CHAPTER-IV
ISSUES IN PANCHAYATI ADMINISTRATION AND
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
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ISSUES IN PANCHAYATI ADMINISTRATION

4.1. Role of Rural Elite, Relationship with the Government

Energising the people towards the great leap forward towards increasing the political consciousness of the people is one of the most important aims of democratic decentralisation in Manipur as in the case of other parts of the country. We are all aware of the fact that the social system is Indian is such a system where the elite groups could play a dominant role in shaping and reshaping the nature of the system. The four elite groups the political elite, the bureaucracy elite, the business elite and the rural elite play a very important role in shaping the nature of the social structure in India. We are aware of the fact that the essence of Panchayati Raj institutions lies in the idea of local self government, that is, the freedom to decide the course of developments on the part of the local Government. The 73rd Amendment of the Indian Constitution is a landmark as it is expected to initiate a new era in the evolution of democratic institutions and decentralisation in economic development planning. We have the statutory framework for democratic decentralisation in the name of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. However, the depth of political commitment to democratic decentralisation will determine whether or not the Panchayati institutions can become effective levels of governance for development. We are concerned not only with economic development but also with political development with large and ever increasing participation of the local communities in the democratic process.
As the masses in the general are poor, ignorant and uneducated a few capable persons become the elite and this elite group can easily wield the power if they wish so. Power is not to be understood in term of political power only. Those who have economic power can easily influence the people especially in the rural areas. The village landlords who become the centre of economic power become the elite group, that is the rural elite group. Power can be defined as the capacity to affect the behaviour of others. The rural elite group has the power to affect the behaviour of those who depend on them for livelihood. And so the political behaviour, the election behaviour of the poor peasants could be influenced by this small rural elite. In social structure, the rural elite can play a very important role in the process of establishment of the writs of democratic decentralisation, that is, in the process of the nature and functions of the writs of the Panchayat Raj Institution. The rural elite is made important because of the poverty of the masses in the rural areas. So, whatever Panchayati Raj institutions are established through democratic process like elections, the poor masses could be easily influenced in their voting behaviour by the rural elite, if the elite so desires.

So, the study of the nature of the rural elite is very important in the context of the study of democratic decentralisations in India as well as in Manipur. The aims and expectation of the rural elite may influence the nature of functioning of the Panchayati Raj Institution in the rural areas.
The reality in India is the extreme poverty of its people. Unemployment and poverty are pervasive and they degrade and destroy all that they touch. We have adopted a democratic political system to improve our dismal economic situation. Representative institutions have not only been introduced at the national and state level, they have also been introduced at the local level. People in the village elect their representatives to these political institutions. Village is the central issue in India. More than 75% of our people are from the village. But in Manipur 72.48% come from the village. India as a nation and Manipur as a peculiar state live in villages. Unless villages develop India as well as Manipur cannot develop.

Issues of unemployment and poverty are the basic ones in the Indian context. The active participation of the people is essential to bring about the change. To provide employment and eliminate poverty will need stress on agricultural development and growth of rural and agro-based industries. This requires improvement in the infrastructure such as electricity, roads, storage and marketing facilities. Extensive land reforms are also needed and promotion of health and education will also lead to increased productivity. In this context one has to keep in mind how population explosion had eaten away all the advantages of planned economic growth.

Decentralised development and promotion of rural growth centres are needed. It may be mentioned that much of the legislation of village panchayat enacted after 1947 and on Panchayati Raj after 1958 was the outcome of the enormous influence of Gandhiji’s philosophy.

A similar influence was exercised by the debates in the Constituent Assembly which finally led to the inclusion of Article 40 among the Directive Principles of State policy.

The third influence which is at work in shaping the institution of rural self-government comes from the five year plans of the country.

The fourth factor is the community Development movement inaugurated on Second October 1952 which is Mahatma Gandhi’s birthday.

The principal that development should be entrusted to statutory bodies elected by the local inhabitants was accepted in 1958. Along with the village panchayats, panchayat samities and zilla parishads were created to constitute the three-tire system of rural local self-government in almost all the states. In Manipur the panchayati raj system was applied, introduced in the valley in 1964 under the borrowed U.P.Act 1947. Under this Act there were two-tier system, i.e, Gram Panchayat (at the village level) and Panchayati Samiti (at the block level). It was followed by the Manipur Panchayati Raj Act, 1975, and Manipur Panchayati Raj Act of 1994. The Act of 1994 has two-tier system, i.e, Gram Panchayat (village level) and Zilla Parishad (district level).

There is a large amount of dissatisfaction with the functioning of the panchayati raj bodies. There is complaint of friction between officials and non-officials adversely affecting administrative efficiency. There is a general impression that corruption has become widespread and that partisan considerations influence those who control the panchayat bodies in the distribution of fertilisers, seeds, tools, loans etc. Indirect elections have been
criticised on the ground of spreading corruption. It is felt that elections concerning Panchayati Raj bodies especially at the grass root level have disrupted village unity, created factions and solidified existing factions. The opinion is also broadly prevalent that the intervention of political parties sometimes overly and sometimes covertly has also adversely affected the functioning of these bodies. It is also felt that the resources at the command of this bodies are in adequate for their developmental responsibilities and that they are not doing their best to rise resources from their localities.

