

Report of the Roundtable Conference on Police Reforms

Chennai, August 30, 2003



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Introduction.....

Police reform is of importance to everyone as functioning of the police affects us directly or indirectly in some way or the other.¹ It is of significance to the country too, as nations where rule of law and access to justice prevail are known to figure high in the human development index. It is in this context that we have to examine the role and functioning of law enforcement agencies namely the police.²

CHRI as part of its efforts to promote debate on vital issues concerning the police organised a Roundtable on Police Reforms in partnership with the Southern India Chambers of Commerce and Industry (SICCI) at Chennai on 30th August 2003. The Roundtable was designed to be a dialogue among peers where people from all walks of life - former bureaucrats, judges, academics, politicians, police officers, press, civil society, trade unions and minority group representatives came together to chart a path for police reform to follow.³ The idea was to find solutions rather than merely discuss problems or apportion blame.⁴

The basic objectives of the Roundtable were:-

- Identifying areas in need of reform
- exploring mechanisms to usher in the desired reforms; and
- charting a course of action to galvanise movement towards reform.

The major recommendations / highlights of the Roundtable were: -

- The police must be insulated from arbitrary and illegitimate control exercised by politicians and others.
- The new Police Bill that is being formulated by the government must become law only after it has been subjected to a process of public consultation.
- The Police Act must incorporate principles of democratic policing.
- Institutional arrangements must be made to ensure that police performance is monitored and evaluated on a continuous basis. The government should set up a Police Performance Evaluation Board on the lines suggested by the National Police Commission. In any case, a

¹ Mr. N. Vital, ex Central Vigilance Commissioner

² Mr. S. Ramanathan, Vice President SICCI

³ Mr. Henry Tiphange, Director People's Watch, Tamil Nadu

⁴ Ms. Maja Daruwala, Director CHRI

specially constituted citizens' committee to be called a Public Safety Committee should start doing this work.

- Besides strengthening the internal accountability mechanisms, a Police Complaints Authority should be set up.
- An understanding that the impetus for legislative change to usher in police reforms will come through public opinion built up by a mass movement.
- There must be greater involvement and participation of the community in policing activities.
- There is considerable scope for the police department to undertake reform initiatives within the existing framework of laws. The police must do some soul searching to identify reasons for its poor image amongst the public and take corrective steps on its own.

The Issues.....

At the beginning of the Conference, participants were asked to list out the issues requiring priority attention.

Politicisation of the police

There was overwhelming agreement that the police had been unduly politicised and that police officers' functioning was governed more by considerations of political expediency rather than those of strict adherence to law.⁵ This has negative repercussions.⁶ The participants felt that political interference into police functioning had often gone way beyond what was reasonable and legitimate.⁷ For any meaningful reforms, the police must be freed from arbitrary and uncalled for control by the political establishment.⁸

The Roundtable discussed three issues that are directly linked to politicisation of the police. These are:

Merit based selection of the Head of Police

The selection of the Director General of Police in a state is often carried out arbitrarily and subjectively. His selection depends on how compliant, subservient and useful he would prove to the party in power.⁹ One of the first acts of a newly elected Chief Minister invariably is to remove the existing head of police and appoint "his/her man" for the job. The National Police Commission was alive to this issue and recommended that the selection of the head of police be done from a panel of three IPS officers prepared by a committee headed by the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission.¹⁰

Objectivity in allocation of postings

Postings to key positions in the state police are again governed not so much by merit but by extraneous considerations. Officers affiliated with the opposition or

⁵ Mr. T. Anantachari ex DG BSF

⁶ Mr. C.V. Narasimhan ex Director CBI

⁷ Mrs. Maja Daruwala

⁸ Mr. P.R. Ambrose, ex Home Secretary Tamil Nadu

⁹ Mr. P.R. Ambrose

¹⁰ NPC Second Report, 1979

having no overt political affiliation are often shunted to so called insignificant or ‘punishment postings.’

