

V. 8.

357.33

HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
BUDAPEST, IV., EGYETEM-TÉR 1
No 12.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

*Paper presented to the Fifth International Congress
of Administrative Sciences in Vienna*

BY

ZOLTÁN MAGYARY LL. D.

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST,
DIRECTOR OF THE HUNGARIAN INSTITUTE
OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION



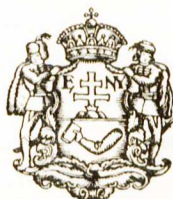
9/64

8/88

13/1980

(1)

338/1933



ROYAL HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS, BUDAPEST
1933



I.

In dealing with the problem of administration science is today in a difficult position. The scientific treatment of the question of public administration is being carried on several lines, each of which is regarded by its representatives as exclusive and calculated to offer a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of administration, or at any rate required to offer an independent system. But it proves impossible to avoid a certain oneness in respect of starting-point, methods and aims; and that involves their being all simultaneously legitimate, though it also means that neither of them is able to give a sufficient explanation of the problem of public administration.

The following are the more important tendencies:

1. The *school of administrative law*. A great achievement of the nineteenth century was the materialisation of the constitutional State (Rechts-staat) leading to the development of administrative law. The public administration ceased to be an arbitrary régime and was subjected to the control of law. For more than half a century the triumphant advance of the idea of a constitutional State absorbed the programme advocated alike by practical politicians and by scientific literature. These endeavours succeeded in inducing the public administration to regard as its unconditional and ever-present duty to carefully observe the regulations of legal order and to conscientiously respect subjective rights. The inviolability of these rights is maintained by the possibility of legal redress, by the court of administrative appeal and partly also by the ordinary courts of law; so that there are guarantees to ensure the observance of the

legal order. The objection to which the public administration is most open is that it fails to fulfil the requirements of a constitutional State, or that it has committed a breach of law.

2. On the other hand we have the technical side of the public administration. This includes the problems of proper organisation, of securing the economic and efficient character of its activity. In this field great services have been rendered by the *Verwaltungslehre* represented most authoritatively by *Lorenz von Stein*. Of the two sciences — the theory of administration and administrative law — since the death of Lorenz von Stein the latter has advanced far ahead of its rival. We might say that in the section of administrative law there has ensued hypertrophy. People living in the administration who have a practical insight into its workings have felt and seen that it is not a question of an excessive cultivation of law, but rather of the failure to adequately cultivate the other sections of administrative science. During recent decenniums public administration has fallen under the spell of a general uneasiness, a lack of selfconfidence and diffidence: this has been the case particularly since the Great War, whereas in the days of Lorenz von Stein the *Verwaltungslehre* represented by him satisfied everybody and actually enabled theory to benefit practice.

And the reason? The obsolete character of administrative theory. What gives light enough for one room is not sufficient to illumine a square. Today we need a stronger source of light if we want to see clearly. Today what administrative theory has said and taught us is just as useful as ever; only it is no longer enough. This is due to the fact that during the last half century public administration has developed in an exceptionally high degree; in extent and in efficiency alike. The general public, the citizens and tax-payers have today other claims on the administration than that it should be merely in accordance with law. Today the citizens and tax-payers attach at least as much importance to the administration being economical and efficient. There is however one difficulty: it is not easy to fix the point of economy and efficiency reached by the admi-

nistration. It is manifest that there are considerable differences between the various administrations and between the several organs of the same respectively ; but there are but few means of determining their relative values. Whereas in the field of administrative law the procedure of legal redress and the submission of grievances to a court of law constitute a practical and safe method of obtaining satisfaction, we have no similar methods and guarantees available for the control of the technical side of the administration. In the days of *Verwaltungslehre* this need was not yet so powerfully in evidence.

Of importance, however, is the fact that at the beginning of the present century *Scientific Management* developed independently of the public administration in economic life, — the object of that management being to determine the degree of economy and efficiency required in operations and to point out the way leading to the enhancement and increase of that degree. The development of the system of big economic establishments raised these problems on a scale and dimensions making it possible and practically profitable to institute a comparison with the public administration. As may be imagined, the results achieved by the administration of economic life have aroused the interest of the public administration in connection with the solution of its own problems. The need for *Scientific Management* or — to use the expression employed chiefly in Germany — *rationalisation* is an elementary and direct need of the public administration. The problems of the public administration are also different from those of the administration of economic life. The legal character of the public administration considerably modifies also the technical problems. However, the problems of the scientific management of an economic undertaking are not legal in character like those connected with the rationalisation of the public administration, but primarily of a technical nature. For that reason their investigation was started and is being developed on new lines by other men and organs deviating in character from the school of administrative law.



