

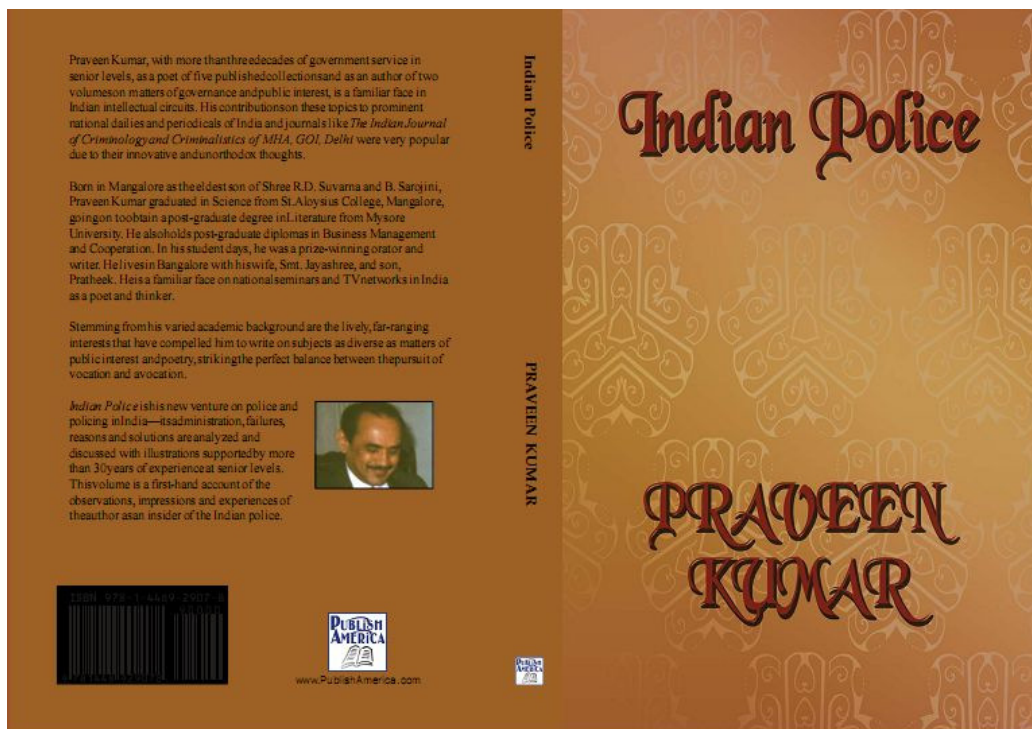
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INDIAN POLICE

On police and policing in post independent India

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Service here is modeled after Priya Chaitra Tapasvini - the sublime paragon of conscience and conscious moral rectitude, most charming and most wonderful creation of pure beauty, devotion, love and sacrifice ever born in this world, most perfect and prettiest in all worlds. This volume of poetry is lovingly dedicated to that exquisite wonder God has ever created.

This work would not have been possible without the inspiration and active support of my son, Pratheek Praveen Kumar and wife, Jayashree. Also, my mother, Smt. B.Sarojini, my sister, Pramodini Ganesh, brother, Nishith Kumar, sister, Asha Narasimha and brother, Sushir Kumar stood behind me in this effort. I record my gratitude to all of them.

I acknowledge with deep humility that this work would not have been possible without the inspiration of my late father Shree R.D.Suvarna who instilled in me right values and a sense of dignity without which I would not have been what I am now. I would be failing in my duty if I fail to express my gratitude to late Shree A.R.Sridharan, IPS (rtd.), former Director General of Police and former Hon'ble member of the Karnataka Administrative Tribunal for his unstinted support and encouragement to my intellectual exercises. He is a rare oasis of pristine values and dignified restraint in the desert of Indian bureaucracy.

P.K

INTRODUCTION

The Hong Kong-based Political & Economic Risk Consultancy (PERC) in a 12-page report on a business survey of 12 economies of Asia released on June 3, 2009 where 1,274 expatriates working in these countries were interviewed showed Indian bureaucracy at the bottom at the 12 position as the least efficient bureaucracy after Philippines and Indonesia in 10 and 11 positions respectively. The report says that working with the country's civil servants in India is a "slow and painful" process and it continues to report that "They are a power centre in their own right at both the national and state levels, and are extremely resistant to reform that affects them or the way they go about their duties".

The cause of the malady in reference to Indian Police is analyzed and remedies are recommended in the article, 'The Crumbling Steel Frame of India' of this volume. The deterioration is a post-independence phenomenon. The once steel frame of Indian bureaucracy of the British vintage gradually crumbled to its extant putridity under the sad auspice of its corrupt and incompetent UPSC (Union Public Service Commission) and the deterioration trickled fast downwards in the last six decades to bring India to this sad state of affairs.

This volume is a first hand account of the observations, impressions and experiences of the author as an insider. Naturally, most illustrations in this volume are from Karnataka police where the author served at senior levels for nearly three decades. However, this makes no difference to the over all picture of India as situation is not much different elsewhere.

As far as Karnataka police is concerned, in spite of misdeeds of notorious scoundrels like R.S.Chopra, A.R.Nizamuddin and degenerates of the similar ilk, situation is better there than some of the more notorious state police organizations of India. The core weakness in Karnataka police lies in sweepingly conforming to the putrid system and bad

culture against conscience to cover own tracks. It is mere cowardice of mediocrity and gross selfish interests of ignobility and nothing more. Yet, no way can Karnataka police be called as an efficient, healthy and responsible bureaucratic setup yet.

Faithful assessment must precede reconstruction. This volume is an effort in this direction. Complacency leads to stagnation and is a dangerous indulgence in a rotten situation like India's. This volume is intended to breach the vicious indulgence involved and inspire India to its rich potentialities on the way to much dreamed of world leadership.

India is a civilization of diversities and a culture of contradictions. India's is an inclusive way of life. Along its long history, it saw umpteen falls and rises without losing its innate vitality and always rose from worst quagmires unscathed. This resilience of India underscores its unique heritage spawned by its thoughts and philosophies that perhaps are nearest to the true nature of the universe that the scientific world of today is engaged in to probe, discover and formulate as the Grand Unification Theory (GUT). This is the secret of the eternal strength of India.

This resilience of India gives hope. The present fall is not forever. Time of revival shall come. India shall see a better system replace the present corrupt and incompetent UPSC and a healthy administrative system replace the extant inefficient and rogue bureaucracy.

The nature of the police accurately reflects the quality of democracy entertained by a country. This is true of India and Indian police also. Further, the menace of the current world namely terrorism is increasingly moving the police centre-stage in governance as the *sine qua non* mechanism for founding peace and safety of the citizens. These factors together render the police and policing the deciding parameter in determining the character of a national life. That is why India must act to bring its police and bureaucracy on right track to fulfill its dream of a regional power and act pronto.

THE CRUMBLING STEEL FRAME OF INDIA

The All India Service were once called the Steel Frame that held India, a country which consisted of diverse political systems, comprising British Indian and many other big and small princely States, together. If India is one today - though in truncated form - the efficiency of its vintage, All India Services is as much responsible for this as the might of the British Empire.

The credit for India having made impressive progress, both in the domestic and international fields and having survived the uncertain, initial years of democracy, under leaders who had no experience of ruling a country of India's size and diversity, also goes to the original All India Services- to its traditions and efficiency, that continued to survive for some years even after Independence.

The sterling performances of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel in the unification of India and the brilliant achievements of Jawaharalal Nehru in the international field are as much the success stories of their civil servant secretaries and advisers as of the leaders themselves.

The fall in standards of the All India Services, in the values of their officers and in their efficiency and performance, is symbolic of the fall India itself has experienced.

The All India Services experienced a setback after Independence. This deterioration was in depth of ideas, quality of performance and honesty of convictions of their officers. With this deterioration, to All India Service are no longer in a class of their own. Its members can no longer claim a distinguished standing in society as the All India Services have been reduced to merely good careers.

The Civil Services had inherited, as a result of their exclusive place in the higher levels of administration, high pay packets and good perquisites, attractive service

conditions and an awe-inspiring tradition. But since this was not accompanied by superior performance, the consequence is that the reins of democratic India are now in the hands of people who are in no way superior in terms of intellectual worth, administrative skill or human qualities. This is a tragedy for a democracy struggling to progress.

The British created the All India Services to handle the administration of the country. They recruited talented people, imparted the best possible training to them and invested them with the trust, powers and opportunities to carry out their responsibilities.

They took care of all their personal needs, provided them with many opportunities for growth and surrounded them with a halo of exclusivity by endowing them with high social status and providing them with generous creature comforts.

Independent India needed brilliant people to handle its complex administrative problems and to implement its developmental schemes. It is tragic that India after independence not only failed to realize the importance of maintaining its Steel Frame and improving upon it, but also positively contributed to its collapse in a very short span of time.

Indian leaders wanted the All India Service of independent India to break away from the British model they had originally been based on and they gave expression to this desire by altering the name of the Services. It is ironical that the change in name also initiated a steep fall in the quality of the Civil Services.

At present, the Indian Administrative Services is not even a pale shadow of the old Indian Civil Services. The Indian Foreign Service stands nowhere near the brilliant Indian Political Service and the present Indian Police Service lacks the backbone and professionalism of the good old Indian Police.

A major cause for the disappearance of excellence from the All India Services of independent India was the secret tendency of the new leaders to look at the All India Services as their rivals in running the country, rather than as the backbone of the State. A subtle fear of the All India Services inherited from British India days accompanied by a sense of awe that the services inspired because of the halo worn by its predecessor, stirred the new leaders who made every effort to cut the Civil Services to size and show them their proper place.

SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS

This occurred together with a fall in the standards of management of the Civil Services because of the failure to recognize the importance of the Civil Services in administering the nation. This fall succeeded in bringing the All India Services of the post Independence era to its present state.

This brought the Services closer to the people of India in a way, while stripping it of all its brilliance, excellence and efficiency to give India a mediocre All India Services to handle its administration. And the result of this is the present state of the country.

The poor state of the Civil Services attracted people of poor caliber. This led to all kinds of evils including corruption, opportunism and lack of moral strength to stand by one's values and convictions.

This situation led to loss of face and subordinated the All India Services to the ambitions of the political leadership. It has been a long journey from the bold and awe-inspiring All India Services that existed at the dawn of Independence to the present meek and servile All India Services without any backbone to stand erect and hold its head high.

The reasons for the fall and the mechanism that brought about the change are not far to seek. Everything that made the All India Services of the British days a powerful

adminicle for the administration was just swept away while its new avatar in independent India was brought into existence.

The glory of the old All India Services was built on the 3 basic strengths of faultless recruitment, perfect training and the maintenance of the highest standards of professionalism and character to sustain it throughout. These strengths held the Steel Frame of India together for nearly a century. But independent India just failed to give these factors the importance they deserved while constituting its version of the All Indian Services.

The primacy British India gave to the process of selection of people of high caliber to the All India Services is perhaps the single major factor that made the Civil Services among the best in the world. Promising people with maturity and intellectual superiority were selected young through a vigorous and efficient filtering process of a carefully devised elaborate public civil examination process under the guidance, supervision and control of highly qualified professionals in the field.

Rarely was anything other than exceptional merit considered in the process of selection and human weakness like nepotism, corruption and parochial considerations rarely interfered in the process, as Britain was not prepared to compromise and accept anyone less than the best in the higher levels of administration. These people were, after all, to sit on equal terms with them and help in administering the country! These high standards in the process of selection and recruitment made the All India Services of British days, a really superior cadre.

REASONS FOR DETERIORATION

The grand structure of British rule was to be mercilessly demolished later by independent India. Unimaginative and messy selection and recruitment procedures, which were poorly conceived and unskillfully executed, became the order of the day.

Corruption, nepotism, narrow considerations and caste and economic reservations corroded the foundations of the newly constituted All India Services as time passed.

The reasons for this deterioration in the Civil Services are many. The first is the general lack of passion for quality and excellence in the Indian psyche. The agency in charge of the process of such selections, namely, the Union Public Service Commission, unlike in the British period, is unfortunately increasingly being manned by people unequal to the task either in terms of their professionalism, efficiency and passion for brilliance or in their basic characters itself.

As the selection of members of the UPSC became politicized, mediocre people came to fill the slots and in the process, selections to the All India Services suffered. Since members owed their memberships or chairmanship to their political leaders, they could not avoid the obligatory quid pro quo. This continues to be the state of affairs today.

The Indian Civil Service, which once produced giants like K.P.S. Menon, now produces in its new avatar of the IAS and Allied Services only pigmies without voice or strength of conviction. In this matter, they are like those in the crippled institution of the union Public Service Commission who select them. The Steel Frame of the IAS has now become a gilded plastic frame with its steel conscience crumbling into a plastic conscience in the present uncertain political atmosphere. A Steel Frame Civil Service would never have permitted such degeneration.