Security of tenure

There is no fixed tenure for police officers. Therefore as soon as an officer refuses to toe the line of political bosses s/he is shifted from the post to accommodate someone more malleable. This erodes integrity and discipline within the police and discourages honest and upright officers who wish to follow the letter and spirit of law.¹¹

Need for attitudinal change

The image of the police in the eyes of the common person is very low¹². The police are being increasingly seen as corrupt and brutal especially by economically weaker sections, vulnerable groups and minorities who are at the receiving end of deviant police behaviour. The traditional stereotype of police personnel who exercise their authority by instilling fear needs to be replaced with an image that inspires confidence in the minds of the public.¹³ The police must realise that they have to work towards securing justice to people.¹⁴ Attitudinal and behavioural issues must be addressed.¹⁵

Three groups that are particularly vulnerable and have to bear the brunt of deviant police behaviour are:

Women

Women are often at the receiving end of police brutality. The police is perceived to be a male dominated and patriarchal organisation. The ratio of women police to male police is 1: 52¹⁶ while the nationwide sex ratio is 933: 1000.¹⁷ There is urgent need for gender balancing within the police as women in our cultural context find it extremely difficult to go to a male police officer if they have a problem. They identify themselves more comfortably with women police officers who are rare to find.¹⁸

¹¹ Prof. N. Manohar, Head in Charge, Dept. of Legal Studies University of Madras

¹² Mr. K. Srinivasan, Chairman Power Point Foundation

¹³ Mr. Vijay Kumar Bafna

¹⁴ Dr. V. Suresh, Gen Secy PUCL

¹⁵ Mr. M.H. Jawahariullah, President Tamil Nadu Muslim Munnetra Kazhagam

¹⁶ Crime in India 2000 National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs

¹⁷ Census of India 2001

¹⁸ Ms. Geeta Madhavan,

Minorities

The police is increasingly seen as a partisan organisation that is institutionally discriminative towards minorities. The fact that they are inimical to minorities has been borne out time and again by various commissions of enquiry into communal riots. This was proved recently by what happened in Gujarat. The police must show minorities that once they don their uniform, they rise above narrow religious differentiations and can be expected to act impartially.¹⁹ A common complaint is that rather than being a protective agency against communal strife, the police are feared by minorities even during normal times.

Socially and economically disadvantaged groups

Members of scheduled castes/tribes and other vulnerable sections of society fear the police and there is a deep sense of alienation amongst them as they feel that the police is an instrument of repression used by dominant classes to further their interests and maintain iniquities in society. Distrust of the police by tribals and disadvantaged groups prevents them from approaching the police.²⁰

Use of police resources

A major concern expressed by the participants was that the resources of the police were stretched beyond limits by assigning it new roles. Security considerations often put heavy strain on the scarce resources of the police and this leads to weakening, if not the neglect, of their traditional role.²¹

Participants were of the view that deployment of the police in the following two activities was causing undue strain on the police apparatus:

VIP security

The deployment of the police on V.I.P security duties prevents them from concentrating on their core functions.²² Law and order *bandobast* and guarding form a major chunk of police activities.²³ Security arrangements for VIP visits throw the whole police administration of a district in a flutter and ordinary

¹⁹ Mr. M.H. Jawahariullah

²⁰ Mr. Anthony K. Saran

²¹ Rear Admiral Mohan Raman, Catalyst Trust

²² Mr. P.R. Ambrose

²³ Rear Admiral Mohan Raman

citizens are forced to fend for themselves²⁴ as officers especially at the cutting edge level are unavailable to tackle the needs of the general public.

Counter-terrorism operations

Civil police is not designed to tackle organised militant activity. With the growing incidence of terrorism and insurgency in the country, the police is being increasingly deployed in situations that it is not fully equipped to handle. It is time to think about creating a separate force for countering terrorism and insurgency, which will free the police to perform its mandated duties.²⁵

Lack of responsiveness towards the community

The police is not responsive to people's needs and tends to function independently of society.²⁶ Police persons must see themselves as the regulating arm of society.²⁷ There is a need to usher in people-oriented policing which essentially means establishing greater and increasing contacts with the public²⁸ and involves community participation in policing at planning, implementation and follow-up stages.