This is very considerably furthered by the fact that in several countries — in particular in the United States of North America, the original home of the rationalisation movement — the university teaching of political science is carried on independently of the cultivation of legal sciences — not in the Law School, but in the Faculty of Arts ; and this has resulted in increasing the difference and independence from the legal point of view and in furthering the assertion of other viewpoints in and for themselves.

However, during the last quarter of a century other important organs outside the faculties of political science have come into being for the elaboration of Scientific Management in the public administration — in the form of *Research Institutes of Public Administration*. These are most numerous in the United States of North America, the first in that country having been founded in 1907 in New York, though today there are nearly 100 institutes of the kind working there ; and there are institutes of a similar character in many other States in Europe too. However the American institutes represent a peculiar type — not only on account of their number, but as a result of their special character too. As a consequence of the peculiar organisation of the public life and administration of the American States these institutes were established primarily for the investigation of the problems of local (parish and municipal) and district (county) administration and of that of the several individual States being Members of the Union, seeing that as a result of the full assertion of the principle of local government or *home rule* these several units offer a large number of variations and a whole series of different degrees of economy and efficiency of public administration. Now seeing that these variations are all in evidence in one and the same nation, when making a comparison between them we find only material differences, there being no need to take into account the national and racial differences inseparable from the nationally articulate character of Europe. So the American system of public administration offers an excellent opportunity for the

application of Taylor's fundamental idea of an exact investigation of the various solutions of the same question and thereby for the scientific determination of the criteria of the best solution. I believe this fact played an important role in starting this movement. And the methods applied were in part suggested by the problem itself, though their development was furthered by the example of Taylorism and by the influence of the well-known organising talent of Americans, which is conscious of the fact that only exactly known facts and forces are capable of being organised. And indeed the starting point of Scientific Management is the ascertaining of the facts (or *fact finding*). In the field of public administration therefore what is needed is the ascertaining of the facts of public administration (of all the facts relating to the machinery of the administration, as also the reciprocal relations between the administration and the public). The drawing of conclusions from these facts follows with logical severity and the conclusions are not forcibly separated from the facts, the result being that the place of shifting individual opinions and arbitrary views is taken by a mass of objective results and scientifically certified proposals constructed by an inductive method founded upon the facts similar to that of the natural sciences. For that reason *it is justifiable to say that it is a question of raising public administration from the level of dilettantism to that of science.*

These American Research Institutes of Public Administration are provided with a staff of men of eminent qualifications devoted exclusively to this work who acquire an exhaustive and concrete knowledge of the public administration without taking any part in that administration itself or in the responsibility connected therewith. They are thus enabled to achieve their object and fulfil their task of acting as expert connecting links between the public and the government. In their opinion this is necessary for several reasons :

a) because the citizens of the State are today far too busy with the management of their private affairs to be able to occupy themselves with matters of public administration or

government, however deeply they may be interested in the same ;

b) because the public administration is already so complicated and „special“ that even if they had time to do so the citizens could not possibly gain anything by occupying themselves with it ;

c) because the officials of the public administration — particularly those filling the highest offices — are so completely occupied by their official agenda that the nerveracking work of dealing with parties personally and the responsibility therewith connected but rarely leaves them leisure enough to keep pace with the progress of administration and science and engage in drafting or elaborating up to date reforms at the opportune moment.

All these considerations apply equally to all countries ; but in the United States of North America there is in addition the consideration that —

d) the peculiar articulation resulting from the system of local government prevailing there makes it impossible for comprehensive problems affecting alike all the numerous parishes and towns and the State as a whole to be dealt with by the organs of the local authorities, so that they must be investigated by scientific institutes of the kind.