The degeneration is manifest at all ranks in all services, whether it is the administrative service, the foreign service, the police service, the forest service, the central services or the specialized services, whether at the sub-divisional or provincial level or at the highest levels of Central Government. The degeneration is uniform everywhere.

Whether it is in creative genius, intellectual heights, strength of character, moral values, width of human interests or noble qualities, the Civil Service of the post-Independence era are third rate. It does not have its own voice or any originality. Its members either as Chief Secretaries of State Governments or as Secretaries of various ministries of departments are at best paper-pushers and mindless approvers of reports incompetently prepared by subordinates down the line.

Imagine people of such caliber presiding over the entire Civil Services. Thus develops a vicious circle that promotes the degeneration of the Civil Services.

Sturdy and sterling All Indian Services are indispensable for the survival of democratic and united India. Whether it is a cadre of generalists as the Indian Administrative Service is, or cadres of specialists in the fields of judiciary, health care, engineering, economics, Foreign Service, police etc the existence of All Indian Services functions as the basis of governance of India and adds to the emotional bonds binding the country together.

Also, as a pool of the cream of the people, it is supposed to bring distinguished and brilliant people to the job of administration of the country and thereby ensure good government to the country.

THE REMEDY

Any dilution of the high standards of these services is certain to throw the country to the wolves. British India knew this and perhaps, independent India also knows it. But it does nothing to arrest the dangerous fall in the standards of its All India Services.

India is preoccupied with myriad issues relating to economic and social development and perhaps the rapid deterioration of its All India Services does not appear to be important in comparison with these burning issues. But such a feeling is wrong.

All India Services are a precondition for the survival of India. India must realize this fact and act fast.

This brings us to the quintessential question as to how the Civil Services can be brought back to their original standards and glory. How can we get back the original ideas, quality and performances and honesty of convictions that existed earlier?

The first and foremost task in this regard is pruning the Civil Services to a small brains trust of brilliance and commitment which will steer the country in the right direction by giving competent advice on statecraft and actually running the administration to political leaders.

A TINY SELECT GROUP

Merciless pruning of the extant services to create this tiny, efficient and highly responsible core is a priority task. Only brilliance and the highest potential should be the criteria for membership in this nerve-centre.

This brains trust must be kept beyond the purview of extraneous constraints like reservation of any kind and even age restrictions. The guiding principle here is bringing together the best talents without restraints of any kind, for ensuring best results. The services should not be treated as an employment opportunity for the elite, but as the foundation of the Government.

INTELLECTUAL CALIBRE

The training programmes for the services have to be made relevant today. Matter taught has to be updated every year by experts and made changing even to the brightest among the new recruits, unlike present training programmes which are intellectually impoverished, irrelevant to the times and which in no way help ensuring the right attitudes at the higher levels.

Another need is to make the passing of a promotional test, of a very standard, held by the UPSC or a similar Central agency, mandatory for promotion at every level. Only such tough measures will keep the Civil Services fit and productive as is required for the sound health of the administration of the country.

TONING UP THE UPSC

Overhauling the present mediocre Union Public Service Commission to create an efficient and responsible set-up capable of handling the enormous responsibilities under Article 320 of the Indian Constitution is essential in order to arrest the degeneration that has set in, in the set-up. This has led to blunders in identifying talent and in managing the Civil Services.

CREDIBILITY OF THE UPSC

In a recent case, three promising officers from the State cadre of a southern State of India were denied selection till retirement by the UPSC to an All India Service for no obvious reason, while their juniors were elevated. The acute frustration and demoralization caused by this led to the break-up of the family and untimely death of one of the promising trio.

Violent behaviour by him repeatedly in public led to very embarrassing public humiliations, and ultimately involvement in a murder case that led to his conviction and ultimately untimely death of alcoholism. This is how a reckless and irresponsible UPSC ruined a promising life for no reason at all.

However, another of the trio was an officer of enormous inner strength as well as a poet and an intellectual of the highest caliber. He weathered the frustration for the next seventeen years till his untimely retirement only to rise to a very high level in individual achievement and public esteem to the shame of the irresponsible UPSC.

The incident created much resentment in the State against the recklessness of the UPSC and considerably lowered its credibility. Such transgressions are common these days with the present state of affairs in the UPSC and the overhauling of the organisation should be aimed at preventing such irresponsible actions that can have such tragic consequences.

REORGANISATION OF THE UPSC

The way to prevent such unprofessional on the part of the UPSC lies in transforming it to a highly efficient outfit managed by people of unimpeachable character and efficiency. This objective can be achieved by suitable amendment to Articles 316 and 317 of the Indian Constitution to ensure that only suitable people become Members and Chairman of the organisation and remain in the saddle only as long as they retain their moral and professional caliber.

This can be made possible by constituting a committee comprising the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Vigilance Commission and the Speaker of Parliament as members. The Vice-President of India should be the Chairman and clear the names for appointment as Members and as the Chairman of the UPSC for a fixed tenure. These people should also be empowered to initiate actions for their removal by an appropriate procedure in fit cases.

Appropriate changes to this effect in Articles 316 and 317 of the Indian Constitution are likely to plug the existing loopholes that allow too much political interferences in the process of the selection of Members and Chairman of the UPSC and thereby in its fair functioning.

THE CORE OF POLICE PROBLEMS

A Country begets the Police it deserves. The Police are the creation of the society it polices. It inherits its values, culture, practices and aspirations from the society to which it belongs. The ambience defines the nature of the Police, the country begets. In this sense, India got a Police system it deserves with all its perversions like corruption, brutality, criminality, inefficiency, and indeed mediocrity. Nothing more can be expected from the fall of value system India suffered after independence. The prime attributes of the Indian Police system of the post-independent vintage are lack of motivation, lack of professional commitment, devastating job culture and the ineffective training system. With the lure of money and the abuse of power as the center of the Indian psyche and appointments and promotions even at highest levels turning to be arbitrary after independence, both talent and government institutions withered in the heat. Indian Police system is one of the major casualties of the Apollyon. Right people are crucial for police and policing. Character constitutes the spine of a Police setup. Police is the real power in the field and constitutes the strength of both the executive and the political system. As an instrument of power, it can be a double-edged weapon; a cornucopia of safety, security and peace while good, and absolutely demoniac while bad. This festinated the aggravation of the situation. All problems of the extant Police system in India flow from this single fact; all talks other than these basic causes like inadequate resources, unscrupulous politicians, legal and political constraints, growing crime rate, inadequate manpower, fractured organisation etc are either sheer misrepresentations to evade responsibility or just manifestations of the basic causes projected above.

The *lever de rideau* here is the issue why and who. It is easy to blame unscrupulous politicians, the *hors la loi*, powerful and rich criminals, the lure of money, the constraints of democracy, legal hurdles, fragile system, fractured organisation, professional constraints, increasingly complex and violent society, rise in crime rate, increasing work pressure and hi-tech crimes. These factors represent the circumstances in which Police is called to work on and show results. They constitute the *raison d'être* of

the Police and do not constitute excuses for inefficiency, nonperformance and failures. The challenge is to accept the reality and show results. The burden is on those at the top-wrung of the Police. It is their failures to adequately plan, organize, execute and control that toppled the Indian Police of the democratic vintage from its high pedestal. Their lack of foresight and vision, lack of brilliance and foremost of all, the love of the UPSC of the mediocrity and its certain *degringolade* from seventies as a responsible public institution committed to merit and character, combined with the unsavory rat-race among officials to reach the top-wrung, and consequent race to double-bend before the political bosses and the rich and the powerful who count, tore the fabric of the Indian Police to shreds after independence.

It is a *rebours* for the political bosses and the rich and the powerful to turn blind eye to the willing devotion and race of the Police top brass to please and gratify. After all, Gandhis and Buddhas are not born everyday. They perforce take the advantage of the situation and help their acolytes out of turn as a *quid pro quo*. The blame for this sorry state of affair squarely lies on the Police and those who select and recruit such less than sound character to the Police. The nexus extends even to the rich and powerful and the *hors la loi* who count. How the criminals as el patron can be policed by these weaklings and law and order maintained?

It is preposterous to lay the blame on lack of resources or neglect of the Police by the executive or the paucity of manpower. The truth is that the Police are over-indulged in India by the Law-and-Order-sensitive political and bureaucratic machinery as far as sparse resources of this poor country is concerned. Our Police leaders conduct like spoilt children. Most of the resources made available are squandered and siphoned away to non-operational and non-professional extravaganza or just wasted on unrealistic and foolhardy programmes *a grands frais*, resulting in no or miniscule returns.

Another mendacity of the stock is the clamor about shortage of manpower *en face* ascensive crime rate and policing responsibilities. Again, it is an attitudinal problem. Effective policing never depends on numbers, more so in extant hi-tech age. It is quality,

planning, secrecy and surprise that really constitute the bedrock of effective policing. Show of strength is never a forte of good and proficient policing. The truth is that the wastage of human resources and manpower is phenomenal in Indian Police and criminal in proportion.

Police leadership is meant to face the reality, assess it, plan with foresight and vision and accordingly remold the system and the organisation. It must set the lead by right job culture. It is here that Police leadership failed. No political boss or executive head from outside can do the job for him for the simple reason that policing is an extremely specialized job and no outsider can have a keek to the intricacies of the Police and policing job.

Problems and challenges are natural in any setup. It is left to the Police leadership to address them. The problems au fond in Police are lack of motivation, wrong job culture, absence of professional commitment and poor training *en arriere* of every other problem and issue. While this Achilles' heel is prevalent in Indian Police cap-a-pie, naturally the issue to be addressed is who to bell the cat. Only public opinion and public pressures can bring about the apotropaic change. But, Police is too a thick-skinned beast to respond to such opinions and pressures. This is the crux of the problem. Right recruitment and sound training alone can save Indian Police from its Avernus by fine-tuning a healthy job culture.

The extant police ensemble is marked by lack of human concerns and empathy for the fellow men. This has deprived the elements of heart and compassion from the body of the bureaucracy. Initiatives, novel ideas and creative pursuits are seen as the antithesis of the police. This has deprived the elements of brain and intellect from the corpus of the police system. The result is a deadweight-police weighing down on the live India and sucking it dry with evils and misuse of the powers invested on it for governing and steering the country ahead.

India is an egregious forerunner in the world among countries most corrupt in public life. The root cause of this grave malady is India's corrupt governance pregnant with inefficiency, indifference and gross temulence of power devoid of human elements. Police measures have become synonymous in popular parlance and perception in India with foolhardy decisions and actions far removed from reality. Lack of accountability is the leitmotiv of governance in India. This is a malengine consciously evolved *ab intra* to safeguard self-interests. Power sans accountability rendered police in India an evil per se.

The evils of policing need not always be directed only against outsiders. Inscience knows no boundaries. Even those within may become cruel victims of its grossly unrealistic and farcical decisions as in the case of a highly talented and multifaceted genius that joined service in a Southern Indian state in 1978. He was soon recognized for sheer brilliance and purity of character as a diamond that can fit anywhere and as a peacock among the fowls. Soon the recognition itself turned a noose on his neck. It was assessed by the inscient bureaucracy that his outstanding attributes might prevent him from becoming popular among the seniors and prevent him from reaching higher levels. A two-pronged strategy was devised. He was to be roughed-up and denied promotions to rub-off his superior qualities and the intimidating aura till the detrition by the sufferings forces him down to the ordinary level.

He was posted to most humiliating posts and harassed endlessly. However, the process got caught in a skein as the infaust officer refused to come down from the pedestal of his immanent and really superior qualities even after two decades of immanity and sufferings while the bureaucracy refused to yield and give up its illegal and unconstitutional stance until the desired condescence to the mediocre levels. The refusal of the officer to approach judiciary against the ill treatment for redressal and his resolve to depend solely on his talents and character helped the establishment to persist with the preposterous process. His morale remained high throughout *non obstante* serious humiliations and endless grief. He sought refuge in other fields and won nonpareil accolades from everybody by sheer talents. His tormentors followed him there too. The head of the State Intelligence who himself a small-time writer and published a few books

in a regional language used esoteric threats in 2000 on the publishers of the accursed officer to discourage them from publishing his books. The publishers who already had published half a score books of the officer returned two manuscripts of the officer in sheer desperation expressing helplessness *en face* the police interferences. The release of one of his books by the Governor of the state in 2000 was got cancelled by undue promptings and maneuvers on the Governor just a few hours before the release. He was invited by the Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi to present three papers on police subjects in 37th All India Police Congress held in Bangalore from June 6, 2006, a rare and unprecedented honour to invite to present three papers. Karnataka police as the host of the event prevented him from presenting the papers and the BPRD looked helpless and resigned *en face* the insistence of the host of the event regarding its own officer. Envy also played role in this.

Fanciful premises bordering madness *tout court* leading to irresponsible and eristic career plans of that dimensions are possible only in governance utterly lacking in accountability and only a sacred country like India can produce such gross grief, sufferings and humiliations *eo nomine* noble intensions. Lack of transparency makes such atrocities possible and permits its practice for decades as in the case study.

