Changing Face of Bureaucracy: Fifty years of the IAS* (New Delhi, Rupa, 2007). Bagchi has joined the IAS in the early 1950s but left after 25 years to spend a couple of decades abroad. On returning to India he ‘decided to make an honest and objective study’ of the IAS with a view to coming up with recommendations to reverse what he perceived as the decline in the IAS, which in his view had commenced after the 1960s. He has consulted, many reminiscences and recollections, both published and unpublished by IAS and ICS officers and also much of what has been written analyzing the IAS and its actions. So, strictly speaking it is not a biographical book, nor has it concentrated upon off narratives by officers remembering their years in service.

The book is about the Indian Administrative Service and its transformation during the fifty years of its existence. IAS is a unique institution in the world the like of which is not found anywhere else. Sardar Patel, India’s first home minister conceived it as an elite all-India service, selected on pure merit by an independent authority, functioning at the federal centre as well as the states. It was meant to be politically neutral, representative of the entire nation and containing the best talents in the country. It was to provide efficient administration and was expected to be scrupulously honest. Up to the Emergency, the Service fulfilled the expectations of its creator. It extended uniform standards of administration throughout the country. It paved the way for the planned economic uplift. It brought about self-sufficiency in food and industrial development. Post-Emergency the IAS became highly politicized as well as corrupt. To prevent further degeneration, the author feels the urgent need of de-politicization and stringent accountability. He has suggested ways and means to achieve these ends along with some systemic changes.
1.4 The need of the study:

The Chief Secretary of a state government is the king-pin of the state administrative system. He is the Chief policy initiator and Chief coordinator of the administration of state policies. His role as the Secretary to the Council of Ministers and his absolute proximity to the Chief Minister make the Chief Secretary the main link between the political system and the administrative system. Further, traditionally the Chief Secretary in a state like Assam is involved as the Chief Administrative Head of five important departments. These are Home, Personnel, Administrative Reforms and Training, General Administration and Secretariat Administration. The Planning and Development Department is also a very crucial department which draws the attention of the Chief Secretary. The Assam Administrative Reforms Commission (2005) in its report has in fact suggested that charges like Home and Personnel should be headed by the Chief Secretary himself directly. Though the Principal Secretaries and Commissioners and Secretaries are the formal heads of these departments but all the important decisions are to be routed through the Chief Secretary for final decision. Accordingly, he plays a prominent role in the direction and supervision of the state administrative organs. In other States as well, the Chief Secretaries are directly made responsible for functioning certain important departments though in this regard the position of this top administrative official varies from State to State. Thus, in general, the functions relating to General Administration and Personnel have always been the main concerns of a Chief Secretary and this leads a status of eminence and responsibility to the Chief Secretary of a state government.

Thus, the publication of the memoirs of some retired Chief Secretaries and some retired IAS officers provide perceptive insight into the crucial role that this first civil servant of the state has to perform in planning, organizing, directing and co-ordinating the vast administrative machinery of a state and his informal role being the main communication link between the administrative system and its immediate environment. So far, however no research study has been undertaken on the role of Chief Secretary in the State of Assam. Assuming this, the present modest effort to make an investigative and fresh look
to the role of the Chief Secretary in Assam in the changing face of administration of Assam.

1.5 The scope of enquiry:

The focus of the present study is on ‘administrative’ role of the Chief Secretary. This embraces his relationship with the Council of Ministers and different administrative departments mostly on the basis of the pattern perceived by the academia, politicians and common man. At the same time references to the incumbents to this position have been made at relevant places during analysis whenever situation demands. Attempts has been made to trace the evolution of the office of the Chief Secretary during the period of the British and in the post -Independence period, but major emphasis has been laid on the examination of this role since 1972. The reasons for selecting this dividing line of 1972 is because the capital of Assam was shifted from Shillong to Dispur with the creation of the State of Meghalaya. Shillong served as joint capital of both Assam and Meghalaya for a brief period. It was exactly during this time that the era of ICS manning this highest post came to an end. Since then the Chief Secretaries has been from IAS. It was Dharmananda Das the first nominated IAS to become the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam. At the same time another important development came to the picture that at Pan Indian level the office of the Chief Secretary was rationalized in the sense that salary and rank was made same to that of Joint Secretary and subsequently to Secretary to the Government of India. Further, this led to an enormous increase in the role and responsibility of the state bureaucracy headed by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam.