Public dissatisfaction with police functioning is due to:

Lack of community consultation

Police hierarchies often impose policing strategies in an area based on their exclusive evaluation of the law and order/security requirements. There is no consultation with the public about their needs. There is a perceptible lack of institutionalized interaction between the police and the community. This may be a legacy of the colonial origins of the Indian police. Even after 56 years of independence, police strategies are still not being tailored to people's needs after due consultation. The police must listen to public voices.²⁹

People's involvement in policing

Involvement of the community in policing functions is minimal. People have a very limited role to play in an activity that affects them the most. People should

²⁴ Mr. N. Vital

²⁵ Mr. B.S. Raghavan ex Policy Advisor to the U.N

²⁶ Dr. M. Anandakrishnan, Chairman, Madras Institute of Development Studies

²⁷ Mr. R. Swaminathan ex DG (Security) Government of India

²⁸ Mr. B.S. Raghavan

²⁹ Col. Srikrishnan

be allowed to evolve their own system of policing³⁰ as they best understand the needs of their community. The argument that people do not come forward to assist the police is hollow as engagement of communities with the police can only come about if the image of the police is friendly.

Police accountability

Last but certainly not the least and perhaps the issue that was at the forefront of everyone's mind was the question of police accountability. An overwhelming majority of the participants felt that police accountability was an area requiring urgent intervention as ineffectiveness of accountability mechanisms was directly contributing to a culture of impunity. The conference expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of openness displayed by the police establishment in disclosing action taken against police personnel guilty of misconduct or negligence. The necessity for people to know about disciplinary action against errant police personnel was stressed, as transparency of accountability mechanisms would go a long way in inspiring public confidence and in improving police image.³¹

³⁰ Mr. Anthony K.Saran

³¹ Mr. Sreeram Panchu

The Solutions.....

While frustration and discontent about police functioning is widespread, participants did make suggestions about the lines on which reforms in the police should be introduced.

Changing the Act

Why the police Act of 1861 will not do?

The existing Police Act of 1861 was introduced in the aftermath of the First War of Independence or Mutiny of 1857. The Indian police was set up to function as the coercive arm of the imperial government.³² The provisions of the Police Act of 1861 are in conflict with principles of democratic policing. It vests the superintendence of the police in the State Government but does not define the word “superintendence”³³ giving it discretionary powers which have been abused.³⁴ The present Act does not recognize the responsibility of the government to establish an efficient and people friendly police.³⁵

The need to replace the old and archaic Police Act with a new piece of legislation requiring the police to be professional, service oriented, accountable and free from illegitimate extraneous influence was recognised at the Roundtable. It was realised that if Reforms are to be meaningful and enduring, they must be brought about through legislative change.

The National Police Commission (NPC) drafted a Model Police Bill in 1981 to replace the old Act, which has not been accepted by the state governments. Some state governments have realised the need to enact new legislation in place of the 1861 Act and have taken initiatives in this direction. For instance, the Government of Tamil Nadu has constituted a committee to suggest a new Police Act. Fresh legislation must reflect on the paramount obligation of the police to function according to the requirements of the Constitution, law and democratic aspirations of the people. The new Act should be geared towards converting the existing regime police force into a democratic police service.

³² Mr. R. Swaminathan

³³ Section 3 The Police Act 1861

³⁴ Mr. G.P. Joshi, Programme Coordinator CHRI

³⁵ Mr. G.P. Joshi

What principles should a model Police Act encapsulate?

It is an essential requirement of good and democratic governance that certain basic principles must be incorporated in the Police Act such as:

Political Insulation

The new Police Act should insulate the police from illegitimate political control and interference. The recommendations of the National Police Commission in its Second Report provide a model. The Commission recommended the constitution of a statutory body called the State Security Commission, which would help the state government in exercising control over the police in a manner that is in accordance with the requirements of rule of law. The NPC recommended *“the power of superintendence of the State Government over the police should be limited for the purpose of ensuring that police performance is in strict accordance with law.”³⁶* This would mean giving **functional autonomy** to the police

Accountability

The Act must contain provisions for setting up institutional arrangements, both internal and external, to ensure police accountability. Sadly, the Police Act of 1861 talks only of control and not of accountability. In any democratic set up, all arms of the executive have to be accountable and an arm that exercises tremendous powers over the lives and liberties of citizens must be made additionally accountable to different mechanisms.

Community Consultation

Wants and needs of the community must be taken into account by the police before a policing strategy is implemented. The U.K Police Act requires that arrangements be made in each police area to obtain (a) the views of the people in that area about matters concerning policing of the area, and (b) their cooperation with the police in preventing crime in that area.³⁷

Conformity with present day realities

The Act must take into account the prevalent socio-economic conditions and should be sensitive towards people's aspirations, particularly those who belong to poor and disadvantaged groups.