The annual assessment of men and officers in the police has become a travesty of what it used to be or meant to be. In no way, under the present circumstances, does an ACR reflect an officer's qualities or capabilities. It is believed that the department would be far better off without this pernicious evaluation process that breeds corruption and bias. What characterizes the ACR today is a distinct lack of objectivity; it has become a means to personal ends, a medium for the advancement of individual interests and even settlement of personal scores. Servility is its inevitable consequence and it would not be immoderate to say that eliminating the ACR altogether would be certainly a step forward.

If policing is to be effective in the years ahead, specialization is crucial. I suggest three distinct police services with separate recruitment and training: (1) Regulatory police

or uniformed police in charge of law and order and other regulatory duties; (2) Mainstay police in charge of crime investigation and prevention and security and intelligence operation; (3) Social police in charge of prevention and investigation of all social offences and implementation of social legislation. All three wings should have their own individual organisations up to the district level with independent Superintendents and staff as required, functioning in tandem in much the same way as the Army, Navy and Air Force. At the apex, could be a specially constituted body called the State Police Authority with the chiefs of all three wings as members and the Chief Secretary as chairman.

All the present maladies emanate from the politicians who are only concerned with winning the next elections. Until the organisation is extricated from the grip of politicians, it cannot hope to rise above the mediocre level, either in proficiency or in character. Such mediocrity is wont to percolate downwards in a democratic setup.

An All India Police Authority accountable only to the President of India at the national level with the regional Police Boards in States as independent bodies should be created. A Supreme Court Judge must head the Authority with the Union Home Secretary and the Cabinet Secretary as members and the senior most police officer of the country as the member-secretary. The regional Police Boards must have a High Court Judge at the helm with the Home Secretary and the Chief Secretary as members and the State Police Chief as member-secretary. The arrangement will bring to an end interference of any kind in police affairs, thus enabling the personnel to function in an independent atmosphere. These measures complete with the overhaul of the UPSC to bring back all the former *gloria* of commitment to merit and character may dawn a new era in Indian public life.

POOR ADMINISTRATION AFFECTS

POLICE MORALE

The basic ingredients of good policing are professional pride and good image. A good image boosts professional pride. Good image brings in its wake public cooperation and enhances the social recognition of the police personnel.

True policing is impossible in the absence of the strength of pride; responsibilities to society can be discharged only from a position of strength. A weak police cannot do a good job. Pride is linked to morale. Police personnel humiliated in career can never face the people from a position of strength and do good policing. The tragedy lies in police administration. Its vanity belittles the police, breaches its pride and shatters its image.

The police administrators in this country refuse to realize the basic psychological imperative of good policing; they crush professional pride whenever and wherever it is seen raising its head. Sadly to meet personal ends. Perhaps staff in no other government department suffers humiliations as in police. This is true at all levels including the highest ranks.

Suspensions and disciplinary actions are common; when disciplinary action would include such indecent measures as withdrawal of vehicles, telephone and other facilities, denial of promotions, transfer to humiliating jobs created just for the purpose and keeping the person waiting without a job. This attitude produces a weak and confused police force with a low self-esteem.

The police force is a tactical tool that can be of immense help to check the interference of the law. The police are aware of this aspect. They know that nothing works as fear does. They know that the advantages of a policeman out-weigh the risks of breaking the spine by whatever means and that policemen so reined-in can be made to perform any job even at risks to his own life and honour. This is why the administrators

spare no effort and lose no opportunities to beat, terrify and bully policeman of whatever rank, status, and enlightenment, even at the cost of professional pride.

SCAPE GOAT

An upright officer of the rank of Additional Director General of Police of a State and a scholar in diverse fields was known to refuse to bend against his conscience and this fact made him unpopular among his superiors. While he was the Chief of State prisons in 1995, he addressed his government about the tragic security lapses in a major prison in the State headquarters and sent proposals to improve the situation. No action was initiated on the report by the government.

In the closing months of 1995, a mafia gang war that ensued in the State capital led to the murder of a gang leader by a prison inmate. The Government ordered an enquiry by the Home Secretary. The latter that found the ADGP a thorn in his flesh found a golden opportunity in the enquiry. The officer was removed from his position and was not given an alternative posting for at least three months. If anybody was to be held responsible for the lapses in the prison, it was the government for not acting on the report of the ADGP.

In this case, not only did the ADGP become a scapegoat for the lapses of the government, but also an easy target for police officers that found his integrity inconvenient.

Police administrators wield power over the state authorities. Power breeds arrogance. The sweep of arrogance is so strong that it has not patience for rules, laws, and codes of conduct, moral values, natural courtesies and human dignity.

An illustration of how low the police administrators of independent India can stoop is provided by this instance, the likes of which can be found anywhere in India.

A police chief of a State between 1986 and 1990, who had obtained several sites from the government through false claims in the names of his wife and himself and a spacious house in a posh area of the State capital refused to occupy the police house allotted to him and continued to stay in his own bungalow for the first three years of his tenure till the end of 1989. He shifted to the police house and took up the renovation of his own bungalow just a few months prior to his retirement.

Rules required that the full guard provided to him at his own bungalow be shifted to the Police House.

SELECTION DENIED

The Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of the armed police force committed the serious error of shifting one head constable and four constables from the bungalow to the Police House instead of assigning a new team to the Police House and keeping the old guard in the chief's house under renovation to keep vigil over the construction materials. This infuriated the police chief so much so that the Deputy Commissioner was not selected for the vital All-India Service. The indifference, incompetence and corruption within the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) helped the process.

The UPSC in its perverted competence has created a new breed of administrators in the police and other administrative classes. This new breed is interested in nothing beyond meretricious schemes for promoting its career interests. They only think of more perks, creating new posts to improve avenues of promotion and fighting for parity with other services. Thoughts about how the schemes would affect the police structure in the long run never bother these people.

Newspapers carry reports of how promptly and actively regional and central IPS associations respond to all the decisions touching their career. We never hear these

associations taking up any cause in matters purely professional- law and order, security or crime investigation. The matters are left to the care of those down the line.

Administration is a highly specialized field requiring extra-ordinary skills but the state of affairs in the police field is archaic. Actually, there is no administration worth the name. There are no long-term plans. No organizational initiatives. No growth and coordination studies. The organisation takes care of itself depending upon the need factors. As far as morale, motivation and mental well being of the manpower are concerned, the contribution of the Indian police administration is absolutely zero.

Threats and suppression form the essence of manpower management. Waste of human resources and man-days is the general rule. Quality, efficiency and character are inconsequential. Assessments are unheard of. Accommodating the desires of the higher-ups in official and political circles and powerful people on a quid pro quo basis is the accepted norm.

There is leadership crisis at the administrative level. Reasons for this deterioration are many. The agency in charge of selection, namely the UPSC is now manned by people unequal to the task. Restructuring the UPSC with professionals of competence and integrity can tone up public administration.

Administration as a service in spirit and governance deals with men, money, materials and machinery through laws, rules, decisions and directions. Administration, for the most part, is human resources management.

The distinct culture and service conditions of the police, the stress and strain of policing and the psychological factors throw up problems unique to the organisation. This renders police administration a specialized field to be handled by experts having insight into the working conditions and the psychological pressures of policemen.

The responsibilities of any administration are two-fold providing the body and shape required fulfilling the objectives of the organisation within the limits of the extant laws and providing the right ambience to boost the morale, motivation and above all the mental well-being of the personnel.

The extra-ordinary nature of the police setup and its working conditions render the latter responsibility a sensitive field warranting specialized study and application.

The complex psychological factors involving policing in diverse social conditions and social imperatives of a policeman's life require dexterous handling of affairs to promote morale and right motivation in place of the rule-of-thumb approach adopted now. Unfortunately, the present chiefs of the civil service are unequal to the task.

What is required is highly intricate organizational policy imbued with specialized skills and insight of the highest order to inspire, motivate and get the most out of the manpower at disposal. This involves balancing many contradictions inherent in the human psyche. On the one hand, the police force has to preserve its professional pride; on the other, it has to be taught to accommodate in its character the instinct to obey. It has to be tuned to be faithful to authority while its ultimate loyalty must rest with its professional objectives and the rule of law.

The police have to be tough and fearsome to criminals and law-breakers, and gentle and friendly with the public. They have to be the model law-abiding citizens even while dealing with hardened criminals.

While they are accustomed to the interplay of ranks and status in the rigid hierarchical order of the force, they should learn to treat all as equals and exercise authority over people at the top level in society. In short, the task of balancing these contradictions is the real challenge for the police administration.

INDIAN POLICE: WHO WILL BELL THE CAT?

Policing, being a specialized job, remains an enigma to outsiders, including administrators and the general public. Its status, somewhere between the armed forces and the civil administration, renders its structure, scope and style of functioning undefined in the monolith of governance. This coupled with the prolate powers to cover all aspects of living, has made the police an awful force to live with.

The situation is like one-way traffic wherein the police have a say on every aspect of the life of the people while the latter hardly know anything about the department. This has given the police the unique advantage of dictating what should be what, where and how in policing and the police organisation. This could be a boon if the right man sits at the top. But, sycophants climb the ladder and reach the top to hold the reins and guide the destiny of the police. The result is the Indian police have got what it deserves-a spiritless culture created by incompetent leaders.

It has been nearly five decades since independence. The standard expected and observed in the police at the dawn of independence is no more. Belatedly though, it has been realized that self-rule does not mean fraud and tyranny and that the cabals of compatriots are no less pernicious than that of the aliens. Sixty years is a long enough period to realize the need to break away from the webs of corruption in independent India. India and the Indian police thus stand at a crossroads.

Policemen are social doctors and policing is a surgical operation to systematically remove cancerous growths from the body of society. What if the band of doctors itself is infested with serious malignant growths? This is the position of the present day Indian police. The police, as the enforcers of law and protectors of public interests, wield

tremendous powers. Such powers must be invested only in people of high probity and conscience. Otherwise, the powers will ruin the social fabric of the country and usher in anarchy. Powers to search, seize, remove, detain, direct, arrest, hit and even kill may prove pernicious, if trusted to wrong hands.

How these powers are exercised depends on the work ethics of the organisation. It is those in an organisation who build up its job- culture and vice versa. Even a degenerate character turns honest and efficient in an honest and efficient environment. The work-culture builds and moulds the vitality to meet the general atmosphere around. Also, an honest and efficient person in a degenerate culture is bound to change sooner or later, unless his individual strength conquers the vitiating work-culture of the organisation. Building up a proper job-culture is, therefore, the bedrock of a proficient police organisation.

The problem of the Indian police lies in a lack of understanding of the scope and ground rules of its work. This results in the absence of a proper set of standards to approach the call of duty. Consequently, each call of duty is approached subjectively, depending upon the mood and understanding of the police in charge of the situation. All strata of people, unfortunately, accept this. The Indian police never recognize the equality of all and the need to provide security to all citizens of India. Whether it is in matters of protection, maintenance of order, crime control or investigation, the standards of policing applied to a nameless poor farmer in a remote village and say, a former Prime Minister, both of whom have equal rights before the law and the Constitution, do vary.

The point is not that the principle of equality should defy ground realities, but policing must have a reasonable set of standards within which the more important and the less important aspects must operate. It will not be so in India until people who place their personal interests beyond everything, including law, justice, fairness, objectivity, righteousness, career pride and professional interests hold the reins at the highest levels of the department.

There are two types of approach to policing:

- a. The playful approach wherein the police, as players in a football game, play the game within the scope of the ground rules to have the ball inside the goalpost without committing a foul. Here, the game is played dispassionately and played because the members are paid to do so.
- b. The passionate approach wherein the police break all rules and laws that come in the way to make their task a success. They may even commit crimes in the process.

The Indian police oscillate between these two disparate approaches, depending on for whom they work and what would be their personal gain ultimately. Only a few people with money and power to back policing of the passionate genre deserve the passionate approach. Others must remain contented with the 'playful approach'. A dignified police organisation should shun both attitudes. The former is against the tenets of professionalism and commitment to work. The latter, in spite of its commitment to its goals, is devoid of objectivity, fairness and justice. For, policing by criminal methods cannot be called professional policing.

The right approach to professional policing is a synthesis of both the approaches in which the commitment to achieve goals respects the rules and laws of which the police are guardians. Professional commitment implies achieving goals within the parameters of the permitted methods. The professional end of the police is upholding the interests of law and justice. Policing is not an end in itself. It is a tool to serve law and justice. Policing by committing crimes against law and justice is committing crimes against policing. The Indian police are yet to show maturity of professional commitment extending equal attention to all the needy, irrespective of their stature, wealth and position in society.

The state of human relations in Indian police does not bring credit to the organisation. The relations are brittle and mechanical without a human touch. The relation between different ranks is soft or hard depending upon the nature of their jobs and mutual advantage. It is rather a donor and recipient relationship while soft and master and servant relationship while hard. There is no genuine human concern and no sense of recognition of the other man as another human being. The other's human qualities and talents are dismissed as inconsequential trash. This is equally true among officers of the same rank and has led to an atmosphere of mutual suspicion in spite of an outward show of belonging to the single family that the police is.

