

The Problems of Tribal People in Manipur

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Geographically, the hill-girt frontier State of Manipur can be divided into two kinds of areas. Firstly, there is the thickly populated valley, having comparatively a small area, where the bulk of the States economic activity has been traditionally concentrated. The Valley comprises of rich paddy fields and produces a surplus. To the extent of this surplus, the economy has been commercialised, although the degree of commercialisation can at best be termed as incipient. The capital of the State, Imphal, is located in the valley and whatever development, that has taken place, is largely concentrated here. This development which has resulted in the establishment of a number of branches of various banks is however largely confined to the import of various goods and commodities from other parts of the country. There is virtually no involvement in the development activities of the State.

The other geographic entity is the Hills. They, by far, constitute the larger portion of the State although the population is low. The main economic activities in the area is subsistence agriculture based on the Jhum pattern although of late, crops like maize, ginger and in some areas pineapples, oranges etc., which tends to commercialise this economy have been introduced and adopted.

Just as the whole State is dependent on imports of all essential commodities except paddy, the Hills are dependent on the commercial centres, like Imphal, for all their needs. This is inspite of

the fact that all the land routes used for the import of these commodities pass through the Hills. There are a variety of factors, which have inhibited the development of commercial centres in the Hills and a study of these can be revealing in as far as the understanding of the problems of Tribal Areas of Manipur is concerned.

Demographically, there are sharp differences between the Hills and the Valley. The bulk of the tribal population is concentrated in the Hill, while the non-tribals are largely confined to the Valley. The tribal perception of their betterment is, therefore, synonymous with the development of the Hills. Historically, the development of the valley has far outstripped that of the Hills. To the extent that development activities in the valley have in the past, been more a result of the political dominance of the valley over the Hills rather than consideration based on "Natural Advantage", the people of the Hills have a sense of resentment vis-a-vis the people of the valley. This resentment, which is perhaps a world-wide phenomenon, gets aggravated since there is also a difference in the type of people, who live in the two areas and the socio-religious differences between the Tribal and Valley people. As things stand to-day, there is a serious schism between the tribals and non-tribals and there is a deep-rooted distrust of all development activities especially if they, as in the case of forestry and plantation development, call for a change in the socio-economic structure of tribal communities.

The prevalent distrust has its roots in many factors. Firstly, there is a long stream of history rife with exploitation which the tribals cannot forget. Secondly, this is perhaps much more important is that as far as the normal tribal is concerned, he is unable to perceive any great change in his own status even today as the prevailing democratic structure of the body politic seems to perpetuate the age old dominance of the valley communities who are more numerous, better educated, have a larger representation in the services and are also economically stronger. The situation is worsened as even the protection and reservation legislations have been emasculated in such a manner which has created more distrust and dissatisfaction.

The common man in the tribal community therefore has a deep rooted "identity problem" and is unable to accept the thesis that things have changed and are changing for the better. This causes hinderance in the process of implementing development work as inherent distrust of the proposed activity leads to its distortion for immediate gain rather than it being nurtured for much longer permanent gains in the remote future.

Logically, however, the State as a whole forms an indivisible entity where the Hills and the Valley have to grow and develop simultaneously. One cannot plan either only for the valley or only for the hills as neither can develop in isolation of the other. How the psychological gap is to be bridged is, however, a different question to answer. The solution would call for deft action on many points and would require close coordination between socio-political and economic measures based on a radical and pragmatic policy instead of mere political gimmick and rhetorical noise.

The most important single socio-political measure that could be adopted would be setting the present uncertainties at rest by a firm decision even though it may be initially unpalatable. The present uncertainties are adversely affecting the approach adopted both by tribals and non-tribals. For the tribals the expectation that the future may bring what they to-day consider to be the desirable

political change is preventing them from finding their place within the existing system. This is naturally adding to their "identity problem". The Residents of the valley are also affected by this uncertainty as this adds to their perception of the opportunity of investment in the hills as far as it affects them.

The Economic measures which have to be taken are comparatively speaking well known. Some of the important ones are :

1. Physical Infrastructures

1. Roads
2. Bridges (including life-line suspension bridges)
3. Power
4. Water Supply.

2. Social Infrastructures Education

1. Primary
2. Secondary
3. College
4. Technical
5. Hostel

3. Economic Growth

The existing system of shifting cultivation cannot result in any capital accumulation and cannot therefore form the basis for future progress. As a matter of fact, the practice has already started being affected by the law of diminishing return in many areas where increasing population has so diminished the Jhum Cycle as to make the practice non-productive. The main thrust of any economic programme, therefore, has to perforce seek the replacement of this activity by some other suitable activity. Many ideas have been put forth, some of them are discussed below :—

(i) **Terracing** : This, although quite feasible in suitable locations where the slopes are gentle and irrigation available, cannot be considered to offer a solution which could be applied all over. Its significance is therefore limited.

(ii) **Forests and Plantations** : The basic point which one must clearly understand about Jhum cultivation is that in a geographically isolated area, this practice is the most economic method of converting the available forest resource which is of very little use into much needed food. The need for changing the system arises because forest resource which could be changed into good sufficient for the requirements of the people is no longer available. It is equally true that mere regeneration will see an increment in the population whose order dwarf the food availability through this practice.

It is, therefore, important that the alternative should be such which produces sufficient incomes to enable the community to :

- (1) Have enough purchasing power for their food and all other requirements that they at present get from their Jhuming.
- (2) Have something left over to compensate for harder work of a permanent nature.
- (3) Create savings which could form the basis of future development to take care of expanding population and society.

These requirements can be met by the following programmes :—

- (1) Plantation of Economic species of Forest trees.
- (2) Coffee and Rubber plantation.
- (3) Horticulture.
- (4) Animal Husbandry.
- (5) Sericulture.

Of these, the first three will have to form the main programme while the remaining three can at best be looked upon as being of ancillary significance.

All these programme are being sought to be implemented even today although the scale of the

operations undertaken are small. It is time to step up these activities manifold and that is also the objective of the Sixth Plan.

It is, however, doubtful if the present approach, especially the arrangements which are being made for financing this programme will enable the tribal communities to take to it. The funds required for all these programmes are large and the gestation period is also long. So far, the expectation is that the investment needs will be looked after by institutional finance, where organisations like the commodity boards, the ARDC and the Banks will provide funds after they have subjected individual schemes to various kinds of technical and financial scrutiny as usual. This arrangement presupposes the establishment of suitable institutional finance. Such an approach poses many difficulties for Tribal Areas. Some of the more important ones are :—

Institutional Problems

(1) The setting up of cooperative societies, or a corporation in the State for attracting institutional finance although acceptable in principle, will take time and will, therefore, limit the progress of these programmes. This is so partly because the new institutional structure envisages cuts across the existing tribal customs and practices. There is, therefore, understandable resistance to this change. This is based primarily on the "identity problem" discussed earlier. Secondly the setting up of such institutions presupposes induction of qualified manpower from outside, Such manpower is in short supply all over the country and such induction of qualified persons from outside causes worsening of the "identity problem".

(2) The flow of funds through financial institutions presupposes the existence of a commercialised economy which is certainly not the case in tribal areas.

(3) It is doubtful whether sufficient profits would remain with the tribal people who take to these programmes if the financing is entirely institutional in character. This is so because, in spite of

the interest rates being low, the profits retained by tribals after paying for their food and the interest on capital invested may not be high enough to afford the required incentive and motivation.

Under these circumstances, the following lines of approach for the solution of the tribal problem may be considered.

1. Effective steps should be taken on a socio-political level to set various uncertainties at rest so that a solution is found for the "identity problem."
2. Simultaneously, concerted efforts should be made to establish the required social and physical infrastructures within a short span of time.
3. The various economic development programmes should be immediately speeded up by providing adequate budgetary funds and be deferred for some time. These funds could be utilised only in the second phase, after the first phase of this programmes starts yielding results.
4. The policy of promotion of the economic interest of the tribal people with special care as enunciated in the Directive principles of the State to which least care has been given so far

and thereby became a shibboleth or a canting phrase of all political parties requires a new thinking to be translated into purposeful implementation to avoid a backlash from the tribal people.

