

striving to make provision for the remaining. Yet, it is a fact that the victims have not been totally rehabilitated. With a view to normalising the situation and giving the riot victims a sense of security, the rehabilitation program has to be continued for some more time and compensation for the loss sustained should be given. The Commission came across several instances where though the commercial premises, including stocks had been insured, the insurer had repudiated the claim on the ground that riot had not been covered. In a Welfare State, particularly in view of the social security assured by it, there should be no need for insurance against riot. In case riot insurance is necessary every insurance should ordinarily cover situations of riot and there is no necessity for making any special arrangement for it. The Commission was given to understand that the General Insurance Corporation has now decided to cover riot risk in every insurance of property. The Commission is of the view that Government should favourably consider and entertain claims of the riot victims in this regard to facilitate rehabilitation and thus ultimately make it convenient to normalise the situation.

The Commission recommends that reasonable compensation as may be decided by the State should be paid for commercial premises whether owned or occupied and loss sustained by the victims within the commercial premises should also be taken into account in such manner as may be agreed to by Government to be paid to the victims. Necessity to compensate is particularly felt in cases of small businessmen who have lost their assets. Reference may be made to the case of a small flour mill owner of Delhi who lost his place of business as also the equipment during the riots. This victim, Jaswant Singh, had to be provided accommodation as also a new machine for rehabilitating his business. When the Commission intervened, a nationalised Bank which was already his creditor came

forward to help. An appropriate Committee may be set up in each area and expeditious steps may be taken to pay reasonable compensation in the manner indicated above. Liability has to be of the Delhi Administration to be borne by Union of India in respect of incidents at Delhi, of the Uttar Pradesh Government in respect of the incidents at Kanpur and so far as Bokaro is concerned, it would be the liability of the State of Bihar.

Perhaps it would be appropriate to liberally compensate in every case of business loss where the victim had a small business - say not exceeding assets of rupees fifty thousand and in a graded manner for higher categories. A victim who has received compensation otherwise - as in a case of insurance - need not be compensated. Affluent businessmen who lost some commercial assets but have been able to make up the situation may not have to be compensated. This recommendation is with the intention of facilitating rehabilitation with a view to normalising the situation and Government would do well to keep that in view while giving effect to it.

COMMISSION TAKES SOME STEPS FOR REHABILITATION

Though the question of rehabilitation of the riot victims was not within the strict purview of the references to the Commission, out of humanitarian considerations, with a view to easing the tension to facilitate the inquiry and for helping generation, and/or restoration, of mutual trust, the Commission took certain steps at all the three places of inquiry. As a result of such steps relief and rehabilitation of the following nature has been secured :

A. At Bokaro and Chas :

- (i) Death compensation has been enhanced from Rs.10000 to Rs.20000 and the additional compensation has already been paid;
- (ii) For many families who had lost the bread-winner, service for another member has been provided;
- (iii) Some of the victims who had lost residential accommodation on account of arson have been provided alternate residence;
- (iv) Some insurance claims which had been repudiated have now been entertained;
- (v) Bank facilities have been extended in some genuine cases;
- (vi) State Government has agreed to provide 1/4 acre of land for locating a Gurudwara demolished during the riots;
- (vii) Death-cum-retirement benefits of several employees in public sector undertakings to their next of kin have been secured.

Letters from the State Government of Bihar in this connection are in Vol. II, Appendix 19 at pages 78-80.

B. At Kanpur :

- (i) Employment for some widows has been secured and/or processed;
- (ii) Banking facilities have been extended and insurance claims have been revived;
- (iii) Death compensation to next of kin not paid earlier has been arranged.

Letters from the State Government of Uttar Pradesh in this connection are in Vol. II, Appendix 18, pages 71-77.

C. At Delhi :

- (i) Accommodation for riot widows has been ensured through Delhi Administration;
- (ii) Quantum of death compensation has been enhanced to Rs.20000 from Rs.10000 and the same has been disbursed;
- (iii) Employment to some youngmen in the families where the bread-winner died during riot has been secured;
- (iv) Banking facilities have been processed.

Letters from the Delhi Administration in this connection are in Vol. II, Appendix 20, pages 81-84.

EPILOGUE

As in nature, so in society nothing happens without a back drop. In some instances, the back ground is in bold relief, perceptibly clear and prominent; in others it is withdrawn and insignificant. The November 1984 riots were no exception. As has repeatedly been canvassed by the State Administrations, events in Punjab including the Operation Blue Star and its aftermath within and outside the country had led to the generation of a peculiar mood among the vast majority of the people. Perhaps the generated bias against the wrong doers of Punjab incidents worked to play to the tune of the anti-social element in transforming exhibition of initial indignation into condemnable and beastly behaviour in course of the riots. The background afforded no justification for all this. The identification of every Sikh with the two assassins of Smt. Gandhi is an unpardonable mistake. If, for instance, instead of the assassins being Sikhs they were Hindus, would the country men have behaved the same way? If not, there was no justification for the riots. The riots have brought about a crack - nay, more than that - perhaps a cleavage cementing of which is posing a serious problem.

The Commission hopes and expects that every group within the Indian society will soon bestow anxious consideration over this obstinate issue, carefully sift the events and experiences and appropriately mould its conduct again to join the national march ahead by forgetting the unpleasant episodes of the cloudy days and looking forward to bright sunshine ahead.

MORE MANPOWER AND REORGANISATION

The second term of reference of the Commission is, "to recommend measures which may be adopted for preventing the recurrence of such incidents" that took place during November 1984 riots in Delhi and Kanpur as also within Bokaro and Chas Tehsils.

The Commission has found that the November riots occurred broadly on account of :

- 1(i). So far as Delhi is concerned, the total passivity, callousness and indifference of the Police in the matter of controlling the situation and protecting the people of the Sikh community within the Union Territory;
- (ii). So far as Kanpur City, Bokaro and Chas Tehsils are concerned, delay in taking effective steps and the police not being as effective as it should have been.
- 2(i). Delay on the part of the Delhi Administration in calling the Army to stand by and to aid and assist it for controlling the situation;
- (ii). Delay on the part of the District Administration in calling in the Army at Kanpur.
3. Improper assessment of the situation by the civil administration at all the places of inquiry and inadequate arrangements to face the challenging situation at each place.
4. Lack of control over the anti-social elements and allowing them to combine, form themselves into riotous groups and taking over control of the situation at Delhi for almost three days, at Kanpur for one and half days and at Bokaro-Chas for a few hours.