The police chiefs must think hard to decide whether the current model of human relations in the police is conducive to healthy policing or not. A sound police organisation thrives on sound human relations between and within ranks, sustained by genuine concern, mutual respect, recognition, sympathy and understanding. Such relations do not perforce go against police discipline and the official command-obedience functions. Instead a sense of belonging and unity of purpose are cultivated. The hierarchical order only defines the relations created in the minds of the people. Good relations strengthen the hierarchical order by making the order willingly acceptable to all and thus facilitating its working. A subtle mental bond that links all men in an organisation is its greatest asset. A sense of recognition from others coupled with the pride of belonging creates a happy atmosphere in the organisation and improves efficiency and output.

Sadly this is just the reverse in the Indian police. Here, human relations are vitiated. Mutual suspicion and antagonism are the rule. Men in higher ranks revel in hurting the pride of the subordinates while the latter wait for the right time to settle scores. In this atmosphere of hostility and under-cuttings, the organisation and its objects suffer, its entire people suffer and the country suffers. This is where India stands at present.

The success of a police organisation depends on its ability to create a sense of pride and dignity in its members including the constabulary, so that they consider themselves as useful and responsible members of the police outfit and endeavor to live up to the image. The goal can be achieved by proper modulation of perks, rewards, praise, good treatment, respect, censure or punishment has been earned by him. This is a far cry from what is actually happening in India. Good work is seldom recognized. Every job is done as a personal favour. Medals and citations are divested of their distinction by being linked to seniority and not merit that is why medals carry no meaning within the organisation.

What the Indian police inspire in the public is fear and hatred, not trust, respect and love. This is the greatest single failing of the Indian police. A police force feared and hated is irrelevant in a democracy. The argument that fears are a necessary constituent in policing is not based on the right understanding of human psychology. The police do stand on a different footing from the general public but that status is based on trust, respect, love and a healthy awe, not, fear and hatred. It is healthy awe that inspires in citizens genuine cooperation and willing subjection to police authority.

Police is not synonymous with fear. A smiling and helpful police force is a salient feature of democracy. The police are not the enemy of the people, especially in democracy. Policing involves enforcement of order for the good of many that may sometimes mean inconvenience to a few. The job, if performed right, must win the trust, love and respect of the masses. The misuse of power and a supercilious approach will alienate the common man and earn his hatred. The exercise of police powers with absolute humility is quite possible. An approach of service to the general public renders the exercise a sensible and delicate task and avoids harshness. It is up to the police to show its good intentions and convince the public about its trustworthiness. Nothing the Indian police do now will help to create this image. It is time serious efforts were made in this direction.

The situation can be salvaged by clearing the cobwebs. There is a bunch of self-motivated officers in key positions in the police who have contributed to the downslide of the Indian police in the post-democratic era. They have corrupted the police atmosphere, set wrong precedents, encouraged self-indulgence eroded its tough image and reduced it to its present cadaverous existence. These elements should be sidelined to make way for men of probity to refurbish and rebuild the setup.

The future of India depends upon the strengths and weaknesses of its police. Defence forces are relevant to the existence of India in so much as defending its borders and protecting its system of government. But the relevance of the police is more meaningful, for, here, the very existence of India as a nation is at stake. The significance of the police is often forgotten somewhere between the width of civil administration and the depth of the defence forces.

The police must be powerful. It must be a disciplined and committed force. It saves the country from all disasters; it supports the administration in civil rule and works as its watchdog. It works as a subsidiary force in support of the military during war. If need be, it can run the administration when civil rule breaks down and can function as an armed force if the military fails. The importance of this great tool of governance is yet to be recognized. It is time Indian police is given a fresh lease of life of vitality and strength. Yes, something should be done to save the police. The question is, who should begin the process, and where, when and how? Who will bell the cat to bring it to its senses?

INDIAN POLICE NEEDS HEALTHY JOB CULTURE

Policemen are social doctors and policing is a surgical operation of the society to systematically remove cancerous growths from its body. What if the band of doctors itself is infested with serious cancerous growths? This is the position of the present-day Indian police. The police, as the enforcers of law and protectors of the public interests, wield tremendous powers for the public good. Such powers to interfere with the life of the citizens must be invested only in people of high probity and conscience. Otherwise, the powers by themselves ruin the social fabric of the country and bring anarchy. Powers to search, seize, remove, detain, direct, arrest, hit and even kill may prove pernicious in the wrong hands. Powers to decide who has done wrong and how to prosecute them, when invested in dishonest hands, certainly ruin society and the country. How these powers are exercised depends *imprimis* on the work ethic of the organisation. Though it is the people of an organisation au fond who build the job-culture of the organisation, it is this job-culture of the organisation that creates a person in the organisation at a given point of time. Even a degenerate *caractere* turns honest and efficient in an honest and efficient environment. The work culture builds and moulds vitality to meet the general atmosphere around. Similarly, an honest and efficient person in a degenerate culture is bound to atrophy sooner or later, unless his individual strength superates the vitiating work-culture of the organisation. Ergo, building up a proper job-culture is the bedrock of a perficient police organisation.

India, as one of the foremost and largest democracies of the world, have a great burden on its flabby shoulders to prove to the world that democracy as a form of government can stand up to any dissipating influence and hold disparate geographical, racial, ethnical, linguistic, religious, cultural and economic factors united in its pandemic *prise* of liberal benevolence and serve the cause of the unity of the sovereign country at all odds. The gauntlet India faces in this regard is made kenspeckle by the *locus standi* or the country in terms of its position as a ranking leader of the developing countries. Human nature being as it is, the emerging atmosphere of commercialization and material

comforts vis a vis increasing *concoures* for limited resources of the Earth, makes man increasingly self-centered and more and more adventurous and violent in his appropinquation to reach his self-appointed narrow goals. It is true of all social divisions including religions, language groups, ethnic divides, cultural interests and national aspirations. Communal hatred, linguistic barriers, ethnic clashes, cultural bickering and threats to the national security are orders of the day rather than exceptions with the trends betraying the indicia of dangerous chorisis. Democracy, unfortunately, is a fertile ground of such degenerate tendencies because of the trust democracy lays wrongly on the basic nature and general abilities of common man. The trust is wrongly laid for the reason that democracy fails to take into account the reality of the limosis in man which creates all which creates all havocs and assesses man as just a need-oriented simple animal. Liberalization that forms part of democracy, in cahoots with material interpretations of life, in spite of myriad benefit and comforts it brings with it, certainly poison the atmosphere to the extent of comminating the very foundation of the democracy and the unity of the country. This is where the police come to the picture to control the situation and save the democracy from its own vices.

The police in a democracy are the watchdog of the democracy. Democracy basically being the rule of the *hoi polloi*, clash of interests therein is an expected feature. In an atmosphere of self-rule by the self-centered people of the present commercial world, a machinery to show peoples their limits and punish devious elements is sine qua non. The police form the master-axle that runs this vital engine of the administration. It being the ultimate executors of the laws, rules and regulations that form the chemistry of a rule of law, whatever are the other attributes of an administration, its efficiency, quality and success tout a fait depend upon the merits of the police, the democracy evolves for itself. In the atmosphere of 20 and 21 centuries' unified world, like all other social and administrative apparatus, Indian police too have most of its external patterns modeled after the police organisations in other countries rather than evolved *ab intra*. This is true in pre-independent era as well as in post-independent age. In pre-independent era, because, the then rulers namely the British modeled Indian police on the patterns of their own police back in England. In post-independent age, because, independent India's new

rulers continue with the system left by the British except for spasmodic retouches here and there in response to time to time compulsions of the realities in the fields of crime, security and law and order of the country. Though the retouches made their appearances from the field realities, the ideas and models are algate modeled on parallel machinery in other countries. It is true about the gestalts and protocols of India's own Research and Analysis Wing or Intelligence Bureau or Central Bureau of Investigation or Paramilitary forces or crack-forces or anti terrorist-squads or organisations to fight narcotics and other economic offences or normal police station, district and state police administration. It is not to say that Indian police is tout ensemble alien to Indian situation just because of its tramontane jacket. Far from it. Indian police in its foreign jacket goes perforce Indian in its soul with concomitant advantage and disadvantages of Indian spirit, because Indian police works in Indian situation and ispo facto adapts to Indian needs and spirit. The utility of Indian police to India depends upon the direction and degree to which Indian police have taken to this process of adaptation and also how successfully and efficiently. It is in this perspective, the role of the police in reconstruction of India, expectations from it, actual *chevisance*, and its import on national life are discussed.

India's experiments in democracy are *sui generis* and stand apart from similar experiments other where by the *non a such* characteristics of the country, its people, their aspirations and historical background. Though the process of adaptation to democracy was not guided by any deliberate plan to be different, India's very own situations dictated terms to the shapes to be molded specific to its values, needs and aspirations. The growth of India's police remained faithful to these shapes *more suo*.

It is a fact that an organized effort is on in Indian police to force its members to fall in with its line of profile at the cost of individual brilliance and creative height. Indian police are continuously starved of freshness and creative innovations as the result of shutting itself to the creative sparks and other precious attributes of its human resources. Such wastage of available human resources can occur only in a government setup of a developing country like India. What surprises is the extent to which the organisation goes to nip in bud excellences to perpetuate the interests of its old, secure

world of unquestioning servilities down the line. All loud talks of Indian police leaders on public platforms about the need of infusing excellence and outstanding qualities to the police organisation are shenanigans meant for the consumption of the ignorant public. Most leaders of the Indian police at heart desire continuation of the status quo at the peril of the growth of the organisation so that they and their interests remain undisturbed with unquestioning and dull-witted subordinates down the ladder at their personal beck and call. Any mark of threat to the perceived security? Any brilliance of new concepts or interpretations about the functioning of the police? Lo, most heads come together and join hands in scruple less cabals to undermine the source of brilliance. The reason is self-interests. Nothing attract and bind them together so fiercely as the possibility of new thoughts surfacing in the organisation and somebody down the ladder leaving a trail of blaze of brilliance that may cloud their organizational superiority.

What ensues is a fight *jusqu au bout*; it would be a fight sans moral or legal scruples, a fight without a tinge of mercy or sympathy where all fall as one against the lonely prey till it is neutralized.

Though courts of law can theoretically protect against such harassments, expenses, time and uncertainties involved and the history of court judgments being dodged or rendered ineffective by administrative sleight, render the protection meaningless and force the upright officer to face all humiliations and losses in silence or yield to the pressures. It is to the credit of Indian police that it has great officers who withstood all slights without yielding to pressures.

A distinct case is of a senior police officer of outstanding caliber and excellence from a southern state of India whose uprightness cost him his career prospects. His disinclination towards flexible ways made him unpopular among those higher in the hierarchical ladder. He was though greatly feared and highly respected for his superior and foursquare qualities, most of those senior to him were uneasy at his presence. Repeated attempts were made to discredit him and sully his reputation by any means. Most senior police officers took him as a thorn in their flesh and joined hands to tarnish

his image. When his superiors in unholy alliance found that none of their customary methods work with him, they almost declared a war of nerves on him in 1996. He was refused all normal benefits entitled to his rank: his car was withdrawn, telephones were disconnected, his personal staff was harassed and subordinates were encouraged to disobey and even access to office stationeries was denied. While even these measures were not proved ferocious in bringing the upright officer to heels and instead the honest officer grew from strength to strength by his distinguished and impregnable strength of personality, desperate as they were, the senior officers, against all legal and administrative proprieties, divested him of all his official powers he naturally exercised *virtuti officii* in an effort to isolate the upright officer *tout ensemble*. Such harassments are common when a few officers with awakened conscience, honesty, professionalism and probity in public life disturb the immoral indulgence of the corrupt lot in police and related departments. Most consciences do breach, most professional competencies crack and most concerns for probity in public life just disappear under unrelenting pressures from above. Surviving such repressions as above is only a rarest of the rare exceptions.

It is a tragedy in Indian police that there is no relation between the efficiency and performance of an official and his standing in the organisation. The police officials are so indifferent to the performance of their subordinates and their work turnout that they are absolutely in the dark about the standard of work turned out under their supervision. Another reason for this sad affair may be that they are unqualified to assess. This situation leads to random assessment when a senior is statutorily bound to assess and in the process, talent withers and opportunists overtake high-caliber workers on the hierarchical ladder.