Reservation should be made for members belonging to the Scheduled Tribes in respect of licences, permits, quotas and other commercial activities including contractual works. The percentages of interest payable on loan advanced by the government and the banks should be lower than that payable by the non-tribals. The procedures or the stipulated conditions to be fulfilled by the loanees require to be simplified.

5. Tribal interest in land and forests should be safeguarded and the existing legislations require immediate review.
6. The back-log in reserve quota in various categories of government service require immediate replenishment and annual assessment in the context of the relevant legislation by the government should be made.
7. Denial of opportunity to the tribal people in political appointments made so far is a baffling phenomenon when instances of opportunity given to their counterparts in the neighbouring countries like Burma are taken into account.

"A successful man is one who can lay a Firm Foundation with the bricks that others throw at him."

—David Brinkley

Rural India He Knows

□ Kuldip Nayyar

A wispy figure using his hands to make a point before an audience of villagers—this is how I first met Mr. Charan Singh from afar. He was then on the election tour of U. P., his home state. My second meeting with him was face to face at his house in Lucknow that year itself. Our third meeting was in August 1975 in Tihar Jail where both of us were detenus. We have met many a time since.

But the first picture of him amidst villagers is almost indelible. He spoke their language, expressed their aspirations and epitomised their hopes. This is his forte. Villagers are his constituents and it is they he understands well.

His conviction is that India since independence has wasted too much thought and money on cities. If the country has to progress, the rural areas should now get most attention and funds. And this is what he has emphasised upon the Janata party, which owes a great deal to Chaudhari Sahib, as he is endearingly called.

"In the income sphere the Janata party will accord primacy to agriculture and rural reconstruction which must constitute the base of our development and planning." This is what the Janata party's election manifesto for the 1977 Lok Sabha poll says. Mr. Charan Singh's contribution to its adoption is quite substantial.

He believes that the relative neglect of the rural sector has created dangerous imbalance in the economy; the farmer has been consistently denied reasonable and fair price for what he produces, allocations for agriculture have been grossly inadequate and there is need to attend to this distortion.

Is Mr. Charan Singh for the Kulaks? "Landlordism will be abolished", he says. And that is his answer and he is committed to agrarian reforms covering tenurial relationships, ownerships and consolidation of holdings. Some of land reforms in U. P. have his stamp.

By coincidence of luck, he has in his wife a person who is equally committed to agriculture and the well-being of farmers. She is great strength to him.

Both live a simple life; the bare house, the frugal meals and the khadder clothes bear a testimony to this. What pains them is the campaign of villification against them. They believe they are the most misunderstood persons.

A Living Symbol

□ Raj Krishna Dawn

Chowdhary Charan Singh is not only a man of eminence but he is the living symbol and hope for the struggling farmer community seeking justice and a new social order all over India. He is a son of a cultivator and has been working tirelessly for the welfare of the people engaged in agriculture all over his life. His steadfastness and a fearless approach reminds us of late Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel. His simplicity, purity of thoughts and devotion for work will remain as a mile stone for the coming generation for ever.

His statesmanship has always provided him a clear path in spite of occasional handicaps put forward in his progress by his opponents. He has never made any compromise with corruption. Our country on account of having the agricultural based economy require more such strong characters like him who can safe-guard the interest of the farmer with small land holdings.

I wish and pray to Almighty that he will continue to enjoy his good health for many more years to come and with his unfailing courage and uprightness he will be able to guide the nation.

Greatness Of Sardar Patel

□ Charan Singh

" It is always the tragedy of great men that some signal contribution made by them to a national or international cause is so often emphasised as to obscure a whole life of striving, achievement and sacrifice.

Sardar Patel's misfortune seems to be that he planned and executed brilliantly the integration of the Princely States with the Indian mainstream. In describing the Sardar as the architect of India's unity, we do him a disservice in the sense that we ignore that this role devolved upon him as a natural culmination of a great political career, marked by determination, dedication, discipline and loyalty.

How Sardar Patel, used to a life of comfort, came under the spell of Mahatmaji, is well-known. That he got the title of Sardar from his courageous leadership of the Bardoli Satyagraha is also equally known. Perhaps what is not as well known is that at the Bombay AICC at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in 1945 immediately after the release of national leaders, Sarat Babu said Vallabhabhai Patel was no longer Sardar of Bardoli, he was Sardar of India.

As Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board, he displayed great understanding, and firmness in ensuring that the Congress Ministries formed in 1937 did not lose sight of the basic goals of the organisation.

The Sardar is always called the "Steel Man of India". But those who have known him intimately

have always spoken of his gentleness in dealing with man and affairs and of his deep humanity. Many people including Panditji and several Congressmen, had reservations about continuing the administrative tradition of the British-bred I. C. S. But Sardar's attitude was one of recognition of the good work done by the officials in the crucial formative years of our Independence. All the civil servants, who had worked with him, speak of him with affection as much as with deep respect.

The Sardar had a strange quality of commanding the loyalty of those with whom he worked—colleagues as well as what may be called subordinates. This was as much due to his preparedness to accept responsibilities even for the lapses of others and stand by them when they were under attack, as to his ability for self-effacement in a cause. This was the greatness of the triumvirate who led our freedom struggle. Mahatmaji, Panditji and the Sardar did not agree with one another on many things. On several matters the differences were fundamental. Yet, never once did they give the impression of a divided leadership. They were prepared to subordinate their individual strong views to great cause. This did not mean that there was a facade of unity or any attempt to brush the differences under the carpet. The differences were fully discussed and even when they were not resolved, they were not permitted to come in the way of a dedication to a greater cause.

Even as Panditji and the Sardar accepted without question Mahatmaji's leadership, the Sardar

accepted without reservation Panditji's leadership, even though he was 14 years older than Shri Nehru. His respect for and loyalty to the chosen Prime Minister were complete to the extent that when the Jaipur AICC passed a resolution against Panditji's wishes, the Sardar was the first to say that he would rather resign than see Panditji's wishes being ignored.

This is a quality we all greatly need to imbibe in our political life today, when the nation seems to be at the crossroads of history and is beset with a variety of bewildering social, economic and political problems. Even if we have fundamental difference with one another in the same party or between different parties, we should learn to discuss them fully and also work unitedly for a great national cause. The only condition we should insist upon is bonafide acceptance of the imperatives of a democratic polity, seeking to bring about a non-exploitative egalitarian society based on human values, honesty and burning passion for serving the down-trodden.

The greatness of men like Sardar was their vision of India and her future. For that cause, they

would compromise everything. What they would not compromise was the country's integrity and independence and its democratic development.

Shri Jaya prakash Narain has said that if the Sardar had lived he would have fashioned a new administrative culture. I fully agree with J. P. Our best tribute to the Sardar would be not only to preserve India's integrity and democratic structure but to induce in the administration a new culture of efficiency, selflessness, incorruptibility discipline and fearlessness. The Sardar would have been the unhappiest man to see that an administration, which he had done so much to bring into being was overtaken by demoralisation during the emergency. Equally distressing is the extent of corruption in our public life, political, administrative and professional. We must work objectively for a new administrative system where the scope for corruption will be greatly reduced, if not eliminated, and where casteism will not dominate the thinking of the senior civil service, generalist or socialist.

It should be our common endeavour to imbibe from the Sardar the qualities of self-effacement, discipline, loyalty, determination and, above all, uncompromising patriotism".

"The regret, however is, that we seem to have learnt no lessons. The caste feeling, instead of being on the decline, is on the increase obviously owing to advent of democracy and the scramble for jobs. Not only has it invaded the highest reaches of our life, but has affected the services also. It leads to acts of discrimination and injustice, warps and narrows a man's mind and heart and creates a vicious circle of accusation and counter accusation, distrust and suspicion in Society. Lately, it has become weapon of political vendetta."

—Ch. Charan Singh

The Changing Role Of The Police In India

□ Shri Charan Singh
Union Home Minister

It cannot be gainsaid that next to a good Constitution and a sound system of general laws, what a nation needs is a good and efficient system of law enforcement. Do we in this country have the type of the Police which can render an efficient and honest service to the Community? Are the Police aware of their true role and the manner in which the role has to be performed? If not, what are the reasons for this and what can be done about it? To answer these questions, it seems necessary to have a close look at the growth of the Police in this country.