³⁶ National Police Commission, Second Report

³⁷ U.K. Police Act, 1996, Section 96.A

Duties and responsibilities

The Police Act of 1861 prescribes a very limited charter of duties for the police. The new Act must take into account the enlarged role of the police and the enormous changes that have occurred in the country since then. It must have a focus on service-oriented functions that should be performed by the police. The new Act must clearly outline duties and responsibilities of police personnel in the light of principles of democratic policing.

A Police Performance Evaluation Board

The Roundtable recognised the need for arrangements that would ensure evaluation of police performance on a continual basis. Both the National Police Commission and the Padmanabhaiah Committee had recommended the establishment of an Independent Directorate of Police Evaluation in each state. The Ribeiro Committee also expressed more or less the same view when they proposed the setting up a Police Performance and Accountability Commission to oversee performance of the police. It is the responsibility of the government to set standards for the police and to evaluate performance against those standards.³⁸

What sort of evaluation?

The rising incidence of complaints against the police and general dissatisfaction with police working require shifting of emphasis merely from control over the police to auditing its performance from the public point of view.³⁹ The present methods to judge police performance rely heavily on statistics, which is not the right way of evaluating police performance. Statistical methods not only produce unreliable results but also encourage the police to adopt short cuts and undesirable practices to deal with crime.⁴⁰

Evaluation of the police must be carried out from the people's perspective and should be based on issues such as the degree of peace and security enjoyed by citizens; citizen's perceptions of corruption levels in the police; incidence of police brutality and sensitivity of the police towards human rights; willingness of the police to punish deviant behaviour; and its readiness to work with the community. It must be a continuous evaluation and not a one-time activity.

³⁸ Mr. G.P. Joshi

³⁹ Mr. C.V. Narasimhan

⁴⁰ Mr. C.V. Narasimhan

In the U.K, objectives for policing of different areas are determined by consultations between the government, the police department and the Police Authority, which represents the community. This exercise lays down publicly, broad goals that are defined through a process of consultation and lays down a public standard of performance, which is then monitored.⁴¹

Evaluation by whom?

Evaluation should be done on the basis of objective indicators through a citizens' monitoring forum that is representative of society.⁴² It should be a politically neutral and balanced body.⁴³ It may be called a Public Safety Committee and could be based somewhat loosely on the Public Accounts Committee but with wider scope and having representation of both the ruling and opposition party. It should include persons of high calibre, integrity and experience of public life such as a retired judge, an eminent academic, a former bureaucrat or police officer⁴⁴ with proven integrity.

Police Complaints Authority

Why is an independent police complaints authority needed when internal disciplinary mechanisms exist in the police?

Dissatisfaction of a large number of participants with disciplinary action taken by the police is indicative of the larger public perception that police personnel are functioning with impunity. The NPC has also stressed the need "for an effective machinery" to deal with public complaints against the police.⁴⁵ Internal inquiries into public complaints regarding misconduct do not inspire confidence as:

- there is an innate desire for the department to protect its image ;
- some questionable practices find widespread acceptance within the police;
- inquiry officers do not wish to be seen as turncoats and inimical to the feeling of camaraderie; and
- many a time the person under inquiry is personally known to inquiry officer/s.

⁴¹ Joshi G.P., CHRI publication: The Police Act of 1861, Model Bill of the National Police Commission, The Madhya Pradesh Police Vidheyak, 2001 and the Police Acts of Three Commonwealth Countries: A Comparative Profile

⁴² Mr. P.K. Doraiswamy ex Chief Secretary Government of Andhra Pradesh

⁴³ Mr. C.V. Narasimhan

⁴⁴ Mr. C.V. Narasimhan

⁴⁵ National Police Commission, First Report

It is therefore necessary to set up an independent police complaints authority that is able to speedily and impartially inquire into citizens' complaints against police personnel and provide redress to victims of police misconduct.

Would not the Police Complaints Authority duplicate the functions of human rights commissions?

Undoubtedly human rights commissions are doing good work in dealing with police related complaints. However, they suffer from structural limitations as police oversight is just one area of their wide charter. Most human rights commissions are deluged with complaints on a variety of issues and are already functioning beyond capacity. The scope of their work is extensive but their resources are limited. They can barely manage to do justice even to very serious complaints against the police such as extra-judicial killings, custodial death, torture or extortion. To expect them to go through large numbers of complaints that they receive against the police is somewhat unrealistic.

What kind of persons will a Police Complaints Authority comprise of?