Another issue of Panchayati Raj Administration is voting behaviour. Voting behaviour is really used to describe certain areas of study and type of political phenomena which previously had not been either conceived or considered relevant. Voting behaviour connotes today more than examination of voting records, compilation of voting statistics, and computation of electoral shifts. The term has vast coverage and entails an analysis of individual or group psychological processes, perception, emotion, motivation, and their relationship with political action. It also enters into the institutional patterns, such as the communication process and their impact on election. Today a host of variables are taken to constitute the focus of enquiry into voting behaviour. The term voting behaviour has expanded in meaning and is construed as one area of study within the broader field of political behaviour.

Since 1900, voting behaviour studies have assumed an elite status in the scientific study of politics. The ultimate goal of the students of voting behaviour is the development of the science of the electoral process. A major
reason for the inquiry into voting behaviour is to discover uniformities and through such discovery to be able to indicate the consequences of such pattern and values of the observed behaviour to the political system as a whole.

Here the term voting behaviour comprehends those action and interaction of political participants which are in the electoral process.\textsuperscript{184}

The basic requirements of voting behaviour are two. In the first place, it must be systematic and in the second place, voting behaviour must place primary emphasis upon empirical methods. Thus focused on the behaviour of the individuals in the given political situations during the pre and post-election periods, voting behaviour studies call for examination of the factors and the different variables of the electoral behaviour with the object of formulating and listing hypotheses concerning uniformities of behaviour in different socio-economic settings.

There is one question why voting behaviour of the same individual is different in different situations and settings. There are four factors :-

1. The significance of government policies to the individual.
2. Access to information about the importance of political decisions to one's interest.
3. Group pressure to vote.
4. Conflicting pressure - conflicting pressure affect the voting behaviour in as much as those who are under conflicting

\textsuperscript{184} Hazary, N., Grassroot political in Rural India (1985), P.12
(opposite) pressures, they are likely to avoid voting. They escape from any real voting by losing interest in election. Those with no conflicting pressure show much interest in the election.

4.2. Role of Rural Elite and Relationship with the Government

An elite is a set of persons, who are more important and powerful than other persons. Elites are of four types - (1) Political Elite. (2) Bureaucratic Elite. (3) Rural Elite and (4) Business Elite.

Political elite, as the dictionary says, is the chosen element in the population. Theorists of political Elite subscribe to the law. “Everybody is governed by an elite, a chosen element of the population.” The chosen element constitutes a minor part of the society and it enjoys eminent position by virtue of ancient traditions, physical might, wealth, economic status etc. Chosen elements consist of those persons who are at the top of the society over others. In democratic countries, the political elite recruited from broad base, whereas in non-democratic societies elites spring from a narrow base, generally from a few families. The elite first of all includes those who are holding high political office at a given time. Political elites include the elected M.Ps (Member of parliament) M.L.As (Member of legislative assembly), Municipal Commissioner, Councilor of Zilla Parishad, Pradhan, Pramukh, member etc. They are provided with their own independent secretariat to aid and assist them in the performance of their duties.

Bureaucratic elites include the chief executive officers (Variously designated) and technical chiefs (Engineers Health Officer, Auditors etc.). Bureaucratic elites includes I.A.S. I.P.S. M.C.S. M.P.S and other officials
from top to bottom. They perform the important functions of the Government. They are the backbone of the administration of the Government.

Rural elites include those persons who participate in any welfare programme or developmental activities of the rural areas. They are not elected and are not official. In a capitalist society, zamindars or landlords will be the rural elite. But now only the persons who have keen interest in the rural areas can become elite. Business elites are the persons who are at the top among the categories of businessmen. They work for the development of their business. They try to maintain good relationship with the Government.

An outstanding unsettled issue of local democracy is the relationship between the elected and permanent functionaries. Local Government was unanimous on strengthening its public administration aspect. In India chief executive officers and senior technical personal either belong to the state bureaucracy or nation wide unified bureaucracy. They are supposed to be agents of the Government and they are independent of local control. Further with the increasing withdrawal of the local funds and their chronic financial inadequacies, the local authorities fail to attract men of calibre for council membership. Then, there are other factors responsible for tension in the relationship between the elected and permanent functionaries in India. They are drawn from different socio-economic background.

It is almost a universal issue that the local Government has yet to established proper equation between the local bureaucracy vis-a-vis the local political machinery.
The local civil service has to encounter several constraints of varied character, preventing them to model on meritocracy. They have a bearing on three factors that may attract talented men into the local Government; money, power and service as referred to earlier Local Government does not have local revenue commensurate with the functions, assigned to it. With the increasing tendency to involve the Local Government in nation-building activities, there is a national stake in its functioning whether in terms of heavy funds that are pumped in or in respect of efficient and effective delivery of services. For the success or failure to the Local Government is the success or failure of Government. This leads to closer supervision and control of the local Government, costing its autonomy and freedom of action and resulting in the erosion of powers of the local Government. Further, several local functions like public health, water supply, lighting, transport, housing etc. are assuming national relevance with the increasing acceptance of welfare state concept. The local Government is unable to cope up with the new demands partly because inadequacies and partly because of lack of technical know-how. This is leading to the establishment of unifunctional and multifunctional specific purpose bodies, diminishing the scope of service of the local Government, but for its democratic strength it would have been eclipsed. Certain local authorities face problem of parochialism when the elected members and the non-transferable staff do not join hands. Preference to local candidates in matters like recruitment and promotion, dilutes the merit system. Many of the components of merit system like equal opportunity, competition and political neutrality of the civil service, are under great strain. With the increasing reliance of the Government on the
local bureaucracy for development, it will be critical issue as to how to reconcile the values of efficiency with those of democracy of the local Government.