5. Identification without least justification of the entire Sikh community with the two assassins of Smt. Gandhi.

Before the Commission, the Delhi Administration took the stand that it had an inadequate police force; the Kanpur District Administration took the stand that its police strength had been depleted on account of deputation of a sizeable part of it to Allahabad and Hindu-Sikh riots being unprecedented, the police and the District Administration were not in a position to comprehend the size and nature of the riots that followed. The Commission has found that the police at Delhi showed total passivity and callous indifference when called upon to perform its duty. The conduct of the Kanpur police though some what better, certainly failed to reach the professional standard. At Delhi and Kanpur the respective administrations canvassed before the Commission that on account of the strength of the riotous crowds far exceeding that of the police, the police could not rise to the occasion and meet the situation. The Commission has not been in a position to accept this stand as a sufficient cause for the conduct exhibited by the police during the riots. The ultimate conclusion of the Commission has been that what mattered was not the number but the will and timely action. At Delhi this appeared to be totally lacking.

Both at Delhi as also at Kanpur within the cities there are cantonments where Army units are posted. The plea taken by the Commissioner of Police at Delhi was that sufficient number of Army personnel was not available. It is a fact that several brigades from the neighbouring cantonments had to be moved there which took some time. At Kanpur there was no necessity to move more Army men from outside but the U.P. Government as also the District Administration of Kanpur

took the stand that the strength of Army personnel available at Kanpur was not adequate. This aspect has also to be taken into account.

The number of law abiding people in the community is gradually getting reduced for reasons which are more than one. It is not possible for any community to have as many policemen as people in the community. How difficult a situation of that type would be can be well imagined if India with a population of 75 crores of people would be required to have an equal number of police men for the purpose of control. Then who will control the police will be an aspect for consideration. Methods of effective control with the minimum strength of the police have, therefore, to be found out.

Anti-social content in the community is on the rise. One of the effects of modern civilization, and particularly industrialisation, is the increase in the number of anti-social population. During any riot this section of the society jumps into the fray to fish in troubled waters. Once a hostile outburst begins and people become aware that there is a crack in the social order that is conducive to the expression of hostility, an interesting phenomenon takes place. A rash or hostile action appears, many of them motivated by hostilities which are not related to the conditions or strains that gave rise to the initial outburst of hostility. This building up effect in which individuals capitalise on the fact that an outburst has occurred, in a hostile crowd situation generally leads to riotous activity. That is exactly what seems to have happened during October-November 1984. The complaint of the victims that the men in the riotous crowds were not mournful but appeared to be in joyful mood and temper while engaging themselves in criminal activities supports the statement. Both effective

and efficient control of the anti-social elements is necessary to keep the community on even keel and avoid recurrence of such riots.

More important than this and a lasting solution would be to render proper attention to the people at large which would bring them up as ideal citizens trained to tolerate differences, prepared to accept the philosophy of 'live and let live', respect each others' religion and foster universal fraternity. Government would not be in a position to undertake the job of training every one in the community and, therefore, it has to be a people's movement and the mass media has to be used in a proper way to fulfil this objective.

The forces that order the life of a small community make the policeman's task much easier. Instead of imposing requirements, the policeman has only to lubricate the mechanisms inherent in social relations and police action is needed only when the informal controls have proved insufficient. The bigger a society becomes, the weaker its self-policing elements are likely to be. In the first place, when people are involved with those whom they are unlikely to meet again, there may seem to be less reward for honest dealing and if one party feels that he has been cheated, there is less chance of his being able to bring informal pressure to bear upon the offender. Most contacts are impersonal and since the parties do not meet in other capacities, the informal controls cannot play so great a part. In the second place, in the larger community the man to man level for meeting does not take place and, therefore, personal relationship does not at all count.

In a modern cosmopolitan city with a large population drawn from different communities with divergent attitudes, customs, habits and way of life there is no social cohesion. Great disparities of education, opportunities and wealth exist.

The growth of population has made life competitive and there is constant clash of interest. In industrial towns peace is disturbed every now and then on account of continuous friction between employer and the workmen. The new generations have no acquaintance with the great traditions of India. Cultural cohesiveness has become a myth of the past. Social control over the individual is almost lost. In such a society every difference is likely to generate friction. Friction gives rise to clash and unrest and disturbs social peace and tranquillity. The demand for police attention in such a society has, therefore, increased almost hundred-fold.

This problem is a universal one. Even in a country like England where freedom has prevailed for many centuries, the standard of living is fairly high, education is widespread, the country is not large in size, the population explosion is not unusually high and until only a few decades back economic prosperity prevailed, there has been a steep rise in crime rates. Taking England and Wales together as shown in Ben Whitaker's "The Police in Society" (1979 Edn.), there used to be 1,00,000 crimes on the annual average between 1900 and 1919. By 1947 soon after the II World War, the rate of annual crimes had reached 5,00,000. By 1971, that figure touched 17,00,000 and by 1978, 26,00,000. The crime digest shows that figure in 1983 was 31,00,000. As in England so in India, there is a menacing rise in crime rates. Many of these crimes have serious social impact.

From the figures quoted below (collected from the Delhi Administration) the position of crime rate at Delhi on annual average is not different :

<u>Year</u>	<u>Murder</u>	<u>Attempt to murder</u>	<u>Theft</u>	<u>Total of all varieties of offences</u>
1960	57	42	5525	10,289
1970	123	135	18,011	31,269
1980	186	264	22,260	37,586
1985	312	257	13,763	30,412

The Commission has elsewhere in this Report indicated the rise in the population of Delhi. When analytically compared it clearly appears that the crime rate shows as steep a rise as the population.

Delhi has been one of the world's fastest growing cities. The annual rise on an average is about 5%. The city limits have also been fast expanding. As already noticed, Delhi had 63 police stations and 25 police posts in November 1984. Proposal for expansion was long pending but no concrete action had been taken. After the riots the inadequacy has been realised and for the present in a phased manner twelve new police stations have been sanctioned and by now all of them have been opened.

The Delhi Police requires both quantitative and qualitative expansion. In a traditional community the auto-lubricating system of policing works. Such is not the position in Delhi. The outlying and less populated areas require more of police attention. The growing population justifies more of police personnel too. The entire Union Territory is getting urbanised. In another decade, or, at any rate by the close of the century, the entire Union Territory of Delhi is perhaps going to have a population of 1.5 crores. 150 police stations on the basis of one police station for a lakh of persons may be the sound basis. Under every police station there should be one or two police posts depending upon the local requirements. Where the area of the police station is compact and well-knit, depending upon past experience, one police station for 1 lakh or even 1,25,000 residents may perhaps work efficiently. Where the area is spread out but the population is not dense there should be a police station on the basis of either 8 sq.km. or population of 75,000. Each police station should have an Inspector as SHO as at present

and there should be another Addl. SHO, 10 Sub-Inspectors, 15 Asstt. Sub-Inspectors, 20 Head Constables and 100 Constables for every police station. These are details which have to be worked out by the Administration. The posts of ASI and Head Constable should be filled up by promotion from Constables and at the stage of recruitment of constables full attention should be given for recruiting people of physical ability, mental capacity, alertness, serviceability and the like. Exhibition of a pronounced sense of duty should be one of the qualifications.