Police complaints authorities exist in a number of countries. In the U.K, the Police Complaints Authority comprises exclusively of civilians who have must never have served in the police and includes persons with experience of and interest in public affairs such as academics, legal luminaries, civil servants and professionals.

A basic requirement of a Police Complaints Authority is that it must consist of persons of unimpeachable character who must also have substantial experience of public matters to ensure effective adjudication of complaints.

What are the principles that should govern the functioning of a Police Complaints Authority?

While basing a Police Complaints Authority on the fundamental premise that good governance is the right of the individual and not something that is bestowed by the government, we must also look at developments across the Commonwealth and other parts of the world.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Dr. V. Suresh

Certain basic principles that govern the establishment and functioning of a Police Complaints Authority are:

Independent investigation

There must be independent investigation of complaints. The South African Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) fills its posts of investigators through direct recruitment by advertising positions in the media.

Decentralisation

It must be sufficiently decentralised to ensure that all categories of police related complaints are heard and local issues are addressed. Persons should not be made to go to the state capital as in the case of human rights commissions to pursue their complaints against police personnel.⁴⁷ The NPC, Ribeiro Committee and the Padmanabhaiah Committee all recommended the formation of a complaints authority at the district level.

Obligatory nature of determinations

Apportioning of guilt by the complaints authority should cast an obligation on the government to ensure punitive action.⁴⁸

Transparency of proceedings

Copies of the proceedings should be a matter of public record and should be freely available. The Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) envisaged in the United Kingdom has provisions to provide complainants with a summary of the proceedings with due explanation as to how conclusions were reached.

Catalysing the movement for reforms from within

A large section of people at the Roundtable felt that many of the ills plaguing the police could be rectified internally by police officers themselves.⁴⁹ Any impetus by external sources to bring about police reforms will not bear fruit unless there is an acknowledgement within the service⁵⁰ that it is imperative to bring about

⁴⁷ Mr. G. Ramakrishnan, Secretary CITU

⁴⁸ Mr. Sreeram Panchu

⁴⁹ Mr. T. Anantachari

⁵⁰ Col. Srikrishnan

necessary behavioural and attitudinal changes in police personnel. There is resistance within the police to make necessary changes⁵¹ that needs to be broken down.

Some significant ways in which the police can contribute to reforms are:

Close and effective supervision

Senior officers have a vital role to play in improving police performance by exercising close and effective supervision over the performance and behaviour of subordinates. It is for supervisory officers to ensure that their subordinates do not overstep authority vested in them and function strictly within the parameters of law. Supervision within the police has to be professional, pointed and effective.⁵²

Strengthening internal disciplinary mechanisms

It is imperative to fortify and sharpen internal accountability mechanisms to ensure police accountability at all levels.⁵³ Efficacy of internal accountability mechanisms to a large extent depends on the willingness of the department to unearth the truth and punish delinquent personnel.

Working with and through the community

Tailoring policing to community needs is an essential requirement of democratic governance. Since policing is a people-oriented activity, active engagement with the community will help the police perform its job with greater efficiency and responsiveness. The police needs to build up a culture, which makes it more accessible to common persons and sensitive to their problems and requirements.⁵⁴

Emphasis on training

Training is not given due importance in the police unlike the military. There is an urgent need to improve training of the police and the quality of people manning police organisations.⁵⁵ Training at police academies is still based on colonial practices and needs to be reviewed in respect of content and methodology. It

⁵¹ Ms. Geeta Ramaseshan

⁵² Mr. T. Anantachari

⁵³ Dr. V. Suresh

⁵⁴ Col. Srikrishnan

⁵⁵ Mr. N. Vital

must help police personnel in understanding the limitations of their powers and in correlating powers with duties.⁵⁶ Behavioural, attitudinal and human rights aspects need to be addressed in training curricula, which must be updated periodically. Social scientists must be consulted while preparing training manuals for the police.⁵⁷

Developing an ethos

The police need to develop a sub-culture where officers take pride in their integrity and incorruptibility. Peer pressure must be built up within the organisation to subject politically pliable and dishonest officers to rigorous disapproval. The police must realize that by their own conduct i.e. by being impartial, by being law abiding they can inculcate a healthy respect for law amongst citizens.⁵⁸

Optimum Utilization of manpower and resources

A frequent alibi used by the police to escape responsibility is manpower shortage.⁵⁹ This is often due to faulty allocation. There is increasing public discontent with misuse of resources by police officers for personal purposes. Police personnel should be freed from orderly duties and the issue of misuse of vehicles should be addressed so that police resources are utilised exclusively for policing functions.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Mr. R. Swaminathan

⁵⁷ Mr. G. Ramakrishnan

⁵⁸ Mr. T. Anantachari

⁵⁹ Mr. T. Anantachari

⁶⁰ Ms. Sudha Ramalingam

Getting the solutions implemented.....