The birth of the Police

The Police as an organised institution in this country came into existence with the enactment of the (Indian) Police Act, 1861. This Act provides till this day the basic structural and organisational framework within which the Police work. Since in their policies and programmes, the British were guided largely by their aim of consolidating and perpetuating the colonial rule in this country, they took care to ensure that all the administrative institutions, including the Police, were established and developed along the lines which help them in this direction. The Police were no doubt called upon to perform a role in the manner which was at once 'protective, detective and repressive'. In performing this role, the Police naturally came to be projected as the 'strong arm' of the Government - an

agency designed to intimidate, deter and punish. The concept of policeman being a friend, philosopher and guide of the people hardly ever found a suitable expression in practice. It is unfortunate that this 'strong arm' image of the Police has continued to persist and the gulf between the Police and the public has remained unbridged even after thirty years of Independence. Some believe and rightly so that the gulf has become wider especially after numerous incidents of misuse of authority and, high-handedness on the part of the police during the Emergency, have been brought to light.

Changes since Independence

It must, of course, be admitted that the role of the Police has become increasingly complex after Independence. Vast and radical changes have occurred in various fields during the last thirty years which have made the task of policing the society extremely difficult. I may not be out of place here to touch briefly some of the developments which have taken place in the political, socio-cultural and economic fields as these have important implications for the role of the police and the manner in which the role should be performed.

Political Change

Following Independence, the country emerged as a Democratic Sovereign Republic with a written

Constitution, aimed at securing to all its citizens 'justice-social, economic and political, liberty or thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and to promote amongst them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation'. The formulation of these national goals and the increasing politicisation of masses brought about a climate of rising expectations. There has been a tremendous awakening in the people, with individuals and groups becoming more and more conscious of their rights, subjecting every act of the authority to a searching scrutiny and becoming increasingly impatient with any gap between promises and achievements of the political and administrative leadership. Being no longer a dormant and passive mass, people have not hesitated to give a full and, occasionally violent expression to their feelings of impatience and dissatisfaction, often bringing them in direct confrontation with the authority charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order.

The spate of agitations which the Police have had to tackle in several parts of the country has had two major effects on their growth and role. First it has introduced an element of lopsidedness in the growth of the Police, with major increase in their strength having registered in the Armed Police or the District Armed Reserves, whereas the strength of the Civil Police, particularly of the Police Station, has not registered any worthwhile increase. Secondly, these law order disturbances have brought the Police before the public more in the form of an adversary, or as an agency of coercion and suppression than as a helper and friend in distress.

Socio-culture changes

The Indian society has similarly witnessed far-reaching changes since Independence. The old traditional institutions and values of the Indian society have been subjected to intense pressure generated by developments in various fields. There has been a phenomenal increase in population. There have been remarkable advances in science and

technology. The old institutions of family, school and religion, which used to play an extremely important role in bringing about a high level of consensus over fundamental dominant values within the society and in generating a healthy attitude of respect towards all forms of authority, are gradually losing their hold. There has been a decline in the traditional standards of private and public morality as a result of the erosion of old ethical and spiritual values. Growth of urban areas has been accompanied by the emergence of some new forms of criminality. All these changes have posed problems before the police.

Another aspect of the social scene, which is important from the point of view of the role of the Police, is the one concerning relations between different groups in the society. The concept of equality enshrined in our Constitution debar discrimination of any kind against people belonging to different castes and ethnic groups. Attempts have often been made in the past by certain powerful and privileged groups to prevent the down-trodden and weaker sections of the society from securing their rights and privileges. This has resulted in exacerbation of social tensions which at times lead to violence.

The Government has made many new laws to protect the weaker sections of society against exploitation and injustice. The Police has to enforce these social welfare and reformative legislations effectively to promote a feeling of securing among weaker sections of the society. The role of the Police thus becomes protective, promotional as well as ameliorative. This role can be performed by the Police effectively only if they have a proper understanding and appreciation of the basic social issues involved in a situation confronting them. A strictly technical and legalistic approach towards this important task will not work. The Police have to play a more positive role in the transformation of the society.

Economic Changes

In the economic sphere also, a number of developments have taken place which have posed

special problems to the Police. Sectoral unevenness and imbalances between the rural and urban areas, rapid urbanisation accompanied by the growth of slums, establishment of a heavy industrial infrastructure leading to an expansion of the industrial force and consequently to a proliferation of trade unions, increased concentration of wealth in a few hands resulting in a widening of economic disparities between the rich and the poor, an increase in the magnitude as well as rate of unemployment especially in the rural areas are only some of the features which have marked the so-called growth of the economy since Independence. The resultant frictions and tensions have added a new dimension to police responsibility.

An increase in crime as well as the emergence of new forms of criminality and of the new classes of criminals including an increase in the number of female criminals and of juvenile offenders, combined with an increase in all types of agitations, communal, linguistic, students', agrarian industrial, etc. have all contributed to the above changes.

Role of the Police

The implications of all these developments on the role of the Police and the manner in which this role should be performed are not difficult to appreciate. The role of the Police as an agency to prevent and detect crimes and to maintain law and order in the society is basic. This role has not changed and cannot change. But the manner in which this role has to be performed, calls for a change. A policeman must be sympathetic, humane and considerate and he should have a clear perspective of his role in the changing context. The police in many countries are being asked to perform an increasing number of non-enforcement functions. In our own country also, a number of non-enforcement functions have developed on the police. For example, in addition to their traditional 'legalistic' role, the police are being increasingly called upon to perform their 'service' role, a role which is not strictly related to their crime-control or enforcement

functions. To perform this enlarged role effectively, it is essential that the police besides acquiring a high degree of professional competence, must show a clear understanding of the basic social issues involved in their work and a greater responsiveness towards the aspirations and needs of the people, particularly of those who belong to the weaker and underprivileged sections of the community.

Police mannerism

Whatever be the role of the police, it is the manner in which the role is performed that really matters from the police-public relations point of view. It must be realised that in a democracy police cannot perform its functions effectively without the willing and ready cooperation of the public. The image of the police in the mind of the public is improved or marred by the way they act and exercise their authority. Unfortunately, the general public impression about the manner in which the policeman acts and behaves in this country is not at all a happy one. It is not as if he is not considered a friend. There is, in fact, an element of positive dislike and distrust in the general feelings of the public towards him. Innumerable factors are responsible for the formulation of this poor image. It is not possible to discuss all these here, but three of these deserve special mention, as these lie at the root of the problem of poor image.

Police Brutality

First, it is frequently alleged that the policemen not only behave rudely with the public but often resort to brutal methods and practices in their work and dealings. The Frazer Commission had observed as early as in 1902 that 'among the rank and file of the Police in India, there was a general absence of any attention to the necessity for keeping the temper, being civil and respectful to the public, avoiding brutality or undue harshness, and seeking by all legitimate means to make their performance of duty as little distasteful to the public as possible'. It is painful to note that this sentiment expressed 75 years ago still finds a place in

the reports of the Conferences, Committees, Research Bodies and Commissions which have deliberated on the subject during the last two decades, besides having been expressed frequently on the floor of the Parliament, State Legislatures and from other public platforms.

This impression, to some extent, may be the result of hang-over of the past, but it cannot be denied that the instances of some policemen resorting to brutal practices, though few, are definitely not far between. As a matter of fact, a single instance of gross misbehaviour on the part of a policeman can bring bad name to the entire force and mar its credibility. As the United States Commission on Civil Rights pointed out: 'The ultimate factors in any study of police misconduct must be... the individual policeman. The matters of his selection and training are crucial factors. When a police department fails to screen out the strongly prejudiced, the emotionally unstable or the unintelligent, it is inviting official misconduct.' Utmost emphasis has, therefore, to be laid on improving the standards of recruitment and training. Use of third degree methods can be considerably reduced by improving the professional competence of the policeman through intensive training of a type which, besides improving his ability to use scientific methods of investigation, also leads to the development of proper attitudes in him.