The Inspector should be a person with leadership and capacity to rise to the demands of any occasion. He should be fit enough to ultimately bear the entire responsibility of the residents within his charge so far as law and order is concerned.

The functioning of the Delhi Police requires change and improvement. It should have a metropolitan city set-up and not a State set-up. In 1978, the system of Commissioner of Police was introduced with a view to giving it functional autonomy. But it has not worked up to expectations on account of multiplicity of authorities as also interference and pressure from different sources, particularly in the field of maintenance of law and order. Though multifarious powers are vested in the Commissioner of Police even by statute, he does not have freedom to exercise his authority by taking independent decisions all by himself. Perhaps, if the Commissioner of Police enjoyed the freedom, the riotous situation could have been averted or brought under control more quickly.

In the Union Territory the administration is headed by the Lt. Governor. There is a Chief Executive Councillor and there exists a Metropolitan Council. Matters relating to law and order are discussed in the Council; the Chief Executive Councillor at his level also looks into the problems. The

Commissioner of Police is subject to the administrative control and is answerable to the Home Secretary. As already noticed by the Commission, very often or perhaps always the Home Secretary is a junior officer of the Indian Administrative Service while the Police Commissioner is a very senior officer of the Indian Police Service. This gives rise to a lot of administrative problems and embarrassment. In the Delhi Administration there is also a Chief Secretary. Delhi being a Union Territory and being the capital of the country where the seat of the Central Government is situate, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Union Government plays a considerable part in the functioning of the administration. The agencies to oversee the law and order situation in the Union Territory thus appear to be too many and if the maintenance of law and order has to be made functional, the number of agencies should be reduced and the effective control should be left in the hands of the Police Commissioner and he should be held accountable to the Lt. Governor directly subject, of course, to the constitutional scheme of being overseen by the Union Government. The problems of law and order require quick attention and the bureaucratic control has, therefore, to be reduced by accepting a functional approach and the personal responsibility of the Commissioner of Police as the administrative and functional head of the police force should be increased.

There is rapid expansion of residential areas within the Union Territory. Several new areas have been coming up like Trilokpuri and Kalyanpuri in the East District, Sultanpuri and Mangolpuri in West District. These new colonies bring in tremendous increase of population and require lot of police attention. Not being fully developed areas for habitation there are several problems which would not exist in

developed areas and in the absence of police intervention disturbed situations very often crop up. For policing in these areas special attention becomes necessary.

The Police Commissioner should be left exclusively in charge of law and order and should not be burdened with other duties like attention on dignitaries, of being present at the airport to receive and see off important persons from abroad visiting Delhi, attending meetings not connected with law and order, and the like. For this purpose and other aspects which the Police Commissioner is required to perform either by statute or under administrative rules and directions, an Addl. Police Commissioner should be kept in charge. Every Range or police district should be in charge of an Addl. Commissioner and he should have full responsibility at his level for the maintenance of law and order. Past experience shows that there are certain parts where there is always smoke and fire is apprehended any time. That being the situation, greater attention should be given to those areas and the police should be called upon to play their role not only when trouble starts but throughout the year to ensure local coordination and elimination of sensitiveness and continued prevalence of normalcy. The Addl. Commissioners at the Range level should have effective control over the DCPs below them as also the ACPs and SHOs. Apart from the hierarchical discipline, a moral force and impact should be built up to regulate the relationship of the police authorities.

There should be more frequent meetings between the Addl. Commissioner at the Range level and his officers up to the SHO so that every development of any consequence should be within the direct knowledge of the Addl. Commissioner. Such meetings where the problems are discussed would not only help briefing the Addl. Commissioner in every important matter

but it would also help the SHOs, ACPs and DCPs to be aware of the problem as also the reaction of the authorities. Keeping up such constant touch would generate a feeling of acceptance of the leadership of the Addl. Commissioner and a rapport between all the officers of the different grades and levels so as to bring about the right atmosphere for effective working. The experience of 1984 riots shows that there was almost total lack of communication in many areas. Though every police station had motor vehicles at its disposal which were fitted with wireless sets for contacting the police control room, there was very poor feeding of information and the higher officers who were away from the places of occurrence had no knowledge of the incidents. The Commissioner has found that this situation brought about a lot of difficulties in monitoring control. A more effective system of communication should develop and the importance thereof should be emphasised so that it may not at all be overlooked at the appropriate time. Since the Union Territory is not a very large area and is smaller than many districts in the States, in the event of outbreak of trouble of any intensity, taking of rounds in protected vehicles, if necessary, should be introduced.

In-service training should be insisted upon and made compulsory. It should be strict, practical and utility oriented. Acquaintance with modern and up-to-date gadgets as also handling of new arms should be developed during such training. For that purpose Delhi Police should have actually a model Police Training College as also a Police Training School. Up-to-date facilities should be available in these institutions and greater emphasis should be placed on not only the essential training but also equipping the officers with developed means of control and policing. New techniques of controlling riots and the anti-socials should be brought

home to the police officers. Frequent exercises should be conducted to test the efficiency of police men. All types of new equipments and weapons which are found suitable should be placed at the disposal of the police officers while discharging duty at sensitive points. The Administration must not grudge expenditure. Security is the sine qua non of good government and is also the foundation of all development.

The police throughout the country, and within the Union Territory of Delhi in particular, are called upon to do a lot of miscellaneous jobs. It is a fact that during the British regime the police were an instrument of oppression of the colonial power and traditionally were loyalists of the British masters. When independence came, the police force in India practically became the servant of the people. Its task ceased to be that of ruthlessly maintaining law and order for the benefit of the foreign ruler. While maintaining law and order as servants of the democracy, the police in free India have to be friends and guides of the people. They have to counsel for better and responsible civic life and have to monitor social activities keeping with the taste of the nation. The police have not only to ensure punishment of offenders but have also to help live, guide and counsel the offenders so that today's offenders may be good citizens of tomorrow. These are challenging problems and the police as a service have got to be tuned to these requirements.

Experience shows that places like Delhi and Kanpur should have adequate reserves not only of armed police but also para-military forces. Even the strength of manpower in the cantonment may require to be increased. Recent experience shows that the disharmony in society has become the order of the day. Social tension has increased and every now and then problems of great magnitude occur which unless immediately

attended to and contained are likely to have nation-wide repercussions. Like fire, unless controlled at the earliest, such disturbances are likely to spread and devour every part of the country. Without any loss of time additional force available near about may be commissioned and made effective. The Commission agrees with the principle accepted by the Union Government that the Army should not be deployed too frequently in civil disturbances and, therefore, more of CRPF and BSF personnel should be posted around Delhi as also cities like Kanpur. Riot squad with modern training should be available in riot-prone areas.