Since 1947 when India gets Independence, the percentage of rural elite to national level power positions has increased. Samuel P. Huntington who otherwise has been oversensitive to the issue of political order and stability, has made a significant observation in this regard when he says, "in modern countries, the city is not only the focus of instability; it is also the centre of opposition to the Government. If a Government is to enjoy a medium of stability, is requires substantial rural backing... The support for the ruling party comes from the countryside, the support for the opposition comes from the cities. In India, the principal sources of strength of the congress party are in rural areas, the opposition parties both of the left and of the right, are stronger in the cities. 185

As democracy is one of our theoretical reference, we will be attempting to correlate the behaviour pattern influence or non-influence of Panchayati Raj leadership with the sense of democracy. In this context, it may be observed that India has borrowed western model of democracy whose best epitome is perhaps the preamble to Indian constitution. But it is also an ingredient of human nature that no two people can work out an institution in a totally uniform manner. Variations are bound to occur as very people has an ideal type in its own way. Despite this, some uniformity can be attempted by keeping the goals of democracy in view.

185 Narain Iqbal, Pande K.C.Lal Mohan, "Rural Elite and Election in India State". (A Study of Panchayati Raj Leadership in the context of Rajasthan Electoral Politics). P.4
Here again, trouble may arise because scholars have failed to elaborate the goals for evaluational attempts; or where they have done so, there is no unanimity among them.\textsuperscript{186}

Even one talks of ideological or programmatic politics, one only mean that the people's representatives as well as people themselves should be made aware of the needs of the time and of the corresponding demands and imperatives in term of changes in social-economic and political order. Some sort of social engineering has to be there. We have treated the Panchayati Raj leaders in our study as agents of social engineering. Election tests the substantive assumptions of democracy on the one hand and also bring into sharper focus the perspective and orientations of Panchayati Raj leader, particularly in the context of the philosophy of community development programmes and Panchayati Raj.

It may also be added that, not with standing the emphasis laid by the psychologists on the role of the personality factors in manipulating the environment, the sociological imperatives cannot be, altogether ignored particularly in the context of a feudal society like that of Manipur stealthily giving its way to modernity. We would, therefore also examine which social strata Panchayati Raj helped to mobilise and acquire dominant position affecting process of social changes that it unleashes or has accelerated.

\textsuperscript{186} ibid., pp.5&6.
4.2.1. Emerging Rural Leadership

It was expected that the Panchayati Raj would help the emergence of democratic and development oriental leadership which would bring changes both in the orientation and structure.

It was hoped that the new leadership would be different from the traditional leadership, in the sense that it will not come just from the dominant strata of society, as had been the case so far. But more than that, it was expected that it would be broad in outlook and would just strengthen the process of change towards social justice and an egalitarian social order which are part and parcel of the democratic system as envisaged in the Preamble to the Indian Constitution. India is primarily an agrarian society, so that any effort to understand it must come to terms with rural society.\textsuperscript{187}

In contemporary politics the exercise of leadership begins with the competitive factionalism of the ruling class work through a complex hierarchy of levels of party organisation and the legislative and administrative units of the government.

The middle farmers scattered in thousands of village cannot and do not affect policy making through formalised pressure groups or associations. Such associations are in fact conspicuously absent among the land-owning castes. Middle class farmers enter the decision-making processes directly, as a hegemonic elite, selecting appropriate myths from the cultural order and combining them with strategic control over major access points to public

\textsuperscript{187} ibid.
resources. This activity of the rural elite via-a-vis the population and the state is our basic theme.

4.2.2. Business Elite

The elite, according to this conception, feels themselves to be, and are felt by other to be, the inner circle of ‘the upper social class’.\(^{188}\) They form a more or less compact social and psychological entity; they have become self-conscious members of a social class. They are more or less aware of themselves as a social class and they behave towards one another differently from the way they do towards members of other classes.

But in India, big business like Tata and Birla have progressive development towards economic than Government of India. They built big Hospital and other standard works done for the welfare of the people of India. They would like to finance even the Government programme if there is any lack of finance. Business elite plays important role in India.

In Manipur also business elite plays an important role for the development of the people of Manipur. At the time of the election of M.L.A, M.P. and other Panchayats and municipalities etc. they financed a lot of money for their interest. They could have something to the Government of Manipur. Any schemes sanctioned by Centre and State Government, they co-operated and took main part of the development functions. Even the rural areas also schemes like I.R.D.P. DOGRA, TRYSEM, Pry etc. they could

\(^{188}\) Wright Mills. C., “The Power Elite (1958)”. P.11
insist for their own interest in the locality. They took keen interest for the development programmes of the state.

4.2.3. Rural Elite: The basic units are the old administrative divisions, village, taluka and district. The constituencies of the state legislature correspond roughly to the boundaries of the talukas. The traditional administrative units now correspond to the new unit of local government; the panchayat (village), the panchayat samiti (taluka), and the zilla parishad (district). The rural elite controls all these units as well as the semi public co-operative and educational institutions. The rural elite has put his own stamp on the procedures and institutions. It has established associated informal structure of factions and alliances corresponding to these levels of government. Factions and alliances operating under the umbrella of the congress party give the rural elite its control, and the mechanism that mediates between the formal and informal structure is patronised.