3. There is justification both for the viewpoint of administrative law and for that of administrative theory. Both alike endeavour to investigate and explain public administration on a basis of principle and from a scientific point of view. On the other side, as opposed to the men of science, there is the point of view of the *men of practice*, the responsible factors of public administration to whom the problems do not seem to be determined with scientific clearness or to make their appearance in the volume or at the times determined by themselves. As a consequence the respective viewpoints of theory and practice are necessarily diverse ; but the unfortunate thing is that there is often a wide gap fixed between theory and practice. It is surprising to see how easily and generally even

the administrative officials with university qualifications abandon all connection with science the moment they complete their university studies. Every public administration is liable to the danger of its work becoming mere routine. The possession of power is a great temptation to the authority in question to believe in the validity of its will simply because the power is in its hands and it is thus able to assert it. This often leads to the weakening of self-criticism and induces us to forget the necessity of development. Further, the fact that public administration contains a large proportion of stereotype cases and frequent repetitions is favourable to the self-assertion of routine, though by its very nature routine is constantly wearing out and is incapable of renewing itself without aid from without. Only science is able to give public administration new life and a new perspective.

We must however admit that science too often fails to realise what are the most burning problems of practice. The scientific choice of problems is often incidental or peripheric and therefore often fails to solve fundamental questions of practice and to give the answer to questions weighing so heavily upon the men engaged in public administration that the failure to solve them bars the way towards further questions. Thus science is partly responsible for the men of practice not being able to count upon it, and for their distrust of it, which often takes the form of contempt. In many countries there are instances of the cultivators and professors of administrative sciences making their way to their chairs by way of any exclusively theoretical career, having been assistant professors or *privatdozenten*, thus becoming professors of administrative science without having made themselves adequately familiar with the inner life of public administration or with the dynamics and problems of the same.

4. The two several parallels referred to above, those namely between administrative law and administrative theory and between administrative sciences and the practice of administration respectively — are equally justifiable, though essen-

tially diverse ; on the other hand, however, the scientific independence of America and Europe involves a profound differentiation in respect of administration research. The respective conditions of the two continents are widely different. Europe is a conglomeration of States of manifold nationality and organisation. The United States of North America constitute a single federation of States. In Europe the prevalent tendency is that of individualism ; in America the endeavour to secure amalgamation. In Europe the power of social articulation and of diverse historical traditions ; in America the free development of the masses in a loosely formed society and in an atmosphere of virile democracy. These profound differences, in the development and even maintenance of which geographical distance plays an important part, are in evidence also in respect of the State and administrative machinery and of the scientific conceptions of that machinery. Very many of the American scientists have no means of getting sufficiently acquainted with Europe ; and the Europeans probably know America even less. Consequently their respective views develop in different directions. Yet many of the problems of public administrations (e. g. civil service, territorial distribution, autonomy, local government, office management, directorate, more recently public utility works and State undertakings, etc.) are problems common to both. They may learn reciprocally from one another ; and of extreme advantage for a proper appreciation of its own problems must be to either a study of the different conditions and problems of the other.

5. Today everywhere the backbone of the public administration consists in the staff of professional, specially qualified objective officials (by objective I mean independent of all party interests) — the so-called *bureaucracy*. During the past 100 or 50 years respectively both Great Britain and the United States of North America have been gradually developing a system of bureaucracy — that development having been accelerated particularly since the Great War. There can be no doubt, however, that there are essential differences in

respect of organisation and spirit of the bureaucracy between the several States of the European Continent and the two Angol-Saxon States respectively ; this being due to the fact that in the two latter countries, as a result of the industrial revolution of the XIX. century, the system of economic *big concerns* (Grossbetriebe) developed earlier than the administrative bureaucracy, so that the pronouncedly practical economic attitude of these countries has left its mark also on the bureaucracy developed there. The bureaucracies of the European Continent, on the other hand, have existed for 150 or 200 years or even more, the result being that in the period of the development of the economic *big concerns* they already possessed a fixed organisation and settled traditions ; and in consequence in their case the principles of Scientific Management are opposed, if not by an attitude of self satisfied and rigid exclusion, at any rate by the awkwardness and scepticism incidental to an independent system based upon historical development. Therefore everyone in a position to compare the two different conceptions in the light of his own personal experiences is greatly impressed with the difference, which proves exceptionally inspiring.