The beat system should not only be re-introduced but strengthened. Under the direct control and supervision of a Sub-Inspector attached to the police station, two or four constables in a group and properly armed should be on their regular beats. Several offences take place in broad day light. Taking advantage of the fact that the male member of the family is an office-goer, even in crowded areas where there is lot of movement serious crimes are committed. Beat system, therefore, should not only be resorted to at night but in certain areas it should be continued even during the day. The Constables on beat duty should be kept under watch and there should be proper monitoring. The Commission has recommended separately for building up of a civil protection force in every area. The beat constables must develop proper rapport with them so that they gather information of incidents taking place in their areas and with the help of the local residents they are in a position to exercise their authority in an effective way. The information so collected should be passed on to the police control room in due course for such attention as the information may deserve.

At the police control room a computerised system should be introduced and a set of capable people competent to give instructions and directions must always be available to immediately react to information received from different areas. A squad should be available at the police control room with proper transport arrangement to reach any spot without loss of time to meet any emergency. The police today are called upon to discharge very hazardous jobs. In the seventies, as Whitaker mentions, on the average 700 police men per year received injuries upon assault by the people in England and Wales. In India the figure must be very high. In recent times, hundreds of police men are killed while engaged in discharging duty. One of the demands of the police every where is provision of better conditions of service in recognition of their occupational hazards. The Commission is inclined to agree that there is merit in the stand and Government should consider this aspect favourably so that a better outturn of performance can be obtained.

The Commission is of the view that to keep up the efficiency of the Delhi Police, provision should be made to transfer officers of all cadres of the Police Service excepting Constables, Head Constables and ASIs. In the case of these three categories, transfer should be permitted only when delinquency justifying posting out is established. In order that transfers may be feasible, steps have to be taken to change the Service Conditions and perhaps a combined cadre for the police in the Union Territories may be made. In order that the national capital may have an efficient, effective and model police force, good officers from the State cadres should be brought into it either on deputation or on permanent basis.

The police should enjoy a considerable degree of public confidence as also a measure of real popularity. As Dr. Michael Banton has pointed out :

"A police man is a kind of professional citizen, administering the moral standards defined and accepted by his community. ... He earns public cooperation and esteem by the manner in which he exercises good judgment in performing his duties, and the foundation of his good judgment is an awareness of the public's point of view. He is a Defender of the Peace, more than an Enforcer of the Laws, possessing authority as well as power. His authority gives him the willing obedience of the public, thus including a moral element which compels obedience which is not necessarily rightful. ... He will suppress his personal feelings in disintegrating troubles to identify with his Department if it is committed to professional policing and has a morality of its own. His role should be based upon the moral authority of his office rather than its legal powers."

This would be possible only if the police is free from political interference. Government must realise that the police are meant to serve the community and are not intended to be used for serving the political cause of the party voted to power. The delinking must take place so that the morale of the service may increase and the police man may become and remain accountable for discipline of the force to its authorities and to no other agency.

Better control over anti-social elements is an absolute necessity. Surveillance over bad characters and anti-social elements in Delhi is very out-moded and ineffective. Though history sheets are required to be maintained police-stationwise and each District is supposed to keep a watch over the bad characters living within the district, the system has remained more on paper and there is hardly any effective surveillance. Many of the bad characters live in one district and operate in another; others even live in the neighbouring States and taking advantage of the geographical location they find it easy to operate here. There are several known sensitive spots where almost every day there is some incident. Surveillance at the police station level is totally ineffective when the anti-social operates within another police station. The anti-socials also keep changing their residences with a

view to avoiding the police eye as also for exploring new areas of exploitation. In such circumstances unless control is centralised it is difficult to meet these situations. The police should try to keep the capital of the country free from anti-social elements to so far an extent as possible.

Real and adjudged bad characters should be externed from the capital by appropriate legislation and by exercise of statutory authority. Instances where the police are found to have joined hand with anti-social elements should be drastically dealt with and no mercy should be shown to such police officer - high or low - and a repeated conduct on more than one occasion should bring about dismissal of the police officer from service. The Commission has found several instances of police joining hands with anti-socials to be more or less true and its Investigating Agency has also recorded similar conclusions. The reputation of the police at the national capital cannot be of such low order.

The Commission is alive to the situation that the police are often accused of aggravating and inciting tension. These accusations are often untrue; however, they probably arise because the police are necessarily constantly involved in incidents relating to public order. Ordinarily, they will be blamed by a certain segment of the society for what they have done; and they will be blamed by another segment for what they have not done. Yet, there are occasions when both or all segments of the society do join in recognising their good and timely act.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL AGENCIES

In the rural areas as also small towns local residents organise effective units for maintaining the peace in the area. When there is a problem of law and order, these units on their own, display their strength and play a powerful role in maintaining normalcy so that nothing happens or in case there is some disturbance, in restoring peace. Very often, the local police seek their assistance and utilise their services. Being people of the locality they know the exact sensitive area, issue and persons causing the trouble which disturbs the peace.

The Commission found that during the riots at Delhi, in some of the residential colonies, the local residents had formed similar combines and these succeeded in resisting successive riotous groups from entering into the areas. Often the riotous crowds were greater in number but seeing the local combine they feared to risk a confrontation to be followed, if it became necessary, by a skirmish. In the areas where such local combines had been voluntarily formed, no police or Army assistance was necessary and evidence shows that no incident of any type took place. After the riots, the Delhi Police on experimental basis picked up some members of <sup>the</sup> public on whom powers of the police were conferred and they were required to assist the police. It is said that the experiment has been successful. The local administration should encourage local combines of the type formed during the riots to come up in every convenient area. It should be a combine of able-bodied people drawn from residents of every community inhabiting the area and have some respected people of general acceptance in it. The Administration should recognise such a combine on local basis, encourage the same and if necessary, nourish it casually. This local organisation should be totally free from politics and maintain harmony and friendly relations with similar local organisations around. Apart from operating as

a powerful defensive force at the time of disturbance of the peace, this local organisation can be utilised for various beneficial purposes. The Commission commends to Government that sincere efforts may be made to form such local organisations on experimental basis without loss of time.

City life, exclusive life-style and outlook based upon individualization are factors which are likely to obstruct easy formation of such combines everywhere but if proper motivation is given and due attention is bestowed, such voluntary combines shall soon come into existence and provide a convenient base for community participation in maintenance of social tranquillity.

EDUCATION

The recommendations heretofore made are for provision of physical force to assist the maintenance of social equilibrium by avoiding riots or quelling them by use of force. For civilized human society in a Welfare State some method other than use of brutal force to keep the society on even keel must necessarily be thought of.