At each level (of village, taluka, and district) is a body of elected officials associated with the units of development administration. In addition, at each level there are semi-public or public support bodies such as co-operative credit marketing societies and educational institutions. It connects the village with the state and national government through the panchayat institutions.

The commercial banks have provided substantial financial backing to the village moneylenders, the indigenous local bankers, and the traders in

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189 Ibid, P.31
190 Ibid
agricultural produce (Reserve Bank of India, 1961). These interests have always been antagonistic to the rural class.

The policy of the abolition of the Zamindari and the later of the privileges of the princess also benefited the rural petty-bourgeoisie. In addition, the lack of an effective, progressive tax structure has also meant a bonanza for the rural elite (Maddison, 1971; Elienne, 1968,81). The programme for community development have done for the rural middle class what the public sector and infrastructural investment have done for private industrial capital.

The dominant lineage within a village was one closely related to a chief by kinship ties. Its patriarch became the headman of the village. The poorer or the distant kin in the village accepted the patriarchal status and gave their loyalty and to the same chief with the predetermined share of their surplus.

In Manipur, in rural areas people always depended on the landowners with a predetermined share in the harvest. Even today when cash payments have replaced most traditional arrangements, the interdependence between the landowners and the rural people continues to be stressed. It softens the exploitative character of the landowners.

In India the rapid expansion of educational institutions in the rural areas has created an impression that access to the education is now widespread open to all sectors of the population. In Manipur, the rural elite recognized

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191 Ibid., P. 40
192 Ibid
the value of education and tried to insist to the Government to keep in their rural areas.

In the village level, of the two districts Imphal Wet and Imphal East the issue of rural elite remains the centre of attention.

Before discussing in detail the events surrounding the panchayat elections, it should be noted how this activity primarily concerns the elite only. In these two districts, where the rural people are poorer, with low incomes. At the time of election these rural elites influence the village people. It may be the money power and other activities.

4.2.4. Political Elite

A political elite probably exists and has probably existed in all political systems. In elitist systems, influence is confined to the member of one group or a few groups.

In the local political elite, there is in this chapter a consideration of three local elite elements, local political party officer, community influential and city managers. Communities influential are persons actually identified by power structure. Local party officers and city managers are counted elements on the assumption that they are probably influential. In the appropriate sections of part III, persons who are thought to be influential in various subsystems are considered local political elite. But in Manipur, only the elected persons are called political elites.

Political elites of Manipur perform variety of functions for the welfare of rural people such as the lighting of streets, sanitation, conservancy, the
prevention of public nuisances, the construction and maintenances of places for the storage of cow dung and oil cakes and other manner, the maintenance of census records relating to population, cattle, weavers, improvement of communication, drains, and waterways, the control of grazing grounds, the relief of the poor, the sick and the famine stricken, the regulation of the slaughter animals etc. They also entrusted the improvement of agriculture, co-operative farming for the rural people.

The advisory bodies constituted in various project areas with the political elites rendered good service because they were also the representatives of the people. They applied it in the field for the welfare of the rural people.

A payment from the treasury of the State Government to a local authority for the purpose of assisting that authority is carrying on a part or all its activities is ordinarily known as grant in aid and is sanctioned for the welfare schemes of rural people by the State Government through political elites both urban and rural areas.

The modern Panchayati Raj system was first introduced in India in the year 1959 in the state of Rajasthan. In Manipur it was in the year 1960, under the borrowed U.P Panchayati Raj Act 1947. The first and second election of Gram Panchayats under the same Act in 1964 and 1970 where political elites existed in Manipur.

After attainment of statehood in 1972, the Government of Manipur introduced Panchayati Raj Act 1975. (The three-tier structure.) The first
election was held in the year 1978 and second and third election in 1985 and 1991 respectively. Altogether there were 166 Gram Panchayats and 9 Block Panchayat Samities. These two levels were actively involved and participated in the implementation of centrally schemes such as IRPD, JRY and other employment generation programmes with the political elites successfully.

With the amendment of the Constitution, Panchayats have been given constitutional status. Under the provisions of the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act 1992, the Government of Manipur enacted the Manipur Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 with effect from 24th June, 1994. Necessary rules under the provisions of the Act such as the Manipur Panchayati Raj (Election) Rules 1995 and the Manipur Gram Panchayat and Zilla Parishad General Rules, 1995 have been framed.\(^{193}\)

The Act provided for establishment of two-tier system of panchayats, i,e gram panchayat of the village level and zilla parishad at the district level and under the provision of the Act, 166 Gram Sabhas and 3 Zilla Parishads namely Imphal, Thoubal and Bishnupur have been established. Notification for election to 1556 constituencies for members of Gram Panchayats, 166 Gram Panchayats for Pradhan and 61 Zilla Parishad Constituencies for members of Zilla Parishad have been issued on 20,12 19, fixing the date of pole on 31.1.97.\(^{194}\)

\(^{193}\) Directorate of Information and Public Relation Govt. of Manipur. “Commemoration of 50th Anniversary of India’s Independence”. August 15, 1997. P. 72