Police Corruption

Secondly, there is a general impression in the public that the police are, by and large, corrupt. This works to erode the trust of the public in the police. The popular image of the policeman has, somehow or the other, come to be associated with corrupt, questionable and motivated practices. There may be many reasons for this. The nature of police work is such that one or the other party always feels aggrieved and is inclined to make allegations and impute motives. The police work also provides enormous opportunities of corruption and the existence of these opportunities is sometimes construed by the public to believe that the policemen invariably take

advantage of these. Coupled with these is the fact that our society has conferred on the policeman a very low status and one is inclined to attribute motives to a man of low status. The existence of corruption in the police cannot also be explained away or justified by pointing out that other departments and professions are equally, if not more, corrupt. Corruption, of course, has pervaded all segments of public life and deserves to be ruthlessly eradicated from everywhere, but the existence of even a small amount of corruption in the police is of special significance and concern, as the misuse of tremendous powers wielded by the police can cause extensive and severe harm to the public.

Response to Complaints

Thirdly, members of the public visit a police station for the redressal of grievances like theft, apprehension of breach of peace, missing or strayed children, etc. Largely because of the age-old habit, the response of the police to such grievances is not satisfactory. It may be partly due to the fact that the growth of Civil Police has not been commensurate with the increase in work at the police station level. Something urgent needs to be done to make police behaviour and response at this cutting edge level of the police administration more sympathetic and least dogmatic; and to remove the shortcomings.

Response to the Problem

Ways and means have therefore, to be devised to ensure that the policeman does not misuse his power in any way. The importance of setting high standards of recruitment, which eliminates the possibility of the wrong man joining the force, and of training, which makes the policeman professionally competent and develops proper attitudes in him, has already been highlighted. To attract good and educated people in the police, the conditions of service must be improved. The undesirable types must be spotted and weeded out from the department. Any allegation or complaint of misuse of power made by the public must be enquired into thoroughly and impartially. There is a general feeling in the mind of the public that their

grievances are not attended to properly, which must be removed.

The Government is aware of the Importance of the role that the policeman plays in the society and has already taken a number of steps to improve his capability to perform this role in an effective and proper manner. The Committee on Police Training has made a number of useful recommendations to improve the standards of recruitment and training. Under the 'Modernisation of Police Force Scheme', launched by the Central Government in 1969—70, financial assistance to the tune of of Rs. 37.84 crores has been provided by the Central Government till 1976—77 to the State Governments for modernising their Police Forces. It must, however, be emphasised that no police force in the world, however modernised and well developed it may be, can perform its role efficiently without the active support and cooperation of the public.

The crux of the matter appears to be to redefine the role of the police to suit the needs of a welfare State and this underscored by the fact that there has been no comprehensive review at the national level of the police system after indepen-

dence despite far reaching political, social and economic changes in the country. Though a number of States have appointed Police Commissions after Independence to study the problems of the police in their respective States, there is need to have an overall review taking into account the national objectives to transform the police system to meet the needs of a welfare State and also to examine how far the various recommendations of the State Police Commissions have actually been implemented and if implemented, to what extent such implementation has resulted in improving the police administration.

The Government are, therefore, actively considering in consultation with the State Government, a proposal to set up a National Police Commission whose terms of reference would be wide enough to cover all the major issues of an all-India character pertaining to police administration in the country. Police and public order are subjects in the State List and any review of the working of the police at the national level would be meaningful only if the State Governments were to cooperate and wholeheartedly implement the recommendation of such a review.

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“It is only in the latest years that we have more generally come back to Gandhi's idea's, when even some economists have been moved to press for an “integrated planning” which is the modern term for what Gandhi was all the time teaching. My Indian friends will not be offended when I say that if Indian planning has not been more successful than it has actually been, the main explanation is that they have not kept so close as they should, to the fundamentals of the teaching of the Father of the Nation”.

—Prof. Gunnar Myrdal.

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Charan Singh : An Assessment

□ Sitanshu Dass

Special Correspondent "Tribune"

When everything has been said and done, the present Union Cabinet, as now constituted, is the coping stone supporting the super-structure of order in the country. And it is about time it is understood in the country that a key figure in this Cabinet is Mr. Charan Singh. Whether one likes such a situation or not, this is a fact of life. Thus when one hears him being discussed by impatient politicians of the governing party as the main source of instability at the Centre, one wonders whether they understand that his standing cannot be measured arithmetically, in terms only of the number of MPS who would stand by him to the bitter end.

Even when he was out in the wilderness, after the failure of the S. V. D. experiment in U. P. Mrs. Gandhi's immense authority acquired from the Bangladesh crisis was pitted against him, in the U. P. Assembly elections of 1974, his following in the State remained impressive. The Jana Sangh and the Samyukta Socialist Party made common cause with him because, of all the political elements of the then opposition, he alone seemed to be assured of a decent legislative representation even though he could not bring majority.

Conflicts

It is true that out of the BLD contingent he brought to the sixth Lok Sabha and the Janta Party,

the former Swatantra and Utkal Congress leaders (who had joined him in the BLD and fought the elections on his symbol), some stalwarts, have probably moved away from him and, conceivably, found new moorings. It is no use blaming Mr. Charan Singh for this. Between him and the other stalwarts stand the conflicts of urban-rural interests. If these leaders have not stayed with him in inner party line-ups, Mr. Charan Singh would feel the failure is not his altogether. It betokens an unedifying political situation which has made alliances very evanescent.

Mr. Charan Singh broods over the Home Ministry and is unable to shake off the slings aimed at him from the party ranks. He is a sentimental person who wears his conscience on his sleeves. He is attacked as being the friend of the "kulaks" and an opponent of Nehruvian socialism. On both issues the criticism levelled against him does not explain the nuances of his views, with the result that he is a grossly misrepresented man. And it is so easy to revile him because he demands popular approbation on his terms.

Neglected

After the long dreary years he spent, together with another eminent son of UP, the late Dr. Sampurnanand, in the political dog-house during the years of Mr. Nehru's Prime Ministership, like

Dr. Sampurnanand, Mr. Charan Singh too felt neglected by Mr. Nehru and not because they did not measure up to the best of Congressmen of their generation. But he felt, Mr. Nehru's social and cultural preferences favoured the others who, in his estimate, were less worthy of the accolades they received from the leader.

Emerging from these long years spent in the political twilight, Mr. Charan Singh, in the evening of his life, wants to have his say. At this time of his life he does not see any virtue in wanting to trim his sails to the prevailing wind. He is not an iconoclast; far from it. No ardent Arya Samajist can be. But his non-conformist conscience will not let him rest unless he has said the truth and all of it at one go.

The traduce Mr. Charan Singh as an opponent of land reform is to be utterly unfactual. The fact is that he is the author of all the major measure of land reforms in U. P. beginning with the Zamindari Abolition and land Reforms Act, 1951—a piece of revolutionary legislation when it was put on the statute book.

Mr. W. A. Ladejinsky, an agronomist of renown, in his report to the Planning Commission in 1963, wrote : "Only in Uttar Pradesh, has a well thought out comprehensive legislation been enacted and effectively implemented. There millions of tenants and subtenants were made owners and hundreds of thousands who had been evicted, were restored their rights."

Social Rebel

Mr. Charan Singh, not many outside U. P. would know, is the author of the consolidation of land holdings, a measure which has much to do with the improvement in recent years in the agriculture of West U. P. districts.

Is he anti-Harijan? Nothing can be more grotesque than to accuse him of that. He began his life as a social rebel and gravitated to Arya Samaj—then the white hope of all who wanted to break the iniquities of Brahminical tyranny. Yet, here again he is misunderstood, (a) because he would not want to bend to the wind and, (b) because the social situation in the villages has changed much since he demolished the feudal land tenures in U. P.

He resents the facts that he is caught in the crossfire of new rural conflicts in which yesterday's underdogs, the bhumidars, are in many areas are today's better-off farmers. Today's underdogs are farm hands and marginal farmers, who were once tenants-at-will whom, in UP, Mr. Charan Singh made "sirdars".