A yardstick to measure an organisation is the degree of success of the organisation in meeting its *raison d'être*. The responsibilities of the police as an organisation basically is three fold, in that enforcing the rule of law, assisting the judiciary in dispensation of justice and functioning as the watchdog of the internal security of the country. The three responsibilities do widely vary in their scope, functional requirements and appropinquation that while the police function as law

enforcers while discharging law and order responsibilities, they may sometimes be called to break laws though surreptitiously as the watchdogs of the internal security of the country. Or while they function only as a fact-finding machine to the judiciary, in enforcing the rule of law in their capacity as the investigating authority, they may be called to enforce laws as enforcers of law and order. In spite of these wide variations in the nature of the works and responsibilities on their bold shoulders, one thing that holds all works and responsibilities of the police together is its importance as the spine of the rule of law. The police are the cutting edge of the administration. It is the watchdog of the administration. This scope of the police often renders it to appear like the odd-job boy of the statecraft. They, as *ultima ratio*, are the real dispenser of the rule of law as well as the guardian angels of the country. This vital place in the administration of the country makes the police the arms, legs, eyes, ears and noses of the administration, but also the very tool of the country's well being and survival. The police are one of the most important levers required in running the machinery of the statecraft. It is why the blind rush and impatient race among rulers to control this vital lever.

The reasons lie in the rulers as well as in the police. In the rulers, because it is natural for anyone to take advantage of the tools that make it available for use and rather preposterous to expect rulers to shut their eyes while the police willingly offer itself for their personal behoofs. And rulers of democratic India douse the police for their personal and party ends to the extent that the first half century after independence has obfuscated the distinction between the national interests and the personal interests of the rulers as far as the use of the police of democratic India elected to subordinate its professional and national responsibilities to the *gloria* and being the handmaid of the politicians in power. Two factors helped the process. One was the wrong type of people at the helm of the organisation as models. Another was the lack of proper understanding of the concepts like obedience and discipline. These two factors together and separately brought about slowly but steadily the *degringolade* of professionalism in the police of democratic India. The nonprofessional approach of the self seeking police leadership at the helm to sub serve the personal and party interests of the rulers percolated downwards in the organisation as a model and sadly accepted as the general rules of conduct by the maffled

police down below at all ranks *per procurationem* obedience and discipline. The wrong model led Indian police to forget that their primary obedience is to the laws of the country and rulers surface to the front only as the representatives of the laws of the land and ergo secondary to the sacred police responsibilities. The police in new dispensation forgot the cardinal principle that they are subordinate to the rulers *faute de mieux* and their profession dictates them to exercise policing duties even against those rulers if the laws of the country find them doing wrong. These serious professional lapses not only weakened Indian police, also damaged political system, social values and the credibility of Indian democratic process. Ignorance and lack of interest is part of the Indian public in general and intellectual class in particular in the police system and its time-to-time devious shifts added to the malady in the form of giving free hand to the police to evolve itself sans restraint and sound guidance.

Adaptations to political masters as a bargain to secure key posts prove fatal to the dignity as well as professional values of the police setup. A police officer of a state in southern India succeeded in cornering the coveted post of Police Commissioner of the State Headquarters a few years back by the support of politician known in the then political parlance as the “Father, Mother” of the Chief Minister of the state. A few days' after, the politician in inebriated state was arrested with his associates while fleeing in a car late night after involving in a sex scandal involving a budding film star. The police official who effected the arrest recognized the identity of the person he arrested only after the arrested persons were brought to a nearby Police Station in the city. The police Commissioner was intimated about the developments. The Police Commissioner promptly made his appearance in the Police Station in the night and ensured immediate release of his political godfather. But, the political heavy weight in temulent state was implacable. He caught the uniform collar of the Police Commissioner in front of the shocked lowly officials of the Police Station and shouted at the Police Commissioner in his inebriated voice whether he made him Police Commissioner to arrest and bring him to the Police Station through his juniors. The Police Commissioner was seen meekly begging the politician to pardon him. The incident made headlines in newspapers. The scoundrel Police Commissioner later rose to become the Police Chief of the state and

retired now. Such incidents abound in circumstances of Police Officers vying for coveted posts a tout prix and as a consequence, the dignity of the posts lowers and the professional qualities of the organisation suffer.

Present India does have an adequately large and sturdy framework for the police apparatus in terms of organizational strength and budgetary provisions to sustain it. Only the canvas held by the framework is flabby and limicolous. This predicament per se speaks aplenty about the very cause of it. For one, the fact that an adequately large and sturdy framework or organizational strength and liberal budgetary provisions available for the police setup is clear *sign* of the willing political patronage to the apparatus; it *sine dubio* proves that the rulers recognized the import of the police in running the administration. However, the flabby and limicolous canvas *ab intra* speaks of the nonprofessionalism under the sound political patronage. This adds up to the close links between politics and the police for nonprofessional purposes, possibly with criminal intent as nonprofessional police approach mostly suggests criminal angle in view of the professional police concerns mostly being focused on crime control and crime prevention. Unfortunately, India has passed a long way in this undesirable links to the lengths of being cannot easily retract its path to cleanse the Augean stables of the police organisation now.

CORRUPTION IN INDIA

The size of India's parallel economy at 40% of GDP does provide fertile ground for corruption. Lack of deterrence against corruption and importance to wealth begotten by whatever means enormously promoted corruption in India. More important, corruption in India flows from above from the political class under covers like party and election funds, and senior bureaucrats who are seldom investigated or punished, either through conspiratorial silence or through conspiratorial legislative manipulations. Further, political patronage gave an aura of invincibility and respectability to corruption and deprived it of all moral and legal fears. The Central Bureau of Investigation in the Centre and Criminal Investigation Departments in the states and Union Territories have become political tools in the hands of the ruling party and grossly politicized the criminal investigation process in the country. What is worse, the conviction rate is hardly 6% in criminal cases.

India was placed 73rd in corruption among the 99 countries rated in the Transparency International rankings for 1999. Corruption flourishes in India because it is perceived to be a low risk and high profit business. Lack of transparency in administration provides an opportunity for public servants to mislead citizens and extract bribes.

The Central Vigilance Commission which was set up in the Centre in 1964 and Vigilance Commissions and institutions like *Lok Ayukta* which were set up in some states as Government agencies and headed by retired public servants or High Court or Supreme Court judges are proved too inadequate to meet the challenges in hand because of again the conspiratorial refusal of the political and bureaucratic leaderships to invest them with necessary powers and organizational strength.

It is only the Supreme Court in India seems waging a war against corruption. The Government of India converted the Central Vigilance Commission into a statutory body

through an executive order in 1998 on the directive of the Supreme Court. It rendered the CVC at least statutorily independent of the political and bureaucratic set-ups.

Although everybody in every nook and corner of the country knows who are corrupt in the Government set-up and knows every details of their mode of operations, India's administrative machinery is so devised to ensure that corruption never comes to its official cognizance even while taking place *en plein jour* in its own corridors and antechambers to the benefits of the key politicians and senior bureaucrats. Power corridors and ministerial antechambers are rendered protected places from anti-corruption moves and converted to safe havens for corruption at high places.

Ill-gotten wealth is generally stashed away in the form of black money in foreign accounts and benami bank accounts, property, jewellery and other valuables.

It is a common principle in government world-over that if a person is facing a vigilance inquiry, he should not be placed in a sensitive post. However, this practice was not being followed in India. Actually, exactly the opposite is true in India. Only those politicians and bureaucrats who have disposable black money *a gogo* can afford to buy high public positions in India. Others are mercilessly sidelined as nonconformists or even discredited or destroyed as dangerous outsiders in the big business of bribery. Media and its lack of depth and insight add to the maelstrom while it presumes and glorifies those in key posts as the rare personification of noble virtues and merit while truth is that those posts are invariably cornered these days by those who can afford to illegally pay for that either by kind or other means and therefore grossly corrupt in the world of transfer business. It is not uncommon to media to add its mite to the charges of the vested interests against and question appointment of the senior most officers to the top post of a Government department on the ground that the officer never held charge of a key executive post till then. Media in India is yet to grow to appreciate the point that the denial of venal key posts in spite of seniority in the extant milieu of transfer business *per se* vouches to the probity and noncorruptibility of the concerned officer. That is how corruption has flourished in the system.

Endless delays common in India in the conduct of departmental inquiry, investigation and prosecution help corruption to flourish. Delay provides a cover of respectability for the guilty.

The significance of corruption as a factor that adversely affects the growth of a country is being increasingly recognized. Corruption, in the words of Indira Gandhi, is a world phenomenon. It exists in developed countries too. Corruption is institutionalized as a part of the democratic process in the USA as lobbying and public relations activities and the country prides in its mushrooming lobbying and public relations firms with major foreign governments *inter alios* as its clients. The firms are nothing but mammoth business houses indulging in legal corruption. This nohow justifies corruption other where. Indian corruption has special characteristics that make it far more damaging than corruption in other parts of the world.

First, people in India being poor and largely dependent on the Government for decent living and even survival, and limited by its excessive laws, rules, regulations and largess in almost all activities of life with high rates of taxation on every conceivable items and services, corruption literally sucks life out of their existence unlike those in developed countries whose dependence on the Government is relatively not so deep and prolate. This renders corruption in India an extremely dangerous phenomenon with terminal consequences on the culture, value system and the quality and the content of the life of the people.

Second, corruption in India flows down from above. Corruption at the top affects key decisions and policies with sweeping implications while core decisions in developed countries are taken on merit through transparent competition.

Third, the wealth accumulated by corrupt means in India as black money of the parallel economy has the habit of disappearing out to safe havens abroad unlike western countries where capital made out of corruption is generally ploughed back into domestic production and investment. Thus, the proceeds of corruption while help to finance business in developed countries, it just adds to foreign accounts in India.

Fourth, corruption in India as a general rule leads to promotion and not to prison. It is particularly so about powerful officials hand in glove with the ruling party and those who have money and influence to buy justice and ruling party stalwarts in contrast to developed countries where in a system and process of accountability even top leaders are investigated and prosecuted. The most frustrating aspect of corruption in India is that the corrupt are too powerful to go through such an honest process of accountability as *causa sine qua non* of their ill-gotten wealth and power.

Fifth, corruption in India is a process against some of the poorest in the world and against half a billion poor people who are below the poverty line while that in developed countries it is mostly against people with per capita incomes above twenty thousands dollars. While corruption anywhere is reprehensible, it is political dynamite when the majority of the population cannot meet their basic needs and a few make fortunes through corruption as in India and other poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Corruption there leads to massive deprivation of basic needs and extreme income inequalities. Ergo, combating corruption in the milieu of poverty is not only punishing corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, but more important, saving human lives.

Corruption was born with the human being and its history is as long and as varied as the history of the mankind itself. Kautilya refers to the invincibility of corruption in public life and the Government of the time in his *magnum opus* Artha Shaastra. Corruption is a shortcut to wealth and one's goals and relegation of rightful means to oblivion in preference to ends at the earliest. It is a problem of attitude that highlights selfish ends in preference to higher values and ideals that define noble and dignified life, and pollutes the environment. Corruption is potent of growing exponentially by poisoning the environment to the extent of forcing the noncorruptible to fall in line to survive. The milieu compels the society to accept corruption as a means of livelihood *imprimis* and as a means of accomplishments later. The situation reaches a climacteric while governing system of the country accepts corruption as a way of public life and its leading lights pollute the public life by openly resorting it for short time gains. India has already reached the stage and nothing can save a country from the atrophy save a complete overhaul by the forces of probity, perhaps *vi et armis*.

Corruption is the product of man's natural greed and contempt for rightful means and constitutes the bedrock of his natural disposition. Therefore, any dream to wipe off corruption from the face of the Earth is too idealistic to be realistic. Corruption perforce dies only with the humankind. What can be done and attempted is its suppression and creating an environment wherein it becomes less lucrative and more dangerous than it is now. The deed warrants mobilization of the increasingly depleting forces of integrity and probity in high places in Government and public life to fight the environment favorable to corruption. It is easier said than done. The temptation of the easy money is too pollent to break through its plexure. Indian political system being what it has grown to be in licentious India of the post-independent vintage does not easily let the easy provenance of ill-gotten wealth to slip from its proprietorial grip. So also is the demoralised and easy-laid bureaucracy of the free India. The evil nexus of the two forces need to be breached to loosen the taut *prise* of corruption on the public life of India. Till then, meaningful amendments to the Constitution, criminal Acts and Rules to make corruption dangerous and less lucrative like *decheance* of the wealth gained through corruption, institution of Lok Pal machinery to try corruption at highest levels, making such anti-corruption bodies really powerful bodies with extra-ordinary powers and unperstringed independence to tackle corruption cases of any kind and doing away with notorious provisions like Single Directives to protect higher echelons of the administration from the corruption charges while it is people in those positions itself are the true springboards of corruption in India are bound to remain empty slogans for the public platform to fool the public and resisted by those who count *a tout prix* while it comes to the crunch. It is left to those outside the circle to mobilize forces and fight the evils that one day definitely destroys India.

If kingship is single-point exploitation, democracy is a license for countless exploitations of who are weaker and more helpless and corruption is the engine that runs the process of the exploitation. The extent of corruption is a clear *mark* of the degree of exploitation afoot in a given democracy. A democracy is meaningful only when it is expropriated from the evil of exploitation. In other words, corruption as an indicator of exploitation in a country stands for negation of the democratic values of a democracy. Until corruption is extirpated from the face of the democracy of a country and unless

India does it *piu mosso*, brilliant and enlightened youngsters like Saket Rajan in India falling out of the mainstream of the national life to join rebellious anti-exploitation organisations like the Naxal Movement and sacrificing their precious life to police bullets is unavoidable. India can be a true democracy only when it succeeds in bringing corruption in its public life under control.