\(^{194}\) Ibid
Number of political elites are 1556 members of Gram Panchayats, 166 Pradhans and 61 members of Zilla Parishads of the three districts of Manipur, as regards of Imphal district. In 1995 election to 24 Assembly constituencies, 2 Municipal Councils and 9 Nagar Panchayats were conducted smoothly. In 1997, the election of rural local bodies for 100 Gram Panchayats, 855 Gram Panchayat Members and 34 Zilla Parishad Members were conducted.\textsuperscript{195}

Under the provisions of the Mnipur Panchayati Raj Act 1994, the Manipur finance Commission and the State Election Commission have been constituted.\textsuperscript{196}

The community Development programmes introduced in Manipur in the year 1952-53 with only one Development Block at Thoubal with the objective of improving the socio-economic condition of the village communities. By the end of the 3rd plan the entire territory of Manipur was covered under the programme by opening 14 Development Blocks were later on split up into administrative units theory by increasing the number of blocks in the state to 26 of which 6 (six) were in the valley and 20 were in the hills (up to 3rd plan).\textsuperscript{197}

The main schemes taken up by the department under the C.D. programme are in the field of Agriculture, Minor Irrigation, Animal Husbandary, Health and Sanitation, Education, Industries and Communication.

\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., P.159
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid., P.159
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid
The political elites took the important roles to implement the programme both in the Valley and Hills. Hills areas also have their own elected political elites.

Imphal has also taken up schemes under URY, TRY, IRDP, EAS, DWCRA, IAY and also other programmes for the benefit the old-aged and disabled persons and maternity benefit schemes of the poor women.\footnote{Ibid. P.158}

During 1996-97, 1503 households below poverty line have been given financial assistance under IRDP, 223 houses were constructed for the poor and homeless persons under IA and basic minimum services scheme and 155 wells were constructed for providing Drinking water to remote areas where there is storages of water supply. In addition to the DRDA, Imphal has also imparted training to the youths in various trades like, scooter repairing, Radio, T.V. repairing weaving, tailoring, Carpentry, Embroidery etc, for giving them opportunity for the self employment under TRYSEM and NRY. The urban poverty alleviation schemes have also been taken up under NRY schemes and people below poverty line have been given financial assistance for self-employment.\footnote{Ibid} Political elite takes important role to implement the programmes to reach in all the areas of the people. They also help to find out the poverty line people i.e, poorest of the poor to reach the schemes to the proper places or areas.

Besides these in the Imphal District under the Public Distribution system essential commodities like Sugar, Rice and Kerosin are distributed to the public as controlled prices fixed by the Government of Manipur through

\footnote{Ibid. P.158}
\footnote{Ibid}
the (FPS) and SK, oil sub-dealers appointed by the Govt. of Manipur. New schemes like targeted Public Distributed Schemes was introduced with effect from 1/6/97. Under this schemes 21,385 families below the poverty line of Imphal West district and 18,696 families of Imphal East District got.²⁰⁰ Political elite plays an important role to distribute all these to the people. Many work programmes like land Revenue and other fees and taxes in 1996-97 a sum of Rs.18,45,445/- have been realised and the Zilla Samik Board has looked after the welfare of the ex-servicemen of the District.²⁰¹ Political elites role are many sided for the welfare of the people.

4.2.5. Bureaucracy Elite

A unique feature of the local civil service in several countries is that the key officers enjoy higher position almost not known to their counterparts at higher level of Government.

It may be mentioned that corporate management may be applied in local system of administration. In several countries, the concept of corporate management is equated with the creation of the key official in a local authority who performs the role of the general manager of a business enterprise. The entire administrative machinery is brought under a single umbrella. With this, an integrated approach is given to personal management, often the chief executive officer serves as a bridge between the political machinery and the local bureaucracy. The local authority is under an obligation to fill up such post.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p.158-59
²⁰¹ Ibid., p.159
Among the different forms of chief executive officers, the Indian Municipal Commissioner of a city corporation and, the Chief Executive Officer of Zilla Parishad are close in relation to the political wing. Particularly, the Municipal Commissioner is invested with all executive power. Both are made independent of the Council except that it may advise the government to withdraw their services where it is not satisfied with their performance. The separation is carried as to the extent that the elected bodies are provided their own independent secretariat to aid and assist them in the performance of their duties. The municipal commissioner does not have control over it.

In the process, the democratic theory gets baffled. Since these positions are manned by officers drawn from the highest echelon of the public services in the country and without much control of the council, the primary local democratic wings gets undermined. Though the institution of such chief executive is inherited from the pre-independence period, not only is it continued but it is also extended to the newly constituted rural local authorities in several states. Two of its advantages may be noted. First a local authority, with all its financial inadequacies, is able to have its chief executive drawn from a distinguished class of an administrator, secondly at the present stage of development of local government, the authority can be protected from the excess of local democracy. Thus practice has continued, though theory is flouted. In the U.K and U.S.A, they are appointed and
controlled by the council or by the political executives. They are treated, for all practical purpose as the servants of the council.\textsuperscript{202}

By and large considering their relation with the deliberative wing there are two patterns of chief executive officers. The first pattern envisages the chief executive independent of the local political wing in matters of their appointment and control. This pattern includes the French and the Indian chief executive officers. In certain forms of local government in India, the council has however is right to ask for their transfer.