Today's rural conflicts are many dimensional. Having abolished the feudal land relationships, Mr. Charan Singh has concluded that a broadbased private ownership of land is the only way India can escape "statism". Many will disagree with him but he has a fairly strong case, and calling him reactionary does not exactly answer what he has to say.

Bapu On Village Conditions

I have believed and repeated times without number that India is to be found not in its few cities but in its 700,000 villages. But we town-dwellers have believed that India is to be found in its towns and the villages were created to minister to our needs. We have hardly ever paused to inquire if those poor folks get sufficient to eat and clothe themselves with and whether they have a roof to shelter themselves from sun and rain.

I have found that the town-dweller has generally exploited the villager, in fact he has lived on the poor villager's subsistence. Many a British official has written about the conditions of the people of India. No one has, to my knowledge, said that the Indian villager has enough to keep body and soul together. On the contrary they have admitted that the bulk of the population live on the verge of starvation and ten per cent are semi-starved, and that millions have to rest content with a pinch of dirty salt and chillies and polished rice or parched grain.

You may be sure that if any of us were to be asked to live on that diet, we should not expect to survive it longer than a month or should be afraid of losing our mental faculties. And yet our villagers go through that state from day to day.

Over 75 per cent of the population are agriculturists. But there cannot be much spirit of self-government about us if we take away or allow

others to take away from them almost the whole of the results of their labour.

We are guilty of a grievous wrong against the villagers and the only way in which we can expiate is by encouraging them to revive their lost industries and arts by assuring them of a ready market.

We have got to show them that they can grow their vegetables, their greens, without much expense, and keep good health. We have also to show them that most of the vitamins are lost when they cook the leaves.

What they need is not a knowledge of the three R's but a knowledge of their economic life and how they can better it. They are today working as mere automations, without any responsibility whatsoever to their surrounding and without feeling the joy of work.

We have to teach them how to economise time, health and money. Lionel Curtis described our villages as dung-heaps. We have to turn them into model villages. Our village-folk do not get fresh air though they are surrounded by fresh air; they don't get fresh food though they are surrounded by the freshest foods. I am talking like a missionary in this matter of food, because my mission is to make villages a thing of beauty.

The revival of village industries is but an extension of the khadi effort. Hand-spun cloth, hand-

made paper, hand-pounded rice, home-made bread and jam are not uncommon in the west, Only there they do not have one-hundredth of the importance they have in India. With us their revival means life, their extinction means death to the villagers.

If we should have electricity in every village home, I should not mind villages plying their implements and tools, with the help of electricity. But then the village communities or the state would own power-houses just as they have their grazing pastures. But where there is no electricity and no machinery what are idle hands to do ?

Villages have suffered long from neglect by those who have had the benefit of education. They have chosen the city life. The village movement is an attempt to establish healthy contact with the villages by inducing those who are fired with the spirit of service to settle in them and find self-expression in the service of villagers.

The villages communities should be revived Indian villages produced and supplied to the Indian town and cities all their wants. India became impoverished when our cities became foreign markets and began to drain the villages dry by dumping cheap and shoddy goods from foreign lands.

It is only when the cities realise the duty of making an adequate return to the villages for the strength and sustenance which they derive from

them, instead of selfishly exploiting them, that a health and moral relationship between the two will spring up. And if the city children are to play their part in this great and noble work of social reconstruction, the vocations through which they are to receive their education ought to be directly related to the requirements of the villages.

The village movement is a much an education of the city people as of the villagers. Workers drawn from cities have to develop village mentality and learn the art of living after the manner of villagers. This does not mean that they have to starve like the villagers. But it does mean that there must be a radical change in the old style of life.

We have got to be ideal villagers, not the villagers with their queer ideas, or absence of ideas, about sanitation and giving no thought to how they eat and what they eat. Let us not, like most of them cook anyhow, eat anyhow, live anyhow. Let us show them the ideal diet. Let us not go by mere likes and dislikes, but get at the root of those likes and dislikes.

We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their clothes and pots in which their cattle drink and roll. Then and not till then shall we truly represent the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing this, respond to every call.

Bapu On Prohibition

YOU will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The state does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not regulate and license houses of ill-fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both?

In India there can be no reason for any referendum, because drink and drug habits are universally recognised as a vice. Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the west. To talk, therefore, of a referendum in India is to trifle with the problem.

I have not hesitated to give my opinion, that it was a wicked thing for the Imperial Government to have transferred this the most immoral source of revenue to the provinces and to have thus made this tainted revenue the one source for defraying the cost of the education of Indian youth.

Thieving will abide till doomsday. Must it, therefore, be licensed? Is thieving of the mindless criminal than thieving of matter? Illicit distillation to an extent will no doubt go on. Its quantity will be the measure of the Government's effort assisted by a vigilant public in the shape of continuous and sympathetic treatment of the drinker and the opium-eater. Moral elevation demands a price

no less than material or physical elevation. But my submission is that this constructive effort is doomed to failure if it is not preceded by total prohibition. So long as the state not only permits but provides facilities for the addict to satisfy his craving, the reformer has little chance of success. Gipsy Smith was a powerful temperance preacher. It was a feature of his huge gatherings that several people took the vow of total abstinence under the spell of his song and precept. But I say from my experience of South Africa that the majority of the poor addicts could not resist the temptation to enter the palatial bars that faced them, no matter where they wandered, in the principal thoroughfares of cities, or the wayside inns when they strayed away from cities. State prohibition is not the end of this great temperance reform, but it is the indispensable beginning of it.

Of local option the less said the better. Was there ever opposition to the closing of these dens of vice? Option has a place where a whole population wants to drink.

Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first-class national importance.

Let it be remembered that this drink and drugs revenue is a form of extremely degrading taxation. All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the tax-payer in the form of necessary

services. Excise makes people pay for their own corruption, moral, mental and physical. It falls like a deadweight on those who are least able to bear it. The revenue is largely derived, I believe, from industrial labour which together with field labour the Congress almost exclusively represents.

The loss of revenue is only apparent. Removal of this degrading tax enables the drinker, i. e. the tax-payer, to earn and spend better. Apart, therefore, from the tremendous gain, it means a substantial economic gain to the nation.

The cry of great expenditure in preventing illicit distillation is thoughtless where it is not hypocritical. India is not America. The American example is a hindrance rather than a help to us. In America drinking carries no shame with it. It is the fashion there to drink, it reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority. In America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure however short-lived it was. I do not regard that experiment to have been a failure. I do not despair of America once more returning to it with still greater fervour and better experience in dealing with it. It may be that if India carried out prohibition it will hasten the advent of prohibition in America. In no part of the world is prohibition as easy to carry out as in India for with us it is only a minority that drinks. Drinking is generally considered disrespectful. And there are millions, I believe, who have never known what drink is.

But why should prevention of illicit distillation cost any more than prevention of other crimes? I should make illicit distillation heavily punishable and think no more about it. Some of it will go on perhaps till doomsday as thieving will. I would not set up a special agency to pry into illicit distilleries. But I would punish anyone found drunk though not disorderly (in the legal sense) in streets or other public places with a substantial fine alternatively with indeterminate imprisonment to end when the erring one has earned his or her keep.

This, however, is the negative part. Voluntary

organizations especially manned by women will work in the labour areas. They will visit those who are addicted to drink and try to wean them from the habit. Employers of labour will be expected by law to provide cheap, healthy refreshment, reading and entertainment rooms where the working men can go and find shelter, knowledge, health-giving food and drink and innocent fun.

Thus prohibition means a type of adult education of the nation and not merely a closing down of grog shops.

Prohibition should begin by preventing any new shop from being licensed and closing some that are in danger of becoming a nuisance to the public. How far the latter is possible without having to pay heavy compensation I do not know. In any case, generally, licenses that lapse should not be renewed. No new shops should be opened on any account. Whatever immediately is possible in law should be done without a moment's thought so far as the revenue is concerned.