II.

In my opinion all these conceptions of the method of dealing with the question of public administration are fully justifiable : all alike figure among the agenda of the *International Congress of Administrative Sciences* ; and there can be no objection against the justifiability of either. *However, from all this follows naturally a further stipulation — viz. the need for a reconciliation of these conceptions, for their harmonisation and for the creation of an eventual synthesis.* The effectuation of this work will call attention to the need for investigating the defects of the method and the gaps in the system of scientific research.

I would with your permission endeavour to present the results so far obtained by the *Hungarian Institute of Public Administration* and in connection therewith to arrive at conclusions which by the inductive method characteristic of Scientific Management lead to the central problems of the scientific research relating to public administration. The Hungarian Institute of Public Administration was established in 1931 in the oldest and biggest university in the country, the Budapest Royal Hungarian Peter Pázmány University. It is under the direction of the Professor (Ordinarius) of Administrative and Fiscal Law, who previous to his appointment to this Chair had for 20 years been in the Civil Service. The programme of the Institute comprises the whole field of administrative sciences — i. e. administrative law, administrative theory, the rationalisation of the public administration and administrative policy. The

Members of the Institute are post-graduates, some being officials in the Civil Service. From the outset the Institute has the advantage of familiarity with the practical needs of the Hungarian public administration in choosing the subjects for inquiry, which are being investigated by an inductive method starting from a careful exposition of the facts of the public administration.

The Treaty of Trianon placed the Hungarian public administration face to face with a situation so completely changed as to afford problems galore suitable to serve as subjects of scientific research. Under the Treaty of Peace Hungary was deprived of 67% of her territory and 60% of her inhabitants. Today she has a population of 8,688,000 souls; and an area of 93,073 square kilometres. The dismemberment of the country entirely changed the organisation of the public administration. Instead of the 63 counties of pre-War days there are only 25; and even of these only 8 have an area corresponding to that of pre-War times. The majority of the Hungarian civil servants were driven out by the Succession States, the greatly reduced post-Trianon Hungary being compelled to give a home to these refugees, who thus became supernumerary members of the Hungarian civil service. This unnatural augmentation of the number of State employees made it necessary to prematurely dismiss from State service a very large proportion of definitively appointed civil servants; this exceptional measure profoundly affecting the legal status and *esprit de corps* of the State employees. The grave position of our public finances compels the State, the counties and the local authorities generally to exercise the utmost economy. The budgets of the State and of the local authorities have had to be repeatedly reduced — not only in respect of personal expenditure, but at all points. The reductions in the State administration were effected at first by the Government itself, then by Parliament, and later on by a special-so-called „economy“-Committee recruited from Members of both Houses of Parliament and of administrative experts. But the conti-

nuation in force of the economic crisis gradually convinced public opinion that the object in view could not be attained by primitive, negative methods of reduction (of the lowering of emoluments and the abolition of institutions), but that what was needed to that end was positive improvements and the enhancement of the efficiency of the public administration. What was needed was a re-organisation of the administration on sound scientific principles and in accordance with reason ; and that required careful and thorough preparation. And so, at the beginning of the year 1931, the Government then in office appointed the Professor of Administrative Law in the Peter Pázmány University *Government Commissioner* for the rationalisation of the public administration. His sphere of authority was fixed by an ordinance of the Government (Order in Council No. 370/M. E. ex 1931). Under this Order in Council the Commissioner was empowered to inquire into the activity of all State and local (parish, Municipal) authorities, offices and undertakings and to study their procedure, to require all necessary information relating to the activity of all organs, and to make proposals for such reforms as he considered essential. He was entitled to effect exhaustive surveys relating to the condition of the public administration (selecting his own collaborators from among the public officials) and on the basis of these surveys to make proposals where such could not be drafted by the several Ministries. He was to watch the transfer into practice of the reforms, particularly with a view to deciding whether there was need of any special measures, such as the training of individual groups of civil servants or their being initiated in new fields of activity, etc. The Commissioner was made responsible direct to the Prime Minister, and was privileged to attend Cabinet Councils to submit his proposals in person. He carried on his work for two years. During this period there was more than one change of Government ; though they did not interrupt the continuity of the work, these changes nevertheless reacted upon its efficiency. The Government Commissioner resigned in March,