The other pattern envisages the chief executive officers, essentially the officers of the local council. It includes the American City Manager, the German Chief Administrative officer and the British Chief Executive. They are appointed and controlled by their respective local council.\textsuperscript{203}

4.2.6. Personal Management

(a) Machinery for Personal Management : A variety of forms of agencies exist in modern states to perform the role of personal agencies in Local Government as given below.\textsuperscript{204}

i) Local level Civil Services Commission/ Civil Services Board/ Personal Commission;

ii) Local government level deliberative and executive agencies;

\textsuperscript{203} ibid
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.P.217
iii) Government level personal agencies including the National State Public Services Commission, Personal Department etc; and
iv) Government and Local Government level agencies.

The first category of central personal agencies i.e. local level civil commission that are exclusively instituted for the local personnel management are of two types: those which are appointed by the government for one or several local authorities like the Municipal Service Commission of Calcutta, or Divisional Selection Boards and District Selection Committee of the Panchayati Raj in Maharashtra.

The second category of agencies is the deliberative and executive organs of the Local Government itself which are involved in the management of local civil service. This category is available in the local authorities of the UK and those of several American states.

The third category comprising Government level agencies includes the Central/State Public Service Commission, the Central State Department of Personnel etc. They are in India for the management of higher echelons of the local civil service including the chief administrator of the local authority. The Union Public Service Commission, Department of Personnel and Ministry of Finance are concerned with members of all India Service (whose services are available to bigger medium size cities and Zilla Parishad) and senior officer Delhi Corporation. The State Public Service Commission, the State General Administration and Finance Department deal with the state
government official whether they are on deputation or whether they constitute state-wide municipal / rural services.

The fourth category is also prevalent in France and in certain Indian States whether the government and local level senior functionaries perform personnel management functions in a graded form relating to higher and lower local civil services. Considering their functions, the above personnel agencies can be classified in three categories.

(1) Those including the American, Japanese and Ceylonese Civil Service Commission are central personnel agencies concerned almost with the entire gamut of service matters both service functions like recruitment promotion etc. and regulatory functions the salary and condition.

(2) Those including the Indian personnel agencies, have limited jurisdiction. The Indian pattern of Public Service Commission is primarily an advisory body in regard to service functions regulatory matters along with compensations fall under the purviews of the executive department (Department of Personnel and Finance concerned with the management of civil service)

(3) Those prevalent in the Indian Local Governments mostly for the lower level of civil service include the elective and non-elective functionaries who participate practically in the management of all civil services.

Among the above three categories, the first is commended while it can have an integrated approach to the Local Civil services approach because
different agencies are involved in the control and management of local civil service.

(b) Creation of Local Civil Service and Posts

It depends on the pattern of Local Government. If it is decentralized pattern like those of the U.S.A. and to a large extent, Japan it has full freedom to create or abolish the civil service and the civil posts except where the Local Government Act necessitates the performance of certain functions for which certain services and posts have been envisaged by the Act or byelaws.

The unified pattern like that of Sri Lanka, to a considerable extent, of India, envisages the Government to create and regulate the civil services and civil post through an act or rules and regulations. Generally, this is justified on the ground that parochialism can be avoided and a more efficient local civil services can be ensured by laying down uniform standards in all local authorities. Hence very little discretion is left with them except when they approach the government for the creation and abolition of civil service and civil posts.

Then, country like Egypt, has partly decentralized and partly unified pattern. The local authorities are free to institute civil services and civil posts, and to formulate rules and regulations governing them. But they need the approval of the government.
Section, Appointments & Transfers

In most of the countries local authorities adopt a special process of selection for the appointment of key personnel. In the U.S.A. several local authorities elect their key administrations. In the U.K. the Chief Executive/town clerks, in the U.S.A. the City Manager and the Chief Administrative Officer and in France the perfect, the sub-perfect and Secretary General all are recruited from the open market through advertisement and selection. In India, the Municipal Commissioner of a city of a district corporation and a municipality, the Chief Executive Officer and the District Development Officer of a Zilla Parishad, the Block Development Officer of a Panchayat Samiti and Senior Technical Officers are deputed by the State Government. In some states, the municipal commissioner constituting a separate state level cadre are either recruited by the state public service commission or promoted from different service cadres. In India, appointment to key administrative and technical personnel are made by the State Government.\(^{205}\)

In Indian States the government transfers administrative and technical personnel from one local authority to another. In U.S.A. city managers and in the U.K. Chief Executive/Town Clerks keep on moving as professionals from one local authorities to another depending on their term and conditions of service.

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\(^{205}\) Ibid., P. 220
(d) Training

There are three fold factors peculiar to the local government that entail training of its functionaries, both official and elected. (1) It is in a disadvantageous position as against other levels of government in terms of power, money and service to attract talented personnel, both official and elected.

The quality of its personnel can be improved only by necessary orientation in their responsibilities and in modern method and procedures of management. (2) Both elected and permanent functionaries, unlike most their counter parts at other level of government, have face to face contact with the countries of their services, being exposed to both political and local pressure. Hence, necessary training to meet the environmental needs assumes great importance. (3) Thirdly, the elected and permanent functionaries unlike their counter parts at higher levels of government, continuously function as a team in the council and its committees. This necessitates them to involve a special pattern of relationship. Training will go a long way in appreciating each other’s role.

(e) Service Unions and Service Conditions

The decentralized patterns of Local Government of the U.K. and U.S. have accorded full discretion to the local authorities to determine the conditions of service of their civil services. But in the U.K. under the Local Government Act 1972, local authorities have a duty to appoint such officers
as they think necessary for the proper discharge of their functions on such reasonable term and conditions, including conditions as to remuneration.\textsuperscript{206}

In Japan, salaries and other conditions of employment also are set by local by-laws with due consideration to living costs and of the compensation received in the national services, other local systems and private enterprise.