But what is the meaning or extent of total prohibition? Total prohibition is prohibition against sales of intoxicating drinks and drugs except under medical prescription by a practitioner licensed for the purpose and to be purchasable only at Government depots maintained therefor. Foreign liquors in prescribed quantity may be imported for the use of European who cannot or will not do without their drink. These will also be sold in bottles in select areas and under authorised certificates. Hotels and restaurants will cease to sell intoxicating drinks.

But what about relief to the peasantry which is oppressed by excessive taxation, rack-renting, illegal exactions, indebtedness which can never be fully discharged, illiteracy, superstition and disease, peculiarly due to pauperism? Of course it comes first in terms of numbers and economic distress. But the relief of the peasantry is an elaborate programme and does not admit of wholesale treatment.

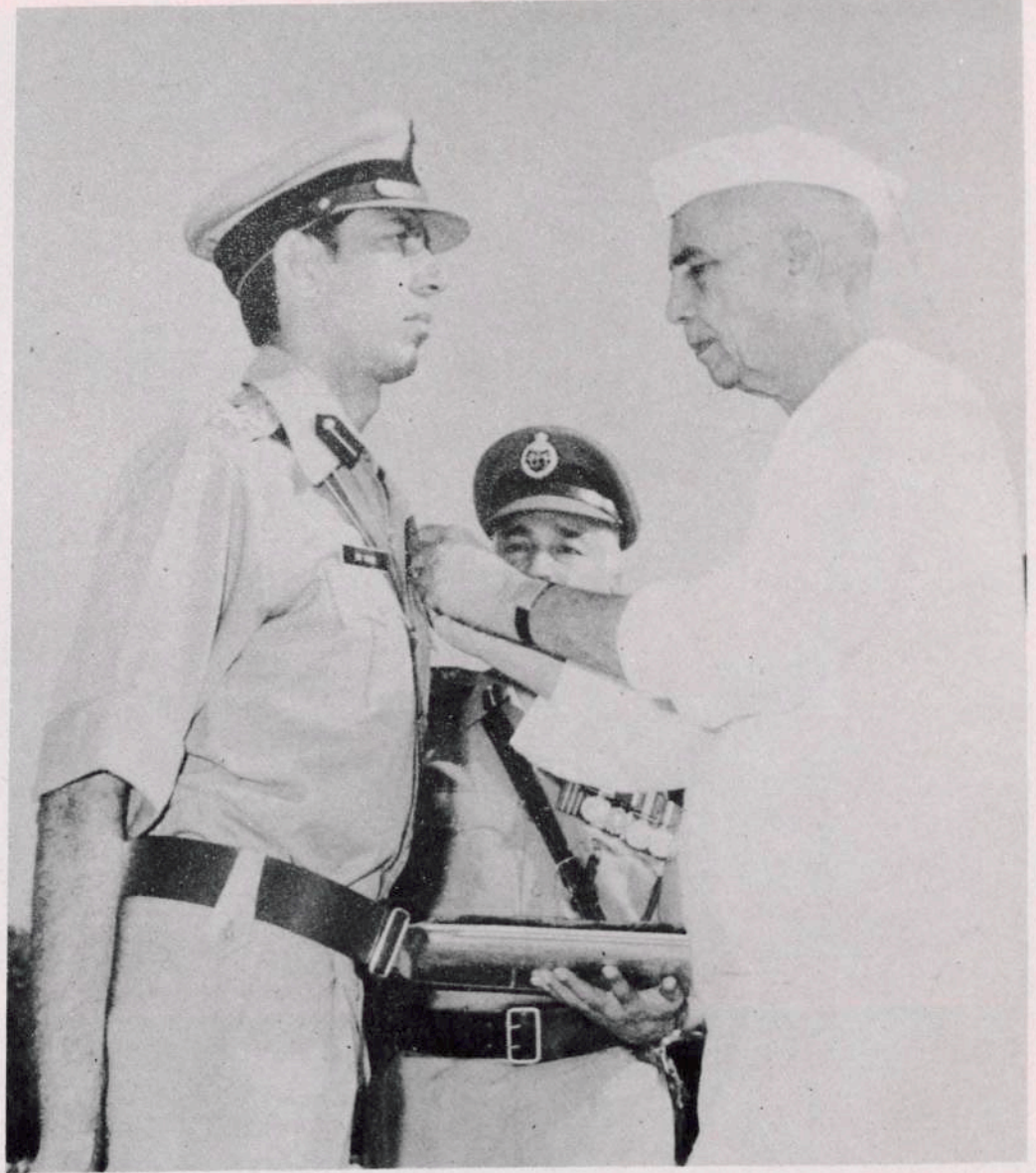


जनता पार्टी के सभी सदस्य विजय श्री प्राप्त कर राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की समाधि पर एकत्रित हुये ।
लोकनायक श्री जयप्रकाशनारायण ने सभी सदस्यों को राष्ट्रसेवा एवं लोकतंत्र की रक्षा में जीवन
समर्पित करने की शपथ दिलायी—२४-३-१९७७



चौधरी चरणसिंह को
गृहमंत्री भारत सरकार के
पद की शपथ दिलाते हुए
राष्ट्रपति श्री बी० डी० जत्ती ।