1933, — at a juncture when the preparations for the rationalisation had reached a definite stage of completion and the new Government had included in its programme a point stipulating the beginning of the work of rationalisation. His work as Government Commissioner had enabled the Director of the Institute of Public Administration to probe very deep into the life of the administration and into its interdependence, as also into the problems of the supreme direction of the administration, this being due to the advantageous position secured him by his being in direct communication with the Prime Minister and to his obtaining experiences which very few administration research institutes are in a position to acquire. These experiences still continue to make their beneficial effects felt in the work of the Institute, the auspicious conditions of which work are due to a very large extent to the *Rockefeller Foundation* having honoured the Director of the Institute by inviting him in the capacity of Visiting Professor to the United States of North America, where — from November, 1932, to February, 1933 — he was given an opportunity to study the problems of government and public administration in America at first hand, and having also given a grant to assist the Institute in its work.

The starting-point of the rationalisation of the public administration was a survey of data called in America a *fact-finding survey* which renders accessible all parts of the public administration alike, all previous studies having been confined to certain individual details of that administration. The work appeared in the form of a large volume of 800 pages¹. The object of this treatise is on the one hand to offer a conspectus of the various executive organs of the public administration, and on the other hand to enumerate exhaustively the matters within the

¹ *A magyar közigazgatás tükre*. Budapest, 1932. 782. l. With an English abstract; *Synopsis of the Public Administration in Hungary*. Work and executive organs of our Public Administration. Compiled and submitted to the Prime Minister of Hungary by Zoltán de Magyary. Budapest, 1932. M. kir. állami nyomda.

competency of the several organs. No one ever asked before the War in Hungary — and probably in other countries too — how many kinds of forums there are in the public administration and whether they are all needed? No one ever inquired into the course taken in each administrative question prior to settlement, or asked whether that was the correct one? Nor did anyone inquire the kind of matters dealt with by the various administrative organs, or into the manner of procedure of those organs, or ask what organs were consulted, etc?

To attain our object we registered each matter arising in the public administration on a separate docket showing the first stage of each matter, the course taken by it, and the final stage, as also the legal basis of the whole procedure.

The dockets had to be filled out in each office relating to every matter dealt with by both the central and the local organs in every branch of business. Altogether some 13,000 dockets have been collected as the result of this survey. The raw material has been summarised by the several Ministries in the form of tables as published in the volume. The system of grouping was determined by the Government Commissioner.

This treatise is quite new of its kind. Every pioneer work has difficulties and weaknesses of its own, which increase in geometrical progression as the undertaking increases in volume. This publication too has its defects and its weaknesses. The labyrinthal character of the Public Administration makes that inevitable at first. Though there are imperfections in the data and deficiencies in the enumeration too, the most difficult task was the determination of the system. In this first edition it was impossible to avoid repetitions or the faulty adjustment to the system of certain matters; but the system itself is undoubtedly capable of being further developed and more effectually crystallised. Experts engaged in research work in connection with the Public Administration have so far no had available — either in Hungarian or, so far as I know, in any foreign literature — any work enabling them to form a correct and exhaustive conception of the activity of that administra-

tion. For that reason, owing to the lack of an adequate knowledge of the facts, every inquirer of the kind has depended so far partly upon speculation. On the other hand the Members and Heads of Government have necessarily felt the lack of a comprehensive system enabling them to discover the methods of working of the administration as a whole and of that branch of the administration under their individual control.

The system segregates the matters of *general* and of *special* administration respectively. The segregation — which deliberately introduces a new principle into the work of systematisation — needs to be explained more fully. After all the Ministries had registered the whole complexus of their several spheres of business in dockets, and we had passed through the press the results, we found there were matters figuring in the spheres of business of all departments alike. Indeed, in some of these matters the legal basis was identical; e. g. the Accountancy Act (XX. of 1897) and the Qualifications Act (I. of 1883). Had we allowed all these cases to be repeated under each Department, we should have made the work of surveying the Public Administration as a whole much more difficult; and the main object for which the work had been initiated was to facilitate that survey.