1.6 Research Questions:

The present study is exploratory and critical in nature and attempts to find out certain facts rather than test any given hypothesis. Therefore, instead of testing hypothesis, the following broad questions attempted to be answered in this study:

1. How has been the position of the Chief Secretary evolved in the context of Assam?
2. What are the basic personnel administrative conditions associated with the position of the Chief Secretary?

3. What role does the Chief Secretary perform as the Secretary to the Council of Ministers?

4. What are the instruments that the Chief Secretary employs in providing direction to the planning system of the State?

5. How does the Chief Secretary act as the head of the civil services and what tool does he use in providing systematic direction to the State’s personnel administrative system and administrative reforms?

6. What role does the Chief Secretary perform as the head of the Unified Command Structure in Assam?

7. What is the nature of relationship between the Chief Secretary and the Chief Minister in Assam?

1.7 Methodology and sources of data:

The study is based on the analysis of data—both primary and secondary—gathered from several sources which are as follows;

1. Primary Data

The primary data have been collected through personal interview, detailed discussions, and also from the archival sources.

(I) Focus group Interview and discussion:

Keeping in mind the objectives of the study ‘focus group’ interview was undertaken. To avoid constraints on free expression of their service experiences caused by the regulation or code of conduct this researcher had to depend upon unstructured interview schedule. Accordingly, this researcher took personal interviews with some of the retired Chief Secretaries of Assam and also the present Chief Secretary. This researcher also talked to 50 senior most IAS officers of Assam and Meghalaya Cadre who shared their experience while working in the Assam Secretariat. Some of these officers had already retired. Accordingly through this focused group interview it was desired to know their perceptive insight toward the role and status of the Chief Secretary in the context of the State of
Assam. At the time of focus group interview researcher had the impression that the retired officers were much more bold and outspoken in their views than those officers who are still in service. It helped the researcher to feel the existence of code of conduct on the in-service officers.

Thus, for an exploratory study of present nature, the extent of reliance on the analysis of the perception and reflection of the present and past incumbents of the post of the Chief Secretary naturally becomes heavy.

(ii) Reports: Reports of the Administrative Reforms Commissions appointed by the Government of India and also by the various State Governments from time to time have been the source of primary data relating to issues concerning the service conditions of the IAS officers. Moreover, the Reports of the Pay Commissions of both the Union Government and the State governments have provided relevant information regarding pay structure of the higher civil services in India.

(iii) History of Services and Civil Lists: The History of Services of the Gazzated Officers’ right from the time of the British is of great help in order to trace out the administrative background of the ICS officers who were appointed in Assam. During the post-independence period also publication of the Civil lists of Assam Government has provided data in connection with the career progression of the IAS posted in different parts of the State.

2. Secondary Data: Memoirs are the most important secondary source of qualitative data so far this study is concerned. Apart from books and journals throwing light on the role of the senior civil servants, newspapers especially the Assam Tribune, the Sentinel, the Times of India, the Hindu and the Indian Express were extensively used by this researcher with a view to eliciting the requisite information.

1.8 Limitation of the study:
In the interest of the official secrecy I could not have access to all the data which are available in the Government Offices. Even in making references to interview data, anonymity has been strictly maintained.

The major reliance in this study is placed on data collected from Government records, Circulars and several secondary sources such as books, articles, memoirs, reports and
Government documents. Detailed discussions were held with some government officials for obtaining information relating to structure and functioning of government departments.