गृहमंत्री चौधरी चरणसिंह
पुलिस कर्मचारियों को पुरष्कृत करते हुए ।
नई दिल्ली

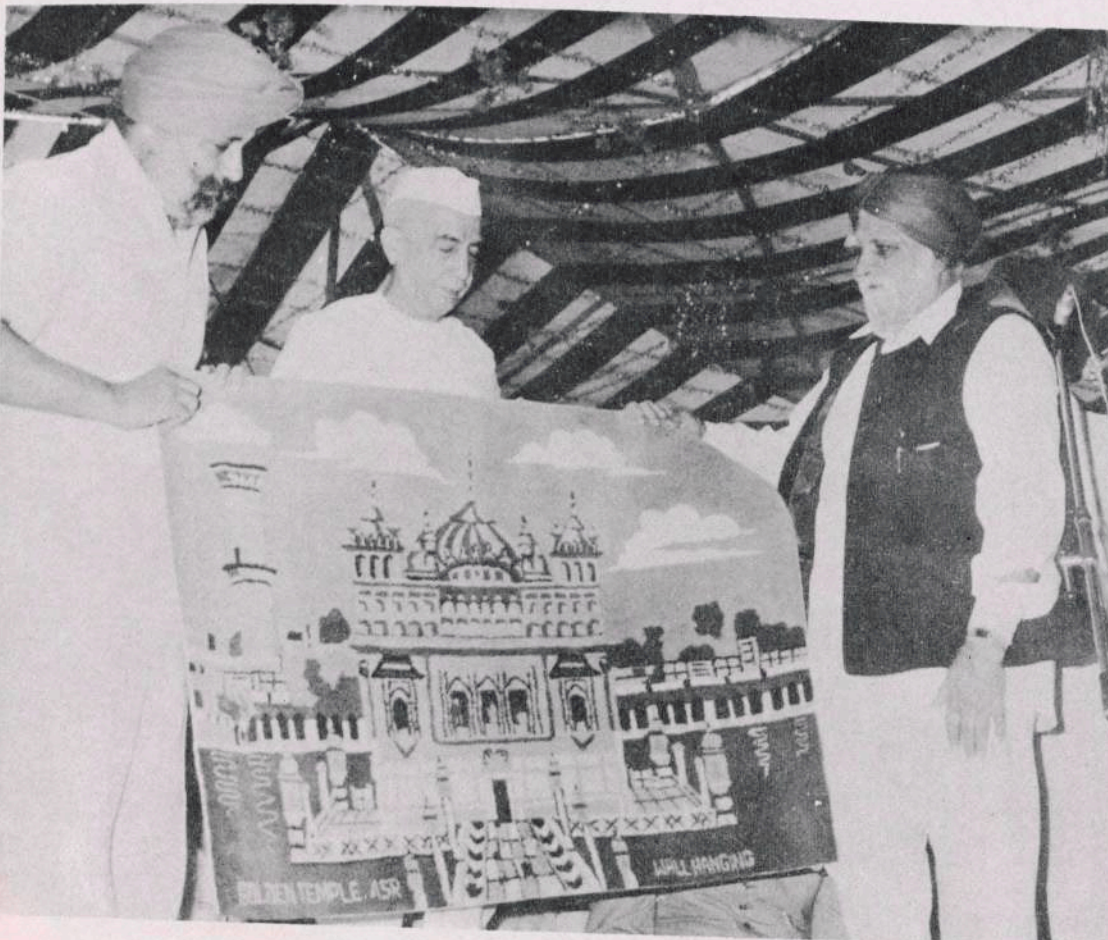


गांधी मेला का उद्घाटन कर गृहमंत्री
चौधरी चरणसिंह गांधी मंडप में—
२९-९-७७



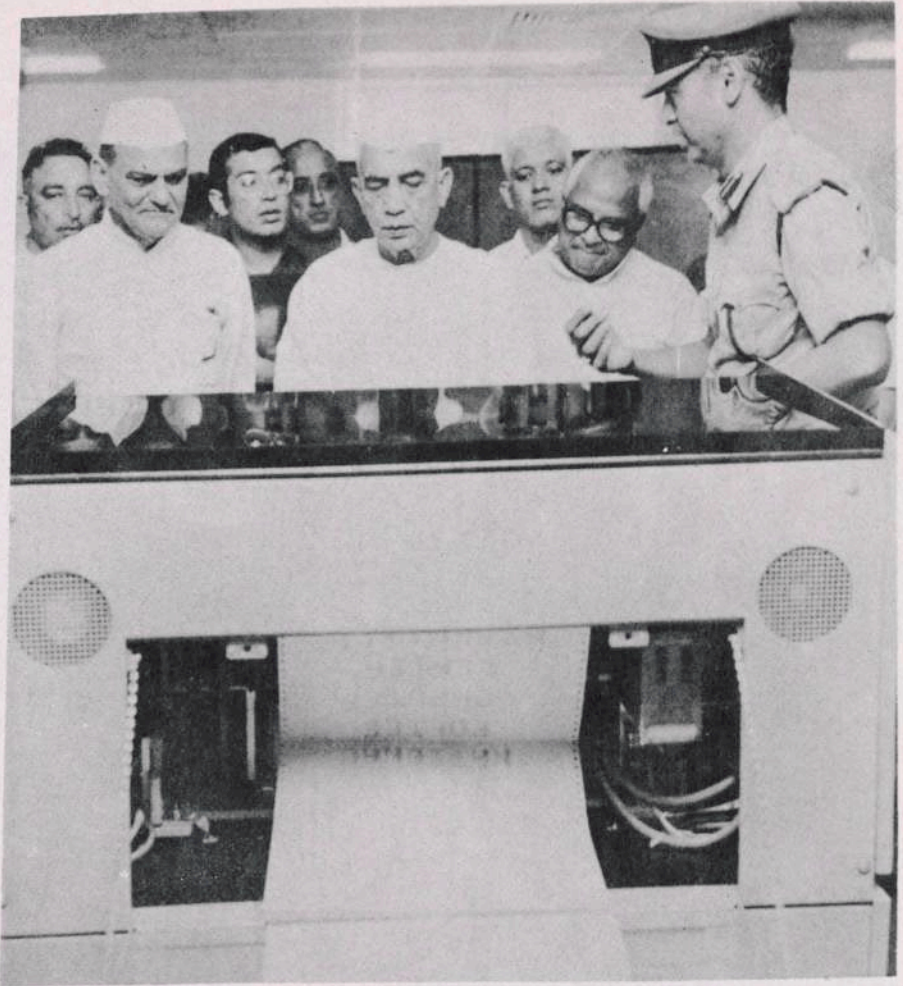


बापू के स्वप्न दर्शन में संलग्न ।



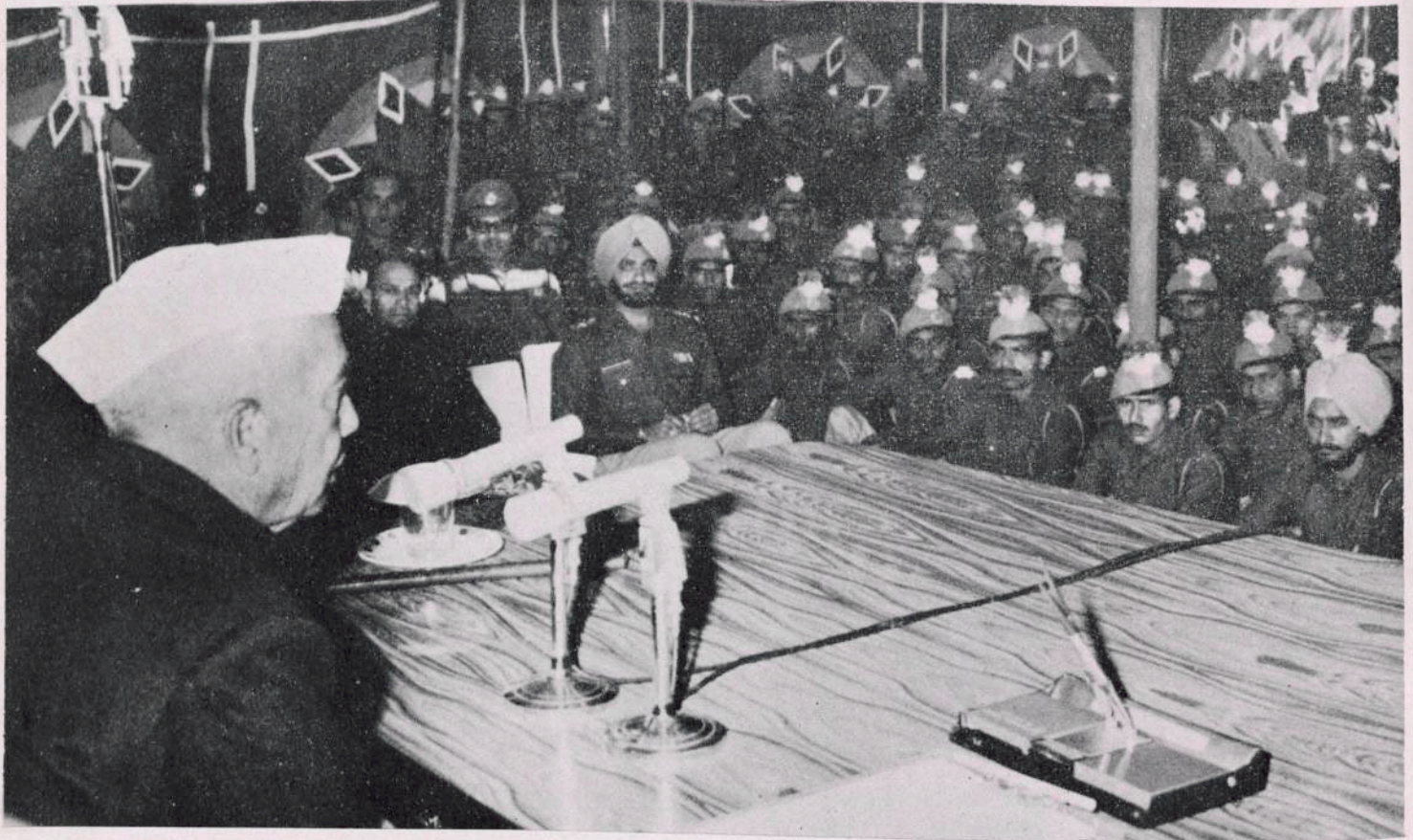
स्वर्ण मन्दिर अमृतसर की अनुकृति के साथ गृहमंत्री और मुख्यमंत्री श्री प्रकाश सिंह बादल