In India the State Governments treat the conditions of service of the local civil services differently, though they regard them as their ultimate responsibility to maintain uniform standards. There is tendency to bring the scales of local civil services on par with their own civil services. In India the Local Government services are being treated on par with those of the industrial workers in regard to their political activities, unlike the state civil services which are subjected to more restriction. Where the local authorities are unable to fulfil their salary commitments, the State Government has often come to the rescue of the local authorities.

Manipur also follows the pattern of India Bureaucracy elites of Manipur hold the administration unit at the top. They perform important functions of the development of local areas. Any schemes or any development programmes come through the bureaucracy elites and make a proper channels, for the development of local areas in a proper way.

4.3. Relationship Between Government & Bureaucratic Elites

An outstanding unsettled issue of local democracy is the relationship between the elected and permanent functionaries of bureaucracies. It is

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid, P.223
interesting to note that local authorities of several developed and developing
countries occupy diametrically opposite postures.

Developed country like the America local authorities noted for their
spoils system also have a weak administrative wing. The strong Mayor
governing cities do not encourage professional administrations to contribute
adequately to city administration. Hence, there has emerged an institution of
Chief Administrative Officers to fill up the gap by aiding and assisting the
strong Mayor in the performance of his administrative responsibilities.\textsuperscript{207}

At the other end of the pole are the local authorities in developing
countries (specially with colonial background) with strong bureaucratic
overtones at the level of higher echelons and with weak democratic
traditions. For instance, in India, the chief executives officers and senior
technical personnel either belong to the state bureaucracy or state wide
unified bureaucracy. They are suspected as agents of the government who
are independent of local control. Further, with the increasing withdrawal of
local functions and their chronic financial inadequacies, the local authorities
fail to attract men of caliber for council membership. Then, there are other
factors responsible for tensions in the relationship between the elected and
permanent functionaries in the Indian local authorities. They are drawn from
different socio-economic background. If the elected functionaries are
inadequately educated and from the rural background the permanent
functionaries are better educated and with urban background. Moreover,
unlike the councillors the officers are from higher social echelons. In certain

\textsuperscript{207} Ibid. P. 225
states, when the local authorities are superseded, the chief executive officers assumes the functions of the council and the elected functionaries, causing heart-breaking among local politicians consequently the atmosphere is not congenial for a happy relationship. At times, one notices an unhealthy competition between them which frustrates democratic goals. In Manipur the channels of relationship between government and elites are properly arranged. But it is interesting to note that sometimes the works of bureaucracy elite and those of the political elite are performed for the financial interest. Any schemes for welfare and development programmes sent direct to the state government from the central government, state government gives direct to the local areas through the District Rural Development Agency. Then Zilla Parishad (district level), village panchayats (village levels)(under the M.R.P. Act 1994). Members and pradhans pramukh and councillors play an important role to reach the beneficiaries to the poorest of the poor people.

Thus, it is almost a universal issue that the Local Government has get to establish proper equation between the local bureaucracy vis-a-vis the local machinery. The recent Local government reforming efforts are a pointer to it. However, the emerging trend is quite clear. With the emerging reliance of the government on the local bureaucracy for efficient delivery of services, the relationship between local bureaucracy and the local political machinery may not be on the same footing as that on the higher levels of government. Consequently, it will have to be watched in the future as to how this trend will have to be reconciled with democratic values at the local level.
The study of elite rule is becoming very important. In the words of Geraint Parry political theory always reflects on political practice and in many ways the political circumstances of the time of leadership in society. That is why study of political elites has become a part of modern political theory.

In the words of S.P. Verma is that every society is “ruled by a minority that possess the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power. Those who get on top are always the best. They are known as the elite. The elites consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of society; there is an elite of lawyers, an elite of mechanics and even elite of thieves and an elite of prostitutes”.

The elite theory of Pareto (1848-1923) is contained in his principal affirmation that ‘history is a graveyard of aristocracies’. According to Pareto, every society is ruled by a minority that possessed qualities necessary for coming to social and political power. The ruling minority is known as the elite. The elites includes successful persons who rise to top in every occupation and stratum of society, there is an elite of lawyers an elite of mechanics, an elite of thieves and even an elite of prostitute society for Pareto, was divided into two classes. (1) A higher stratum, consisting of the elite which was divided into a governing elite and a non-governing of the elite which was divided into two classes and (2) A lower stratum called the non-elite. The focus of enquiry for Pareto was the governing elite which was seen to rule by a mixture of cunning and force.
Psychological changes in the characteristics of the elites occur from time to time that lead to the changes in the composition and operation of different elites so much so that some elites are replaced by others and this causes social instability. According to Pareto, elites make both logical or rational and illogical or irrational action for the attainment of their ends. By logical actions he means those actions which are directed to attainable ends and employ means which are appropriate to the attainment of the ends. By illogical actions he means actions which are not directed to any purpose, as are directed to unattainable purposes or are supported by means which cannot achieve the purpose. In Local Government of the State of Manipur, we observe the psychological matters affect much to the relationship between local authority or Panchayati Institution with the bureaucracy. Complexes, psychological hinges, prejudices, etc. play a very important role in the relationship, thus affecting the performance of the local authorities.