POLICE AS SOCIAL SURGEONS

Police deal with social ills as physicians and surgeons deal with physical ills. A surgeon incises parts of the body to set right wrongs and remove dangerous growths from the system to save a person while a police do the same for the society. Police job like the works of a surgeon involves administration of bitter potions, prescription of restrictions and incisions to lay foundation for a sturdy system. Like medical profession, policing is a highly responsible function and ergo needs to be bound by moral ethos *lex non scripta* to avoid misuse of special rights involved in discharge of duties. Both professions involve independent decisions in handling each case and exercise of infrangible conscience in doing justice to it. The difference lies in the medical profession mostly maintaining its pristine purity as a profession while police as a splinter of bureaucracy being illaqueated by formalities and procedures inherent in government functions at the cost of forthright involvement and commitment immanent to a profession. The ineluctable hierarchical order as the spine of policing and the concomitant interferences from above bring a measure of incertitude and render honest and professional policing *nonpossumus* by depriving field officers their freedom in handling cases on dictates of the conscience. This perforce adversely affects the effectiveness of policing and ipso facto, the health of the society. It is the reason why in spite of sound presence of the social surgeons, Indian society witnesses the deterioration of its health *de mal en pis* each passing year.

TRUST OF THE PEOPLE

Physicians and surgeons have as much potentiality and opportunity to damage as to save health. Because of their expertise and credibility, surgeons have umpteen opportunities to use their tools and instruments on people on the claim of restoring health. The whole process is based on trust on the surgeons and their honesty. Imagine the situation when the lot of surgeons is greedy and sans scruples, while the people have no

alternative to offering themselves for surgery to their hands in times of need. None can be sure what would happen to an unconscious patient on the operation table in the hands of such surgeons behind the closed doors of the operation theatre. The whole situation becomes hopeless when the whole setup is run by similarly profligate surgeons and the precept that birds of the same feather flock together operates to hold them united at the expense of any relief by appeals or complaints. The harm done to the patient to meet the greed of the surgeons would be pro rata to the latter's immoral propensities. Synergy among them may lead even to venal deals in human organs at the expense of the health of the ignorant people. Their contempt for professional skills and negligent work may tremendously harm the safety of the patients. The situation in the field is certain to wreck the trust of the people on the surgeons. The predicament forces them to rely on the contabescent setup *foute de mieux*. The hapless position spawns a sense of disillusion in people and they even resign to the situation as helpless subjects. This exactly is the situation of the social surgery by the police in India. The society has to depend for surgery upon an epinosic organisation, which is inefficient, environ with quandaries, mismanaged, enfested with scandals and above all, undependable. The society, for its well being, has to fall on an organisation with which it tends to keep distance and thinks it indignity to associate, its womenfolk consider as an insult on their womanhood to approach and its children see it as an image of fear and silenced by invoking its name to gallow. It is the predicament of the Indian society. On the one hand, the popular image of the police in Indian psyche is that of a devil, of an evil. But, it has to fall on the police for all of its social evils. Though part of the bad image of the police is sheer myth, part in quiddity is the result of wrong people and wrong concepts coming to the centre stage in Indian police from a long time.

RELEVANCE OF CRUELTY

The similarity of surgeons and police basically is their hard means to achieve the desired end- surgical methods involving incisive tools to cut and remove unwanted growths. It is *en regle* as far as surgeries and concerned. The tragedy of the police lies in

de trop extension of the hard means unlike surgeons to other aspects of life. The difference between a surgeon and a police is that while a surgeon outside the operation theatre is a gentleman every farden, unaffected by the ambience, the hard approach renders a police apocryphal at the cost of civil living and basic human nature. This is why the image of the police is very low. The hard methods in police extend even to its policy of human resources management at the cost of neoteric principles of man management. The rule of thumb continues to be the bedrock of handling human resources. Ruthlessness and cruelty are its principal weapons in bringing subordinates and the public to submission. Human dignity is an unknown concept in the police. The result sees motivation becoming a casualty in the bedlamish system.

SADISTIC PLEASURE

The endless affairs with legal matters perhaps insensitise the police to the problems of legality. This is evident in their *hors la loi* approach to various issues. The police seem to think that end justifies the means. The problems of malfeasance are common in the police. The mode of approach of the police to man management proves this. No scruple is shown in measures meant to bring a subordinate to knees or an accused to confess to the offence, he had not committed. Third degree methods in interrogations are a too familiar issue to discuss here. Though third degree methods are universal in application in police investigations, there are vital differences in their use in advanced and countries like India. While utmost care and discreetness are employed in enlightened police forces of advanced countries in deciding whether a particular individual has to be subjected to serve interrogations, where imminence of the concerned person being an offender is a prime criterion and the methods are used as the *dernier ressort*, Indian police like their counterparts in backward countries adopt third degree methods in investigation as their staple right over innocent citizens and fall to it in the first available instant like wolves on their preys. It cannot be gainsaid that there is a streak of sadistic pleasure in Indian police. They think that third degree methods are de rigueur in crime investigation. The sadistic pleasure finds expression in severity down

the hierarchical ladder at the cost of dignity and self- respect of others down the ladder. It is a free-for-all field. Basic values like mutual respect and courtesies are rare in Indian police. Ruthlessness and cruelty are the ropes Indian police find commodious with. This invidious stria is hardly the desirable attribute to which any decent society wants to submit itself for any treatment.

LACK OF COMMITMENT

A ken of the extent to which the Indian social surgeons are committed to their work and goals can be had from the fact that in a small department headed by a Director General of Police, deputed from the police department in a southern state of India, a criminal case of fraud and forgery involving a huge amount was launched against some staff members of the department in a police station after the misdeeds were unearthed during an audit. The circumstances of the case normally warrant departmental actions like suspension of the officials, departmental enquiries and measures to recover the loss to follow the launching of the criminal case. In this case, the department washed off its hands after launching the criminal case as if it had nothing to do about the fraud and forgery in its own organisation. No suspensions, no departmental enquiries, no recovery processes. Even the criminal case was just a front to save the skin of the people at the helm of the organisation. Advice from well-meaning officers in the department to the DGP in 1996 to take the affairs to their logical ends by initiating essential departmental actions as an apotropaic measure fell on dunny ears. In addition, the police who were investigating the case were surreptitiously advised by the DGP to go slow with the case till the people involved in the case easily retire. This much about the zeal of Indian police as social surgeons in tackling evils.

“Surgeon” is an abracadabra; the concept of social surgeon is pregnant with highest ideals human mind can conceive. The application of this concept to recognize the duties of the police is the highest honour the society has invested the police with, and ipso facto lays sublime responsibilities on the rough and tough little shoulders of the police. Unfortunately, police suffer from alexia and fail to read the elevated position in

which they are held while recognized as social surgeons. It is position in which they are held while recognized as social surgeons. It is sad to see how the sacred responsibilities are not only frittered away, but abused at will to the chagrin of the hoi polloi. The consequence is that while the police are yet seen and called as social surgeons *foute de mieux*, they are no more loved and respected as social surgeons should be. On the other hand, they are misprised and distanced for the apostasy; they suffer from their avowed path. Indeed the fear of police is there because of the weapons and the muscle of power they wield. In some parts of the country, even the rear is glidder after the plebeian has learnt the lesson that money can do any tricks with the police. The cause of the *degringolade* certainly lies in the police itself; in the type of people enter the service, their caliber, their values and convictions and the professional atmosphere created by the service. If the organisation and the people in it cannot rise to the high levels expected of it and prove their *raison d'être*, the reason lies in its ephemeral self-interests ectogenous to the professional values and ideals. Police as social surgeons perforce require single-minded commitment to the cause of well being of the society. It is seld or never found in present Indian police. The society whose well being is the responsibility of the police, know it. The police know it. The society is left to itself to mend its problems. Police work only when there is gratification and while people with muscles of money and power need help. This certainly is not characteristic of a social surgeon, but of a social-wrecker. Sadly Indian police is becoming that in oodles, the protector of and tool in the hands of rich and powerful. The preposterous trend has to stop in the interests of the police as an organisation and a profession, the society, the country and the humanity. The key for this change lies in creation of right professional ambience in the police system. The secret of creating right atmosphere lies in right leadership and the burden of right leadership lies on right convictions about the importance of police and policing as a profession. The malaise of Indian police lies in lack of right convictions about the importance of policing as a profession. The result is that all types of wolves *ab intra et ab extra* falling on the system to tear it from all sides and eating it. The wolves within are more dangerous than outside. The ensure that no upright resistance breed *ab intra* to the detriment of their esurient appetite and no professional pride raises its head to topple their schemes of self-promotion The only response of their greed is wrecking uprightness and professional

pride wherever they are traced. Such hawks in higher echelons of the career-ladder succeeded in their schemes and the result is the Indian police in its present wretched state. The salvation of Indian police lies in breaking the vice *prise* of these arriviste and laying it in the safe hands of the professionals steeped in the foundations of professional pride and uprightness, to make the system acceptable to the society as its protector and ‘ social surgeons’ true to the abracadabra.

NEED OF TOUGH DECISIONS FOR INDIAN

POLICE

It is India's good fortune that its fabric of law and order has withstood the effects of growing complexity of the Indian society for so long in spite of the fragility of its policing system. The fact that the police systems in a few neighboring countries of Asia and Africa are worse cannot be a solace as the political, social and economical structures of those countries have different backgrounds and value systems from ours. India is a crucible wherein the dynamics and relevance of democracy in the third world are being experimented with. The Indian police system must necessarily meet the aspirations of democracy in fulfilling its objective of maintaining internal order and security. This dimension has added to the problems of policing in India. The Indian polity confronts its police with ever greater challenges while giving it an increasingly limited wherewithal to face them.

. A minor shift in the style of policing in the country can make a life-and-death difference to myriad people. A wrong turn and the police could inadvertently tear the fabric of the national life to shreds and ruin the country. A right step and an era of perfect security, order and peace may be created. Only an objective analysis of the needs of the time and assessment of the situation would give the insight necessary to make the right choice for police about the course to be pursued. Such an analysis must be carried out by highly competent persons at the highest level who can see things dispassionately and take decisions. They must be people who have an overall view of things and are capable of seeing them against the wider background of national interest. It is a responsible job, requiring thorough knowledge of the nuances of police and policing. The people who do it must be capable of taking hard decisions that may often go against their own interests and may have far-reaching consequences. The Indian police must give serious thought to what it wants to be in the future and may have to take some tough decisions.

There is an impression that the Indian police are not what it was before Independence. The pride, toughness and commitment to duty are no more visible. On the contrary, the Indian police have become soft humble and easy going. Pressure from all directions has deprived it of its vitality. The police have become a widely abused organisation by the virtue of its submission on the wishes of its masters under false notions of discipline. It is the popular scapegoat for anything and everything that goes wrong in the public life. In the circumstances, a sense of insecurity has developed among the policemen.

A natural outcome of this development is taking things easy, with the eyes and ears shut, unless career interests warrant otherwise Commitment to policing is sacrificed in the process. These developments have reduced the police to the level of a toy that moves only when the spring inside unwinds. New entrants who begin eagerly soon after the training period, begin to realize the realities.

A serious malady affecting the tough and nonsense image of the police is the interference of people of some standing in society at all levels. An organisation, looking for a serious image, cannot afford this intrusion. Policing must be insulated from public pressures except at the top to which all policing affairs must be accountable. People handling policing should be responsible only to law and their superiors in the department and to none else. The regulation of policies in all details must be controlled and guided by the top. On the other hand, the line authority of the organisation must be all-powerful to guide and regulate policing and police administration.

A police organisation, open to public pressures can do no policing worth the name. The very idea of being receptive to pressures and interference indicates a lack of will for objectivity and justice. It is criminal elements that cultivate sources that have put the policing on the wrong rails. Pressure often forces of the police to commit crimes under the veil of authority, either by protecting criminals or more dangerously, by replacing them with innocent people as criminals. The possibility of the police being

open to the influence of the rich and powerful deprives it of its credibility. A police force that works at the behest of the rich and powerful can guard their interests only. Does democratic India need such a police force that allows tyranny of the poor and the helpless by the rich and powerful? The country has tolerated such a police in the last four decades. The people, however, must now act the demand a police that lives up to the trust placed in it.

The lack of professional objectivity is the bane of the police in independent India. The problem was simple in British India where the ruler and the ruled were distinctly identified and the loyalty of the police was defined. Now, the police should do their duty by the public and law. Misplaced loyalty with an individual, a family, a party or an ideology amounts to violation of professional ethics. The police, in a democracy are the guardian of public interests and public safety unlike in the Raj where the police protected the interests of the Raj. This distinction is forgotten in independent India where mental fetters are yet to be broken and legacies of the British rule continue inveterate.