Aldous Huxley in his celebrated book "The Human Situation", wrote :

"The end of human life is to realize individual potentialities to their limits, and in the best way possible; and to create a society which makes possible such a realisation. We see that in very many cases, the effort to raise human quality is being thwarted by the mere increase of human quantity; that quantity is very often incompatible with quality. We have seen that mere quantity makes the educational potentialities of the world unrealizable. We have seen that the pressure of enormous numbers upon resources makes it almost impossible to improve the material standards of life, which after all have to be raised to a minimum of any of the higher possibilities have to be realized. Although it is quite true that man cannot live by bread alone, still less can he live without bread; and if we simply cannot provide adequate bread, we cannot provide anything else. Only when he has bread, only when his belly is full, is there some hope of something else emerging from the human situation."

The belly has to be full, otherwise physical existence would be in jeopardy. But without anything more, that would be animal living. Homosapiens are endowed by Nature with destructive traits and qualities. Man has infinite mental capacity and he is capable of having attainment in his own person of the whole range of human potential. The good of the individual has to coincide with the good of all others and of society as such. Karl Marx was right when he raised the slogan 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'.

Through good education, imparted at home, in the educational institution and in the social sphere, the true

element is every man has to be kindled. Today's home, to a large extent, has ceased to offer any useful schooling. The child begins life in a small environment - for the initial few months the mother, perhaps a female attendant in well-to-do families, and occasionally the father, grand parents and some other close relations within a small part of the house constitute its environment. Very young though, the child has still immense human capacities and starts its process of silent learning from the environment. As it grows, the environmental sphere expands. In the first three or four years which are indeed the crucial years of its life, the child is ordinarily in the family atmosphere and elder members of the family, the mother being the first among them, are the people who play the role of teachers. First impressions last long. The foundation of growth in life with growing age is laid in these first few years in the backdrop of the family environment.

Today the family environment is in bad shape. In a large number of families, the mother takes to employment ordinarily to support the family. Often, the justification is her anxiety to have economic independence. The father is fully occupied in collecting sustenance for the family and has no time to bestow upon the child. If the mother is not away from home being in employment, she keeps herself occupied otherwise at home and is either not in a position or does not feel called upon to give constant company to the child. The home-schooling for the child is thus totally unattended. The unlimited capacities innate in the child do not get the outlet to open up and become functional in a properly guided way.

Around the age of 3 or 4, the child starts going to school. More than eighty per cent of the children in India live in rural areas. The primary schools do not provide the

requisite environment for learning. The teacher is often ill-equipped and does not have the capacity to attend to the tender mind. Very often the inquisitive search of the young beginner is visited with punishment and this has the effect of closing the half-open mental door. Very many schools have either no teachers or inadequate teacher-strength. In many educational institutions the teacher's representative plays the role of the teacher. Occasionally different people - very often without the necessary qualification - play the proxy depending upon availability. The primary stage is the foundation-laying period in the life of the young one. At this stage, the young mind is totally receptive and open to moulding. Take the case of a master earthen pot maker. He prepares the clay after removing every rubble; upon mixing requisite quantity of water he makes quality paste and from out of it, his deft hands make water jars. After the mould is given and the desired thing is given proper shape, the same is burnt and is ready for use. Every customer before purchase gives the jar a test by filling it with water. If it is found to be leaking, the jar has no market and it is condemned. The craftsman finds that he had failed to notice the presence of a rubble in the clay and when that came on the jar and remained, in the process of burning a crack developed and water leaked from that point. If the rubble had been removed when the clay was prepared into paste or when the jar was made ready but had not been burnt, the same could have been removed and with a bare touch with a little pressure, the deft figures would have set the situation right.

The teacher, be it at home or at school, is expected to play the role of the craftsman. The child is at the clay-paste stage. It comes to school for removal of rubbles. If the teacher fails to detect the presence of the rubble and have it to be removed in the process of schooling, the young one in due course would enter into society with the defect. Society does not have the test undertaken by the customer

prior to the purchase of the jar. The net result, therefore, is the introduction of an undesirable person into society.

When the country's future citizens are in the making, the teacher has no personality of his own to place before the young ones to be emulated. Unless the teacher is an embodiment of human virtues and by allowing exposure of himself and his qualities to the young students he is able to act as a model for them to imbibe, real primary schooling is not imparted. At the primary stage foundation of the life's course has to be laid. Lessons through story-telling relating to indisputable human qualities like love for truth, respect for elders, tolerance of all, consideration for every one, kindness to animals, affection for fellow-beings, a sense of patriotism, firm faith in God and the like help easy pick up and assimilation at this age. The child has the natural instinct of absorbing what is told to it and since it has an impressionable mind, pick up is both easy and lasting; special attention should be given at that stage to ensure a neat and clean environment and allow total exposure of its mind. Article 45 of the Constitution envisaged that by 1960, full and compulsory education for all children until completion of the age of fourteen years should have been provided by the State. This has not yet been possible in spite of serious and sincere attempts of Governments. It is difficult to visualise an India of some future date where every citizen would have had schooling up to the age of fourteen. Even if that type of education still remains a far-cry, real emphasis should be on the primary stage.

No education can be said to be appropriate unless it is grounded upon a moral base. The Central Advisory Board on Education as early as 1944 recommended :

"While they recognise the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building of character, the provision for such teaching, excepting in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular instruction, should be the responsibility of the home and the community to which the pupils belong."

The University Education Commission (1948-49) observed :

"Religion is a permeative influence, a quality of life, an elevation of purpose, and to be secular is not to be religiously illiterate. It is to be deeply spiritual and narrowly religious. ...

The attempt to make students moral and religious by the teaching of moral and religious text books is puerile. To instruct the intellect is not to improve the heart. ... Our attempt should be to suggest and persuade, not command or impose. The best method of suggestion is by personal example, daily life and work, and books read from day to day."

The Commission was of the opinion that 'inculcating social, moral and spiritual values indispensable for making good citizens should be the obligation of the State.

The Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) believed that religious and moral behaviour spring from the influence of the home, the influence of the school, and the influence exercised by the public. These, however, can be supplemented only to a limited extent by properly organised moral instructions dwelling on the lives of stalwarts of all times and of all classes. It pointed out that one serious defect in the school curriculum is the absence of provision for education in social, moral and spiritual values.

The Education Commission (1964-65) recommended that conscious and organised attempts should be made for imparting education in social, moral and spiritual values with the help, wherever possible, of ethical teachings of great religions. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore wrote in Bodher Sadhana : "We must constantly remember that neither the education of the senses, nor the education of the intellect, but the education of the feeling should receive the place of honour in our schools."