कम्प्यूटर सेवा का उद्घाटन करते हुए
चौधरी चरणसिंह
नई दिल्ली



गृहमंत्री चौधरी चरणसिंह पुलिस प्रशासकों को सम्बोधित करते हुए ।

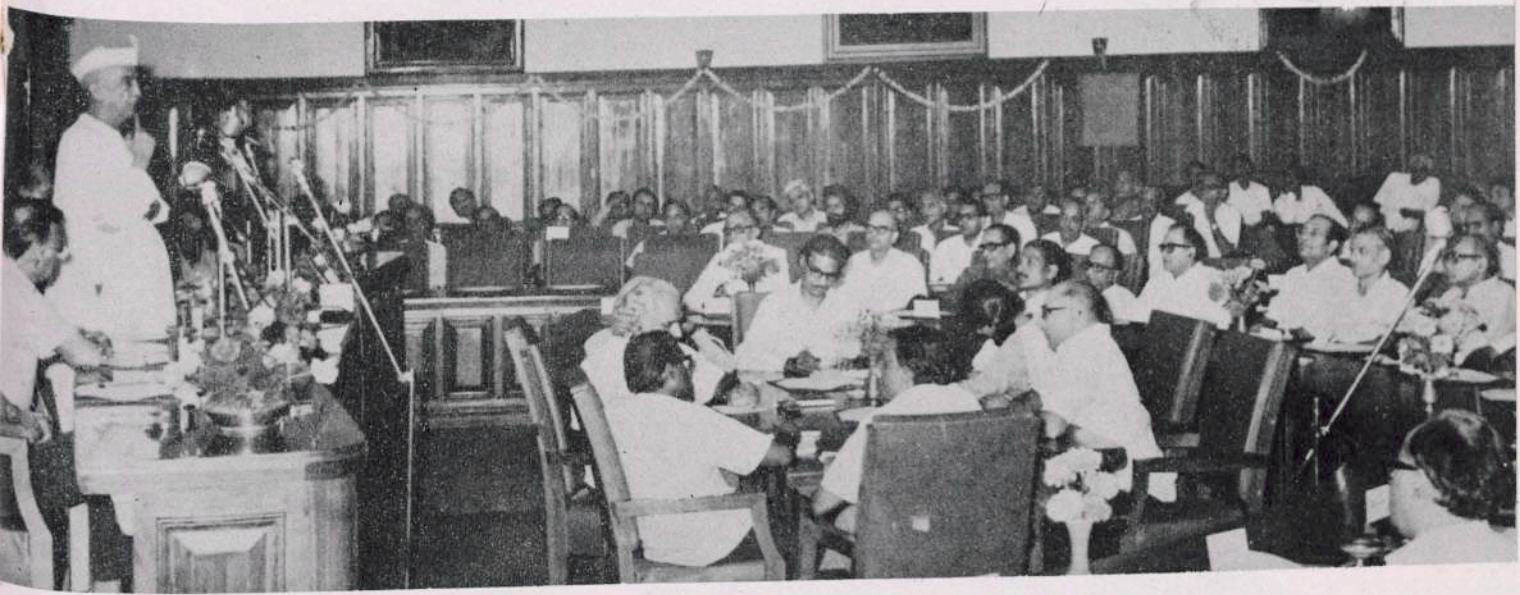




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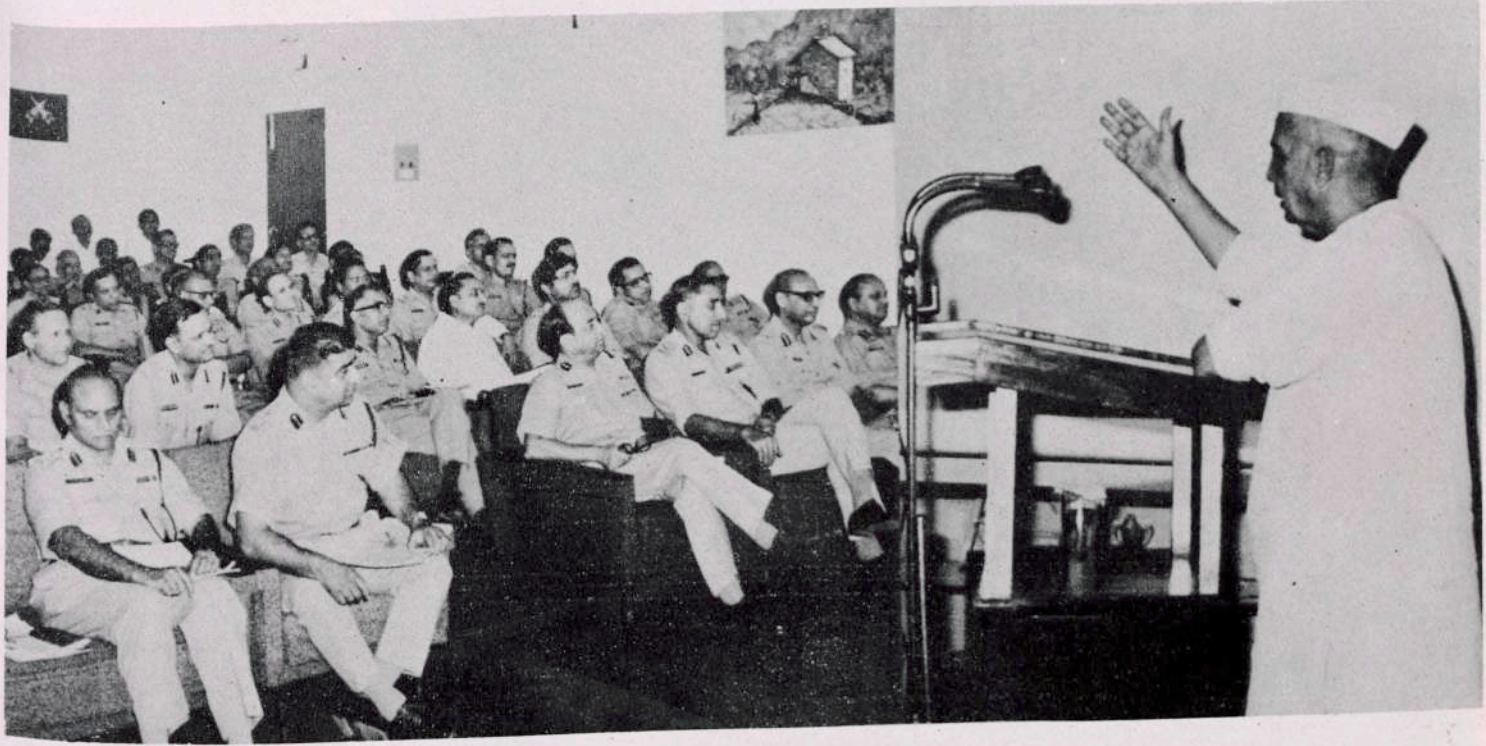


सी० आर० पी० ट्रेनिंग सेन्टर नीमच में
परेड की सलामी लेते हुए स्वराष्ट्रमंत्री
चौधरी चरणसिंह · ८-३-७८



केन्द्रीय गृहमंत्री चौधरी चरणसिंह तिलक हाल, विधान भवन लखनऊ में शासन सचिवों एवं विभागाध्यक्षों को सम्बोधित करते हुए—७-१०-७७

केन्द्रीय गृहमंत्री श्री चरणसिंह जी उत्तर प्रदेश के वरिष्ठ पुलिस अधिकारियों को सम्बोधित करते हुए
८-१०-१९७७





चौधरी चरणसिंह बंगाल के मुख्यमंत्री
ज्योती बसु के साथ



अतिथि वार्ता में तल्लीन ।



भूटान के राजा हिज मंजेस्टी जे० एस० वान्गचुक के साथ गृहमंत्री—२४-४-१९७७



लोकसेवा आयोग की स्वर्ण-जयन्ती के अवसर पर गृहमंत्री चौधरी चरण सिंह वक्तव्य के उपरान्त स्मृति टिकटों का उन्होंने विमोचन किया।

८-११-१९७७



दिल्ली के बाढ़ग्रस्त क्षेत्र का हेलीकाप्टर द्वारा निरीक्षण करते हुए

भाषण में तन्मय चौधरी चरणसिंह





चौधरी चरणसिंह दिल्ली मैनेजमेण्ट एसोसियेशन में भाषण देते हुए ।



गृह-मंत्री, समस्त विभागीय शिखरस्थ अधिकारियों के साथ लोक-हित-चर्चा में



गृहमंत्री नारी शिक्षा निकेतन में ।
नई दिल्ली