How can a police that stays loyal to personal, familial or party interests ever discharge its functions objectively to law and general public? What can its *locus standi* be when a different person or party comes to power? A pliable police force is an asset to any individual or party and no sensible individual or party distances it in the name of professional ethics. It is the duty of the police not to breach the edifice of the organisation and its spirit.

A byproduct of this degenerate trend is the rise of opportunists and sycophants to key posts and the fall of honest persons of great caliber. The trend creates a catena of reactions that slowly eats up the vitality of the police organisation and reduces it to a foul bunch of bloodhounds of the rich and powerful few. The shoddy creatures sitting on judgement above men of probity is a dangerous situation. This reverse order of merit is sure to bring frustration and the collapse of the organisation someday.

The British were the forefathers of the unified Indian Police. It was a force that met the needs of the time. In an age of rapid changes, the opening up of new vistas and dimensions to life through inventions and discoveries in science and technology, nothing remains constant. The scope, design and objects of the Indian police underwent a metamorphosis with the transfer of government to native hands. The process spawned a phenomenon in which undemanding aspects of both the worlds survived to create a new police culture. The distinguishing traits of the Indian police of the British period such as objectivity, apoliticism, commitment, discipline, quality and high standards were discarded. Traditional Indian values such as a simplicity, charity, wisdom, mutual respect, and human qualities were given up too. The convenient factors of the old and new worlds were chosen to create a new police culture while demands on policing were at the crucial stage in the recent years of independence.

The Indian police officers overnight rose to high positions made vacant by the resignations of their senior British officers. The need for creating a new work – relationship with native political leaders was an opportunity to usher in a new police culture in free India. Soon the police became a tool in the hands of the power brokers of free India. How can the police be objective, honest, apolitical, committed and disciplined in such circumstances and how can it uphold the rule of law and justice in line with its professional ethics in such a situation?

A job culture involves basic beliefs and principles of the organisation, professional ethics and degree of commitment to the aspirations of the organisation. To what extent precedence and practice mould the job culture decides the success or otherwise of the organisation. It is important that only the right people reach the top. A headless organisation is better than one headed by a degenerate weakling. This is why the policy of selection and promotion at high levels plays a vital role in the growth of the organisation. In a democratic age of self-seeking short-term political leadership, where sycophancy is the sole criterion for ascending the career ladder, the policy of recruitment and promotion is far from direct. All those committed to the cause of police and effective

policing must break the trend and endeavor to provide a fresh lease of life for effective policing.

A serious subculture of the Indian police in Indian hands is committing crimes to prevent and detect crimes and breaking laws to catch law-breakers indeed in the name of showing results. The misplaced stress on results without a concern for organizational and national goals of law and justice only reflects a shallow intellectual commitment to duty on the part of the top brass and the lack of desire to probe the root of the problem.

Now, on to third-degree methods in crime detection. Even senior officers tacitly supporting the third-degree methods applied on suspects who may turn out to be innocent at the end, is not uncommon.

Crimes are crimes whether they are committed by the police or by the public. What right has the police to inflict suffering on others, merely on suspicion? After all, it is not the agency to pass judgment on crimes. None placed the police beyond the scope of the Indian Penal code. What justification can the police have to commit crimes to collect evidences of other crimes? The sadistic and criminal tendencies of the police are not more justifiable than those of the general public.

Discipline is inseparable from police. It governs all parameters of the force and makes its hierarchical order meaningful and purposeful, the command-obedience relationship, sharp-edged and functional conduct, meticulous. But these days, it is used as a cover by the people in higher ranks to indulge in wrongdoing and to silence the conscientious few in the lower ranks. It is also a cover to promote the interests of juniors who support their evil deeds by sycophancy and personal loyalty; and to suppress those juniors who are strong, proud, and independent and ask questions.

A subtle hatred for superior qualities of the subordinates is inherent in the Indian police force of today. Another act carried out behind the façade of discipline is an officer

forcing a subordinate to achieve personal ends. Here, the police ranks display exceptional unity in helping a colleague to suppress the subordinate who shows the tendency to go against his senior's orders. Youngsters in the organisation who drop out weaken the organisation. There are any number of examples of fearless officers who have acted upon their conscience at the cost of promotions and elevations.

The Indian police find itself in a blind spot today, at a crossroads from where it should build bridges to the future. It must shed its mental fetters, rise to its feet and learn to be natural. A slip at this stage would be a tragedy while a right move would be a major turning point.

LAW ENFORCERS IN UNHOLY ALLIANCES

Crime, politics and the police are the three sides of the vicious triangle within which the future of democratic Indian and its free people are trapped. Although wealthy industrial and commercial houses form a fourth dimension, their techniques are as yet limited to manipulative strategies to gain a strangle hold over political power by remote control. It is their wealth that fills the coffers of the troika and helps reduce the normal life of free citizens to a welter of uncertainties and endless misery.

Politicians protect criminals from the law while criminals reciprocate by acting as their henchmen. Policemen go to politicians for job protection and strike an understanding with the criminals to make money. Thus works this nexus of vile power brokers, preying on innocent people, bloating itself on the blood of the hapless masses. The trio of manipulators is a dangerous force in the Indian democratic situation. Combined as a tight-knit power-block, they have touched all the facets of public life with the sole intention of garnering all the benefits. The tragedy here is that the vice is perpetrated by those whom the public trust as their benefactors and protectors. The amoral side of this operation does not seem to have affected either the police or the politicians in any way and the abuse against the Indian public goes on unabated. It seems that all actors in this tragic drama think that Indian democracy is a free-for-all field to grab to the maximum in a world where all look for themselves and only those who grab the most survive. This approach is certain to undermine not only the democratic setup of the nation, but its very social fabric.

When the maintenance of law and order is in the hands of unscrupulous police, queer things may take place. Long ago, a dacoity was reported in the house of a person of dubious reputation in a particular district. People who knew the background said that his illegitimate son committed the act after a serious quarrel. Court cases were pending against the son. A case was registered with the local police. The complainant however

thought it was best to patch up with the suspect in order to protect his family honour. This was done and the case was pursued with an ex-convict being picked up and shown as the accused. Arrest,” recovery” and charge sheet followed a decade after the dacoity. Such developments make criminal administration a mockery. What a serious breach of public trust it was and what a serious crime was committed by the police who involved a person whom they knew did not commit the offence!

In another incident that dates back to 1981, a police official in charge of a subdivision in Karnataka picked up a poor goldsmith from a small town for interrogation about receiving stolen properties. He subjected him to torture in a tourist bungalow of the same town for two nights to make the innocent goldsmith confess to something he had not done.

The goldsmith died on the second night of torture. The official, who has worked as Circle Inspector in the town until a few months before, had indulged in this activity without the knowledge of the senior police officers of the town. The news of the lockup death, as such deaths are popularly known, was published in local and other newspapers.

The wife of the goldsmith filed a complaint before the local court. The District Superintendent of Police and the Range Deputy Inspector General of Police, who had benefited from the flexible ways of the official when he was the Circle Inspector, rose to the occasion to save their protégé. They visited the town and entrusted the investigation to a Deputy Superintendent of Police of neighboring subdivision with oral orders to certify the case as not proved. The Deputy Superintendent complied and sent his report to the court and that was the end of the case. A police official who with the support of his community, got posted as the police chief of a State in 1986, wanted to favour a fingerprint sub-Inspector, who has been under suspension for long after being arrested in a criminal case of community interests. He summoned the Superintendent of Police in charge of the case and examined the file about the suspension. The Superintendent of Police failed to understand that the action was an indication that he was to end the Sub-Inspector’s punishment. Even if he had understood, he could not have acted for, the

Sub-Inspector had been suspended by an officer of the rank of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Moreover the case was pending trial in a court. After a fortnight, the police chief secured the Sub-Inspector's release, but nurtured a grudge against the young Superintendent. He manipulated the records and made sure that the latter was not selected for the Indian Police Service. The career of a bright officer suffered a severe setback. Such cases of avenging non-cooperation are common these days. The trend is adversely affecting the organisation by weakening its cause for fairness, law and justice.

How subordinates are brought around is another story. A young sub-divisional police officer in a small town known for its speculative business activities conducted a raid on a library, run by a powerful local community. It was actually a gambling house patronized by prominent people of the town. The officer rounded up more than fifty prominent people including rich businessmen, senior government officials and local politicians, with huge stake monies. Though the library had been a gambling den for years, none had dared to raid it in spite of repeated public petitions.

As the law requires that the place must first be proved to be a common gambling house, the officer recorded in the station house diary the names of all those who were gambling at the place and let them off with a written warning that cases would be booked if they continued to gamble there. The officer learnt too late that the Superintendent of Police of the district and the Deputy Inspector General of the range patronized the gambling den and the men were their friends. He was transferred to a remote place, with the annual confidential report stating that the public might revolt against the officer if he continued. The library continues to be a gambling den. The DIG at the place of the new posting of the officer wanted him to marry a girl from his circle. His parents however, got him married to a girl of their choice. This antagonized the DIG who, in his next annual confidential report, showed his junior as a liability to the police department. Also he prevailed upon other officers who wrote confidential reports to give adverse remarks. Most of them obliged and the appeals of the junior officer were never allowed to reach the government.

It is to his credit that the officer did not break down and continues in service while his far less competent colleagues have overtaken him on the career ladder. Denied selection to the all-India service, he later appealed to the Chief Secretary not to consider him any more for the service. He took this drastic step in utter contempt for the corrupt department heads that sat above him and decided his career advances.

Is it by design or accident that independent India has raised a criminal outfit to catch criminals? It is in the interest of the police to accept the reality so that remedy could be thought of.

Unhealthy practices of myriad variety are found at the highest levels. A recent instance is that of a police chief who, along with his wife, was taken to court on the eve of his retirement in 1990 Karnataka to face trial for defrauding the public and a spastic society in whose name he sold (charity) entertainment tickets. It is a different story that the officer managed to silence the social worker that brought up the charges and made sure the case fell through for lack of evidence. To what sad levels could men in high ranks stoop to make a few dirty bucks!

The Indian Police Service continues to be an intellectually poor unattractive realm with only the mediocre opting for it. The constabulary which forms the bulk of the service is largely constituted by people from the lower strata of society who are diffident and hence do not exercise their powers against the more enlightened people. The tendency to foul-up superior intellect and excellence is another factor that has adversely affected the police setup. The general reluctance to adopt modern techniques of policing and management, the dogmatic approach to man-to-man and public relations and the lack of understanding of human nature are other factors responsible for the unfortunate state of affairs. Only efficient police leadership at all levels can overcome these problems and only if a semblance of objectivity reasonableness and good judgment touches the core of the police administration.

At present, growth is not much more than a spasmodic reaction to stimuli and lacks the benefit of an integrated approach. A permanent cell of organisation experts under the direct control of the police chief to redefine the police organisation is required to make it more meaningful and need-based. This could help in streamlining the hierarchy by eliminating redundant posts, rationalizing workloads, preventing duplication and redefining duties and procedures and thus the rights and responsibilities at each level. Result: police functioning would be made more cost-effective and efficient.

The annual assessment of men and officers in the police has become a travesty of what it used to be or meant to be. In no way, under the present circumstances, does an ACR reflect an officer's qualities or capabilities. It is believed that the department would be far better off without this pernicious evaluation process that breeds corruption and bias. What characterizes the ACR today is a distinct lack of objectivity; it has become a means to personal ends, a medium for the advancement of individual interests and even settlement of personal scores. Servility is its inevitable consequence and it would not be immoderate to say that eliminating the ACR altogether would be certainly a step forward. If policing is to be effective in the years ahead, specialization is crucial. I suggest three distinct police services with separate recruitment and training: (1) Regulatory police or uniformed police in charge of law and order and other regulatory duties; (2) Mainstay police in charge of crime investigation and prevention and security and intelligence operation; (3) Social police in charge of prevention and investigation of all social offences and implementation of social legislation. All three wings should have their own individual organisations up to the district level with independent Superintendents and staff as required, functioning in tandem in much the same way as the Army, Navy and Air Force. At the apex could be a specially constituted body called the State Police Authority with the chiefs of all three wings as members and the Chief Secretary as chairman.

All the present maladies emanate from the politicians who are only concerned with winning the next elections. Until the organisation is extricated from the grip of

politicians, it cannot hope to rise above the mediocre level, either in proficiency or in character. Such mediocrity is wont to percolate downwards in a democratic setup.

An All India Police Authority accountable only to the President of India at the national level with the regional Police Boards in States as independent bodies should be created. A Supreme Court judge must head the Authority with the Union Home Secretary and the Cabinet Secretary as members and the senior most police officer of the country as the member-secretary. The regional Police Boards must have a High Court Judge at the helm with the Home secretary and the Chief Secretary as members and the State Police chief as member-secretary. The arrangement will bring to an end interference of any kind in police affairs, thus enabling the personnel to function in an independent atmosphere.