However, another thing that struck us was that where the same function had been uniformly regulated for the whole territory of the public administration, there were cases in which the *same* function had become differently regulated in practice in the several departments of government. In order to make the survey of the administration possible it is particularly necessary that these deviating variants should be placed side by side, such juxtaposition showing either the characteristic nature and *raison d'être* of the multifariousness of the regulation or the unjustifiability of the variety.

Finally, the fact may be established that there are functions relating to the Public Administration as a whole which owing to their very general character cannot be included in the spheres of business of departmental Ministries, — e. g. the

functions of the Administrative Tribunal, of the Court of Competency, or of the Commissioner for the Rationalisation of the Public Administration.

It seemed judicious to unite all these functions under one head. This was the origin of the group of matters of *general administration*, the system of which is as follows :

1. Connection between the Administration and the other Principal State Organs.

2. Scientific Organisation and Control of the Public Administration (Rationalisation).

3. The Civil Service :

a) Regulations of Service and other Conditions of Service ;

b) Disciplinary Matters ;

c) Emoluments and Pensions of Public Service Employees ;

d) Further Training of Public Service Employees ;

e) Order of Public Service. Rules of Procedure.

4. Drafting of Legal Rules ; Attitude in respect of Application of Legal Rules.

5. Statistics.

6. Estimates :

a) State Budget.

b) Local Authorities' Budgets.

7. Account :

a) State Budget.

b) Local Authorities' Budgets.

8. Accountancy (Public Audit).

9. Office Management.

10. Government Purchasing. Economy in use.

11. Administration of Treasury Assets.

12. Administrative Procedure.

13. Administrative Criminal Law.

14. Administrative Tribunal.

15. Court of Competency.

The group of general administration in logical order precedes the groups of special (departmental) administration; for the latter do not include the matters fileable under the head of general administration. There is no doubt that the matters included in the sphere of general administration deviate in character from the multifarious business dealt with by the special departments of the Administration. The cases included in the enumeration are all taken from practical life and are not the results of theoretical distillation. The endeavour to secure a survey of the matters dealt with by the public administration therefore leads logically and necessarily to the segregation of the matters of general and special administration respectively, — this differentiation being the counterpart of what W. F. Willoughby¹ calls „functional and house keeping or institutional activity“. It is an interesting fact that the work carried out in Hungary by the inductive method on the basis of a survey extending to the whole field of public administration produced the same results as the theoretical theses of other experts.

The study of this Synopsis and the history of the public administration of Hungary reveals many valuable viewpoints and interconnections previously unknown.

a) It directs our attention to the fact that in the public administration of Hungary there are many different methods of office management, different procedure, different civil servants regulations, different public contract procedure, etc. — all these differences being the results of the historical development (e. g. in each Ministry, in default of general regulations, the same question is settled in quite another manner). This results in a lack of uniformity involving a sliding scale of values, of efficiency and of economy. This fact is sufficient in itself to suggest the need for scientific management in the public administration too. Scientific Management means

¹ *Principles of Public Administration*, The Brookings Institution. Washington. 1927, pp. 105 ff.

the determination by scientific criteria of the best of the several variants or possibilities. While Efficiency means the application of the best — or at any rate the better — solution.

b) This variety is due to the fact that most of these matters concern the whole administration or more than one Department and therefore belong to the field of general administration. In Hungary, for instance, the question of public employees has hitherto been dealt with by the Minister of the Interior (Home Secretary), this being due to this problem being connected with that of the employees of the local authorities; while it has also — owing to its financial connections — been subject also to the control of the Minister of Finance. But competence could be claimed to a greater or less extent also by other Departments, the result being that no Ministry feels entirely responsible for these questions. Besides, every Minister has been able to judge the question only from his own particular point of view, so that the broad viewpoints of public administration cannot be enforced.

c) There is no organ in the Public Administration of Hungary responsible for the control of matters of general administration. In theory it is the Cabinet Council which has to decide all matters concerning more than one Ministry. This solution is however unsatisfactory, for the following reasons:

1. It is insufficient: for, even presuming it to be suitable to secure inter-departmental agreement in cases where it is a question of the amalgamation of actions originating from the several Ministries, it is of no use for the purpose of a spontaneous assertion of the principles of integration. However, as things stand even the former task is beyond the power of the Council, as may be seen from the work entitled *Administrative Boundaries and the Rationalisation of the Administration*¹; for the territorial distribution could not possibly be so chaotic

¹ By Gyula Hantos. With an introduction by Prof. Count P. Teleki and Prof. Z. Magyar and with 56 maps. Printing Office Athenaeum. Budapest, 1932.

if the Cabinet Council had exercised its unifying influence carefully or successfully. And this is not the only instance.