The demand for police reform has to come from citizens.⁶¹ It must be the business of the public⁶² to demand reforms as their opinion is the most powerful vehicle to herald change in a democratic nation.⁶³ Workers movements, peasant unions, women's organisations, students groups and mass organisations should hold mass meetings with people to advocate urgent implementation of police reforms by the government.⁶⁴ Governments must be forced to acknowledge that police reform is *too important to neglect and too urgent to delay*. It must be put on voters' agendas, as there is need to create a mass movement for reform.⁶⁵ In Kerala, significant initiatives have been taken recently to insulate the police from political interference and provide considerable functional autonomy to the police. At the Roundtable on Police Reforms organised by CHRI in Thiruvananthapuram on 26th – 27th July, 2003 these initiatives were discussed where the need to institutionalise the changes on a statutory basis was stressed. The suggestion of the conference that a Police Performance Evaluation Board should be set up in Kerala was accepted in principle by the Chief Minister who announced during the valedictory session that the State Government would consider setting up such a Board.

Reforms in the police will not come easily as powerful lobbies have a vested interest in maintaining status quo. A number of committees and commissions have made recommendations, which have not been implemented,⁶⁶ perhaps because there has been no mass movement to force the government to implement reforms. Governments should be made to know that people are watching the police and are constantly scrutinizing its functioning.⁶⁷ Meaningful reforms will come about only when governments are made to realise that the strength of public opinion must never be underestimated and that public satisfaction with policing will ultimately benefit them.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Mr. R. Swaminathan

⁶² Ms. Maja Daruwala

⁶³ Dr. M. Anandakrishnan

⁶⁴ Mr. G. Ramakrishnan

⁶⁵ Mr. Venkatasubramaniam

⁶⁶ Mr. P.R. Ambrose

⁶⁷ Ms. Maja Daruwala

⁶⁸ Mr. P.K. Doraiswamy

RESOLUTION

A resolution was adopted at the end of the Roundtable which is reproduced below:

1. The Conference notes with appreciation the initiative of the Government of Tamil Nadu to legislate for much-needed police reforms in the state. To enable the Government to have the benefit of different points of view, this meeting calls upon the Government to circulate for public opinion the draft of the proposed Police Bill.
2. The proposed Police Bill should provide for the establishment of a Performance Evaluation Group as well as a Police Complaints Authority. It should also prescribe duties and responsibilities of the police with particular reference to weaker sections of society.
3. The Conference calls upon all Police departments in the country to carry out introspection and to initiate such action on reforms as is necessary on the lines of the recommendations of the National Police Commission within the existing legislative frame work.
4. The Conference calls upon the state governments to set up Police Performance Evaluation Groups representing different political, social and citizens' interests to assist the government in overall assessment & evaluation of the police on the basis of specified performance indicators.
5. In the meantime, while the constitution of the Police Performance Assessment Group and the Police Complaints Authority is underway, the Conference calls upon all civil society groups to undertake such tasks through a Citizens' Committee that acts on behalf of the Police Complaints Authority at the state and district levels to exclusively deal with misconduct by individual police personnel. This Committee will include representatives of the Police Department, Bar Association and Civil Society to attend to complaints in the nature of a departmental ombudsman.
6. Since a socially responsive and professionally competent police administration is essential for the peace and prosperity of society, this Conference calls upon all civil society groups - organisations of professionals, organised and un-organised workers, women, students, farmers, and other interested citizen groups to inform and mobilise public opinion in favour of much required police reforms.

An action group was formed to carry forward the resolution with the political establishment and to give thrust to the issues contained in it. Persons nominated as members of the Action Group are Mr. C.V. Narasimhan, Chairman; Mr. T. Anantachari, Convenor; Mr. R. Swaminathan; Mr. Henry Tiphagne and Ms. Sudha Ramalingam

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