ROLE OF POLICE IN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The police are the watchdog in a democracy. It forms the axle that keeps the vital engine of the administration running. It is modelled on the British system except for a few changes made in response to the situation regarding crime, security and law and order. That is not to say that the Indian police are alien to the Indian situation. The utility of the Indian police to India depends on the direction and degree to which they have taken to this process of adaptation and also how successfully and efficiently.

The responsibility of the police as an organisation is three fold in enforcing the rule of law; assisting the judiciary in the dispensation of justice and keeping an eye on the internal security of the country. The three responsibilities do widely vary in their scope and functional requirements. The police may sometimes be called upon to break laws, though surreptitiously, in order to protect the security of the country. Or, while they function only as a fact-finding machine to help the judiciary enforce the rule of law, they may be asked to enforce laws as enforcers of law and order. In spite of these variations, what gives the police a holistic dimension is their importance as the spine of the rule of law. They are the watchdogs of the administration. The police are one of the most important levers required in running the machinery of statecraft. That explains the impatient race among rulers to control this vital lever.

ASPECTS FORGOTTEN

The very nature of the functions of the police demands that it be insulated from the vagaries of the short-time rules of a democratic setup. Their responsibilities as enforcers of law warrant their allegiance exclusively to the rules and laws of the country; they are beholden to the judiciary as the investigating authority while their part as watchdogs of the country's internal security raises them above political and leadership bickering. Often, these aspects of the police are happily forgotten in India.

The reasons lie in the rulers as well as in the police. In the rulers because it is natural for anyone to take advantage of the tools that make themselves available for use and it is rather naïve to expect the rulers to ignore it while the police willingly offer themselves to be at their disposal. The rulers of democratic India do use the police for their personal and party ends to the extent that the nearly half a century after Independence has obfuscated the distinction between national interests and personal interests of the rulers in the use of policemen.

RESPONSIBILITIES IGNORED

The reasons lie in police because the police of democratic India chose to brush aside their professional and national responsibilities and instead preferred to be the handmaid of those in power. Two factors helped the process. One was the wrong type of people at the helm of the organisation as models. Another was the lack of understanding of the concepts of obedience and discipline. The nonprofessional approach of the police leadership percolated down and sadly was accepted as the general rule by the rank and file.

The entire force has forgotten that its primary obedience is to the laws of the country and that the rulers are mere representatives of the laws. The police have forgotten the cardinal principle that their profession dictates them to do their duty even if it may be against the rulers if the law finds the latter doing wrong. Serious professional lapses have not only weakened the Indian police, but also damaged the political system, social values and the credibility of the democratic process. Ignorance and indifference on the part of the public in general, and the intellectual class in the police system, have ended up with the police acquiring a free hand to function without restraint and guidance.

The country indeed has a sturdy police framework in terms of organizational strength and budgetary provisions. Only, the fabric is in poor shape. That money is liberally made available to the police indicates political patronage. In other words, the

rulers have recognized the important role played by the police in running the administration. This leads to a close link between politicians and the police. This is where crime enters the picture. The link is too deep-rooted to be easily severed.

The police have two weak areas - the nonprofessional approach and arbitrary management. Both are interlined and contribute to each other's existence. The nonprofessional approach has eroded professional commitment and encouraged corruption. Professional pride has been pushed into oblivion. Personal interests have gained precedence over organizational interests. The breaches have helped opportunists to intervene and dictate terms to the police. Matters beyond the realm of the police have gained in importance at the cost of the organization's credibility.

The system has undergone a lopsided growth with random spurts of control and workload, unfair selection and recruitment procedures, neglected training, inaccuracies in the assessment of work and people, irregular promotions and transfers, unplanned modernization programmes and funny service rules. Efficient management has been relegated to the background with the whole set up inclined towards a rigid hierarchical order. This trend has told upon the professional qualities of the police-causing decline in its organizational efficiency.

BRITISH CHARACTERISTICS

India, on the threshold of independence, saw both the positive and negative sides of the British administration. Among the positive attributes was the creation of a sound police system. Other aspects were a sound professional approach, objectivity and toughness in police work, a feeling of pride among the policemen, a sense of commitment and fair play in discharging the work in hand, high morale and respect for a healthy value system.

The most glaring among the negative qualities are its disinclination to democratic values, failure to identify with the Indian ethos and failure to appreciate the common

man's aspirations and predicament. An independent India has added to the negative aspects. One of them is corruption. Also, the passage of time has set in motion a process of continuous reconstruction.

The police of the British rule has as its prime objective the interests and upkeep of the British Raj in India. In democratic India, in the absence of capable leadership, the system has failed to reset its priorities and formulate its objective. It seems to have failed to comprehend where its loyalty should lie. The fall of the British Raj, may be, left a void and they found refuge in the political leadership. On the one hand, the policemen were unable to think clearly, and on the other, some officers in higher ranks wanted to be close to and in the good books of key political figures to promote their interests. As a result, the system gradually lost touch with its professional objective of being loyal to the Indian Constitution, an objective of establishing the rule of the law in the country. Power went into the hands of dishonest and criminal elements.

EMERGENCY TREND

The police acted as the handmaid of the political leadership during the Emergency in 1976, save for a few dignified people. Both the Central Bureau of Investigation and the Intelligence Bureau were extensively used for political ends. Then emerged the custom of providing protection mostly to political leaders and other well-connected personages at the expense of the public. The trend of the police being committed to political leadership has continued.

It is an irony that the political leadership that is supposed to take the lead in the reconstruction of India is colluding with the police, who are supposed to be the tool of the reconstruction, and is striking at the foundation of the strength of the country. Every year sees a new phase and a new trend in this nasty collusion among the important players of national reconstruction taking the country nearer to the brink of lawlessness.

During the Bandh in Bangalore (1991) in connection with the Cauvery water dispute, the police were mute spectators as the agitators indulged in vandalism and violence. In some places, the officers were forced to open fire in self-defense and all hell broke loose. Dealt with in a professional way, the situation could have been brought under control and the death of several people and destruction of property could have been avoided. Indeed, a commission of Inquiry under Justice N.D.Venkatesh indicted the Police Commissioner for his lapses. However, the officer's political masters rose to the occasion and soon he superseded a more efficient and down-to-earth senior. It is a different story that the State administration changed hands within a few months and the new Chief Minister restored order by putting people in their places. But the fact remains that the findings of the Justice. N.D.Venkatesh Commission of Inquiry never saw the light of day.

SERVING POLITICAL MASTERS

The political leaders are wary about the law and the judicial system; and they have to be cautious on their dependence on illegal political funds. They need the help of the police and it is not the other way round. There are many police officers who understand this dynamics and play their cards shrewdly. A police officer in a southern State played it so well that in spite of his publicly proclaimed moderate efficiency, he not only occupied the coveted position of the Police Commissioner of an important city as Inspector General of Police (by removing the holder of the position within six months of the latter coming there), but also managed to be there for many years by getting the post upgraded as and when he was promoted as Additional Director General of Police and later as Director General of Police at the cost of all other aspirants. On his retirement from service, the political masters obliged him by constituting a one-man committee for him, supposedly to examine and advise on the reorganization of the police setup of the State, but actually to provide him creature comforts at Government expense.

A case of cheating, forgery, falsification of records and misappropriation of over Rs.35 lakh by the officials of the Karnataka Home Guards department was unearthed in 1994 and a criminal case was registered in the jurisdictional police station in December the same year. As the amount involved was huge, a process was set in motion to refer the case to the Corps of Detectives for investigation. The then State police chief came to know that one of the accused was his confidant when he was the Commandant-General of the Home Guards the previous year. Suddenly, all activities regarding the criminal case were frozen for the next six months till the police chief retired. Only in July 1995, the case was taken up and handed over to the Corps of Detectives.

In the absence of concern on the part of the political and executive wings of the administration in straightening out things, the judiciary is doing exemplary work by taking action to counter the criminal elements. The attitude of the Supreme Court to the Jain hawala case is a case in point. The awarding of jail sentence to senior bureaucrats and police officers of Haryana, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and other states in 1995 for contempt of court and creation of false evidences, and issue of nonbailable warrants and refusal of bail to a couple of former Union Ministers this year for allegedly sheltering mafia dons and engineering anti-Sikh riots in New Delhi are other instances.

The scene is not as bleak as it seems to be. The wheel of change is slowly turning. The interest taken by the Supreme Court in the nexus between the politicians, the bureaucrats and the criminals and the Vohra Committee report on the criminalization of politics are found to have their effects.

UNPROFESSIONAL POLICING

Policemen are executives of law and executors of the rule of law. As professionals, their only interests are the laws of the country and its enforcement at all costs including personal safety and self-interests. This, however, is only an ideal situation. The job culture and peer pressure play a major role in setting the standards in an organisation. This situation is not quite happy regarding the Indian police now. The reason is the general collapse of the professional instinct, caused by the degeneration of values. Society gets the police it deserves. A country of self-seekers naturally has a self-seeking police force and the consequence is lawlessness. This is the malady India suffers from. The symptoms are crime, disorder and insecurity that have kept the country and its people in a stranglehold.

An incident that took place in 1982 at Davangere in Chitradurga district of Karnataka will illustrate the kind of professional commitment Indian police pursues. The police raided a gambling den and the owner spoke lowly of the notorious range DIGP whom he said was taking “mamools” from him every month. A local newspaper reported the matter. This infuriated the DIG and the police turned its ire on the newspaper. The Deputy Superintendent of Police of the sub-division in which the range headquarters was situated joined the fight and a gang ransacked the office and the press of the newspaper a week later. Though a case was registered with the local police station and the owner of the newspaper moved heaven and earth to bring the culprits to book, nothing came out of it and the case went undetected. But the people knew who were behind it all.

Such episodes shatter the trust of the public who cannot look upon the police as the guardian of their rights and interests. Basically, lapses lie more in the concepts than in individuals. The police as a collective force operated to wreak vengeance on the newspaper for factual reporting, though somewhat indiscreet. But going on a rampage, however highly placed the officer in question could be, in nothing but, making a mockery

of professional objectives. The most disturbing aspect of the present Indian police is the slow and steady process of replacement of the passion for law, justice and fairness by a single-pointed indulgence of self-seeking tendencies as the drive of the police system. Much more disquieting is the attitude of the public about the development and their complete dependence on the police as the protector of their legal rights, provider of security and dispenser of justice. What is actually happening is a great betrayal. Indeed, the tool, namely the police, is there to enforce law and provide security. But it has become the handmaid of the rich and influential and serves the interests of the people in that stratum of the population.

Self-seeking tendencies express themselves at all levels of policing and management of organizational matters. As far as policing is concerned, be it crime prevention or investigation, collection of intelligence or management of internal security or maintaining law and order, self-interest has role to play. Its expression in crime management is too obvious a matter.

While intelligence collection is becoming a politically oriented function, internal security operations are no more than providing cover to political bigwigs and other influential people at the cost of more pressing problems of national magnitude.

Law and order has become a tool in the hands of the politicians and the policemen make themselves available for such games. In the process, honest policemen suffer and the morale of the system receives a serious setback. The result is lawlessness spawned by the absence of effective policing and wrong models as the protectors of law.

The parochial instinct of the police expresses itself in the management and organizational matters. Under the cover of discipline and the need of tacit obedience, the game of favoritism is willfully played on the one hand and any resistance is ruthlessly crushed on the other. Organizational processes such as promotions and transfers are

widely used to achieve personal ends. Posts with no job content are created in various ranks primarily to accommodate officers who refuse to fall in line with the higher-ups for reasons of conscience and professional integrity. If an upright officer takes a sinecure posting in his stride and refuses to part with his principles, he is harassed through other means. Recently the commandant of a training college pressed his higher-ups and the state Home Secretary for the removal of a functionary of the college from his important position. The latter was accused of involvement in a fraudulent act involving several lakhs of rupees. The Home Secretary and the chief of the unit (in the rank of DGP) ensured that the commandant of the college faced the consequences for recommending action on their favourite official. He was variously harassed. This continued until the officer who found functioning impossible went on leave. He reported back to duty only after he was transferred out. More surprising is that such incidents take place in the open without any attempt to keep it secret or discreet.

Professional pride is the panacea for the malady of self-interest in professionals. Creating an ambience of professional pride is a sure way of nurturing and promoting high professional standards and efficiency. It is immaterial whether high professional pride creates high standards. The fact is that both are important to create an environment conducive of professionalism.

India definitely needs such a professional environment in its police force to strengthen its democratic traditions and the roots of the rule of law. An organized effort is on in the Indian police to force its members to fall in line at the cost of individual brilliance and creative abilities. The policemen are starved of innovative steps. The organisation follows the principle of nipping talent in the bud insisting on unquestioning servitude. The talk of the top brass on public platforms about the need to nurture excellence and the outstanding qualities is a farce. Most leaders prefer status quo at the peril of the growth of the organisation so that their interests remain undisturbed.

For administering the medication, first, topmost police leaders of the country need to be convinced that the police of present India are really ailing with serious problems and the system really needs treatment.

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