Moral values particularly refer to the conduct of man towards man in the various situations in which human beings

come together. It is essential that from the earliest childhood, moral value should be inculcated in everyone. The home has to be influenced to begin with. Habits, both of mind and body, formed in the early years at home, persist and influence our life afterwards. Good manners are a very important outcome of moral education. It is not unusual that when a people attain freedom suddenly after long years of bondage, they are inclined to become self-willed, arrogant and inconsiderate. In such situations, good manners are easily set aside and young people tend to express the first flush of freedom in license and rowdism. A look at Indian society today shows how prophetic were the words written two decades back.

The importance of good manners cannot be overstressed. These impose proper restraint on the person and take away harshness in speech and rudeness in behaviour. Good manners are often said to be the oil that helps to keep the machine of human society running smoothly. Good manners have to be restored to the living process in order that life may be graceful. By example and precept only good manners can be inculcated.

Just as moral values regulate the relation between man and man, so do spiritual values regulate the individual's relation with himself. As has been rightly pointed out : "The individual is not only a body; he is also a soul. He does not live by bread alone; he wants inner peace and happiness. If he loses all spiritual values, he would no more be at peace with himself. It is necessary to have faith in something beyond the flesh, some identification with a purpose greater than oneself in order to achieve mental equilibrium."

Patriotism should have the primary place in the catalogue of spiritual values. India had been conceived as an organic entity when our forefathers carried on the freedom

struggle. They suffered all sorts of harassments in the hands of the British rulers and many made the supreme sacrifice of parting with their lives for the cause of the mother land. The picture of India as a living mother must have to be drawn in the mind of every citizen of this country. He must be taught to accept the position upon true conviction that for protecting the integrity of mother India, it is the duty of every citizen, if necessary, to sacrifice his life. Patriotic literature must form part of the curriculum in schools and colleges. Education should foster a burning love for the mother-land together with an ardent desire to serve one's fellow beings. Education should leave the indelible impression on every one that anything that helps man to behave properly towards others is of moral value and anything that draws one out of himself and gives the inspiration to sacrifice for the good of others is of spiritual value. A system of education which fails to teach this aspect is not worth the name.

The greatest of today's needs for India is to bring forth into action our capacity to hold together as a nation in the midst of diversity of language, caste and religion. Our unity has to be based upon a conscious common cultural heritage and acceptance of a common goal to reach. As long as we were fighting the freedom struggle, a common ground overcoming demarcating lines of differences had been evolved and the common goal of turning the foreign ruler away and freeing the mother-land from the shackles of bondage held us together. Once freedom was achieved, the cohesiveness of purpose was gone and no new goals attracting the imagination and spirit of the common man had been set to keep us together. Maintaining freedom, once it is won, is indeed a challenging job. That is not the exclusive concern of the Government of the country. That is the return every citizen who breathes the air of freedom has to make.

The school program has to be designed to awaken in every student an awareness of national integrity, community living, fostering of the democratic spirit, respect and tolerance for every religion, universal fellow-feeling, and a genuine liking for Indianness. Emphasis on development of these aspects while selecting text book material, in class teaching as also during extra-curricular activities, must be placed. Care should be taken to find out teachers who would by their living method present an ideal model for the students to emulate.

The Seventh Plan which closed with 1985 had indicated that attention should be paid to all young children during their crucial development years up to the age of five. The early childhood stage is the period of maximum learning and intellectual development of the child and hence of great potential educational significance. An evaluation must now be made as to how much of the target set in the Seventh Plan has been achieved.

In the Constitution, the makers very appropriately adopted the position that India would not have any State religion. In a country with segments of the population following almost every religion known to the world the position could not be anything different. This constitutional philosophy necessarily led to incorporation of provisions contained in Articles 25 to 30 under the heading "Right to Freedom of Religion". Article 25 guarantees to all persons freedom of conscience and the right freely, to profess, practice and propagate religion subject to the hedging provided therein. Article 28 envisages that no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds. Dispute arose as to what exactly was covered by the phrase "religious instruction".

Courts soon rightly drew the distinction between religious and moral education. They held that moral education dissociated from any denominational doctrine did not come within the prohibition. They also held that academic study of the teaching and philosophy of any great saint of India such as Guru Nanak or Mahavir and the impact thereof on the Indian and world civilization could not be considered as religious instruction. This interpretation was not taken into account and properly utilised. In the post constitutional era, all books intended to be read by young people in India got eliminated of reference to religion and religious leaders. Today, Rama, Krishna, Mohammad, Jesus, Gautam and Mahavir have become strangers to young people and in them these names create no reaction except recalling to their mind persons bearing such names within their ken. All religions accept certain conduct as virtuous and emphasize upon man maintaining the unseen link with his Creator.

To emphasize these as a part of the education program cannot hit the constitutional mandate. On the other hand, without fruitful lessons of good conduct and imbibing some or all of them as part of life's process, no education would be useful and no life can be successful. Into the reading material and the curriculum, lessons of good living, lives of great men, a sense of idealism and faith in an unseen superior force must get restored if the quality of life has to improve. Scientific temper as contemplated in Article 51A(h) of the Constitution certainly has its place. But beyond all sciences, man must repose his ultimate sense of confidence in an unseen force. A civilization with philosophy that what is not seen is not acceptable suffers from inadequacies and that is what has happened to the western civilization

today. Several visible phenomena science fails to explain; yet they exist and even regulate the course of human life. Divinity is not any religion, it is the foundation of all religions and is perhaps the life force of creation. Every person in the community must take lessons in divinity (not as part of any known religion) and sincerely attempt to establish link with his mentor. Today's education provides a large amount of knowledge but not the requisite wisdom. When knowledge is transformed into experience wisdom comes. What is, therefore, necessary is to provide opportunity at every level to students to transform their knowledge into a series of experiences - exclusively their own. When this situation comes, the sense of a surcharged feeling comes and leaves an unforgettable impression on the mind. Education must help build bridges between art and science; between objectively observed facts and immediate experience; between morals and scientific appraisals. There are all kinds of bridges to be built. Once a matter is read and assimilated, it must be something more than what has been read - it has to become a part of a living experience - represent a bridge to cross-over to the other side for exploring the great empire that lies beyond.

Education must assist total development of the personality latent in every man and give him a personal philosophy totally his own. While such philosophy should be generally in tune with the national ideal and philosophy, it must have touches purely personal to the person whose philosophy of life it be. Education must generate a balanced out-look of life in keeping with the spirit of the nation as also the national goal. It must inculcate in every person a sense of respect for human life and other rights of citizens. Gandhiji, father of the Nation, aptly indicated that no man has the right to destroy anything in this world which he is

incapable of producing. Since man cannot create human life, what right has he to destroy it? Great emphasis must be laid on formation of character and due stress be given to obtaining of practical experience of knowledge. Once these are done, the desired transformation is bound to come.