2. The Prime Minister is only *primus inter pares* and has no authority to settle differences arising between Departments, that being reserved for the Cabinet Council. The Prime Minister is not entitled to check or influence the activity of the several Departments, since the several Ministers are responsible direct to Parliament.

3. The Cabinet Council is a political body the Members of which are Members of Parliament, who must not be — and usually are not — experts in public administration. But even where they are such, the political viewpoint (which is at times purely a party viewpoint) is always stronger than of the administration, — that being the case particularly since the majority supporting Government is often composed of a coalition of parties. The function of the *Chief Executive* is therefore in the hands, not of an expert and responsible individual, but of a body — and that a body of politicians too. The most favourable case is where every Minister is an expert in his own sphere of business. But even then in the Cabinet Council the majority of the votes deciding departmental matters is given by men versed in the affairs of other departments. The Prime Minister himself is either a departmental Minister or is kept busy by general political questions; the result being that even in an ideally constituted Cabinet there is no representative of general administration. This does not of course refer to any concrete government, but probably to all parliamentary governments in general.

From this situation it follows that it is impossible to overcome the present crisis of the public administration and to secure its economy and efficiency if we confine our investigation to the details.

Hoover, the late President of the United States of North America, when inquiring into the causes of the waste in industrial production, ascertained that in more than 50% of the cases the fault lay with the management; and *Henry*

Fayol has shown that in all big concerns the administrative capacity of the management is superior to the technical and other qualifications of an expert character: similarly it is indubitable that this stands good of the public administration too; so that in more than 50% of the cases the responsibility for the efficiency and economy of the administration lies with the management.

Consequently, if we desire to put into effect in the administration the scientific management, we must extend our investigations to the question of the chief executive, of the directorate, and to the control from the point of view of efficiency of the Ministers and their Ministries. This is compatible also with the system of parliamentary government; as is also the control of the activity of Ministers by the Supreme Administrative Court and the Public Audit Office.

The large dimensions of the public administrations of today gives rise to faults of organisation not in evidence in administrations of lesser dimensions. One of these faults is the lack of a central will for the supreme control and direction of the big interdependent apparatus of the public administration. This faults would be eliminated by a solution of the question of the sphere of authority of the Chief Executive satisfying the requirements of scientific organisation of functions.

This solution has repeatedly been inquired into in the literature dealing with the subject. The result unanimously arrived at is that, whatever his capabilities, his ability to work and his expert knowledge, this chief officer must be enabled to rely upon the advice of a small group of select experts with advantages in respect of physical endurance, time and special training which that chief officer may possibly not possess. „C'est un aide, un renfort, une sorte d'extension de la personnalité du chef, qui doit lui faciliter l'exécution de toutes ses obligations.“¹ The same need is expressed by the Ame-

¹ Deuxième Congrès International des Sciences Administratives de Bruxelles, 1924. Comptes Rendus des séances du Congrès. Bruxelles. Goemaere, Editeur. 1923. P. 25.

rican W. F. *Willoughby*¹ — it being thus the opinion of two authorities who deal with the question of administrative organisation not only theoretically but also on the basis of practical experiences of their own. It would be the business of this central staff to counterbalance two great defects — or rather obstacles — of a rational activity of the public administration. These two defects are : 1. the fact that under the system of parliamentary government there are frequent changes — usually of an unforeseen character — in the persons of the chief officers themselves, changes which interrupt the consistent realisation of any extensive programme ; every Government and every Minister is desirous of bringing a new programme, the result being that many things are begun but very few completed. There is no guarantee of the continuity and organic evolution of any programme. 2. Where the Members of a Government are chosen for party reasons, — and that is inevitable, — the Ministers do not occupy a position of authority in the eyes of their expert officials. One of the greatest evils of the Public Administration, — an evil that cannot possibly be left out of consideration in the event of a scientific organisation of work, — is that, over and above there being no supreme head of the Public Administration, the Members of the Government and other persons holding political offices are incompetent in expert matters. As a consequence *the Public Administration has no central brain*. The best officials have no one to look up to, because there is no one able to regard, direct and develop the machinery of the administration from a higher point of view than theirs — from the integrating viewpoint of the administration as a whole.