Moreover for an exploratory study of present nature, the extent of reliance on the analysis of the perception and reflection of the present and past incumbents of the post of the Chief Secretary naturally becomes heavy. Open unstructured questionnaires method was followed while having interview with retired Chief Secretaries and other senior IAS officers of the state.

1.9 Chapterization

The First Chapter of the study which is the introductory chapter which incorporates the design of the study.

The Second Chapter focuses upon the evolution of the office of the Chief Secretary in Assam. Brief details are given of the position of senior officers in the administration during the British period that enjoyed the position of the Chief Secretary. Besides, reference is made to the evolution of the office of the Chief Secretary in Assam since independence.

In the Third Chapter an attempt has been made to highlight the administrative background of the Chief Secretaries of Assam. Apart from the administrative background, this chapter discusses about the appointment and service condition of the Chief Secretary. The role played by the Chief Minister in the selection of the Chief Secretary is highlighted in this Chapter. An attempt is also made to focus upon the basic qualities required of a person to be appointed as Chief Secretary.

The Fourth Chapter discusses role of the Chief Secretary as the Chief Coordinator of State administration. The various mechanisms and devices through which he effects this coordination are analyzed and the means through which he can bring about innovation and improvement in State administration are also examined.

The Fifth Chapter is associated with the role of the Chief Secretary as Cabinet Secretary which is the most original function assigned to this office. This role is analysed with a view to examining as to what extent he participates and influences the top level policy process in the State Government. This Chapter also deals with Chief Minister –Chief Secretary Relation
in the State of Assam. This relationship between the Chief Secretary and the Chief Minister is examined along with the perception and cognitions of the past and present incumbents to the post of Chief Secretary.

In Assam the Chief Secretary heads all the departments of Assam Secretariat. But traditionally there are some departments where he is more or less directly involved. Planning Department is a very important department in Assam. It is now named as Planning and Development Department and formally the additional Chief Secretary is the administrative head of this department for the day to day functioning. But the Chief Secretary plays a very crucial role in taking important decisions of this department which has to maintain vertical relation with the Planning Commission of India. Therefore the Sixth Chapter deals with the Role of the Chief Secretary being the overall head of the Planning and Development Department.

The Chapter Seven deals with the Role of the Chief Secretary as the overall head of the Department of Personnel and Department of Administrative Reforms and Training. The Personnel Department and the Administrative Reforms and Training are the two separate departments now. But for the purpose of this study both the role have been combined together.

The entire North East is strategically located in the sense that more 98 percent of its boundary is with the Foreign Countries. For that matter Assam also shares boundary with Bangladesh and Bhutan. Law and order has always been a problem and the Chief Secretary of the State of Assam has been entrusted with special responsibility in dealing with the law and order situation in the State. Chapter Eight deals with the role of the Chief Secretary as the Head of the Unified Command Structure in the State of Assam in dealing with the counter-insurgency situation.

The last chapter of the study entitled “The Concluding Chapter” is a summary of observation and suggestions made in the present study. Hopefully, this would serve a heuristic purpose by indicating areas of research that can be meaningfully undertaken on the role of the Chief Secretary in a cross state context.
Notes and References


2. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution gives a list of ninety-seven subjects under the Union List, sixty-six subjects under the State List and forty-seven subjects in the Concurrent List.


7. *Third Assam State Finance Commission Report* submitted by H.N.Das, Chairman (He was Chief Secretary of Assam from 1990-1995)


16. Interview with the P. K. Bora. He was the Chief Secretary of Assam from 23.3.1998 to 31.7.2003


*Notes: LBSNAA was established in the Charleville Hotel, acquired by the Indian government in 1959. The Happy Valley Club area was also soon acquired to house the sports complex for the institution. The academy was initially named the National Academy of Administration. The academy was renamed in honor of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri shortly after his death. The first director of the academy was A.N. Jha.*