Mosco (1858-1941) rejected the classification of government into monarchy, aristocracy and democracy and asserted that there is only one types of government i.e. oligarchy.” He says “In all societies – from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely obtained the dawning of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies-two classes of people appear- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions monopolies power and enjoys the advantages that power brings whereas directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is now more or less legal now more or less arbitrary and violent . . .”
Robert Michels (1876-1936) was not much opposed to democracy. He was given limited support to it. He had love for hereditary monarchy. His best form of government is a aristocracy. But it should be

Ortega Y.Gasset (1883-1955) further developed the theory of political elites by evolving his theory of the masses. According to him, a nation’s greatness depends on the capacity of the ‘people’ the ‘public’ the crowds’ the masses to find their symbols in the certain chosen people on whom it pours out the vast store of its vital enthusiasm. He says a Man is effective in society as a whole not so much because of his individual qualities as because of the social energies which have been deposed on him by the mass. He further writes “The primary social fact is the organisation of a human heap in leaders and the led. This supposes in some a certain capacity to lead, a others a certain capacity to be led”.

According, to C. Wright the elites is the product of the institutional landscapes of the society power in modern society is institutionalised with the result that certain institutions and the upper most ranks of the hierarchy in these institution constitute the strategic command posts of the social structure’.

Though advocates of the theory of political elite share with fascism its anti-democratic and anti-socialistic attitudes yet it is not correct to identify them with fascists. Pareto was not a fascist because he advocated the right to strike and freedom of expression. According to S.P.Verma “It is sufficient for democracy that the individual citizens though prevented from taking a direct part on government all the times have at least the possibility of
making their aspirations felt at certain intervals . . . in a democracy the
governed can always act to remove their leaders or to force them to take
decisions in the interest of the many”.

According to S.P. Verma “could evolve a conception of democracy as
a political system in which political parties competed for the notes of a mass
electorate the elites were relatively open and recruited on the basis of merit
and the mass of population was able to participates in ruling the society at
least in the sense that it would exercise a choice between the rival elites”.

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According to Schumpeter democracy arose with the capitalist
economic system and therefore has to be understood in this context.
Anthony Downs says parties in democratic polities are analogous to
entrepreneurs in a profit seeking economy”. S.P. Verma summed up” As
different group of even look for different ways of obtaining support from the
masses different political parties are formed and enter into a competition
with each other. This leads to a plurality of elites and a kind of system of
cheeks and balance in the democratic societies which are, on this account
often described as pluralistic societies. Association of all kinds professional
as well as political is formed and the government becomes a business of
compromises”.

Advocates of socialist system are of the opinion that there is no place for the rule of the elites in the socialist society as there is no rule of mass. They hold that the dictatorship of the proletariat is thus the only alternative to the dictatorial rule of the elites.

The meaning of the concept of political development given by Lucian bear these characteristics – equality, capacity and differentiation. We are to study and examine whether the decentralized democratic institutions in Manipur could bring in the question of equality, capacity and differentiation. As we are aware of the fact that political development involves mass political participation and popular involvement in political activities, the Panchayati Raj Institutions in Manipur are to be examinee whether the institutions are really popular and capable of functioning because of people’s political participation. Establishment and functioning of the decentralized democratic institutions whether in the rural areas in the urban areas really makes the society move towards some social and political goal, thus shaping the society for political development.

Political development has been interpreted by so many writers in so many ways. We are concerned with the interpretation of the political development as a result of mass mobilization and political participation. Democratic decentralization will give the people the chance for mass mobilization and political participation.

In order to mark the degree of achievement in a political system it is essential to find out characteristic of equality, capacity and differentiation.
Leonard Bindey described political development as consisting of

(i) Identity,
(ii) Participation,
(iii) Distribution,
(iv) Penetration.

We will try to find out how democratic decentralization includes all these features in Manipur State.

And Huntington's emphasis on institutionalizations as the preface to political development could easily be related to democratic decentralization.

Lucian W. Pye has given ten connotations of political developments. One of the connotations signifying development of democracy is related to democratic decentralization in the state thereby shaping for local democratic institutions is simply applicable in the content of the study of Panchayati Institutions of Imphal District steps for political development.

Decentralized democracy or Panchayati Raj in India confers on the rural people the authority to manage their own affairs. Local participation in the management of affairs of the locals Government makes the local people conscious of their position and democratic status in the society. This consciousness is the first major ingredient of political development in the society. The case of political developments integrally, connected with the building of democracy and inculcating of the values of a democratic order in the minds of the local people. The inculcation of the values will help them to
participate in the local affairs. It brings political development. And political development to take place, it can only be within the context of the multidimensional process of social change.

Pye's many connotations develop of democracy related to democratic decentralisation. Values of democracy built up connected with political development.

From the above discussions we can concluded that the elitists either lay too much stress on elite politics or they have failed to offer a visible alternative to Marzian doctrine of the class was. Political theory is a negation of the celebrated principle that democracy is the government of the people. Democracy implies the political movement of the lower classes. According to Prof. S.P. Verma what the twentieth century theorists have done rather arbitrary is to "identity democracy with a static political system in which elite rule is sanctioned by periodic elections". Though Marxian approach has many drawbacks it "would still be difficult to accept the theory of power elite as a satisfactory explanation of social change".