¹ Op. cit. p. 58 and 144.

III.

The theory of the scientific management has not yet been elaborated in connection with the Public Administration. Certain details have been dealt with (e. g. Office Management, the gauging and classification of the work done by the employees), but in many important questions — such indeed as are of decisive significance — there is no possibility of objectively defining performances or of contrasting the same (it is impossible, for instance, to compare the expenditure, usefulness of the several organs of the Public Administration or the value of their heads or their Ministers). Yet without theory — as Fayol notes very tellingly in his *Administration Industrielle et Générale* (Paris, 1917. p. 23) — there is nothing to be taught, it is difficult to convince doubters, and the heads or leaders lack the power of conviction when it is necessary to overcome resistance.

And there is plenty of resistance to the idea of a rationalisation of the Public Administration in all countries alike. The public opinion consisting in the views of simple-minded and uninformed citizens, the political factors in power, the mighty body of public employees whose very number and the fact that they are indispensable makes them a power and who are mostly conservative by nature and by interest alike, — all these elements offer such a serious resistance that the apostles of the scientific management are dependent on all the assistance theory can give them.

The work of scientific management in public administration — the huge treatise presented by the *rapporteur*¹ gives us a capital survey of the endeavours so far made in this field — has, as we see, not yet coped with the greater part of its task.

The work is being carried on simultaneously in many countries in a great variety of branches — partly by way of practical reforms, partly by that of theoretical research. This is supplemented by the various institutes (*Institut International des Sciences Administratives* and *Union Internationale des Villes, Brussels*; *International Institute of Scientific Management, Geneva*; *Institut International de Droit Public* and *Institut International de Droit Comparé, Paris*) and by this Congress, each contributing invaluable organising work. This work must be continued and the conditions favourable to the continuation provided. After surveying the present tendencies of research and its international position it is my impression that for the furtherance of the success of the work two measures would be particularly beneficial and opportune. For that reason **I beg to submit the following proposals** in respect of these measures :

1. The research relating to the rationalisation of the public administration should be extended to the sphere of authority of the Chief Executive and to the organisation of his auxiliary organs. In this connection I would refer to the sphere of authority of the President of the United States of North America, which in recent decenniums has been further developed in an interesting manner by the organisation of the Bureau of Efficiency and of the Bureau of the Budget; to the peculiar development of the legal status of the British Prime Minister and of the Treasury and to the development since 1919 of the Treasury Establishments Department; to the Italian Law

¹ Fifth International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Vienna. 1933. M. Jean Kopeczynski: Réorganisation du travail dans les administrations publiques en fonction des idées et des faits actuels.

dated December 24th., 1925, by which the sphere of authority of the Premier was materially expanded, the Presidente del Consiglio becoming Capo del Governo; and finally to the Edict of the President of the French Republic dated March 1st., 1932, relating to the Contrôle des Administrations Publiques. These examples show that the practical importance of this question is felt in the biggest States, and that there efforts are being made to cope with the new problems arising out of the recent development of the public administration by means of suitable reforms. **I would therefore beg to propose that this question be placed as one of the principal items on the list of Agenda of the next congress.**

2. The Congress of Administrative Sciences is the meeting-place of specialists in public administration, who present to the Congress an account of the work and the results performed and achieved respectively by each in his own sphere. In addition to *Recherche Spontanée*, however, the principle of scientific organisation of work advocated by us too in itself leads to the necessity for a *Recherche Provoquée* serving to fill up the gaps. For the effectuation of this work of organisation it seems desirable to provide for the co-ordination of the work in particular of the various national institutes operating in the several countries and of the international institutes established in various territories — that being done in order to secure the most favourable conditions of development for the administrative sciences. This work of co-ordination can only be done by a permanent organ of suitable structure. **There I beg to propose that the Congress should take the initiative to provide for the materialisation in a satisfactory manner of the international organisation of administrative research.**

Budapest, Juin 10th 1933.