Several generations educated on lines different from this method have come into Indian society since independence. Their reformation would be an uphill task. It is perhaps expedient that attention is bestowed on the new generations. Once the proper spirit is generated, every man's conscience will do the policing and no outside agency will be required. The policing by conscience will be unfailing and there would be no apprehension of a repeated exhibition of sluggish and betraying conduct as appeared during the 1984 riots.

A COMMON CODE OF CONDUCT

Writing the Preface to Professor Weeramantry's

"The Law in Crisis", Lord Denning has said :

"Civilized society appears to be disintegrating. Minorities openly defy the law for their own ends. Terrorists seize hostages and threaten to kill them. Workmen set up picket lines outside power stations and threaten to bring the country to a stand still; students occupy buildings and prevent the running of their Universities. Only too often their threats succeed. The peaceful majority give in. They surrender.

Moral and spiritual values too appear to be at a low ebb. The sanctions of religion have lost their force. Schools and teachers take much interest in social sciences. They explain how people behave. They seek to help the misfits. But they do not set forth standards of conduct. They do not tell people how to behave."

Who must then tell the people how to behave ?

Scriptures have prescribed the codes of conduct. Different religions have different scriptures but interestingly most, nay, all the religions harp upon the same virtues for adoption in life and commend acceptance thereof. Like all the rivers that originate from one source carry the same water, all religions originating from Divinity carry essentially the same message. A code of conduct acceptable to all religions can be evolved without much of difficulty and the same should be the code for the Indian society and every Indian must be required to fall in line with it.

Social conduct is not being enforced today on account of failure to identify what exactly it is. Again, the moral fabric having disappeared, the censure of either of individual or social conscience does not operate. The law still continues to be different on many aspects <sup>from</sup> what social conduct would warrant it to be and even in the covered field, enforcement is poor and ineffective. The code of conduct (including decency) should be universally taught - at home, in school, in the establishments - private and public - and every where in the

community.. Awareness is the first step. Most people would be abiding. Those who fail should be subjected to enforcement.

Without community discipline, no national character can be built up. And without national character, a nation cannot indeed progress.

The mass media has a large role to play in this regard and the commission proposes to deal with the same next.

MASS MEDIA

The Commission proposes to briefly deal with five agencies of mass media in chronological order on the basis of their period of introduction into society :

- (i) Books, magazines, periodicals and journals;
- (ii) Newspapers;
- (iii) Cinema;
- (iv) Radio;
- (v) Television.

Mankind has another fundamental need beyond the physical requirement of food and shelter - the need to communicate with fellow human beings. The urge for communication is a primal one and in our contemporary civilization, a necessity for survival.

Nature has endowed man with the capacity of benefiting from the experience and knowledge gathered by others. Beginning from the primitive man's discovery of fire to the latest scientific inventions based upon years of research, the direct experience of the people that pioneered the events are being made available through books and other literature in writings of others. Starting with palm leaves to write upon with the help of iron nails, man has reached refinements of great degrees.

Writings cover a wide range - prose, poetry, essays and the like - and are the carrier of human thought. Government of the day would find it difficult to control and regulate literary activities though it can certainly motivate the authors, poets and literary critics to ordinarily follow the approved track adopting the national code of conduct of decency and ethics which of course eulogise patriotism, shun violence, condemn terrorism and the like. They should accept the obligation of not disturbing the national ethos while giving expression to their thoughts. A good and well written book generates the true spirit when properly read and

assimilated. Some good books leave indelible impression that last for life. Such books should be put into large circulation and some of them have to be made a must in every curriculum and later picked up as life's constant companions. These books when read and re-read bring in new openings of human thought and help revelation of the real truth. Every author while enjoying full liberty to express his genuine thoughts, should have the obligation to keep up to the approved standards of decency and not to affect the social ethos of the nation.

Newspapers are a very powerful media for formulation of opinion and in the matter of educating the people. By circulating information about the incidents taking place all over the world they help the reader in keeping himself informed. They also help the reader to have a formulated opinion about problems he faces or is likely to face. The spying eyes of the newspapers very often help the truth about many public issues being discovered. Except for booming or under-rating, newspapers do perform a great social service. In a free country with independence of Press, this media plays a great role in formation of public opinion so much necessary for the proper functioning of the democracy. Newspapers with all their freedom otherwise must also remain bound by the code of national conduct and decency. While observing these, they must publicly support them and create the taste for their universal acceptance. Every one in the country - be it Government or the opposition, employer or employee, teacher or student, businessman or cultivator - must accept the code of conduct and look for enforcement of his rights only after he has performed his duties. India, the great country of ours, belongs to all of us and every citizen is entitled to live here assured of all the rights.

The Press must take upon itself the task of creating the true national spirit. When it comes to the question of national interest, every one, including political parties, must keep the issues above personal, parochial, sectional or party interest. In India, unlike some other countries, the Press is not State owned though some news agencies are. The national code of conduct and decency should be accepted by the Press and enforced through the Press Council wherever necessary. The Press should not even grudge a suitable legislation, if thought proper. It may be reiterated that the national code should be above party considerations and every - one, irrespective of political affiliations, position held and other considerations, should be bound to adopt and follow the same. A powerful moral force should be built up which no one - low or high - would dare ignore and exhibit contrary conduct.

The cinema initially introduced in the thirties of this century as silent motion pictures, has expanded into big business throughout the country. Once confined to cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for the purposes of production of cinematograph films, scores of new centres have now developed and today the annual outturn of production in every language runs into dozens of films. Advancement of science has brought several new techniques into the industry. In view of the large profits this business started returning, it attracted many talented people in every direction of it and exhibition halls spread into every nook and corner of the country. The cinema soon pushed out the theatre and the stage is finding it difficult to maintain itself today.

The film industry all over the world is a very powerful one - more so in the field of influencing the masses. Perhaps till now in India films continue to be the largest entertainer. The impact of the cinema is both quick and deep on the viewer.

Matinee idols grow in the film world and they introduce new fashions in looks, in make up, in dress, in walking style and the like. Overnight hundreds of thousands of people adopt these innovations and new fashions become current and spread. The Hindi film Sholay introduced a new style of assault. In several parts of India soon after the exhibition of this film the manner of assault also changed and adopted the film style.

The impact of the cinema on the mass mind is indisputable. Through films many good things can be brought home to millions of cinema goers and without any additional labour, expense and involvement of time the desired switch over can be achieved. Instead of any useful contribution from the films, society suffers today from the adverse effects. Most of the films exhibit pictures of chaotic living, feuds and challenge to social order. Action stories narrating disorderly lives, criminal activity, killing and rank terrorism become box office hits. Film Censoring has been debated over four decades. Government have appointed Committees and set up expert bodies. Many have a feeling that censoring is not on proper lines. Appropriate guidelines are to be fixed up and the same have to be strictly enforced. Entertainment need not be the sole consideration of the film industry. Education along with entertainment is a better goal. Lives of great men, stories with a lesson to learn, portrayal of patriotic acts and heroism, exhibition of character, victory of virtue over vice and the like can very usefully form the subject-matter of films for exhibition to the Indian community. Government may sponsor and encourage films on these lines. No film without an ultimate moral to tell or exhibiting vandalism and meaningless killings should be allowed to be screened. Writing about violence in cinema, Philip French wrote in "The Twentieth Century" (Winter 1964-65) :

"One can have lived the quietest of lives and yet feel that through the cinema one has looked upon the face of war and civil disruption, participated in bank robberies and murder, witnessed a hundred gun-fights and brutal assaults. Of all aspects of the cinema, the treatment of violence is perhaps the most complex, controversial, and in many ways central. It is only equalled as a controversial issue by the often closely related question of sex. The extreme views of its effects are on the one hand those of certain social observers who see it as one of the principal causes of crime and delinquency, and on the other of those psychologists who believe that it plays an almost essential cathartic role in diminishing aggression."

When society is at a breaking point it should be the obligation of Government to ensure that nothing is done which adds to its woe. There is perhaps a lot of pressure from the industry in support of the demand for more of freedom and less of regulation. To concede freedom and allow the industry to earn profits by producing and exhibiting box-office hits regardless of social suffering as a direct outcome thereof and invest endless energy and resources to eradicate the effect by stamping out the same are meaningless purposes. The wrong side easily picks up and the filth introduced by the undesirable films will require herculean efforts for countervailing the situation. No community can tolerate such a position. This is an aspect which should engage immediate attention of Government.

The remaining two mass media agencies - so far as India is concerned, totally controlled by the Central Government - are the All India Radio and Doordarshan.

The All India Radio is just completing 50 years of its existence. Since independence there has been considerable expansion and the Radio has come closer to the common man. Progress of science has helped manufacture of cheap receiving sets. Government have also abolished the licence fee for sets with single or two bands. Such receiving sets are now found everywhere. With the increase in the broadcasting stations (while in 1947 there were 6, in June 1986 their number is 91), the entire country has now come within the reach of

All India Radio.

The programming pattern must now change. It must take over the responsibility of feeding the proper material to the young minds. In the recent past the commercial service of All India Radio (Vividh Bharati) has helped spread of cine music and most of the people possess a receiving set to tune in to such music. Some music is perhaps understandable but both the regular as also the commercial service must take upon themselves the responsibility of covering nation building programs. For the last one year or so, there is some move in this regard. There is some emphasis on national integration; some on social welfare and on depiction of sacrifices for good causes.

The Commission was told by the Director-General of All India Radio that All India Radio programming is done to meet the motto of "inform, educate and entertain". The commercial service emphasises entertainment. The regular service handles information and education. Education is all important provided it has the proper orientation. Every item should have the aim of igniting in the listener either one or more of the following - a burning sense of patriotism, of holding the nation and the country together, of building up character and of improving the level of the life of the individual and of the society. All India Radio enjoys the position of monopoly. It does not have to cater to the demands of the listening public; on the other hand it is in a position to mould their taste. This need not be done suddenly and in a perceptible manner. On the other hand, the designing hands of the experts can slowly tune the listeners' mind to the new pattern All India Radio develops.

Doordarshan is the latest in the field. The first centre opened at Delhi in September 1959. Today there are 16 programming centres and 174 transmitting centres and as the Director-General of Doordarshan claims, coverage of Doordarshan net work is of 250 million people living in different parts

of the country.

Television has perhaps the greatest of influence on the viewer. While seeing a film at an exhibition hall could be a selective act and children could be left behind if the film to be seen was not suitable for them, that does not apply to the television. Usually the television is placed either in the drawing room or the bed room of the house where conditions permit that type of living. Otherwise the TV is found in the one-roomed apartment used by all the members of the family including children. Almost similar is the case even in a two-roomed apartment. The television programs are more seen by children than elders. Long before the office-goer father returns home or the mother is released from her household activities or she too returns from her office, the children gather before the TV and start witnessing the programs. A well-placed father told the Commission in casual conversation that TV has distracted the attention of the children from studies; another, this time a University Professor, remarked that if the children showed half the sense of regularity they exhibit for the TV programs in regard to their studies, they would do an excellent job. The Commission does not claim any expertise on the subject now being dealt with but the evil effects of TV viewing on a young mind require to be indicated. In the United States of America this aspect has been examined on more than one occasion. TV came to the States at least one score of years before it appeared in India.

Some of the major researchers had indicated that there existed a strong relationship between filmed violence and human behaviour. Earlier the U.S. Senate Committee in its interim report in 1968 had come to the same conclusion :

"A relationship has been conclusively established between televised crime and violence and anti-social attitudes and behaviour among juvenile viewers.

Television programs which feature excessive violence can and do adversely influence children. Further such adverse effects may be experienced by normal as well as by the emotionally disturbed viewers."

Dr. Albert Bandura of Stanford University and Dr. Leonard Berkowitz of Wisconsin University made deep studies on this subject and their report shows that normal persons who see violent films exhibit violent behaviour and that violent presentations can induce aggressive behaviour on the part of any one. Violence in films is most dangerous to young children.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence which conducted an in-depth investigation of violence on TV concluded thus :

"The preponderance of the available evidence strongly suggests, however, that violence in TV programs can and does have adverse effects upon audiences - particularly child audiences. TV enters powerfully into the learning process of children and teaches them a set of moral and social values about violence which are inconsistent with the standards of a civilised society."

From the U.S. Congressional Records the following proceedings may be usefully extracted :

"TV's ability to influence the behaviour of its viewers can hardly be disputed. Advertising firms spend 2½ billion dollars a year on that assumption. The high paid corporate officers of the network enthusiastically agree with them; yet they react with feigned surprise when any one suggests that their programs on violence influence young people. ... By the time the average American child reaches the age of 15, he has witnessed 18,000 individual murders on the TV set. This does not include the beatings, stabbings, muggings, rapes and other forms of mayhem mayhem connected by our image makers, in the TV film factories."

Then came the report of the Surgeon General Commission which attempted to minimise the baneful influence of TV. The conclusions of the report were challenged on many scores.

Congressman John M. Murphy referring to that report said :

"... They (Congressmen) were deeply convinced that the constant display of violence on the news media has serious effects on the young; that children and teenagers become convinced of the proposition that might constitute right; that law can but be enforced by a pointed gun, a knife or a fist."